

**Fragmented Becoming.
A Deleuzian reading of Becoming-Child in Brazil**

**Gefragmenteerde Wording.
Een Deleuziaanse versie van Kind-Wording in Brazilië**

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

Natasha Prévost

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INTRODUCTION

The subject of this dissertation revolves around doing research with children and by extension human subject as well as children agency within patriarchal socio-institutional organisation. The place of children in social sciences research has been receiving a growing attention since the 1990s. Researchers from the fields of cultural/social anthropology and sociology created the field of Children's Studies in order to mark a new turn in the approaches used in research with children. The founders of this new research tradition are Jenks (1982), Prout (1987; 1996), Qvortrup (1991; 1996), Alanen (1992; 1994; 1999), James (1993), Mayall (1994; 1996; 2000), Caputo (1995), and Christensen (1999). The common point of the different approaches used by these authors is couched in children's agency. They trust in children capacity in reflecting about their own lives and in voicing their interests and desires. This ethical approach of the subject retained my interest because it can be paralleled with the changes in ethnographic fieldwork practices, particularly in considering the power relationship between researcher and research collaborators. In my view, in addressing children's agency many underlying questions come to the fore. In the first place, the question of the status of children as a minority group: can we actually talk about minority group formation if decisions were taken on the behalf of the individuals forming the group? Secondly, the universality of children's rights as a minority group: did it respect cultural diversities? In approaching children as agent an important step was made to create a space for autonomous expression and creativity. However, the dominant socio-institutions gravitating around children rarely consider children as agent. Thus, the complex interaction between socio-institutional powers, researcher power position and children need to be addressed in order to propose measures for concrete cultural transformation.

My empirical research project endeavour was to take into account these different layers of interactions. My fieldwork research took place in the city of Recife, located in the state of Pernambuco in the Northeastern region of Brazil during the years 2003 and 2004. As an anthropologist, I have been conducting extensive fieldwork research in Brazil since the year 2000. In 2000, I first worked with transvestites aged 15 to 45 years old in the city of Fortaleza and in the cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in the course of the year 2001. In going back in the Northeastern region of Brazil, all the above questions were to be experimented. Firstly, the fact of being a woman researcher native from North-America, thus setting the confrontation of North-South power relation encouraged me to explore the establishment of a symmetrical power relation with research collaborators, more specifically children. Secondly I was to conduct fieldwork research in a patriarchal society where dominant conservative socio-institutions are standing firmly in a changing cultural landscape. I worked in a private primary school, a public primary school and a cultural and literacy centre located in a favela, in order to access the different socio-economic classes in place in the Brazilian society. Thirdly, the question of children as a minority group in Brazil had been addressed since the beginning of the 1980s, when the country came out of twenty years dictatorship. The most important task was then, to take care of the poor children forming the majority of the children

population. Twenty-five years later, they are still forming the majority of the children population. This fact pushed my inquiry in a different direction. I reflected that the enduring class segregation in Brazil is couched in the lack of dialogues between the different socio-economical classes and one of the ways to propose concrete changes is to concentrate on children of different socio-economical backgrounds.

The main hypothesis of this dissertation project is: to test the ethnographical application of the schizoanalysis concept of post-structuralist philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. The schizoanalysis or micropolitics concentrates on individual singularities from minority groups before going back to dominant institutional discourses and practices. This allows the observation and understanding of children life style while at the same time installing a dynamic movement between their individuals' differences and the socio-institutions (family, school, work and social relations) informing the dominant models in place in the Brazilian society. I wish to explore how these dynamics can enlighten and transform the interpretation of ethnographical fieldwork experiment into a political engaged exercise.

The micropolitics concept contains the three interactive layers I wish to explore. In order to concentrate on individual singularities and differences I first needed to deconstruct the category of children used in the patriarchal community of discourse. To this end, I will look at its position within western philosophical history (Section 1.2 *-I.*), the creation of social sciences (Section 1.2 *-II*) psychoanalytic interpretative method (Section 1.2 *-III*). as well as traditional socialisation and developmental theoretical models (Section 1.2 *-III*). As my main endeavour is to test the micopolitics concept as an ethnographical method, the Section 1.3 concentrates in the transformation of the place of the research collaborators within the discipline that is marked by the growing consideration of the research collaborators as agent and full participant of the research process. Special attention will be directed to an historical survey of the place of children within the discipline.

Once the category children deconstructed and the subject child being liberated from the patriarchal community of discourse, the second step is to look at minority group formation and its definition within academic and political discourses. I will concentrate on the second wave feminist movement for definition consolidation and implications of/on minority group formation (Section 1.4 *-I*), as well as its theoretical echoes within children studies in social sciences (Section 1.4 *-II*). The analysis of minority group formation directed me toward considering children's singularities through a feminist theoretical/empirical method that take into account aspect of the subject formation such as age, gender, sex, race, class and so forth. The term defining best these aspects and their interactions with the socio-institutions is the interactive grammar¹ (Section 1.5). It will in turn frame the description of the different theoretical positions I subjectively, politically, and ethically accounted for while developing a singular relation with the children I conducted fieldwork research with in Brazil (Section 1.6).

¹ I am indebted to dr. renée c. hoogland for the term Interactive Grammar.

While considering children as agents, I needed to think about the encounter with them as a positive exchange of forces. In order for this to take place, the very idea of a relation needed to be defined with concepts explaining the art of establishing a relation with the other; its premises and its on going process. The concepts of intuition (Bergson, 1932; 1950), empiricism (Hume, 1739), sympathy (Bergson, 1932; 1950), affect (Spinoza in Deleuze, 1970 and Lloyd, 1996), nomadism (Deleuze and Guattari, 1980; 1988; 1991) and experiment (Deleuze and Guattari, 1991) appeared as being the ones describing and representing this process best. At that stage of my work, theoretical assistance was found in the so-called “process ontology” of post-structuralist thinker Gilles Deleuze (1990) (Section 1.7). Working on singularity and differences as positive and affirmative concepts will direct my reflections towards ethical questions regarding the anthropologist role and commitment toward their research colleagues. It will push the reflection further toward the ethnographic fieldwork practice and the relation of power between the researcher and the research colleagues.

The first part of the dissertation will conclude with the place of children in Brazilian society (Section 1.8). As children as a minority group in Brazil represents the poor population of children, I will describe how the patriarchal socio-institutions, more specifically through the educational system and the family (Section 1.8 –*I*) engendered socio-economic and racial segregation. I will also demonstrate through the analysis of three films and one documentary how Brazilian children representation confined children as a minority group to poor children (Section 1.8 –*III*). This in turn reinforces my position regarding the importance of considering children from different socio-economic backgrounds in order to install a positive dialogue between classes.

The core of this dissertation project is empirical and it consists of the material gathered in my fieldwork. I will first put in context the fieldwork location (Part-II –*I-II*). In the second place, I will describe my ethical position (Section 2.) and the Data-Collection methods both at a general level and the ones I retained for my research (Section 2.1). I worked with twenty-one children and our work was based on what the children voiced as being important in their lives. The method I will adopt, in the second part of the dissertation, for the analysis of the ethnographic data and material will be the following: I will deliberately zigzag between anthropological concepts, my fieldnotes and children’s narratives. This is the only practical manner I found in order to re-connect the different disciplinary fields of study and the different discursive traditions that deal with children’s studies in Brazil.

This acute form of trans-disciplinarity is necessary to defend my central hypothesis: that a new agenda needs to be set for the study of children in Brazil and even beyond. This rather ambitious agenda leads me to question the ways this issue is currently debated in a number of disciplinary areas.

The Fragmented Becoming method that I developed during the research process represents the merging of the philosophical concept of schizoanalysis and the ethnographical work. It became the presentation title for the children narratives. There are fragments of a on-going process of becoming-child. In order to give to the reader a more complete portrait of the children, I will present all the themes that the child developed during the ten months we worked together through his/her impressions, reflections, and experiences. For instance, for

the family theme, I will present the fragmented becoming narratives of the child research colleagues. The narratives were created with the use of the drawings, and my fieldnotes, the films and the interviews gathered during my work with the children.

I will then present theoretical concepts in relation to the theme. I will also reflect on it and enlighten the reflection with on-going micropolitics examples taking place in the city of Recife. A different font is going to be used to mark the distinction between the Fragmented Becoming narratives and the theoretical. For every theme I inserted a drawing of the child. The aim here is to be in constant movement between the parts and the whole and the whole and the parts in order to present the singularity of each child while at the same time sketching a portrait of the lives of seven year-old children from the city of Recife (Sections 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, and 2.6).

In order to operationalize my interactive empirical approach I will resort to artwork and collaborative art projects with the children themselves. This material is presented in the DVD which accompanies this dissertation. The DVD was designed in the same fashion providing a more creative approach to the work realized with the children. It turned into a means of connection between the different fragments of each child's life and an encounter space exposing children's singularity.

Finally, this ethnographic research experience and the in-depth theoretical reflections it generated conducted me toward setting a new agenda for research with children. It is based on the specific case study of children in Brazil where classes' segregation need to be overcome through dialogue and educational project aiming at developing critical consciousness at an early age and involving children from different socio-economic backgrounds. But, it goes beyond my case study and it also touches the academic institution. As an academic researcher working with minority groups, I realized that disciplinary boundaries need to be cross and common efforts need to be directed toward the creation of alliances with policies makers and micropolitical activists and notwithstanding the individuals concerned. I believe that it is through common effort and sharing our different skills that sustainable projects can be implemented for a radical and positive transformations of socio-institutions (Section 2.7 and conclusion).

PART-I: THEORIES AND CONCEPTS: CHILDREN'S STATUS PRIOR TO MINORITY GROUP POLITICAL FORMATION AND CURRENT REPRESENTATION

1. Doing Research with Children: A Brazilian Ethnographical Case Study

This research project is based on the empirical data I gathered over the course of a year (2003-2004) of ethnographical fieldwork research conducted in the Northeastern city of Recife in the state of Pernambuco in Brazil. I worked with twenty-five children, eleven girls and fourteen boys from poor, low middle-class and middle-class families. The field research was conducted primarily in educational settings. I worked once a week at Arco-Íris private primary school, Magalhães Bastos public municipal school and Daruê Malungo cultural and literacy centre NGO. I started the research by asking the children what was important to them. From their answers I selected the recurring ones and organized a monthly theme schedule. Each week, the children approached the theme differently; they drew, they told me a story, and I filmed images surrounding the theme. With the material I gathered, I produced a DVD composed of five minutes of images, sounds and drawings for the children who participated most, in terms of time, in the project. I gave a copy of the DVD to each child and to the two schools and centre directors.

I. The Research Inquiries

I organized this ethnographical research setting with the aim of testing and exploring a series of theoretical issues with direct social and political consequences on doing research with children and more broadly with minority groups. The main hypothesis of this research project is to test the ethnographical application of the schizoanalysis concept of post-structuralist philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. The schizoanalysis, or micropolitics, concentrates on individual singularities from minority groups before going back to dominant institutional discourses and practices. I wish to explore how its dynamics can enlighten and transform the interpretation of ethnographical fieldwork experiment.

This research project will concentrate on the singular life narratives, fragments and practices of seven year-old children from the city of Recife, Brazil while considering their interactive grammars (sex, age, gender, class, race and so forth) and their connections towards institutions (family, school, work and social relations). The relevance of this research question is two-fold: firstly in relation to minority groups socio-political definition within existing scholarship and secondly its practical impact as an ethnographical method.

This hypothesis formulation raised a number of subsequent questions both theoretical and related to ethnographical practice. At the theoretical level many disciplines are explored in order to answer these questions. I will first question the place of children in academic works

prior to categorizing children as a minority group. To answer this question I will look at its position within western philosophical history, psychoanalytic interpretative method as well as traditional socialisation and developmental theoretical models. I will also trace back the use of the ethnographical method in cultural/social anthropology and I will do a historical survey of the place of children within the discipline.

The second question is related to minority group formation and its definition within academic and political discourses. I will concentrate on the second wave feminist movement for definition consolidation and implications of/on minority group formation, and its theoretical echoes within children studies in social sciences. These answers will frame the description of the different theoretical positions I subjectively, politically, and ethically accounted for while developing a singular relation with the children I conducted fieldwork research with in Brazil. The development of a symmetrical power relationship between the children and myself will be described through Deleuze's philosophical assistance from the so-called "ontology process".

Finally, these answers will also shape the way I will look at the place of children within Brazilian history and their representation in international media as a minority group through three films and one documentary from Brazil.

II. Fragmented Becoming: A Deleuzian reading of Becoming-Child in Brazil

The ethnography will be presented in accordance with the hypothesis. I will divide out the ethnographical material among the themes the children voiced as being important in their lives. The transformation of schizoanalysis or micropolitics into an ethnographical method directed me towards the creation of a new term corresponding to the merging of this philosophical concept with empirical research. I coined this new term "Fragmented Becoming".

"Fragmented" stands for the temporal instance of a year spent with children. In the first place, it represents the children prior to our encounters. In the second place, it is a direct narrative product of each of our weekly meetings. Finally, in the third place it indicates an idea of future continuity. I also use the word Fragment while considering Nietzsche's eternal return that does not establish a life unity but one of fragments instead; fragmentary life and fragmentary death. In the becomings that we all undergo what is interesting, is the process and the production of different speeds and movements. What I want to stress here is that the child persona is multiple and crossed by all sorts of different lines.

Deleuze (1977: 151-152) defines three types of lines: one would be sedentary, another migrant, and another nomad. The first type of line that composes us is segmental; family-profession; work-holidays; the family and the school and the army and the fabric and the retirement. (...) All sorts of well determined segments that cross us in all senses. They are what Deleuze calls hard segmental lines. There are others which are more supple, the migrant ones. They trace small modifications, detours, falls and flights. There are a lot happening on

this type of line: becomings, micro-becomings that do not have the same rhythm as our story. The hard line of schooling and the supple one making connections, bridging public curriculum and personal desires. And at the same time there is the third type of line which is the strangest and the most complicated (1977: 151-152): this line takes us through our segments, as well as through our thresholds, to an unknown and unpredictable destination. Individuals and groups alike, are made of lines, and these lines are of a very diverse nature. We are fragments of different types of line; of becomings.

I borrowed the definition of the concept of Becoming from Deleuze. It relies on the changes and transformations of assemblage of forces occurring at the present tense and informed by the richness of individual singular experiences and power of affecting each other. Becoming means singularity and differences of the here and now of an event production. I will first present children's singular life narratives. Secondly, for each theme, I will trace back the history of dominant socio-institutional discourses and its punctual consequences in the children's lives. Finally, when appropriate, examples of local micropolitical initiatives will be described.

1.2 CHILDREN'S PLACE WITHIN THE WESTERN PATRIARCHAL PHILOSOPHICAL HISTORY OF COMMUNITIES OF DISCOURSE

One of the strengths of minority group formation today is its ability to radically turn its back on past discourses in order to gain legitimacy and rights to be considered full citizens and active social actors. Deconstruction of patriarchal historical arguments is systematically performed in order to shake knowledge foundation and uncover its unfixed character through time. However, in the case of children, their status as adults on probation is an enduring historical position that to this day still resonates within different academic fields.

The mixture of biological immaturity and physical vulnerability inform western cultural considerations surrounding children's representation and lack of qualities, at different "stage of their cognitive development and education", to be considered as active participants shaping their cultural milieu. In western philosophy, children first appear in the Platonic-Aristotelian theory surrounding the three-fold structure of the self and its vicissitudes (Kennedy, 1999). In the child, the balance between the three dimensions of the self –appetite, will or vivid element, and reason– is ontogenetically unbalanced. For Plato (1961), from all the brutes, it is the more malicious and undisciplined. For this reason, this "creature" needs to be maintained under control.

The unique virtue that children seem to possess is the possibility of being modelled or converted into adults. This process needs a certain kind of education and the *Republic* can be seen as the first educational system in the West. Aristotle and Plato formulations are the first manifestations transformed into a permanent symbolisation in which the child is at the same time deficient and dangerous.

I. Patriarchal Western Founding Thoughts on Children

Aristotle and Plato's formulations reappeared in important treatises on education in the seventeenth century. Children were seen as evil and corrupted and had to be raised with distant, strict and physical directing. James et al. (1998) found the philosophical antecedent of the evil child in the *Leviathan* (1651) of Thomas Hobbes where the monarch's power, or in our case the parents' power is magnanimous. The child is like the populace, not even subjects of the monarch; they exist without any rights or power. The relation between the State and the child has been frequently mediated by the relation between the State and the family. The State authority has historically been projected through the image of the father authority over his sons, especially in the Monarch and Ecclesiastic States.

In the same period, John Locke was concerned with the proper education of young citizens in 1693 tract called *Some Thoughts on Education*. He had previously established his major thesis on cognition and the acquisition of knowledge in *An Essay on Human Understanding* of 1689. In Locke's view there are no innate capacities and no knowledge lodged in a universal human condition. The drives and dispositions that children possess are on a gradient of becoming, moving towards reason (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998).

A little more than half a century later, a number of thinkers (Newbery, 1744, 1756; Watts, 1783) promoted an education based on the child's direct and unproblematic access to objects of the real world, an education which would by-pass the imperfections of language. They took from Rousseau the idea that it is sexuality which most totally sabotages the child's correct use of language and its exact knowledge of the world (Rose, 1984:8).

Gender and Education: The Impact of Jean-Jacques Rousseau

In 1762, Jean-Jacques Rousseau published *Émile, or On Education*. Rousseau's child is seen as innocent with no burden of the original sin and also immanent in as much as it is innately charged with reason, reason which will develop, given the appropriate environment. The novel *Émile* describes at great length the training its hero receives at the hands of his tutor. Émile is to be educated in the country away from the vices (social and sexual) and the discord (civil and political) of the city life. In Rousseau's work, education preserves nature in the child, and it recovers nature through the child (Rose, 1984: 44-45). In the final chapter, Rousseau discusses the upbringing of Sophie, the girl who had been trained to be Émile's perfect companion. Rousseau's ideas about natural virtues and gender complementarity did not remain limited to philosophical treatises but were widespread in children's books, such as *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes* and *The History of Standford and Merton* (Thomas Day, 1783-9). In these books, poor children with a simple education invariably turn out to be more heroic and virtuous than their sophisticated social superiors- and in novels- in which

poor but moral young women maintain their sexual purity and eventually marry someone better than the rake who has been trying to seduce them. In Rousseau's (1776, vol. IV:5) view:

In the union of the sexes each contributes to the common aim, but not in the same way. From this diversity arises the first assignable difference in the moral relations of the two sexes. One ought to be active and strong, the other passive and weak. One must necessarily have will and be able; it suffices that the other put up little resistance.

For Rousseau, it was part of the order of nature that the woman obeyed the man. In *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, published in 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft wrote in response to both Rousseau and the ideas of the French Revolution:

To render mankind more virtuous, and happier of course, both sexes must act from the same principles; but how can that be expected when only one is allowed to see the reasonableness of it? To render also the social compact truly equitable, and in order to spread those enlightening principles, which alone can ameliorate the fate of man, women must be allowed to found their virtue on knowledge, which scarcely possible unless they be educated by the same pursuits as men (pp. 293-294).

Wollstonecraft understood that children's education needed to be the same for both boys and girls in order for the latter of the two to acquire the same knowledge and thus become their social equal. In Rousseau's views, only young boys should be granted an education leading to active participation in the society thus reinforcing girls clustering in the household. Rousseau's philosophical ideas and practices, as the ones of his followers Pestalozzi, Maria Edgeworth, Froebel, Bronson Alcott and Montessori (among others of the same period) lead to major changes in the organisation of the social and the family in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Foremost, gender division between active/passive, public/private, superior/inferior qualities and social value were couched in natural and biological ontology. It fostered the division between man and woman and encouraged binary oppositions cementing in turn patriarchal discourse and silencing women's voices and active social participation. The first and second women's movements struggles had direct impact on women's access to primary and higher education.

II. The Legacy of the Creation of Social Sciences

Foucault's (1970) archaeology of the human sciences provides the theoretical groundwork, through the power of discourse, for the emergence of a new system from Classical to Modern thoughts. As we have seen with Locke and Hobbes, in the seventeenth century, classical thoughts are connected to the monarchic system in place where the motley mass is subjected to the King: direct representation of God and his magnanimous and celestial powers. Man started to exist with the emergence of the State and with it the creation of the social sciences. Rousseau's ideas concerning the upbringing of children can be seen as an element of this transition from children being seen as evil, dangerous, and corrupted to being

considered as innocents in whom proper education will awaken reasoning faculties and develop them.

Classical *discourse*, in which being and representation found their common locus, was eclipsed when natural history becomes biology, when the analysis of wealth becomes economics, when, above all, reflections upon language becomes philology. In the profound upheaval of such an archaeological mutation, man appears in his ambiguous position as an object of knowledge and as a subject that knows: enslaved sovereign, observed spectator, he appears in the place belonging to the king (Foucault, 1970: 312).

Foucault sees this shift within the realm of knowledge as the positivist analytic of finitude. As it stands, this idea of finitude and the Same where Difference is Identity will give way to the creation of numbers of new disciplines, extension of biology, economics and philology; intellectual reflection on life, labour and language. The social sciences are going to borrow their conceptual models from these three fields of knowledge and organise them in three pairs: function and norm, conflict and rule, signification and system constituting the entire domain of what can be known about man. Linguistics, Anthropology, Psychology, Psychoanalysis, Sociology and History were all based on these models.

The human sciences are not, then, an analysis of what man is by nature; but rather an analysis of what man is in his positivity (living, speaking, labouring being) to what enables this same being to know (or seek to know) what life is, in what essence of labour and its laws consist, and in what way he is able to speak (Foucault, 1970: 353).

On the one hand, social sciences' foundation was shaky since its creation. Whether they can be considered as "proper" sciences is a debate that will have to be left aside here. On the other hand, although its object of study, Man, can be investigated as long as one is alive, it does not prevent social scientists to investigate this life in order to propose and reflect on the different possibilities of understanding and transforming human life. In a way, it does render human infinity since none can be said on him//she as being an absolute truth, in terms of pattern or model, which in fact pay respect to human unpredictability.

III. Controlling the Child: Repressing Individual Desires and Creativity

Within Modern societies, the innocent child definition needed to be well circumscribed in order to make a clear distinction between processes of acquisition and the knowing subject. Chronological age, pubescence or maturity as developmental factors, became the arguments to extend the duration of the infancy in time (Wartofsky, 1999).

The duration of the infancy is intertwined with the changes and the State postures occurring all along the capitalist period. Two important components for Wartofsky (1999) are present: first, obligatory education or more precisely the State exigency over obligatory education superposing itself on parents' authority and other forms of social authority. Second, children's unpaid work started to be considered as part of the so called work free market (as opposed to other traditional or alternative modalities of children's activities in the work sphere). According to Foucault (1979), the school was transformed into a confined space:

jails, schools and hospices dedicated to moral correction and coercion. Like the insane and the criminal the child is seen as a docile body that can be subjugated, used, transformed and improved.

Michel Foucault defined the social and family organisation changes as biopower: this proliferation of political technologies that are going to affect the body, the health, the ways of feeding and housing ourselves, and the life conditions in European countries from the eighteenth century onward. Using Foucault's ideas of power, Jacques Donzelot (1977) describes the different changes that the French family has faced since the eighteenth century and how these changes occurred through the State and the creation of the *Social*, or more specifically, the creation of a complex psychopedagogic apparatus and psychoanalysis. These new sciences were going to mark the study of childhood for more than a century. Their foundation did not represent entirely a new theoretical turn but a continuity with previous biological and philosophical theories.

There is an ideological continuum between Plato's and Aristotle's three-fold structure of the self, Hobbes', Locke's and Rousseau's ideas on education, Freud's psychoanalytical theories, and Piaget's developmental ideas. These ideas were created and/or recycled under the yoke, and at the service of, the patriarchal system of thoughts and worked at the consolidation of its logic and coherence albeit full of contradictions and inconsistencies. Consequently, women and children's differences were negatively judged, knowledge production favoured the characteristics that make them different from men and thus within a logic of sameness, inferior beings.

Freudian Psychoanalysis: The Child is the Voice of the Neurosis

S'il n'y a pas d'autres moi, il n'y a pas de moi.
Tchouang-tseu

The three-fold structure of the self from Plato and Aristotle -appetite, will or vivid element, and reason- does not stand as an indication of a plural self, but can be read as a structural community of functions, in which the achievement of adult condition shows that the parts reach a normative balance, organizing the "elements with affinities together, adjusting the tension of each of them to the right intensity"². This metaphor according to Kennedy (1999) was in accordance with the western philosophy and attracted followers in Freud's and Erikson's theory formulations in the twentieth century.

The unity of the self is obtained through the eternal vigilance of the reason over appetites and will. It is the product of constant auto-examination, readjustment, and auto-discipline. The frame is complicated by the importance given to ambivalence. According to Kennedy (1999), for Freud when "civilised", the child represents the voice of the neurosis. The neurotic refuses to let go of childhood demands, which are the possibilities of an indivisible world. The adult that gives privilege to his/her "child" becomes puerile, meaning,

² *The Republic of Plato*. Trad. De F. M. Cornford, London: Oxford University Press, 1941, p.102

“uncivilised”. The proper possibility of civilisation is based on repression. At certain moments, Freud defined psychoanalysis as “an education prolongation aimed at getting over childhood residues” (Freud, 1957:48). Here, the child is still considered dangerous and unfinished.

On the one hand, Freud sees the child merely as a miniature version of what our sexuality eventually comes to be (Rose, 1984:4). His discovery of the unconscious gave way to the idea of indistinct repetition: “His patients had long since been compulsively repeating unpleasant situations from their past; like everyone else, Freud knew of the “uncanny” sensation of a fate that forces one, albeit unconsciously, into the same position time and again” (Mitchell, 1974:389). On the other hand, the nuclear bourgeois family became the site of the full expression of the Patriarchal Oedipus complex and by extension the laboratory of initial gender subject construction.

The historical sequence is taken from Rousseau’s complementary educational ideas on what ought to be masculinity and femininity to the Freudian Oedipal complex impotency expressed in the gender role division of the nuclear household. Claude Lévi-Strauss (1949) stressed in *Les Structures de la Parenté* that Patriarchal society originated through the implementation of the incest taboo which gave way to exogamous alliances and clan relations through the exchange of women (daughters and sisters). Kinship structural relations are taking place between families and not within the family. For Mitchell (1974) this last fact highlighted the misconstrued belief in a natural nuclear family and of the Oedipus complex being reduced to it within the capitalist system. The Freudian psychoanalytical concept of the family is organized around external repression and prohibition -between the child and its parents and between siblings- with the incest taboo. According to Ross (2005), the unconscious (or the id) within the psychic apparatus (unconscious, pre-conscious and conscious and later id, ego, superego) refers to the accretion of instinctual drives that are repressed by the individual in the process of adaptation to social demands.

Traditional Socialisation and Developmental Theoretical Models: A Process with a Beginning and an End

Thus the child’s position is one of developmental becoming. “Becoming” in psychological terms, refers to what I have been describing so far concerning this idea that children are unfinished adults. In this intellectual tradition, “becoming” is associated with a linear, chronological and evolutionary conception of one’s self-lifetime and development. Many socialisation and developmental models are seen as common sense by most people and by many academics in western society. Philosophers’ premises about rationality and autonomy have strongly influenced cognitive and moral psychology and medical ethics. As Alderson rightly describes it, Freud’s work (1914) on the “narcissistic infant” was continued by Piaget (1932) on the “egocentric child”, Erikson (1971) on the adolescent’s need for isolation (in order to become conscious of one’s ego, it is necessary to liberate oneself from the thought and will of others) and Kohlberg (1981) on the goal of impersonal morality.

Looking at the literature concerned with Children studies as a whole, from the 1990's onwards, most of the criticism from authors working with children centered around Piaget's developmental stages theories. These authors deconstruct socialisation and cognitive theories in order to liberate children from developmental linearity. For Bryant (1974), Donaldson (1978), Harris (1983), Short, (1994) and Alderson (1994), some of Piaget's studies did not make any sense to children; for they dealt with subject matter which was unfamiliar and largely meaningless to them. Furthermore, in designing dull, repetitive tests, Piaget could not appreciate the child's viewpoint. Piaget failed to grasp the extent to which data collected in one context cannot be generalized for others. For Short (1988; 1991) it is in part why the belief that children have a limited comprehension of controversial issues persists, for developmental psychologists have frequently underestimated children's abilities to understand complex social issues. Donaldson (1978) suggested from her research that contrary to Piaget's conclusions on egocentricity, young children, under certain circumstances, can envisage situations from a point of view other than their own. And that what appears to be "faulty" reasoning actually indicates children's ingenious attempts to create sensible meanings for what are, to them, nonsensical situations and contexts (Woodhead and Faulkner, 2000).

The basic vision behind child psychology research and practice had been that of a sequence of ordered developmental stages through which children progress at certain ages. In Wartosky's (1999) views, in any ontogenesis or finalistic developmental conceptions, the idea is to presuppose an evolution from inferior to superior, from lacking to acquiring and from less complete to complete. Any developmental notion includes an idea of accumulation. The research of Piaget was inspired by his academic formation in biology more specifically in comparative and evolutionary zoology that focused on discovering trans-cultural and trans-historic invariants in cognitive development, where developmental stages are deeply rooted in universal capacities of motor, perceptive and language activities. What Piaget (1929) named "realism", "participation", "artificiality", "finality", "animism" and "egocentrism" correspond to the general lines of social psychology and are rooted in a geocentric vision of the world.

Modern Western Patriarchal Definition of a Child

It is based on that geocentric vision of the world and patriarchal historical continuity that the modern universal model of childhood was defined. The definition encompasses the idea that since the child is an incomplete human, he//she is also seen as innocent, free from responsibility or conflict and dominated by fantasy, play and opportunity (Lansdown, 1994); immature, irrational, incompetent, passive, weak, vulnerable, powerless and helpless (Theis, 2001); imitative, conservative, and accepting adult socialisation practices, incapable of imagination, creativity, strategy, and agency (Schwartzman, 2001). Within that logic, it is a miracle that adults, more specifically *men* can actually evolve into the exact opposite of all these characteristics.

More importantly, this tradition of thoughts that left the child at the complete mercy of adult control and power gave way to a systematic deconstruction of this vision of the child: the creation of a social science discipline theoretically grounded on new assumptions. The

creation of Children's studies borrowed theoretical ideas from sociology, anthropology, post-structural philosophy, women's studies and cultural studies. From anthropology, the ethnographical method was adopted as the basis for the development of a new relational approach with children. But what is the history of the ethnographical method in cultural/social anthropology and what is the place of children within the history of the discipline? The next section will answer these two questions.

1.3 CULTURAL/SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND CHILDREN

Amongst the disciplines created to investigate everything that can be known about Man, Anthropology stands as the discipline that defined itself through four different fields of inquiry. Superficially, Archaeology concentrates on past societies and civilisations organisations; Primatology works on primates' social organisation and behaviours; Linguistics investigates past and present languages and their symbolic contents and cultural influences. Finally, in the early days of its practice, Ethnology or Cultural/Social anthropology researched Native's societies' cultural knowledge and organisation; it later extended its inquiries to cultural and social diversity of any given society.

I. The Ethnographic Method

The ethnographic method was developed as a tool that aimed at gathering facts and documents explaining the complexity of the society studied. The ethnographer stood as the witness to and conveyer of particular cultural information. The ethnographical knowledge was first directed towards Western academy and the ethnographical product did not return to the people studied. In fact, it illustrated the idea of "white" knowledge supremacy. However, with countries' colonial independence, national academic development, mass-communication circulation, and different anthropologist's going to the same fieldwork sites, a more direct confrontation between the anthropologist knowledge authority and the people with whom he/she worked came to the fore. These new circumstances opened up a debate surrounding ethnographical exercises and consequences.

How to name the Other?

The crises in anthropology regarding informants' positions touched many aspects of ethnographic work. It is through the writing or ethnographical text that asymmetrical power relations were/are reflected; whether by looking at the researcher as an intruder in another culture; what it means to study his/her own culture; the subjectivity of the anthropologist, or regarding the role of the collaborators (Marcus, 1998; Strathern, Carneiro da Cunha, Descola, Afonso and Harvey, 1998; Okeley, 1996; Van Maanen, 1988). The problematic of the "other" is well known in anthropology, and today the tendency is to conceptualise the "other" as both the researcher and the research colleagues.

Many strategies have been developed to include “informants” in the research process, in the writing: by giving the transcript of the interview and reflecting together on what has been said, by presenting the verbatim in the monograph, and by putting forth the relation of power between the anthropologist and the informants. Feminist anthropologists, by introducing gender as a category of analysis, changed the face and structures of many monographs. Women’s lives have been depicted through their life-stories, highlighting the richness of the particular and its connections to the different spheres of life.

In the 1960s, ethnographies depicted cultures as different from one another. At the same time, they were considered internally homogeneous. One of the contributions of feminist anthropology at the ethnographic level, was to present the life-stories of a few informants and connect them to the general organisation of the community and culture. Rather than representing a group of people in the global sense, ethnographic work or fieldwork research is known today for its ability to represent what I will call “a fragmented instance”, a moment in time, of several months or years that the researcher spends with a group of people during which he//she shares their daily lives and daily dramas.

But it would be a lure to think that the writing culture debate is over. The main reason for it is that patriarchal dominant knowledge remains the basis for the educational structure transmission of knowledge and western anthropologists’ privilege dominant position is still in place. Doing research at “home” is one thing independently of the country but anthropologists from poor countries coming to study Western cultures is a scarce practice. The Ugandan ethnomusicologist Sylvia Nannyonga-Tamusuza did fieldwork research in Norway in 2005 in order to study the African dance phenomenon. She calls her practice “anthropology in reverse”

-the dominated studies the dominant- and explains that it is unusual and that we ought to have more of it (see Amundsen, 2005:46-47). Anthropology in reverse sounds to me as the application of dominant knowledge tradition practised by academic researchers from poor countries; the question is whether it criticises dominant knowledge foundation or only reversibly applies it.

Asymmetrical power relations are not easily by-passed especially within an enduring patriarchal system. The only way to go beyond it lies in a theoretical rupture and the creation of new grounds for power relation definitions. This is particularly important in order to ethically account for real changes and transformations in the rapport between researcher and research colleagues. More specifically, when working with minority groups that often are still struggling for a civic and political access, children are a case in point.

The place of Children in Anthropology

In Anthropology, the place of children in research takes the shades of the different theoretical historical trends within the discipline. Schwartzman (2001) looked at the *American Anthropologist* from 1898 to 1998, surveying research involving children and how they are studied. The first research on children presented at the beginning of the twentieth century was concerned with measurement, testing, questioning, collecting, and comparing -a direct legacy

of biology. Early in the last century, articles were produced by students of Franz Boas (e.g., Spier, 1918; Sullivan, 1917; Wissler, 1903) who were following the historical particularistic tradition, where the concerns were mainly about collecting, describing, salvaging, and preserving the artifacts, traditions, and customs of various “primitive” groups, especially Native American groups (Schwartzman, 2001).

When doing research with “natives”, anthropologists wrote mainly about social, cultural, political, economical, kinship and religious organisations of the tribe; they provided detailed descriptions of the natives’ lives in general. Children were always found somewhere in the monographs, especially when rituals of passage from one social status to another were present in the tribe; however, they were rarely the focus of the study. While different fields of study were created with the emergence of social sciences, concepts and ideas circulated between them and were reinterpreted as they applied each discipline.

While the encounter between anthropology and psychoanalysis can be traced back to the 1920s (Singer, 1961), but reached its peak in the 1940s and 1950s with Culture and Personality studies (Schwartzman, 2001). Until the 1970s, under the influences of psychology and psychoanalysis, western anthropology tended to see children as pre-rational or at a pre-adult stage. In cultural/social anthropology a space was created for what was coined ethnopsychiatry (1952) and later ethnopsychology (1970). For the worst and the best, western ethnocentric conceptions of individual conscious and unconscious characteristics were applied to non-western groups of people. This universal application rapidly showed that there were too many differences between individuals of different cultures to straightforwardly apply psychoanalytical and psychological concepts without any cultural relativism. However, the conception of children was highly influenced by psychoanalysis and in general, from the 1970s until the 1990s, when young people were studied, it was through the adult lens and as passive receptacles of their culture. The interest in children did increase, though research on children did not gain complete legitimacy.

From the 1920s until the 1990s, it appears that once every decade a few anthropologists raised the importance of considering children as main informants in their own right but without concretely setting a research agenda. It is understandable since the dominant discourse about children was that they were in the process of becoming complete which made them unreliable informants. Margaret Mead in the 1930s was one of the first to concentrate on young people’s lives in the Samoa Islands. However, her research was informed by the emerging Culture and Personality theoretical concepts borrowed from psychoanalysis. Goodman (1957) did highlight the importance of recording children’s perceptions and ideas on their society and culture but she based her assumptions on the idea that children were less biased than adults because of their naiveté. Hardman (1973), on the other hand, did consider children as people with enough autonomy to be considered as full participants.

What is the Matter with Chronological Age?

The first step in order to consider children as full participants in the making of their culture was to put forth how relative developmental stages are. Since the beginning of

western industrialisation and urbanisation (Kessen, 1979; Levine & White, 1986; Nieuwenhuys, 1994) chronological age has gained tremendous importance with regard to the universal definition of childhood, mainly in order to differentiate between immaturity and maturity. Current age hierarchies are couched in the modernist paradigm of chronological and quantifiable time and are founded on values that privilege the notion of the “march to progress” (Novotny, 1994). In fact, age is a parameter that is arbitrarily placed. Chronological age, pubescence or maturity as developmental factors were not found in other cultures. Among the Chewong of the Malay peninsula (Howell, 1987) for example, adulthood must be achieved rather than simply reached: the birth of a child signals the attainment of adulthood. Prout and James (1990) emphasise that the immaturity of children is a biological fact of life, but the ways in which this immaturity is understood and made meaningful is a fact of culture. Understandably, chronological age appeared as a social construct. Nieuwenhuys (1994) highlights that many societies do not have a word to designate a person between, say, five and fifteen, the word “child” designating kin-relationship and not biological age. She underlines that in other societies biological age is far less relevant than, for instance, the attainment of stages of biological maturity which are considered important milestones in the life of an individual.

Qvortrup (1994) argues that western contemporary childhood is the life-space that our culture limits it to be, in its definitions throughout the courts, the school, the family and the economy. Childhood, argues Mayall et al. (1994), is not experienced as one consistent set of relationships; rather its character in time and place is modified by adult understandings in those times and places of what children are, and what adult relationships with children are proper. Thus, although the expectations and competencies of age may be thought to be generationally specific, at any point in time they turn out to be individually momentarily negotiable (James, et al., 1998). For Theis (2001) there is no rigid barrier between childhood and adulthood, only a lifelong path through economic and social changes.

1.4 THE EMERGENCE OF CHILDREN AS MINORITY GROUP

*Chaque individu est unique et chaque individu
est comme de nombreux individus qu'il ne connaît pas.*
Octavio Paz

Cultural relativism was the beginning of a more in-depth questioning of the place of children within western history and the premises for a systematic deconstruction of the patriarchal dominant community of discourse. The second wave feminist movement that began in approximately 1968 led the basis for minority group formation and socio-political struggle organisation. Punctual and strong historical intervention from women, like Mary Wollstonecraft for instance, aimed at redressing a process that reinforced women's submission and rejection from civic and political spheres. Unsurprisingly, these interventions were not welcome or taken into account for it would have meant an important criticism of the patriarchal system and the beginning of its revision. At the beginning of the twentieth century the first-wave feminist movement saw their effort turn into reality with the right to vote. But, women's historical position within western society since the Enlightenment shared many

characteristics with children's status, and knowledge produced by the second wave feminist movement gave me valuable theoretical and methodological tools to rethink children's minority group formation.

I. From Women's Studies to Children's Studies

The idea of oppression and subordination can repeat itself infinitely while the actual experience of a minority group will be a singular event and a different reality. For example, for Engels, monogamous marriage, inheritance and the first class oppression coincided with civilisation. The implementation of Patriarchy and men's sole position within active public roles produced an androcentric written history. More practically, patriarchy installed the social dichotomy of public/private that left women in two subordinate roles. On the one hand, women were excluded from the civil society and on the other hand, they were made dependent on men's wealth to run the household.

Rousseau and Enlightenment philosophers were the authors of the new civil contract in promoting complementary ideas on gender roles and sexuality were promoted. Binar's couples like masculinity/femininity, public/private, and reason/emotion cemented women's position as subordinate for more than a century. It gave way to important women's criticism from Mary Wollstonecraft and first wave feminists. While Rousseau wrote about women's virtue as reproducers of the human species, women were actually starting to write down their own history of struggles to gain recognition of their rights to an active existence.

A variety of authors put forward the many parallels between the idea of oppression and the subordination of women and children (Brannen, 1999; Yelland, 1998; Farrell, 1998; Caputo, 1995; Oakley, 1994; Lansdown, 1994; Alanen, 1994, 1999; Nieuwenhuys, 1994). I will summarise Oakley (1994) and Alanen's (1999) arguments on the parallels with and the differences between women's and children's oppression and subordination. Their arguments are integral to minority formation and more specifically to the consideration of children as a category and a minority group. From the nineteenth century Enlightenment onward, women and children were considered as one group, basically because women were seen as less mature than male adults. Women have been described as more childlike than men (Rosenkrantz and al., 1968; Boverman and al., 1970), the latter were attributed gender personality qualities such as independence, rationality, intelligence, autonomy, and confidence. The cultural gender dichotomy of public/private portrays men working outside, having control over the household flux of money, while women and children are secured at home, far from the danger of the street. Qvortrup and Christoffersen (1990) expressed this situation in terms of temporal and spatial restriction, saying that women and children are generally more likely to suffer deprivation. Within this relation of dependency, women are more likely to live in poverty than men, and children are more likely to live in poverty than adults (Oakley, 1994). In this situation, both women and children are seen as social problems that appear to have no solutions since both sides of the coins are negative. For example (Oakley, 1994), the sexually active or the frigid women, the educated or the uneducated, the working or the idle. In the case of children whose mental health may be threatened by

parental divorce or separation or by its opposite, those in care who are not cared for, and those at home who might not be, and so forth.

Women's and Children's Civil Rights

In a society that is dominated by white heterosexual men, women and children are disadvantaged citizens. Before the political organisation of women, men were making decisions on their behalf. In the case of children, it is still the case. Rousseau's ideas on education perpetuated children's exclusion from the civic and political spheres of society. In this sense, the awakening to complex socio-political issues is not favoured during childhood. In general in western society, the development of a critical consciousness emerges during teen years; a radical rejection of social values occurs first before more sensitive reflection takes place, which does not necessarily lead to enlightened choices. While women's access to education was limited the kind which prepared them for household tenure, their political organisation relied on their initiatives of going beyond it. They forced the access to the patriarchal sphere of knowledge in order to fight their power on the same ground by putting forth the inconsistencies of their logic of thoughts.

At the beginning of the twentieth century women won a first battle by gaining the right to vote; at the same time, those who witnessed the suffering of children in the First World War helped lay the foundation for universal standard of childhood. In 1924, The Declaration of the Rights of the Child was ratified. The following five points were adopted³: "First, the child must be given the means requisite for its normal development, both materially and spiritually. Second, the child that is hungry must be fed, the child that is sick must be helped, the child that is backward must be helped, the delinquent child must be reclaimed, and the orphan and the waif must be sheltered and succoured. Third, the child must be the first to receive relief in times of distress. Fourth, the child must be put in a position to earn a livelihood, and must be protected against every form of exploitation. Fifth, the child must be brought up in the consciousness that its talents must be devoted to the service of its fellow men".

Considering the historical environment when this first declaration was adopted, children were associated with the idea of innocence, free from responsibility or conflict, and dominated by fantasy, play and opportunity; they were deemed immature, irrational, passive, weak, vulnerable, powerless and helpless, imitative, conservative, and accepting of adult socialisation practices. On the other hand, the fourth point underscores that children should be responsible for earning a living. Children's labour has been condemned since then but this first Declaration might be more adjust to non-Western cultures. On the contrary, for women, their access to politics meant at least that they were now considered responsible, mature and rational enough to actively participate in elections for the nation's representatives. This gain mobilised a growing number of women, and formed the basis for the second wave feminist movement organisation.

³ <http://www.arabhumanrights.org/cbased/ga/geneva-child-declaration23e.html>

The Second Wave Feminist Movement and its Positive Consequences in Theorising Childhood

In the late 1960s, one of the primary tenets of the second feminist movement was to dissociate women from children, for as I have just described the association was very powerful as a status. “Women becomes in her nineteenth-century designation, “the sex”. Hers is the sphere of reproduction. This is the place of all women in patriarchal culture” (Mitchell, 1974). The sphere of reproduction lumped women and children together and confounded them as similar in the eyes of patriarchal culture. The radical feminist Shulamith Firestone (1972) was one of the few to recognise the similarities between women’s and children’s oppressions.

Firestone’s radical voice was unique within this second wave feminist movement which was, by and large, the domain of liberal feminists who were fighting for a legal system that would acknowledge women’s voices. During the 1970’s and 1980’s women fought for their civil rights, for equal economical and social opportunities. This struggle touched education and promoted a co-educational system. It intervened within the spheres of reproduction and sexuality, putting forth women’s rights to control their bodies. Socialist feminists deconstructed the private sphere connected to gender as sub-class oppression of class conflicts in order to empower women with the authority to decide how to combine work and motherhood and the right to choose whether or not to have children. The second wave feminist movement was not unified, and it soon emerged that those women voicing the interests of all women were white, middle-class, academic, heterosexual women. Their political project did not correspond to the multiple realities, experiences and practices of the majority of women.

Early criticism of the second wave feminist movement in the United States came from the lesbian movement and the black African American women’s movement, both of which brought to the fore the lack of recognition of women’s differences. It is one thing to theorise about human subjects, yet it is another to account for their lived experiences. Interestingly, Juliet Mitchell (2000:xxii) in her new introduction to *Psychoanalysis and Feminism* (1974) puts it the other way around saying that “the search in those days of early second-wave feminism was for what qualities women had in common across the many huge divides of class, race, ethnicity, family ties... The question was: What differentiates women, not from each other, but from men?” It is through political and social struggles that individuals gathered as common social identities, forming minority groups such as black Americans and gay and lesbian Americans. Within these minority groups, women made a point of underlying their singularities of lived experiences as black women and as lesbians in patriarchal society and forced their way, making it imperative for the feminist movement to forge alliances with other women minorities’ groups. The second wave acts as a conveyer for other minority’s voices to be heard. We talk today about feminism(s) and about sub-cultures it depends on the standpoints, theories, locations and practices, where the dominant or hegemonic culture is described in opposition to a transgressive, resistant, marginal, silenced group of people.

II. Children as a Minority Group?

With respect to children, we know very few children's political minority groups initiated by children themselves, other than "Street Children" in Brazil (Scheper-Hughes & Hoffman, 1998) and children of gay and lesbian couples who march with their parents every year at the San Francisco Gay and Lesbian pride, to show their solidarity toward their parents' sexual orientation choice. They also are vying for respect and integrity within schools and society. Within institutional regimes (family, school, professions that work with children) children's pseudo-inclusion is observed instead of their positioning as active actors within these spheres. For Alanen (1999) the sociological conceptual practices have been responsible for this mistake. More specifically, with regard to the concept of socialisation that was understood and still often is described children as non-social, not-yet-social, in-becoming social beings, meaning on the margins.

Just like women in the past, the representation or the non-representation of children within the sciences has been subjected to rigorous questionings. In the case of children, their repositioning and re-localisation has not been studied for more than fifteen years. The history of knowledge in the field of social sciences has been one that asks and answers men's questions that arose frequently from the desires to ignore, control, exploit or manipulate women while glorifying masculine forms, all the while understanding women as different in a inferior sense or as deviant (Harding, 1987). As for children, Prout (1990) notes a crisis by the 1970s in the sociology of childhood, when the media coverage of children's experiences clashed with western conception of childhood. Images of children working, or with important responsibility within the household were counter challenged the notion of children as inhabitants of world of fantasy, innocence, where they are protected from reality.

One way of reintegrating children within the social sciences' field of knowledge is by defining the term socialisation differently. According to Giddens (1979:130), socialisation is the succession of generations, the process that secures the continuity and the permanence of changes –collective and individual. In this sense, socialisation refers to the succession of changes that happen within human exchanges giving way to new generations, new societies and new subjectivities. To socialise oneself in Giddens' definition does not mean incorporating the child in the society where he//she lives but defining any human action as individual and collective production and reproduction. Nonetheless, the institutions in place in a society reflect its history, its continuity or its changes and are intertwined with the state apparatus since the sixteenth century (Foucault, 1982). Thus, the influences of institutional power have to be taken into account as a sort of background or frame in which children experience and create their own life trajectories.

Children Studies Theoretical Models

Since the 1970s a growing number of researchers have started to formulate new approaches and methods concerning empirical research with children. These different models represent the evolution of Children Studies and the current academic theoretical landscape. James, Jenks and Prout (1998) distinguish between the *Tribal child*, the *Minority group child*,

the *Social Structural child* and the *Socially Constructed child*. The Tribal child model that can be compared with the first research conducted on Natives in the Americas, was developed in the 1970s by the Opies and was further developed by Mayall (1994), who states that children have their own cultural universe, ideas and practices that are not accessible to adults; it is only by entering the world of the child that the researcher can disentangle and render the complexity of the child's world on his/her own terms. As James, Jenks and Prout (1998) caution, on the child's side of the equation a successful entrance into their tribal folkways inevitably brings the threat of increased strategies of control and restoration of the power relation. One of the positive contributions of the Minority group child (Oakley, 1994 and Alanen, 1994, 1999,) is that in many ways children are not seen as different from adults. They are considered as active subjects which in turn do facilitate a more enlightened analysis of children and work or children and sexuality, for example.

On the other hand, standpoint epistemologies are being forged on behalf of the child. In the model of the Social Structural Child defended by Qvortrup (1994) and Fronès (1994), children are seen as a universal category, and differences emerge depending upon the particular social structures they live in. This model proposes a vision of children sharing common characteristics when living in the same location, in the same economic and social class at a specific period in time. Following this approach the child is completely dependant upon the constraints of the institutional arrangements in place in his/her society. In both notions of the Tribal and of the Social Structural Child, the agency of children is recognized. However, their voices are covered up by adults who are representing them, or they are dependent on the social structures surrounding them. As for the Minority group child, its practical impacts in terms of children's rights and more direct participation in society, would be greater if it was children themselves who formulated what they thought was important for their life's bettering and sustainability.

The Socially Constructed Child

The Socially Constructed Child developed, by Jenks (1982b), Stainton-Rogers et al. (1989), James and Prout (1990) is a theoretical model and empirical practice that I used and applied within this research with children. The main features of their model share women's studies theories of the subject women and cultural anthropology's ethic of the subject. It is a way of conducting research that pays respect to human diversity and difference(s) as the positivity of differences (Braidotti, 2002).

In the first place childhood is viewed as a social construct, which gives the researcher the possibility to move away from the universal model and locate childhood reality in the cultural framework germane to his/her work. They use discourse theory to demonstrate that the notion of childhood is a discursive formation within which different types of children. In the second place, childhood is considered as a variable of analysis that cannot be isolated from other social and cultural aspects, such as ethnicity, race, class, gender, and also age and sex. As Christensen (forthcoming) observes, "childhood" in and of itself is not an analytic category; it is an empirical phenomenon which is "in need of" analysis. Finally, childhood and children's social relationships and their cultures are worthy of study in their own right.

Children are seen as active, reflective, meaning-producing (Caputo, 1995) agents and beings. They must be seen as actively involved in the construction of their own social lives, the lives of those around them, and of the societies in which they live (James & Prout, 1990). The work of the authors mentioned above focuses on questions of social construction, subjectivity, and authenticity in examining the role of children as active, meaning-producing beings (Caputo, 1995).

Children's activities, experiences, values, and opinions should be viewed as key to the study of childhood, rather than peripheral. The implications of such a theoretical paradigm, where children are central, are important. First, what traditional studies of socialisation left aside -such as resistance, ambiguity, confusion, reinterpretation and imagination- are all new areas of investigation that see children as competent and active agents in the societies in which they live. By letting children speak for themselves, a clearer distinction can be made between institutional influences and children's reflections, and these values can be reinterpreted. In my own fieldwork, these distinctions were clearly in play, the contrast between behaviours and what children told me, at home and at school, were observed. Finally, childhood diversity considers the infinite varieties of the social contexts in which children live, leading to a deconstruction of childhood's conventional, singular and reductive form (James et al., 1998).

The Socially Constructed Child brings to the fore the idea of a symmetrical power relation. Freudian psychoanalysis, traditional socialisation and developmental theories are in continuity with the philosophical ideas that defined the child as an unfinished adult -as dangerous and in need of monitoring and rigid education. It is only by repressing the child's desires and creativity that a mature adult will emerge. Within this framework, the child is inaccessible as a thinking subject.

While the Declaration of the Rights of the Child is an important step in the consideration of children's welfare, it would be hasty to assume that through adult's well-intentioned care, children became a minority group, more specifically a western minority group. In my view, a minority group is comprised of individual's voices. Furthermore, the minority group is formed by people who define the socio-political agenda they want to struggle for through an important criticism of the existing system of thoughts. They act in order to gain legitimate access to civil rights and impose social institutional structures according to their needs and situations. Patriarchal society denies children the rights of autonomy and responsibility. The educational system is impregnated with the idea that children need to be socially moulded.

While the first and second waves of the feminist movement represented a collective of women fighting for civil rights and the drastic transformation of the patriarchal definition of "woman", children were not at the forefront of these socio-political demonstrations. While children and women alike were historically oppressed and subjugated, children's situation remains the same. In my view, we are living in a historical context that is going to favour the restoration of children's agency. My first theoretical insight about it is the creation of Children's Studies, and more specifically the creation of the theoretical and empirical

paradigm of the Socially Constructed child, in which researchers's agenda clearly involve children directly as research participants.

This epistemological position necessitated leaving Aristotle, Plato, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Freud and Piaget behind in order to start on completely different theoretical ground. The second wave feminist movement's actions and the rereading of Patriarchal history that led to a unique writing of women's history are important historical moments that rendered possible the actual epistemological position of Children Studies.

Furthermore, the writing culture debate in anthropology and the place of the informant within the research process and aftermath are two fundamental contributions towards the recognition of children agency. The recognition of children's agency in research with children (and I shall return to the definition of agency in the next section), contradicts a dominant western educational system where the child is a passive receptacle of knowledge. The theoretical shifts within the academic milieu are undeniably fundamental, but institutional thinking (State, education, family) often opposes resistance to drastic changes and transformation, which in turn restrains children's potential for having a more direct voice within society. For instance, while conducting fieldwork research I observed that most of the innovative micropolitical initiatives came from non-for-profit organisation, localities' leaders, and research groups –in contrast with the more conservative views on education evident in State and Municipality school settings and the family structure of my research colleagues.

1.5 THE INTERACTIVE GRAMMAR METHOD

The school setting is usually favoured by researchers, as it enables them to work with a fair number of children. In some instances community centres can also be a setting facilitating access to a large group of children. I did not escape from this fieldwork setting. In order to empirically test the possibility of application of the schizoanalysis, I asked how I could best access children from diverse socio-economical backgrounds and expose children's singularities and differences. Minority group formation can be problematic, as it conveys the idea that the individuals pertaining to it share a homogeneous set of characteristics.

What is the meaning of Children as a Minority Group in Brazil?

In Brazil, the children representative of the minority group are poor, while children, as a minority group, should encompass children of diverse economic backgrounds. Western literature, and to a large extent national research, concerned with children in Brazil focuses on the poor segment of child population. My research inquiry focuses on individual differences; in Brazil, socio-economic classes are so segmented that children of different classes have parallel life trajectories that leave very small chances for establishing dialogues during infancy and symmetrical power relations over the course their lives. In this sense prejudicial ideas and stereotypes are forged and generationally reinforced due to a lack of knowledge and dialogue.

The socio-economical segregation of classes starts with children's access to education. Rich, middle-class, and nowadays a certain number of low-middle class children enter the private system of education while the rest attend municipal or state schools. I will go more in-depth in the description of the differences between these educational systems in the ethnographical description, but for now I wish to underline that it is this educational context that inspired my choices of schools such that I would be able to work with children from different socio-economical backgrounds. In Brazil children go to school half of the day. I choose to work in the cultural and literacy centre Daruê Malungo because it was located in a favela. The centre was attended by children going to state and municipal schools in the surrounding neighbourhoods. Many children living in the favela had a very precarious life situations which made them attend school sporadically and, in many cases, spend large periods of time begging or doing small work on the street. The centre acts to a large extent as a place for children to eat a meal, thus countering the need to go on the street to find food. This fieldwork setting allowed me to envision children as a minority group encompassing a wide range of educational institutional differences.

There are two theoretical dynamics in play here. The first one is related to my commitment as a researcher to establishing a symmetrical power relation with children that would give them a space where they could be agents and freely express their thoughts and ideas on themes important to them. The second one is related to the fact favouring and creating this symmetrical relation, did not cause the socio-institutional influences to magically disappear. When children are at school or at the centre, they act differently than when they are playing with their friends outside school, when they are with their family, or when they are on the street. I also wished to go beyond the limitation of the school according to the pedagogical policies in place.

It is the children with whom I worked who made this possible by putting forth themes like the family, the house, the neighbourhood, and friends as being important for them. I thus visited them in these different settings. This is how I could empirically go beyond children's main representation as a minority group both within and outside Brazil, as well as transcend the limitations of the educational institution fieldwork setting.

I. The Question of Difference within the Interactive Grammar Method

While keeping in mind the possibility of the ethnographical application of the schizoanalysis, another question, this time theoretical, emerged. How can individual differences or singularities be defined within empirical research? The schizoanalysis concept brought to light that psychic repression depends on social oppression, which in turn brings me back to the example of the second wave feminist movement -more specifically the question of Difference(s) within the movement and its positive theoretical consequences.

The previous succinct description of the second wave feminist movement in relation to children studies consolidation brings to the fore the question of difference. In the last twenty

years, the question of Difference(s) has been present in many theoretical descriptions, in all academic fields, and has been submitted as something positive or negative, depending on the chosen standpoint. In Women's Studies, if it was necessary to propose the category "woman" as a unified group encompassing all women to make their voices heard in the late sixties, it became clear by the 1990's that marking the differences between woman and man into coupled categories such as biology/sex, culture/gender had come to a dead end (Nicholson, 1998; Haraway, 1991). As Burke (1996) notes the single most important fact in the biological comparisons of the sexes is that there are greater differences within *men as a group*, and within *women as a group*, than there are between men and women. In the last decades biological interpretations have come to be seen as individual social constructs. It appears to be difficult to leave behind binary oppositions in social analysis. Gilles Deleuze (1968, 1988, 1990), and in recent years Rosi Braidotti (1994, 2002), are examples of thinkers who propose a view of the multiples, the nomadic subjects; they deconstruct the single identity into a subject consisting of through different discourses and positions. In this research project, Difference refers to:

the singularity of each individual thing, moment, perception or conception. Such difference is *internal* to a thing or event, implicit in its being that particular. Even if things might be conceived as having shared attributes allowing them to be labelled as being of the same kind, Deleuze's conception of differences seeks to privilege the individual differences between them. Such individuality is, for Deleuze, the primary philosophical fact, so that, rather than theorising how individuals might be grouped, it is more important to explore the specific and unique development or "becoming" of each individual (Stagoll, 2005:73).

Going back to the affirmation that opened up this section, the idea of oppression and subordination can repeat itself infinitely while the actual experience of a minority group will be a singular event and a different reality. Children and women cannot be contained in two homogenous groups. While looking at the second feminist movement, it is easy to trace back the different moments where the category sex/gender has intersected other aspects of the individual such as class, education, race, sexual orientation, ethnicity, religious practices, etc (Lorde, 1979; Mohanty, 1984; Amos et al., 1984; Scott, 1986; hooks, 1994). These different aspects of an individual's subjectivity and personal life are now considered as dimensions that cannot be analysed separately because they form the interactive grammar of the subject. As a consequence of feminist criticism of patriarchal knowledge and reductionism, many other social movements emerged, such as those for sexual minorities, ethnic minorities, post-colonial people, natives and so forth. Ideas of oppression and subordination formed the political backbones of these movements. Each of them questioned the knowledge failures and distorted understanding of race, ethnic group, sexuality, class, and so forth. As in the case of the feminist challenges, these social movements evolved into new fields of critical research, all of them with the objective of disputing existing knowledge and deconstructing it using the particular positioning and lived experiences of its producers.

Genealogically, the term "Interactive Grammar" is traced back to the concept of intersectionality. Social oppression informed race, ethnicity, sex, sexuality, sexual orientation, gender, class, age and so forth. In this sense, individual differences are intertwined with what psychically repressed or emancipated the subject. Interactive grammar appeared as a theoretical tool in order to account for singularities; it facilitates the observation of

complexity and, when empirically applied, a way of clearly seeing the interactive dynamic between institutional thinking and individual strategies and negotiations. As the name implies, interactive grammar works interactively, which means that gender, for instance, is an aspect of the individual that cannot be studied independently of the other dimensions, such as class, age, race, and so forth. I will define these dimensions and relate them to the Brazilian context in which I conducted field research. These dimensions of the individual were apparent, and I experienced their complex dynamic throughout the period I worked with children in the city of Recife.

Gender/Generation Interactive Differences

Surprisingly, research on children often presents them as ungendered persons, whereas women's studies has put forth those ways in which femininity and masculinity are rooted in the gendering of childhood. This state of affairs takes its roots in an adultcentric vision, which does not deconstruct children's innocence, asexual position, or developmental stages' linearity and specific chronology. Gender is a complex category, a social relationship that crosses every type of relations; as a power relationship, it is deconstructed and reconstructed every time it is contested or legitimised. At the same time, gender is a system of representations and interpretations, of definitions of the masculine and the feminine, produced by men and women embodied and socially diversified. Gender is cross by class, ethnicity, race, age, sexual orientation and individual differences. Gender is part of real social practices that consist to classify and organise within a relation of identical/different. It is a contradictory category based on a historical construction of subjective, fictional and bipolarised identities. To understand the gender dynamic, we have to look at the situations of rupture, transgression, and conflict that reveal the logic of sexual differentiation and social diversity. Sex/gender is lived as a system of norms within which social behaviours are differentiated, among others, from individual's sex and who present a stability that does not have individual behaviours. In particular, gender manifests itself in the form of sexual division of labor, relative to space, time and the imaginary. It configures different rights and obligations.

Despite the importance of "getting gender right", children learn to move between, and adopt different gender positions for purposes of strategic advantage. This shifting suggests that the concept of gender identity encompasses multiple relational and reflexive texts and discourses (Volosinov, 1986). For instance, Davies (1989) explains how children use different gender positions when they are in the presence of adults then they do in their absence; positions also may change in the presence of peers. Selection from the multiplicity of available discourses and positions is relative because there are different things at stake in each different situation (Yelland, 1994). Children's imaginative reinterpretations are the one way in which both factual and ideological messages are reworked (Spyrou, 2001).

Within my own fieldwork research in Brazil, the "doing gender" of children observed was link to situations of rupture, transgression, confusion and conflict. I observed that children could not repress easily their sensitivity and its different form of expressions. Children knew what it meant to be a girl or a boy in their society and what behaviours were considered to be

transgressive from these norms. The idea that a boy should be aggressive, strong, and active was difficult to apply in cases of difficult life situations, grief, frustration and pain. The idea that girl should be sweet, gentle, and passive was at odds with what they needed to make sense of their struggle and survive difficult life situations.

The “Doing Gender” of the middle-class children appeared less difficult to accomplish because they lived in less adverse situations and they had more freedom of interpretations at the age of seven. This is not to say that the sex/gender system is different for middle-class children in Brazil –just that I did not observe as many moments of rupture, confusion and transgression. The private school they attended favoured in many instances children sensitivity independently of their gender. Children judged the others’s gender transgression and punished the transgressor by not playing, and keeping their distance, and by insulting him/her implying the child had failed to conform to “doing” gender expectations. The ethnographical description of the second part of the dissertation highlights these moments of rupture for both boys and girls by contextualising their experiences within an interactive grammar perspective.

“Doing gender” can be paralleled with the relations between children and adults within a generational perspective. According to Allanen (1999) in sociological sense, “children” and “adults” are names given to two social categories that are positioned in a relation of generations. It creates a generations system: a social order compose by adult relations towards children, that in turn are subordinate and constraint in the social world in a penetrating and systematic fashion. Children are being taken care of, educated, advised, assisted, supervised and controlled. In agreement with Caputo (1995), age should be considered with other aspects of the individuals, such as ethnicity, class and gender. If one is to undertake research with young people in Western societies it is important to recognise that chronological age is very much rooted in the educational structure where young people are most accessible.

Depending upon the society in which the anthropologist works, age can shape the way people organise their lives. According to Solberg (1996), empirical investigators ought to have the opportunity to explore the significance of age and status within different contexts and situations; to explore the “doing” rather than the “being”. This exploration is fundamental because it refers to an idea of maturity through experiences and its reflections and not developmental stages. Children of seven, each with a unique personality and vision of the world, make sense of their life experiences and circumstances differently. All of them develop mechanisms of affective, emotional survival and social adaptation. These conscious and unconscious efforts are the ones shaping the ways they tell and show me how they think and live. The age of seven defines the grade they were or should be at school, to establish that they mostly lived under adult authority and that they had not yet entered biological puberty. As the result of individual becoming shared themes of interest were regarded as important in the lives of them all.

Race/Class Interactive Differences

The power relation between adults and children can be extended towards the structural power in racial relations. In Northeast Brazil, domestics male/female (though with different job assignments informed by the sex/gender system), in general has a darker skin than their boss, are taking care of, educated, advised, assisted, supervised and controlled. In the middle-class, as the private sphere is the women haven, it is she that supervises the domestics and the children, thus reproducing the exact dominant oppressive relation that she suffers. However, this is slowly changing in Brazil due to the emergence of low-middle class individuals who cannot afford a full time domestic help. Consequently, the domestic who works for these individuals has to work in more than one household to earn a living, thereby escaping complete subjection to one family. In Brazil, everything worked as if race did not exist and that the problem was located in socio-economic class inequality.

In the section on the place of children in the Brazilian society, I will historically locate and describe race power relations in Brazil, but for now I want to suggest that the same forms of power relations between white and black, and thus in the Brazilian context rich and poor, have many features in common with the early days of the post-slavery period. Nowadays in Brazil important strides are being taken towards creating equal opportunities for all, but most of the policies and actions taken by the state reproduce the same kind of power relations as between the rich and the poor or as I just described, between adults and children. The sociologist Paul Gilroy (2000, 2005) works in contemporary England and is interested by in post-colonial race power relations in cosmopolitan western settings. Gilroy (2000) suggests that the only appropriate response in our historical context is to demand liberation from not only white supremacy, however urgently that is required, but from all racializing and racialized thought, from racialized seeings, racialized thinking, and racialized thinking about thinking. I agree with the urgency of these changes of mentalities. But as Gilroy (2000) argues, there is resistance to change on both sides of the power relations. On the one hand, those privileged in the race hierarchy do not want to lose the benefits coming from these power relations.

On the other hand, people who have been subordinated by race-thinking and its distinctive social structures (not all of which come tidily colour-coded) have for centuries employed the concepts and categories of their rulers, owners, and persecutors to resist the destiny that "race" has allocated to them and to dissent from the lowly value it placed upon their lives. Under the most difficult of conditions and from imperfect materials that they surely would not have selected if they had been able to choose, these oppressed groups have built complex traditions of politics, ethics, identity, and culture (Gilroy, 2000:12).

This is particularly true in the case of the city of Recife, and the cultural centre where I worked is a good example. It is along racial ideas lines that the Daruê Malungo built up its positive identity as a leading proponent of solidarity within the community. Their source of pride comes from the cultural particularities of their African ancestors. Everything is based on the pride of being black Brazilian -how they resisted the slavery regime and won their

freedom. Of course they are fully conscious of the resulting power relations and their consequences: misery and hunger.

It is even more complicated in Brazil because the rich white, dominating ones allege that the question is solely economic and has nothing to do with race. The white rich do not want to use the term “race” because they know that their days as slaveholders are not so far behind, and that very little has actually changed. To the white rich, no race means: no guilty feelings, no responsibility, and no need for change. The pursuit of liberation from “race” is an especially urgent matter for those peoples who, like modern blacks in the period after transatlantic slavery, were assigned an inferior position in the enduring hierarchies that raciology creates (Gilroy, 2000:15). In this research project, race is considered as an important dimension of the individual. The reason for it is that if we ignore race, we adopt the view of the dominating group, and before we can start changing something we first have to identify the multi-layered dimensions of social reality. My fieldwork experience in Recife drew attention to the racial and socio-economic power relations expressed within educational, family, and state institutions.

Dis-Alienating Differences

The concept of *relation* is important here. It was one of my goals, before starting the fieldwork, to organise a meeting, in order for the children of the different schools and centre where I worked to actually get to know each other, interact together, and relate to each other. Unfortunately, for reasons I will discuss later on, it couldn't be done. It is through relating to the other that one demystifies prejudices and eventually opens up to share different life experiences and ideas. Otherwise, the other is differentiated through a hermetic and static set of ideas giving way to the other alienation.

The system of differentiations which permits one to act upon the actions of others: differentiations determined by the law or by traditions of status and privilege; economic differences in the appropriation of riches and goods, shifts in the processes of production, linguistic or cultural differences, differences in know-how and competence, and so forth. Every relationship of power puts into operation differentiations which are at the same time its conditions and its results (Foucault, 1982:223).

Here, difference is negatively charged because it is based on an asymmetrical power relation. In order to transform this power relation Fanon (1967) proposes the idea of “dis-alienation”. Fanon's concept of dis-alienation is useful and, in our case, should be applied in the broader sense of restoring human agency. It is something that in many countries women conquered in different spheres of the society. For children, the question about whether they can be considered as active agents is still at stake. A real political social space should be created in order for children to be heard on a number of issues. Adults' researchers opened up debates regarding the treatment of children in the family, in school, and in state's corrective institutions, but we need to let children speak for themselves in order to take action within those spheres. Children need to feel that they are agents of transformation, that what they have to say is taken seriously, and that action will be taken according to their proposals.

Historically, children present favourable theoretical position is also a consequence of the disintegration of modernist segmentation, division, and compartmentalising of disciplines and State, civil and social institutional organisations into postmodernist integration, *bricolage*, *agencement*, connection, plans and ideas. Children become, on the one hand visible with the potential of being recognized as “complete” individuals, and, on the other hand, they join the rank of the excluded. Their status puts them together with women, crazies, deviants and natives, as another minoritarian voice coming out of the patriarchal subjectivity, opening another breach in it. For Harding (1991:311) this voice occupies its place with the “privileged others” of the feminist epistemology who represents our unique hope to dismantle the notion of subjectivity based on domination. Agency, creativity, and subjectivity are core concepts for the conceptualisation and practice of symmetrical power relations and affirmative life. They oriented my reflections and directed them toward a more in-depth exploration of the possible ways for establishing positive relations with the children with whom I worked. The authors I will refer to are examples of thinkers who wished to conceive of the individual differently than the dominant system of thoughts and who created useful concepts that transformed the ways of experimenting with relationships.

1.6 AGENCY, CREATIVITY AND SUBJECTIVITY

I. Action!

The process of restoring human agency which, borrowing Fanon’s words, I termed “dis-alienation”, is intertwined with the interactive grammar of the subject and related to the socio-institutional power in place. On the one hand, the historical cultural practices and legacy keep the subject in an enduring system of values and on the other hand, the historical consolidation of socio-institutional organisation reinforces a patriarchal system of norms and behaviours. In this alienating environment in which the subject is expected to conform, punctual resistances are the marks of the subject actively positioning him//herself to act in his//her own terms. In conceptually liberating the child from psychoanalysis and traditional developmental and socialisation theories, I favoured the socially constructed child that allowed me to create a space defined by agency, creativity and subjectivity.

Following Marx (1971; 1983), Weber (1969; 1994), De Beauvoir (1949), Arendt (1979, 1995), and Foucault (1982), human action is based on a relational prerequisite. Consequently acting is constructed as a process, like something that is happening which cannot be determined *a priori* and that is contingent and unpredictable. Human action is intertwined with thinking and being. Agency is thus defined as a human behaviour (it doesn’t matter if it is an external or internal act, an omission or a tolerance) by which the agent or agents always express subjective meanings.

By social action, I mean that the agent or agents relate his/her behaviour to the behaviour of another. Human action assumes this characteristic of permanent and continuous intervention by human subjects on what happens in the world. It is a form of power based on

relations. Giddens adds to this definition that the subjective meaning of the action can only be apprehended from the process of permanent changes within social formations. Arendt (1995) emphasises that human action is the expression of the difference between men. The action and the discourse are the means by which human beings manifest themselves to one and another -not as simple physical objects, but as Men. For Arendt (1995: 190-191) all action is a beginning:

to act means to take initiative, initiate (from the Greek *archein* “to begin”, “to be the first”, in some cases “to govern”) imparting movement to something (this being the original signification of the Latin term *agere*)... It is a beginning different than the beginning of the world; it is not the beginning of something but of someone that is, himself, an initiator... It is from the nature of initiate to begin something new, which never occurs before. This object of surprising unpredictability is inherent to all beginning and all origin... The fact that man is capable of acting means that we can expect the unexpected, that he is capable of doing the infinitely improbable.

Action as beginning and movement, aims at other men and women and always involves others' actions. Foucault's (1982) power as relationality is a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action. In this sense, the actor is not only agent but also patient. “To act upon” and “to receive of” are complementary terms, the two sides of the same coin. However, the human actor needs a space and the recognition of the others in order to be an agent. Both women and children have been, in certain periods of the history, isolated from the public and political spheres and consequently without access to discourse and action.

The couple “agent/action” can be associated with Deleuze's couple “potentiality/actuality”. It is the moment where within a relation in which the subjects are recognized as such, individual differences become apparent through the other potentiality of being and taking a singular position in its actualisation. Human agency refers to the ability of people to take an active role in their own lives, to be “agents” for how they live their lives (Mac Naughton, 1998). That is to say that children possess multiple identities connected to dimensions of their subjective persona such as gender, race, class and age. The enactment of the different definitions, ideas and practices surrounding these dimensions is context dependant, historically situated and the interpretation of it is personal to the subject and the active observer.

Children's Punctual Resistance and Struggle

There is the personal interactive grammar of the subject and the community of discourses within the same context that might hold hands together in some instances or/and be oppose in other. To refer to children as a minority group is useful in terms of legal and civil rights implementation. However, since children voices are rarely heard publicly and as a political minority, it is more accurate to be present in their everyday lives in order to witness how their potentiality is turn into actions. It is more the immediacy of a spontaneous action of resistance that will inform the power relation between children and institutions. Following Foucault (1982) power relation's treatise, I thus consider children as a group of punctual resistances and struggles towards social institutions (family, education) and by extension the State (patriarchal political organisation). As Foucault (1982: 211) points out:

These are “immediate” struggles for two reasons. In such struggles people criticize instances of power which are the closest to them, those which exercise their action on individuals. They do not look for the “chief enemy”, but for the immediate enemy. Nor do they expect to find a solution to their problem at a future date (that is, liberations, revolutions, end of class struggle). In comparison with a theoretical scale of explanations or a revolutionary order which polarizes the historian, they are anarchistic struggles.

The main objective of these struggles is to attack not so much “this or that”, an institution of power, or group, or elite, or class, but rather a technique, a form of power (Foucault, 1982: 212). This form of power applies itself directly on the individual; on the one hand, the state interests focus on an idea of totality, a specific group of citizens. On the other hand, since its implementation five centuries ago, it spread towards a constellation of tactical powers found in a series of institutions: the family, education, medicine, psychiatry, and employers. It is a form of power that makes the individual subject, it categorises, marks, imposes, delimits, embeds him/herself within a recognisable identity for him/herself and for others.

There are two meanings of the word *subject*: subjected to someone else by control and dependence, and subject meaning tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to (Foucault, 1982: 212). In this sense, the status of the individual is the one put into question. The resistance aims at putting to the fore the right of being different while at the same time it attacks everything that separates the individual from the others, forcing him/her back to a constraining identity.

Defining a minority as a group of resisters informed by immediate struggles individually-based, immediate struggles creates an empirical space where the agency of the child can be observed more promptly. By presenting these moments of resistance, transgression, and strategies of survival (but also confusion and conformity), the process of dis-alienation is engaged because it recognized the existence of the other, as well as agency. The child is not a passive receptacle of its culture; he//she decodes early socio-institutional powers and creatively finds ways to make sense of its life as it pertains to itself as well as others.

II. Becoming Creatively Schizo

As I put forth in the section concerned with psychoanalysis and socialisation and developmental ideas, many authors fall into the trap of thinking of children as unfinished adults, in process of “becoming” complete. The term *becoming* is consequently negatively defined. This implied linear process kills the possibility of creativity –the aptitude to consider life worth living. The infant individual is caught in a system based on learning to repress creativity in order to adapt to social norms. While creating a space for children’s agency, the idea of creativity is fundamental and is intertwined with a completely different definition of the concept of becoming. Here, the concept of becoming is understood in a philosophical fashion, inspired by Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari (1988) and Rosi Braidotti (1994, 2002).

Becoming can be read as a deconstruction, a deterritorialisation, moving off the centre to encounter the other, taking the place of the other. The process implies the transformation of the subject, entering the process of becoming, and there is no possibility of return. Becoming, following Braidotti (2002) is the actualisation of the immanent encounter between subjects, entities and forces which are apt mutually to affect and exchange parts of each other in a creative and non-invidious manner. The subject ought not to be remaining the same; his//her relations with others and with institutions involve constant transformations of assemblage of forces.

The concept of becomings means constant movements, flows, fluxes; it is a response to what Deleuze and Guattari see in Freudian psychoanalysis as dead ends and impotencies. Psychoanalysis restricted desire to a question of lack, impossible reach, negativity and nuclear family. Deleuze and Guattari tried to defamiliarise the “daddy-mummy-me” formation of desire; they wanted to take it away from familial dynamics. For Deleuze, desire lacks nothing and is certainly not contained within the Oedipal order. The unconscious role of stacking frustrated desires and any formulations going against social rules and values leave the individual dependent on the analyst’s interpretations in order to start the healing process. There are two arguments against psychoanalysis: it breaks all productions of desire, and it crushes all formation of statements (Deleuze, 1977).

Deleuze would recommend to the powerless neurotic patient, lying down on the couch, more air and a retreat to the outside, suggesting the walk of the schizophrenic. It is another criticism of Freud’s sympathetic agreement with “Eugene Bleuler’s negative account of schizophrenics as autistic figures who are cut off from reality” (Ross, 2005:219). For Deleuze and Guattari, on the contrary, the schizo makes connective assemblages from desires, the schizo models often break away from the family, the father, the mother, it can be seen as a schizo pole of creation. The schizoanalysis concept and method concentrate on individual singularities and their creative strategies to counter social oppression.

Winnicott’s Creativity at the Threshold of Psychoanalysis

For Deleuze (2002), the psychoanalyst Donald W. Winnicott is the one that truly occupies the limit of psychoanalysis. Winnicott concentrates his work on creativity, transitional space and objects taking a different stand than his predecessor Melanie Klein, who was mainly interested in children’s sexuality -the starting point of Freud’s psychoanalytical theorising on children. While working on creativity, Winnicott realized that there is a moment where you can no longer take patients’ lived experiences and transform them into fantasies. There comes a point where you will have to put yourself in the place of the patient and empathise. As Deleuze (2002) points out, there is a moment where having a relationship that is neither legal, nor contractual, nor institutional is felt as being the only way to share the other experiences.

In *Playing and Reality*, Winnicott (1971) defines the play of small children as a “transitional space”; this is also the space of art, fantasy and profound emotion, where the limits of the ego become pervious. The wall that we construct between reality and imagination is then temporarily transposed. He affirms that the play is neither “inside”

(internal) nor “outside” (external), but that it is lived as the union of the pleasure principle with the reality principle. Winnicott emphasises the fact that it is impossible to describe the emotional development of the individual without taking into account the environment in which the individual lives. In doing this, he is adding the important tenet of culture to Freud’s thinking. In his brain topography conception, Freud did not envision a place for the experience of cultural things.

Winnicott gave a new value to the internal psychic reality, from which emerged a new concern for things that are real and truthfully external. Freud used the word “sublimation” to show the trajectory in which the cultural experiment is significant, but he did not find where in the brain cultural experience is located. Winnicott (1971) defines culture as tradition inheritance. I am thinking of something that is in the common pool of humanity, into which individuals and groups of people may contribute, and from which we may all draw *if we have somewhere to put what we find* (Winnicott, 1971:116).

For Winnicott, creativity lies in the play and it is only through the play that the individual, child or adult, can be creative and use its integral personality: and it is only by being creative that the individual discovers the self. It is through the play that we construct the totality of the experiential existence of man. We aren’t more introvert or extrovert. We experiment life in the area of transitional phenomenon, in the exciting intertwining of subjectivity and objective observation, in an intermediary area between individual internal reality and the shared reality of the individual external world.

It is through creativity more than anything else that the individual feels that life is worth living. The creativity that interests me is related to an approach starting from the individual to the external reality. Winnicott (1971) supposed a reasonable cerebral capacity sufficient to enable the individual to become an active actor who takes part in community life. Everything is creative in the measure that the individual is healthy.

In contrast, there exists a relationship of submission with the external reality, where the world in all its dimensions is recognized merely as something to get adjusted to or that demands adaptation. Submission brings a sense of uselessness associated with the idea that nothing matters and that it is not worth living. Many individuals experiment a sufficient amount of creative living to recognise that they are living a non-creative form, as if they were prisoner of the creativity of someone else or of a machine.

If we peruse individuals dominated in the household, prisoners, or dead in concentration camps, or victims of persecution by cruel political regimea, we suppose before anything else that very few of these victims keep on being creative. Those that do naturally are the ones who suffer (see Winnicott, 1968). It appears that all the others that continue to exist (do not live) in these pathological communities and abandon any hopes. They stopped suffering and lost the characteristics that made them human, in a way, they do not perceive the world creatively. These circumstances represent the negative side of civilisation.

It is true that a creation can be a painting, a house, a garden, a dress, a symphony, or a sculpture; everything, starting with cooking a meal at home. Maybe better said, all these things can be creations. The creation that interests me here has a universal propose. It is related to the fact of being alive and experiencing living. And the space, qualified as transitional, is created out of the confidence present primarily between the mother and her infant or better said, the mother “figure”-the adult closest to the infant and the child.

Where there is confidence and capacity to take “the place of the other”, there is a space that can potentially turn into an infinite area of separation, and the baby, the child, the teenager, and the adult can fill it up creatively with the play that, with time is transformed into the benefit of the cultural inheritance or fund. According to Winnicott (1971), it is a way to avoid the separation while retaining autonomy. We have to tolerate this paradox. To summarise: the cultural experience is localised in the *potential space* between the individual and the environment (originally the object). The same can be said of the play. The creative experience starts with a creative living and manifests itself firstly in the play.

Archetypes’ Universality

When Winnicott talks about a common pool of humanity, he also sees that we depend on a certain kind of register. Without a doubt, we lost a lot of the first civilisations; but, in myths, the product of the oral tradition, it is possible to perceive the existence of a cultural fund, extending itself for the last six thousand years and constituting the history of human culture (Winnicott, 1971:117). This history constructed by myths has persisted until now, in spite of the historian’s efforts to search for objectivity. This recognition of the importance of the oral tradition and its survival can be paralleled to C.G. Jung’s theories of the collective unconscious.

For Mitchell (1974:xx) whereas Jung postulates an innate original symbolism that we all share, Freud simply points to the fact that humans must have some common mental experiences that are transmitted rather than re-experienced afresh each time. This postulate of an innate original symbolism does not mean that we re-experience afresh each time; on the contrary, it acts as an in-between, where healing, imaginations, and inspirations can be found. It is where important insights of a common pool of humanity play a contingency role, as a trans-historical vehicle of human beings long known to transmit archetypes.

For Jung (1963) the infantile archetype is the neglected part of the self, a place where subject and object, conscious and unconscious, are not differentiated -an experience of unity upon which will develop a superior differentiation. The child represents not only the “principles”, but also the end, being the method (meta) of the vital cycle, a re-appropriation of the infancy on a superior level. Gaston Bachelard (1971) confirms this interpretation of the infantile archetype with his own, the “permanent child”. For him all human beings possess it as a part of the psyche structure. This permanent child, according to Bachelard, is the infancy nucleus, which is not necessarily a reflection of the real childhood of the individual. It seems to represent, if not a Jungian archetype, an experience of another kind between the self and the world -a fusion with the world in the primordial infancy.

Jung tentative has been of finding a way, through the collective unconscious, to reconcile biological and psychological worlds. Jung's main concern is to restore the original meaning of the symbol or archetype, a meaning which is fixed for all time. Interpreting it serves to establish both our psychic and our historical continuity (Rose, 1984:18). In this sense, the collective unconscious is made of positive resources where basic symbols of humanity are to be found as strengthening tools within the therapeutic process and in life in general. Estés Pinkola (1992) *Women who Run with the Wolves. Contracting the Power of the Wild Woman*, is based on Jungian psychoanalysis but concentrates especially on women's fundamental or innate nature. In the patriarchal society, women's submission in many cases cut them off from their creative potential, and one way of restoring it is by reading women's archetypal and mythological voices, which put forth women's inner strength to act upon the world.

These ideas are important for considering the difference(s) between one individual and another, while at the same time being part of the shared humanity fund. In the myth tradition legacy, it appears to be natural to pass from the specificity of the living experiences of the individual to the general traits of humanity fund. We are unique and at the same time we pertain to the human specie. Finally we ought to consider the "child" as being something that is still part of us, of our life continuum as human beings, enlightening its very importance, making the first years of one life not a period that vanished when entering adulthood but instead being fluid and having as much weight while considering life experiences than when older.

Furthermore, by considering universal cultural common pool and transmission, the individual does not come into the world as an empty being and in this sense there are no reasons not to consider this aspect as an important dimension marking children's dis-alienation and agency restoration. In this sense, the inter-play between the individual personality and its pertaining to an eco-humanity cultural fund put to the fore the fact that identity cannot be considered on its own. Again, we are a collection of assemblage of forces, and we undergo all sorts of becoming informed by the relationships we have with others and our environment.

Subjectivity Multiple Forms

It is by learning how partial and interested knowledge is generated that the objective theoretical frameworks for understanding the lives of multiple subjects can emerge. An important part of this process is the claim of subjectivity, the possibility of historical agency that marginalized groups such as women and children must achieve in order to start understanding their own lives (Harding, 1992). Because post-structuralism theorises subjectivity as a site of disunity and conflict (Weedon, 1987), challenging concepts and statements about the subject offers the opportunity for reconceptualisation, rearticulation and deployment of alternative discourses and practices of subjectivity (Foucault, 1979).

Rejecting the notion of identity as an essential, single or unitary construct allows an understanding of the subject constructed through different discourses and subject positions

(Foucault, 1979; Deleuze and Guattari, 1988; Braidotti, 1994; Grieshaber, 1998). The concept of contradictory subjectivity, where particular realities can be constructed in one context and not in another, because different subject positions are adopted, facilitates the idea that gendering in the course of daily domesticity can be context dependent. Thorne (1993) has shown that young children in schools can adopt gendered identities consistent with the immediate context. On entering the social world of the school, children have to acquire, work on and develop another identity –that of schoolchild (James, 1993). Interactive grammar is a tool that put in relation the different subjective dimensions of the individual and their interaction with the subject and social institutions.

The ideas about the multiple selves of the scholars Hermans and Hermans-Jansen (2001) and Ewing (1990) are very insightful while considering the way I approached the establishment of a relation with children. As Ewing argues, in all cultures people can be observed to project multiple, inconsistent self-representations that are context-dependent and that may shift rapidly. While working with children, it is primordial to have many different methods of interaction. It is only by creatively using these various methods that it is possible to fully comprehend children's persona(s).

My interest here focuses on the shifts of children's self-representations regarding their interactive grammars and in the exploration of the creative processes involved in their different self-representations. *Heteroglossia* refers to the multiplicity of voices. These voices appropriate different socio-ideological languages, reflecting a variety of interests and discourses; they do not exist in isolation, but are in constant dialogue informing one another. Therefore, the meaning of any particular voice is never fixed. Although the individual is not entirely free to choose what words to use, but must speak, or think, by drawing from the repertoire of his or her inherited social languages and speech genres (Wertsch, 1991:104-105), the resulting constructions are not predetermined. The process of selective appropriation and reinterpretation of voices is an active one (Emerson, 1983). The individual may adopt certain voices, oppose some, and reinterpret others (Spyrou, 2001:180).

Deploying imagination in the practice of everyday life (Appadurai, 1996:5) is, for children, a means for comprehending the world -a world that is ambiguous and paradoxical, and denies them access to certain kind of information. Cultural knowledge is acquired in an active manner as children draw on diverse cultural materials to construct their worlds (e.g., Dyson, 1993). The active acquisition of cultural materials may give rise to imaginative reinterpretation (Spyrou, 2001:181). While considering the human being as the most unpredictable of all animals, I have been looking forward to finding ideas and concepts which would enable me to render individual complexities and singularities without freezing them within a rigid theoretical framework.

Within this endeavour, post-structural scholars and in particular Gilles Deleuze's philosophy appeared to be a source of infinite possibilities of different conceptual assemblage and more importantly a tool to reconsider empiricism and its practices. Deleuze often stressed that he wanted his readers to take his concepts and make a new use of them in different contexts. In this present research I took his idea of a concept as a means by which we can

move beyond what we experience in order to think of new possibilities. In considering human complexity and singularity within a fieldwork research context, this multiplicity of interconnected individual life dimensions brings forth Deleuze's concepts of Difference and Becoming. These concepts are taken as an intuitive base of consideration while working with human beings, allowing the creation of a method during the ongoing process of encounters between the individuals involved in the research.

For Deleuze, the concept that best answers this power to think the whole of life is difference. Life is difference, the power to think differently, to become different and to create differences. The philosophical ability to think this concept will help us to live our lives in a more joyful and affirmative manner (Colebrook, 2002:13).

Deleuze's concept of difference has been extensively used within my fieldwork research. It feeds the desire to circumscribe a minority group; for children this leaves the actual encounter open to always renewed becoming. It is impossible to predict how one and another are going to affect each other, for each new encounter is singular. Deleuze's approach to life and thinking contradicts the idea that we should approach problems with ready-made schemas, questions, or systems (Colebrook, 2002:46).

On the one hand, the methodological tools created during the research process should be as open as possible to give to the individual a creative space of expression. On the other hand, the singularities of each encounter and individual desires are connected to a wider system, the socio-cultural patriarchal State; this traps the individual into a life project termed "asceticism" by Nietzsche: renouncing desires for the sake of some higher or better world beyond appearances (Colebrook, 2002).

As a consequence, the individual doesn't live in the here and now but in the projection of a better here and now which will never take place. Deleuze and Guattari go further by locating the source of asceticism in the Oedipus complex expressed within the nuclear family as the first entity of social oppression. Schizoanalysis reverses the direction of causality, making psychic repression dependent upon social oppression. Following this idea, the child's position is not "the father of the man", as the psychoanalytic saying goes; it is the boss who is the father to the man and by extension to the child. The nuclear family represses the child's social relationship with a father and a mother and denies the child all the people closest to her. By being programmed since birth with asceticism and self-denial, the individual ends up fighting for its servitude as if it was his/her salvation.

In our historical period defined by a capitalist system out of breath, models of thinking and behaviours are questioned but continue to be desirable ideals to reach, and it is through agency, creativity and subjectivity that the subject can position itself critically and invent new ways of being. Thus, there are two intertwined dynamics in play here. On the one hand, the other is another possible world of differences. It oriented me towards first considering the particular and then forging an idea of how a society and culture are coded through the connections between singular relations. On the other hand, the individual psyche is imprinted with the capitalist values system of pre-fabricated and ascetic desires. In order to rethink the child's singular position I needed to create a space where the possibilities of a symmetrical

power relation could be established in order to restore the child agency. I asked myself what “encounters” meant and in which ways an affective lecture of a relationship could be grounded differently than through the patriarchal system’s views on a relation as powerfully asymmetrical.

Fragmented Becoming: Centre and Schools Director, Teachers and Research Colleagues

The following list of names enumerates the people, from the two schools and centre, with whom I interacted most during the fieldwork research. The names of many of them will appear in this section to illustrate the philosophical concepts that I chose to describe the process of an encounter and how a relation can be grounded on a symmetrical power relation.

Daruê Malungo Centre (DM)
Meia-Noite and Vilma: Directors
Amélia: Monitor from the group of children I worked with.
Americano: Dance-Monitor, Handy man
Caju: Dance and Music Monitor
Telmo: Art-Monitor
Pipoca: Monitor of the youngest children

Children who worked with me during the years 2003-2004.

The ones who worked the longest with me appear in the the Fragmented Becoming ethnographical part, and they are in bold here.

Aline.
Leonardo.
Wanderson.
Cláudio.
Marcelino.
Janaina.
Fabila.
Bianca.
Dougl.
Ricardo.
Willyane.

Arco-Íris private school (AI)
Fatima: Director
Rute and Marina: Pedagogical coordinators
Denise: Teacher of the G-IV
Joana: Teacher of the 1st series.

Children who worked with me during the years 2003-2004.

Amadeu
Camila

Luana
Bruna
Pedro
Igor
Maria-Edouarda (Duda)

Magalhães Bastos municipal school (MB)

Graça: Director

Ângela: Teacher of the 1st series.

Regane: Teacher of the 1st series.

Children who worked with me during the year 2004.

Acildo.

Tayna.

Walln.

Rodrigo.

Vitor.

Letícia.

Mateus.

1.7 DELEUZE RHIZOMIC PHILOSOPHICAL ENCOUNTERS FOR THE FOUNDATION OF A SYMMETRICAL POWER RELATION

J'aime le silence immobile d'une rencontre
Les mots bleus/Alain Bashung

I believe that the research theories and the empirical research are intertwined. I am looking for ways of understanding the fieldwork research process, which implies the comprehension of power relations and the possibilities of a positive exchange of forces between the individuals involved. I decided to follow Deleuze's rhizomic philosophical encounters because his interests rest on finding concepts from philosophers who proposed ideas leaking from the patriarchal system of thoughts. They are also concepts that helped him to go further in the philosophical treatises of empiricism, experience, subjectivity, difference, affect, and ethic. Thus I am interested in Bergson's intuitive method, Hume's empiricism and subjectivity, Spinoza's ethic of life, Deleuze's experiment concept, Nietzsche's saturated life and the untimely, and Deleuze and Guattari's nomadism. I wish to underline that all the concepts that I just enumerated were important for all these philosophers. All these ideas bits and fragments compose a mosaic coloured by the concepts of difference and becoming.

Deleuze's philosophy is a positive and affirmative one and in order to understand it better, it is important to trace back the philosophers, positive and marginal, who marked his philosophical trajectory. Marginal is a word that has positive connotation in this present context. For Edgar Morin, everything starts from a marginal initiative. As for Deleuze's favourite philosophers, all of them were exercising resistance within their historical life context against the dominant patriarchal system of thoughts. As Deleuze was looking forward to creating a philosophy that would break with the classical phallogocentric one, he made connections between diverse marginal thinkers, and from rhizomic ramifications to ramifications he arrived at his own positive philosophical open system. According to Hume's definition, a system is: what transforms the spirit in a subject and what constitutes a subject in the spirit are the principles of human nature. These principles are of two kinds: on the one hand there are the association principles, and on the other hand the passions principles that can be presented under the general form of a utility principle (Deleuze, 1953:109).

Rephrasing Deleuze (1953), the subject is this instance who, under the effect of a utility principle, strives toward his//her goal. He//She has an intention, and organises means towards an end, which is to preserve oneself. Under the effect of the association principles, he//she establishes relations between ideas. Thus the collection becomes a system. The perceptions' collection becomes a system when these last are organized, when the perceptions are related. It gives way to the concept of the *machine* that as to be understood as nothing more than its connections. A similar treatment is reserved for the mind which is nothing more than a *power* of connections.

What gives the relation its sufficient reason is the *circumstance*. Deleuze finds that the 'I' only refers to contingent effects of interactions between events, responses, memory functions,

social forces, chance happenings, belief systems, economic conditions and so on that together make up a life (Stagoll, 2005:283). To this, interactive grammar can be added. Thus geographical location, political situation, socio-economic class, race, sex, gender, sexual orientation and age were perceived as different migrant lines making connections with institutional sedimentary lines such as the school, the family, and work. Finally, there exists the nomad line where events and chance happenings are connections between the researcher and the research colleagues.

Sometimes in practice we proceed in ways which are not always easy to describe with words. Often, the reason being that by systematising processes we end up creating closed systems. We detailed and ruled something that fluctuates and is transformed every time it encounters a new context and individuals. I have always been reluctant to describe (my) method(s) because of what has just been said, and also because they appeared along the way; they did not pre-exist the actual research process. However, in the present context, it appeared imperative to propose philosophical concepts explaining the creation and development of a relation for two theoretical reasons.

The first one is related to the historical theoretical shifts surrounding doing research with children and the consolidation of Children's Studies. This field of study grew from the criticism of psychoanalysis and developmental and socialisation models. The second one is related to the place of children within anthropology and more broadly the power relationship between researcher and informants. In both cases the key idea is that asymmetrical power relationships in the practice reinforce the system being criticized. In this sense, new theories are interesting as long as they do not merely reproduce or extend the system of thought that oppresses and psychically represses people. New measures, new discourses often mask unwillingness to go back to the source and drastically change the ways we think. Critical consciousness is an important thinking trait to be developed; but, after identifying what is not working, new ideas and practices need to be invented in order to transform the previous problems into affirmative, active, and positive positions freeing the individuals from subordination and oppression.

I. Intuition

The philosopher Henri Bergson (1859-1941) endowed me with the words to describe a method that remains an open system because its foundation is the soul, it being One individually and One universally. Bergson's goal was to take the watershed⁴, to go beyond it and liberate his thinking from classical rationalism. The analytical knowledge fixes and freezes the object in a specific spatial point from which the observer can take an unlimited perspective position to look at it. In doing so, the observer only grasps the external character of the object and not the internal one. Bergson proposed a method that broke with that fixity and rendered the internal movement of the object perceptible and reachable. Bergson created the intuitive method in order to get closer to the singularity, complexity, multiplicity, fluidity

⁴ Tournant

and external and internal totality of the One. According to Jankélévitch (1959:5), Bergsonism is one of these rare philosophies, in which the research theory confounds itself with the research itself; it excludes this kind of reflexive splitting that engenders gnoseologies, *propédeutique*⁵ and methods. The research theory melting with the research itself is a nomadic line or line of flight.

Intuition forms a method of three rules⁶. In Deleuze's (1953) views, it is a method that essentially problematises (criticism of the false problems, creation of the true ones), differentiates (to cut-out and to crosscheck) and temporalises (thinking in terms of duration). It is opposed to the kind of knowledge that circumscribes the object, analysing it distantly, and that only grasps from it its spatial coordinates. Bergson calls his method the "internal" knowledge of the object; it is a way to know that implies a direct approximation, a spontaneous sympathy with the thing to be known.

Bergson (1950) names the first kind of knowledge *representative* and the second *intuitive*. The sympathy and antipathy, which are so frequent and divinatory, when unconsidered, testify to the possible inter-penetration of human consciousness. It is this second form that permits the subject to know the "absolute" of an object. The intuition pays respect primarily to the internal duration. However, the sympathy and the internal duration should not be conceived as introspection, closing off the philosopher to the external application.

On the contrary it is a moment of ones' own dilatation. Intuit is the effect of the coincidence of Being and Time. According to Bergson, intuition is an act of profound reflection, which descends in the direction of the actual action and reality, before any calls to the reasoning faculties, it goes further than languages; it apprehends reality directly by a tension effort from the spirit. Intuition is not only to capture or sympathise, but also to sympathise, with the original nature of the object, with what it possesses that is unique and inexpressible. Consequently, the Bergsonian subject has to participate directly in the field in which it actuates. The truth is that one's existence is never lived other than through the experience (Bergson, 1950).

The empirically real was defined by its basic etymological meaning of "sensed" or "experienced". To be sensed or experienced is the same thing as having effects: registering a difference elsewhere. The measure of the empirical field is *effective reality*: the ability to make a difference (Massumi, 2002:245).

It can appear arduous not to fall into pejorative mystic description while considering the intuitive work with human beings. However, Bergson's philosophy is strongly spiritual which is necessary when considering encounters and relations with other human beings. Following that the notion of problem is rooted in life, the researcher does not need to first pose the problem, but rather define his//her theme of interest. It is a way to have a vast overview of the virtual(s); it is the moment of tuning the instrument. It can take some time; even with years of experiences, every time the researcher is embarks on a new theme, he//she is learning to play

⁵ Foundation course for first-year university students.

⁶ For the full description of the method see Annex.

a new instrument. It can always be an instrument from the strings family, but there are always individual particularities to be learned.

There is a moment, and it is difficult to say if it always arrives at the right time, but there is a moment where the theme seems delimited, as if the instrument was tuned and that two choices (amongst others) were possible; either to play a known score or to start to compose. It would be the moment of actualisation, of active participation. If the individual opted to play a known score he//she would feel more confident, the melody is already inside, however it is not known how it will sound on the new instrument. In this sense, using the same “old” method(s) does not guarantee the success of the research. It is difficult to silence expectations, but when using the same methods, it is fundamental to start on an empty board. If necessary, the previous experiences will arise on their own; however for the one that opted to compose, the creation has to be done in concert with the other participants. It is very easy to detect whether or not the researcher got in-depth in his//her inquiry. According to Bergson, in the case of a superficial work, nothing will indicate the approximation to a core, to the inside; it will only revolve around, and no emotions will vibrate.

The being exists and is pure continuous movement. While working with human beings, we need to partly freeze our interactions in order to be able to reflect on the exchange afterwards. For Sayegh (1998) reflecting is creating by summing up something for oneself. The encounter, and the experience with the other, is always an unpredictable moment. All the preparation in the world would not be enough; it is impossible to program how someone else will act and behave in our presence precisely because we don't know how we may react and behave in a completely new situation. A becoming changes with each new encounter. One must enter into a shared experience by sympathising spontaneously to the experiment of an encounter.

Depending on the circumstances, as people that agreed upon working together, the children and I tried at each encounter, with greater or lesser success, to tune ourselves with each other. As we met every week, I could follow children inner rhythms much more closely. If one week was not going too well, on other encounters things were different. They could sense when I was tired, sad, or happy, for they commented when they thought I looked sad and usually when I appeared tired they were quieter. I have been following the subtle changes of the children over the course of one year. When you see someone relatively often, the unfixity of the inner movement of the person is clearer than when you don't see someone you knew well for a number of years. It is a mistake to fix the image of someone in our memory, but then, at the same time it is difficult to rightly project how the person is going to change in our absence. It is a way to falsely feel secure about the image we have of someone else and consequently of our own.

Working with children following the themes that were important for them freed me of any attempt to fix their inner movement. There was a set of activities which needed to be the same in the two schools and centre primarily because material of a similar nature had to be gathered in order for me to be able to draw some lines of interpretation. Secondly, since the idea was to introduce these children to one another, associative material needed to be presented in order

for them to make connections. For example, let's take the theme of the house. During the first week, the children drew their houses as precisely as possible as I needed to recognise them when I would go to film. They drew the outside as well as the inside. The second week, they told me a story that had to do with their house, something that had happened inside or outside the house. Some of the children told a story that involved the people living in the house but outside the house context, while some others told me a story that involved a material object that would break down in the course of the story. When I actually went to visit their houses, I referred to their drawings and their stories in order to direct myself in the new space. It was my visits to their houses, for all the children, that appeared to have the greatest impact on them. It linked sedimentary lines together; the school and the family and the house and the neighbourhood and... while more migrant lines exposed to the complexity of singular differences.

II. Empiricism

Being part of the children's material world, their schools or centre, their houses, and the praça made things easier for us. We had a common basis of reference, and starting from there we could talk to each other at another level. To a certain extent, we could leave the concrete nature of their surroundings and open a more subjective field of interaction. Another philosopher dear to Deleuze was David Hume (1711-1776) to whom he dedicated the first of his book (1953): *Empirisme et Subjectivité*. Hume left behind the world of Cartesian certainty to enter one of probable belief that Deleuze transformed into improbable luck. Deleuze proposed a philosophy yet-to-be, in the process of arising.

For William James (1996), empiricism is not concerned with things made but with things in the making. For him, relations are no less fundamentally given, no less directly given than discrete objects and their component properties. That they are directly given means that they are directly perceived. Relation is immediately perceived *as such* (Massumi, 2002). This, coupled with the concept of duration from Bergson, will lead to the possibility of constructions of the experience, prior to subjects and objects -Deleuze's plane of immanence. The relation is the encounter between subjects. Hume defines the field of subjectivity by giving the subject its individual movement.

Subjectivity: the subject is defined by and as a movement, the movement of one's own development. What has developed is its subject. It is the only content that we can give to the idea of subjectivity: mediation, transcendence. But we can observe that the movement of developing oneself or of becoming other is double: the subject transcends itself, the subject reflects itself (Hume, 1739 in Deleuze, 1953:90).

According to Hume, the subject invents and he is astute. Such is the double strength of subjectivity: to believe and to invent -to presume secret powers and to suppose abstract and distinct powers. This in turn brings us to Hume's notion of society. He refers to social institutions, not governmental ones. The main idea is that the essence of society is not the law but the institution. Furthermore, the society is a set of conventions founded on utility not a set of obligations founded on a contract. The institution is an actions model, it is a prefigured

system of possible satisfaction, for example in property avidity is satisfied. Hume reads the concepts needed to explain such dynamics from out of the reality of experience, treating them as contingent explanatory tools that can always be replaced or supplemented (Stagoll, 2005:121).

Experiences imply real persons in a particular circumstance. Deleuze (1953) asks how can we *correct* the inadequacy of the real person and of the possible situations? Deleuze (1953:59) answers this question by refining Hume's idea of subjectivity.

The subject is not a quality, but the qualification of a collection of ideas. To affirm that the imagination is affected by principles means that any set is qualified as a partial and actual subject. The idea of subjectivity is thus the affection reflected in the imagination; *it is the general rule itself*.

The general rule is that passion is reflected in the imagination. For Hume, the whole of what is agreeable to the senses is also in some measures agreeable to the imagination and presents images of its satisfaction, which find real applications in body organs.

Foremost, surpassing the partiality of the subject from which the partiality is the very idea, the idea of subjectivity includes in each considered collection the principle and the rule of a possible agreement between subjects. What constitutes the self, are the proper affection syntheses and their reflection, the synthesis of an affection that fixes the imagination, and an imagination that reflects the affection. As for Braidotti (2002), subjectivity is the effect of the constant flows or in-between interconnections. Subjectivity is a socially mediated process. Consequently, the emergence of new social subjects is always a collective enterprise.

III. Sympathy

Sympathy lies in the possible agreements between subjects, in the constant creation and movement of the self and the other, and in the encounter between the two. Coming back to string instruments, for Plotino:

The sympathy is as a tight string, which when played on one of its ends, transmits the movement to the other end... And if the vibration passes from one instrument to another by sympathy, in the universe as well there is a unique harmony⁷.

According to Sayegh (1998), for Plotino the creation of sympathy founded magic, from whence enchantments come. With the decline of magic in the modern society, the significance of sympathy got limited to meaning the emotional participation between human subjects. Hume (1739) was one of the first to insist on the importance of sympathy in human relations: none of human nature's qualities are more important than the propensity that we have to sympathise with one and another, to receive by communicating our inclinations and feelings... In fact, going back to Bergson, emotion is what takes place between instinct and intelligence. As for Deleuze (1953) emotion is creative (first because it expresses all creation,

⁷ Plotino, Enn., IV, 4, 40 (in: Abbagnano, N. Dicionário de Filosofia).

second because it creates by itself the works in which it is expressed; and finally because it communicates to the audience a little of its creativity). To integrate sympathy into emotion, it has to go beyond its contradiction. For Hume⁸, when we judge characters, the only interest and pleasure that appears to be the same to all members of the audience is the interest in the person *per se* whose character we examine, or the ones related to this person.

To illustrate Hume, Deleuze and Braidotti's definitions of subjectivity I will describe how people from the different social institutions I worked with in Recife perceived me. I was myself in all the different contexts, while being considered differently by the teachers, director, functionaries, the parents and the children. In the favela Chão de Estrelas in the centre Daruê Malungo, the directors Vilma and Meia-Noite told me that they did not really understand what I was doing, but they witnessed my presence at the centre every week. According to Meia-Noite, I was really appreciated at Daruê. It took them the extent of the fieldwork research and my last encounter with Meia-Noite, when I handed him the DVD, to understand that I was on their side, part of the same struggle. This lack of trust stemmed from their experiences with many people who promised to help and who disappeared without completing their projects.

For the parents of the children I visited, it clearly seemed that I was either a social worker or a woman working for one of the political parties, since the election of the city mayor was held in October 2004. The year of the election, usually the parties put all their efforts into the realisation of changes that can be seen by all the citizens, in doing so buying more votes in doing so. I always explained when I arrived at a new family's house that I was an anthropologist and that I was working with their children every week at the centre Daruê Malungo. I had asked the children to tell me what was important for them, and their houses and their families were two of the themes they had proposed; for this reason I was there to get to know them and their homes.

I only met women in the favela of Chão de Estrelas. Some women were married to the biological father. Some others were divorced; sometimes in these cases the father sometimes gave financial support. In some cases the father did not give financial support due to unemployment. In other cases the biological father had simply disappeared a long time ago and a stepfather was now helping the family financially. The only men I saw were invalid and stayed near the house during the day. In Chão de Estrelas I mainly met with the mothers, the aunts and the grandmothers. In most cases, the women showed me the house and explained their financial problems with a clear expectation. As I said, they thought I was working for an institution that could change something. Bianca's house was the only place where no one talked to me about the things that had to be done to the house. But then, her grandmother who showed me around had been accused and convicted for drug trafficking, and she did not want to have anyone from any institution coming around. I want to underline the fact that even though I explained the reason for my visit and the way I was working with their children, the mothers wanted me to take note of their terrible housing and their families' general situations.

⁸ *Traité de la nature humaine*. trad. Leroy, p.717

For Amélia, the monitor of the literacy class of the children of my group, even if I insisted to the contrary on many occasions, I was coming to the Daruê to take over her classroom once a week. I explained that my research project involved two other schools and that I needed some time at home as well in order to write down my fieldnotes. She also referred to me when she needed materials, gifts, or money to organise an event for the children, which was annoying. The problem I had with her assertions was this prejudice of thinking that because I was from the North I had money in my pocket. It could have been the case, but it wasn't. She often missed the days I came in during the year I spent in the centre, until she had a no-possibility-of-return fight with Vilma and left the centre in the middle of August 2004.

According to Amélia, I was neither evil, nor good. I was not evil because I had said that I was going to work for one year with them, and I was keeping my word. But nor was I completely good, since I was not dedicating my life to the centre. She would look at me in the same kind of way Bergson tried to free his method; when someone does not comply with expectations, we can end up seeing it only through the lack and absence of what interested us. Though the only children with whom I really interacted were the ones in my group, all the children frequenting the centre in the morning knew who I was, and most of them kept a distance.

At the Municipal public school, Graça the director of Magalhães Bastos was very excited by the project; she gave me total liberty with the children and offered the disused library as a place to work with them. Graça thought that the project was very creative and that the children who were going to participate in it were lucky. She introduced me to the teacher with such enthusiasm that it was difficult not to be touched by her contagious certitude of the positive outcome of the research. I met with all the teachers every week in the teachers' room during breaks. At first, one of them thought that I was a journalist because she saw me writing down in a notebook.

I changed from Ângela's class to Regane's, two weeks after I started. Regane asked me right away what I needed from her, if I wanted her to ask the parents of my group of children to come to meet me at school for me to present the research proposal to them. We actually did it. She always asked me how things were going. Every time we met she would give me her impression of one child I was working with or another's. When she asked me if it was possible to do an activity with all the children so that they could get to know me better, it touched me very much. We both worked to present the animated movie *Les Triplettes de Belleville* (Sylvain Chomet, 2003) at the computer centre close to the school.

As for the parents, it did make a difference to convoke them to meet me at school in the presence of Regane to explain the research because it helped them understand that I was a researcher. Only one of the parents, or someone sent by the parent, could not come to the school meeting. But Tayna's mother called me the same night to tell me Tayna's story.

At Arco-Íris private school it was a constant struggle to explain to the teacher and the pedagogical coordination, what I was doing, and why I needed to work with more than one

child. Joana, the teacher I worked with in 2004 read my research proposal and when I arrived at the school the following week she asked the children to sit in a circle on the floor, alternating one girl, one boy. The children asked why. She answered giving me a smile that it was going to be more flowery. It is the only “effort” she made during the time we worked together. I interpreted this effort as a primarily moment when she did not know whether I would have some kind of power. She discovered that I had none from the first week to the second because from then on, she always acted surprised to see me, on the same day, at the same time, *every week*. For the pedagogical coordination and Joana the teacher I was more a source of trouble than anything else.

Many mothers thought that I was some kind of psychologist, since most of the time the stories they told of their children and of their families, were in a psychoanalyst fashion and vocabulary. In fact, it always depended on how far they went in asking me questions about myself. In one case for instance, the sister of a boy with whom I worked asked me what I was doing while driving to their house in a car. I answered that I was an anthropologist and explained to the girl what kind of profession it was. The mother then said that she thought that I was studying in pedagogy from the beginning... Most of the mothers I met had gone to university, but it did not seem to make much sense to them that an anthropologist would conduct research with children without having a psychological, pedagogical, or social work orientation as anthropology with children is not that common as a field of study.

Considering that I sent a letter explaining the project to the schools and centre directors, to the teachers, and to the children and their parents, it was clearly a personal decision not to read the letter or to change how I presented myself into something to which they could more easily relate. For a certain number of parents, they did not read the letter because they did not know how to read. In considering my own subjective position, the children I worked with turned into my reference on many themes within the Brazilian culture. I felt that to know children from very different socio-economical backgrounds had been something profoundly enriching. In my mind we were meeting each other every week with a very positive aim. Together we discussed the things that were important for them and I made it clear that my interest was precisely to further develop these themes. My role was that of a facilitator in proposing creative possibilities of expressing what was important for them. We were all meeting with this work proposal in mind, while at the same time we were also coming in with sad or joyful memories of what had happened the night before, or in the morning.

It is these collections of ideas that sometimes made it easy, sometimes difficult, to encounter a common ground of interaction. In some ways toward the end I developed a more intense emotion and affection towards the ones who rejected me: Camila, Walln and Cláudio. The three of them were experiencing difficult times that crescendoed during the fieldwork. With respect to these three children, I had the feeling that I could have done much more. However, within the circumstances I did not feel that I could have a more profound involvement, and as a consequence we lost the primary connection established between each other. While if I look closer at what I lived with the rest of the group of twenty-one, nothing happened to mark a point of rupture like with the other three, but nothing happened to enrich the exchange either.

Not being a complete insider has positive and negative aspects. The positives are this malleability of virtual roles played, because I was not attached to any institutions that interfered directly with the children I worked with: the municipality, the school, the family and the peers. The negative aspects are related to certain feelings of impotency because of the institutions and the ways the fieldwork was designed; I did not meet with the children enough and there were too many of them to be able to participate in a much more intensely way in their daily lives.

One of the discoveries while conducting fieldwork research with children in Recife was that the most important thing for a young person is the possibility of having a healthy relationship with one or more adults. An adult who can give protection, look after the basic needs of the child, give all the attention the child needs, love and affection and who can share his/her own life experiences and experiments. It might appear obvious but it was not necessarily happening in all socio-economic classes of Recife. If any individual would think about whether he/she could provide what has just been said to a new human life, the population landscape would be very different.

The children met someone quite different from the adults they were used to meeting. I started the research at the age of twenty seven and in the case of the Magalhães Bastos's and Arco-Íris's schools, I definitely looked younger than the teachers with whom I worked, which gave me an in-between position that most of the children ended up resolving by introducing me to their parents as an aunt/friend. In all cases, I was someone that came from somewhere else than Recife, primarily because of my accent and then because I expressed myself in a very unusual way sometimes. They also found it strange when I did not understand a word that, in their minds, everyone would normally know. In the two schools and the centre the children called me *Tia/Aunt*, which is the respectful term use for someone older than oneself. *Tia Natasha*, the term, also makes the division clear between who is considered an adult and who is a child.

In summary, at Daruê Malungo, for Meia-Noite and Vilma, I was first an untrustworthy person, but at the end of the fieldwork belonging to the group; in-between evil and good for Amélia; exotic for the children; a social worker or active member of a political party for the parents. At Magalhães Bastos, I was a sympathetic and courageous person; a foreign researcher for the parents; exotic and friendly to the children. A troublesome person at Arco-Íris; a psychologist or pedagogue for the parents; an aunt-friend for the children. These are the summaries of the different lines of affect felt in the course of the fieldwork research and that correspond to my own reflections and direct dialogues with the people involved.

This subjectivity's positions description that I experimented with during my fieldwork research makes me lean toward Foucault's idea of subjectivation, which in fact has little to do with the subject *per se*. According to Deleuze (1992), it is more about an electric or magnetic field, an individuation operating through intensity (low as much as high), of individualised fields, and not of persons or identities. It is what Foucault called in others occasion *passion*.

And then, to think, is to be capable, that is to bend power relations, provided that power relations are not reduced to violence, but that they are constituting actions towards actions, that is acts, such as “to incite, to induce, to divert, to make easier or difficult, to widen or limit, to make it more or less probable...” It is the thought as strategy (Deleuze, 1990:131).

The circumstances are primordial within the personal interpretation of power relations. For Hume, happy is the one for whom the circumstances match with the character; but more excellent, the one who can harmonise his//her character to any kind of circumstances. In fact, as long as the situation affects the person in a positive way there are no reasons for not adapting or “harmonising” our character to the circumstances. However, the exchange of forces does need to be perceived and understood as being positive for both sides. For instance, at Arco-Íris, my research was accepted because it was judged as interesting both for the school and the children.

In practice, though, the teacher I dealt with did not like my intrusion every week. Harmonising my character to this situation meant to desist of doing the research at Arco-Íris. It never came to aggressive exchanges with the teacher, so in that sense both sides worked it out to keep it as if our relationship was good. But waste of energy could clearly have been avoided if we had come to an agreement and respected it during the year I spent there.

Exchanging positive forces or affecting each other in a constructive way is something that needs to be constantly present in one’s mind. It means that the individual needs to be close enough to his//her inner movement in order to negotiate interactions in ways that augment his//her vital energies.

IV. Affect

Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) is the philosopher who dedicated most of his works to the triumph of joyful passions over sad passions, and here the term passion implies the other, which means relations. Deleuze and Guattari (1991) refer to him as the prince and the Christ of the philosophers. Spinoza rejected the idea of transcendence in favour of the creation of a plan of immanence, which put God, men, and all beings together in the same existential plan. In other words, in Spinoza’s views, there is no difference in nature between God and all the other creatures of our world. Spinoza rejects the transcendence instance good-evil or moral relation paradise-hell for a practical immanent life proposing instead what is best or worst to do in one’s existence. He based his Ethic of life on the importance of the affect, meaning what augments or diminishes, favours or prevents, the power of life in relation to the capacity to affect positively or negatively one another.

Spinoza’s ethic is definitely one of happiness; for him sad passions are seen as an ethical failing. The singular existences of each of us enter into a plan of compositions, in other words we each have a life or an existence mode, and we each have an unconscious, a singularising indefinite unconscious. The unconscious is not a theatre, but a factory, a productive machine; the unconscious is not delirious about daddy-mummy, it is delirious about races, tribes, continents, history and geography, always a social field (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980: 197).

Bergson (see Bergson 1950), does not say anything else when he writes about the One individual and the One universal. We are singular while at the same time we amount to the same collection of ideas, unconscious, and soul.

Foucault's and Deleuze's ideas of style and modes of existence are intertwined with Spinoza's modes as well. It is another manner of seeing the subject, it reflects a great coherence between the importance of living, practising and acting while at the same time freeing, transforming, inventing, creating modes of existence, possibilities of being and living, singularisation of one essence; it defines subjectivation. The importance of experiencing, experimenting and feeling new sensations and emotions is a core idea in both Spinoza and Deleuze. It is from this position that one can see the virtual modes of one's existence. The relationship between man and the Whole is essential to the writings of Spinoza. Everything that exists is necessarily in relation to the other beings and is approached in terms of arrangement⁹.

For Spinoza, encounters are what determine the existence. All encounters are the result of the power to affect and be affected by live beings. The powers of thought and action are the essence of human beings, and are defined as the *potentia*. All good encounters augment our action potentia. It is in this sense that Spinoza proposes the Ethic of Happiness:

To produce happiness, happy encounters, to fortify our action potentia –this seems to be Spinoza's proposal (even though Spinoza knows full well how difficult it is to produce this kind of encounter). We can say that for him, rancour, resentment and envy are direct results of sad passions, which poison our soul, destroying our power of action. Knowledge allied to good encounters makes mankind free (Schöpke, 2004:98).

In *Spinoza: A Practical Philosophy*, Deleuze (1970) describes the difference between "affection" (*affectio*) and "affect" (*affectus*). *Affectio* is a state of the affected body, implying the presence of an affecting one. *Affectus* refers to the passage from one state to another in the affected body –the increase or decrease in its power of acting. Affections are associated with images, and affects with feelings. Affect is about increasing or diminishing our own power. It implies mind and body activities but is found in the in-between. For Massumi (2002), as processional as it is precessional, affect inhabits the *passage*. It is pre- and post contextual, pre- and postpersonal, an excess of continuity invested only in the ongoing: its own. This reflection resonates with Deleuze and Guattari's further definition (1987): Affects are becomings. One's self must be conceived of as a constantly changing assemblage of forces-affects.

For Deleuze and Guattari (1991:22), the other in the first place is the existence of a possible world. This possible world also has its own reality in terms possibilities. It is a concept of the other which does not presuppose something else other than the determination of a sensible world as a condition. In this sense it is a concept of three inseparable dimensions: possible world And existent face And real language or speech. The history of the concept of the other is related to Leibniz, to its possible worlds, and to the monad as a world

⁹ Agencement.

expression. However the possible(s) of Leibniz do not exist in the real world. There is another important trait, which all the philosophers that we have seen so far have in common -that is practice, participation, and action in the real world.

We can say of Spinoza that his philosophy is practical; the idea is to recast the relations of thought to life: the And –*mind And body*, but also as Massumi (2002:33) enumerates, volition and cognition, at least two orders of language, expectation and suspense, body depth and epidermis, past and future, action and reaction, happiness and sadness, and so forth. Together and at the same time parallel: for Spinoza the order and connections of ideas are the same as the order and connections of things. Spinoza’s parallelism is a possibility of moving away from dualism and polarisation concepts where one of the attributes always has more power than the other. For Deleuze (1990:66),

the And ‘and...and...and...’ is a strange use of the language, a creative use of it. And instead of Is or I, Kant’s determination of the ‘I think’. ‘And’ is neither one thing nor the other, it is always both, it is a frontier. To see frontiers means to see the imperceptible. The prisoner And his wife. The mother And the child. But also the images And the sounds. And is part of the multiplicity, the singularity, the Whole. The Whole is not a set but a perpetual passage from one set to another, the transformation of one set into another.

“And” is about connecting things, matters and people. It helps to get a more complex picture of an individual for example. The interactive grammar works in this sense: sex and gender and sexual orientation and race and socio-economic class and geographical and historical and political situation and... and... and... It keeps the inquiry and the system open to new becomings and lines of flight. The research and the researcher and the research colleagues work out together, depending on the positivity of the relations and the affects and the connections.

V. Experiment

Fieldwork research is about encounters. Anyone’s life is about encounters but here we are considering an intense circumvented fragment of an announced life experience. Anthropologists prepare fieldwork research in advance, they think of a place to go, what to do once there, with whom they would like to interact more, for how long and about what. However once actually on the fieldwork site life surprises quality is usually felt. The actual life experiences of fieldwork could be defined as experiments in Deleuzian fashion. We are made up of relations and experience makes sense to us only if we understand the relations in practice between conflicting schemes of the said experience.

The life potentia of a newcomer with a plan is very high because most of the work has been done in the mind and in the mind the obstacles are made of possible(s) not of concrete person and arguments. Any idea or plan can come into being because nothing is created in the mind and reproduced exactly in the same way. The feasibility of one plan depends on the human and material (re)resources necessary and available. The “original” idea is something highly manageable. The important thing is to have a main thread and to wait until enough

people are known to start making connections. The newcomer is highly energetic - electrically, magnetically charged, and one way of seeing if one is on the right path lies in reflecting on new encounters. Whether the new encounters one is making are leaving him//her in the same highly charged state or if, on the contrary, in a very short lapse of time he//she is drained and left with a shaky concept of the initial plan. This kind of affect can come very quickly in an indirect or direct mode. One can meet people who will feign enthusiasm and good will but from whom he//she will never hear again or/and people can have spontaneous negative judgement about the plan. The circumstances also play a role, and it is mainly about how the newcomer is adapting to them.

The newcomer to a country and/or a group of people is looking for something “else”, other than oneself. Part of the success of the enterprise will depend upon how he//she passes from the idea(l) plan to the possible world And existent face And real language or speech. Expectation and suspense. It is worthwhile to intuit, be patient and prudent.

We know that things and people are always forced to hide, determined to hide when they begin. How could it be otherwise? They appear suddenly in a set that has not comprised them yet, and they must put forth the common features that they conserve with the set, for not being rejected. The essence of a thing never appears at the beginning, but in the middle, in the process of its development, when its forces are strengthened (Deleuze, 1983:11).

In this sense, the individual needs time in order to be able to reach the other and be able to disentangle the different lines making one part of a group and at the same time a singular individual. In his book of essays, *L'amitié*, Maurice Blanchot (1971) writes in one essay, *L'Homme au point zéro*, about Claude Lévi-Strauss and his book *Tristes Tropiques*. Lévi-Strauss appears sad to live in the twentieth century and wished he could have lived when the western world started its “conquests” and met all these tribes, for the “first time”... He knows better than anyone else that there is no evolutionary scale that can seriously consider placing Indian tribes in a lower position than, say, western society. Blanchot presents Lévi-Strauss' description of the Nambikwara tribe; their kindness toward each other, innocence, naivety and charming animal satiation as the most moving and truthful expression of human tenderness. Ten years later, another observer notes that the community was devastated by hatred, sickness, poverty, ugliness, and distrust. Blanchot rightly concludes that this change must have been a consequence of the contact with the white man, and that a heedless attitude's truth and beauty indicate that the one free of the weight of the future is as well without a future.

From this description, the ethnographer is having asymmetrical power relations related to the binary couple “researcher-researched”. The sequence North-South, Coloniser-colonized, White-Black/Native, Middle class-poor, urban-rural, man-woman/child, heterosexual/any other sexual orientation, is highly representative of twentieth century anthropology. By the end of twentieth century, when anthropologists started doing fieldwork research at home, and former research colleagues turned into researchers and came to western countries to do fieldwork research, the perception of the situation changed.

What a process line of knowledge production does “corresponds” only to its own activity. When one claims to judge another's truth, it is trying to impose its own activity where it isn't doing. It is not

engaging in a noble act of impartial knowing. It is declaring an imperialist war of cognitive cleansing. The “judgement” is tantamount to an interdiction of existence based on a refusal of empirical difference: (...) (Massumi, 2002:246).

Instead of judging the other truth, ethnographical practices could be seen in terms of exchange: I affect the other, and the other affects me. The ethnographer has an idea, a plan, a dream; he//she wants to verify something and exchanges questions about the matter with people concerned. As a human being, the ethnographer is also a member of the group involved in the exchange. As an adult white-native middle-class Canadian woman, in my singular case, I am different from the Brazilian children with whom I interacted. The Brazilian white middle-class boy//girl child is different from the white middle-class girl//boy child who is different from the black middle-class boy//girl child who is different from the white poor girl//boy child, who is... DIFFERENT, but still a child like all the other seven year-old children with similar concerns regardless of skin colour or the socio-economic class or the sex, concerns that became mine as well; One individually and One universally. We are exchanging, we are interacting, and we are affecting each other’s potentia.

A potential does not preexist its emergence. If it doesn’t emerge, it’s because it wasn’t really there. If it does, it really only just arrived. The vagueness is the way in which potential presents itself in the unfolding of experience. The degree of vagueness corresponds to the margin of uncertainty in the situation. The vague is the newness, the “nextness” of what will be again –but already, as it is under way. It is the difference in the *process* of repetition (Massumi, 2002:232).

It is through the “experience/experiment” as described and told by the other and the one we account for ourselves, that we can trace lines between singular subjective parts and social institutions. It is important to highlight here that experience doesn’t mean only human experience; plants, animal, and insects are also considered extending a multiplicity of possible worlds. Deleuze insisted that the human was the racist of all images, an imposed image that imprisoned us (Colebrook, 2002:66). The different becomings: becoming-woman, becoming-child, becoming-animal, becoming-molecular, becoming-imperceptible are ways of liberating ourselves from the human. I decided to invest in the becoming-child because too little attention had been drawn to this becoming within philosophy and anthropology. This doesn’t mean that the child cannot undergo becoming-animal or any other becoming, but within this research project I dealt with the becoming human and minority.

I will illustrate the concept of empirical experiment by presenting how a group formed by seven individuals affected each other over the course of the research, in particular as it relates to idea of friendship. Affect is in some ways the opposite of a concept. A concept gives order, or direction, to our thinking. Affect, by contrast, is the power to interrupt synthesis and order (Colebrook, 2002). The children I worked with were not chosen intentionally, and I will go more in-depth into this topic in the ethnographical part. A group of seven was formed in each school before I got to know all the children in the classroom well. At the same time, it was interesting to see how our weekly encounters affected the way the group of children interacted with each other during our meetings.

It was the first year of school for all the children at Magalhães Bastos. The two girls of the group, Tayna and Leticia, became friends for a few weeks. During this period of time

Tayna was very cooperative. She then got sick and did not show up for two weeks. When she came back she was not Lécia's friend anymore, and she was less motivated than before these two weeks of absence. Lécia stayed constant during the year. She interacted as little as possible with the other boys but was not antipathetic either. Mateus and Acildo became friends as well. However, Mateus did not like the fact of Acildo always playing during the break, so he did not play with him during this time.

Rodrigo, Vitor and Walln became bullies, one after the other. In fact, Rodrigo already had his older cousin in another classroom and he always spent the break with him and his friends. Vitor was very sad because his sister, one year younger, had to wait another year before joining him at Magalhães Bastos'. He missed her and cried a lot. The other boys rejected him because of his attitude. Walln was very quiet at the beginning; he did not really mix with the others but was not rejected by them either. However after, a few months, he got depressed and started to arrive at school in the morning crying, and the other boys stopped playing with him. The girls and the boys did not interact with each other. All the children of this group had very different personalities that did not really match. For the duration of work, they came individually, not particularly showing a group spirit, and on rare occasions I had to intervene because Acildo or Rodrigo were being too rude to Vitor or Walln.

At Daruê Malungo, the group formed, deformed, and reformed many times during the year of fieldwork. I worked with children of different ages as well. The friendship between the children passed through the same kind of group sequence. Since every one lived close to each other, they played together outside the centre hours. When they came back from the weekend, they always had stories that involved other children from the centre. They all knew what was happening in the neighbourhood, they knew what the financial situation of each family was, who the mother was and what she did. Most of them knew where one another were living.

Friendship changed depending on the nature of the conflict and whom it involved. Bianca and Aline were friends and then enemies because, according to Bianca, Aline had talked to other people behind her back. During the year of fieldwork research at the centre Aline started to work with me, then left the centre because her mother said, and Aline thought as well, that it was a centre for sorceries. During this period of time, Aline became evangelist. After two months, she came back to the centre; her appearance had changed a lot. She had short hair instead of her long braid extensions, and she was wearing glasses. She had left the evangelist church; she was happy to be back for the next three weeks, but then she went away again and did not come back during the time I was there. During the time she returned for three weeks, she became friends with Bianca again and when she left, they stopped talking to each other.

The centre Daruê occupies an important place in the lives of the children. They were making a difference and identifying who was and who was not going to the centre. Willyane, the sister of Wanderson who joined the group a little before her brother left the centre, also became friends with Bianca. However, by the end, they were not getting along anymore and Bianca showed impatience towards Willyane. In fact, they did not have the same point of view on stories and gossip. Willyane was imagining intrigues and details, Bianca thought she

was going way too far. At the end of our year together I was working with Bianca, her cousin Dougla, Cláudio, Willyane, Ricardo, and Marcelino. Marcelino was the only one living outside the favela Chão de Estrelas and for this reason he did not have the same kind of relationship with the others. He kind of got along with Cláudio when working with me, and over the course of the year they became closer.

However, what Cláudio was living at home was something that Marcelino could not understand and when it got heavy, Cláudio preferred to become closer to Dougla who had a very complicated life situation. At the end, Willyane had the support of Ricardo; on the other side Bianca, Dougla and Cláudio were allied against them. In fact, the fight really concerned Bianca and Willyane. Bianca was the oldest and Willyane had a very strong personality; all these stories did not really interest Cláudio, and he acted as an accessory for the bad words exchanged. Willyane and Ricardo were very close neighbours and they saw each other more often. I had to intervene many times in this group, either because they were being disrespectful to me (in general it was coming from Cláudio or Marcelino), or their verbal arguments had reached a peak and the insults were going too far. Every time we met some verbal or physical aggressions took place.

At Arco-Íris, I worked with the most “popular” children from Denise’s 2003 classroom. The students had written down with whom they preferred to work. In my group of seven, the girls had very strong relationships with each other. Duda, Luana and Bruna were very close. All the girls had a crush on Igor, the most hyperactive of the group. Luana was the one expressing it most directly to him. She was also the most hyperactive girl. Igor expressed his interest most directly to Bruna who was rejecting him. At Arco-Íris, everyone talked to each other, and the relations between girls and boys were more playful. Pedro was closer to Igor at the beginning, but I then decided to separate them because it was very difficult to work with the group when they were together encouraging each other’s uproar. I always ended up working with Bruna, Luana and Duda together, and then a fourth child would join us randomly. Camila was often quiet, or she would interact mainly with only one other child. She had some affinities for Pedro and was also in love with Igor. The girls did not take Amadeu too seriously. Amadeu was a bit overweight, and he talked openly about it. He was the only one of my group who had a farm where he went almost every weekend, and he came back with lots of farm animal stories that did not seem to interest the girls.

Amadeu became best friends with Mateus, a newcomer who had been living in Germany for some time. They did everything together. They played during the break and went to do the same sport activity after school. Pedro liked Amadeu but as it turned out, he had such a good time inventing stories in his mind that he did not care much about the human beings surrounding him. He cared when the story was ready to tell. They talked amongst themselves about hair, birthday parties, secrets, and love. Camila did not really participate in these discussions when she was with the girls. She became more and more detached during the year. She became best friend with Maria, who was quite popular as well. At Arco-Íris what I had to manage most was the hyperactivity of Igor and Luana when together, or Igor and Pedro, or Pedro and Amadeu. I use the term “hyperactivity” in the sense of not being able to

keep the children focused on the activity to be realized on that day and of having to take an authoritative stance with him or her.

The children with whom I worked had fluid relationships between each other. They change friends often, becoming acquaintances depending upon whether the other liked to play the same games or lived near by their home, or showed solidarity in moments of fights. Interests shifted depending on how children affected each other, whether they created a good atmosphere when interacting or not. Anger against someone was fleeting and it did not mean that there were no possibilities of being friends at another time.

The three groups of children with whom I worked did not represent a harmonious collection of ideas that fluidly exchanged positive forces. I was the mediator who tried to disentangle aggressive interactions in order to install an atmosphere conducive to realizing the activity we were doing on that day. On many encounters I had with them, a certain chaos reigned for periods of time: at the beginning before explaining the activity or during the activity when a child's aggressive outburst was directed toward another colleague. Also, at the end when most of the children were about to leave the room without helping me gather the art material we had used. These punctual chaotic moments were part of our encounters, but their importance was minimised by the fact that we left each other with the promise of a new encounter and with the will of making it happen.

VI. Arrow Thrower

If you start everything that you want to do by asking: "Am I sure that I want to do this", timelessly, it will become your strongest gravitational centre. This is an example of one of Friedrich Nietzsche's (1844-1900) many aphorisms that express the importance of a saturated life. The wanting has to be turned into powerful will that will make what you desire always return. A life lived intensely and affirmatively, freed from its impurities that are often consequences of religious faiths, is what Nietzsche calls *nihilism*. Like Spinoza before him, Nietzsche had the same intuition of leaving religious faith behind to create a more positive perspective on life and an unconditional love for it. In this sense, self-reflection could be viewed as the final stage of nihilism, when the process of re-territorialisation is on its way. And as Zarathustra declares: "I came to my truth in many ways, by many ways... for *the way* does not exist". We need to live with force and courage in the here and now in this world.

Nietzsche said that a thinker always throws an arrow, as if in the void, and then that another thinker picks it up, to send it in another direction. It is how Deleuze (1990) sees the passage of the concept of force from Nietzsche to the one of power from Foucault. The philosophers share the idea that the force and the power cannot be reduced to violence; it is a relationship of power towards an object or a being. For Foucault, it consists of a relationship of force with other forces, with both sides having the reciprocal power of affecting each other. Foucault then goes further and looks at the relationship between the forces and the form, for the form is a composition of forces. If the (wo)man uses his//her forces (like will, imagination, comprehension) combined with other forces, it will give birth to a great form.

The combination depends on the nature of the other forces -animal, vegetal, divine, etc. Foucault's idea of subjectivation now resonates with Nietzsche's idea of new life possibilities. Neither refers to a flesh and bones subject, on the contrary, one reaches this dimension after a depersonalisation or dis-identification process and Nietzsche was probably the one who did it the most aptly.

For, according to the Nietzschean verdict, you will know nothing about concepts if you did not first create them with an intuition which is particular to them: a field, a plan, a ground, which is not confounded with them but that shelters their germs and the characters that cultivate them (Deleuze and Guattari, 1991:12).

The characters are the ones interfering in the conceptual creation, the third person singular, and the ones born out of the process of dis-identification. We cannot be more distant than psychoanalysis, in the words of Deleuze (1990:16) of untangling the indiscernible or of fixing what is due to each one of us. But since each of us, just like everybody, is already many, it makes a lot of people. It is the best manner to render multiplicities: writing, creating, and living are nothing other than being constantly crossed by forces, fluxes, and becomings. This third person takes the stance for the "I" and the "Others Us". The third person is instead positively fictitious and singular. Becoming is not being, and Dionysos becomes a philosopher, at the same time that Nietzsche becomes Dionysos.

The difference between conceptual characters and esthetical figures consists firstly in the following: the first are the concept forces, the second the affect forces and precepts (Deleuze and Guattari, 1991:64). There can be a parallel with Fernando Pessoa's heteronym. The work of Pessoa taken in its entirety shows both conceptual characters and esthetic figures, in-between all the others, and can be seen as a liberating action. We can decide, or, better put, recognise multiplicities as being prior to us and turning ourselves singular through the different ways by which we give them a body and a mind for their passage; virtual(s) modes of existence. It renders the subject empiricist and nomad.

Conceptual characters have this role of manifesting territories, absolute de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation of the thinking. The conceptual characters are thinkers, only thinkers, and their personalistic traits are closely united to the diagrammatic traits of thinking and to the intensive traits of the concepts (Deleuze and Guattari, 1991:67).

These characters serve to harm stupidities, which has nothing to do with Kantian tradition of correcting errors, the idea being to look at the problem in a new manner, to pose it well, making new forces visible and thinking experimentally about it. In the words of Foucault the opposite of stupidity is not intelligence, but rather thinking or philosophy itself. One of the ways of reflecting about the children I worked with is to consider them as both conceptual and esthetic characters. What we did together during a year was think and reflect on one's own life conditions. The question, "What are the themes that are important in my life at this moment?", was our first exercise to circumscribe how many people they wanted to give voices to. As Deleuze (1990:18) said, after considering that every body is many, the psychoanalysts will have to deal with small masses -minorities in constant becoming.

Becoming is about action, about the occurrence of an event. Becoming needs a historical context only to turn its back on it and start to create something new. The conceptual characters are becoming(s). It is what Nietzsche called the *Intempestif* (Untimely). The actual is not what we are, but instead what we are becoming, what we are in the process of becoming, that is, the other, our becoming-other (Deleuze and Guattari, 1991). The movement is constant and minoritarian. The minority does not distinguish itself from the majority by its number; a minority can be more numerous than the majority. What defines the majority is the dominant model to which we have to conform. In this historical moment the model is still the western capitalist, white, middle-class, heterosexual, male. Pearson Ansell (1997) underlines, Wallerstien (1991b) suggests, as did Deleuze and Guattari (1973), that it is only in the acceleration of the decadence of the present system, and not in its controlled transformation, that the prospects lay for creating a new world system. For Deleuze (1990) a minority does not have models; it is a becoming, a process.

When a minority creates models it is in order to become majoritarian, to make itself visible and to impose its rights as human beings. However, the initial creative force of the minority does not disappear if it reaches the majoritarian position; the creation stays free of the models. The individual needs to experience, which does not mean to turn into, rather sympathise and comprehend the different small masses's realities. It is a way of considering new manners more directly, exposing different forces of our own becoming-other.

VII. Nomadism

While considering the dis-identification process and getting back to thinking and its pure immanence, the concepts of de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation, Stranger and Autochthonous cross each other, melt into each other within a double becoming. According to Deleuze and Guattari (1991:82) while staying in the same place the land does not stop to operate a movement of de-territorialisation out of which it is exceeding all territories. The de-territorialisation movements are not separable from territories that open themselves towards an elsewhere, and the processes of re-territorialisation are not separable from the land giving back territories.

There are two components, the territory and the land, with two indiscernible zones, the de-territorialisation (from the territory to the land) and the re-territorialisation (from the land to the territory). We cannot say which one is first. We can hardly distinguish the Autochthonous individual from the Stranger, because the Foreigner becomes at home where the native is not, where the Autochthonous individual becomes a stranger to him//herself, to his//her class, to his//her nation, to his//her own mother tongue: we speak the same language, and yet I do not understand you... (Deleuze and Guattari, 1991:105). One becomes Stranger to oneself, to one's own language and nation. It is the peculiarity of anyone choosing or being forced towards exile. More positively it is a deliberate compulsory movement existence mode. Nothing happens, and yet everything changes, because the becoming never stops to go back over its components, and it brings back the event which actualises itself elsewhere, at another moment (Deleuze and Guattari, 1991:150).

Our power consists of affirming and producing an existence valuable in its own right. We have this power, even though it might appear distant, since we turn ourselves into slaves of the values we create. In the end, it is these values that prevent us from acting and modifying (inside the possible) our lives. We have to create new values, to become artists of our own existence (Schöpke, 2004:124).

For Hume, the fiction of a continued existence, as much as the one of the identity, is false. All identities are precarious and provisory; every being is unique and does not survive time. The eternal return means the absolute repetition of the “Whole”. The whole is all the forces that engender beings -the matter and all the elements constituting all things. It is through absolute repetition that pure difference, it being the principle of the all Nature, returns. Everything always repeats itself, but everything is always new and different.

Deleuze (1968:378) defines three different moments of repetition. We produce something new, and following that we repeat one time on the mode, which constitutes the past. We repeat a second time in the present; it is the moment of the metamorphosis. On the third repetition what is produced is something absolutely new in and of itself, exceeding itself; it is the future as eternal return. The first repetition is associated with the condition, the default, and the comical. The second one represents the agent, the becoming-equal and the tragic. The exceeding repetition does not leave anything to subsist; the drama of the eternal return is absolute novelty. What is new is the difference. Repetition is neither the permanence of the One, nor the resemblance of the multiple. The subject of the eternal return is not the same, but different, not the similar, but the dissimilar, not the One, but the multiple, not the necessity, but the fortune.

For Deleuze (1968:381), we have to live and conceive time out of its hinges, time as a straight line that pitilessly eliminates the ones who embark on it, who come on the scene, but who repeat once and for all. The selection is made between the repetitions: the ones who repeat negatively, the ones who repeat identically, will be eliminated. They repeat only once. The eternal return is only for the third repetition: the time of the drama, after the comedy, after the tragedy (the drama is defined when it becomes joyful, and the comedy, comical of the superhuman). Only the affirmation returns, that is to say the Different, the Dissimilar; nothing returns from what negates the eternal return, nor the default, nor the equal -only the excessive returns. Only the third repetition returns. The eternal return is the internal identity of the world and of the chaos, the Chaosmos. Spinoza univocity is now an object of pure affirmation, the third repetition of the eternal return. Univocity means: what is univocal is Being itself; what is equivocal is what one says about oneself.

The new solicits forces of an unknown model, located in-between the land and the territory, the Stranger and the Autochthonous individual, an indiscernible zone, where no recognition is possible. It is where the nomad thinker fluctuates on the migrant lines. The sedentary thinker/line on the contrary bases his//her arguments on extrapolation. He//she does not pose the problem well and only works by recognition. It is safer, but it doesn't go further than the first repetition; it looks at the same without trying to problematise it in other ways. The sedentary thinking stays on the surface and navigates on a lake appearing more like a

mirror than made out of depths, hot and cold currents, taking it as a close circumference without considering its many river sources. It would be too adventurous to row against the current, ascend one of the streams, out of the curiosity to see where it can lead. The nomad thinker is empiricist, for he//she defines a dynamic space from the perspective of an observer linked up to it, and not from an external stance or a nihilist one.

The empiricism is not at all a reaction against concepts, nor a simple call of lived experiences. It is, on the contrary, the wildest creation of concepts that we have ever seen or heard of. Empiricism is the concept of mysticism, and its mathematism. Precisely, it treats the concept as the object of an encounter, as a here-now, or instead *Erewhon*¹⁰ from whence it originates, inexhaustible, the “here” and the “now” always new, distributed otherwise (Deleuze, 1968:3).

The nomad is not interested in the power and the prestige intertwined with society’s apparatus codification, which includes the law, the contract, and institutions. The nomad is not an outlaw, the dynamic’s defined space is not outside society, and the nomad looks at it with critical consciousness, position and perspective. He//she only lacks the will to participate in it sedentarily; on the contrary he//she is pure creative movement and the singular expression of the affirmative thinking of life potentia. Being a member of a political party, or a religious group, or being associated with an institution means the bureaucratisation of the self -getting trapped in the repetition of the same. The real danger is to lose the connections with the multiples, the possible(s), by starting to ponder life in terms of the micro-social structure, organisation, rules, laws, ethics, and exchanges within the party or the group.

The societies that he(man) forms are not less close than the ones of animal species; they are part of nature’s plan, not to a lesser extend than the animal species and societies; and man does not turn around less in his society than the species, or the ants in their domains (Bergson, 1932:1006,34).

The nomad with his//her constant networking, connections, travels from one group to another or/and from one country to another, has a lifestyle completely different than that of the lonely, solitary and isolated thinker-artist. His//her multiple(s) selves and conceptual characters are created out of his//her exchanges with other(s), it being everything constitutive of Nature. He//she will always find in the other(s) part of the answer to the problem he//she has been going out in the world to verify and experience. The nomadic system stays open for potential and punctual entries. It is less anguishing than the certainty that at any moment new scientific discoveries might entirely destroy arguments from the dominant philosophical system. Collections of ideas and concepts taken from a variety of source(s) are affirmed in particular moment in time, for it is impossible to reflect on something without fixing it in some way, but that doesn’t mean that the movement stopped. On the contrary, it is the moment where critics and reflections lead to new directions, new sources of inquiries. It is a way of living one life free of resentment of the sedentary, for only the ones who can say “yes, I would repeat everything again” made their lives worth living in an unrestricted, affirmative mode. Only for these individuals would it not be a burden to imagine its infinite repetition.

¹⁰The Erewhon of Samuel Butler appears as a disguise of the no-where and an upheaval of the now-here.

With the help of these philosophical concepts, I went back to the source of a relation, specifically the establishment of a symmetrical power relation. This relation involved me as an individual, and in this present context a subjective researcher and the individuals and research colleagues with whom I worked in Recife, Brazil. The different theoretical shifts regarding the place of the research colleagues in ethnographical works and the power relation researcher-informants motivated a more in-depth reflection on how a relation is established as well as how this process can be described differently than by referring to the patriarchal system of thoughts. Furthermore, the position of the researcher within this reflection becomes one of affirmative thinking and action. To intuit means to tune oneself to the inner movement of other individuals. Empiricism is defined through the relation and the subjectivity of the individuals involved. The knowledge of the possibilities of affecting the other positively or negatively makes these relations possible.

Ethically, it means that one needs to work at favouring the positive exchange of forces in order to affirmatively affect the other and successfully conduct ethnographical work. Experimenting within a fieldwork context is related to creatively looking forward for new emotions and intensities. Creativity is the motor of every individual life. To be creative means to have a space of expression and agency. In order to open up this space, the minority group needs to be deconstructed to its singular composition: the individual. The affirmative ethnographical method sees the other as multiple and made of different conceptual characters traversed by the interactive grammar. In order to liberate both the researcher and the research colleagues from asceticism, the philosophical concept of the nomad is used in order to invest the positivity of differences and on-going becoming of each individual singularity. The social institutions are not forgotten but micro relations within them are favoured in order to map out instances of positive resistance marking moments of agency.

1.8 POOR CHILDREN OR CHILDREN AS A MINORITY GROUP IN BRAZIL

Before going to the ethnography I will present the prevailing representation of children in the history of Brazil and its actualisation in national films shown internationally. This description aims at putting forth the fact that it is a problem that the majority of children are born in poor households. Measures to resolve this problem were first endorsed by religious congregations and later on by the State and the civil society. The orphanages, the different detention institutions, and the type of education reserved for the poor children proved to be measures of control containing the children in close institutions.

During the different military governments and the twenty years of dictatorship, the fact that children were not found on the street was satisfying enough for the authorities not to look more closely at the source of the problem. The first political action taken for children was labelled “Street Children” while the organisation first originated from children who were small sellers. This movement is the one that received the greatest national and international

visibility because it emerged at the same time as a general civil condemnation of the police mass assassination of children found sleeping on the streets in big urban centres.

While poor children, being the majority of children as a minority, the national films internationally seen focus on the image of the problematic child, paying no attention to the poor children who do not turn into young criminals and the low and middle-class ones who live in another Brazil. In doing so, the problematic child continues to be excluded. If the idea is to open up the eyes of the Brazilian middle-class to children living in conditions that violate all their rights as a minority; the consequences of it are not marked, for example, by changes in public education that would give the same educational quality as private education or more urgently by focusing on how poor children can get shelter and enough food. It is not that these questions are not addressed by the Worker's party present government, rather that the task is so big that I believe that it is only through local micropolitical actions that changes can be more rapidly felt.

I. Children in Brazil

Institutional Power: Discourse and Practice in Contemporary Brazil

If I ask seven year old children in a school setting what things are important for them it is likely that the family and the school are going to be important themes, for the children's daily lives and realities amount to his//her time, either spent or not spent at school, and with or without members of his//her family. These themes are defined in a physical term, namely the school building and the house, and in relational terms, specifically the individuals with whom the child interact within these settings. At seven, in Recife, the child knows how to play the games of his//her society. He//she cannot clearly speak out the rules, but knows how to behave according to the state's expectations mirrored in his//her school and family. In this respect, working with children was very impressive, because with seven years of life experience, his//her behaviour with respect to class, race, sex and gender appeared as the opposite of the state's social and civic policies discourse.

That is to say that the actual implementations of these policies were not put into action and/or the institutions resisted these implementations. One stipulation is that the power of discourse did not take effect yet or that discourse did not yet takes effect, or that discourse is powerful as long as there is actual action taken and real will to favour transformation. Otherwise, political discourse formation and implementation strategies are only detached words that do not create or stimulate the realisation of ideas. Consequently, if children of seven know how to play the game, it shows that intuitively the individual understood the state's real expectations and exercises of power as the result of his//her short life's experimences.

The state's discourse is, zero hunger, class levelling towards equality, education for all, women's integration within civil societies, and so on. The reality is state corruption; the quality of state education has only deteriorated since its creation; unemployment, hunger, and

class gaps are growing more significant. Thus while a segment of the Brazilian society (in the present case, the Worker's party, the women's movement, NGO's, and grassroots organisations) would like to put forward new ideas, family and educational institutions have not yet adopted them, and they offer the children a conservative and traditional values landscape of possibilities. We are dealing more specifically with a Northeastern Brazilian society that should have entered into major social and civic transformations or better said, concrete actions toward transformations, since the Worker's party's election in 2001. The re-democratisation of the country started at the beginning of the 1980s when important changes occurred as compared to the decades of dictatorship, but many of the initiatives were undermined by political corruption.

An important aspect of the modern western state's power technique is that its emergence was based on the power technique from the previous Christian institution's organisation of power. Foucault (1982) refers to it as pastoral power, and its modern forms take shapes on a change of objective. The question is not to lead people to their salvation in the next world, but instead, of ensuring it in this world. This multiple salvation is echoed within health care, security, equal opportunity, life quality, and so forth. In Brazil, rhetoric surrounding salvation in the next world merged with its modern pastoral power objective. For the poor, the socio-economic gap is always deeper and farther from their terrestrial life salvation. This, in turn strengthened Christian radical Churches (such as the Evangelist and the Universal). Needless to say that Christian radical Churches positions concerning gender were not taking from the feminist second wave movement.

II. Perspectives on Education through Brazilian History

Colonial Time: The role of the Jesuits

The poor strata of the Brazilian society have met many obstacles in their educational trajectory since an early age. This contemporary reality can be traced back since the beginning of the Portuguese colonisation. I consulted mainly *A History of the Brazilian Child* by Dourado and Fernandez (1999), a book written for young people and putting forth aspects like gender, race and class in order to explain differences and the inequalities between children in Brazil. Additionally, the *Art of Governing Children. A History of Social Policies, Infancy Legislation and Assistance in Brazil* from Pilotti and Rizzina writer's organisation (1995) provided a legal-political history of children in Brazil. The Portuguese colonisation of Brazil brought a system informed by a monarchic and ecclesiastic organisation of power. The first tasks were to enrol the natives into forced labour for the colonials and convert the young natives to Catholicism. It soon became apparent that the local Indian tribes were not a suitable labour force for the new European settlers. They were fiercely independent and always desperate to return to their tribes and families. At every occasion they would escape and go back to the rainforest, where pursuit of escapees was highly dangerous and virtually impossible.

Desperate for labour, the Portuguese farmers began importing black slaves from Africa. The traffic of blacks and commercialisation of slaves lasted for around three hundred years in Brazil. The majority of the slaves that arrived in Brazil came from Mozambique, Angola and the Congo and belonged to different ethnic groups (Dourado & Fernandez, 1999). There were rivalries between the different groups, the half-castes and the blacks born in Brazil. The racial system in Brazil includes a name for the progeny of White and Black, White and Indian and Indian and Black.

Around the middle to the sixteenth century, the Jesuits received a Royal decree which gave them care and control of the Indians in their villages (Gambini, 1988). The Jesuits reflected that it was probably easier to achieve their goal through children's education. Young male orphans came together with the colonists, and the Jesuits used them to influence the Indians to convert. However, many orphans that learned their languages and participated in Indians rituals preferred to adopt their customs because of their beauty and freedom. Gambini (1988) affirms that the schools founded by the Jesuits were egalitarian and received Indians, whites, and half-castes all in the same classroom. The idea behind was that the Christian values would win over the others.

Following dominant Christian morals, children born out of marriage were not legitimate and consequently abandoned. Poverty was another reason to leave children on the Church porch or on the doorstep of wealthy residences. In 1521, through the orders of D. Manuel, the municipalities became responsible for the care of abandoned children and were permitted to create taxes to finance the institution (Pilotti & Rizzini org., 1995). The representatives of the municipality were often members of the congregation of the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* and it appeared difficult to arrive at an agreement between both parties concerning the amount needed to maintain this form of assistance.

This situation started to preoccupy the authorities and in 1726 the *Tour/Turn* was implanted as well as the *Asilo*. The Santa Casa administered the tour and the first one was opened in Bahia the same year (Marcílio, 1993). The name for it was *Roda dos Expostos*, the Turn of the Exposed. As in Donzelot's (1977) description, the children in Brazil suffered the same kind of neglect and the same fraudulent practices took place. If the first turn was implemented in France in 1758, it can be deduced that it was first tested in Portugal. It is impressive to note that, independent of the country and culture, the same kind of devious actions occurred in the systems.

Education Forbidden for the Children of the Slaves

From the end of the eighteenth century onwards¹¹, a period of stability and prosperity in place, the population began to grow, and agriculture and commerce started to flourish. The prohibition of the slave trade in 1850 put the Masters in a situation where they had to incite the women slaves to bear more children (Neves, 1993). The slave market's prices had

¹¹ Brazil Center Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas: Austin. <http://lanic.utexas.edu/ilas/brazctr>.

become too expensive. It became more lucrative to sustain the sons of the slaves, making it certain to have enough workers for the sugar and coffee plantations. As a form of resistance towards this new enslavement strategy, many women tried to avoid having children in the *Senzala*. Many of them aborted or abandoned their children in order not to see them grow up captive. The law of the *Ventre Libre* (literally Free Belly) that declared the newborns of the slaves free was approved in 1871, close to fifty years after José Bonifácio started to defend the rights of the pregnant slaves (Pilotti & Rizzini org., 1995). The law declared that children of slaves had to live under the authority of the Master, who had in turn the obligation to sustain them until the age of fourteen. From then on, with his/her work the girl or boy had to pay-off the investment made by the Master for his/her expenses. This state of things was prolonged until age twenty-one, when the individual born under the law could leave the property. The law also permitted the child to negotiate his/her complete liberty from the slave Master by paying him an amount equivalent to twenty-one years of work. In colonial times, thirteen year-old boys and girls were considered as small adults (Dourado & Fernandez, 1999).

In the Big House, *Casa Grande*, of the rich Brazilians, black babies were left on the floor and were treated like pets by the Mistress. In some farms, the Masters would choose a few slave children and bring them to live in the *Casa Grande*. The young slave girls did embroidery for the Mistress and baby-sat the children. The boys worked as messengers, they brought the mail and the newspapers. They took care of the horses, washed the feet of the Masters and their guests, served at the table, chased the mosquitoes, swung the hammocks, and carried small objects. In the cities, the young slaves learned a job and gave their earnings to support their Masters.

Many women living on their own supported themselves by the rental of these slaves. Until the second half of the nineteenth century, education for children older than the age of seven was not obligatory (Dourado & Fernandez, 1999), and a high percentage of children did not receive any education. After the second half of the nineteenth century more schools were constructed in the country. The slaves were not accepted in schools and girls from all social classes could not frequent schools. The rich families contracted masters to teach Latin, French, mathematics and other sciences to their male children. The girls received a very different treatment. The mentality of the time was that a girl should demonstrate not intelligence but submissiveness and a disposition to household activities.

Rousseau and Enlightenment ideas on education had crossed the Atlantic. There were some rich families that considered it important to give an education to girls, and in these cases they learned languages, musical instruments, and domestic etiquette. The confinement or seclusion of girls and women to the domestic environment was common. Some houses had reclude rooms for the women not to be seen by guests; often these rooms did not have any windows (Quintaneiro, 1996).

The Beginning of the Republic: Poverty and the Emergence of Institutions to Contain the Progeny of the Poor

With the end of the slavery (1888) and the beginning of the Republic (1889), the urban centre authorities became preoccupied with urban services' professional training and many young people got their first work through these new measures (de Paula Faleiros, 1995). However, not all the free slaves and their children could find work, and many of them started to beg and rob. When caught by the police, these young people were sent to an agricultural institute. The slaves got their freedom, but when faced with the impossibility of finding a job in an urban centre, they were sent back to the agricultural fields, working for free to pay for their "anti-social" behaviour.

At the beginning of the Republic, the relations between states' agents (with legal power and public recourse capacity) and private agents amounted to constant personal, religious, moral, economical and political interest conflicts. It is within these divergent conditions that the process of policies application or absence of policies' concerning children and adolescents in situation of poverty took place. Citizens' rights and participation began within a state/private patronage relationship that was confronted with an emergent public/private/society relationship while considering the opening of public institutions.

The institution for orphans, the abandoned, and the disabled (meaning the ones on their own, fleeing from the control of the families and menacing public order) became a kind of professional training school in the nineteenth century, when the idea of providing an industrial education for boys and domestic education for girls flourished. In general, the girl orphans were attended to by religious institutions, depending upon their colour and their filiation (legitimate or not). They were prepared for marriage or domestic work by being taught domestic arts. The boy orphans, poor, vagabonds, or beggars were directed to industrial or agricultural schools or military institutions to receive work training. These types of "education" presupposed social and racial segregation, confinement and spatial contention, time control, and submission to authorities' forms of discipline, following the idea of prevention of deviancy or the re-education of degenerates.

It was only in the 1980s that the boarding system for poor children was really questioned (Dourado & Fernandez, 1999). It was found that its maintenance was expensive, its practices ineffective and unjust. The adult that was coming out of it had profound troubles assimilating, due to the conditioning of institutional life. The boarding colleges for rich family children, was a practice that was rejected decades before the same was done with the boarding of the poor (Dourado & Fernandez, 1999).

Industrialisation: Education for future Employers or Employees

The measures used in Brazil to better the life situation of poor children did not result in social equality. Ideas surrounding how society should take care of poor children and rich children were different. For the intellectuals of the time, the children of the elite were protected from vice and crime because they were born in a “good family” and inherited all their virtues. As opposed to the elite well educated, the poor lived in terrible urban social conditions, in the midst of crime, alcoholism and vagrancy. A century ago, many intellectuals attempted to prove that children from alcoholic parents would be born with mental problems and an aptitude for vice. But there was also another kind of poor, defined as the poor hard-worker that maintained his/her dignity. These families were incited to send their sons to school or to learn a job, so that he/she would acquire the habit of working at an early age.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the capitalist potential of Europe and North America developed rapidly starting with large-scale industrial production. The colonies and ex-colonies of the Americas, Africa, and Asia had a second-hand roles within the international economic market. Brazil positioned itself in this block of second countries that were still importing close to all their manufactured products. The growth of the city of São Paulo was phenomenal, starting with the international valorisation of its coffee. When the country began its industrial growth, São Paulo naturally became the manufacturing cradle. The English had left an important inheritance: the railroad infrastructure and Santos, harbour stimulating the import-export dynamics of the industrial development of the city (Schneider, 1996). However, the industrialisation period did not alleviate the economic and social situations of the poor.

The system of education was divided into private and state schools wherein the curriculum and pedagogical methods were completely different. The rich received the ideas which were in vogue in Europe and North America. The new model proposed for primary and secondary education had as its objective to prepare children and teenagers for the needs of the market, in accordance with the student’s capacities for judgement, observation and initiative. These new pedagogical proposals were in conflict with the classical system of education adopted by the Catholic Church. The schools frequented by the majority of the infant-youth population continued to form sons of workers with the idea of using them as cheap labour. These students started to work very early but they could not take part in the activities, while attending school because they were too tired or completely disinterested by the pedagogical content.

The introduction of formal education for all at the beginning of the Republic did not achieve its objectives. Even by opening more student vacancies in the 1970s, the truancy and grade repetition made Brazil one of the countries with the lowest indicator of school attendance (4,5 years) (Pilotti & Rizzini org., 1995). From 1891, diverse legislation was introduced concerning infantile child labour but the majority of Paulistan industries did not respect them. The Sanitary Code of 1894, prohibited hiring twelve year-old minors in the factories, and the Sanitary service regulation of 1911 prohibited the industrialists from employing minors of eighteen or younger on the night shift (Pilotti & Rizzini org., 1995).

The dominant discourse of the time was that working would help children become better and more useful to society. For many politicians and jurists, the best attitude was to maintain a rigid work routine leaving the child without free time. The personality of the youths should be modelled within the work place; in this way new labour would be trained for the future of the nation would be trained. The worker's discourse, on the contrary, denounced working in the factories, as the physical and intellectual behaviour of the youths subjected to the hard industrial routine contributed to health problem.

The question surrounding child labour in Brazil continues to be controversial to this day. The law never was followed, nor was it respected. But the subject divided opinion, in the measure that a part of the infantile population could not stop working because their earnings were part of the family's household income. Official statistics indicate that at least seven million workers within the economically active population are between ten and seventeen years old (IBGE, 1992). This number does not include the children working in the informal sector, but we can deduce that the number is surely superior to that of the formal sector.

Military Governments and Dictatorship: Cleansing of the Streets or Re-educational and Correctional Institutions

From the beginning of the Republic to the present day, the history of Brazil has been fraught corruption, greed, and exploitation. In 1930, a military junta took over the Brazilian government, and the presidential power fell into the hands of a politician, Getúlio Vargas, who promised changes in the lives of the poor (Pilotti & Rizzini org., 1995). He said saying what many people wanted to hear.

'We are not an agrarian country anymore. We are not going to keep on being crushed, under the weight of the purchase of industrial products from the exterior! Iron, coal, petrol are the basis for economical emancipation of any country. We produce all of it and much more!'

The Vargas government approved laws that protected women and child workers, limiting the working day to eight hours and created institutes assisting children and the elderly. In the educational sector, Vargas initiated a series of changes that opened up more vacancies in the public schools of the whole country. In 1937, he installed dictatorship in the nation called *O Estado Novo* (Pilotti & Rizzini org., 1995). Civil rights were suspended, the Parliament closed and freedom of the press was abolished. At school, the children were taught to adore Getúlio Vargas. Some of the schoolbooks portrayed heroic stories about the dictator. The teachers were obliged to repeat adoration sentences with the children: "Children need a guide and this guide is President Vargas" (Dourado & Fernandez, 1999). After the state coup, the government started to adopt strict policies in relation to orphans and the abandoned.

Children without families or the ones that were wandering the streets were boarded in diverse institutions for young delinquents. These correctional colonies did not bring anything interesting to their detainees who, once out on the street, were marginalized. This repressive system was the SAM –*Serviços de Assistência ao Menor*- (Minor Assistance Services)

created in 1941 and its institutions were everywhere in Brazil, functioning most of the time as penitentiaries for criminal adults (Nogueira Filho, 1958). It was the first time that a federal organism was responsible for the control of official and private assistance on a national scale. There were fewer girls than boys in the institutions linked to the SAM. Many of the teenage orphans, abandoned or offenders, were given to middle class families where they worked as domestics, in a system of quasi-slavery. The ones that stayed in the boarding institutions were badly treated and sexually abused. The employees of the SAM forced the girls to prostitute themselves. Many of them were loaned to clubs and transformed into prostitutes, the proceeds of their business going into the pockets of the intermediaries and pimps.

In 1964, João Goulart initiated the year wanting to amplify the agrarian reform and to nationalise petroleum importation (Pilotti & Rizzini org., 1995). This decision did not make the entrepreneurs content, and many of them joined with the military to organise the general lines of a state coup to roust João Goulard from power. The military took the power from the civilians but did not give it back to them after two or three years as had been agreed. The military dominated the political scene for twenty years in a dictatorship fashion where the government prevented citizen's political participation and all communication modes were censored.

The question of child assistance was viewed as a national security problem, judging it to be a legitimate object of its normalisation and intervention. With this objective, the military created the Foundation for the well-being of minors (FUNABEM) and the National policy of well being of the minor (PNBEM) (de Paula Faleiros, 1995). Its mission was to ensure that the growing number of abandoned minors would not turn into easy prey for the communists and drug dealers. The question of the minors did not interest the national security board, their attentions being directed towards the eventual culmination of the potential "revolt feeling" from the marginalized adolescents and the anti-regime activists. Their preoccupation was with the effects it could have on the developmental process and potential productivity. While always invoking the priority of prevention and social re-integration into the families and/or the community, FUNABEM and PNBEM favoured, on a large scale, boarding all over Brazil through the FEBEMs and private entities (de Paula Faleiros, 1995).

The new military, which assumed the power in 1974, promised a slow transition to democracy (Pilotti & Rizzini org., 1995). Ernesto Geisel was elected indirectly by the national congress, but his position was against that of the military which followed the hard line of repressing all forms of political participation by the citizens. After many decades of debates, the juridical circle revised the Minor code of 1927 and finally replaced it in 1979 (Pilotti & Rizzini org., 1995). The new code consecrated the notion of "the minor in an irregular situation", which envisioned the problem of the marginalized child as a "social pathology".

The role of the Judge of Minors was to intervene in any irregular situation, which encompassed everything from the lack of essential conditions for subsistence and parental omission to penal infraction. The progeny started to behave as referees of their parents' good conduct, since moral abandon was a State presumption. It made it propitious for social control

policies to model the family on the society subjected, during this period of time, to normalising regulation. It is following this strategy that the judicial apparatus for minors was formed: tribunal, judge, police office, shelter, correctional schools and minors codes. The problem of poor childhood and adolescents was transformed into a justice and social assistance question giving rise to the dichotomy child/teenager -on one side the minor, on the other the political dimension of social inequality.

By the 1970s Brazil had outstripped all its neighbours and was the major industrial country of South America. And, in 1985, the country held its first democratic election in decades and finally returned to civilian rather than military government. In spite of this, the gap between the rich and poor became greater, inflation ran out of control, and Brazil plummeted into an economic recession of vast proportions with foreign debts that were almost the highest in the world. In 2000, about half of the population, which was then 169 544 443 habitants was too poor to give to their children an adequate upbringing (Brandford & Kucinsky, 1995).

Democracy: Half of the Minor Population in Situation of Irregularity

At the beginning of the 1980s the Brazilian society had hope for significant transformations with the restoration of democracy in the country. One of the first things out of a long list to be questioned was the notion of irregularity, mainly because information on childhood and adolescents started to be produced and circulated more intensely. The social statistics portrayed an alarming reality. An important part of the child-youth populations was the poor segment, which included close to thirty million abandoned and marginalized. The question was how half of the population between 0 and 17 years of age could be in an irregular situation (Pilotti & Rizzini org., 1995)? The main explanation for this figure came from the military rulers paranoia of revolt outbursts. Instead of dealing with the problem of poverty forcing children and young people to search for food and money on the street, they applied a general cleansing program and parked them in detention facilities for minors. Many organisations and popular participants took the lead in the struggle for guaranteed rights. Quickly an important social movement formed (by NGOs, civil society groups, the Church, and the progressive organs of the government) in support of children and adolescents in situations of poverty and social marginalisation; they took steps to be nationally recognised in their fight for the rights of citizenship for children and adolescents. This movement inscribed its plan in the Constitutional proposal of 1988:

It is the duty of the family, society, and the state to assure with absolute priority the rights of children and adolescents to life, health, food, education, leisure, occupational training, culture, dignity, respect, freedom, and family, community life, and in addition to protect them from all forms of negligence, discrimination, exploitation, violence, cruelty, and oppression.

- Article 227, Brazilian Constitution of 1988¹²

¹² <http://www.georgetown.edu/pdba/Constitutions/Brazil/brazil.html>

Article 227 mentioned first of all, the duty of the family regarding the well being of children. The family is not a unit independent of the State and society but is controlled by both entities. According to Donzelot (1977) and Bedarida, & Sutcliffe (1981), the notion that children should be kept off the streets coexists happily with the view that the family and the school are the chief legitimate agents for the socialisation of children. In nineteenth century Europe, children were the leading colonists of the street and their street life was to be curtailed drastically by schools. This period witnessed the removal of children from the “public spaces” of the streets and workplace to their homes, schools, and places for organized entertainment (Cockburn, 1995). Schools also organized the time schedules of children, which in turn left very little space for work. Education and more importantly, literacy gained international consideration following the Second World War.

In the early 1960s, UNESCO organized a series of regional conferences at which education ministers from Asia, Africa and Latin America set their timetables for achieving universal primary education (Boyden, 1990). Poor urban children in Northeast Brazil have an important role in bringing in resources, but their options are limited. Some of the principal means of earning are (Hecht, 1998): Hawking items that require little capital, such as popsicles or chewing gum; Apprenticing with a mechanic, furniture maker, or another working-class adult; Working as a guide for visitors (an especially common practice in Olinda, Recife’s twin city); Doing odd jobs such as washing store windows or carrying around goods at the market; Helping their parents in their work; Begging; Scavenging for items that can be sold, such as glasses’ bottles, cans, and cardboard, and Petty theft.

Western countries rose up against the exploitation of the child labour force and the terrible conditions under which they were working. Notwithstanding, new laws were signed and ratified by more than a hundred countries as the United Nation’s Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989, ratified by Brazil as well. As for the right to primary education, the protective bans on the employment of minors are universalised without considering the fact that cultural values and practices change from one locality to another. The Convention does recognise the child’s capacity to act independently, bestowing not just protective, but also enabling rights, such as the right to freedom of expression and association. Unfortunately there is very little knowledge about the way children, who are themselves directly affected by serious problems of life and survival, think about their situation. As Glauser (1990) suggests, the dominant ways of speaking about children are discourses about “others”; about lives, problems and situations which are not lived or shared, but merely observed externally by the speaking subjects. Limiting access to work for children in many developing countries means taking the last resort for survival: criminal activities and prostitution (Allsebrook and Swift, 1989). The different names that are expressing the relations between rich and poor countries are part of a generalising concept that blurs the particularities of each different country.

Furthermore, according Massumi’s (1992) line of arguments, the inclusion of all nations in the international debt economy and the creation of “peripheral” areas of underdevelopment in the very heart of the Western world’s largest capitals have blurred the boundaries between the “First” and the “Third” Worlds. It is important to underline that policy-makers insist on schooling policies without regarding certain basic facts. For instance, some children might be

a necessary source of labour within the household. Without their contributions one of the first consequences would be a poor diet. A child at school with nothing in his/her belly is not going to be able to concentrate. The family might accept that the child goes to school whilst being unable to purchase the school's books, uniforms and so forth. As a consequence, the child has to work to cover the different expenses that schooling involves. As Boyden (1990) highlighted, on the other hand, there is no evidence that work is in itself a damaging experience for children, nor is there any evidence that working children inevitably become involved in illicit activities. For example, depending upon country, culture, class and gender, for one child work may be constituted as employment while, for another, it is a form of social learning (Brannen, 1999).

Child work is often also considered as a hobby, not as real work, because, as Ennew (1986) argues, Western childhood has become a period in the course of life characterised by social dependency, asexuality and the obligation to be happy, with children having the right to protection and training but not to social or personal autonomy. These social constructions of childhood leave us blind when it is time to acknowledge children's sense of responsibilities and often astuteness regarding money-making activities. Rogers and Standing (1981), for example, include categories of work as part of a whole range of children's activities. They suggest ten areas: domestic work; non-domestic work; non-monetary work; tied or bonded labour; wage labour; marginal economic activities; schooling; idleness and unemployment; recreation and leisure; and reproductive activities. And finally, children might feel that they need to earn money for themselves.

Capitalist Bureaucracy: the Poor Poorer

Among all the attempts at reformulation of childhood and adolescent assistance in Brazil, the institutional bureaucracy fell into complete inertia. It transformed itself into a sort of perverse routine. The private and public assistance continued to work under economical and political patronage, always paying more attention to the possibility of personal benefits than action. The social control mechanisms projecting this monolithic image of poverty maintained it for two centuries without any prejudice from eventual historical or regional variations in perception. In general, they classified the poor through all sorts of inadequacies. Rephrasing Pilotti & Rizzini org. (1995) ideas like: it is because they are not white; they do not have a clear and stable family situation; they don't have a certain and known personal situation; they cannot count on basic materials necessary for dignified survival; they don't pursue a formal education, nor adequate professional qualifications; they don't have straightforward tastes and morality, good backgrounds, clean reputations and the list goes on.

These stereotypes of the poor, portrayed as inferior, vicious, ignorant, miserable, vagabond, promiscuous, turbulent, unpredictable, conformist, revolting, have always been the red banner of the agents dedicated to the vigilance of the society and public order. The poor family is considered to be incapable of taking care of its progeny. The mothers are normally denigrated as prostitutes and the fathers as alcoholics –both vicious, with an aversion to work, incapable of exercising good moral influence on their sons and consequently responsible for the problems of their progeny. The fact is that we only hear about the poor families that do

not take care of their children, and we forget about the majority that we don't hear about who do take good care of their children and often of children of others (see Fonseca, 1995). It is not unusual that some children end up being educated by the neighbours when the biological parents do not do their "job", but the myth created around the poor family served as a justification for the violent intervention of the state that began at the beginning of the twentieth century and continues to this day.

The Streets Forbidden to Poor Children

With the approval from the political elite of the time, jurists gave themselves the power to suspend, remove, and resort to the *Pater Power*; every time they judged that the family was not acting adequately towards the child. This is the case every time a child is found on the street of the city centre without an adult supervision. For Glauser (1990) the conjunction between "street" and "children" appeared necessary in response to what is considered as abnormal. Children could play on the street and be found in fields and gardens, but if a child was selling small goods, sniffing glue, not properly dressed and walking barefoot, he/she fell outside the social norm.

In the shantytowns, the "street" is also a loaded term. There are various reasons why a child will go onto the street and there is also a gender aspect entering into account. While the girls are often kept at home to take care of the young ones and the household, the boys often go onto the street to sell small goods, like candies and cigarettes, or to shine shoes. The mothers are fully aware of the realities of the street, and many of them are afraid to lose their children at the hands of criminals or police who might shoot them. Many children live partly on the street and return home everyday or after a few days. In psychological terms, home for many of these kids is an important "transitional object" (like a pacifier on a string) and not a permanent and dependable form of security (Scheper-Hughes, & Hoffman, 1998:359). Other children leave home because of chronic hunger, bad treatment, overcrowded spaces, violence, and sexual abuse. As Jenks (1996a) rightly emphasises, it is a paradox that in the haven which home may be said to represent, issues about surveillance, power, and control of the child may come to be more strongly voiced. For example, the family home is most often the site for sexual and physical abuse of children. For them, the street is better than home.

A distinction is also made between children that live *of* the street and *on* the street. For the first category, children earn money and food of the street but go back to their home at night. The other category lives on the street permanently. For Glauser (1990) who worked with children in Asuncion, Paraguay, there are many whose situation does not fit easily into either category. For example, there are children who spend the night on the street for reasons of convenience related to their jobs. There are also children the researcher knows have been living on the street and who have disappeared for long period of time, but who eventually come back. How does one define children's situations when the whole family is living on the street, as is the case with Indian city families and in some Brazilian cities?

Again, briefly, the problem with the terms used in a universal fashion is that they do not really pay attention to the variety of circumstances and definitions that may vary from one

local community, country, or continent to another. The consequence of this is that children who do not fit in one category or another are left out; more precisely, they become invisible in the eyes of the society. Glauser's arguments highlight the importance of empirical research in terms of a real field experience that brings to the fore the complexity of individual singular life reality. The distinction between living *of* and *on* the street is important for the children who return home every day and who do not want to be associated with the marginalisation associated with the "on" the street confers to. Not all children living on the street resort to stealing. Children are aware that stealing is criminal and they use this means only when necessary, or after coming out of detention where they learn from older ones that begging is humiliating and stealing is rewarding in the eyes of the powerful members of the band.

The State and society are completely failing to conform to Article 227 of the Brazilian Constitution of 1988; even worse, the reality of the poor people in Brazil appears like another Brazil, another country on its own. This Article among others was partly the result of the political organisation and activism of street children's representatives, culminating in a national gathering of children from all over Brazil (MNMMR) in the capital city of Brasilia in 1986. The idea for this encounter came from girls and boys from the city of Belém, of Pará state; it was articulated by a group of small sellers, which decided to write a letter, giving an account of their life situation. They then sent it to other street boys and girls in Brazil. Signed by a children's commission –with the names of their city gangs- the document was about the difficult situation they were living in Belém, and it proposed an encounter, for the girls and boys of all Brazil to learn what was happening in other cities. Again, on the 30th of November 1990, thirty-five hundred children marched through the streets of Rio de Janeiro to protest against the murder of five thousand street children by the police since the year 1983. And it is not as if there was not enormous lobbying and activism by thousands of non-governmental, grassroots and favela inhabitants' organisations in Brazil struggling on a daily basis to change the situation.

Alvim, Caldeira, Dimenstein, Dourado, Fernandez, Goldstein, Hecht, Hoofman, Pilotti, Rizzini, Teixeira, Sargent, Scheper-Hughes, Violante, the people involved in *Grupo Rua e Praça* from Recife, are a very small portion of all the researchers, policy-makers, NGO workers and activists who are concerned with poor Brazilian children's situations. I looked more directly at the question of the street and children in order to present a segment of Brazilian children's reality that was not explored during this fieldwork research and that represents children as a minority group in Brazil. As I worked with children through educational institutions, I did not interact with children living on the street or who had lived for certain periods on the street. I worked with children from the Daruê Malungo that live of the street but who came back to their parents' or extended family member's houses more or less every day. In this sense, the children of the Daruê Malungo are the ones that are more liable to turn to street life. The centre's activities are a good example of a counter strategy to keep the children in the neighbourhood and close to their houses.

III. The Problems with the Representation of Children in National Films for International Audiences

The national films' representation of children in Brazil concentrates on problematic childhood. There is an interest in unveiling the misery of many children's lives, but it also limits the complexity of the question to a stereotype of marginalized children who fell into criminal activities at an early age. The violence depicted in those movies often prevents international audiences from seeing a certain number of subtle differences between children living in the shantytown. Within this film tradition, the first filmmaker who presented this reality internationally is Hector Babenco in 1981 with the movie *Pixote. The Law of the Weakest*. His film is the crudest depiction of the lives of children in a correctional institution. *Central do Brasil* by Walter Salles (1999) is another example that presents a reality that put forth the incapacity of adults to take care of children and thus children's agency. The documentary *Omnibus 174* by filmmaker José Padilha (2002) put forth the social condemnation of children circulating abnormally on the street. It reflects how the past institutional structure containing these children did not find real new venues for development and changes since the mid-eighties. Finally, the movie *City of God*, written by Fernando Mereilles (2002) and based on a true story, depicts the evolution of criminal activities in a shantytown founded in the 1960s by poor people who were removed from the urban centre of Rio de Janeiro to the periphery.

**Pixote: The Law of the Weakest. Being a Poor Child without Responsible Caring
Adults around is Equivalent to a Death Sentence**

Pixote is an eight year-old boy living in the streets of São Paulo. The reason for him being put in detention is not clear. The movie starts with a group of children about to enter the correctional institution. An officer identifies the children by their names and the names and addresses of their parents, when known. Once identified, the children are handcuffed and put in a row to enter the correctional centre. The guard in chief, who looks like a criminal himself, explains that the legislation in Brazil protects the minors and that they are untouchables. The guard doesn't care about the legislation and he affirms that if the children do not want to collaborate he will choose a guilty one himself. These words come after a young boy is raped by a group of older boys during the night in the dormitory. The rules are set: the children cannot trust the adults in charge of them in the centre, and they need to form bands in order to fight the older ones and be respected. Pixote makes alliances with two boys and one transvestite, and the older boys leave him in peace.

The movie *Pixote* was filmed at the beginning of the 1980s when the liberty of the press was slowly being re-established and children's well-being in correctional institutions was being questioned. The film shows clearly that the policy inside the institution is that anything can happen as long as nothing is leaked to the press. A minor killed an important man whose family insists on finding who committed the murder. The police chief goes to the correctional centre and gathers with the guard a group of children that might know who killed the man. He doesn't get the answer and decides with the guard to select a group of children, to show to the wife and the man who was killed. The group of children, including Pixote and one of his friends, are transferred to a prison where the wife of the man comes to identify the guilty one. She tells the police chief that she remembers vaguely that the boy was blond but that she

cannot point one of them out as being the guilty one. The chief tells her that it is a difficult task but that it is part of the job and he points at two boys with blond hair, one of them being Pixote's friend. The wife leaves the room saying to the police chief that he is the one, inferring that they identified the murderer. The group of children are thrown naked into a dark cell and do not receive food and water for days.

Two boys between fourteen and fifteen are found dead in the street and the judge of minors, along with a group of journalists, pay a visit to the detention centre. The children are removed from the dark cell and the guard tells them to keep their mouths shut about everything. Unfortunately one of the children is unconscious, and the guard has to put him in bed in the dormitory. The judge walks together with the director of the correctional centre and when they arrive at the dormitory he asks him if the children are locked inside. The director lies, laughing that it is a legacy from the previous administration but that of course they don't use it.

The friend of Pixote identified as the murderer of the important man is battered by the guards and put in the hospital of the centre. His mother who came to visit him every Sunday does not see him, and she starts to wonder what happened to him. She is told that a group of children battered him but that he will survive. Pixote is found very sick because of the time spent without eating and drinking in the dark cell, and they put him in the hospital as well. At night he sees his friend in another bed in a very critical state. He dies from internal bleeding during the night and is found another day in a mountain of detritus in a favela.

All throughout the film the audience assists at the daily routine in the centre. The children are doing all the chores, they are seen in the classroom learning how to write without much interest, in the refectory where they eat soup and a piece of bread, playing soccer, pretending to rob a bank, smoking weed, sniffing glue, and on a Sunday with relatives coming to visit. If the conditions inside the centre are terrible, what really makes it unbearable for the children are the guards pinning the murders of children on them. Another friend of Pixote is killed for the murder of the blond one, and after that murder the blame is laid on the transvestite who was his best friend. A group of children including Pixote, the transvestite Lilica and Dito escape together. Once outside they steal people's wallets and purses. After some time, Lilica, enters in contact with a drug dealer and they buy a good amount of cocaine, that they want to sell in Rio de Janeiro. Once in Rio they go to the place the drug dealer advised them to sell the cocaine, but they are conned by the clients. They become pimps of a prostitute and steal from her clients. Lilica, who had become Dito's lover, leaves after seeing him having sex with the prostitute. Dito is killed some time after by one of the client who had a gun, and Pixote stays alone with the prostitute.

The actor Fernando Ramos da Silva became famous for some years and was then forgotten. He became poor again and in 1988 he was killed by the military police in the favela where he lived (Scheper-Hughes, Hoffman, & Goldstein, 1998). What makes Pixote a remarkable movie is that, on the one hand, it came out of a moment where a lot of attention was paid to the fact that more than half of the population of minors was found in irregular situation. On the other hand, it clearly shows that for a great number of children their life

condition in the Brazilian social context sentences them to death. The life portrait of Pixote is done slowly and coherently which gives to the movie a documentary style. At the end, I wondered what was more disturbing: the fact that an eight year-old is sexually active, consuming and dealing drugs, and using a gun, or the corruption inside the correctional centre and the unfair adult logic that, in my view, can only imprint a desire of unconditional revenge on the children submitted to it. The latter of the two disturbed me the most because the adults involved do not pay of their own life while as is the case with the children.

Central do Brasil. When Being a Child and Agent means to be Macho

In Central do Brasil, the child story is different. Josué, a boy of around ten years-old, is the son of a woman from the interior of the Northeast state of Pernambuco. She went to the Southeast city of Rio de Janeiro in order to make money and sustain her other two elder sons who stayed with their father. The action first takes place in the train central train station of Rio where the mother and Josué asked for the writing services of Isadora, a woman in her late fifties who writes letters for illiterate people. Josué's mother goes to this woman because her son insists on meeting his father. The first letter she asked Isadora to write put forth that Jesus, her husband, was the worst thing that ever happened to her but that their son -though she had told him that his father is worthless- wants to meet him. A few days later, Josué and his mother came back to Isadora, and the mother asks her if she sent the letter. Isadora, who in fact never sent any of the letters she wrote, tells them that she was about to send it on the same day. Josué's mother told her that she had been too harsh on her husband and that she would like to write another letter. In the second letter, she tells her husband that in fact she misses him and that she will travel back home with Josué.

When Josué and his mother walk outside the train station and cross the street, his mother is run over by a bus and dies on the spot. Josué is left by himself and doesn't know anyone to go to. He stayed at the Central train station and sleeps there. Isadora saw him and eventually offers him a sandwich that he refuses. He does not trust her and tells her that he doesn't want to have anything to do with her. The guards of the central station chase the young people out at the end of the night. On the next day, an adolescent steals a small radio made of plastic. People start to scream and the guards run after the thief. They intercept him outside the station on the railway and shoot him dead. They return the radio to the small seller. These first ten minutes of the movie brought to the fore the following: the state of social isolation felt by Northeastern immigrants who do not have any acquaintances in the Southeast, groups of children wanderer's in the central station and aggressive responses from the guards and finally that a young wanderer life is worth nothing. The chances of survival for Josué are small and later on a guard approaches him. Isadora sees it and walks to them; she tells the guard that she knows Josué. The guard takes her aside and tells her something. Isadora goes back to Josué and offers to take him to her place.

When he arrives at Isadora's apartment, Isadora's neighbour Irine comes over. They sat together to eat and Josué asked them where their husbands are. The women answer that they are not married and Josué, who is surprised, asks them who is taking care of them. Isadora answers that they take care of themselves just like Josué's mother did. Josué says that he was

the one taking care of his mother. When they have finished eating Josué comments that the food was not really good but that his mother did not know how to cook well either. The next morning, Isadora takes Josué to an apartment building where she meets the guard from the central station. They walk together to an apartment where they meet a woman who explains to Josué that he is going to be adopted by rich gringos from Europe or the US and that his life is going to be much better than staying with Isadora who has little to offer.

Josué understands that they set him up and follows the woman into another room. Isadora and the guard share two thousands American dollars. When Isadora comes back home with a new television set, Irine asks her where she got the money from and where Josué is. Isadora finally confides that she left him in a special orphanage. Irine tells Isadora that Josué is too old to be adopted and that they are going to kill him to sell his organs. Isadora cannot sleep, and the next morning she goes back to take Josué away. The child does not want to follow her, but they end up escaping together. Isadora decides to accompany Josué to the Northeast in order to find his father.

The rest of the movie in a road movie style, depicts their journey and Isadora's transformation from a bitter, cold-hearted woman into a charming and sensitive one. This transformation happens because of Josué's constant remarks about her being a liar and a worthless person. Though Isadora insists that Josué's father is also a worthless person and an alcoholic, while she is a heavy drinker herself, she starts to believe that they will find him. Josué compliments Isadora when she puts on lipstick on to seduce an Evangelist truck driver who gives them a ride. He also takes care of her when they arrive in a village where a religious procession is taking place and she faints. He takes the initiative to invite people to write letters to the Saints or to the people they care for, and Isadora writes them charging one Real. With the money they make, Josué buys a dress for Isadora and tells her that she will look beautiful in it.

They rent a hotel room with the money and Josué observes Isadora getting undressed. When he joins her in the bed they have a playful exchange about Josué's experiences with women. Josué tells her that he slept with many women already. Isadora asks him how he makes love to them, to which Josué responds that it is not a subject to be discussed with a woman. Isadora laughs at him and tells Josué that she is in bed with a real man. Before they take the bus to Josué's village, Isadora goes to the post office to send all the letters. They do not find his father who happened to be a drunk and who had disappeared, but they do find Josué's older brothers who appear to be able to take good care of him. Isadora leaves their house at daybreak.

Central do Brasil is a movie about a young boy's journey into the adult world. Josué is only ten but his character is depicted as a man, a complete agent who is the one making decisions and taking initiatives. While his vulnerability is shown when he is in the hands of bad adults, his force of character coupled with good values makes him win over the harshness of his situation. Isadora who first appeared as an untrustworthy woman turns out to have much in common with Josué. She lost her mother when she was Josué's age and left the house at sixteen. When she crosses paths with her father a few years later, he doesn't

recognise her and tries to seduce her. Her father dies a few years after this encounter. Her celibacy left her bitter and cold-hearted and it is through the eyes of a young boy that she starts to find herself desirable again and turns into a real woman. It is as if all she needs is to find a good man to take care of her.

Josué's mother, Isadora, and Irine are autonomous women, but their ideal life situation is to have men in their lives. Josué's and Isadora's fathers are worthless men who did not take their responsibilities with their children but they are still loved by them. While in the end, in my view the movie is much more about gender issues in the Brazilian culture, and the reinforcement of masculine stereotypes, the focus is on a child's agency and cleverness within a society that has no mercy for children left alone.

The story works because it is not surprising that no adults can orient the child towards a place where people can help him out. The adults working in the central station are looking for ways to make fast money and take advantage of the vulnerability of the child. The child without extended family or adults he knows can take care of him is lost. He thus needs to be expert in choosing adult individuals in whom to confide. All his creativity is at the service of his survival. Poor children in Brazil are often scolded that if they don't behave, they will be placed at the FEBEM. The institution is reserved for delinquents, but it is not unusual to find children inside who are there because no adults want to take care of them. As we have seen, it is very unlikely that a child will come out of the FEBEM knowing how to read and write or with the capacities to find a job and or be integrated in school.

Omnibus 174. In 2000 in Brazil, Being a Poor Child without Responsible Caring Adults around means to be Sentenced to Death

On June 12, 2000, twenty-one year old Sandro do Nascimento, "ex-child of the street" at the age of twenty-one, hijacked a bus in the city of Rio de Janeiro in the South zone, where the rich people live. For four hours, three television channels filmed the bus and the interactions between Sandro, the hostages, and the Military police officers. By the end of the four hours, four hostages, all women, were still alive, even though Sandro repeatedly threatened to kill them, pointing his gun at their temples. He then went out of the bus with one of the hostages in front of him. A policeman tried to shoot Sandro but missed him and the bullet hit Geísa Gonçalves, a teacher, in the face. Three other shots entered her body, one coming from Sandro. Three policemen took him to a military car where they asphyxiated him to death on the way to the hospital, far from the cameras. The history would have been a banal one if it were not for the media coverage and the last documentary (2002), *Omnibus 174*, by the filmmaker José Padilha. In fact Sandro do Nascimento represents the *Pixote* of our decade.

Sandro was born in the Rocinha, the largest favela of South America (over five hundred thousands inhabitants) located in Rio de Janeiro. His mother was killed in front of his eyes when he was four years old. He had no father. His mother's sister took him into her place, but Sandro left her home for the street some days later and never came back. Sandro spent most of his life on the street; only during the last year was he living in the favela Nova Holanda

with a woman he considered like a mother. As a street kid, Sandro lived as an invisible subject. The majority of the middle class does not want to acknowledge the street children reality of street children -as if they do not existed. He had confided in the woman he was living with that his dream was to become an actor, to appear on television: to become visible.

He had his four hours of glory before being killed. Sandro was a silent kid who never talked about family members or relatives. Many street children feel a great affection and nostalgia for their homes and their mothers, in particular. He was part of a group of street kids and, like so many others, he did small jobs, sniffed glue, stole, was sometimes caught and put in detention, from which he escaped. Some social workers got to know him as one of the disappeared children of the Candelaria massacre. Candelaria is a church and a square in downtown Rio de Janeiro city. On July 23, 1993, nine children from a group that was sleeping on the square were killed by a small group of off-duty police officers. Many of the others who were severely wounded disappeared. Later, one of the ex-police officers was arrested and tried for the murders, Marcus Borges Emmanuel, defended himself by saying that the children were “dangerous” and had been known to attack innocent people, including police (Scheper-Hughes, & Hoffman, 1998).

At that time, Sandro was fourteen years old. He found refuge in the favela Vigario Geral where, in August of the same year, military police officers killed twenty-one residents. The attack was reportedly carried out to avenge the deaths, two days earlier, of four military police officers who were allegedly murdered by drug dealers based in the favela. According to official sources, charges were brought against thirty-three military policemen. Not long after, Sandro was sent to the FEBEM. The living conditions inside do not respect most of Human Rights articles, and there are very few children that come out of these institutions with work skills or knowledge that could permit them to find jobs. They do come out angry and traumatized by what they have experienced inside: rape and physical violence by the older children, humiliation, physical violence by the guards, and the conviction that life is about violence and revenge. For the filmmaker, the story of Sandro exposed the public to the failure of the State regarding street children. The audience also felt highly responsible. Indeed it is a failure of the State, but it is also a shortcoming of the Brazilian middle and upper classes and of our global world economy adjustment and those marginalized individuals. Middle-class ideas about finding solutions for these children do not go further than stopping seeing them wandering in the streets (Glauser, 1990); very little concerns are voiced about what kind of changes should take place in order for these children to have a places to live, enough food, an identities, a schools to go to, and so forth.

City of God. Real Story, Pulp Fiction Style

Fernando Meirelles' film *The City of God* (2002) is based on a true story and was filmed with young people from the favela Rocinha. The film is an action movie style close to Tarantino characters individual past story and main plot rhythm which in many ways prevent the international audience to remember that it is based on a true story. The story starts with a barbecue feast prepared on a roof of a house in a favela, and when the chicken runs away, the leader of the gang asks the youngest present to run after the bird. Armed with guns, the entire

group ends up running after the bird and when it run close to Buscapé a young adult photographer, the gang leader asks him to catch the chicken. While the photographer is quietly walking toward the bird, a military police armoured truck blocks the other end of the street. The photographer stands in the middle between the drug dealer's gang and the special military forces. This is where the story goes back to the beginning of the favela City of God which will chronologically explains the situation the photographer finds himself in.

In the 1960's the government removed a great number of the poor segments of the population outside the city of Rio de Janeiro. In the words of Buscapé, the narrator of the film, their presence dirtied the postcard image of the city. City of God was founded: material to construct the houses was supplied by the state, but no sewage system, nor paved street or electricity followed up the initiative. In the 1960's Buscapé is eight years old, and his older adolescent brother, along with two other boys his age, wander around town with guns committing small thefts. The leader of the trio Cabeleireiro is always followed by his younger brother and one of his friends who is Buscapé's age. Contrary to Zé pequeno the brother of Cabeleireiro, Buscapé doesn't follow his brother. He says that he does not want to become either a criminal or a policeman because he is afraid of bullets. After hijacking a truck of gas cannisters and distributing them to the local population, Buscapé's brother comes back home and hides his gun in a box in the bedroom he shared with Buscapé. He tells Buscapé that he is a criminal because he is stupid but that Buscapé is intelligent and should concentrate on his studies. Buscapé replies that he is studying because he does not like physical work. One night the trio accompanied by Zé pequeno, robs the clients of a motel. They had asked Zé pequeno to stay outside and look out for the police coming. Zé pequeno was frustrated because he wanted to have a gun and go inside as well. Buscapé's brother slaps him in the face and tells him that he is too young to use a gun. Zé pequeno tells Buscapé's brother to never hit him again. After the motel robbery, the trio leaves in a car without finding Zé pequeno. Zé pequeno enters the motel with a gun and kills every one laughing. When the trio arrives at the City of God they crash the car in the local bar and tell the people present to say that they did not see anything. After this robbery, which became the bloodiest of all time, the police are always going to the City of God and killing or putting people in prison people systematically. As the narrator states, nobody saw or knew of anything. After that crime, the trio dissolves, Buscapé's brother is killed by Zé pequeno, Cabeleireiro is killed by the police while trying to escape City of God with his pregnant girlfriend, and the third becomes Evangelist.

In the 1970's Buscapé is sixteen years old and buys his first camera. Zé pequeno and his friend pass from petty thefts to drug dealing by taking control of different drug dealing areas. From weed they move on to cocaine, and when Zé pequeno turns eighteen he is the most respected criminal in City of God. Cenoura is the only other drug dealer in the area and Zé pequeno did not kill him because of his friendship with his partner. Zé pequeno killed all the others at the same time, and City of God becomes for some time a place where middle-class playboys come to buy drugs. The police receive good commissions and do not come around. Younger children between five and ten years old, do small works for the drug dealers, bringing them food, announcing when the police are coming and delivering messages to the other gangs. These children are sons or brothers of individuals who have been killed by Zé pequeno and Cenoura's gang and they are looking forward to exacting their own revenge.

During this period, Buscapé is part of a group of people from City of God, but he also makes friends with people living in Rio. He works in a supermarket for some time, and when he is dismissed, he takes his brother's gun and tells his friend that he has enough and wants to enter the world of crime. Unfortunately, the day he decides to commit robbery he only meets nice people and he does not have the heart to show them his gun. He starts to deliver newspapers and has access to a photo laboratory where one of his friends works. He meets one of the newspaper photographers whom he adores and the photographer asks an employee to develop Buscapé's pictures. A journalist sees his pictures that show Zé pequeno and his band, and one of his pictures makes the front page of the newspaper. He is asked to take more pictures and he is granted work as a photographer.

The best friend of Zé pequeno is killed by a kid from the lesser gang who wanted to kill Zé pequeno for revenge, but he misses him and kills his best friend. Zé pequeno lost his mind and wants to kill Cenoura, the other drug dealer. Meanwhile Zé pequeno, who is not good-looking, wants to make love to a girl as already has a beautiful boyfriend. He humiliates her boyfriend in a discotheque by forcing him to undress and some time later, he rapes his girlfriend in front of him. He forgot to kill him and when he comes back to do so, he kills Mané Galinha's brother and uncle and destroys his house. Cenoura arrives at the house of the victim that happens to be living on his territory and proposes to Mané Galinha to join him and take revenge. A violence rising and arms traffic follows, and locals cannot cross from one drug dealing territory to another until the scene at the beginning with the chicken and Buscapé with his camera which concludes Zé pequeno story when most of the leaders are killed. Zé pequeno is not killed by the police who are at the source of the arms dealing but he is killed by the lesser gang, which is going to take his place.

For the filmmaker Meirelles, the favela reality had to be shown to the Brazilian middle class because they do not have any idea what is happening in the abyss of the shantytowns of the big Brazilian cities. As Glauser (1990) puts it, the concern over street children in particular seems to arise, therefore, not only because they may suffer, be at risk or be on the edge of survival, but because they disrupt the tranquillity, stability, and normality of society. In other words, people stay blind; they refuse to face the tremendous inequalities called apartheid between the rich and the poor in Brazil. Apartheid is not a metaphor, given that the majority of the middle class is white and the poor are black. Even though on the international media scene Brazil is presented as the melting pot of "races", slavery was abolished at the end of the nineteenth century and poor black people still work for the rich as domestics, nannies, gardeners, chauffeurs, and so forth.

IV. Reflections on Children Representation in Brazilian Films

Pixote's movie was probably the most effective in terms of mobilising the national and international opinions regarding the problems of correctional institutions in Brazil and marginal children. Omnibus 174 as a documentary clearly demonstrates that the end of the 1980's and the 1990's did not represent tremendous progress in the transformation of the

institutional structure in place to protect and help minors in difficult situations. As for Central do Brasil the idea seemed to emotionally touch the international audience by presenting a child left on his own and taking destiny in his own hands. One disturbing element in this movie, which in fact correlates with my own observations, is that gender identity and, more concretely machismo, behaviours are transmitted to a large extent by mothers. Within single-mother households, boy progeny are taught to become the heads of the family, and the ideal for a woman is to find a male companion at any cost, otherwise she will lose her femininity and become a bitter woman like Isadora. City of God's impressive biography of the main character is diluted into an action movie where shocking images of young children with arms reinforce the idea of the problematic poor child. A very subtle reference is made to middle-class drug addicts, but in the movie the one and only representative leaves his comfort zone to join the drug dealers in the favela. This reality lamentably exists, but the little real institutional changes since the 1970's in Brazil have made me concentrate on children with other life trajectories with the aim of mapping the differences and similarities between middle and low-middle class and poor children.

Facing Reality

Some time ago, I was visiting a Brazilian friend now living in Holland. He was crying when I arrived. His mother had called him from an important city in the Northeast of Brazil to tell him that the domestic who took care of him and his three brothers and sister had died the day before. On her death bed in the hospital, the woman had recited the names of all of them. I asked if she had any children of her own. My friend answered me that she had children but that she did not raise them, as she took care of his brothers, sister and himself. Her son had died many years ago on the streets of São Paulo in the Southeast of the country. There are two extremely different kinds of childhoods in Brazil, the childhood of the rich -who that can be spoiled, adored, loved, educated- and the childhood of the poor where, by the age of six or seven, it is time to help with the chores of the household, taking care of the young ones for the girls and going onto the streets to earn some money for the boys, because the mother is raising the children of the rich family for whom she is working. Indeed, fathers are not systematically part of the picture. The real matter at stake here is the fact that the co-existence of these two extremely different kinds of childhood reflects the blind repetition of socio-economical and racial segregation. Consequently the vicious circle of violence is turns without interruption.

In 2001, I conducted fieldwork research in the Northeast city of Fortaleza. One night, a popular female singer was giving a free concert at one of the beaches of the centre. Twenty thousand people were present for the show. I was making my way through the crowd in the direction of the stage where friends were waiting for me. At one point I found myself surrounded by eight children between seven and say fourteen years old. They pushed me to the ground and took my bag. The crowd did not do anything to help me. As I tried to escape by going back on the street, the leader of the band tried to keep me in the crowd. I finally saw the Military police some meters away. My ear was bleeding, so I got some assistance in the ambulance. When I went out, I realized that the officers, numbering around seventy-five, were all parked in the same place. I explained to them what had happened; I asked them to

escort me home, which they refused to do, saying that they were waiting for some order from their chief. Too scared to go back into the crowd, I stayed with them until the end of the show.

At the end, the band of children passed walking by on the sidewalk in front of me, the older even asking me if I had found back my bag... I told to the police officers that they were my assailants, but they said that the show was over... I then realized that right around the corner, the children were going to give much of what they had stolen to the police officers in exchange for their liberty and to avoid violence on the part of the authorities. As Maria Lucia Violante (1983) observed, the street child doesn't think it is right to steal, nor does he think it is fair not to have anything, just as he does not think it is right that the governor, rich people, and the police steal and are not punished. The Brazilian police are viewed as particularly corrupt and involved in crime; they routinely appropriate stolen merchandise from street children (Caldeira, 1992; Teixeira, 1991; Dimenstein, 1991). As for myself, as a victim in this case, other than feeling a lingering fear, I was enraged for not having any power of action and being trapped in the middle of people who don't see anything and who don't know anything. I wondered, is this attitude a legacy of the successive Military governments?

1.9 PART-I CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

In the first part of this research, I defined my lines of inquiry, aiming to test the ethnographical application of the schizoanalysis concept of post-structuralist philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. I conducted fieldwork research with children in the city of Recife, Pernambuco, Brazil while paying special attention to how to establish a symmetrical power relation with the research colleagues. My hypothesis and the way I conducted ethnographical research are anchored in a theoretical and philosophical reflection surrounding the place of children within research, the concept of children as a minority group, and its representation and power relation within ethnographical work.

In order to present the different theoretical and philosophical positions I endorsed as a person and a researcher, i.e.:

-I described the history of the place of children within philosophical communities of discourses.

-I concentrated specifically on the dominant ideas of philosophers and thinkers who shaped western patriarchal society and influenced the formation of different fields in the social sciences circumscribing children and childhood.

-I explained that their main ideas are related to defining the child as an unfinished adult. Chiefly, Freudian psychoanalysis and traditional socialisation and theoretical models recycled ideas of earlier thinkers and turned them into a repressive system and a chronological process of development with a beginning and an end.

This western patriarchal definition of a child echoed in cultural/social anthropology, where working with children as research colleagues in their own right came after a crisis concerning the power relation between researcher and informants. Ethnographical methods used while working with children needed, in my view, to be carefully defined and thoroughly explained by concentrating on the ontology process found in Deleuze's philosophy and the philosophical concepts of philosophers opening patriarchal closed system of thoughts.

Another way to arrive at my own theoretical position was to pay attention to the feminist movement as a minority group who resisted patriarchal logic and proposed new theories and practices to liberate minorities from psychic repression and social oppression. Within history, women and children shared many common characteristics; psychic repression and social oppression encapsulated them and prevented them from taking action. The position of children as a minority group is in my view a delicate one for the very reason that many decisions were made on their behalf and allegedly for their own good. Following the emergence of women's studies, other minorities initiated fields of studies, criticising the dominant system of thought. Children's Studies is one of these fields of research that emerged in opposition to psychoanalysis and socialisation and traditional developmental theoretical models. The Socially Constructed Child was retained as a model, considering children as creative agents of their own lives. Furthermore, the early criticism of the second wave feminist movement had positive theoretical consequences. The concept and method of the interactive grammar that gave emphasis to the importance of considering class, age, sex, sexuality, gender, race, and so forth informed the way I sensitively conducted fieldwork research in Brazil with children.

I looked at the interactive grammar through the aspects of gender/generation and race/class and connected them to my observations and experiences in the Brazilian culture. Deleuze's treatment of the concepts of difference and becoming became key to my ethnographical practice. Envisioning differences as being positive and becoming as an on-going process of creativity and subjectivity allowed me to consider children as full individuals punctually resisting socio-institutional power. I presented the people with whom I worked during the research in Recife and turned to the philosophical concepts demonstrating the possibility of establishing symmetrical power relations between individuals. Intuition, empiricism, sympathy, affect, experiment, intensities and nomadism were coined as ways to live a saturated life made of positive exchanges of forces and thus facilitating a very different encounter than the patriarchal one.

I examined what defines children as a minority group in Brazil and highlighted the fact that it represented only the poor children and more specifically the problematic child stereotype. I presented a short history of Brazil while describing the place of children in it and the differences of access to education that in fact highlighted the reasons for children as a minority group in Brazil being represented historically as poor problematic children. In order to support this historical description, I looked at the representation of Brazilian children in three national films and one documentary that reached international audiences. I also gave two examples from my own experience.

Fragmented Becoming: A Deleuzian reading of becoming-child in Brazil aimed at going beyond the national and international theoretical, ethnographical, and cinematic representation of poor problematic children in order to propose the possibility of enriching encounters between children from different class/racial backgrounds. In fact it puts to the fore the urgency of thinking of the relation as a symmetrical power relation, as a positive exchange of forces between different individuals trapped in socio-institutional ideas that prevent them from meeting each other and concluding from the present segregation that the system is derelict.

PART-II: FRAGMENTED BECOMING AS AN ETHNOGRAPHICAL METHOD

In the first part of the dissertation, I exposed the different theoretical ideas and concepts that directed me toward the elaboration on an ethnographical method tangential to the ontological process from post-structuralist philosopher Gilles Deleuze. The main hypothesis of my research project is to hazard the possibility of applying the schizoanalysis or micropolitics as an ethnographical method. The schizoanalysis or micropolitics that I coined *Fragmented Becoming* after reflecting on my fieldwork experience relies on the art of seeing the composition of generalities from singular entities and parts.

Rather than representing a group of people in the global sense, ethnographic work or fieldwork research is known for its ability to represent what I would call “a fragmented instance”, a moment in time, of several months or years that the researcher spends with a group of people during which he//she shares their daily lives and daily dramas. The merging point of the philosophical concepts of Deleuze and in many respects Guattari turned ethnographic work practice into a micropolitical engagement by the researcher. This ethical commitment arose from the theoretical reflection about working with minority groups that have been psychically repressed and socially oppressed within the capitalist patriarchal system.

Through their political struggles these minority groups gained a visibility aiming at directly attacking and deconstructing the patriarchal logic of thoughts. The first and second wave feminist movements were presented as initiators of this process of oppression liberation. The fact that women and children were considered as pertaining to the same category of immature beings directed my reflections toward the emergence of the labelling of children as minority group. I then concluded that this position was delicate because it was adults who decided on behalf of children what was good for them; and that in reality very few groups of children are organized politically.

In concentrating on how children and childhood were defined in patriarchal history, the idea of asymmetrical power relations came to the fore. Examples of asymmetrical power relations were described through the ways children were/are considered in psychoanalysis and traditional and developmental theories as well as in the history of the position of informants within the field of anthropology. With post-colonial, post-modernism, and post-structuralism these asymmetrical power relations were questioned and a growing number of new epistemological positions and theoretical reflections emerged and defended territories moving away from the dominant system of thought.

My own theoretical commitment was to inscribe my work within these lines of thinking, and I considered that a more in-depth philosophical and theoretical reflection should be done regarding the concept of relation, and more specifically the establishment of a symmetrical

power relation in order to give to children a space for the expression of their subjectivity, creativity and agency. I relied on the feminist concept/method of the interactive grammar in order to critically observe the dynamics in play in the different school settings I worked in and how they were informed by age, sex, gender, race, class and so forth. I worked with children between seven and twelve years of age with a socio-constructivist approach that acknowledged the historically constructed character of the category “child” and more broadly “childhood”.

In this second part of the dissertation, I will turn to the ethnographical fieldwork site: Recife, Pernambuco, Brazil and experience. Shortly I will historically situate the state of Pernambuco and the city of Recife and describe the two neighbourhoods I worked in where most of the child research collaborators lived. I will then describe my ethical position regarding my work with children and the adults surrounding them. It will lead me to the data-collection methods broadly used from researchers doing research with children and the ones I reserved for this research. For the fragmented becoming narrative, I will first present children’s singular life narratives. Secondly, for each theme, I will trace back the history of dominant socio-institutional discourses and practices and their punctual consequences in the children’s lives. Finally, when appropriate, examples of local micropolitical initiatives will be described. A different font will be used both for personal fieldwork extracts and the fragmented becoming narratives.

Initium

Before actually meeting research colleagues many steps need to be made in order to choose geographical locations and places that will facilitate the beginning of the fieldwork research. Working with children also involves first meeting the adults responsible for them. In my case I first needed to meet primary school directors and teachers and get in touch with the parents after the child consented to take part in the research project.

It is through conversations with Brazilian friends and colleagues at the beginning of the year 2003 that I learned that the situation in Rio de Janeiro -my first fieldwork choice- was starting to reach crisis proportions of violence again. I thus decided to conduct my fieldwork research in the Northeast of the country, where I had already worked in 2000 and 2001. Danielle Perin Rocha Pitta, professor of anthropology at the Federal University of Pernambuco, in the city of Recife, and supervisor of the *Research Group on the Imaginary*, warmly invited me to join this group for the period of my stay in Brazil. I undertook my fifth fieldwork research, being my third in Brazil.

I had been travelling around the world since the age of fourteen. Travelling had become an important component of my self-definition. Upon my return to my hometown of Montreal, I rediscovered the city by seeking out the Greek, the Latino-American, and the Vietnamese communities in order to make the journey last longer. I was impassioned by the idea of the difference(s) and how I could build my own identity through a conscious *bricolage* of my cultural experiences. The passion for difference(s) is still lively but as Geertz (1983) argues, anthropologists do not have to turn native in order to argue from the natives’ point of view; as

for this particular research project, it is clear that childhood researchers need not pretend to be children (James et al., 1998).

In the past, I explained that I wanted to work with my collaborators on a friendship basis, in the sense that I could not force anyone to share his//her life with me and the ones willing to do so were to be the ones who liked me, who could relate to my personality and vice-versa. Informant is a word that I have difficulty in using outside the historical context of the discipline, because the involvement with the people I work with, for an extensive period of time, is much wider than the mere reception of information from them. Furthermore, the word puts the anthropologist in a position of power that is not representative of how reality might be. It is one thing to have a superior academic knowledge while working with prostitute transvestites, yet it is another to be streetwise and know how to defend oneself... But then friendship might be too intense.

I have been working with people for whom I have a lot of respect and affection. I think of them very often, but cannot talk to them for I do not have their phone numbers, or their addresses, and I do not know if they still live in the same places. Talking about collaborator or colleague is closer to the reality of the way time passes. Within this particular research, it is highly unlikely that I will stay in touch with the children with whom I worked, given the mobility of their parents. Very diverse life circumstances might play a role in the child changing schools and neighbourhoods, and this is not to mention when he//she will move out of its parents house.

What is to be understood here is that I tried to position myself as someone with more experiences and who was there to learn from seven to twelve years of age. I thus tune myself to the inner movements of my research colleagues in order to emphatically contribute and experiment with exchanges of positive forces and affects. Since the ideas of letting children express themselves and giving them voices are connected to the possibility of them being agents, the power relation has to be reciprocate and positive which in turn would be better defined as an exchange with reciprocal benefits.

To this end, I reflected with the help of the interactive grammar, direct empirical insights, and by basing myself on national and international research and films that children as a minority group in Brazil are represented by problematic and poor children. My commitment toward an activist-engaged ethnographical work made me tend toward the urgency of connecting children from different interactive grammar backgrounds together. The idea of difference as the positivity of differences also informed the choice of school attending -due to their geographical urban location and their status as private or public- as well as children from different socio-economic classes.

I chose four primary schools to work in. The private school Arco-Íris, located in the Várzea neighbourhood, was indicated to me by the artist and teacher Mauricio Silva, who was working there at the time; he also recommended a public municipal school, Escola Municipal do Dom situated in the Várzea as well. It was a small school open to children up to age six. 90% of the students would then go on to attend the neighbouring Magalhães Bastos

Municipal public school afterwards. The literacy and cultural centre Daruê Malungo was indicated to me by the director of another centre. The Daruê is located in the favela Chão de Estrelas at the periphery of the city. This centre is a micropolitical initiative.

I. Recife, Pernambuco, Brazil

The history of the consolidation of a nation, a state and a city, reflects the complexity of the different power relations that took place since the beginning of its formation. It is also through this history that social institutions emerged. In the Northeast region of Brazil, the State of Pernambuco was the first sugar producer for centuries. Pernambuco's state history and development was first informed by Portuguese in the sixteenth century and to a lesser extent, but nonetheless important, Dutch colonisation during a little more than two decades, from 1630 onwards. Sugar cane agriculture had been the state's major economical source of income for centuries. In Pernambuco class segregation can be traced back to this period from the seventeenth century onward. There were the black slaves who worked in the plantation. The end of the slavery (1888) meant a very relative emancipation for black Brazilians who ended up serving the rich in urban centres. Centuries of alienation and asymmetrical power relations are mirrored in contemporary Brazilian society, where a small percentage of the white population controls the majority of the economical and social resources. This long-term social oppression makes it difficult for the poor to take action and win better life conditions and access in the civil society.

Sugar-cane cutting is very hard work to perform as it grows densely and the cane cuts the skin. The relationship between landowners and slaves was very violent and this legacy is still felt. The production of sugar formed the basis of the economy of the littoral, but arid regions of the Sertão were also cultivated. This intensive agricultural activity period started in 1550 and ended around 1750 (Del Priori, 1997). For many centuries Pernambuco produced more than half of Brazil's sugar exports. This potential for wealth attracted numbers of European settlers to the region.

Pernambuco State's Geographical location



Until the 1940s, Pernambuco retained the characteristics of a colony: a few landowners possessed most of the cultivated soil. During the same time, many important transformations, concerning economical, social and productive relations, gave way to the extinction of slavery as a mode of production. The centre of agro-production, with the coffee culture expansion, moved to the States of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The modernisation of the country in the 1950s and 1960s gave way to the establishment of commissions with the mandate to restructure the mercantile economy of the Northeast region which was concentrated on the sugar and alcohol agro-industries, as well as on textile business and tourism (Schneider, 1996). The industrial development was insufficient to absorb the work force, and forced many people to migrate to the Southeast of the country. The centre and the Southeast of the country became the economical leaders, impoverishing the Northeast.

However, the patronage tradition subsisted and the powerful families of the past, in certain cases remained important landowners, exploiting the more humble. Physical violence might be performed more rarely but verbal violence, humiliation, threat and abuse are imminent. Schizoanalysis causality reversal makes social oppression cause psychic repression –this is clearly illustrated here. A growing number of exploited workers are aware of their rights, but because poverty is endemic in Brazil, it is very difficult for them to organise and to stand against their boss without losing their jobs and being easily replaced by other workers.

As an illustration, I observed for instance in two coconuts tree plantations on the sea coast located at more than fifteen kilometres from the closest village that the landowners hired preferably a couple with less than three children, preferably of more than six years of age. They paid minimum wages for the woman and the man; only the man received a work contract (if he received one) for coconut crop administration. They gave them a small house without asking for rent, and they paid the electricity in order to tighten the relation of dependency and induce a feeling of guilt on the workers possible recriminations.

The man took care of the coconut crop administration, but he was asked -though it was not part of his contract- to take care of the landowners' garden, to watch the house of the owners when they were not there, and to perform all sorts of odd jobs. The woman cleaned the houses of the owners and any others to be found on the land. She also cooked for them. Since the minimum wage is not enough to make ends meet, the workers depend on the landowners for medication, doctor consultation, school materials for their children, and so forth. Their agency is reduced to nil. This example does not represent a situation of eighty years ago. In the city such conditions are typical of relationships between handy men and domestics on the one side, and middle-class people on the other.

Recife: Fieldwork Site

Recife is the most important city of the poor region of the Northeast -in economical and cultural terms, furthermore it is one of the most unsafe cities of the country. The population of the region kept a provincial spirit. It is demonstrated by the supremacy of conservative minority, which is more evident than in the Southeastern metropolis. Recife is a city where old institutions ideas persist together with a great number of progressive initiatives to counter and liberate the oppressed minorities. The great pedagogue Paulo Freire (1974, 1976, 1985, 1987) was from Recife and his intellectual trajectory reflects the milieu of his upbringing.

As my aim was in the first place to consider and describe the institutions of education, family, work, social relations, and children's attitudes as well as positions towards them - Recife appeared to be an interesting milieu. The socio-economic classes are also well defined which in turn permitted me to observe the psychic repression at both ends (rich-poor). Most people in Brazil deny the existence of racism, in spite of the black poor segment of the population. The struggle for liberation and the singularity of children's life strategies appeared more contrasted as well.

Recife City

I arrived in Recife on the 27th of September 2003, the anniversary day of the Saints Cosme and Damião, two Orixás from the Candomblé religion, associated with children. In the city of Recife the population amounts to around 2 million inhabitants. I am giving this number based on the Demographic Census of 2000 done by the *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* –IBGE that amounted to population to 1 422 905 inhabitants. Following the data of the *Secretary de Planejamento, Urbanismo e Meio Ambiente* from the city hall of Recife (2003) the municipality covers a total area of 220 km², divided into RPA's (politico-administrative region); out of 94 neighbourhoods, 66 are identified as special zones of social interest (ZEIS).

I had a general map of the centre of the city and no idea of how large the city was. It took me one month to find a place close to means of transportation permitting me to go anywhere in the city. The name of the neighbourhood could not say more, *Encruzilhada* meaning Crossroads. It became clear rapidly that all the neighbourhoods included a poor area, a favela, and that I would end up choosing the schools depending on who could introduce me to the Director. I got to know the city through the eyes of its inhabitants, and by the end of October I had a vague idea of all the neighbourhoods and how to get where I wanted by bus. Here is an example of the kind of atmosphere one can expect to feel while using the public transports in the city.

Extract from fieldnotes. March 23, 2004. Going to the Daruê Malungo Centre, Chão de Estrelas.

It has been at least three weeks now that the bus that goes to the Daruê Malungo takes a lot of time, before passing at the bus stop. It gives me the opportunity which I would honestly skip, to observe the beginning of the day around the bus shelter. There are a lottery and an optical shop between two low-budget restaurants. There are two homeless men who sleep in front of the lottery shop. I normally arrive around 7h10 and finally take the bus around 7h45. One of the homeless men socialises with the people waiting for the bus. He seems to wake up happy. Today he decided to work and took a broom from one of the restaurants to sweep the trash that was rotting in the smelly black still water at the edge of the sidewalk. In fact, he was sweeping the water making it overflow onto the sidewalk of the bus shelter. The smell coming from it was unbearable. The people who were waiting for the bus, therefore went away from the bus shelter. One man started to scream to the homeless man, that he was accomplishing nothing, since the trash and the smelly water were just moving from the edge of the sidewalk to the bus shelter. Finally the homeless man stopped sweeping and threw the broom violently onto the roof of the bus shelter. He went back to the restaurant and took another broom and started to sweep the dust in front of the restaurant. He then stopped before a metallic counter and started to hit it, making a lot of noise. A waitress came out of the restaurant with a glass in her hand and told him that she was going to throw it at his head if he did not stop.

The bus finally arrived and put an end to the scene. I had to concentrate on not vomiting. I sat in front of the bus to calm myself down and to take out the 1,30 reais to pay the man who collects the money for the bus ticket –"cobrador". He sits high up in front of a

turnstile. When I gave him 1 real searching for more 30 cents, he told me to stay in front of the bus. I learned from Sonia, the woman with whom I live, that it is a trick to put the money in his pocket. He robs the bus company. Sonia told me that she would not submit herself to it, but she did not specify that she was not meeting the same “cobrador” again... I told the man that I preferred to sit on the other side and pass the turnstile. He did not like it. When we arrived at the bus terminal of Chão de Estrelas, I was the only one in the bus. The man and the bus driver left the bus without opening the back door for me to get off. I had to wait for the controller to come in and ask him to open the door.

When I walked back from the centre and I arrived at the terminal, I realized that I was going to take a bus with the same bus driver and “cobrador” who looked at me with killer eyes. I endured his gaze, but I also started to think that I was not really going to start a war with a bus “cobrador”. I know he receives a miserable wage, but all his colleagues receive the same salary and not all of them rob the bus company. Finally we got into the bus, I had my 1,30 reais in my hand and I put it on his counter and passed the turnstile. He said to the man behind me that there was a problem with the turnstile and that he had to jump over it. At the second bus stop he asked the fifteen persons who waited in line to get in by the back door and to give him 1 real. He is probably exulting for having made me understand that my real will not prevent him for making many more of them. I showed him a head high up in the clouds.

I learned to like the city of Recife and its confusing street planning. The city is very noisy and dirty and the poverty is apparent everywhere. You end up discovering nice calm parts of streets, you get to know the owners of the shops that you frequently visit, the guards you exchange conversation with; you end up feeling at home. The cultural life of the city is very intense; artistic and musical productions can be seen everywhere and come from all socio-economic classes.

It is a coastal city, crossed by a large river the Capibaribe, with many bridges joining the different parts of the city. The centre is very effervescent during working hours; there are a lot of itinerant sellers and small decrepit kiosks selling cigarettes, non-alcoholic drinks, newspapers and magazines, or only cold coconut water. Many old buildings have been restored in the old centre and in the old harbour of the city.

Most of the neighbourhoods have an open-air market, and there are many *praças* and parks. Many residential streets have trees, while at the same time destroying houses to replace them with high residential buildings seems to be the rule. The neighbourhood of Boa Viagem, the urban beach, is a terrible example of this architectural planning of buildings; more than twenty floors high, it is constructed in front of the urban beach and blocks the winds for the rest of the neighbourhood behind.

Middle-class people thought that they were going to be safer in these condominiums, but it seems that many of them get assaulted while entering the garage of their building or even inside the parking of their residences. The degree of violence is very high in Recife and no one feels safe in the city. It won the status of the most violent Brazilian city, over Rio de

Janeiro, for years¹³. It creates a quasi-palpable tension between people. The middle-class white individual always has to be alert, even though being assaulted cannot be anticipated before it actually happens.

There is right now a transformation of the middle-class in Brazil. In Pernambuco and more particularly in Recife, the generation of people over fifty was to have their life secured by the previous generation's family wealth. The majority of the family land patrimony was sold by this generation in order to keep the same wealth status. The present young adult generation works for a salary corresponding to their education and makes ends meet with the financial help of their parents. At the same time a small segment of the poor population, through a lot of sacrifices, has made it to university and joined the ranks of professionals. We thus see the emergence of a low-middle class in Brazil that will keep on growing and levelling the circulation of wealth between former poor and middle-class.

Worker's Party (PT) in Brazil and in Recife

Corruption and violence are two important historical aspects of Brazilian political, economic, and social formations that in turn lead to extreme poverty, external economical dependence, and racial and social inequalities. Twenty years of dictatorship favoured the political formation of left wing parties with a program considering other possibilities than the capitalist values system of pre-fabricated and ascetic desires. From the middle of the 1980s onwards, great social programs started in the poor areas of the country, giving way to very interesting and innovative projects. Children's autonomy of thinking and rights were ratified in the 1988 Brazilian constitution. This concern over children's wellbeing makes Brazil an interesting place to observe constitutional applications in social institutions.

The current president of the Brazilian republic, Luiz da Silva, referred to simply as "Lula", was born in a small village in the impoverished Brazilian state of Pernambuco. He grew up in São Paulo state, where jobs were more readily available. He had little formal education, working instead in various entry-level jobs since childhood. At the age of twenty-one, he lost a finger in an accident while working in a car parts factory. Around the same time, he became involved in union activities and held several important union positions. Union activities were strongly suppressed by Brazil's right-wing dictatorship during this era, consequently, Lula's views moved further to the political left.

Suely Rolnik a Brazilian psychoanalyst and political activist, put online in October 2003 the discussion that Félix Guattari had with her and Lula in São Paulo in 1982¹⁴. Guattari first went in Brazil in 1979. For him, the Workers' party (PT) formation was an example of a movement thinking of different lines of escape from capitalist system values. Lula, as its leader, marked a shift regarding the criteria influencing in the choice of a political leader. Lula was not a middle-class, nor an elite individual; he was a worker and he knew what the word work meant in his country. The re-democratisation process together with the birth of the

¹³ http://www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/reporterbbc/story/2004/08/040730_vsapaulodbdi.shtml

¹⁴ Un Futur qui est Déjà Là. See: www.multitudes.samizdat.net

PT definitely inspired strong hope for new political practices. For Guattari, the PT represented: “A kind of large-scale experience that tries to invent new comprehensive tools and collective struggle as well as a new sensitivity and a new political logic and micropolitic”¹⁵. Guattari went to Brazil seven times following this first visit. It was his way of working, he needed to get involved in political and social movements that were going in the direction of his ideas and concepts and which were reciprocally nourishing him intellectually and humanly.

In the 1970s, Lula took part in organizing major union activities including several huge strikes. He was arrested and jailed for a month, but was released following protests. The strikes ended with both pro-union and pro-government forces being dissatisfied with the outcome, and in 1980 the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT), or Workers’ Party, was formed to address workers’ concerns. One of the Party’s first documents declared: A party that wishes to create a socialist and democratic society must itself be a democratic organisation, respecting the rights of minorities to diverge and to dissent, but with the understanding that only individuals (and not organisations) can affiliate to the party¹⁶.

The PT took part in writing the country’s post-dictatorship constitution, ensuring strong constitutional guarantees of workers’ rights, but failing to gain redistribution of rural agricultural land. In 1989, he was the PT presidential candidate. He proved popular with a wide spectrum of the Brazilian society, but because he was perceived as an opponent of business owners and financial interests, he was not elected. Lula’s election in 2002 brought a wind of hope in Brazil; the question became, how much can Lula do in one mandate, considering all the problems to be faced? In February 2005, in a speech that was retransmitted on the television news, Lula said that when he took office a colleague from the PSDB told him that there was no hope and that the country was bankrupt, but warned him not to refer to it at all. Lula said that he would try to do his best with what he was inheriting from all the previous presidents of the Republic. This discourse was not planned, but the PT reaction was to say that Lula wanted to underline the transparency of the party. However the PSDB colleague denies that he ever told Lula to keep to himself the fact that the country was bankrupt.

It is quite clear that Lula took office with his wrists tied up by the United States but he also committed many mistakes. The new airplane which he bought when he took office is now an example of ideological contradiction put forth by the opposition. From September 2003 until September 2005, I gathered the following information through the National television news. The University race quota policy had been highly criticised by academics who saw it as reinforcement of racism. The idea was to favour black people in public university concourse based on black people’s percentages per state. He also expelled an American journalist from *The New York Times* who wrote an article saying that Lula had alcoholic tendencies in December 2004. The opposition did not wait to charge Lula with censorship, arguing that the dictatorship era had come back. People expected a perfect

¹⁵ Idem.

¹⁶ <http://www.presidencia.gov.br>

administration and, since it is far from being the case, the level of discontent is high. Since the beginning of June 2005, different *CPI* (Parliamentary commission of inquiry) have been denouncing the corruption in many of the government branches of the PT and allied parties.

At the beginning Lula was not directly attacked, but from August 2005 on it became clear that he knew about the different illegal partnerships and the money deviated. All the governments before him had done the same, but it is the first time that every new finding of the commission is publicly broadcast. Since June 2005, every night at the television news, there are stories of deputies caught with suitcases full of money. There is even one who got caught at the airport with thousands of Reais in his underwear. Each month, members of the Parliament from allied parties received money from the public finances for their support and votes.

From 2002 onwards a sophisticated mechanism of embezzlement of funds provided the political campaign with financial resources (Ramonet, 2005). The only difference between conservative corruption practices and that of the Worker's party practices lies in the fact that the PT members did not do it in order to enrich themselves as individuals but acted for the superior interest of the Party. Ramonet (2005) calls it "active corrupters", which needless to say, is not better. This political crisis left the country paralysed and the population cynical. As for international opinion, or more specifically the United States' reaction, Lula's problems comfort Washington's growing irritation about South American's left or red-pink alignment: Venezuela, Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay, Panama and Chile. Lula will need more than excuses for the Brazilian population and astuteness, to be re-elected in the October 2006 election.

In Recife, in 2003, the PT (Worker's party) was at the end of its third year of a four-year mandate in the cities of Olinda and Recife. It means that the politicians and advisers have leftist political ideas favouring an agenda dealing with education, poverty, work, and culture in a way that leaves room for new ideas and alternatives. When I arrived, I first stayed in the house of a woman working for the cultural office secretary of the party. I asked her about the progress of social ideas and she told me that there was still a lot to do and that she doubted whether the PT would be re-elected for another mandate. I asked her why she thought this, if they were doing good work and people could see projects being done all around. She answered me that the people seemed to want a new city and a new country as well, without considering that the PT was taking over from the former corrupted administration that had been in place for decades.

I witnessed the PT re-election with the same mayor, João Paulo Lima e Silva, for another four years term in October 2004. However I got to know more people working for the PT's administration and for many of them, working for the PT meant the end of their hope for change. People working for the PT were expecting a more radical transformation, without taking into account that not all the people involved in the party wanted to give all their energies to build up something new. There will always be a strong tendency in the political life of Brazil, since the beginning of its history, to reappropriate money or sit behind a desk

doing nothing. The death of the left is by now felt at the municipal as well as the national level.

The administration of the State's institutions cannot drastically change from one administration to another, and centuries of political corruption cannot give way to an impeccable administration either. Large-scale micropolitics are impossible through one leading figure or party. It has to come from different sources, tending to different aspects of minority group's needs. For the first time it is now possible to build a network, both at the local and global level; it is these micropolitics that can eventually constitute a very strong coalition and be heard politically. In the present state of the global capitalist system run by the Americans, Brazil had very little chances to be able to navigate on its own. It is even urgent to turn to micropolitics because of the fact that people who invested their energies and faith in the Left are now left with nothing other than bitterness and hopelessness. One needs to see the transformation of something you put a lot of effort into, and in terms of rewards, local involvement pays more. It is not with a political party that one needs to forge alliances, but with other micropolitical projects.

II. Fieldwork Research Geographical Locations in the City of Recife

Várzea Neighbourhood

The Várzea situated in the West of the city started to be occupied by Portuguese and German immigrants in the middle of the sixteenth century. It legally became part of the city of Recife in 1846 (Pereira da Costa, 1981). Until the beginning of the twentieth century the Várzea was divided in Engenhos of sugar cane plantations. The Várzea has historically been a strategic location for the organisation of war campaigns, and many men in positions of political and economic authority were the landowners of the area. The urban expansion of the neighbourhoods situated in this region, including the Várzea, is related directly to the roads that connected the port and the centre of the city of Recife to the inner-land.

According to the City Hall census and 2001 research, the Várzea is part of the political-administrative region (RPA 4) of the West region of the city of Recife. The region West-RPA 4, is formed by twelve neighbourhoods: Cordeiro, Ilha do Retiro, Iputinga, Madalena, Prado, Torre, Zumbi, Engenho do Meio, Torrões, Caxangá, Cidade Universitária e Várzea.¹⁷ In 1991, the Várzea had 53 765 inhabitants and in 2000 the population was 64 512. It is the neighbourhood of the West-RPA 4 that had the highest population growth.

According to the URB-Recife the poor areas of the Várzea are Ambolê/ Barreiras/ Brasilit/ Campo do Banco/ Caxangá III/ Caxito/ Sítio Wanderlei/ Favela da Draga/ Ilhas das Cobras/ Invasão UR7/ Jardim Caxangá/ Vila Arraes/ Malvinas. From these poor areas the IBGE, *Contagem da População de 1996* defined a favela: a zone set up of more than 50 housing units, occupying or having occupied until recently the land of a public or private

¹⁷ All the following quantitative data are from the IBGE, Censo Demográfico, 2000.

property, disposed in general, in a disorganized and dense form; missing in the majority, essential public services. The name of the favelas are Rua Dona Maria Lacerda, Barreiras and Vila Arraes-Draga populated by 2 870 people. By taking into account the poor areas, the number of people is much higher, reaching close to 20 000 inhabitants. The river Capibaribe flows through this neighbourhood as well, and some of the poor areas are on its edges making it very unsafe for its inhabitants during the rainy season. Of all the neighbourhoods of the West-RPA 4 the Várzea is the only one composed of flat and uneven lands and small mountains. The Várzea counts 17 parks and praças.

The Várzea praça counts fourteen historical and protected buildings from the nineteenth century. Straight in front of the praça at the end of the street stands the fifteen floor building of the social sciences of the Federal University. The Arco-Íris private school is located behind the praça; the Escola Municipal do Dom is on one side of the praça and the municipal public school Magalhães Bastos is on the left side of the street going to the university at the dead end of a small street. The favela where most of the children I worked with from the municipal public school lived is situated on the right side of the Arco-Íris school, but I will better describe their location when talking about their homes and families.

The Várzea is a pleasant neighbourhood to live in because of its green areas and well conserved praça. A mixture of young professionals, students, poor people, land invaders, and families that have lived in the Várzea for generations can be found in this area. The neighbourhood is located far from the city centre, which confers upon it a village atmosphere. Compared with Campina do Barreto that I will now describe, the Várzea's past and present makes the harshness of poverty seems less and hope appears to be more present because of this mixture of people living in the area -middle-class but also low middle-class and poor and the many green areas. Again, a mixture of conservative institutions and very innovative projects coexisted, both generally being fruits of the Rural and Federal Universities located in the Várzea.

Campina do Barreto Neighbourhood

Chão de Estrelas is part of the neighbourhood Campina do Barreto and is considered to be a poor area (ZEIS). Campina do Barreto is part of the North-RPA 2 composed of the following neighbourhoods: Arruda, Encruzilhada, Hipódromo, Peixinhos, Ponto de Parada, Rosarinho, Torreão, Água Fria, Alto Sta. Terezinha, Cajueiro, Fundão, Porto de Madeira, Beberibe, Dois Unidos e Linha do Tiro. Until the end of the eighteenth century the flat part was swamp and land properties. Rural paths crossing this part of the city connected the centre of the city of Recife to Olinda and Beberibe, this last one situated on the right side of the margin of the river of the same name. This peripheral space between Olinda and Recife was turned into sugar cane agriculture. The sugar cane was not planted directly on the shore of the Beberibe River because everything was flooded at high tide during the rainy season.

According to Cabral (1999), until the first decade of the twentieth century, Campina do Barreto was one of the sites that had been used in the past for diverse cultivation, such as sugar cane, banana, and especially the coconut trees for which the area is known. The

construction of the Encruzilhada market favoured the commercial and residential development all along the roads going to Olinda and Beberibe. From the 1940s the hills of the area Água Fria and Beberibe neighbourhoods started to be populated. The names of the neighbourhoods of these hills are: Cajueiro, Beberibe, Linha do Tiro, Fundão, Bomba do Hemetério, Alto Santa Terezinha, Dois Unidos, and Água Fria.

The population of Campina do Barreto was of 7 331 in 1991 and 8 335 in 2000. In Campina do Barreto the poor areas have been identified as Chão de Estrelas/ Mercado Velho/ Vila do DNOS/ Vila Redenção. The two favelas of Campina do Barreto have a population estimated at 2460 inhabitants and their names are Matadouro de Peixinhos and Mercado Público do Fundão. However, we need to remember here that the whole neighbourhood of Campina do Barreto is considered to be poor, which meant 8335 inhabitants in 2000. Finally, only one praça can be found in the neighbourhood.

Comparative table of the statistics for the West-RPA 4 and the Várzea and the North-RPA 2 and Campino do Barreto.

Population

Population	1991	2000
Várzea	53.765	62.512
Campina do Barreto	7.331	8.335

Population of the favelas' area

Population	Favelas	Total
Várzea	2870	62.512
Campina do Barreto	2460	8.335

Number of Parks and Praças

Number	Parks and Praças
Várzea	17
Campina do Barreto	01

These numbers inform us of the actual poverty of each neighbourhood putting forth the precariousness of Chão de Estrelas' situation within Campina do Barreto. In my view, the number for the population of the favelas should be greater than 2460. There are localities as Chão de Estrelas that had moments of positive development like the establishment of a public market and community bakery, but these gains made during the course of the 1980s were lost by the end of the 1990s. While being important in terms of economic dynamisms, the market of the Encruzilhada and later on, of Água Fria, are isolated successes for an increasing number of inhabitants. The lands of Campina do Barreto were used for random monoculture, and this activity did not lead to the development of the area services. When landowners sold their lands a few new economic activities replaced the agriculture and the people that invaded

the lands of the area were poor people and forced to find places to stay, always more at the periphery.

Thus unlike the Várzea which do have all the services of a city neighbourhood, its absence in the Campina do Barreto area confers more precarious living conditions for its inhabitants. The lack of organisation, paved streets, praças and services make life more miserable and the weight of everyday struggle for survival heavier. In these circumstances, Daruê Malungo's existence is of the outmost importance for children's sense of beliefs in the possibility of different life opportunities and more drastically for having one meal per day guaranteed. The Várzea and Campina do Barreto are two neighbourhoods with very different life qualities.

I choose these two neighbourhoods primarily because of the willingness of the school's director to welcome the research project in their school. For the research these differences in terms of poverty and life precariousness are important while considering the singularity of each child's life. It also highlights the importance of green areas, praças, and services in order for people to live decently. I did not have access to the statistics on drug traffic and death for each neighbourhood but it seems that its importance was greater in Campina do Barreto than in the Várzea while relying on the murders I heard of during the fieldwork.

Fragmented Becoming: Centre and Schools Director, Teachers and Research Colleagues

The following list of names enumerates the people, from the two schools and centre, with whom I interacted most during the fieldwork research. The names of many of them appear in this section to illustrate the philosophical concepts that I choose in order to describe the process of an encounter and how a relation can be grounded on a symmetrical power relation.

Daruê Malungo Centre (DM)
Meia-Noite and Vilma: Directors
Amélia: Monitor from the group of children I worked with.
Americano: Dance-Monitor, Handy man
Caju: Dance and Music Monitor
Telmo: Art-Monitor
Pipoca: Monitor of the youngest children

Children who worked with me during the years 2003-2004.

The ones who worked the longest with me are the ones appearing in the Fragmented Becoming ethnographical part and they are in bold here.

Aline.
Leonardo.
Wanderson.
Cláudio.
Marcelino.
Janaina.

Fabila.
Bianca.
Dougl.
Ricardo.
Willyane.

Arco-Íris private school (AI)
Fatima: Director
Rute and Marina: Pedagogical coordinators
Denise: Teacher of the G-IV
Joana: Teacher of the 1st series.

Children who worked with me during the years 2003-2004.

Amadeu
Camila
Luana
Bruna
Pedro
Igor
Maria-Edouarda (Duda)

Magalhães Bastos municipal school (MB)
Graça: Director
Ângela: Teacher of the 1st series.
Regane: Teacher of the 1st series.

Children who worked with me during the year 2004.

Acildo.
Tayna.
Walln.
Rodrigo.
Vitor.
Letícia.
Mateus.

2. ETHICS

The ethical question in the fields of anthropology and sociology is an aspect that is rarely touched in the first academic years. It is often at the post-graduate level that ethical issues are discussed some months before the student goes for fieldwork research. The student then needs to sign a form saying that he//she will respect the human subject with whom he//she is going

to work, explaining full well the research project and protecting the identity of the human subject involved.

In my view this ethical procedure is sketched on psychology fields of research taking place mainly in the laboratory and does not fully take into account the reality of the practice of ethnographical work where the researcher actively participates in the everyday lives of the research colleagues. In Brazil, at Recife Federal University, I ended up discussing more about practical ethical issues, in a seminar of anthropology on research with children and adolescents.

I was ending my fieldwork research and I had a certain number of questions. One of them was about whether I could use the real names of the schools and children. I had asked the schools and centre director and the children about it and all had responded positively. Professor Roseline Alvim responded to me that I was not putting the children in any danger by using their first names, and that certainly the schools wanted their names to be written down even if the publicity was not too favourable. I decided to write the real names of the schools and children and used other names for the parents and adults who did not answer me about whether they minded having their names written down or not.

Ethically, one of the strengths of the research lies in the use of the interactive grammar (gender identity, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, class, age) as being what makes the child of seven or me, of twenty-seven, a complex person while basing myself on the relationship we constructed together, the relationships they had with their peers, teacher and family. The research was designed in order to favour spontaneous expressions and to acknowledge on-going becomings. In this sense no restrictions were imposed on children's potential agency.

Another point is that the research has been defined and created with the children, making it clear that I was not trying to impose anything. I explained to the children that I was interested in knowing them better and one way to do it was by asking them to think about what was important in their lives at this specific moment in time¹⁸. The presentation of the themes, the research letter and how I presented the research to children, school directors, teachers, and parents are reproduced in the annexe both as a reference to the themes described in *Fragmented Becoming* sections and to the ethical actions I took with regard to my research colleagues and direct surrounding.

The children wrote down what was important for them and out of their answers, I took the ones seen most frequently. I then asked the children if they agreed with my selection. When confirmed, I created a monthly schedule that I handed it to them, in order for them and their parents to have an idea of how our time would be spent.

¹⁸ See annexe for the full themes' description of each child and school.

SCHEDULE 2004: MAGALHÃES BASTOS SCHOOL

Becoming a person project with the participation of: Leticia, Mateus, Acildo, Walln, Vitor, Rodrigo, Tayna.

March: Home
April: Family
May: Neighbourhood
June: School
August: To play
September: Sports/Going out
November: Friends
December: Television

When we came back from the Christmas holidays, one of the children of the group had left the Arco-Íris, Gisele from Chinese heritage, a very sensitive girl, who was very popular among the other children. Unfortunately, her mother felt that her daughter was not learning to write and read fast enough and decided to send her to a catholic private primary school. The Arco-Íris had started to admit children in the morning or in the afternoon and Heitor another child of the group, was now coming during the afternoon. I took the most popular names of the list of colleagues the children had written down before Christmas and Duda and Pedro joined the group.

The children remembered me very well. The new pedagogical coordinator Marina came into the classroom to explain my research project to the children. In fact, I presented the project to them and she repeated what I had said. I also made clear that it was they who had chosen the colleagues with whom they preferred to work. In this sense maybe the result would have be different if we did it again, but it was important that they did not think that they were not chosen for some obscure reasons. Here are the themes and the schedule I made out of it.

SCHEDULE 2004: ARCO-ÍRIS SCHOOL

Becoming a person project with the participation of: Igor, Maria-Eduarda (Duda), Amadeu, Camila, Pedro, Luana, Bruna.

March: Dance and Sports
April: To take care of my body
May: Pets
June: Family
August: House/Neighbourhood
September: School/Teacher
October: Friends
November: To play/party

I worked differently with the children of the Daruê. Because most of them did not know how to write, we all sat together in circle and talked about what was important for them. We then took each month of the year and discussed which theme best fits this period.

SCHEDULE 2004: DARUÊ MALUNGO CENTRE

Becoming a person project with the participation of: Aline, Marcelino, Leonardo, Fabiola, Cláudio, Wanderson, Janaina, Bianca, Douglá, Ricardo, Willyane.

March: Dancing

April: School

May: To Sing

June: Family

August: To Work

September: Neighbourhood

October: Friends

In the case of the Daruê and Magalhães Bastos, I handed back this work schedule with a letter of presentation of the project for the parents¹⁹. I gave the letter to the children and asked them to hand it to their parents; I told them that it was very important that their parents get to know what the work we were doing together was, especially since I was going to visit them in their houses. I do not know if all the parents read the letter. I could not send it because of the cost and due to the fact that certain houses did not have addresses. I thought about the possibility of no one in the family knowing how to read, but then I had shown my phone numbers to the children. I could call them as well in the case of the poorest who did not have credit on their mobile phones or only could receive calls on a public phone. I received few phone calls, but when I did call the parents myself to schedule a visit to their houses, they all knew who I was and had been waiting for my phone call.

At Arco-Íris', things got complicated from 2004 onwards. The coordinator I had met in 2003 had left the school and as it happened, did not talk about my project to the new one. It was only in this school that I had to discuss with the pedagogical coordinators. I will describe the relation I had with Marina and Rute for more than a month surrounding different dimensions of my research. These fragments are extracts of my fieldnotes from the 12th of February 2004 until the 18th of March 2004. This time contrariety is an unfortunate example; because it happened in the school, and I expected it less to occur because of its reputation for being progressive. Their reserves did not have any connections with the children's well-being or protection at least while referring to what they told me verbally.

Firstly, they did not know about my research, as the prior coordinator did not pass the information to Marina, the new one. Secondly, they had a problem with the number of students I wanted to work with, and thirdly, they were reticent about the letter I wanted to send to the parents.

¹⁹ See annexe for English translation and Portuguese original Introduction letter to the Parents.

Marina first called me at home to tell me this following the reading of my research proposal; they were not accepting that I went out of the classroom with seven children every week because the parents were going to have a problem with it. The alternative proposition made was that I would stay one hour with two students. However, when I arrived at school, Marina told me that I could only stay with one child. I responded that it was going to completely cut the interactive part of the project. I could not really understand what the potential problem was with the parents. I wished to inform the parents anyway, and I thought that I could talk directly to them.

Marina then told me that in fact it was not so much the parents as the pedagogical coordinators who thought that it was not a good idea that children went out of the classroom so frequently as the computer course, dance course, art course and physical education were already periods of time out of it. I kept on thinking that the argument was weak. I told her that I was going to write a letter to the parents to ask them to call me. I renewed my wish to spend one hour with two children. On the 4th of March, I handed the letter to her before entering in the classroom, and she accepted to meet me during the break.

I ended up paying a visit to the teacher I worked with the year before a little before the break. She asked me how the research was going. I told her about the problems I had with pedagogical coordination. Denise's response was the same as mine -the argument was weak, and my research project was a rich and interesting experience for the children. Denise then confided in me that the problem probably came from Joana. This was the last thing that I expected to hear.

According to Denise, Joana, was probably the one putting pressure on the pedagogical coordination by saying that she was still on probation (she had left the school because of pedagogical ideas divergence and was back initiating her third year) and that it disturbed the effort she made to "win children's affection". Marina the one in charge of the children until seven years of age, had just started to work as a pedagogical coordinator and also had to prove her skills to the direction. In fact, both Joana and Marina, the children's gatekeepers I had to deal with at Arco-Íris found themselves in a delicate situation.

On the 18th of March 2004, I met Rute in the teacher's room, we embraced and while going out of the room I met Marina whom I asked if she had received my e-mail with the corrected letter for the parents. She answered affirmatively but told me that she and Rute wanted to meet with me. On that day Joana, the teacher I was working with, told me that she had forgotten to call to tell me that there was a special activity, and that it was not going to be possible to spend so much time with my group.

I responded that little time was better than no time, especially since I was already there. After working with the children, I went to the coordination where I first sat with Rute who is a very calm person. We talked about her other work in a day-care centre in the suburbs. Marina arrived and sat down with us.

This time, it was Rute who spoke, and she explained that there was going to be a parents' meeting the following week and that instead of sending the letter they were thinking about talking directly to the parents. I then told them that I could show up as well in order to introduce myself to the parents. They responded that there were only seven of them and that it was going to disturb the other parents... I wondered how they were going to explain my research without disturbing the others, and how suddenly it was not half of the classroom anymore. They then asked me to tell them the main objectives of my research. I proceeded.

I insisted on the fact that I wanted to meet the parents. They told me that they were afraid that the parents would think that I was invading their privacy, that it was difficult to mobilise their presence and that the majority were working a lot. I told them that if it was the nanny who was more present in the lives of the children, it was her that I wanted to meet. They then recognized that they were maybe insinuating and that this would not happen.

I responded, with a lot of difficulty in keeping myself calm, that it was much easier in the public school and that it was something that I had not projected to be the case. Rute advised me to be cautious; that maybe the parents were so receptive because they were going to get back to me wanting a financial retribution in exchange for the time I had spent with their children. I rejected Rute's prejudice completely, mainly because the project was not presented in a manner that could have made the parents think that I was "using" their children. We ended our meeting more or less on that note and I thanked them wondering what they would invent next.

Actually, they did not invent anything. Worse, they never sent my letter or talked to the parents concerned. I asked them a few times if they had sent it and always received the answer that they had forgotten because they had too much work. On the 29th of April 2004, I gave the letter to the children and asked them to hand it to their parents. I could not wait any longer for the pedagogical coordination and the moment to visit them was close.

On the next day, the mother of Bruna called me and told me that when she received the schedule in January 2005, she called the pedagogical coordination to ask them what it was all about. Marina responded to her that it was for my Ph.D. In January, I think that she did not even know what my project was about. I explained to Bruna's mother the small problems I had encountered with the coordination, and the reason why she had received the letter so late. She told me that she was following closely anything that had to do with her daughter. I responded of course and we fixed a day for me to visit her and get to know her home.

In 2003, in a public conference at Recife Federal University, Edgar Morin explained that, some decades ago, he had been invited to participate in secondary school reforms in France. His proposal was accepted by the State and the practical experience with the students worked well, but he encountered so much institutional resistance as well as resistance from the teachers, that the project was never concretized. Neither did he get along with the minister of Education of the time. The positive side of this experience was the writing of a book: *La Tête Bien Faite*, that discusses the reform of institutionalised thinking.

Ethically, it was important that the parents knew about what I was doing with their children. The themes that we were developing every month had to do with them as well, and the activities we did together with the children could have resonance at home afterwards. Corsaro and Molinari (2000) are right when they say that the first gatekeepers to research with children are the direction, the pedagogical coordination, and the teachers of the school. We live in an adult-centric world where children's own opinions and wishes come after the considerations and decisions of the adults taking care of them, and they are not always founded on solid bases.

This point is crucial because in Western societies, of all human beings, children are the ones with the least autonomy regarding their wishes to participate or not in a research project. I actually worked on the opposite direction, creating space for the child expression and agency. As the Arco-Íris' example showed, projects turned towards children's agency exist together with institutional resistance for changes going in that sense.

As for the children I worked with, I told them at the beginning that the adventure that we were initiating was going to last a full year and their decisions to participate involved a certain responsibility. Of course, selling this idea of one full year did not make much sense to them; they underestimated the time we were going to spend together. In the case of the Daruê particularly, children had an already unstable lifestyle and any promises related to time spent together could not be made.

Considering my life experiences and how I reflect about the relationships I have with people, the question of respect for the integrity of the other is fundamental. It is difficult to write down a close description of criteria surrounding how to establish a relationship with the other²⁰. It changes from one culture to another; one person to another and the universality of some values and behaviours are always personally reinterpreted.

I tried to position myself in the other position in order to have multiple stances and a better understanding of individual complexity. The method was produced along the way; it did not exist prior to the research process. The method exists as a support; it does not give you any answer. I had been firm on not wanting to present any pre-established questionnaires before actually meeting the children I was going to work with. This whole research was about singularity and individual differences; a pre-established questionnaire would have been contrary to my purpose. I wanted to be able to change things if necessary and feel that I could be flexible.

For Edgar Morin, when we are looking for a solution it is always easy to stop thinking in the face of confusion and contradictions. However these aspects are parts of the creative process. According to Deleuze (1990), ethics are a set of optional rules that evaluate what we do, what we say, following the lifestyle that it implies. We say this, we do that: what kind of lifestyle does it imply? To conclude, the two sources of the word Ethic according to Morin and for me are: Solidarity and Responsibility.

²⁰ See annexe for Roberts (2000) ten ethical questions and my answers to them.

When I finished the fieldwork research, I handed out a letter to the parents and teachers²¹. I said goodbye to the children and thanked them for their participation. I promised them I would come back to see them before leaving in order to give them the DVD.

I. Self-Introduction in the Schools and NGO

I started my fieldwork research the first week of November 2003. When I started to attend the schools and the centre, I was confronted with the fact that the time when the anthropologist would be the first to come to study a new place was definitely over. Far worse, there have been many researchers from all fields that have come armed with good will but who fail to keep their promises. As a consequence of these past letdowns, you have to fight harder to win the confidence of the people involved.

This situation clearly happened at the Daruê Malungo where there had been a lot of people passing through. After fifteen years, Meia-Noite and Vilma continue to accept most projects that people propose, but they tend to keep their distance from them and do not want to become closely involved. This complicated my work because I had to deal with the educators who did not have any power to decide where or with what materials I would be able to work. Since I was not starting my activities with the children immediately, I decided to respect their distance, but it was clear that I would need much more of their attention in the future if not for material needs then for information concerning the history of Chão de Estrelas and the Daruê Malungo.

As it turned out, I was going to a favela that I knew nothing about except for the fact that it was tragically poor and that someone was getting shot more or less every week and not always at night. When children first arrive at Daruê Malungo, they are for the most part very violent and greatly lacking in their basic needs.

Another problem was that the Federal University was situated in the Várzea neighborhood where the private and public schools are and thus many students did their pedagogical training at the surrounding primary schools. Most are sent from the department of education as passive observers. Many primary schools teachers do not want intruders in their classroom, while others are more receptive and always end up with a student observer, which can be very tiring. This situation played against me, because even though I explained the research project to the director who was supposed to pass the information on to the teachers, it seemed as if this information did not pass through, and that they saw me as a passive observer. I also felt that entering at the end of the year put me at a definite disadvantage, as the year's activities had already been put in place.

²¹ See annexe for English translation and Portuguese original letter addressed at the end of the fieldwork research to the Parents and Teachers.

Arco-Íris Private School

My initial idea was to work with Mauricio Silva in the art room and work with the group of seven year olds during their art class. However, on the first day of my introduction to the school I soon understood what Mauricio's pedagogical philosophy meant, when he talked about a "school for the well behaved". Mauricio was not an authoritative person, and what really interested him was to stimulate the creativity of every pupil. Unfortunately, the pupils turned out to be creative in a very chaotic fashion and I saw that the art room was associated with making uproar.

Since there was only one class of six year olds, I spoke with their teacher and asked her if I could come every week to spend the morning with them. In 2003, the Arco-Íris only taught students in the morning, but in 2004, they expanded their hours to include the afternoon as well. Denise the teacher, in her early thirties, was studying psychoanalysis. She agreed that I could come over every Friday to do some observation, and we decided that I could present my research project to the class before the end of the school year. She also told me that if I wished to do any activities with the class it was also possible.

The Escola do Dom Municipal Public School

After the teacher's initial discontent at this unexpected visit in her classroom at 7h30, the director had forgotten to tell her I was coming. She invited me to sit anywhere I liked in the class. She was my age, 27 years old, in 2003. She did not introduce me to the children, but they did not wait for her and came to the table at the back where I had decided to sit to ask me who I was, what was my favourite colour, if I was going to come every day, etc. The Escola do Dom receives children both in the morning and the afternoon. Before lunch, when the students left the class, Amanda asked me what my project was about. I explained it to her and I also specified that my aim was to get to know the children before they moved to Magalhães Bastos school in 2004. We agreed that I could come every Monday. When I returned from lunch I sat in the secretary's office and waited for the afternoon teachers to arrive. Only one of them taught both schedules. The female director was re-registering the children for the next school year, or asking the parents what school the child would be going to.

Since the 1995 Republic government, there is a new bursary program for children. It is oriented towards families that earn less than ninety reais (around 25\$, in April, 2005) per month and have children between the ages of six and fifteen attending school. Every child receives fifteen reais per month. The money has to be spent on scholarly material and food and as compensation the mothers have access to free cultural activities, like theatre and cinema. The municipality of Recife itself could also add money to the federal bursary and took the initiative.

The Committee of Social Control of the School Bursary was formed in order to make sure that the student recipients were really attending school. In 2001, the program was legalized. Following the bursary program, if the student misses more than 15% of school attendance, the bursary is cut off. However, it is not so sure that the money actually goes where it should and

there is this idea between teachers and directors that the mothers are only enrolling their children in school to get the money and that they do not supervise the school work of their child any more than before.

After two weeks of going the entire day, working with two different teachers, I felt that twenty-one children from amongst the three schools would be enough to be able to do some interesting work. I went to Amanda's morning class two more times and then only to Carmen's afternoon class until Christmas. I had more affinity for Carmen; she had presented me to her class on the first day and had invited me to introduce myself to them. I also liked the way she treated her pupils, the interest she took in each one individually, and the extra time she spent with students who had more difficulty following the activities.

Daruê Malungo Centre NGO

I went to the Daruê Malungo to introduce myself to Amélia who was about twenty-five years old and who was the class monitor for children between six and twelve years old. We agreed that I would come every Wednesday to work with the children. When I entered the classroom on the following Wednesday, Amélia told me that she was working on Black consciousness with the children (there were nineteen of them that day). The 20th of November is the Day of the Black Consciousness (*Consciencia Negra*) in Brazil and she invited me to join the activity. The children were cutting out photographs of black people from some old magazines.

They had invented a kind of contest to see who could cut out the most. It turned into a scissors fight with the children trying to grab the magazines from each other. I sat at one of the tables where I started to look for pictures as well. The children kept coming up to me to ask if the people in the picture were black or not. This activity did not seem successful at all in promoting black consciousness. When they had finished, Amélia did not have anything else planned for them to do; she was expecting the arrival of Telmo, the art teacher. She told me that he had not come in the last two weeks and had a serious drinking problem. However, when he did come, he worked well with the children.

I helped her paint a red poster to glue the pictures of black people onto. The children were fighting with each other. At one point, Amélia left the class and on her return, one of the boys slammed the door on her just as she was entering. She erupted into a stream of shouts and insults and threatened to send them all home. The children calmed down for a while, but I was shocked by the way she was dealing with them. The hour for dance class arrived and the girls filed out of the class. We stayed behind with the boys, and I showed them a world map that I had brought with me. They asked me where I came from and to show them other countries on the map. The children coming in the morning can stay for lunch.

When the afternoon group arrived, Amélia suggested that I do an activity with them. I asked the new group of children what they knew about black culture in Brazil and they responded that they knew nothing. I asked them if Maracatu came from white culture, or Candomblé for that matter, or drums or... I then asked them to draw what they felt was part

of black Brazilian culture. Some of them asked me if they could go to the classroom next door to look at the drawings on the wall. I gave them permission, for inspiration only, but it turned out that they had started to copy the drawings onto their sheets. Only four of the eleven children completed the activity without having to trace or copy from another drawing. The afternoon group was less energetic than the morning group; there were also fewer students.

I decided to go only in the morning to Daruê Malungo. This observation period gave me the opportunity to re-adjust certain things regarding my project. For instance, I decided that seven children per school would be sufficient. I also realized that I needed to work directly with the teachers in order to have more output on the day-to-day relationship between the child and the teacher and the child and his/her peers. Finally, I also took the initiative of attending the three schools three consecutive days per week.

The Magalhães Bastos Municipal Public School

On the second week of fieldwork, I arrived at the Escola do Dom to find out that there were no children at school. All the teachers were grouped at the entrance. Amanda looked at me with surprise, and then apologised for not telling me that there was no class that day. The teachers had computer training at the computer centre next door. On my way back home I decided to stop by the primary school, Magalhães Bastos, to introduce myself to Anna the director, and present my research project to her.

She took the time to meet with me even though I had arrived without making an appointment. She said she would give me the list of the students from Escola do Dom that would be attending Magalhães Bastos school the following year. She thought the project was very interesting. As we were talking, a woman entered the room and Graça said that she was precisely the teacher she had in mind to match me with, adding that Ângela loved the arts.

Ângela told us that she had run out of energy. After twenty years of teaching without receiving anything in return, she felt she had no more to offer. We laughed at her unwillingness because everything in her being indicated a total dedication to her work. The conversation came to a head when I explained the connection between my past research with transvestites and my present work. Both of them looked at me wide eyed and told me that there were in fact a lot of transvestites (in-becoming) at school. Ângela said that she did not know whether it was an illness or genetic but... I cut her short and said that the question was more about why the dominant society does not make any room for them, starting with school, for instance(?) Ângela answered that space or not, it was easier to say that you understand and accept it when it is not your own kid. In Graça's opinion these boys need psychotherapy. I felt that there was a lot of prejudice surrounding the question.

While accompanying me outside, Ângela told me that she had been full of energy when she first started teaching, then she realized that things were not changing and that the parents were only interested in collecting the bursary money and had no interest in keeping track of their children's school activities. Teaching a class of twenty-nine students, it was impossible

for her to meet the needs of so many different students. One girl she taught for three years still did not know how to read and write. Ângela felt that she was training illiterates.

The Formation of the Groups

At Arco-Íris starting with the new academic year 2004, in Joana's class, every morning the children wrote down the day of the week, the date and the year, followed by the schedule of activities that they would try to accomplish. In the municipal school, the day of the week and the date and year were written on the black board. The teacher gave activities needing more concentration before the break and after, generally the children would draw, read or write down the homework to be done for the next morning. In the centre, it was a bit more chaotic because of the high rates absenteeism of the monitors but in general, children had literacy class, dance, music, art, and other workshops during the morning and afternoon. At Arco-Íris, I could work with the children at eight but after a few months, Joana thought it was better that I wait twenty to thirty minutes before going to the art room. I always worked with the children before the break. As for the public school, we decided along with the director and the teacher that it was better to work with the children after the break at ten. Before the break, the teacher gave more substantial training while after the break she asked them to copy their homework from the blackboard in their notebook or they did an activity to prepare a special celebration: Christmas, Easter, The day of the Native, Mother's Day, St-John's and so forth.

I first had in mind to ask children to write down six other colleagues with whom they liked to work. I reflected that it was a democratic way to form a group of seven. I also wanted the group formation to be the children initiative since the research project was to give them the space to be agent. This method only worked out at Arco-Íris. I asked the children to take a white sheet and to write their names, ages, the names of six other colleagues with whom they would like to work, and the things that were important for them at this moment in time. From the list of names they wrote down, I made a list of the seven that came up most often.

As for Daruê Malungo, Amélia understood that I needed to work with children who knew how to read and write, so she took the liberty of choosing the group of seven for me. However, it turned out that the children of my group did not actually know how to read or write. I also ended up working with children between six and twelve years old but it better represented Daruê's reality. The group formed had to be re-formed more than once during the year I spent at Daruê. In the beginning I was disappointed not to have the opportunity to develop a deeper relationship with these children, but it represented the actual flux of children entering, leaving, returning to, or not returning to Daruê.

At the beginning of February 2005, when I started to work at the Magalhães Bastos School in Ângela's classroom, it turned out that none of her students came from the Escola do Dom. I did not have time to do another two months of observation, and I had started to wonder how I was going to form a group of seven when the answer came by itself. Seven students of Ângela's group were considered to be more advanced in terms of their writing and reading knowledge and were to be transferred to the neighboring class of Regane who would send seven students with more difficulties. I decided to change classes with the children in

Ângela students' group. I presented the project and myself to Regane who accepted that I start to work with this group of students on that same day.

To conclude this section, I must highlight that even if I tried to be present every week at the schools and NGO, many times, I arrived and for different reasons like teachers' union meetings, special events, public or official holidays, I could not work with the children. I found it difficult because the teachers never called me in advance to tell me in order to schedule another day. I had given my home phone number and mobile phone to all of them, and the day of the week that I was coming was fixed...

I am concluding with this aspect to actually show that even with all the good will in the world, there are things that are out of control for the researcher, sometimes things that could have been easily avoided but that ended up being part of the constitutive landscape of the ethnographic experience.

2.2 DATA-COLLECTION METHODS

Since the 1990s, the anthropology with children does research with individuals while considering the multiples dimensions and life aspects defining one life trajectory. As Morrow (1994) suggests, on the one hand, there have been remarkably few purely sociological studies of children's everyday lives, thus little has been written on "doing research" with children. On the other hand, the fact is that research methods that are used to work with adults are applicable for children as well.

In my own research, the only method that differed from my previous research was the use of drawings. Since the 1990s, more researchers have been working with children, and the data-collection methods used are reflecting the access to multimedia methods in social sciences research. These are innovative, creative, interactive and dynamic. The place of children within social sciences and particularly in feminist anthropology today is inscribed in the historical trajectory of the deconstruction of patriarchal knowledge.

Children would not have gained the status of agent within social sciences research without women's and other minorities' struggles for the same status in western society. Children are now research colleagues in their own right because asymmetrical power relations between researcher and informants were addressed within anthropology through post-colonial criticism. The search for a more reciprocal exchange is still an on-going task for anthropologists and it has been my aim to find ways to establish a positive relation of power with the children I worked with.

In this section, I will give examples of the data-collection methods that researchers used while interacting and working with children. I am presenting them here to give an overview to the reader, who might not be familiar with research with children and the methods that have

proven to be adequate. In fact, there are no particular methods. Rephrasing Mayall (1994), it is important to get rid of the following counter arguments:

Problems of data-collection while working with children tend to put forth the idea that children cannot make the difference between truth and fiction, that they lack knowledge and experiences to be good research colleagues, that they are likely to tell the researcher what adults told him/her to say or what they feel the researcher wants to hear. The fact is that these problems are the same ones that apply for adults. For the researcher, it is all the more interesting to be confronted with this mixture of personal accounts including facts and inventions, how the power relation set between the researcher and the research colleagues transforms the account into the perceived ideas of what the researcher would be pleased to hear. Finally, it is primordial to understand the dynamic between social institutions and children mixture of institutional thinking and their more personal opinions and perceptions of their social worlds.

The different methods that I will describe were used by authors in their fieldwork sites such as in England, the United States and in Italy. The child's perspective is evident in Steedman's book, *The Tidy House* (1982), which is based on a narrative written by three eight year-old girls in the course of their schoolwork. Davies' (1989), research has been innovative. She took multiple readings of classroom conversations, and analysed them as complex texts in which children and teachers take a variety of positions in gendered discourses. Gunilla Halldén (1994) asked children in school to write accounts of their future family, over a period of several weeks; both narratives and drawings were collected. Morrow (1994) worked in school classrooms and asked children to write an essay about everyday life out of school. She also used group discussions with a small number of children.

Mayall (1994) collected data as fieldnotes from observation, through informal and more focussed conversations with children, through whole class discussions and, with the older children, through some writing. She kept running notes on conversations with teachers and interviewed them more formally. She also talked with and interviewed the headteacher, the secretary, the four helpers/supervisors and some mothers of the reception class and older children. Mayall (1994) used whole class brainstorms, and collected some data opportunistically and through observation, as general helper in the classroom. Bird (1994) took the most ethnographic approach: as a 'quasi-participant' in a primary school. She took fieldnotes on children's activities and conversations and carried out some individual interviews. In a secondary school she and her colleagues acted as 'participant observers' in science classes; they took part in work, kept fieldnotes, audio-taped class sessions and interviewed some students. Corsaro and Molinari (2000) were instructed by children on which important events to be recorded in their notes and in other instances children took the notebook and recorded themselves what they feel should be part of it.

Using a more multimedia approach, Dandy's (1998) video data focused on children participating in their everyday play activities in the pre-school room of a childcare centre. Virginia Casper, Steven Schultz and two classroom teachers (1998) from an urban, private, progressive school for children ages three to thirteen, undertook a research together. A mini-

grant allowed them to pilot an ethnographically based study. They decided to begin by observing and videotaping in five classrooms, including children from first grade, two second grades, one fourth and one eighth grade. Through video-recording the playground, Bronwyn et al. (1998) were able to begin to examine closely what they saw happening there in a way they were not able to do when it was simply their teachers' eyes they looked with. In addition, new techniques can be devised when working with children who may not be accustomed to the formality of interviews.

One of the ways that Caputo (1995) has found to be productive for her research has been the use of a video camera. After instructing the children on how to use the camera, she allowed them to take control of the images and sounds they wish to record. This kind of approach allows the children the freedom to express themselves outside the limitations of a question and answer format. In April 2005 within the program of the Film Festival of Recife *Cine PE Festival de Audiovisual*, two movies were made by children. In the case of *Zen ou não Zen* from the southern state of Espírito Santo, the children of a primary school made the movie by themselves distributing the different tasks to be done in the realisation of a movie depending on the age of the person. For instance the script was written by the older members of the school, and so forth. Through the *Oficina Comunitária de Cinema Documentário*, Evaldo Morcazel showed how to make a short documentary movie. He worked with eighteen youths of the poor community of Brasília Teimosa in metropolitan Recife and showed the daily lives of the people there. In fact, the particular methods chosen should be in common agreement with the research colleagues. It is a good example of how to give a more active place to the research participants and establish symmetrical power relations.

For instance, in the research contexts of metropolitan Recife, I thought about how to organise the data collecting in a way that would make it easier for children to understand the whole point of our work. When we wrote down the schedule, I explained that we were going to see each other every week and that it was important to approach each theme they voiced as being important for them, in different ways in order to have a clearer idea of the different things they wanted to express. The children agreed to draw, record stories, and be filmed. During the year, children in each school randomly asked me to explain why I was filming or what I was going to do with their drawings.

At the beginning, I had told them that my idea was to produce a DVD with everything they would be doing and then gathering all the participants together for the presentation of it. However, during the course of the year, the children gatekeepers of the Arco-Íris private school made it clear that they were not going to accept to let the children and their parents go for a visit to the Daruê Malungo centre in the favela Chão de Estrelas. I tried to explain every change to the children, in order for them to follow our itinerary. I had discussions with their teachers or monitors, the directors and the pedagogical coordination and every time something was changed in our schedule I announced it directly to the children. We work by theme and by month as the schedules I gave them showed.

The first week, I asked the children to draw on the theme. They could use colouring pencils, felt-tip pens or soft lead pencils, whatever my meagre budget allowed me to buy.

Some of the children liked to draw while some others did not really like to. Sometimes, a child finished in a very short period of time and I could see that the others were starting to do their drawings faster to finish as well. I would then tell them to take their time, that there was no hurry. I would then look at the drawing of the one finished and ask him/her whether there was not something missing if they could not put in more colour, if all the elements that they wanted to present were there, and so forth.

The contrary could also happen. The children would come in the art room very excited and I would have to ask them many times to calm down and start doing the activity. I ended up the research with one hundred seventy six drawings. The drawings were discussed with the children, looking for the meaning they attached to them. I mainly asked, “What is it? – Who is it? – When did this happen?” The children I worked with chose the themes of the family, the neighbourhood, the house, friendship and the school as being important things in their lives at the moment we worked together.

For the children with whom I worked, the art class was associated with leisure time. This is not to say that they were not applying themselves on their drawings but that many factors contribute to relax and favour communication. They were asked to create something and not to reproduce letters for instance. It was an atmosphere that gave way to all types of conversations, related to the drawing theme or not. But as we will see in the next section, the drawings were considered as a data-collection method intertwined with the other methods and not working independently.

The second week of our monthly work on a theme, I asked the children to tell me a story related to it. The first time I asked the children to tell me a story about a theme, the entire group was with me. Even though they were learning in class to remain silent when a colleague was speaking, in a small group the temptation to add something to the story of the colleague was burning their tongues and I had to intervene many times to ask them to stay silent without breaking every thing in the room. I tried another time to give a specific activity, like drawing, and the children came one at the time to another corner of the room to tell me a story. Again, some of the children finished their drawings quickly and then came to show and explain it to me while I was recording a story with someone else. I ended up doing this activity individually and it worked better.

I really liked to do this activity with the children principally because of the opportunity for one on one interaction. I was listening to them but I also had to ask a lot of questions to get to understand the story; sometimes they used words that I did not understand and then it was very funny to see both sides trying to arrive at something intelligible. It was also a moment of intimacy and confidence for some of them who could tell me more; others literally invented stories. I also respected the silence of some of them who were shy or did not feel like telling a story on that particular day.

The third week, I filmed. I registered some of the interviews, the school, the art room where I worked, the children working, the houses of the children, and their parents when possible. I did not really leave the children playing with the camera, principally because it

was not insured and I really needed it to work until the end. I responded to all their questions about how the camcorder worked; they could see themselves through the small screen that I flipped over to their side while I was filming them.

When it became clear that it was not going to be possible to arrange for the children to meet each other, the DVD became the last option. I wanted to establish connections between the children while doing the research. I talked about the other schools I was working in and that it was going to be interesting for them to see how other children of around the same age dealt with similar themes. The creation of a DVD had two purposes. In the first place, the idea was to build bridges between children that might never have the chance to exchange ideas together and to get to know more personally the different life realities and differences of other children. In this sense, my purpose was to connect children of different socio-economic classes and races living in different areas of the city in a common project aimed at recognizing differences as the positivity of differences. In the second place, the DVD was also one of the outcomes of the research to leave with the children something to keep on developing themselves, if they wished to, following their participation in the project. It also felt as a more reciprocal exchange for the time the children had giving me.

I received the DVD three days before flying back to Holland because the graphic designer had technical problems with finishing it. The DVD programming and navigation was not perfect but considering that it was produced for free and that the children can see themselves and the other children I thought it was worthy to give them a copy. I rushed in the three schools in order to leave a copy for every child, the teacher and one for the school. Even though it was very quick, the DVD represented well the year I had spent in each school and centre. At Arco-Íris private school, the pedagogical coordination accepted to interrupt the children activity in order for them to see me and sat in a room to see the DVD.

Luana had move to São Paulo with her mother and Pedro was now going to another primary school closer to his house in Aldeia. But I met Camila, Bruna, Amadeu, Duda and Igor whom had all their new teeth grown out. They laugh at seeing themselves and the missing ones. I showed them the children from the other schools and they pointed at them saying that they were ugly. A reason for this comment might be because the children from the municipal school and centre were darker skin. As for the Daruê, the children were not wearing their school shirts which might have been another criterion for Arco-Íris children to say they were ugly because their clothes look cheaper.

I embraced them all without saying goodbye to anyone else and ran to Magalhães Bastos municipal school to find out that there was a union meeting somewhere and that the children were at home. I had call to ask and I was said that it was all right to come but this situation was not surprising. I left the DVD copies with Maria the vice-director that I had known as a teacher. She promises me to give a copy to each of the child and to Regane the teacher with whom I worked. It turned out that Regane was their teacher for two consecutive years and had just change jobs.

On the same day I was leaving I went to the Daruê Malungo centre during lunchtime. I met Meia-Noite who was close to leaving and we sat together for around twenty minutes. For the first time we just could not stop talking. Their DVD machine was broken and so I explained to him how it worked. We talked about each of the children I worked with and Meia-Noite promises to give them their copy. He gave me a CD of the centre musical performance and wrote inside thanking me for being a companion in the struggle. Back in Holland, I wrote an e-mail to each of the schools and asked what they thought about the DVD and what the children had told them about it. I did not receive any answers back.

In extensive fieldwork situation, when the research colleagues remain the same more or less all along, the researcher is able to work with different methods. Since in my case, the fieldwork research was of one year, the more diverse the methods were, the more different aspects on a same theme were gathered. It was thus a way to get to know my research colleagues better.

While confirming during the fieldwork process the influences of institutional received ideas on children, the use of different data-collection methods enabled me to go beyond them and get to the singularities of each of the children involved. Firstly, the child is considered as a complex individual to whom the researcher can pay respect by acknowledging and working with this very complexity. Secondly, data-collection methods are tools to work with in order to better understand individuals' complexity and looking at one thing through different angles can give more insight about the subject and the individual. In this sense, I recorded the stories children had to tell me, I went to visit the places and the people that were important for them, and I collected their drawings on each theme as an illustration of what we have been talking about together. In this respect, we will now turn to the description of Bernard Darras' (1996) Initial Imagery theory in order to clarify our use of drawings as a data-collection method.

I. Drawings Interpretation

'Je me rendais compte de tout ce qu'une imagination peut mettre derrière un petit morceau de visage', dit le narrateur de La recherche du temps perdu Marcel Proust

Je suis une part de tout ce que j'ai rencontré Ortega y Grasset

Drawings as a data-collection method is not per se a tool that ought to be only used with children, though the method is not extensively used with adults. Adults who do not work directly with imagery often have not drawn since they left school. As a consequence they do not feel at ease with drawing and will tell the researcher that they do not know how to draw. They figure that drawing is an artistic task, while in fact it can be consider as another manner of communication. With children, to draw is part of their scholar activities and they usually enjoy it because it is associated with a task that needs less attention or concentration. Children's drawings are often used as trademarks for products aimed at children consumers and institutions or organisations that work with them.

Children drawings were/are for psychotherapists the representation of a world that children do not express verbally. What interests psychotherapists in children' drawings are the hidden symbols and signifiers corresponding to the interpretative scale that they created. In my view, this interpretative enduring tradition kept social scientists from using drawing as a data-collection method with unhidden interpretative purpose.

In traditional developmental practices, Luquet (1913), Piaget, and Inhelder's (1966) analytical focus was on the subject development and not on the development of the possibilities of communication. In their attempt to conciliate general maturation with a certain idea of representative maturation, they thought in substitutive terms whereas initial imagery works by registers' accumulation. To confirm their thesis they had to select subjects who conformed with their theory, which existed and rejected the ones who did not conform to it, the majority.

In his book *Interpreting Children's Drawings*, Di Leo (1983) seems to sit between two chairs. Di Leo worked for thirty-three years as the director of the developmental clinic of the New York Founding Hospital. He thus followed the psychotherapy theoretical trajectory of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. While working with children during all these years, he highlights the richness of using drawings as an important component of the psychotherapy. However, even while considering statistical studies concerning drawing interpretations, a child can only be understood individually since two children are never equals. For him, drawings can express intellect and affective subtleties that go beyond verbal communication. The content of a drawing says something about the subject, and the nature of the subject says something about the drawing. But, the drawing cannot be the only source of information about the subject.

Di Leo puts forward the variety of forms of interpretation of the use of the space on a sheet. Then he orients the lector towards the forms that he decided to retain within his clinical practice. For instance, small figures drawn in the inferior part of the sheet, divided in the middle by an imaginary horizontal line, express feelings of inadequacy, insecurity and depression while the ones drawn in the upper part suggest optimism, maybe narcissism and fantasia. The interpretation of Darras (1994) pays more respect to the fact that in the majority of the cosmogonies, the beneficial forces reside and intervene from the height while the malefic ones are from telluric origin. In thematic images, the characters are organized as a function of their celestial and terrestrial ranks. In certain cases, the lower positions express deprivation.

Another set of interpretations can be based in the left and right side of the sheet divided in the middle by a vertical line, while taking into account a subject who writes from the left to the right. For Di Leo (1983) the right side of the sheet is masculine and the left side is feminine which can give access to the unconscious ideas of the child about gender and sexual roles. While taking western medieval paintings as examples, Darras (1994) points out that the left and the right possessed hierarchical values. The characters of high ranks were drawn in general on the left side, which would have contributed to impregnating the gaze of the

observer for centuries. However, Darras ponders whether the iconography would not be submitted to deeper plastic and physiologic dynamics.

For Di Leo, every drawing reflects the personality of the one who drew it, while at the same time for Darras (1994) the child draws neither what he//she sees nor what he//she knows, but he//she draws typical summary knowledge which are expected. In putting forward this conclusion, Darras refers to a matrix including archetypes (Durand, 1994) and stereotypes. Both views are useful for me, for the aim is to present the complexity of every child I worked with. Di Leo worked with children in difficult situation such as during their passage from a violent household to a foster family. He developed his own interpretative scale that reflected his own subjective experience of working with children.

I decided to take the drawings of the children and what they give me verbally as an explanation and through connecting the illustration with the other data-collection methods I used for the same theme. It kept me from seeing things in the child's drawings which were not there. I also wanted to approach children's drawings in ways that could not be traced back to patriarchal thinking and the asymmetrical power relation found in traditional socialisation concepts and psychological drawings interpretation. In this research, the drawings of the children are considered as a plurimedia figurative writing system and I will describe this approach through Darras' (1994) work.

The term "imagery" defines graphic, photographic and film images and the term "initial" from its Latin origin, *initium*, means "which is at the beginning" and "that characterises the beginning". The Initial Imagery refers to adult productions having childlike characteristics as well as adult and children's productions seeming to escape age categories. After going through a variety of terms and, although unsatisfied with his choice, Darras (1996:21) proposed the word "novice" in initial imagery which involves 95% of the adult population.

The novice in initial imagery has developed a certain number of competencies that are unexercised because they are deprecated by society, which mostly only recognises experts' images and provisional childhood ingenuous forms. Darras problem in using the words "novice" and "expert" comes from their use in the development of the representation; novice implies a continuum from an entry, the noviciate to the expertise, a result of the path covered. However, for Darras, the majority never arrived or even wished to arrive at the expert status. Only 5% of the adult population belong to the expert category; the none-novice, which are amateur artists, drawers, painters, graphic designers, illustrators, photographers, and all the visual arts professionals (Darras, 1996:20). Foremost, while considering children between ages eight to ten, they reach the level of expertise in their system of representation as well; they are experts of initial imagery.

When confronted with a problem of representation they search for a set of relational processes from their experience and then use very typified and very stabilised motifs called iconotypes²². The more the initial imagery system is effective, the more stable it is. If it

²² None-codified pictograms or stabilised and repeated schemas.

transforms, it will follow the tendency of becoming more expert. However, for many children, adolescents, and adults the initial imagery promptly resists the introduction of other systems of representation and modelling. It is why the same kinds of structural similarities are found between initial drawings, initial photography and home videos.

The initial imagery is “pan” or “plurimedia”, for it exploits the compatible properties of its system in each media. At the same time, the initial imagery theory embraces the environmentalist approach which favours a plurimedia capture of the object in its dynamics and expansion. This conception goes hand in hand with an approach that takes into account the multidimensional character of communication, ordinary communication being one example.

In his attempts to define the initial imagery, Darras (1996:35) makes a comparison of the antinomial characteristics between photographic register and initial register: optical/non-optical, homogeneous/heterogeneous, synchronic/diachronic, synoptic/diagrammatic, autonomous/heteronomous, objective/subjective and collective, independent/interdependent, isomorphic/homomorphic, continue/discreet and global/local.

While following Darras (1996), I will describe the initial register only, in order to better define it. The initial register is non-optical because it is simply impossible to talk about a point of view while considering an initial drawing. In looking at an initial image the observer will see a set of multiple times and spaces of elements from diverse origins. The diachrony of the initial register corresponds to distinct, disjointed and separate times. Since the initial imagery does not have correspondence with the optic world, it is composed of diagrammatic figures which put forward the relation between the parts and their organisation in space is topological and scriptural.

The initial imagery is plurimedia and thus interdependent of other forms of communication. In fact the initial register is both autonomous and heteronomous. Autonomous because it works within its own rules and heteronomous since most of the rules are found outside the image field: in gesture and verbal communication. The initial image is associated to the domain of the “I” and the “Us”. The homomorphism characterises a relation in which all elements from the set of the arrival (the model, the representation), correspond to at least one element of the set of the beginning (thing, real) without the opposite being true.

The narration and the scenario are not really anticipated and the story is an addition of segments associated by proximity, linked verbally by the magic formula: “And then, And then, And then”. In using this approach, the first theoretical step is to present the individual with a multivoice self, polyphonic narrative, as proposed by Hermans and Hermans-Jansen (2001). Bakhtin (1981) using the term *heteroglossia* to refer to the multiplicity of voices that are always present in both social discourse and in inner, personal speech. Bakhtin (1981:358) also used the term *hybridisation*, defining it as the existence of two or more social languages in a single utterance. Hybridisation is a type of double-voiced discourse expressing not only the intention of the speaker (in this case the child), but also the intentions of another speaker from whom a particular voice was appropriated.

Finally, there is the concept of *Heteronomy* developed by Fernando Pessoa. Pessoa who lived in Lisbon in Portugal at the end of the nineteenth century was an accountant for most of the people that knew him during his life. He wrote novels and poetry under dozens of different names. He considered his creations, his fictive personas as more real than himself. We thus acknowledge that the people we work with possess multiple voices. The idea is to look at imaginary figures, as imaginary figures, helping one individual express him/herself, to (re)present his/her world and personas with the tools he/she has in that particular life moment and to reflect on it with them.

In many ways, the initial imagery can be seen as a play, following Bateson's (1979) views; playing is not the name of an act or action: it is the name of a frame where the action takes place. As we have seen, for Winnicott (1971), playing is associated with creativity and creativity is the base of life subject agency. Creativity favours a holistic approach which permits one to affront complexity without reductionism and moreover without simplicity.

Thus, when taking the initial imagery, the child between ages eight to ten (Darras, 1996) is an expert of the system but rapidly, with the dominant society which does not recognise and legitimise pictographic communication, the propensity of going forward in drawing experiments is slight. The initial imagery tends towards a closed system and to identical repetition. In accordance with Passeron (1996) it can be said that the child plays at drawing and derives satisfaction from it, while the artist goes beyond the pleasure of playing.

Darras's (1996) teleological approach considered the principle pragmatic and dynamic factors from the triangulation of the culture, the context, and the expertise level. The "degrees" of originality, realism, individualisation and improbability from the author and the lector depends on this triangulation. The cultural incidence intervenes on at least three epistemological and ideological bi-polarised dimensions: universalism/relativism, objectivism/subjectivism and global/local. The expertise varies in accordance with the individual's maturation and knowledge. Finally, the context depends on the discourse process of homogenisation and the coherence of its content. The communicational orientation of the initial imagery allows inscribing it on the languages side or, better, said on the side of figurative writing systems which include our primitive ancestors, children, and novice adults.

When drawing, children build in one way or another upon their own experiences and they use fictive characters, archetypes, and stereotypes. Initial Imagery is therefore one of the strategies that can be used to look at dominant and personal ideas concerning one's self representations. It is also a method that privileges image thinking while including linguistic knowledge. The children I worked with first draw on the theme we worked on before recording a story about it. In general, the drawing that gave way to a story was not repeated at the time of the story telling. A week had passed between the two encounters, and in general children told me a story about something that happened a short time before our encounter or something that had marked them more profoundly. Drawing, story-telling, film, and following the child to the places and the people they talked to me about have been the data-

collection methods that turned out to be suitable within the research context and that granted the child liberty of expression, control during the research progress, and agency.

2.3 FRAGMENTED BECOMING: MY SCHOOL

I will now turn to five of the twenty children fragmented becoming narrative under the theme of My School. A different font is used to better define the moment where the reader enters in the child's narrative account and Fragmented becoming. I will follow children's relations with this institution through their fragmented becoming. In a seven year-old child's life, his/her schoolchild becoming is in movement for the contact and the time spent within the educational institution is a novelty.

My School was a recurrent theme, for the two schools and the centre where I worked, it was something important in children's lives and many different lines entered in play. On the one hand the interactive grammar of the child and on the other hand the sedentary, migrant and nomads lines (Deleuze, 1977). The sedentary is composed of all sorts of well determined segments that cross us in all respects: family-profession, work-holidays, family-school, army-fabric-retirement and so forth.

The migrants' lines are suppler; they trace small modifications, detours, falls and flights. Becoming and micro-becomings that do not have the same rhythm as our story happen on these lines. For example, there is the sedentary line of schooling and the supple one making connections and bridging pedagogical curriculum and personal desires. At the same time there is the third type of line, which is the most complicated of them all. This nomadic line takes us through our segments, as well as through our thresholds to an unknown and unpredictable destination.

Individuals and groups are made of lines, thus while each child had a particular relation to school, the rest of their story also contributed to better comprehension of each Now of our encounters. Becoming while related to the human subject means that he//she ought not to be remaining, principally, the same person. Rather, for Deleuze, one's self must be conceived as a constantly changing assemblage of forces, an epiphenomenon arising from chance confluences of languages, organisms, societies, expectations, laws and so on (Stagoll, 2005:22).

I. My School

School for Vitor (MB), Letícia (MB), Amadeu (AI) and Cláudio (DM) and Acildo (MB) assumed different meanings and experiences. While considering the school as an institution, we have on the one hand, the pedagogical and educational curriculum, and on the other hand, the individuals working at the school; director, pedagogical coordinators, teachers, staffs, and the students. In other words, there are an ideal component and an everyday school life

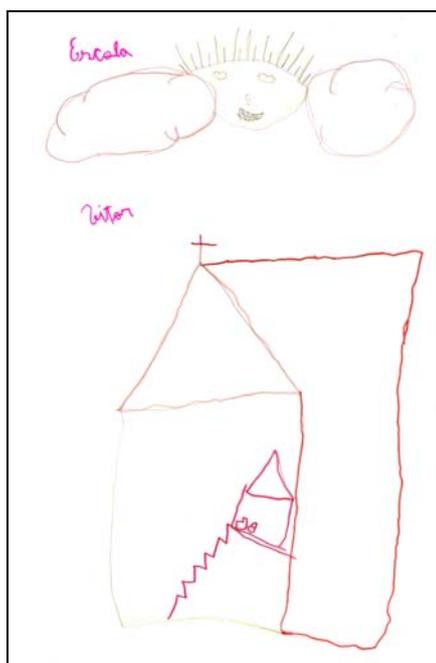
experience. This everyday school life experience is necessarily connected to the rest of the life dimensions of the individual attending that particular institution.

Educators are hired on the basis of their commitment towards the ideal educational project. For the child, there are the expectations from the institution that he//she will turn into a schoolchild, meaning that he//she will adapt and embrace the ideal educational project while developing a good relationship with the teacher and the other students. On the one hand, the children of this research stressed the importance to learn, to write and read -becoming an institutionalized schoolchild. In addition, their actual relation towards the school was tinted by complex perceptions, feelings and experiences. On a yearly basis, it is difficult for a teacher of thirty pupils to actually get to know each of the life stories of his//her students. However, this knowledge gives us a more complex picture about the child's positions towards school and education in general.

For many teachers, as long as the child behaves conforming to the institution expectations, there are no reasons to question the child about the rest of his//her life. These expectations can be summarized as follows:

- The child is clean from head to toes, with no signs of physical violence.
- The child doesn't show major learning problems.
- He//she participates when asked to and always come to class with his//her homework done.
- The child socialises with the other students in pacific ways.
- He//she is neither hyperactive nor passive.
- His//her parents (mostly the mother) show concern about the child education, by coming to parents' meeting and make sure that the child has all the educational materials, and that it stays in good condition.
- It is the parents' responsibility to inform the teacher if the child is sick or is going through any other particular problems, this, on behalf of the child and often without he//she being told.

Vitor (Magalhães Bastos)



Vitor My school

Vitor changed primary schools because the Escola do Dom, where he went, was very small and frequented by children under seven years of age. As a new student in a Magalhães Bastos big school, Vitor spent the first weeks in a state of astonishment and then faced the facts: his younger sister Clara was not there. He had started school with her, they were walking together everyday to school and they played together during the break. They had a very close relationship even though Clara was the one bossing Vitor around. His adaptation to the new school was triggered by the fact that he had to mourn the lost of a companion. His teacher informed me after one month that Vitor was crying almost everyday asking for his mother. He felt lonely and scared of being abandoned. As a consequence, Vitor was rejected by the other children of the classroom and more especially by the boys who did not like to play with a colleague who was always crying. Vitor mourned for two months and then started to smile again and be more participative. He actually liked to read and his teacher considered him a good student.

During all the months we were working together, Vitor became progressively more at ease with me and seemed to like to come to school. Sometimes Vitor would sing while we were working, and for me it indicated that he was happy. He also took a defensive posture towards the attacks of the others boys of the group especially towards Acildo. Since I was not with the children every day, I did not know about all the things happening between them. However, sometimes a verbally rough interaction between the children would arise spontaneously. As if, at this particular moment, the child felt the need to evacuate negative emotion and would discharge it on another colleague, following the examples he had at home and in his surroundings. There are many ways of getting rid of a bad inner state and the ill-

advised way is probably that of taking a more vulnerable individual and gratuitously insulting him//her in order to empower oneself. Unfortunately, it was one of the ways Acildo dealt with his passing unhappiness. On one occasion, Vitor tried to respond to him but at every renewed attack, his expression would change and I could see that his resistance was weaker every time. He actually had not learned by heart all the curses and other expressions that can be used in this kind of situation.

While working with him every week I understood that Vitor liked to associate his stories. The theme we were discussing was an excuse for him to tell another story that was emotionally more difficult to digest. For example, the stories of the turtles and the murder of his aunt were supposed to be a story about his house; the story about his father's accident, which was his story about his family and the story about him being scolded while asked to tell me a story about his best friend.

As the majority came from the surrounding favelas, life for most of the children's parents was a constant struggle to manage to stay in the black at the end of the month. This leads often to the situation that a child has not eaten for the last twelve hours, which hampers his concentration. However, Vitor became hungry for a different reason. Vitor's breath was bad and I had discussed it with his teacher, suggesting that it might be a good idea to see a dentist. She answered that it was not necessarily a dental problem and that it could be coming from his stomach. Indeed while visiting Vitor's house, his mother explained that her pregnancy with Vitor was very difficult and she gave birth by Caesarean. He was born with a jaw deformation and while trying to masticate, he would bite his tongue all the time. He was operated on, but today he still has hard time. He preferred to drink milk and sometimes to be punished rather than eat. His parents were very preoccupied with the state of Vitor and while informing me, his mother Irene was close to crying.

The family is living in a house that they constructed by themselves. They occupied the land and resisted the authorities that wanted them to move out. The entrance of the house is made of packed earth and they keep their bicycles there. There are two bedrooms: the three children sleep in one room. Raquel of fifteen has her own bed and Clara and Vitor sleep in the same bed. The family has a small television set and a stereo. At the back of the house there is a table with piles of material of different kinds and two water tanks: one for domestic use, since the house does not have running water, and one for the fish.

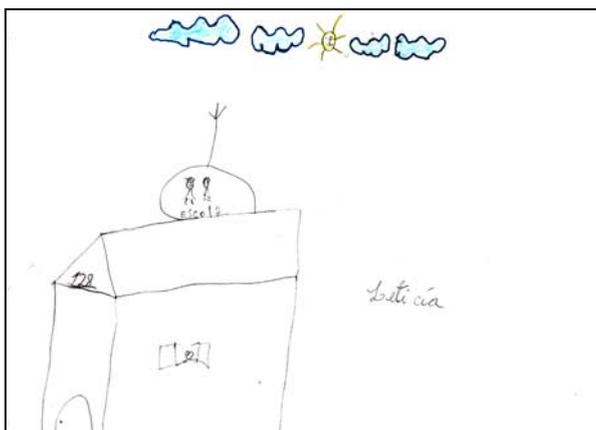
They lived in the house of Vitor's grandmother and, for Irene moving into their house was like moving into a castle. She has nine brothers and sisters and many of them live in the neighbourhood. She sells cakes. She was also selling pastels but stopped because people often did not pay her right away so she had no money to buy the ingredients. She studied accounting and tried to enroll at the university three times but did not succeed in passing the exam. She then worked as a social assistant for adolescents in a detention centre. She also took computer classes but, as she did not have a computer to practice on, she felt that she had already forgotten everything.

The Indian (his nickname) is an artist who has worked as a security guard for the last nineteen years. Since the retirement reforms, he has to wait six more years before retiring. He likes to collect things, to paint and do small-scale models. He is the drummer for the *Natureza Humana* band of which he gave me a CD. Being illiterate, he needed the help of Irene to sign it for me. The Indian likes animals and particularly fish. He paints them. He did not really like being a security guard because it had become very dangerous. The Indian said that the money that comes into the house is for the children in the first place, for their food and education.

The Indian is the only father with whom I talked. He made it clear that his father role was of the utmost importance to him. This is a reaction to his own father's neglect. During his childhood he saw his mother's suffering and therefore supported her decision to divorce him. He then promised himself not to repeat the same mistake with his own children. He likes to cycle with Vitor and to go to see the fish at the aquarium.

Vitor's parents expressed their concern about the education their children were receiving and the insecurity they felt at home living close to "not too quiet neighbours". If they had the money, their children would go to a private school, where, in their opinion, the education was much better and the atmosphere less violent. As for the neighbours, you don't have to worry as long as you mind your own business. Otherwise you incite a drug or arms dealer to come over -which means trouble. The fear of lost bullets or a police intervention blitz is always present and it made it stressful regarding children's freedom of movement in the neighbourhood. Since the neighbours were as Vitor's parents put it, not too quiet, they were afraid of letting the children play in front of the house.

Leticia (Magalhães Bastos)



Leticia, My school

At the beginning of our encounters, I felt that Leticia did not trust me. However, reflecting on it now, I believe that it took her some time to deal with the fact that I spoke Portuguese differently. Adriano, Leticia's father came to pick her up at noon

every day, thirty minutes after the end of classes. He came by bicycle and I understood that he could not come earlier because of his work schedule. For this reason, when Leticia felt more comfortable with me, she started to stay at the end of our activity to help me to tidy up the art materials and the room. At first, I told her that she did not need to stay but since she seemed to enjoy it, it became our ritual. Leticia was always insecure before starting an activity. She would always ask what she had to do after I finished explaining. I would then repeat or another child would repeat it for her.

This situation also happened at the Daruê Malungo and I interpreted it in the following way: for some of the children, the fact that I was a foreigner and that I had a different accent in Portuguese created a kind of blockage in their minds. They understood when I talked but pretend they did not. Instead of concentrating on the words I was saying, they only listened to the melody coming out of my words. When I repeated a second time and I looked only at her, Leticia then understood. I found it funny because when it was another child who was repeating, he//she would use exactly the same words. Due to this stress factor associated with thinking that she could not understand me, Leticia sometimes struggled to think about a story to tell or to get the inspiration to draw. At the same time, she always concentrated on the proposed activity.

Leticia did not like to go to school. She liked to learn but she did not like to be in the midst of so many children. She tried to find a quiet place during the break, not to be caught in the middle of the confusion. She had a younger sister of four years-old with whom she played at home and a male cousin of ten year-old male cousin she considered as her best friend.

They met every day after school and he helped her with her homework. They discussed everything and played together as well. In this respect, Leticia already had her friends and she did not really try to make any new ones at school. Leticia's stories about her house, her family, or best friend, always involved members of her extended family. It appeared that her grandmother and her aunts and uncles were present in her everyday life, whether she went to have lunch at her grandmother's house or went to the Várzea praça during the weekend with her aunt. Otherwise, her older cousin was taking care of her until the end of the afternoon. These arrangements showed the close bonds between the members of Leticia's extended family and the solidarity between them. They could rely on each other and in this way avoid leaning on the City Hall's programs.

Many things changed in Leticia's life in the course of the year we worked together. She was always very discreet about it and did not show any particular emotion or behaviour to make me believe that she was any happier or sadder. One day, after the end of the activity, when there was only the two of us, Leticia told me that her mother had quit her job a few weeks before. She was working at the same place as her father but the boss was not paying her wages.

I learned that Leticia's parents were working in a condominium, her father as an odd-job man and her mother as a domestic in one of the apartments. Leticia then told me that she heard her father discussing with her mother and telling her that he preferred her to stay at home to cook the meals and "wait for the children to come back from school". I asked Leticia who did the cooking before. She answered that it was her grandmother. I concluded that since they had moved to another house they were probably living far away from Leticia's grandmother's house.

Leticia's new home was owned by Adriano's brother and had only one room. All the furniture was new compared to the decrepit house. While I was there, I told Leticia's mother that it was amazing to have a house so neat when the roof could fall in at any moment. Leticia's mother explained that they had to leave their former house because the walls were falling down. Since they had nowhere else to go, Adriano's brother offered to let them to stay in this house while they reconstructed the other. They did not have the money to renovate it all at once but Adriano was going to ask for a salary advance on his holidays.

I told Leticia's mother that her daughter was a very quiet child, that she liked to help and that she always stayed to tidy up the art material after our meetings. Leticia's mother replied that she was amazed at how little Leticia expressed what she felt, as if everything had the same importance to her. At the same time, lately Leticia had told her that when Adriano went out alone, he came back early and when he went out with his brother he always came back in the early morning. One night Leticia asked Adriano, who was going out, at what time he intended to come back and he answered at nine o'clock. When he came back at ten Leticia was already sleeping. The next morning, Leticia told her mother that there was something wrong going when Adriano went out with his brother and that it was bad. We started to laugh. During the time that I was in the house, I could smell marijuana coming from a neighbouring house. It seemed clear that they used drugs in the area. The location of the house was very precarious. When I opened the back door I realized that the house was one meter from the river, meaning that any heavy rain would put them in danger of flooding.

Nevertheless, as her family moved to another house, its location was in the same neighbourhood and Leticia's social network did not change. Although the members of her extended family were not financially better off, they were people she could trust. It was the affective stability Leticia needed to feel happy and be loved.

Amadeu (Arco-Iris)



Amadeu, My school

A: Good Morning. My name is Amadeu. I have three siblings, two brothers and one sister. (...) The first one...my little sister is Flora.

N: How old is your sister?

A: Five years-old.

N: Does she come to school here?

A: Yes.

N: And the other brothers come here as well?

A: I don't know.

N: You don't know?

A: I don't know.

N: How old are they?

A: I don't know.

N: Do they live with you?

A: I don't know.

This interview took place a few weeks after I started to work with Amadeu and his answers puzzled me greatly. I found the missing pieces when I visited his house and family months later. Amadeu had started to attend the Arco-Iris the year before. He first went to a primary school of a catholic congregation near by his house, in Barro neighbourhood. However, after three years, Amadeu's teacher told Amadeu's mother Eva, that his behaviour was not too good and that he had difficulties in integrating in the group. Since Eva did not feel that there was anything wrong with Amadeu, she decided to register him at Arco-Iris school. Eva was a school teacher herself and when we met, she asked me many times what I thought of Amadeu's behaviour. Amadeu's behaviour had to do with his personality, which was not comparable to another child, while at the same time I perceived that Eva's question was related to Arco-Iris' pedagogical curriculum and values.

In this respect, her choice to send him to Arco-Iris' had to do with the openness of the school towards children's freedom of expression. I deduced that the first primary school where he went had more strict disciplinary rules. Eva insisted on showing me

Amadeu's school-report. She said that he received only nine's and ten's everywhere, except in gym where he received seven because he did not want to skip with a rope. Amadeu confided in me that the only sport he did not like was to skip with a rope.

Amadeu integrated well at Arco-Íris and was one of the persons with whom the other children liked to work mostly. It is also there, that Amadeu met his best friend Mateus. When the new academic year started, three new children -two girls and one boy- had joined the group. Mateus had spent two years in Germany with his family and was now back in Recife. He chose Amadeu as his companion. The mothers of the children talked to each other, and Mateus and Amadeu engaged in sports activities together. They took swimming lessons and played soccer. Mateus became Amadeu's every day friend; they sat at the same table during classes and played together during the break. The other children of the classroom now saw them as inseparable. It is the only child and the only time that Amadeu gave me a specific date: "I met Mateus on the 2nd of February". Both shared particular life experiences, different from the other children by its intensity. Mateus had lived in Germany for two years and Amadeu had a country life that the other children did not experience.

Amadeu's father, who had a construction enterprise in Recife, also owned a farm of many hectares and cattle in the countryside. The family went to the country every two weeks and spent all the holidays there. Amadeu had relationships with the children living in the countryside and knew a good deal about farming. He liked to go to the farm and knew the whereabouts of the cows and pigs. He had his own mare, cow, calf, bull and pig. He enjoyed very much telling stories about the farm and the animals, but the other children did not show much interest.

It was the second marriage of the husband of Eva and he had two other boys from his first wife. His sons were around forty years old. His four year-old grandson also went to Arco-Íris. I then understood why Amadeu could not answer the questions I asked him about his half-brothers. When I visited Amadeu's house and met his father, it took me some time to realise that it was his father and not his grandfather, because when I arrived Amadeu showed me the neighbours' house and said that it was where his grandmother lived. I was confused as it took some time before someone introduced me to his father. Eva mentioned that they invited her husband's two sons to join them at the farm and that they lived there as a happy family. I found it a bit strange, because the way Eva spoke made it sound like it was a game. She also said that they spent as much time as possible with the children and that they tried to give the same amount of attention to both children. Eva told me that her husband was a spiritist but did not really enter into details.

Eva remembered that she had greatly desired to have a son. When she learned that she was pregnant, she was already three months along. Not long afterwards, she started to experience bleeding and had to lie down for the rest of her pregnancy. She desired a son who would like reading and she was very happy to see that Amadeu loved to read. Amadeu seemed to meet his mother's expectations of how

a son should be. He was now in a school environment that was more adapted to his expansive personality. Most importantly, he now had a best friend with whom he could create a transitional space where he escaped for a few hours the control exercised on him by school and his family.

Claúdio (Daruê Malungo)

Claúdio was born in 1992, and in 2003 his brother was eight and his sister four years old. He told me that he lived with his mother, father, aunt, uncle and grandmother. His mother and aunt were domestics and his father and uncle bricklayers. However, with time I understood that his father was living somewhere else and that he actually lived together with his brother, sister and mother. Claúdio probably lived for some time within the household arrangement he first described. For him it was a way to tell me that his family structure was fine; in the first tale, his mother and father were together and his extended family could be seen as more caring adults available as well as a solidarity network.

When I first asked the children if working was an important theme in their lives, the children of the Daruê first answered that they were not working. I told them that I was working at their age, helping my father in his store. Suddenly, all of them worked a bit. I was sure that their first answer was related to the national propaganda against infantile work.

When he was six, Claúdio sold Popsicles in the centre of the city. In his words, he stopped when he started to go to school. He earned around ten reais; he gave eight to his parents and kept two. Claúdio said that he liked earning money. He was now helping his grandmother every weekend selling stuffed breads and other homemade food in centre of the city. I asked whether it was difficult to make money, since a lot of people already did that. He replied that the competition was heavy but that he developed parallel relations that attenuated it. For example, he would loan money for the bus ticket to another seller and on another day, when he needed it, the other would return the favour. This actually meant that Claúdio went by himself to the centre to sell.

It was different to work at the Daruê because it was not a school and the children had different affective relations towards it. It was located in their neighbourhood, and they went there to dance, to sing, to play musical instruments, and to draw. There were literacy classes that were a fundamental complements to school where not all the children actually learn to read and write. Our encounters were seen a bit like a workshop though not all the children of the literacy class participated. When we started to work together, Claúdio was going to the same primary school as two other girls with whom I worked for a few months. They had to go to class in another building because the roof and one wall of the main school building had collapsed.

Claúdio was the eldest boy of my group. He would verbally harass the younger ones who were not a bit afraid of him and replied in the same fashion. Claúdio was

the most incoherent of the children in the stories he told me. He preferred to lie rather than tell the truth. When he started to participate, he would announce before beginning the activity that it was a piece of cake to do. However, in the course of the year we worked together, after four months, he visited less frequently the centre.

He had actually come back to the centre after four years of absence. If it did not start before, it was from that moment on that Cláudio became responsible for the family, at the age of seven. In practice, it meant that Cláudio had to leave both school and the Daruê in order to take care of the new baby girl and of his brother. He started to attend school and the Daruê when his sister could start to go as well at the age of four. Cláudio was eleven but could not read or write. He was in a class of children of seven years old. He did not seem to mind; it was much more important for him to have been relieved from home. At eleven, Cláudio was fully conscious of the precious school years he had lost while taking care of his sister and brother. School was important for Cláudio and one of the reasons for it was that as long as he was at school, it meant that his life was stable. The school and the centre acted as a barometer: if you saw Cláudio around, it meant that everything was fine and if you stopped seeing him, you could start to look for him and be prepared to offer a helping hand.

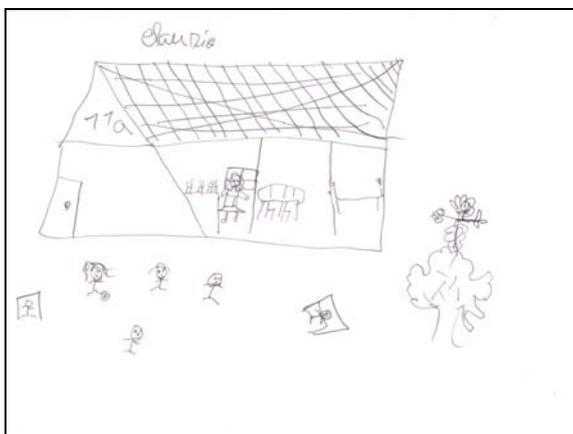
I don't think that Cláudio's mother had a fixed employment; she probably washed clothes from time to time for middle-class young adults. The tragedy actually happened before I could meet her, but one thing was obvious: Cláudio's education was not one of many worries. During the years that Cláudio acted as a surrogate father, (as neither his father, nor his brother, nor his sister were around) his mother managed to earn enough money to buy furniture for the household, which was starting to resemble to a functional home with a stove and a fridge. When I met Cláudio, it was a year after he came back to the Daruê.

Many children, independently of the socio-economic class, like to fight each other. It is actually difficult for children between five and eight to explain why they like to bite, kick, slap, punch, push, etc. It just happens. But it can be a very macabre spectacle to watch. While working with seven children, the group after a few weeks stayed at verbal violence only. Cláudio was the one who had the more extended vocabulary of curses and he liked to use them while drawing, in a song form -either towards another child (with no apparent reason), or towards me. In this way he wanted to challenge the other. Cláudio knows full well that these words are dirty, but he made them his normal way of interacting.

At one point, I told Amélia that Cláudio said that his mother was at home only on Friday nights and that he did not want me to visit him anymore. Cláudio was standing beside us and I looked him in the eye and asked him if he would prefer to stop working with me. He suddenly looked ashamed and told me that he wanted to stop. I turned to Amélia and asked her if she could refer me to another student. She pointed out a few girls and suggested that I be less radical with Cláudio, that he behaved like this because of a story about a fridge. Cláudio hid himself by lying down on the floor

under one of the benches. He acted like a little man when it was time to be coarse, but would become a child again in moments of drama.

When Cláudio's mother sold the fridge for nothing because she was in need of cash, Cláudio understood that the good days were over. When housing conditions are precarious, electrical household appliances acted as a promise that things are going to become better. On the other hand, losing a fridge sold way under the purchase price, signified trembling down of the all household. It is difficult to know the underlying reasons for this behaviour of Cláudio's mother, but one possibility would be that she wanted to pay for an abortion. As it is illegal in Brazil, she needed to be able to pay it cash. I am venturing in this direction because two months later Cláudio had to face the fact that his mother was pregnant again, from a non-existent father of seventeen, again.



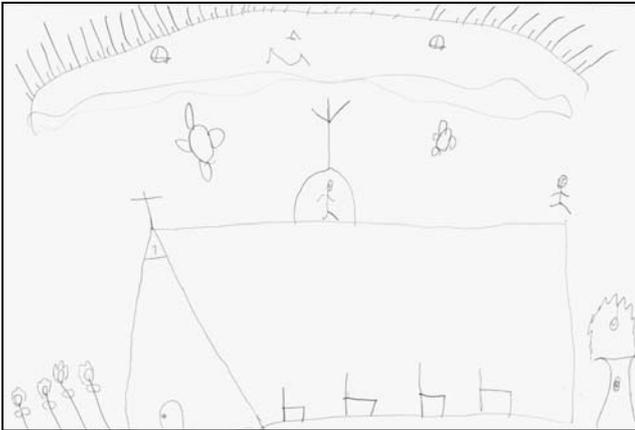
Cláudio, My school

The last time I talked about Cláudio was with Vilma at Arco-Íris when she told me about his mother's irresponsibility. We both felt pity for him. He would again have to stop going to school and he will certainly not want to go to primary school at the age of sixteen. We concluded that Cláudio was a very intelligent boy and that we liked him. Cláudio did awaken sympathy in people surrounding him. He seemed to want to be one of the bad guys, but was not succeeding at it at all. There were a fragility and sensitivity in him that were stronger than his desire to be delinquent.

However, considering the situation with his mother, one could think about the possibility of Cláudio getting sick and tired of it and eventually being tempted to live in the streets. The least that can be said is that Cláudio's mother had thrown away her son's education. With over-crowded schools, not enough materials, waiting list for vacancies, the educational system does not take in dropouts like Cláudio. The system is not prepared at all to adapt to the situation of children like Cláudio, even though Cláudio's situation is far from being an isolated case. Cláudio's only possibility to learn to read and write was in Daruê in four years time or to wait and join a government literacy program (if still in place when Cláudio get there).

Acildo (Magalhães Bastos)

Acildo had a sharp eye and was quick-witted. He was six when we met and played the little man. It is strange because in a way, Acildo seemed to want to be considered as an easygoing person, but everything he experienced at home left him very tense. He needed to let the accumulated aggression and violence burst out. Acildo was rude and insulted his colleagues. On the other hand he told me stories about his family that testified of a sense of justice and solidarity towards the ones suffering in his family. Acildo never turned his aggression towards me but during all the months we worked together, he almost always had negative commentaries to tell his colleagues, which had always had a certain effect on the child concerned and the rest of the group. For instance, one day he started to maliciously criticise Walln's drawing, with the latter responding to him and ending up on the verge of crying. Another time, both Mateus and Acildo were telling Rodrigo that his drawing was awful, and because of it, Rodrigo gave me back his sheet, without finishing his drawing.



Acildo, My school

When Regane, the teacher with whom I worked, invited the parents to meet me, Acildo's father came as the family representative. I knew that Acildo's mother worked at the shopping centre and that his father was looking for a job. In 2004, according to Acildo, his mother was twenty-four and his father thirty years old. Acildo was proud to introduce me to his father André but it took me a few seconds to realise that the latter had the expression of someone who would have preferred to be in jail rather than in a classroom. I succeeded in obtaining his home phone number and the name of his wife who had probably insisted that her husband will attend the parent's meeting. I felt sorry for André, who seemed to think that it was the role of his wife to take care of their son's education.

Acildo had a year old sister and one of eight that attended Magalhães Bastos as well. He lived, together with his parents and sisters, with his grandmother and her two sons; Evandro and Bernardo, brothers of Acildo's father. According to Acildo there were three bedrooms, one for his family, one for his uncles and one for his grandmother. However, as I did not visit his house I could not verify, but while

considering the other children's descriptions, they usually told me about a house size and division that had nothing to do with reality. One thing was sure: things were not going too well between Acildo's grandmother and her two sons.

His uncle Evandro was seventeen years-old and was constantly screaming and insulting Acildo's grandmother whom, as he said, only talked softly. Evandro threatened to leave the house, whereas Acildo told me that he also wanted to leave the house, because his uncle Evandro was a real asshole who only knew to do "tons of wrong things". It appeared that in terms of doing "tons of wrong things", his uncle Bernardo of thirty-five, was more successful than Evandro. During the time I worked with Acildo, his uncle Bernardo was in jail. Acildo told me that he saw on television that his uncle was in a bar, "then he went in the bathroom with a girl who immobilised him and then they put him in jail". Acildo kept on saying that he was innocent. He also remembered another time when Bernardo had a fight with his grandmother pushing her into the middle of the street. However, when she learned that Bernardo was in jail "she cried too much". André, Acildo's father went to the jail to bring lunch to Bernardo almost everyday. Acildo was definitely on the side of his grandmother and understood why she always complained about his uncles.

Acildo condemned his uncles' violent behaviour while typically, according Acildo's friend Mateus, this latter nevertheless liked to fight during the break. Acildo replied that he was "resolving problems". In this way he was mimicking what he experiences at home. This is the male way to resolve problems; whereas he saw also the positive attitude of his mother and grandmother. At home, Acildo evidently was put under pressure to act like a "real man". Again Acildo could show real understanding and sensitivity, even in a very complicated situation such as one involving his uncles and his grandmother. Yet he needed to cover up his sensitivity, and intuitive knowledge, to act "like a man". For instance, on the day of the auto-portrait, Acildo did not want to draw his eyelashes because it looked like a woman. During all the activity, Acildo kept on repeating that he was drawing a woman, instead of himself. His eyes were like woman eyes, and so was his hairs, etc and it was disturbing him greatly.

One month and one week before the end of my work with the children, as I entered in the teacher's room, Regane asked me if I had worked with Acildo. I told her that I did. She then told me that he had left. I asked her if he was sick. She replied that he had moved to another house. He had come to say goodbye and embrace her on the last Friday, during the Folklore day festivity. Neither his mother nor anyone else of the family had called or come to say that Acildo would change schools. Acildo had told Regane that they were moving to Pau Amarelo, a coastal neighbourhood a bit further than Olinda. This news was deceiving because we were at the end of August and there was very little missing to conclude our work and still I had not visited his home. I would have liked to know his grandmother. It made it impossible to even think about giving him the DVD, since no one knew where exactly in Pau Amarelo, he had moved.

II. Recife: Schools Description

In Brazil, three different educational options are offered. 1) The private educational system composed by individual initiatives or through religious congregations. In both cases students have to pay tuition, limiting the access to middle-class children. 2) The municipal educational system which depends on the party in power in the city and 3) the State educational system; each municipality pertains to a State (Pernambuco, Bahia, Rio Grande do Norte, and so forth); again, it depends of the political party in power, connected to the national ministry of education. In both cases the students study for free and receive school materials.

In Brazil, children study half a day, morning or afternoon. Few teachers work all day in the same school, many of them teach a part of the day and have another work activity, which in many cases is a teaching job in another school. In private school settings there are less students per classroom, making it easier for the teachers. They have access to more financial recourses which is apparent in the type of activities and the diversity of courses, such as art, music and video making. In the three educational options children wear a shirt with the school logo. In public schools, in many cases, - because of a difficult economical situation and lack of interest of the parents in their children education- children often miss classes. At the same time, because of public school teachers' high rate of absenteeism, long strikes and Union meetings, the school is often closed.

These aspects make it difficult for children to make it until the end of their secondary education and be well prepared enough for the entry exams of the Federal free universities. I will now turn to the description of the schools and centre where I worked and their pedagogical proposal.²³ This description positions the educational institution's discourses in relation and often in contraction to the actual everyday schooling reality.

I will then turn to the physical description and pedagogical proposal of the schools and the NGO where I worked. I met my research collaborators in an educational setting every week. The private school Arco-Íris, the municipal public school Magalhães Bastos and the literacy and cultural centre Daruê Malungo are three different educational settings with children from different socio-economic classes and races. I was thus interested in their pedagogical proposals in order to compare the educational landscape from one socio-economic class to another. While the teachers have their own personal interpretation of the schools and centre curriculum, they do represent the institution for which they work. Within educational setting, children singular experiences are greatly informed by what is expected of a school child or of a child attending the Daruê Malungo centre. Following this section, I will present the different policies in place regarding gender.

²³ For a complete description of each pedagogical proposal see Annex.

Escola Arco-Íris (private school) (AI) –Várzea neighbourhood

Physical Description of the Arco-Íris School

The Arco-Íris is a small school that is attended by eleven groups of students. Located behind the Várzea praça the school is surrounded by walls and a security guard stays at the front door. On the lateral left side of the school, there is the reception and a bit further the classroom area and playgrounds for the students from 2 to 4 years old. On the lateral right side of the school, there is a cemented playground surrounded by plants, in front of it is the teacher's room followed on the inside by the secretary's office. After the playground are the classrooms for the 5 and 6 year olds' age group. In front of the classroom there are the expressions room and another one for meetings with the psychologist.

The library and the kitchen are further and on the opposite side of the kitchen are the pedagogical coordination room and on the second floor of this small pavilion, the administrative rooms. Then comes the playground for the 6 to 8 year age group. A plant and natural fence of flowers separates the playground and the classrooms of these two groups. In the middle of the two classrooms is the Art room. The other side of the building receives the rest of the age groups. On this side of the school can be found a cantina, the playground, the computer science laboratory and the sport square. All these different areas have feminine and masculine washrooms. Between its well guarded four walls, the school has many trees and plants making the atmosphere pleasant and fresh.

The following pedagogical proposal was written in November 2000 by the owners, director and pedagogical coordination, the document does not give the name of the authors. The Arco-Íris was founded in 1979. Concerns with the changes in the society, the school understood that school knowledge has to have a connection with the student's social life. The school considers itself a pioneer in projects of investigation and intervention in real life conducted by students. The Arco-Íris receives students from 2 to 14 years old.

Pedagogical Proposal

“Diverging from traditional pedagogy that serves as a vehicle for ideas like; the dominant paper of the teacher, knowledge consists of the accumulation of facts and isolated information, or gives bombast to the “right” answer or the use of problems that do not encourage the student to think and to reflect. The Arco-Íris considers that this form of education does not favour the development of autonomous people, independent, critical, free in the creative process and in this sense able to take decisions in their lives.

In this sense, Cognitive Psychology, through Constructivist and Socio-Constructivist theories coming from Piaget and Vigotsky, is permitting us in the practice to reaffirm our ideas about knowledge construction processes and to develop conducts coherent with these principles.

We believe that the identity formation built up out of political and education domains can be achieved, providing that the educator position itself is in constant process of rethinking education while rethinking the society, like Paulo Freire, Freinet and so many others have done through their writings and practice.

We identify ourselves with Freudian psychoanalysis and with sociology, looking forward to evaluating the real condition of the young citizens in our society, especially the ones from the middle-class –our work objective- and the relationships that they establish with man and nature” (Escola Arco-Íris, Novembro/2000, Proposta Pedagógica)²⁴.

I believe that in 1979, the idea of a new experiment, of a school paying respect to Freire’s pedagogical ideas and more importantly practices was much more alive and exciting than in 2004. The women founders of the school believed in the Arts as an educational and expression conduit. They were themselves mothers of school-age children, their friends and surroundings were middle-class left wing, in the process of becoming university teachers, theatre directors, architects and artists. The school was surely then the expression of a radical pedagogical proposal. However, it melted with the years. Once the children of the founders and friends finished school, the parents sending their children happened to be low and middle-class from the Várzea neighbourhood and other farther middle-class neighbourhoods not necessarily interested by the radical component of the school curriculum. They like that the school is private and small and close to their home or working place. The Arco-Íris definition as progressive and different from other private schools are interesting characteristics as long as their children go out well prepared to pass the exams to enter to the Federal University and study for free.

In fact in reading their pedagogical proposal and the one of the municipal educational network carefully, the vocabulary and references are different, but most of the ideas are the same which make me believe that the Arco-Íris realigned its proposal to the Worker’s party (PT) that represents what the school actually became.

If we forget the original ideas behind the foundation of the school, we can concentrate on the actual proposal similar to the municipal one. For both, the proposal reflects the struggle of the twenty-first century western world: the challenge of a mass-communication society, the interaction between culture and nature, the relation towards socio-cultural realities and diversities and its constant transformation.

The difference between the Arco-Íris and the municipal schools network is that the Arco-Íris has actually the possibility of applying the proposal. The restrained number of students, the middle-class clientele, and the well-trained teachers make a higher quality education possible. The pedagogical proposal is marked by the strong desire to form people that are going to be critical and at the same time integrated into their society.

The paradox lies on the fact that Arco-Íris works with the middle-class children only, making the different aspects of the proposal difficult to achieve for the simple reason that the students are being cut off from the rest of the society (meaning the poor). On the other side of the walls of the school there is a favela where some of the employees of the school live, two corners further there is a school whose students walk by Arco-Íris to go to class every day. What they vaguely know about this other school is that the children are poor and that they send them their old toys (but nice ones) so the children may receive Christmas gifts. The majority of the middle-class children of the Arco-Íris never see them because they step out of the car to step onto the other side of the walls. Many of the children going to the Arco-Íris live in middle-class neighbourhoods such as Aldeia, Casa Forte, Poço da Panela, and other neighbourhoods closer to the centre, thus parents have to drive them to the school.

Escola Magalhães Bastos (municipal public school) (MB) –Várzea neighbourhood

Physical Description of Magalhães Bastos School

The forged fences in front of the school do not hinder the view of the three-storied school building. The building is well conserved and a beautiful garden on the right side of the school makes it very charming. The main entrance built under a dome gives onto the second floor and shares the storey with the computer science room. On the third floor there are two spacious classrooms on both sides of the stairs. The ground floor accommodates the secretary's office, the teachers' room and the director's office; in the front of this school section is a patio with the eating room of the border students. There is the sisters' eating room with an inside garden, then another classroom detached from the main building.

On the left side of the school is a hangar where the sports courses take place and the small library. Further behind, there are two other classrooms and a lunchroom for the students. Behind the school some other sheds are found, the last of the school buildings before a green trees area. The main street going to the school is lined with middle-class houses but then the left and right sides of the school are favelas.

Presentation. The school attends mainly to poor students coming from the favelas of the Várzea or from the ones of the nearby neighbourhoods. At the beginning of the school year the classrooms are often crowded with about forty to forty-five students, but in reality after the first weeks many students stop coming and around twenty-five students will attend school during the academic year. The school was founded by the catholic religious sisters' order of São Vicente de Paulo. On the 1st of February 1972 Magalhães Bastos became part of the municipal education network. In 2004 eight hundred students aged from 4 and a half to 14 years old were attending the school and twenty teachers give them courses.

Pedagogical Proposal of the Municipal Education Network of Recife

The pedagogical proposal for the municipal network of education of Recife was presented as a preliminary version reformulated by the Worker party (PT). When the female director of the Escola do Dom handed it to me she told me that they were interpreting it in order to match

their actual situation but that it would at least give me an idea of the pedagogical ideas of the municipal educational network.

The Secretary of Education of Recife is an organism that formulates, induces and implements public policies, working in the direction of the construction of a social project with new avenues for Brazil. The construction of the pedagogical proposal is based on the following ethical principles; solidarity, liberty, participation and social justice, established by the actual political administration in order to contribute to the re-orientation of the different branches of society with a perspective on education that focuses on social quality. This being said, the pedagogical proposal is founded on three pillars that merge with the bases presented and which are: education with an optic that focus on rights; culture, identity, social convey and science, technology and collective life quality.

“It is our aim to adhere to a policy of inclusion, respecting the diversity and the different learning timing while in the same time developing egalitarian policies, to potentially integrate the students into a more fair and democratic society.

In line with the socio-interactionist paradigm, man learns and develops himself in relations with the social other. It is by interacting with the other that he builds up knowledge objectivity and subjectivity, establishing himself as a historical subject that influences and is influenced by culture.

Taking into account the inter-disciplinarity and contextuality as fundamental elements of the knowledge building process, some pedagogical practices have to be rethought, especially the ones that limit themselves to simple knowledge transmission, in which the different contents are “deposited” in the heads of the students in a insignificant form. According to Philippe Perrenoud (2000), the consequence of this practice is that the students accumulate knowledge, but they are not able to mobilise what they have learned in real life situations.

The school has to form subjects capable of articulating and relating the different knowledge, attitudes and values, developed inside and outside the school, meaning to form competent subjects. Marise Ramos cited by Carlos Cruz (2002), affirms that competency associates itself in conjugation with diverse knowledge mobilised by the individual (knowledge, know-how, how-to) when performing an activity” (Proposta Pedagógica da Rede Municipal de Ensino do Recife, 2002, Construindo Competências, (versão preliminar), Recife).

In the municipal education network’s case, the Worker’s Party (PT) proposal just appeared as a projection of a future very different from the first decade of the twenty-first century where poverty would be relegated to the past. There are positive aspects of being visionary, while it can prevent seeing the more urgent measures to take. The situation is that the classrooms are over-crowded, while at the same time the students and teachers absenteeism rate is very high. Teachers lack time to refresh themselves and learn more because they need to have two teaching jobs to have a descent living.

Children come to school in many cases hungry and with harsh living conditions at home making difficult to concentrate and feel like taking part actively. Thus for now, the municipal pedagogical proposal appears like wishful thinking. I did not work in the State school but the general opinion amongst children's parents, teachers and colleagues is that the educational quality is worst and the atmosphere is more violent than in municipal schools.

Daruê Malungo (Literacy and Cultural Centre) (DM)– Campina do Barreto neighbourhood

Physical Description of Daruê Malungo Centre

Only one bus line serves Chão de Estrelas and it bears the same name. The Terminal is on the side of a vacant field at the end of the neighbourhood. The trajectory of this bus line goes through the centre of the city, passes by the city hall and goes back to Chão de Estrelas. The walk from the terminal to the Daruê Malungo is about 1,5 km. The Cultural centre is at the end of a hard-packed surface street. It is a big hangar that has expanded over the years, gaining more rooms. One amphitheatre for the dance courses and presentations, three rooms for courses, one room for sewing the dance outfits, one office room, one kitchen, one covered space outside for art courses, one room connected to the amphitheatre for the visiting professors; artists and craft-artists coming to give workshops. At the back there is a garage and a room connected to it where the percussion are made and other construction materials can be found. Nowadays the centre has a high wall in front of it. Behind are lands belonging to the family of the owner Meia-Noite that extend to a canal that separates Chão de Estrelas from Peixinhos in the words of the people living there.

Pedagogical Proposal

“The centre Daruê (Force and Energy) Malungo (Companionship) was founded in October 1988 and became an NGO in 1990. The centre receives around 110 children between 3 and 18 years old. It is the Master of capoeira, educator and danser Gilson SantAmélia – Meia-Noite that, during the period of his participation in the group of popular dance of Recife, started to give courses of capoeira, côco, frevo amongst other forms of expression of the afro-pernambucan culture to children and teenagers excluded from the educational system in the localities of Água Fria, Fundão, Beberibe and Chão de Estrelas.

While experiencing the same life difficulties in his own community, Meia-Noite left the group of popular dance of Recife to dedicate all his time to education, through the use of the afro culture with the principle that it is by receiving training that the individual can strengthen his autonomy. The literacy training of the children is given through the use of the myths of the black culture of Pernambuco. All the educators are volunteers and the children produce the costumes, instruments within a process stimulating creativity, imagination, information, critical consciousness and participation in the conquest of their citizens' rights.

The objectives of the centre are to support the formal educational system by offering a complement to the official curriculum, to help the families that do not have the structure to give a complete education to their children. Finally, to guarantee a quality cultural

educational service to children and teenagers of Chão de Estrelas and the surroundings: to preserve and diffuse the cultural roots of a people without discrimination of sex, race and social class. The children and teenagers that are pupils of the Daruê Malungo come to the centre when they are not at school. The centre is open from 7h to 11h and from 14h to 17h. From all the young people, twenty of them are chosen to form a professional group of dancers”.

The centre is often on the verge of closing because of a lack of money to sustain the different activities and meals distribution. The responsible of the centre Vilma and Meia-Noite are from Chão de Estrelas, both of them are professional dancers that believe in the power of the Candomblê religious dances and music. They committed themselves to work for the bettering of the life quality of the children from the locality. But neither of them have administrative nor subsidised appliance qualifications. They find gigs because they are of the milieu and renowned, but it does not pay enough to patch the holes in the roof and the walls. Vilma seemed conscious of that and she was trying to follow capacitating workshops, when she had some “free” time, which does not really exist.

The Daruê Malungo is an example of micropolitics. When I started to work there, the Daruê Malungo was celebrating its fifteenth year of existence, on the 18th of October 2003. Meia-Noite its founder had worked for eighteen years at the private primary school Arco-Íris, where his companion and collaborator Vilma, are presently working twice a week giving dance classes. It is Meia-Noite’s involvement with the Arco-Íris that motivated him to create a cultural centre in his own locality. The centre bases itself on actively taking action. Their principle question is: *What do these children need?* Vilma explained that when they began the centre they had wanted to work with teenagers through art and music.

But as it turned out, the teenagers were not able to come on a regular basis because they often had to take care of younger siblings at home. Therefore, the Daruê opened its doors to younger children as well, which in turn gives the older ones the opportunity to attend school. The centre also recognized that the public school system was not responding fully to the young people’s needs. There were many teenagers in the centre who did not know how to read or write so the Daruê offered literacy classes. The children who attend the public school in the morning go to the Daruê in the afternoon, and vice-versa. As many of the children do not have anything to eat at home, breakfast and lunch are provided for them at the centre. Meia-Noite and Vilma work with the Afro-Brazilian aspect of Pernambucano culture, reflecting the cultural background of the children who come to the centre. The majority of the poor in Brazil are African in origin. The Afro-Brazilian culture is very rich and diverse, and celebrates multiple god figures.

Vilma notes that the white children of the community of Chão de Estrelas prefer to associate themselves with the afro folklore and culture, while the black children (within a white children majority) at Arco-Íris private primary school associate themselves with white western culture. After more than twenty years of relations with the Arco-Íris, there has been no attempt to create a bridge between these two worlds. Meia-Noite and Vilma son and daughter have both received full bursaries to study at Arco-Íris, and attend the Daruê as well.

It seems however, that they are not sharing what they are experiencing at the Arco-Íris with the children of the Daruê. The monitors that I talked to told me that the children were attending school in a private institution but were not able to make the connection with the same place where Meia-Noite had been working for eighteen years and where Vilma is currently working. As for the directors at Arco-Íris, I was left with the impression that they considered their “generosity” towards the children of this couple as a work of charity. Children of teachers at this school are paid, if any, symbolic fees.

As James, Jenks and Prout (1990) put forth, the curriculum is strategic in mapping out the whole in-school experience of the child through combination of space, time location, content, proximity, isolation, insulation, integration and hierarchy. The writing style of the pedagogical proposal of the Daruê Malungo reflects greater coherence with their practices. They started by asking themselves how they could respond to children needs through their own professional qualifications. With time and lived experiences, they adjusted their proposal in order to face the different challenges related to the bettering of the lives of poor children living in very precarious conditions.

The municipal public school Magalhães Bastos, on the other hand, works with the municipal educational network’s pedagogical proposal that addresses issues of equal opportunities for all in a society that is still socio-economically segregated. At the practical level, too many discrepancies make the attainment of this proposal impossible. As for the private school Arco-Íris, its pedagogical proposal is practically fulfilled for their low and middle-class clientele, which in turn keeps it secluded from the rest of the society.

III. Schooling, Gender, Control(s) and Power

In the three pedagogical proposals described, gender did not appear as an important aspect of the individual to be looked at in terms of specific policies implementations. Children might first have gender training at home but it appears to be more and more factual that their real gender awakening happens when they enter the school system. In that sense their gendering at school may be different than at home and maybe used as a strategy to be accepted by their peers and teachers. As Yelland (1998) underlines, despite the exclusion of the early years from policy implementation, the significance of young children and their families, and institutional services such as young children centres, pre-schools, kindergartens and schools, in the social construction of gendered identities cannot be underestimated. Delamont (1980; 1983) argues that schools are essentially conservative institutions in which prevailing sex stereotypes not only are not challenged but also are exaggerated.

Following these authors, in Europe, in some schools, the playground is gendered: boys claim the centre of the schoolyard where they play football, leaving the girls on the margins. Schools uniforms are still very popular for primary school children in Brazil. In the countryside and in certain metropolitan schools the girls have to wear a dress uniform and the boy’s, trousers. In the schools where the research was conducted, the children only needed to wear the school shirt and optional trousers were unisex. Again, from these researchers

observations, in Europe the order of rank to get in and out the classroom is often done by a line made up of girls and boys standing side by side. Again in the schools and centre where I worked, children formed a single line without any criteria other than standing behind another colleague. Gender groupings are also an important aspect of the way classrooms are managed and most of the children's own social and work interactions are with pupils of the same sex.

At the centre Daruê, boys and girls interacted a lot because the activities were not gender bounded. In the literacy class of Amélia, a few girls were older and had strong personalities. They had a leadership status, which involved the protection of younger boys and girls. From what was observed, the boys under their protection respected them. However, the boys of the same age or a little younger would constantly harass them verbally. Foremost, they would harass the young boys under their protection as well. For both, the anus was the preferred verbal reference. For the girls it meant violent sexual intercourse and for the boys that they were passive homosexuals. Between the girls, accusing the other of being loose was common. As early as five years old, imitating how adult women and men talk to each other, children trained to repeat the same earlier.

In the public municipal school, the girls and the boys did not seem to interact much during the class hours and break. However, a few of them, boys and girls had a best friend of the other sex without implying any love story in-between. As for Arco-Íris, the relationships between boys and girls were playful. In 2003, Denise formed pair of a girl and a boy to do an exercise and help each other. It gave way to kisses for some of them and others were bored to have to work with a girl or a boy. Joana asked randomly the pupils to sit alternatively one boy, one girl in a circle to make it more "flowery". It is likely that the gender related ideas and practices of the teachers change from one year to another. As Goodnow (1985) aptly formulates, part of the research subject background is that children are indeed like travellers or voyagers. They make a major move from being "at home" to being "at school" and then continue to change regularly from one school grade to another. In this respect, they are like adults who regularly change jobs, houses or countries. As Mayall (1994) suggests, it is critical to bear in mind that people's impact on other people and on social conventions or requirements will vary across settings; this point is dramatically important with regards to children's success in affecting their social environments. For Lipman et al. (1980), the school is a place where you meet other people that are of the same age.

IV. Reflections on Children's Schools

I presented Vitor, Leticia, Amadeu, Cláudio and Acildo's life fragments under the theme of the school because of the particular relationship that each of these children had with their school. Vitor had difficulties in adapting to the new school because of the absence of his sister. Leticia did not like school because it was too crowded and noisy. Amadeu had met his best friend at school. For Cláudio, school attendance depended on how stable his life was at the time. Acildo's parents decided to move to another neighbourhood four months before the end of the year, probably because Acildo's father found a job in the new area. Both Acildo

and his sister were forced to stop attending school and had to wait until the following year to start going to a new school. They would eventually have to start the same grade over.

These life narratives were put forth to highlight the importance of considering other institutions in play in the development of the identity of a schoolchild. A child's family situation, peer relations and the child's interactive grammar are important aspects to be considered in order to develop a more consistent conception of the child's relation towards his/her schooling experience. These singular narratives also put in perspective the institutional discourse that we saw contained in the pedagogical proposals and children's singular realities surrounding the theme of My School.

One of the things that struck me while observing the educational system in Brazil was the lack of vacancies for prospective pupils. Brazilian families still have many children, which could make the school vacancy problem understandable. However, in actuality the classroom of 45 I was observing was half full of ghosts. During the ten months I frequented the public school I never saw more than twenty-five pupils in a classroom. While it is still a lot, if the number of places is 40, for example, and some parents register their children without actually sending them to school, I wonder why these vacancies are not monitored sufficiently so that a vacancy can eventually be allotted to another child, who would at least fill it physically.

After a few years of allotting schooling grants, the government realized that many parents registered their children in order to receive the money but did not use it to better the conditions of life of their children, let alone to send them to school. The government installed a system of supervision that entailed counting the number of days the child was absent and retracting the grant if the child should exceed a particular number. However, the proper execution of this system depends on the good will of the school's director and teachers, which is not necessarily assured. Which teacher is going to run after the twenty pupils missing in his/her classroom, which would only severely increase his/her workload?

One of the results of this is that many children that would really like to go to school are waiting for a vacancy. It was the case of Bianca from the Daruê Malungo. Bianca was born in 1991. She did not know how to read and write during the time I worked with her. She was very ashamed of this fact and would have liked to go to school. She was waiting for a vacancy and for the school grant. When we met after the Carnival at the beginning of the new academic year, Bianca told me that she was now enrolled but that the person who registered her had made a mistake, placing her with children of six, seven and eight years of age. After about two months, Bianca came with the news that she was very happy because she was in a classroom with people from eight, nine and ten years old and that her new teacher was fantastic. From a social point of view, it was better for Bianca to be with children closer to her age, but this did not mean that she had learned how to read and write.

In Brazil, political social and civil propaganda is directed towards the poor. At the beginning of this chapter we saw that the rich segment of the society in many cases conserved the same asymmetrical power relations that existed during the colonial period. Thus while the poor have very little opportunity for action within such a power relation, the State has

launched different programs attaining all the life dimensions of the poor that are triggered by their serviceability to the rich. To reach this emancipation or disalienation goal means that the State must improve the education, family life and opportunities for legal work for the poor segment of the society.

Within education propaganda, many different messages are divulged. In this area, adults as well as children are targets. Literacy continues to be a major problem in Brazil and literacy programs were launched for the poor population of all ages. Be able to read means greater access to work options and better salaries. With regards to learning how to read and write, State and municipal schools are not achieving their goals and many children who intermittently attend school in the course of 7 or 6 years finish illiterate. Another great concern in the last decades was the eradication of child labour.

In Brazil, until the 1970s, education for poor children was related to learning a manual job, and these children worked half-shift while going to school. In this sense, the pedagogical curriculum from Magalhães Bastos municipal school definitely encourages educating individuals to take up a place in society in a position that is generally accessible to the whole of the population. Absenteeism, another important feature of the poor school attendance by children of poor families, is connected to their home situation, but also to the school itself, where – particularly in the case of state schools – the environment is marked by a lack of educational material, training, strikes, staff absenteeism and a high level of violence. These conditions do not contribute to the children's willingness to go to school.

While education for all is one of the Worker's Party leitmotifs at both the national and municipal level (Recife), the institutional structure still excludes the poor. The State and municipal educational network cannot compete with the private system. The daily situation of the poor, coupled with the substandard performance of the educational institutes, insufficiently prepare the poor stratum of society for professional and higher education. The private school system openly reserves its school vacancies for middle-class children only. This is done primarily by asking tuition fees that correspond to the minimum wage salary, thus rendering the school inaccessible to the children of poor families. The pedagogical curriculum of the educational municipal network is exemplifying by a type of utopian idealism disconnected from the struggle for survival of the poor. In this sense the NGO Daruê Malungo, with very little outside financial support, tries to compensate for this discrepancy by offering literacy courses to the children attending the centre. This measure was taken after observing that though the children went to school, they did not progress in learning how to write and read.

The government programs and measures such as the school grant, the black university quota and the federal educational census aimed at giving the poor more means and opportunities to learn do not connect with the social reality. The targeted population was not consulted before these programs and measures turned effective. This lack of direct dialogue with poor local organisations reflects a patriarchal system of values where minorities have very little room to voice their ideas and plans of action. Instead, the State invents, develops and implements programs and measures to take care of poverty issues and subsequently

observes with surprise that the target group does not act surprised at seeing that the positive outcome is not felt by the ones it was meant for. More dramatically this position reinforces the alienation and social oppression experienced by the poor.

In contrast, micro-political initiatives like the Daruê Malungo constantly adjust their actions towards children's and teenagers' reflections and proposals. These organisations' years of practical experience have given them the authority to affirm that their work has substantially changed the life quality of the children and teenagers they work with. More importantly, their indicators are based on the general transformation in the child's behaviour, improvements within his/her family relationships, his/her recognition within the local community and his/her motivation with regard to school attendance. The practice of these organisations proves that a more symmetrical power relation frees the individual from psychic repression and restores a sense of agency, serving as a motor of positive and affirmative personal transformation.

2.4 FRAGMENTED BECOMING: MY HOME

The home for the children I worked with is a mixture of sedentary, migrant and nomadic lines as described by Deleuze. The home refers to a sedentary line in the sense that it shelters the family and is connected with the parents, who impose a certain order and rules within. But it is also migrant and nomadic, because what is happening to the individual inside the home constitutes all sorts of becomings. Phenomenologically, the home is referred to as a comforting symbolic space, while in daily reality for some of the children I worked with their home was not the safest place to be. It was an important theme for all of the children I worked with, but for most of them this symbolic meaning had far more significance than its concrete reality.

I will now turn to the Fragmented Becoming of Marcelino, Walln, Pedro and Willyane. I concentrate on these four children in dealing with the theme of the home because their relations with the home exemplify the diversity of housing possibilities within a transversal context of poor, low-middle class and middle-class children. Following the fragmented narratives, I will briefly describe the emergence of the favela in Recife, which will provide further background for the Fragmented Becoming narratives of Marcelino, Walln and Willyane. I will further concentrate on the symbolic charge of the home and two micro-political examples, geared towards preventing children from spending time on the streets or helping them to move back home.

I. My Home

Marcelino (Daruê Malaungo)

At the Daruê, Marcelino (nine years old in 2004) was one of the children whose family and housing situations were the best compared with the rest of my group. Both his father and mother cared for him, his home was spacious and while he shared the same bedroom with his older sister, each had his/her own bed. He could have his own room but he was too afraid to sleep in it because of the rats and cockroaches that infested the room according to Marcelino. He lived in the Arruda neighbourhood, close to Chão de Estrelas, and went to the Daruê by bicycle. Marcelo's willingness to participate in our activities had its ups and downs: he could just as likely be relatively enthusiastic or scowl. In his resistant moments he could be very aggressive verbally towards the others and showed a good knowledge of all manner of obscene expressions. At nine, he could not read, and it seems to me that this was caused by a lack of tenacity.

His father Válter had a correr-de-quartos or rooms corridor behind his home, where six families lived for thirty reais per month each. Marcelino knew most of the lodgers and had made one friend. The couples often fought between each other – “husband and wife fights” according to Marcelino – but he did not hear it from his bedroom. Marcelino's home was also connected to a mini-market. However, they were not selling anything anymore, because Válter did not have money to buy stocks and merchandise.



Marcelino My Home

Marcelino had an older sister who frequented the Daruê and two much older siblings, a half-brother and sister. I asked him how I could reach his parents and he gave me the phone number of the public phone that stood in front of the mini-

market. I talked to Válter and though he did not know what it was about, he agreed to make an appointment to visit his home. Válter came to welcome us (I was with the literacy monitor Amélia). Of the twelve children's homes I had visited, it was the second occasion where the father felt concerned about the project. Válter was more than sixty years old. He had lived in this home for the last forty years. The street in front had been paved just a few years before, thirty years after the project was deposited at the city hall.

When he arrived in the neighbourhood, there were only trees. At that time, he was a taxi driver and started to buy land parcels in the area. He constructed his home and the mini-market attached to it. His first wife had died seventeen years before, leaving him two children, now in their thirties. He has been with Martha for the last fifteen years and had Diana (fourteen years old) and Marcelino with her. Marcelino stayed with us but did not participate in the discussion. Martha punctuated the discussion by making comments and adding more details to Válter's story.

Válter had a car accident with his taxi, which was destroyed. Fortunately, Válter managed to get out of it without any serious personal injury, but he did not have money to buy a new car. His two children, from the first marriage, spent long periods being institutionalized. His daughter had a profound depression crisis following the birth of each of her two children. The father of the first child preferred men to women and she caught him in bed with one. Válter did not tell what happened to the child. Everyone in the neighbourhood knew that she had problems and Válter told them not to give her alcohol, but not everyone heeded this request. Her last child was from an unknown father. The child was already dead when she gave birth to it. It had happened a few months before and since then she had been depressed. She was insomniac and did not want to take her medication. She would sometimes show up at their home at five in the morning, heavily hallucinating.

As for his son, he was not drinking at the time of the visit, but Válter did not seem convinced that it would last for long. For years, Válter regularly had to leave his home at first light, after someone came to warn him that his son was going to be killed in a fight. Válter went to 'save' him, and after a few times his son told him to stop – he could defend himself. For the last nine years Válter had suffered severe asthmatic attacks that left him with the feeling that he would die from lack of air. He tried to get his pension but the state rejected his request. He let rooms at the back of his home but according to him, the thirty reais monthly rent was not enough to be considered an income. It was quite clear that Válter's attention was primarily directed towards his first two children, who appeared to give him still a lot of work. His state of health might be a result of these parental problems. Marta, his wife, appeared to be a well-balanced and strong forty-year-old woman. She talked with the lodgers as if they were part of the family, especially the children. She also had a good relationship with her daughter. She took care of Válter and calmed him down when needed.

Válter openly criticized Marcelino's weight when I was there. Marcelino did not mind at all and it seemed to be some kind of running gag between them. I only

learnt about Marcelino's half-brothers on the day of the visit. It is difficult to establish how often he was in touch with them and how this contact affected him. Marcelino was a moody person, who often took a defensive position with other people who tried to interact with him. At the Daruê, Marcelino was most of the time with Cláudio and rejected the other boys. Although his relationship with Cláudio was not always one of mutual understanding and respect, he related more to him than to others. Since he lived in another neighbourhood, Marcelino also had friends to play with closer to home, and did not really participate in the everyday gossip at Chão de Estrelas. He often took an attitude of disinterest while his colleagues were recounting the last murder or discussing their own difficulties.

Walln (Magalhães Bastos)

Walln, who was nine in 2004, was living in-between two homes without really being able to regard one as his own. Walln was very articulate and critical when he told me about his life. Walln would take the individual interview meetings to tell the last news about what was going on at home. At the parents meeting at Magalhães Bastos school, a young female cousin of Walln's (around sixteen years old) came to represent the family. She arrived at the end of the meeting and stated that Walln's mother took controlled medication and that it was her own mother Glória who took care of him. Walln was standing beside us at that time. She also gave me his aunt Glória's phone number.

I saw Walln passing from a calm state of mind into a deep depression. At the beginning, it appeared as if he had the skill to detach himself affectively from very stressing events. Furthermore he could see his father, mother and brother in ways that made him clearly feeling as an outsider with another life trajectory than theirs. However, in time, Walln started to show less detachment and appeared, in contrast, to see himself as the one bearing his family situation on his shoulders. As if he was the only sane person in the family and therefore his role was to take care that everything will hold together.

It started with the departure of Leo, his older brother (fourteen in 2004), to his biological father's home in another neighbourhood, quite far from the Caxangá, named Torre. He stopped studying in order to help his father who owned a garage. Leo was his half-brother from a relationship that their mother had few years before marrying Walln's father. Leo was living with his mother and stepfather, who was alcoholic. Once drunk, he would start to fight with Leo and eventually battered him. Was Walln sad about the departure of his brother? Apparently he looked distressed about it. But, it turned out that Leo had returned on his bicycle to threaten Walln. The reason for Walln's dismay proved to be the sadness of his mother and her worsening psychological state. Furthermore, the inability to fulfill the idea of a family contributed to his distress. Walln slept on the couch at his aunt Glória's home. He had breakfast there and then went to school. Glória's had bought a small house for Walln's parents on the bank of the river. It was situated less than ten minutes walk from her home.

At one point at school, back from the winter break, Walln's teacher came to talk to me about him. She said that during the last two weeks he had complained of a headache and that the day before he had come to school sick with an aspirin in his pocket. It was something that was not allowed according to Regane and she had called his mother to talk about it on that day. Since the end of the holidays, Walln was always hiding behind her skirt and cried every day. Walln told me during our meeting that he had terrible headaches lately. While I was walking away from the school, after we finished working, I met Walln with his mother at the school's entrance for the pupils. Walln introduced me to her. Wearing the expression of a hunted animal, his mother told me that Walln's teacher was not in the classroom and therefore they were leaving. Regane invited her to come another day and when I arrived the next week, she told me that the day after she had met Walln's mother, an uncle, one female and one male cousin came to school. They promised to take better care of him. Walln did not show any enthusiasm for working with me anymore. He always seemed on the verge of crying and looked like someone with vertigo.

But Walln's headache was not going to stop any time soon, as he told me that his brother was back home. His biological father could not stand him and shortly after Leo had to go to jail. Walln could not tell me the reason why he was in jail and for how long.



Walln My Home

At the beginning of September 2004, I went to pay a visit to Dona Glória, his aunt. She did not make any introduction, but started right away to recount that when Walln's mother was a child, she lived her brother-in-law, who raped her. She ran away from home and was taken in by a centre that showed her picture on television asking for her relatives to get in touch with the centre. Her brother recognized her and she went back to live with her family. According to Glória, Walln's mother was not very bright, but she could work hard and was well-organized. For a few years, she had a relationship with Leo's biological father. She used to drink like a fish. After marrying

Walln's father (Glória's brother), the latter went to work in São Paulo, but had an accident while riding a horse and lost one of his eyes. The father stayed with his sister in São Paulo for some time but when his money ran out he came back to Recife to live with Glória his other sister. He was a social drinker by then. Glória remarked that there are people who drink every day without being alcoholic, but Walln's father drank from the time he got up until he went to sleep. He was very aggressive and alcohol dragged him into acute paranoia.

I asked Glória whether he beat Walln's mother. Glória confirmed that they had to separate them on more than one occasion but that Walln's mother was an expert in avoiding her husband's provocations. She remembered how once he came to their home late at night, screaming like a lunatic that five men were in bed with her. He was so out of himself that Glória's husband went with him to his home. When they arrived there were no men. Glória's brother argued that they were hiding, but that they would come back. They institutionalized him many times against his will and every time he came back he started to drink again. He was now suffering motor disabilities.

Walln's mother's mental state had deteriorated over the last ten years. At first, she experienced memory loss: she did not know where she was and stopped caring for herself. She sought comfort in the Church but went to the Evangelist Church one day and to the Catholic church the other. One time she lay down under the car of Glória's husband who fortunately discovered her before driving over her body. She too was institutionalized on numerous occasions.. The first time they gave her an injection and she recovered, but it did not last. She was now taking controlled medication. Glória did not know what the diagnosis was but watched out that she would daily take her cocktail of pills in order to keep her quiet.

Each day Walln's mother, Leo and Walln ate at Glória's home. Leo sometimes slept at his mother's and sometimes at Glória's but he caused trouble for them. He had started to hang out with the bad guys of the favela and was now smoking and drinking. He had found himself in jail because he had misbehaved in the bus, coming back from the beach. Glória wanted to leave him in jail for a couple of days, to teach him a lesson, but his mother succeeded in getting him out after a few hours. Glória had three children herself, all grown up.

It was clear that this whole situation preoccupied Glória. Walln was sleeping on the couch in her home and did not feel at home. Glória would have liked Walln's mother to go back to live with her family. However, this was impossible as her mother had heart problems, whereas her sister lived in a place that was very difficult to get to. For Glória, it was clear that Walln's mother's deterioration was aggravated by her husband.

On the day of my visit, after an hour Walln's mother arrived, shortly followed by Leo. We all walked together to Walln's parents' home. I observed that Walln's mother had a very childlike manner of behaving and that she was reacting intensely to the

situation, like a child who was promised an ice cream and was on the way to buy one. Walln really liked to be with her when she was like that. I told Glória, with whom I was walking a little behind, that Walln strongly wished to stay with his mother, despite everything. Glória agreed and told me that it was probably the reason for his constant headaches. We met Walln's father, who was heavily intoxicated, on the doorstep of the home. We did not spend any more time than needed.

Pedro (Arco-Íris)

The first time we worked with just the two of us, Pedro sat relatively far away from me and I asked him to come closer in order to facilitate our work. Pedro had a different style compared to the other boys. He wore a long-sleeved shirt under a T-shirt and rarely wore the school T-shirt. He was thin with delicate features and a very homemade unequal haircut. He often appeared to be hallucinating but did not lose track of what was happening around him. Pedro drew well and liked to draw characters looking like the ones in Japanese animated movies.

Once I asked Pedro to tell me one of the things he liked most and he answered that he really liked to play in his condominium. It shocked me because I wondered how someone could prefer to play inside four walls of concrete. This preference for playing inside the condominium was, in fact, a rule for middle and upper-class children and they were better off to like it. However, the condominium Pedro was talking about was different. The area where he lived, Aldeia, was at a distance of seventeen kilometres from Recife and looked like the countryside. It was a condominium because walls delineated it, but there were many hectares of land, the streets were unpaved and the neighbours lived far from one another. Adolfo, Pedro's best friend that went to Arco-Íris until that year, lived in front of Pedro's home, which made it definitely the best place to be.

Another time, I was supposed to work with both Pedro and Camila, but then Joana, their teacher, told me that Camila was slow and that she needed to be explained certain things that did not yet understand. It took Pedro some time to get organized because he was discussing something with a schoolmate. Joana went over to him and firmly took his arm. She did not scream at him but her gestures were aggressive. She asked him what kind of insect he had in his hand and she asserted that it was a cockroach. She sarcastically told Pedro and the cockroach to go away. We walked out of the classroom together and we stopped on our way to look at the insect – it was a cricket. I told him that it was very beautiful. Pedro was very alert that morning. He had made a wooden house during Mauricio's Art class and now it was the crickets' home.

In fact Pedro had a deadpan brand of humour and often came into the Art room with a half smile. He liked to invent stories and composed songs. One day Amadeu and Pedro finished their drawings and I asked them if they would like to draw something else. Pedro drew his Japanese character with something that looked like a very large penis. I asked him if it was a penis and Pedro asked me what that meant.

He turned towards Amadeu and told him that his character was shitting. He decided to erase it afterwards.

They both stood up and decided to have a judo fight. However, Amadeu lacked flexibility and started to feign punching Pedro in the face. Pedro then said that he was going to draw a *cara-bicha* fighting with the other character that he had drawn. I asked him what he meant by *cara-bicha* and he answered that it was a man who wanted to become a woman. He said that in his judo classes he had fought with one. Pedro started to imitate the *cara-bicha* by swaying his hips, running his hands over his body, moving his eyelashes like butterfly wings and striking poses with one hand under his chin. The only two that talked to me about *bichas* at Arco-Íris were Amadeu and Pedro. They learned this word from adults and surely in a negative sense. These were people to be laughed at and, more importantly, not to become one. The behaviour and poses that distinguished the real macho from the effeminate boy were clearly defined for the young six-year-old boys I knew. All the premises of gender behaviour as formulated and expected by dominant society were instilled and practised.



Pedro My home

I met Pedro's mother Mônica at the Arco-Íris and we left the school building with Pedro and his five year-old sister Patrícia. Fernanda, Pedro's older sister, studied in a school closer to their home in Aldeia. Mônica had studied pedagogy and was currently working in the field of education and ecology. In addition, she gave computer classes once a week at Arco-Íris. She was also working on a project dealing with electricity consumption in the villages and cities of the state of Pernambuco.

The family had been living in Aldeia for a year. Before moving, they lived in the Cidade Universitaria neighbourhood, close to the highway. Pedro had had asthmatic attacks in that place and was always sick. When the doctor learned where they lived, he made clear that they had to move. I wondered if only Pedro had this problem. In fact, both Mônica and Tadeu had allergies, and Tadeu had had asthma only when he was young. It was as if Pedro had inherited the worst of both of them, but since they had moved to Aldeia, Pedro's asthmatic attacks had stopped.

Fifty families lived in their condominium, with thirty households living there permanently and twenty only during the weekends. They were renting the home and would like to buy it. Mônica was going to inherit the money from the sale of an apartment in Boa Viagem, which would allow them to ask the bank for a loan. They were looking around for other homes as well and really just wished to stay in the area.

Tadeu, Pedro's father, had studied agronomy, but currently arranged trade between farmers and supermarket purchasing agents. Tadeu also worked on organic agricultural projects. He wished he had more land, in order to make a vegetable's garden and build a henhouse. Pedro shared his father's dream: "It's a dream for me too, I would stay with the chicks". Mônica's work complemented that of Tadeu and it appeared as if they enjoyed one another's company.

Willyane (Daruê Malungo)

Wanderson, Willyane's brother, with whom I was working at the beginning, stopped coming to the Daruê. Though normally the children knew very well what happened to one of their schoolmates, in the case of Wanderson they just kept saying that he was sick without further explanation. They ended up telling me that I should simply start working with his sister who had started attending the centre. Wanderson never came back to the centre, the reason being that Amélia, their literacy teacher, had mistreated him. Which in turn, was also the reason why the children did not elaborate on the subject. They wanted to protect Amélia, for according to them Wanderson was partly to blame.

It turned out that contrary to Wanderson, Willyane was a very outspoken young girl of eleven. Though we worked together for four months, with Wanderson, who was far more introverted and reclusive, I would not have learned so much about their family. There were six persons in her family; all of her siblings had names starting with "W". The eldest was sixteen and played percussion at the centre. Except Wanderson, the five siblings went to the Daruê, since the Carnival of 2004, which was probably a great relief for their mother.

A city construction project forced the family to leave their former neighbourhood and move to Chão de Estralas. The people of the housing relocation program told them that they were going to spend two weeks in that home, before moving to another home that was better suited to the size of the household. They have been waiting for a home that met their requirements for the last two years. When I visited her home, Willyane's mother showed me the rotten walls in the bedroom and complained that the water came in when it rained. The roof was full of holes as well. The house had neither running water or a toilet.

Willyane's mother told us in her own words: "Still they say that we don't need a house. They said that we have a roof but we are very afraid that the roof will fall down on our heads. We cannot receive anyone because we don't have a toilet. Sometimes she (the owner of the house) permits us to use her bathroom, otherwise

we do it in bags in order not to be inconvenient to the neighbours and we throw them outside. It is very difficult. The neighbours are complaining that it smells”.



Willyane My home

The house had only one bedroom and three beds for six persons. Willyane's father did odd jobs but was a heavy drinker. Willyane's parents often had conflicts, especially when they were drunk, and these would sometimes erupt into physical aggression. Willyane's mother seemed to be the one who was trying harder to improve their situation. She made random visits to City Hall to complain. She started a ceramic project course, where she earned fifty reais monthly for making ceramic frames. Two out of her six children received the school grant and they had a monthly family allocation. Having six children constituted a real burden for her, especially since they were growing older and needed to eat more than just milk and small food portions. Willyane seemed to be the one that preoccupied her most.

Mother: "Willyane has difficulty with her mind and she has reading problems. I had a lot of difficulty at the beginning of my pregnancy with her. I don't know if it is because of that. I went to the doctor with her, but she told me that she had nothing; the psychologist said that she was normal. But she told me to find a special school for her because she has a lot of reading difficulties for her age. The others – no, they don't have difficulties. This one (pointing at Willyane's younger sister) is lazy, but she can read."

Willyane was the second oldest in the family and her mother tried to convince her to go to live with her godmother in Boa Viagem, to no avail. Willyane's godmother was a family friend, her husband was unemployed and they did not have children. Boa Viagem is at least one hour by bus from Chão de Estrelas. For one, it would mean one mouth less to feed and a few years ahead with young children that did not have the same eating needs as adolescents. Furthermore, the street they currently lived in sheltered drug dealers, making it very stressful for Willyane's mother.

Mother: "Sometimes there are cars that come on this street with armed men and I can't keep my children inside. I would like to have something bigger so that they would not have to play on the street."

But Willyane did not want to hear about moving away. She acknowledged that it was better in her godmother's house, but that she loved her own mother too much to leave Chão de Estrelas. After two years, Willyane's mother was starting to have a small network in the neighbourhood and with her children going to school and to the Daruê, things were starting to look brighter. However, the most pressing matter at hand was to find a new home, but the person assigned with their case at the city council did not seem very concerned with Willyane's family.

II. The Emergence of the Favelas in Recife

I will now turn to the emergence of the favelas in Recife. The main reference for this section is the architect Alberto Sousa, in his book entitled *Do Mocambo à Favela. Recife (1920-1990)*, *From the Mocambo to the Favela. Recife (1920-1990)*. For readers who are not familiar with the favela it supplies a general impression through the description of its geographical location and type of housing construction in the case of Recife. In my view, it is the surest way to present the complexity of a subject like the favelas. I rely upon that author to affirm that Chão de Estrelas is not only a poor area but also a favela, taking a different position than the IBGE for the reasons of positive development alternation I mentioned in the description of the neighbourhoods (see above).

The description given here also applies to the favelas I have been working in, which are far from the centre of the city: in the case of the favela of Várzea, which extends on both flat land and on the bank of the river, on an uneven land. Chão de Estrelas is another case that is constructed on flat land and is situated relatively close to the centre. Eleven children with whom I worked lived in six different favelas in these two respective neighbourhoods.

According to Sousa (2003), until the 1960s, the word in Recife given to the insalubrious housing of the poor population was *mocambo* or its variant *mucambo*. Mocambo is an African word (it is the name of a bay in Mozambique) coming from the Quimbundo language. In Pernambuco the word lost its ethnic and rural connotations and started to designate homes of poor urban and suburban people. As for the word *favela*, in its definition of a small group of precarious houses, its acceptance is of much more recent period.

Favela is a plant of the Northeast *sertão* that was known under this name since the eighteenth century. It gave the name to a *serra* located in the state of Bahia. The soldiers that fought there at the end of the 1890s decided when they returned to Rio de Janeiro after a campaign to call a hill where they established emergency sheds with the authorization of the government the Favela. It took no time for the term favela designating precarious habitat to be consecrated in Rio de Janeiro and by 1980s in Recife.

Housing Construction in the Favela

I will now turn to the construction aspects of the houses of the favela, again referring to Sousa (2003) for it struck me how faithful his description compared to what I have seen. In general, the houses are very small and have only one floor. They are characterized by faulty architecture and construction quality. This last characteristic is related to shortage of means, allied with a lack of knowledge of the art of construction. It represents the essential cause of the insalubrity of the spontaneous popular accommodation.

Many times, these buildings are constructed in a way that make them separated laterally from one another by a distance of less than one meter. This, in order for the roof to project itself further than the external lateral walls, without touching the roof of the neighbour, leaving the rainwater to stream down as a consequence. This results in a very tiny piece of humid and dark land between the two homes, where the sewage runs and accumulates leading to the formation and proliferation of insects.

Furthermore, most of the houses are low-roofed and have small openings in an insufficient number, which often are not well located, resulting in a dark and poorly ventilated interior. This aggravates the insalubrity of the house, especially considering the tropical humid climate of Recife. As for the construction material, over the years the ceramic tiled roofs have been preferred over asbestos sheets and cement floors over hard-packed surfaces, but many homes are still made out of recycled material of different origins.

Another particularity of the favelas of Recife is the *correr-de-quartos* or rooms' corridor. The rooms can be rented in these homes have only one floor of and extended form. The rooms are more or less of the same size and are juxtaposed laterally. This type of habitation further complicates the problems of the favela, because it gathers even more people in a small and precarious space. In 1985, between 25% and 30% of the homes of the favelas were occupied by lodgers (Souza, 2003). People generally want their own house, but this wish is not always easy to realize in old and well-situated favelas. It is difficult to give an indication of the average monthly rent, because the prices vary from one place to another, but according to Souza, lodgers paid between one/sixth to half of a minimum monthly salary (260R-85USD) in February 2005. The owners of the rooms are themselves poor people who have constructed rooms over the years in order to gain supplemental income. They usually live in a small home connected to the corridor, or in another favela.

As for urban services, according to Sousa (2003), the only one that has quickly hooked up to the favelas is electricity. According to the Pernambuco government Sanitary Secretary, in 1987, in the metropolitan region of Recife, 40% of the population of the favelas did not have access to plumbing water. But it is the sewage system where the public authorities prove most negligent. In this case, it is not only the poor who suffer the consequences, but the entire metropolitan population. Traditionally, it was the middle class who had to resolve the problem of how to evacuate its sewage and human waste. This means that in terms of network extension, the agglomeration of Recife maintains a very restricted public sewage system.

Finally, garbage collection is another area where the authorities shirk their responsibility. In 1985, 40% of the domiciles of the Recife agglomeration were not provided with this service (Sousa, 2003). Another factor that aggravates the unhealthy conditions in the favelas, in particular in the flat land areas, is the severe shortage of paved streets – the only ones that have a satisfactory drain system. The result of the above is that the rainwater and sewage accumulate, forming pools of still water that obstruct pedestrians and cars alike.

Extract from field notes. March 16, 2004. Around 10:30 AM. Coming back from the Daruê Malungo Centre, Chão de Estrelas:

I took the bus. The rain had stopped but after the first curve there is a street junction where the sewage system seems inefficient or non-existent. There was an accumulation of 80 cm of water. The bus could only go through with great difficulty. When the bus ventured to a higher speed we passed a man on his bicycle with water coming up to his waist. Three young people seeing the bus coming climbed a fence in order to avoid the waves produced by the passage of the bus. The situation is beautiful, the black clouds opened up and the sun is lightening this street corner. The children are laughing over their cleverness in avoiding the waves and getting themselves all dirty and wet.

As for intervention made by the authorities with regard to the housing situation, their efforts can be judged by the fact that over the last five decades, the ratio of population and precarious housing has hardly changed. Sousa (2003) sheds light on this fact by explaining that although there have been well-organized governmental interventions during these five decades, on the one hand the complexities of the problem are all but insurmountable and on the other hand government efforts have been inefficient. But let's see why.

The first action taken by the public authorities was the demolition of the mocambos starting in 1940. The demolition was systematic until the 1950s and the practice was eventually abandoned in the mid-1970s. The reason for the demolition was that certain mocambos were located on useful urban land, often close to the centre of the city or in the surrounding neighbourhoods. In parallel with the demolition of the mocambos, another type of action also took place. Instead of completely demolishing the houses, the public authorities started to supply certain essential urban services and popular housing.

Over the decades this practice of accommodating these neighbourhoods supplanted demolition operations and by the 1980s it had become the most widespread strategy. At the beginning of the 1940s there were more demolished houses than constructed ones, transferring the problem to other parts of the city. With regard to housing construction, the COHAB-PE, a popular habitation company financed by the National Habitation Bank of Pernambuco, was the most active company of the 1980s. In nine years, from 1978 to 1987, 60,000 houses were constructed. This number was provided by the COHAB-PE and verified in various governmental documents.

Two problems arise from this kind of construction initiative. Firstly, the price of rent was about three minimum salaries – leaving out the majority of the poor population, which can hardly earn a single salary – and secondly, the practice of patronage, which favoured friends

and acquaintances over the target population. Comparing the statistics of the the end of the 1930s and the beginning of the 1990s, Souza (2003) confirms that in both periods close to half of the total of habitations were precarious habitations – mocambos in the 1930s and favelas today.

The formation of mocambos started with the illegal ‘renting out’ of the land. The tenant paid a certain amount to construct his house on a particular plot of land, and the owner of the land generally made the tenant sign illegal or illegitimate contracts and papers. Over the years, people stopped renting and started to occupy the land. Such actions could have different outcomes. I will limit myself to describing various positive options, as the negative outcome always amounted to the eviction of the squatters, without them having had time to construct anything.

Firstly, in general, a small group of persons decides to occupy a piece of public or private land. If the land is located in a place that has a potential future for public or private construction the encroacher can find him/herself in one of the following situations: either he/she is compensated and is able to acquire a popular home in a different area, which will increase in value over time. Or he/she acquires another home that answers to the needs of his/her household in another poor neighbourhood of his/her choice, gaining five to ten times the capital he/she initially invested in the construction of his/her home on the illegally occupied land. These are examples of a happy ending, of course, because the squatter can also be expelled without ever receiving another home.

There are people that take over lands that do not really have any tangible future value for the simple reason that there is no rent to be paid. There are also people who build their houses on the shores of a river, in places that will never be built up because of constant danger of flooding. These people consciously decide to risk their security living in these areas, occasionally for many years, before a politician bent on being elected promises to relocate these people if elected.

I have presented how the favelas are constituted in the city of Recife. In describing the favela, I have discussed its types of housing and the socio-political and economical struggles in the community. These habitations shelter more than the half the population of Brazil. These life conditions, coupled with familial problems, explain why sometimes children prefer to live on the street. Needless to say that for many children living in precarious housing situations, regular school attendance forms a considerable challenge.

In the *Fragmented Becoming* narrative of Marcelino (DM), Walln (MB), Pedro (AI) and Willyane (DM) the theme of the home appeared in a more intense light during the course of our work together in 2003-2004. More particularly, the narratives of Marcelino and Willyane from Chão de Estrelas form examples of the different types of housing construction and land ‘tenancy’ systems, as well as the process of squatting and relocation. Walln problems derived from the impossibility of living together with his mother in one home. As for Pedro, his respiratory problems pushed his parents to find a home outside the city, and Pedro’s family hoped to find a place in this new area that they could eventually buy, which would involve

borrowing a certain amount of money from the bank. They were renting a house when we met.

I refer to this migrant line because in the case of poor children, many connections are related to the home. Examples include their family or extended family members co-residing in the house for short-term periods; the positive or negative co-habitation in a confined space; the constant concern about whether food is going to be found in the home. Finally, there is the possibility of the family being suddenly forced to move somewhere else due to the precarious construction material or other problems.

III. Reflections on Children's Homes

The different types of housing were extensively described in the section on the emergence of the favela in Recife and as we have seen in the case of Walln and Willyane, their home was not necessarily synonymous with comfort. In his book *At Home in the Street. Street Children of Northeast Brazil*, Tobias Hecht (1998) describes the life of street children that opted for the street because they preferred it to living conditions at home. It would not surprise me to hear of Cláudio, Bianca and Dougla living in the street for some time in the near future. These children came into my mind for the following reasons: the financial situation of the household is very unstable with little perspective of improving; the living conditions are dangerous because of the drug dealers in the area; and the children do not have strong emotional and affective ties with their mother or any other responsible adult.

It is what makes the difference for Walln and, to a certain extent, Willyane and Ricardo. As long as Walln stays on the right track, meaning that he will not start to drink, smoke or rob people, there will be place for him on Glória's couch. His aunts, uncles and cousins showed interest in Walln's well-being and took real measures to take care of him. Willyane's mother wanted her to go to live with her godmother in Boa Viagem, in order to have fewer children to feed and because of her precarious house did not have enough beds for all of them. Willyane's mother had a social network of people caring for her daughter that eventually made it possible to put her in another home for a certain period of time. The same went for Ricardo, as his *Fragmented Becoming* narrative will show later on.

Luana (Arco-Íris) and Pedro lived in two-story houses but in the case of Luana, the house was her grandparents' and in the case of Pedro, it was not sure if he was going to stay in that home for long. Luana said that her home belonged to all the people that lived there but I believe – reviewing the space's gender division – that her grandparents were the ones dictating to their single-parent daughter and unemployed son how things should go. The fact that they locked the door of their bedroom also illustrated the confidence they had in the people living under their roof. As for Marcelino, I believe that Vicente's house was paid for. He lived with people poorer than himself renting the rooms for thirty reais. His house appeared to me as having a certain level of comfort.

Gaston Bachelard's (1957) beautiful book *La Poétique de l'Espace* is helpful in describing the role the imagination plays in the home, in juxtaposition with the observed reality of the housing situation of poor Brazilian children. Bachelard views the home in phenomenological terms, referring to the creative power involved in imagining the habitat. Bachelard is interested in spaces of happiness – spaces that one defends against malign forces – and affectively charged spaces. He also underlines the fact that when describing a humble home, writers often stick to a relatively superficial description, because they think that there is not much to be described. What they should see is its primitivism, which belongs to poor and rich alike, to the ones that accept to dream.

Bachelard asserts that we are always more tranquil in our native home. We can create an imaginary native home with some artefacts of the real native home. However, while thinking of the many children I worked with, the native home is only a pacifying image in the absolute, but not in reality. For Bachelard (1957), we all live in a shelter both real and virtual, in our thoughts and in our dreams. But for many of the children of the Brazilian poor, to think of their homes in terms of a shelter and a safe haven requires a far stretch of the imagination.

The story of Sandro do Nascimento shows that for the short period of time he lived in the home of a woman he called mother in the favela Nova Holanda in Rio de Janeiro, he felt that he had finally found his home. In the example of the children followed by the Group Rua e Praça, which I will describe in the next paragraph, many of them expressed the wish of living in a house of their own, even though they had turned to the street because the conditions at home were too hard to deal with.

The poor children I worked with did not lack imagination when asked to portray the home of their dreams. Some of them drew an apartment building of many floors. Others a house with bright colours, many flowers, hearts and trees. They can imagine what it would be like to feel safe and protected, in a place that smells good, is well built and not located in a street governed by the drug traffic. While the home was an important theme for all the children, I never heard a poor child with housing difficulties referring to his/her home as safe haven.

Ricardo who lived in a cardboard shelter – he called it a house – liked to organize the interior with his mother and sister, but he only made this remark after I asked him what he liked to do most with a family member. I agree with Bachelard (1957) that the comfort that is transmitted by the idea of the home is a constant creative process that involves imagining different powerful images. Poor children frequently conjure up these images in order to lessen the anxiety felt in their precarious home or shelter or when sleeping on the street.

The problematic surrounding the relation of poor children with their street put forth the issue of their housing. I presented the history of the emergence of the favelas in Brazil in order to provide context for the complexities that informed the housing situation of poor children. I then presented the Fragmented Becoming narratives on the theme of the home for children both living in favelas and in middle-class households. It aimed at presenting the differences between children and the singularity of each life as well as the different lines formed by the interactive grammar, which connected the various aspects involved. I reflected

that Bachelard's phenomenological approach can be of use when considering the importance that children attach to the idea of a good and safe home and the imaginary recourses they employ to increase tranquility in their environment. Such fantasies helped them to minimize the anxiety generated by their precarious housing situation.

IV. Micropolitical Initiatives

Grupo Rua e Praça

I will now turn to the example of the local MNMMR (Boys and Girls living on the Street) commission in Recife, Pernambuco. It is interesting to see an actual example of people who follow the principles of the Brazilian children's and youth movement, which introduces the concept of working *with* children instead of *for* children during the second half of the 1980s.

The *Grupo Rua e Praça* – Street and Square Group – (1998) was instituted in reaction to child extermination and repression by the police. The idea was to meet with children in the various open spaces they frequented. The educator assumed an orientating role, working in a participative way towards stimulating children to discover new life opportunities and aspire to new life projects. The project followed two main principles, firstly, to consider the child and the teenager as historical subjects and secondly, to perform the educational actions within the current social context of the children.

As for the pedagogical practices, the actions revolved around play and cultural activities like: confection and presentation of *mamulengo*, capoeira, *frevo* dance, games, literacy, serigraphy, parties and events, popular toys and crochet. At the political level, the idea was to organize the boys and girls met on the street in a social sense, by stressing the importance that they should be aware of their situation and of the causes that brought them to live on the street, and consequently turn them into social and cultural agents.

These two practices were carried out on a daily basis. The educators looked forward to getting to know the dreams, the frustrations, and the ideas surrounding a child or a teenager's life. What references did they have in their daily lives besides police violence, drugs and hunger? Who were their family, and what was their situation? The educator first presented him/herself to the children and adolescents with the intention of exchanging ideas, thoughts and ambitions. When accepted, the activities would start.

These children and adolescents all had a relatively similar family profile. The parents were involved in drugs, their mothers were incarcerated, and they suffered domestic violence and sexual abuse between parents, children and brothers. Most of them still knew their parents and kept in periodic or sporadic contact with them. In general, the father did not contribute to the family income, and the children often had siblings from different parents. With men being absent most of the time, these families were headed by women. These women – mothers, grandmothers, aunts (single or separated or widowed) – lived together or in close vicinity to one another with their sons, grandchildren and nephews. They had a hard

life with little prospects, always looking for short-term solutions – preferably immediate - for solving urgent needs with respect to food, housing, health, education and affection. When discussing affection, the children refer to the feminine figure, primarily represented by the mother, then the grandmother, then the aunt and subsequently the brothers. According to the *Grupo Rua e Praça* (1998), there are no masculine figures portrayed in the child imagery.

The homes are often shoddily built out of cardboard, paper, plastic. They have one to three rooms (living room, bedroom and kitchen) but no floor. There is no sewage system and the family members relieve themselves in plastic bags, plastic bottles, cans or paper, which are then thrown in the garbage or in the water canal. The family obtains its electricity illegally. Between seven to fourteen individuals live in such homes. Besides having to deal with subhuman living conditions, these people also have to live with the violence within the community: daily shootings, police violence and fights between drug dealers for the control of drug selling areas. In some household situations, the child or teenager is accepted at home if he/she contributes to the monthly income.

Situations arising from poverty form the main reason for children and teenagers to leave their homes and live on the street. The *Grupo Rua e Praça* (1998) registered the following as the principle situations arising from poverty:

The unemployment of the parents or responsible persons and the lack of basic needs such as food, clothes, house, school and leisure activities as a consequence;
The home does not have any sewage system and insufficient space to accommodate the children;
The necessity for the children to contribute to the monthly income drives them on the street in order to beg or do odd jobs.

Often there is no leisure area in the neighbourhood, and compared to living conditions at home, the street offers some important compensation: liberty, food, and friendship with other street children. At the same time, their social exclusion is intensified. The solitude, when they have been living for some time on the street, is the feeling that makes them suffer the most. Living in the street is a solitary act, children often feel lonely and lost, without any prospects for the future. The worst moment of solitude arrives when night falls or when it's raining. They feel fragile and cold, and then revert to remembering family life (*Grupo Rua e Praça*, 1998). To have a home, even if it is not with their family means to remember this distant past, when they were at home with their brothers and mother. While using art as an instrument of communication, the children and adolescents often showed this desire of having a home. When they talk, draw or paint about their dreams and desires, the children conjure up images of a beautiful house, a family, work and school attendance.

Instituto Vida

The Instituto Vida is an NGO whose mission involves actions aimed at solving the problems present in the locality, by relying on the initiative and the participation of young people who are in a situation of poverty or at personal and social risk. The Instituto Vida was

established as a conduit within the educational process of art education and culture, using Biodance as one of its psycho-pedagogic strategies. The work done with the adolescents is directed towards creativity, affectivity, personal initiative, and self-consciousness and the consciousness of others. This allows for the development of existential knowledge, critical thought, autonomy, and self-esteem.

The Instituto Vida is open to adolescents between the ages of thirteen and twenty-one who are inhabitants of the northern zone of Recife. Special attention is directed towards the communities of Alto José do Pinho, Chão de Estrelas and surroundings. The Institute offers its services in the form of workshops, and families are invited to join in. Supplementary courses to the formal scholastic curriculum are also offered. Here is a list of the workshops:

- Art and environmental workshops for the development of creative expression;
- Geometric drawing and mathematical games;
- Preventive health care, gender and sexuality;
- Workshops concerning citizenship and community participation;
- Design and Fashion professional training;
- Breakdance and Graffiti;
- DJ workshop;
- Computer and information technology.

The Institute also offers exchanges with community associations, local cultural groups and with national cultural movements. According to the directors of the institute, the targeted neighbourhoods have seen a reduction in the number of school dropouts as well as a reduction in violence and drug use. The workshops lead to better inter-group relations, reinforced personal self-esteem and better relationships between adolescents and their families. And within the community the Institute's efforts have led to a visible improvement in the integration of young people .

The main problem for these teenagers is a lack of life opportunities. From the very start, these workshops were offered with the goal of providing these opportunities. To do so effectively, adolescents were asked about what they were interested in and now the adolescents themselves are taking the initiative in proposing ideas for new workshops. Therefore when they are not at school, the teenagers are at the institute. They are not wandering in the streets and are given more opportunities at both the professional and at more personal development levels. For the ones living in difficult household conditions, the institute is also a place to stay around at and eat their meals, only returning home to sleep. Evolving better relations with their parents, the teenagers are eventually more accepted at home.

2.5 FRAGMENTED BECOMING: MY FAMILY

The home is also the place where we find the family members. I will present the Fragmented Becoming narratives of six of the children that provide good examples of a certain kind of relationship with members of their family, making the theme more prominent in the course of the year we spent together. I will then turn to the emergence of the nuclear family model in modern society. I have two main reasons for providing this digression. The first one is that all the children initially described their family as a mother and a father living under the same roof, while in fact less than half of the children I worked with actually lived in a nuclear family arrangement. The second reason is that the nuclear family is the patriarchal capitalist model *par excellence*, reducing the agency of its members, more specifically women and children, to a minimal oppressive unit, which in turn strengthens socio-economical dependency vis-à-vis a state government that does not respond effectively to its demands and needs.

The family in the form of a nuclear model, forms a sedentary line, because its meaning is institutionalized and its practices are both morally and legally circumscribed by the State. While both its moral and legal aspects are still the norm, the different ways of “Doing Family” corresponds to migrant and nomadic lines. The household members, the extended family and the chosen family involve singular individuals that affect one another in a deep and intimate manner. This engenders all sorts of becoming and particular positions, sometimes chosen, sometimes unpredictably or consciously imposed.

I will later turn to a section on Doing Family. I use the term doing, in order to highlight the ongoing process of making the family and the transversality of this entity with other affective aspects of the individuals involved in its development. I will conclude by reflecting on the theme and by presenting two examples of micro-political initiatives.

I. My Family

Bianca (Daruê Malungo)

In 2004, Bianca was thirteen years old, her older brother twenty-three and her younger one ten. Her mother was thirty-eight and lived with Bianca’s stepfather in another home, a few kilometres away from one of Bianca’s grandmother houses, where Bianca lived. Bianca’s stepfather fixed fans and her mother washed clothes and was formerly a domestic worker. They probably did not earn enough money to sustain Bianca and her younger brother. At thirteen Bianca had had a taste of what living on the street involved. She first told me that she went to sell candies at a particular street intersection, in front of the *Restauração* hospital. The street corner

she referred to, was one of the most 'dangerous', where people passing in their cars usually closed their windows out of fear of being robbed. It made her story of selling candy highly improbable. She probably begged for money. A few months later, she told me that she stopped working at that intersection, because her mother told her it was too dangerous and because she had started to go to school.

When we started to work together, Bianca did not go to school because there were no vacancies. She finally got entrance to a primary school, first with children of seven and finally in a class with ten-year-olds. At thirteen, Bianca could not read and write, due to frequent interruptions and problems in her personal life. Bianca was talking about boys and told me that her mother had forbidden her to go out with them, because she was too young. Discussing the three relationships she had had (we are talking in terms of a few weeks and even days), all the boys in question were involved in drug traffics.

Bianca's grandmother owned four houses and a parcel of land on the other side of a canal. The area is considered to be part of Pexinhos neighbourhood, according to the inhabitants of both Chão de Estrelas and the other side of the canal. The construction of all the houses was precarious and none had running water. It gave the impression of some prosperity due to the extent of land it covered. The day of my visit to Bianca's home, I met Pipoca, one of the monitors of Daruê, whom I informed that I was going to Bianca's home in the *boca de fumo*²⁵. I asked his opinion about going to the area. He replied that although it was dangerous, since I had nothing to do with traffic I could go there safely. The only potential problem would be getting caught in a police raid or a gangland killing. According to Pipoca it had been quiet lately in that area. I started to laugh and asked if lately meant since last week. He also smiled, saying that in earlier times there had not been as much violence as in recent years: "Now there can be three murders per weekend". I asked him if he knew whether many parents of the children going to the centre, were involved in dealing drugs. Pipoca answered that there was a time when there were far more than now. The monitors used to go to sleep in the children's homes when their parents were convicted.

It is exactly what happened to Bianca's grandmother. She was convicted for a few months during the period Christmas 2003 until Carnival 2004. In December 2003, the partner of Bianca's aunt was killed. The police tapped their phone and recorded a conversation between the grandmother and the drugs dealers. It is during that period that Bianca went to beg on the Restauração hospital corner. The grandmother was the only real source of income for around twelve individuals. During this period Bianca also had to stop coming to the Daruê, because the drug dealers had warned that any member of the family setting foot in Chão de Estrelas would be killed. In the two years prior to my encounter with Bianca, her three uncles had been killed. One of them had spent time in jail and another one dealt in weapons. As Vilma

²⁵ Place where the drugs are sold. It is interesting to note that *boca* means mouth, *fumo* means smoke and that a similar expression is used for the place where prostitution takes place: *boca do lixo*, with *lixo* meaning garbage, trash.

emphasized, everywhere where there is drug traffic one can also find arms traffic, as they go hand in hand. It was the only home where a monitor of the Daruê came along to accompany me.



Bianca My Family

Bianca's grandmother had lived in the area for twenty-three years. In one of the rooms of the first of their houses I had visited there was an altar with the photographs of her four dead sons and relics of Cosme and Damião, the children's Orixás protectors. She showed me the picture of the youngest one, who was killed five years ago at the age of sixteen.

Grandmother: All of them have been assassinated. They killed four of them.

N: How many are left?

Grandmother: Two. I say two because the son of the mother of Bianca is registered under my name and I have another son of thirty years old, still alive. He works for the City Hall and doesn't come here. He has four children.

N: Are you afraid of losing the ones that are left?

Grandmother: Of course I am.

N: Isn't it a lot of work to have all these houses?

Grandmother: Everybody in the family takes care of his own home. You know that you asked me about my fear; we never stay in the same house.

N: I understand, I understand.

Grandmother: No one knows where we are, you know.

Bianca's grandmother never explicitly mentioned drugs but it was tacitly understood that I knew. The last time we met at the beginning of September 2004, Bianca was very happy because her sister-in-law had given birth to "a beautiful dark skinned baby, just like my brother, not like my little cousin who is white like my sister-in-law". Bianca cleaned up the whole house in order for the sister-in-law and her new baby to arrive in a tidy home. Bianca was very proud of her initiative and liked her two nieces and sister-in-law very much. The last day I went to Daruê, Bianca was not there, because of a cyst in her groin that had kept her in bed. In the course of the months that we worked together, Bianca often arrived with a violent headache, which I believed was caused by hunger.

Life never seemed completely peaceful and I often witnessed her containing accumulated aggressiveness. One morning she told us that there had been a police raid the night before because of a stolen bicycle. She did not mention gunshots but every one in the group knew about the raid and Bianca told us that she hadn't been able to sleep all night. She would also often arrive saying that her mother or her grandmother were hospitalized, without knowing the reason. At other moments, her face would light up, for instance when she told about her grandmother's sixtieth birthday, sponsored by the lawyer that got her out of jail. All the members of her family and the neighbours were there to celebrate, and there were no fights between her uncles and aunts.

Dougla (Daruê Malungo)

I started to work with Dougla, age seven, because three children I was working with did not show up for weeks. Ana, the literacy monitor, told me that Aline had become Evangelist, Janaina and her sister had gone to the *Casa de Passagem*, where they would learn embroidery and would each be paid fifty reais per month. They would make a more active contribution to the household income without having to beg on the streets. Leonardo had moved to a distant neighbourhood.

The first day I worked with Dougla, Cláudio and Marcelino were also there and I asked them to draw their homes. Dougla told me that I already knew his home. I wondered why he said that. He replied that I had filmed it when I went to film Bianca's home. In fact, Dougla was Bianca's cousin and lived with his mother in the first home that I had filmed.

Dougla then asked me where I lived. I answered that I lived at the Encruzilhada. He then said that he had seen me at *Espinheiros*. I then wondered if it could have been on the *Rosa e Silva* street close to the *Clube Nautico* where I swam. Dougla confirmed that it was exactly there. He was on the other side of the street with his cousin, in a trailer pulled by a mule.

When Dougla said that he was with his cousin in a trailer, Marcelino immediately remarked that he picked up trash. Cláudio and Marcelino started to laugh. Dougla looked ashamed but I warmly told him that I would look out for him from then on.



Douglas My Family

I always paid attention to the people approaching with a trailer but I never imagined the possibility of actually meeting someone I knew. I don't know if the reader can picture the Brazilian people that are involved in recycling trash? The poorest do this job. The recycling programs in Brazil don't work and as a result, poor people build trailer-carts with recycled wood and tires that are pushed by animal or human force. You meet, men on their own, couples, women on their own, a few children together. They open the garbage bags and remove the paper, bottles, cans, plastic and wood, and sell it to industries that pay very little for a large amount.

The middle class, seeing these people opening their garbage bags or taking them and opening them at the rubbish dump and leaving the rest of the garbage on the spot, did not respond by separating their household waste into different bags. Or if they considered doing so, too few actually did it. Douglas's cousin gave him five reais for one recycling round and Douglas passed on the money to his grandmother. At one point, Bianca's stepfather, who owns the mule, decided to sell it. Douglas and his cousin were now walking with the trailer. They would come back home around nine o'clock at night.

Douglas probably started to recycle with his cousin (Bianca's older brother) when his grandmother was in jail. Bianca would not admit that she didn't have enough to eat and that this was the reason why she was begging on a street intersection. Douglas on the other hand, remembered this period of three months as one of hunger. The whole family lived together, but both Bianca and Douglas referred to their grandmother as being the one taking care of them. Obviously she took care of them all, while at the same time putting their lives greatly in danger. The partner of Douglas's mother was currently in jail and Douglas said that this person was not his father, which means that all the adults of the family were involved in the traffic in drugs and arms.

Both Douglas and Bianca were very tense children and very moody as well. One day Douglas arrived in the room looking very tired and sad. When I asked him how he was, he replied that everything was all right, but spent many minutes with a far-away look in his eyes. On another occasion he came in, very nervous and tried to complete

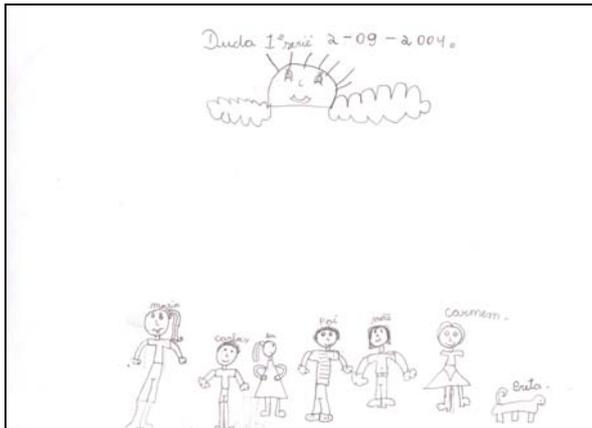
his drawing as fast as possible, ending up by changing many things and calming down at the same time. It was the day I asked the children to draw the house of their dreams. The children were viewing each other's drawings and adding elements of their colleagues' drawings to their own. Bianca added buildings after observing Aline's drawing. Dougla added windows after looking at Bianca's drawing.

When a fight divided the group in two, Dougla insulted Willyane's mother. Willyane responded by saying she would come with her mother the next morning to see if he would repeat the same thing. She then reminded Dougla that he lived on the other side of the favela, which meant that he was more marginal. It was a supreme insult. I told them that this kind of discussion was going to lead nowhere and that it was better to talk about something else. They stopped because Dougla finished his drawing and started to play the drum, while the others tried to discover what rhythm he was playing.

Maria-Eduarda -Duda (Arco-Íris)

For every theme, we had various discussions and when it came to the drawing of the family, I told the children that I wanted them to draw their family, but that they had to feel free to include everyone they loved, who was part of their every day life and who took care of them. Duda drew her brother, her mother, her father, Maria the domestic, Preta her dog and Beatriz, her aunt and godmother who was also a hairdresser. Duda started to talk about her godmother, the hairdresser, and stood up to show us how she walked with a posture putting the accent on her bottom. She ended up by saying that in fact she could not say anything, because she spent a lot of time in front of the mirror herself. Bruna and Luana admitted that they did so as well. They talked about going out and wearing lipstick – one should keep in mind that they were only seven years old.

Duda was the only one of my group, and I believe of her class, whose mother was a businesswoman. She owned a mini-market in the Várzea. She lost her father when she was fifteen and, as the only child, she had to decide whether to go to university or take over her father's business and help to support her mother. She decided for the latter and claimed that she loved her work. It was a bit complicated, because her husband worked more during the weekends and holidays. He owned a small restaurant that sold fried chicken. He always helped out when he was not working, or she would go and spent the day with friends and children at his restaurant. They met at home at night.



Duda My Family

The night of my visit to Duda's home, Olga her mother, picked me up in a pizzeria close to her mini-market. When we arrived, Olga asked Duda's brother about his sister. He answered that she was in the party room and went to call her. When we entered their apartment, Olga's husband locked himself in their bedroom and did not reappear during my visit. Olga explained that her husband had the flu and when he was sick he acted like a child. We both rolled our eyes at the same time and started to laugh.

I started to film and Olga explained that before moving to this condominium, they had lived in front of her mini-market, but at one point she started to think about all these stories of child kidnapping and ransom. People saw her children crossing the street many times a day. It was reminiscent of Duda's definition of the favela: "A strange place where thieves live and where I send toys for Christmas".

Another problem were customers who called her at home late at night to ask her if she could sell them more alcohol. She decided to separate work and home in order to protect her children. And so they moved to an apartment in the *Madalena* neighbourhood. However, the children did not have anywhere to play outside the building, so they decided to sublet the apartment and moved to this condominium, close to her work and the children's school. The children had a swimming pool and a party room to play in.

Olga's son, two years older than Duda, developed a tumour in the intestine shortly after he was born and it cost five years of struggle before he was out of danger. "I don't wish this to anyone. It has been very difficult. Our lives were completely focused on him. Duda is the light of our family; when she is not around, every one is depressed. It is Beatriz, Duda's godmother, who took care of her during the first years of her life. I remember that at one point, my son told me that he was all right at the hospital and that I should go to take care of his little sister who needed me as well".

Duda remained very close to Beatriz and they often went on holidays together. Olga's husband, always worked during national holidays and school holidays; she went to the beach with them and usually Beatriz went with them.

In Duda's family, as in the family of most of the visited children, the parents (usually the mother) talked openly about the child – in positive as well as negative terms. Usually, the child stayed passive and did not try to defend him/herself. They also talked about other people, about their financial and general life conditions. In the case of Duda's family it was no different, but both herself and her brother would add comments, correct their mother, remember details, introduce another subject of discussion and were allowed to continue talking about the subject as long as in Olga's opinion, they contributed to the discussion. The children's opinion had the same weight as that of an adult; they really deserved it. At times, the children's remarks were even brilliant.

When we met, most of the time Duda was in good spirits, but she could also have aggressive outbursts or be unmotivated when drawing. When for instance I asked them to draw their home, she refused to draw all the buildings of her condominium. Another time she bit the arm of Luana without any particular reason and kept on harassing her for some time. But usually, Duda was very sensitive and already had a wide vocabulary to express her feelings. She was one of the children who were able to describe with abundant detail what friendship meant for her and what made someone her best friend.

Camila (Arco-Iris)

Of all the children I worked with, Camila was the only one that did not draw any of the members of her family. She was not feeling quite herself on that occasion and I had great difficulty getting her to tell anything. First I asked her why she had not drawn her family. She replied that we could not see them because they were inside the apartment building. It took me several meetings with Camila before discovering her real personality. At first I thought that Bruna was bossing her around, but in fact Camila did defend her ideas. Sometimes Camila felt very much at ease and spoke a lot. On other occasions, she would be totally silent, wishing to be ignored by the rest of the world. Other times, she would pair up with one of the girls and follow in her wake.

She would also come up with her own stories, but the day this happened, Pedro and Amadeu, who were working with us, caused her to back off. They did not enter in her fantasy and only took notice of her again when she started to talk about a movie that they all had seen. I venture to suggest that the reason for neglecting her was because she was a girl; if, it had been Pedro inventing something, everyone would have pay attention and find it funny. It was only Camila, she was alone with two boys and they considered her fantasy as something "crazy", not as something creative.

Because Camila's parents were separated, I asked her if she often saw her father. She saw him more or less every weekend. He was very present in his children's life and took part in the school's events and activities. Camila had a brother of one year older, Ivo, who also frequented Arco-Iris. Joana, her teacher, appeared to put a lot of pressure on her, insisting that she was slow and she was lagging behind. Joana complained that she always needed to explain things to Camila in particular. The year 2004 was probably a difficult one for Camila: she had to deal with her parent's separation and a teacher that did not believe in her intellectual capacities.

I went to visit Camila at the end of a Sunday afternoon. Her mother Sara, picked me up by car at Luana's home. The mother was together with Camila at the university all day. She mentioned that she graduated in Veterinary Studies and had done her Master's in Parasitology. She was currently doing her Ph.D. at the Federal University, studying an insect-born disease that attacked vital organs and was fatal for human beings if not treated on time. She was working to try to find a protein that could combat this parasite in the form of an injection. Sara is from Paraiba state and when she earned her Ph.D. in Recife she would have to go back to work for the institute that was financing her studies.

At Camila's home, after she had finished showing me around, we sat with her mother at the dining table. Sara asked me how it was to work with children. I told her that I was amazed at how strong children are and about their incredible capacity to adapt to difficult situations. They expressed themselves in philosophical terms on these difficult situations. Sara replied: "Often parents hide things from their children, while thinking they would protect them in doing so and that what they don't know, will not hurt them. But children sense these things and the situation is worse than if we had explained things to them beforehand. I split with my husband when I came to live here. I got money to study in Recife and my husband stayed in Rio de Janeiro. Now he has come to live here in Recife. We wanted to hide our separation from the children, but we saw that it did more harm to them. Camila adapted well to the new situation but Ivo did not. The psychologist at the school recommended that we start a therapy, but after four months, she told us that it was better to stop, because the treatment gave Ivo the feeling that he was different from the others".



Camila My Family

Ivo seemed to be a person who expressed his feelings more easily. My impression was that Camila adapted well to her new family situation. She might not express it as her brother did, but she tried to make sense of her new life. Camila did not draw any member of her family at the time of the family drawing, because she did not know yet who she wanted to include or exclude in her family: Sara had a new boyfriend, Sara's sister lived in the same house and Camila's father was present as well as members of his own family. Sara's remark about the sensitivity of children when something was being hidden from them seemed an important insight.

One of the consequences may be that the child feels betrayed by his/her parents. They are the first ones, after their parents, who are going to have to adapt to a new life situation. It appears to them that the parents do not trust them enough to tell them the truth. Sensing that your parents are lying to you is certainly not a good experience, and can put into question how trustworthy they actually are. Camila appeared to be engaged in thinking about adults and had probably experienced her first disillusion regarding their perfection.

Tayna (Magalhães Bastos)

After the second meeting with Tayna, I thought about asking Regane, her teacher, if I could work with another girl. Tayna was not interested at all in working with me and furthermore had an aggressive demeanour. Regane told me that Célia, Tayna's mother, had called her to say that her daughter always came home with nothing written in her schoolbooks. This was the reason why Tayna was repeating her first grade. Her mother called me the week she received my letter explaining the research. What she told me shed new light for me on Tayna and her behaviour.

For the last eight years, Célia had been a cook in a college, while her husband had been unemployed. Previously he worked for construction companies but he now suffered a hernia. He could no longer continue to work because his doctor did not authorize it. Célia's husband could have worked as a night watchman on the construction site, but they were now thinking about something else for him to do. Célia was not Tayna's biological mother. The latter had died of a heart attack at the age of twenty-one, when Tayna was thirteen months old. Célia's husband, who was the brother of Tayna's mother, took her in. Célia subsequently gave birth to two boys.

Tayna had a thirteen year-old blood brother, a sister of nine and another of eight who lived with her grandmother (the mother of Tayna's biological father) in a village. They often went there with Tayna in order to meet her siblings. They did not hide the fact from Tayna that her biological mother had died. Tayna's father beat her a lot and it was very fortunate that Tayna could leave this environment. Three months earlier, Tayna's biological father had been murdered and she had not been back there ever since. Her foster mother claimed that although they were poor, they wanted to give Tayna the best.

When we talked about the family, Tayna first told me that she had no siblings and I had to tell her that her mother had informed me that she had two brothers. It turned out to be that she did not consider her blood brother and sisters because she interacted so little with them.

Tayna: Then my aunt came over with my mother and asked: Why are there so many people in this world? Can it be? I don't know. Then she took me aside and told me the story of Cinderella.

N: Really? How does your story of Cinderella go?

Tayna: Cinderella came with her boyfriend and they were living in castle. So the mother of Cinderella left her with her boyfriend and with her father. Then the father of Cinderella died. And Cinderella stayed without her father. And then it is the end of the story.

After I talked with her mother, Tayna became much more receptive towards me and more motivated to participate in the activities. A few times she helped me to tidy up the room with Leticia after we had finished working. The same did not hold true for Tayna's relationship with her teacher Regane. One day Regane asked the children to stand up and sing the song they were practicing for a festivity. While the rest of the children started singing, Tayna remained seated. Regane asked me if I didn't find her rebellious. I did, but in my view, it was not necessarily negative. Another time she gave her teacher the finger. Regane insisted she apologise but Tayna refused to do so. Regane maintained that she was an angry girl that did whatever she liked, without respect for anyone. However, when we came back from holidays, Regane was very happy to inform me that even though she thought that Tayna was a lost cause, she was back on the right track.



Tayna My Family

Tayna's house was located close to the Arco-Íris. Their home was at the end of an alley and was very modest. Célia started to talk about her youngest son Joaquim. She told me that he lost all his hair, eyebrows and eyelashes when he started going to the day-care centre. As in the case of Irene (Vitor's mother (MB)), Célia was going to have her tubes tied and learned that she was pregnant. She did not want another child and prayed to have a miscarriage or a stillborn child. She thought it was the

reason why Joaquim had been afflicted with his condition. She started to consult a psychologist recommended to her by the people at the day-care centre. At first, she had hoped to resolve Joaquim's problem with these visits, but she admitted that it helped herself a lot too. Joaquim really liked to visit the psychologist and felt at ease during the sessions. His hair had started to grow again.

During her pregnancy, her husband had been angry with Célia, arguing that it was her fault and providing no support whatsoever. However, when his son was born, his attitude changed completely because he believed the child was an exact copy of him. Joaquim was born with two hernias just like the father. Joaquim was operated on it right away. Célia thought it would be important for her husband to see a psychologist because she found his relationship with Joaquim very unhealthy. However, Célia's husband resisted going to the psychologist and didn't want to hear about it at all. Her husband fulfilled Joaquim's every demand, while Célia had no authority over him. If Joaquim asked her something and she refused, he would subsequently ask his father, who give him whatever he asked for. Joaquim also slept with his parents because there was no other space.

Célia told me that they had moved into this new house two months before, and that although she was now broke, at least the home was hers. The house was built on squatted land but she was not too worried about being expelled, since a decade had already passed. She dealt with everything step by step: putting a new roof and taking care of the problem of water supply. Célia had constructed a network of people who provided food and services for her and her family; it seemed like the family was looking forward to better days.

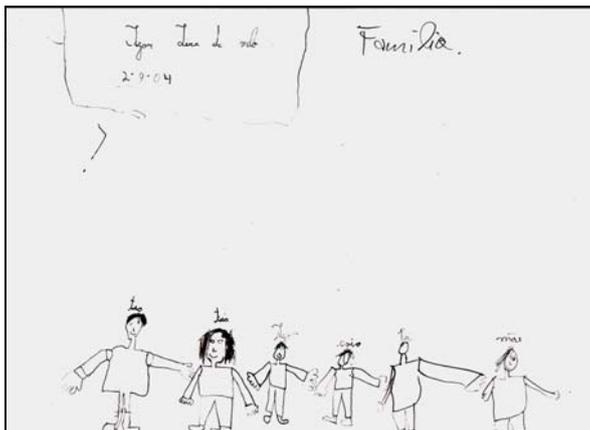
Igor (Arco-Íris)

Igor was the most hyperactive of the group and liked to call attention to himself through all sorts of antics. Because of his attitude, I wondered with whom I should team him up, in order to be less occupied with him myself. Putting Igor and Pedro together led to pandemonium, and I worried whether he would not start messing everything up if teamed up with the girls. But it turned out otherwise. It was always easier to contain Igor when there were only the two of us. It seemed that a busier social environment triggered his destructive tendencies. On these quieter occasions he would be more communicative and willing to tell me about his life and his ideas. He also assumed a calmer attitude when we worked together with Camila. He was the most popular boy with the girls and what ever he came up with made most of them laugh or join in his game. Luana was the girl who expressed her fascination most strongly and Igor always tried to push his luck a bit further, discovering his boundaries.

However, Igor's best girl friends were Camila, who was the most quiet about her love towards him, and Maria-Emilia from his class. Igor could also describe well the reasons why he preferred to play with some children more than others. Jaddy and Pedro Enrique were the two boys he saw most outside school and whom he considered his best friends.

It took me some time to realise that Leila, who worked in the library at Arco-Íris, was Igor's mother. We always said hello to each other but she never told me that Igor was her son. Leila's family came from the *Serra* and Igor often went to visit them. He only had an uncle and aunt living in Recife, while the rest of the family lived there. He met all his cousins in the *Serra* and his visits gave him the opportunity to be in a different environment.

The day of my visit, I called Leila before leaving my house. She was at the psychologist's office but thought she could make it to her home at 7 PM. I arrived before her, and her husband, who was not expecting me and did not know who I was, waited some time before letting me in. Leila's husband invited me to sit down in the living room. We did not exchange a single word. Leila arrived twenty minutes later with Igor and Diogo, Igor's older brother. Both were happy to show me around while I was filming. Igor showed me each room and Diogo added details to Igor's descriptions.



Igor My Family

When we finished, Leila invited me to have a coffee. I took a discreet attitude towards Igor's parents. I did not want to force anything. Leila complained that it was one of those days when nothing works out.

I asked her whether her children went to therapy. She informed that in the beginning her eldest son Diogo had therapy but now it was herself. Leila told me that Diogo had taken Igor's birth badly, and felt envy and jealousy towards his brother. To emphasize this, she pointed out that when Igor played piano, Diogo immediately wanted to show me something at the same time. Leila had to tell Diogo that I was working with Igor.

She remembered that after Igor's birth, while she was in the maternity room, Diogo came to see her and asked her to come back home to sing his song before bedtime, because otherwise he could not sleep. She answered him that she could not go. While telling this, she started to cry and excused herself by saying that it was

the psychologist's session that had left her so emotional. She would like to find the strength with her husband to change things but they had not found it yet. Leila seemed on the verge of a nervous breakdown that day.

II. The Different Forms of Power Relation, over the Family – and over Children

Along with legislation, the history of mentalities shows the existence of a transformative regime relating to feelings, habits and everyday organisation. The modern feeling of family “presumably” emerged in the bourgeois and noble strata of the Ancien Régime and multiplied by concentric circles in all social classes, including the working class by the end of the nineteenth century. Donzelot (1977) in his work *La Police des Familles* looks at the bourgeois family and the different concentric circles that surround the worker family one by one. Gilles Deleuze (1977), who wrote the postscript to the book, described Donzelot's strategy as the successive or simultaneous extrication of small pure lines of analysis, each acting in order to form a contour, a new field around the idea of the family and the actors that were chosen to define it. Donzelot's studies of the history of mentalities or communities of discourse in France, from the eighteenth century onwards, resemble Somerville's (1992, 2000) account of England at that time. Many historical parallels can be drawn with the ideas held in Brazilian society regarding childhood and the nuclear family from the beginning of the Republic to this day.

The middle of the eighteenth century first saw the arrival of serious literature on children preservation. It was the medical profession that initially identified three educational practices that contribute to the impoverishment of the nation and the weakening of its elite: the treatment of orphans, the rearing of children by domestic nannies and the ‘artificial’ education of rich children (Donzelot, 1977:15). From the one end of society – the poor population – the accusations were concerned with the *social economy*, from the other end – the rich – with the *economy of the body*. The prime focus was on the child: what kind of games was he/she playing, what stories was he/she being told, how was his/her day schedule organized, did he/she have a space of his/her own and was he/she well supervised by the mother (Donzelot, 1977).

Similarly in Britain (Clarke, 1985), the drive to institutionalize infant education in the early 1800s was vindicated by the idea that education formed the solution to the social and political threats to the ruling class posed by the concentration of large numbers of working-class people in the rapidly expanding cities of the early nineteenth century and the political autonomy of this new proletariat. This coincided with the ghettoization of the woman's role within the realm of the domestic, documented by Hall (1985) – that is to say: the private space of home, where the child was also to be confined.

By the end of the eighteenth century, women had acquired a new social status thanks to the discourses of the medical profession aimed at developing the authority of the mother within the household. Rousseau's (1762) ideas about women education were consolidated.

Paternal authority was displaced, and although the state would soon recapture it for itself, for the moment women 'won' a 'civil status'. As for the family, the system of arranged marriages led to all sorts of problems.

On the one hand, families had to deal with children born out of wedlock, which threatened the honour of the family, its reputation and standing. For the state on the other hand the main concern was the waste of these living forces, of these unused individuals. There was a momentary convergence between these two objectives when the state started to concentrate those individuals that were undesired by their families, an issue that soon expanded to that of the working class and the poor. According to Donzelot (1977:30), a development at the orphanages forms a prime example. The revolving counter was first employed in Rouen in 1758. Here the exchange took place in anonymity, with the mother laying the newborn baby on the revolving counter, with someone else picking it up on the other side. Very soon this gave rise to fraudulent practices. Poor families put their babies in the revolving counter and had it returned some days later together accompanied by state subsidies, as the biological mother adopted the role of wet nurse for the infant. In order to prevent such practices, the revolving counter was replaced by an open counter. This new strategy discouraged infant abandonment, and henceforth benefits were granted on the basis of an investigation of the mother's situation.

Social housing was first initiated in the middle of the nineteenth century. The key aspect here is that it was held that major changes will occur within the working class family through women. First, the working class women had to receive a proper education regarding hygiene, domestic and children care –Rousseau's ideas finally finding practical development. As Donzelot (1977:42) puts it, the woman was practically plucked from the convent so she could take the man out of the cabaret. She was given a weapon – social housing – as well as a set of instructions (keep strangers out, in order to put the husband – and more important, the children – in).

The development of the modern family focus on the educational primate was not formed by a slow propagation of a single family model going through all the social strata, following the logic of their strong or weak resistance towards modernity. There were at least two lines of movement that delineated neatly distinct educational developments and the discrepancy between their political is important enough to give them the form of an inverse symmetry (Donzelot, 1977:46).

More significant was the different tactic positions in which the bourgeois woman and the working class woman found themselves. By the revaluation of the educational tasks, a new continuity was established for the bourgeois woman between her family activities and her social persona. She could simultaneously support the transmission of the patrimony inside the family and serve as an instrument of cultural radiance in the world without (Donzelot, 1977:47). For example, the bourgeois woman joined philanthropic societies and associations for the protection of children and the education of the female working class. The working class woman however, was guardian of the household, with no radiating role whatsoever: on the contrary, her mission was to enforce the social retraction of her husband and her children.

By the end of the nineteenth century a new philanthropic pole emerged surrounding the question of childhood: what potentially threatened it (childhood in danger) and what could make it threatening (dangerous childhood). The culture of children was seen as a rehearsal for adult life, and socialization was viewed as the process through which, by one method or another, children were made to conform, in cases of successful socialization, or become deviants, in cases of failed socialization (Shildkrout, 1978). This period saw the creation of re-educational facilities and the adjudication at juvenile court became an instance of magnanimous decision (the paternal authority was displaced in the hands of the judge).

The judge would soon be surrounded by a group of medico-psycho-pedagogy specialists. But problems arose because psychiatry, in its concern to couple school and family, presented only two alternatives: either the child was sick or the family was deficient (Donzelot, 1977). Or as Mayall (1994) puts it, if children play truancy from school, or behave badly at school, the educational psychologist is called in to help; the school, as an institution designed for children, cannot be in question, so there must be something wrong psychologically with the child. This is the point where psychoanalysis enters the picture.

By the 1930s, one of the main questions that psychologists were dealing with was which reasons underlie a child's resistance to social integration. The answer was found in his/her relation to his/her family. Here is one example of the psychoanalytical method of investigation and interpretation of children's family relations through drawings. You take a child between the ages of 8 to 15 from a re-education centre and give him/her a white piece of paper, coloured pencils and a black pen. The premise is that in the case of a 'normal' family, the characters are distributed on two horizontal ranks, the superior (the parents) and the inferior (the children). The figures are drawn in symmetry, with colours serving to mark the distinct attributes and strong and weak polarities. So, if a child localizes all the family members on the same line, one can already call the quality of the family structure into question. If the child forgets one of the members, you know that he/she has a relational problem with this person, and so forth.

As James, et al. (1998) point out, the increasing influence of Freudian psychoanalysis in contemporary thought has led to a new form of causality: the explanation, and in many cases the blame, for aberrant adult behaviour lies in childhood. The psychoanalysis is a complete machine, an interpretative machine designed in advance to prevent people from talking. Its very leitmotiv is confrontational: "whatever you say, you mean something different". This in turn implies a power structure existing between the client and the analyst. The power structure occurs in the contract, a formidable liberal bourgeois institution. It leads to "transference" and culminates in the analyst's silence. And the silence of the analyst is the greatest and the worst of interpretations (Deleuze, 2002). Psychoanalysis will also bring forth sexuality, and by the 1960s, sexual education had become an important instrument in the education of young children in order to avoid unwelcome surprises in their teenage years. Within this model, childhood was once again dispossessed, a mere vocabulary of drives and instincts, with sexuality becoming the prime dimension in the development of self and amnesia emerging as the key to successful socialization (James et al, 1998).

Finally since the 1970s, the advanced liberal family focus on the revaluation of the person, her/his development in her/his somatic integrity outside the traditional roles and the reintegration of sexuality at all levels of everyday life generated, in the words of Simone Iff (1975) and Michel Foucault (1976), the sexualization of society.

However, under the powerful influence of psychoanalysis, the study of child development also accords children agency, although it offers little analysis of the conditions under which it is engendered. For, within this paradigm, the opportunities and constraints of gender, class, race, culture and ethnicity are context- rather than person-centred and therefore excluded from the frame of inquiry (Brannen, 1999:146).

In the section on Children in Brazil, I dwelt upon children's historical trajectory within the modern institutional formation. After the abolition of slavery, the former black slaves were incorporated within the poor segment of Brazilian society. Where psychoanalysis targets the bourgeois family, the psycho-pedagogical sector has invested in both private and public schools. The underlying idea is to supervise the children's liberty and keep them in spaces of heightened surveillance: the school and the family household.

III. Doing Families

For the poorest segment of the Brazilian population, a single minimum salary does not cover the total expenses of even one family member. Dual-income households are the norm, with the majority of the poor earning their income in the informal economy. This does not, however, stop the State from propagating birth control and the nuclear family model. For Donzelot (1977), Clarke (1985), Hall (1985) and Somerville (2000), the propagation of the liberal family or nuclear family worked in concert with the liberal State's agenda regarding the employment of human capital and its aim to exert a more direct control over the country's children and the familys' social and body economies.

The policies and laws that deal with state benefits and social housing are often based on a specific family set-up, and many Western countries have not amended these laws so that they can also include other family arrangements. I will now discuss the interplay between the nuclear family as an institution and the reality of alternatively composed families, which often pay a high price for deviating from the norm.

Politicians, researchers and the media tend to define the traditional family as a white, biologically related nuclear family with children, headed by heterosexual couple, in which the father is the breadwinner and the mother a fulltime caretaker (White and Woollett, 1992; Fine, 1993; Silva and Smart, 1999). Monotropism has certainly been the normal pattern in Western society although it does underestimate the role of fathers and other members of the family as primary care-givers (Osborn et al., 1984). Monotropism is also adopted in societies that emphasize maternal care in a nuclear family (Woodhead, 1990).

In Western societies and in many big cities of developing countries financial co-resourcing, or dual-earner households are becoming increasingly prevalent (Irwin, 1999). In practice, this means that women have gained some financial power and that they have an increased presence on the labour market. However, there is still a discrepancy between the salaries of male and female employees, and women are more likely to perform jobs that do not give much personal satisfaction. Although men contribute more to the household, they have not surrendered the role of breadwinner (Arber and Ginn, 1991). Consciousness, says Beck (1992), has rushed ahead of conditions.

In their theories about mothering, Chodorow (1989, 1992) as well as Gilligan (1982) suggest that female forms of being can provide a model for society superior to the traditional male formats. Both seek to explain the differences between women and men, which they take as given (Oakley, 1997). It is dubious to imply, as Chodorow and Gilligan do to a large extent, that women around the world all share these same characteristics. Questioning Chodorow's theory, Duindam (1995) rightly asks how it is possible to relate her ideas regarding mothering to women whose lives are not predominantly focused on household matters, or to men that are involved in all sorts of care tasks inside the home.

Basing their comments on empirical research conducted with children living in dual-earner households, Lewis, Sixsmith and Kagan (1996) inferred from the children's responses that the fulltime presence of mother at home is not a prerequisite for positive mothering. Part of the reason why children do not feel deprived by the absence of their parents, is that they think of their family in wider terms than just their mother and father.

As Alderson (1994) rightly puts it, Chodorow's and Gilligan's analysis illustrates how researchers' basic assumptions can crucially influence the analysis of their data. In these cases, the traditional nuclear family is adopted without any questioning, as the unshakeable basis of analysis. In much the same way, governments can create particular policies and laws. In the case of divorce, these policies and laws greatly complicate arrangements between ex-partners regarding the care of their children.

IV. Gender Categories that Bind the Nuclear Family Logic Together

Looking at traditional family arrangements in Britain, Smart (1999) shows that in the case of divorce, the problem for the father lays in winning the support of his ex-partner in forming and developing a direct relationship with his children. In this process, the father receives extensive support from the Children Act mediation service. As the primary breadwinner, the man has to find a way to reorganize his work schedule or arrange a broader social network in order to be more available for his children's needs. To some extent, this situation can also be seen in Brazil when considering the prevalence of 'no order' parental arrangements following a divorce. The problem also arises in cases where the father is present after the separation. The work of the Instituto Papai, a micro-political initiative in Recife, focuses on the education of young fathers with respect to their roles and responsibilities as father. The organisation's goal is to get men more involved in raising their children. In a patriarchal society like Brazil,

which is dominated by a macho philosophy, new ideas, values and practices take time to find their way into everyday life.

For the mother, the problems are of a different order. She must give up her 'special relationship' with the children (for their sake) and her status as a primary caregiver. But she must also adapt her status as a dependant, earn enough money to support herself and (in part) the children, accrue benefits against the exigencies of illness and old age, and become autonomous, self-sufficient and self-confident (Smart, 1999:112).

It appears clearly here that even though most of the policies take the nuclear family as the basis for decisions and rules, in cases of separation and divorce, men and women should free themselves of the gender characteristics that have defined their relationship all along. As Dunne (1999) states, we *do* rather than *have* gender. In other words, action is constrained because it is subject to evaluation on the basis of how far it 'measures up' to the gender criteria specific to a particular social setting within which laws and policies take effect (Fenstermaker et al., 1991).

For Connell (1987), the doing of gender must always involve the affirmation of gender difference, and failure to do this can bring censure and may expose the overlapping nature of gender and sexuality. "Real" women and "real" men are always heterosexual. For in fact, sexuality and gender come together in various heavily overlapping areas. They interact to (1) shape gender relations, by constructing the conditions by which men and women can relate across gender boundaries, and (2) police the content of masculinities and femininities (Dunne, 1999:70). The extent to which individuals can cross gender boundaries is further limited by the way that gendered territories give rise to gendered cultures.

Recognition of the fluidity of and overlap between gender categories threatens the logic of difference, and the *raison d'être* for compulsory heterosexuality coupling (Dunne 1999). Among the Brazilian poor (but in other segments of the population as well), especially among those who for various motives did not attend school for a substantial period of time (although lack of education is not the sole reason for their way of thinking), gendered territories and cultures represent how one develops as a male or female. There is no need to look beyond, as it is rooted in biology.

As Morris (1992) points out, discussions in the literature tend to focus on negative aspects of separated family life. Images of impoverished, struggling and unhappy children continue to be familiar representations in the media. Again, the rhetoric concerning children's lack of a father (in most cases) or mother figure and 'right gender role model' states a clear preference for the traditional heterosexual family arrangement. The dominant impression fostered by society regarding children living in split families forms an important aspect of their experience, and ill-informed or unrealistic ideas about the nature of children's participation in decisions concerning their well-being have the same effect (Moore and Beazley, 1996).

The family was an important theme for the children I worked with in Recife. The wide variety of family arrangements I came across were far removed from the nuclear ideal.

However, of the twenty-one children I worked with, none had same-sex parents, while previous research shows that this arrangement can also be found. I will include same-sex households in the variety of possibilities described below, as such arrangements are clearly another option in doing family.

V. Doing Family Differently from the Dominant Nuclear Family Model

Single mothers and gay/lesbian couples do not, by definition, constitute strong families in the heterosexual rhetoric. It is important to acknowledge a multiplicity of family formats and to try to represent their complex landscape in order to break with the political discourses engendered by liberal society. Family is viewed here as a set of practices in which social class, gender, sexuality, age and ethnicity no longer operate as inevitable or one-dimensional pre-determining aspects: individuals *do* family. Families exist and operate within their own context of socially constructed meanings. Each family is an integral whole, with its own culture, value systems and so forth or, as Donzelot (1977) remarks, the family is the smallest political unit one encounters.

Families are political in the sense that certain members review, judge, formulate codes of conduct, make decisions and impose sanctions that evaluate and have an impact on the actions, conditions, thoughts and feelings of other members. Such administration of power is characteristic of families everywhere and may occur wherever family members interact (Ochs and Taylor, 1992).

Following Morgan's (1999) arguments, practices have to be viewed as an interplay between the perspectives of the social actor – the individual whose actions are being described and accounted for – and the perspectives of the observer. Practice also conveys a sense of activity rather than passivity or static and focuses on the everyday. It is often in the routine or the trivial that some of the wider concerns are understood or constructed. Therefore there is an emphasis on regularities. But practices, routinely, do not have boundaries and we can add a sense of fluidity to them. Finally, practices present interplay between history and biography.

According to Morgan (1999), the practices that construct the family – doing family – involve three sets of agencies. In the first place, there are the social actors themselves – the parents, spouses, kin, children – who see their activities, individually and collectively, as having something to do with family. In the second place there are more abstract agencies such as professionals, writers of advice columns, people who frame or enact legislation, feminist and other critics, religious leaders and so on. These agencies work in a binary mode, making the distinction between family and non-family, between true and false or between functional and dysfunctional families. Finally, there is another important factor to be acknowledged: the researcher's own social constructionist ideas regarding family. This last agent has to recognize his/her own position vis-à-vis the family and consciously reflect on his/her data collection methods and choices of description.

Continuing by moving beyond the heterosexual focus that dominates empirical research on gender, work and family life (Blumstein and Schwartz, 1985; VanEvery, 1995; for rare exceptions), we arrive in the position to assess the importance of heterosexuality itself in strengthening the *status quo* (Dunne, 1997a). Dunne (1999) took the challenge and did a study in London, England, drawing on the experience of thirty-seven cohabiting lesbian couples with dependent children (mostly in the pre-school age group).

Many of these women were formerly married to a man, with whom they had children. Some important conclusions have to be put forth. Speaking of their previous heterosexual relationship, most of the women emphasized their uneasiness regarding the domestic labour division, as well as gender inequality and oppression. One of the recurrent themes in this study was the commitment of both partners to avoid traditional heterosexual stereotypes being reproduced in their own relationship. For instance, the one partner's career did not take priority over the other's. Most of the women worked in part-time employment in order to allow for more time spent with their children. For the partners, caring for children was important, demanding and pleasurable work. One important aspect regarding paid jobs was the flexibility of both partners to reduce hours for the one having the higher salary or for partners to take turns in developing paid employment opportunities.

For the lesbian couples of this study, have a relationship with a woman allowed them to come closer to a more egalitarian ideal, specifically with respect to the balance of power. Both partners were involved in working on the maintenance of this balance of power and entered into regular communication and negotiation. According to Dunne (1999), the relations between the women she interviewed were in many ways different to those of heterosexual women. In her study, she does not however specify in what other ways they differed, besides better negotiations surrounding gender definitions of femininity and masculinity. She concludes with some important arguments, which encapsulate some of the criticism of the second feminist movement:

Of course the idea of a passion for "sameness" is in many ways fallacious. First, women are different from each other in all sorts of important respects (e.g., autobiography, class, ethnicity, education, employment status, income, age, degree of able-bodiedness, looks, charisma, to name a few). However, I would argue, lesbianism is about a preference for negotiating (balancing, valuing, offsetting) differences within the solidarity that comes from experiencing the world as women (Dunne, 1999).

I had a very different experience while working with lesbian couples in a small village of the Brazilian littoral Northeast region (Prévost, 2001), where it was difficult enough to achieve basic survival. These couples were viewed as marginal figures by the other 'heterosexual' natives. I observed that the gender labour divisions were organized according to a more traditional heterosexual relationship arrangement. One of the two women would be the prime caretaker of the children and the household. In this sense, even if a certain number of these women were aware of alternative same-sex relationship practices, a large majority reproduced what they saw in the surrounding environment of heterosexual couples.

Class distinctions in Brazil involve a range of possibilities that are readily available for the middle class but not for the poor. In addition, these options are more readily available for the city-dwellers in the country's Southeast than for the population of the Northeast. Middle-class women with university diplomas and well-paid jobs tended to describe their relationship with their partner along the lines of Dunne (1999). Their ideas of a relationship conformed with the views described by Giddens. Affirmation through involvement in a democratic, egalitarian relationship appears to be the dominant homosexual norm, conforming closely to Giddens' definition of the "pure relationship":

... a situation where a social relation is entered into for its own sake, for what can be derived by each person from a sustained association with another; and which is continued only in so far as it is thought by both parties to deliver enough satisfaction for each individual to stay within it (Giddens, 1992:58).

I did not meet any middle-class couples with children living openly in a lesbian or gay relationship in Recife, as conservative attitudes towards sexual orientation are more widespread and oppressive here than in the Southeast. Many of my connections in the city were middle-class gays and lesbians, but none had children. In the period of a single generation, the possibility of leading an overtly lesbian or gay life changed significantly, with the construction of new spaces for everyday life (Bell and Valentine, 1995; Weeks, 1995), and the development of complex cultural patterns.

Such an argument mainly applies for Western societies and major cities around the world, where there is a real opportunity to live in anonymity, far away from the pressure of family and relatives. After having asserted the importance of sexual identity, it is vital to initiate new discourses relating to important new concerns such as parenting, particularly in light of the growing number of gay and lesbian parents who face problems in obtaining the same rights as heterosexual parents. For this reason, I will look at the various tendencies that set the gay and lesbian community of discourse apart from the heterosexual community.

In this research, I have dealt with the interactive grammar of the individual and its connections with institutions. As individuals combine to form families, I have also extended the concept to the family set-up. The individual family member's socio-economical class, race and sexual orientation influences his/her relationship with the institutional ideas of the family. As Plummer (1992) points out, the unprecedented public presence and volubility of lesbians and gays since the late 1960s is in itself an index of profound changes in the private existence of the non-heterosexual population. Sexual identities became the landmark of gay, lesbian and queer theories, where differences and distinctions between lesbian and gay identities appeared more marked.

According to Weeks, Donovan, and Heaphy (1999), since the early 1980s the discourse is not so much about sexuality and identity but has become more and more centred on relationships, friendships, experiences of intimacy and homosexual parenting, as well as partnership rights and marriage. This could be described as the development of a "relationship paradigm". While the differences between the gay and lesbian communities have now been made apparent, they still share common ground in their separate drives to legitimize their

rights. As the dominant cultural discourse is heterosexual, many rights are still denied to non-heterosexuals on account of their sexual orientation, which in itself constitutes a negation of their human rights.

The relationship, whether marital or non-marital, heterosexual or homosexual, becomes the defining element within the sphere of the intimate, which provides the framework for everyday life (Weeks et al., 1999). 'Family' is a strongly resonant term that embodies a variety of social, cultural, economic and symbolic meanings. In social policy discussions, however, it is conventionally used to denote relationships that involve the care of children (Weeks et al., 1999). But where the discussion is not informed by considerations of policy, the concept of family takes a variety of hues. Nardi (1992), for example, notes that friends can provide the sense of commitment and shared responsibility that is traditionally offered by consanguinity, in a "friends as family" model. Weeks et al. (1999) stress a limitation of choices depending on context. For example, they argue that it is easier to construct elective families in metropolitan centres than in rural areas.

The dichotomy rural/urban is often viewed as distinguishing few versus many life options, but life experience is far more complex in rural areas than the dichotomy seems to imply. It is undeniable that cities offer many more opportunities with respect to meeting a partner and that city-dwellers feel more freedom of action in constructing an alternative lifestyle. For Allen (1989) and Weston (1991), choices are contingent on many factors, constrained by the socio-economic cultural and historical contexts in which we live. The small Brazilian coastal town where I lived in 2001 was considered a place where many people had same-sex sexual relations; a few people openly adhering to this lifestyle and the majority living in a heterosexual partnership, with same-sex lovers on the side.

One of the first things that surprised me was the number of mothers who were single parent by choice, explaining that "men are useless" or "I have enough work with two children, I don't need a man on top of it all". Poverty was an important issue in this town and the level of education was very low, but the diversity of family arrangements testified to unbelievable creativity. The children played in the vicinity of their homes without much supervision from their mothers; we could these communities followed the 'neighbours as family' model. The children were taught to call all the adults 'aunt' and 'uncle' as a sign of respect. In turn, adults knew which child belonged to whom and took care of them if need be. For example, on the basis of cross-cultural evidence, one researcher concluded that infants generally seem able to form strong and secure relationships with up to five, possibly ten, 'caretakers' (P.K. Smith 1979, 1980). While the ideas of the neighbours regarding education may differ from those of the biological mother and all sorts of conflicts could arise, in the end there was always an adult around to care for a child.

VI. Reflections on Children's Family

What Family?

Since this research is about differences and becomings, or constant transformation, I had hoped to meet families that were different from the dominant family model adopted in the city of Recife. It is important to come into contact with people from as wide a range backgrounds, lifestyles and life aspirations as possible, in order to give a realistic portrayal of the multiplicity and work on the awareness of one and another's realities without immediately reverting to negative value judgements. The dominant family model is, in fact, only a concept, it does not exist in reality, and if it does, it is in a distorted version that is far removed from the ideal. However, this did not prevent children from thinking that the dominant family model was the best and expressing their desire to have a family like the ones in the storybooks or on television and in magazines.

For Moore, Sixsmith, and Knowles (1996), who worked with twenty children in England, it quickly became apparent that they could not say unequivocally what constituted a family or a home, and the wealth of variations that children described provided a fascinating insight into these two important concepts. What emerged from this study is that children's responses cannot be predicted. Living in a certain type of family does not imply a certain kind of childhood. In the end, the individual does play the most important role in accepting, rejecting, resisting, transforming, creating his/her own experience and perception of the world he/she lives in. As has been noted elsewhere, "there are many childhoods, and children too participate significantly in their making" (Alanen, 1992). Children's perceptions and definitions of family went beyond the boundaries of the household, to incorporate wider blood relationships, friendships and even pets. All the children had their own reasons for including particular individuals in their family, and for reflecting as they did on what 'family' meant to them (Moore, Sixsmith, & Knowles, 1996).

Two important findings have to be taken into consideration. Firstly, the nuclear family model formed the ideal for all the children I worked with. Irrespective of the subject's socio-economical class, the nuclear family is the first model that children presented as being their family organisation. On the one hand, the context of the research may have played a role in this response. They wanted to provide the foreign researcher the answer they assumed she wanted to hear. In addition, one can also see the Western body of thought surrounding the family being echoed here.

In this model, the functional family consists of a father as breadwinner, a mother as caretaker, and a brother or a sister. How deep is this model rooted in the children's mind and how does it affect them to live themselves in a family reality that is at odds with the concept of the nuclear family? From what I observed, having separated parents or an unknown father might eventually have deeper affective repercussions when set off against this idea of the nuclear family than if there was no such reference, or if the definition of the ideal family included a wider range of options. The ideal leads the child to take longer to realize that there might be other caretakers in his/her environment, such as grandparents, aunts, cousins,

neighbours, close family friends, domestics etc., who take a serious stance towards their adult role vis-à-vis the child, meaning that they are present and assume responsibility for him/her.

Secondly, I was surprised to find that the children I worked with did not consider it necessary to introduce me to their brothers, sisters and family. For instance, Cláudio's brother and sister also came to the Daruê. Wanderson's five sisters and brothers also attended, as did Marcelino's sister, Bianca's brother and Ricardo's sister. I ended up finding out about these relationships by talking with the person concerned or with other children or when I visited the children's homes. Maybe they thought I already knew? At the same time, most of the children did not spontaneously draw their siblings and I had to ask explicitly them if they had brothers and sisters.

One explanation is that the siblings were half-brothers and sisters, which complicated affairs for the child who initially wanted me to believe that he/she lived in a nuclear family. It might also take time before a child can accept that the siblings have a place as important as its own in the family. If viewing siblings as important family members was difficult, accepting not having a father was even more so. Fathers appeared in the drawings of children who didn't even know who their father was.

These children, aged between seven and thirteen, had difficulty understanding that their lives were probably better off without their fathers around. The fact that during all these years, these men had not give any sign of life serves as a good indication that these individuals did not feel responsible for the well-being of their offspring. It wasn't always the case in these single-parent families that the mother took her role seriously or had the capacity to act as a responsible person. Besides aspects of personality, extreme poverty tended to aggravate their situation even further, forcing these mothers to be the sole responsible adult with no choice but to take it on on her own.

With regard to the actual composition of the families, I wish to stress that I was primarily concerned with the quality of care that the children received from adults and caretakers and not with the household set-up *per se*. Having presented the family Fragmented Becoming narratives of six research collaborators, I can only conclude that the nuclear family model is deeply rooted in the children's minds, irrespective of their class or the fact that their own family does not correspond to the ideal. On the one hand, this circumstance serves as evidence of the asceticism and self-denial in the child's mind as inferred by the nuclear family institution. On the other hand, their Fragmented Becoming narratives show that for some children, in actuality their family meant other people than their biological parents and that more importance could be attached to their role.

VII. Micropolitical Initiatives

Sustainable Development and Biological Agriculture

Inalda, one of the coordinators of this project, had been an activist since the late 1960s, teaching pedagogy for two decades before starting to coordinate various projects involving children and teenagers. I accompanied her to the interior of Pernambuco, to a village named Gloria da Coroa Grande, in order to visit the place where she was currently working. It was a five-year project dealing with sustainable development, which involved three of the nearby rural municipalities. The team of professionals had mainly been working with teenagers aged 12 to 21, but was also active in the local primary schools.

The focus of the project had been on education and organic agriculture. Most of the land in the surrounding area could not be cultivated for years due to depletion caused by extensive sugar cane monoculture. In one primary school, the space surrounding the building has been transformed into a garden where the children learnt about agriculture and harvested produce throughout the year. The curriculum was modified to include more art courses, theatre, dancing and singing. As one teacher who worked in this primary school for the last twenty years put it: “the behaviour of the children has gone through an incredible change in terms of self-expression, communication, curiosity and motivation”. The teenagers are trained as leaders and professionals, from the consideration that it is through these youths that sustainable development can be realized for future generations. The relationship of these teenagers with their family improved significantly because the adolescents gained knowledge of new agricultural techniques, giving new hope to the parents that their children would be able to survive providing agricultural labour in the surrounding countryside.

Instituto Papai

The Instituto Papai (Father Institute) promotes training, research and social action with respect to issues revolving around health, gender relations, sexuality and reproduction. The Institute deals with a variety of organisations: poor municipalities, civil associations, research institutions, social development institutes and governmental organisations. More specifically, the institute endeavours to revise the macho model so prevalent in Brazilian society, as well as present processes of masculine socialization, with special emphasis on the participation of young men in the areas of health, sexuality and reproduction. The main areas in which the Institute is active are:

the development of conceptual and methodological alternatives for research and social intervention in the areas of gender, sexuality and reproduction;
contributing to the diffusion and implementation of feminist proposals for social justice and gender equality;
supporting improvements in general health care and the rights of teenagers and young people;
performing studies and research on men and concepts of masculinity, based on a gender perspective;

supporting young men, especially the youngest in impoverished situations.

The actions of the Institute's researchers and activists are motivated by their personal observation of the urgent need to involve young men in family processes, in order for them to create new reference models that have a positive influence on their self-esteem and sense of active participation and responsibility.

2.6 FRAGMENTED BECOMING: MY BEST FRIEND

Earlier in my dissertation, in the section on Experiment, I provided descriptions illustrating how children related to one another and defined certain of their relationships as friendships. Impulsiveness, spontaneity, affective intensity and fluidity characterized how children experimented with their mutual relationships. From an early age, parents, teachers and supervisors taught children that it is not good to bite, punch, pull one another's hair, throw objects, or push and slap another child. Rather, they asked the child to put in words what was the matter and call for the assistance of an adult. By the age of seven, the child should have learned to repress his/her incidental aggressive impulse to make short work of a schoolmate.

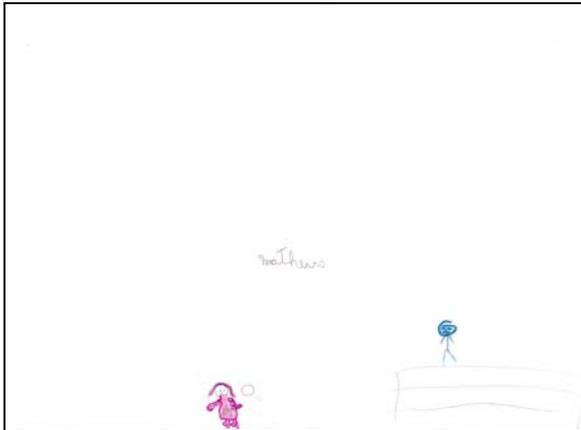
Some of the children I met loved to play at fighting, although this was a minority. Other slightly older pupils mastered flows of verbal insult that could rapidly escalate into physical aggression. The intensity of negative emotions and their release via physical expression provide a sense of relief, as well as a sense of power thanks to the adrenaline that is released in the bloodstream. The child needs to discover these sensations and ultimately transform them into something more constructive and controlled. Feelings of pain are also new sensations that need to be experienced in order to fully understand the potential menace of a physical attack.

Friendship for most of the children meant they played and interacted most with particular schoolmates. It was an important theme voiced by the children I worked with, but I believe that they did not have the philosophical apparatus to reflect any further on the topic. In addition, due to their age they did not have the opportunity to experience a relationship based on many years of close relation with another schoolmate. I will now turn to Fragmented Becoming narratives of four children where the theme of friendship is more prominent. I will then digress on the theme and present the importance of raising children's sensibility with respect to philosophical concepts. This will conclude the second part of the dissertation.

I. My Best Friend

Mateus (Magalhães Bastos)

I met Mateus the first time I encountered the children. He then did not show up for three consecutive weeks until the parents' meeting. I had talked about it with Regane his teacher and we agreed that I would work with another boy of her class instead. At the parents' meeting, Anita, Mateus' mother, made no attempt to explain her son's absence but agreed to receive me at her home. Mateus missed a few more times but we succeeded in meeting each other often enough for him to accomplish all the activities.



Mateus My Best Friend

Mateus was Acildo's friend but did not always take his side. Most of the time, it was Acildo that started to make negative comments about the drawings of his classmates. Mateus would eventually join in, but he never went as far as Acildo in terms of dirty words. It did not seem to be Mateus' style. Regane did not have anything to say about Mateus, even though he often missed classes; she thought that he was very intelligent and that he could read very well. I never saw Mateus sad or depressed. He was a little rowdy, more by proxy than of his own accord. I felt that his behaviour was inspired by peer pressure, in order for him conform to a boy's way of doing things. In fact, when Acildo moved to another neighbourhood and stopped attending school, Mateus started to strike up a friendship with Walln.

Many times I had to start working alone with Mateus, in order to pick up the tasks he had missed. It gave us the opportunity to get to know one another better. One time, I recorded a story and afterwards the rest of the group came into the room. I asked them to draw something they liked to do with their best friend. Mateus finished first and as Acildo was not with us anymore, he went to pick up a book, came back to sit at the table and started to read the story loudly for the others in the drawing group to hear. I missed Acildo, but at the same time his absence had enabled this event to take place. In the two schools and the centre I worked at, Mateus was the only child I observed taking this kind of initiative (taking a book and not being

ashamed of spontaneously reading aloud, thinking that it would please his colleagues to hear the story he was reading).

I asked Mateus how he felt, now that Acildo had moved away. Mateus was not sad and claimed that he would just play with his other friends. Walln was his new playmate, but his best friend was Suzanne. He met her in Ângela's classroom at the beginning of the school year, before moving to Regane's classroom. She did not live nearby, so they only saw each other at school. They always played together during the break. Mateus, though shy, acknowledged that he found her good-looking, but that the nice thing about her was that she was fun to play with. During the interview he could not remember what they talked about but he said he liked to discuss things with her.

For the theme of the home, Mateus decided to tell the story of the birthday of his cousin Andrea. While telling the story, he presented her as his sister, but I learned later that he was an only child. Our conversations were often confusing, as Mateus talked without giving much detail and as a consequence, I would not understand certain words or pieces of information. We would spend many minutes trying to understand each other. It gave way to outbursts of laughter. During that specific interview about his home, I asked him a lot of questions. I asked him whether his grandfather was there, as he had told me something about his grandmother. Mateus answered that his grandfather was there and to a question about his father, he answered that he was selling water on the street and therefore could not be present.

Actually I learned later on that his grandfather had died years before and that Mateus never saw his father. For a certain number of children with whom I worked it seemed difficult to admit that a person close to them was dead. It probably came from incomplete explanations by adults in the family with respect to the family member's death. Of all his cousins, Mateus was probably most intimate with the four-year-old Andrea, who was virtually a sister to him. As for his father and grandfather, one was symbolically dead and the other dead in real life. In this case, either Mateus did not wish to explain the situation to me, or he felt like adding a bit of masculine presence to a birthday party where he was the only male representative.

Mateus' home was the last one I visited. It took me some time to find the two-story green house. Mateus' female cousin, who was actually in the same classroom, recognized me from a distance and ran to meet me. We started to walk together and she pointed out Mateus, who was running towards us with a smile on his face. Mateus' cousin showed me the homes of other members of the family. When we arrived at Mateus' house, his mother was sitting in front of the door waiting for us. We entered the home through the kitchen where fruit and pans were laid out on the table. We went into the living room. I first asked her a few questions, although it was clear for her that I was there for the children.

She was separated from Mateus' father even before the birth of their son. His father did not make any financial contributions whatsoever to the household and did

not show any interest in meeting Mateus. Anita was unemployed and it was her mother who supported the household. When Anita's father died the house was paid for. Furthermore, he left his wife a pension and it appeared to be enough to meet the needs of a household of eight; three adult women, four small girls and Mateus. None of the fathers were part of the picture. Two of the small girls slept with the grandmother, the other children slept with their mothers.

Mateus and his cousin happily showed me around the house. When we had finished the tour, Mateus and his cousin walked with me to the end of the street. I embraced the children on the corner of the street and walked towards the bus stop.

Bruna (Arco-Íris)

Like Luana, Bruna was an only child, although she lived in a family arrangement closer to the nuclear family ideal. She was the most popular girl in class and was considered to be the most beautiful as well. She had strong leadership capacities and liked feeling in control. She would sometimes come to ask me with whom I had worked and when I was going to work with her. When she saw that I spent the same amount of time with all the children of the group, she stopped asking. Bruna practiced classical ballet for one year and also took swimming classes.

Bruna spoke rapidly and was nervous. The day of the self-portrait drawing, Bruna remonstrated that she did not know how to draw herself. She was used to drawing small, detailed images and having to draw her face made her very uncertain. To start with she drew her hairstyle differently to how she wore it that day. When she finished she found her drawing to be ugly and asked me if she could draw something else, to compensate.



Bruna My Best Friend

At Arco-Iris, I held individual interviews with the children on the friendship theme. The following week I asked the children to draw an activity that they enjoyed doing with their best friend. Bruna asked me if Duda had told me that she was her best friend. I said that she had, smiling to Duda, who was sitting beside her. Bruna affirmed

that it could not be otherwise, because Duda told her all her secrets and always asked her advice about everything she came across in her life.

Bruna asked me if she could draw more than one best friend. I replied that she could, but that the important thing was to draw the most special of them. Both Luana and Duda decided to draw more than one friend as well. Brunna had a lot of influence on the other girls, who respected her. For example, Luana and Duda could fight together and Camila and Luana could tease Igor, but they would never ask Brunna to get involved in this kind of activity. Duda then told her that she was the most beautiful of the girls and Luana and Amadeu confirmed it. Brunna wondered why this should be the case. Her reaction was interesting because she was probably not brought up in an atmosphere that recognized physical beauty as an important asset. Brunna did not appear to be aware of her beauty.

In fact, Brunna's best friends were both now going to other schools. So Brunna spoke in the past tense when referring to her best friends. She liked to play with Gisele and Adolfo. But, she had only been able to talk to Gisele twice since the beginning of the school year. She still considered her a friend, although they did not talk or play together. As for Adolfo, he was living in front of Pedro's house in Aldeia and Brunna said that it was too far for her to keep contact with him. Brunna was now playing with some other girls but did not refer to any of them as her best friends. She acknowledged that Duda considered her her best friend because she told her all her secrets.

Brunna lived with her parents in a rented house on the street connecting the Várzea Praça and the Federal University. Júlia and her husband had lived in the Várzea for thirty years. All her family lived in the area. They were looking to buy a house for the last two and a half years, but with no success. They thought about building a home, but could not find any land for sale in the area. They were now thinking about moving to the Casa Forte neighbourhood, but were reluctant to leave, because they had spent all their lives in the Várzea. Furthermore, all of their family, Brunna's school as well as the centre where Brunna took her swimming classes and classical ballet were located in the neighbourhood.

Júlia was doing a post-graduate course in marketing at the Rural University – also located in the Várzea. She had graduated as veterinarian, but had not succeeded in making a living in this profession. She complained that it was very difficult to be without work at thirty-one, and this was the reason why she had gone back to university. Her husband was a systems analyst and programmer. Her domestic help was on maternity leave and she was currently doing the domestic chores herself. She trusted her domestic help and did not want to leave Brunna with anyone else. She explained that on public holidays they went to the movies with Brunna. She preferred to choose recorded movies rather than let Brunna watch violent cartoons on television.

Júlia attended church every week, but said that Bruna did not always want to go with her. She did not insist and did not appear upset by the fact that there were no religious classes at Arco-Iris. She told me that she prayed with Bruna every night. She also had a Buddha statue in her living room and when I saw it, she quoted her grandmother, saying: "many saving gods take you to paradise".

When we talked about socio-economic classes, Júlia told me that although she was not rich, in her family much value was placed in a good education and good health insurance for her daughter and a healthy diet. She did not buy the very latest toys for her daughter. She then added that Bruna always took her time before she did what Júlia asked her to do. Bruna would tell her mother to calm down, to wait a little. This could really get on her nerves. Júlia said that at home it worked like in the army. I imagined that she meant that it was disciplined. I thanked her for her hospitality.

Rodrigo (Magalhães Bastos)

It took Rodrigo a few months to get to trust me. He was calmer and more concentrated than Acildo and Mateus. Nor did he interact with the others. He liked to tell me stories when asked to do so and always had one of his own fabrication. As I probably mentioned earlier, the children who moved from Ângela's to Regane's classroom were not necessarily more 'advanced' than the others. Rodrigo, for example, could not write anything besides his name.

Fátima, Rodrigo's mother, was present at the parents' meeting. She seemed in a state of apathy and did not come out of it during that encounter. I went over to ask her for her phone number, so we could eventually fix a day to visit her. She did not know it and Rodrigo eventually returned with the phone number written down in his school textbook.



Rodrigo My Best Friend

One time, Mateus and Acildo started to criticize Rodrigo's drawing, and after a while he handed it over to me unfinished. There were two heads without bodies. He told me that it was his father and himself trying to cool down their heads (*esfriar a cabeça*). I told him that I had asked him to draw something he liked to do with one

member of his family... Rodrigo took back his drawing and drew some more. A few weeks later, Regane asked me how my relationship with Rodrigo was. I told her it was normal. She had had serious difficulties with Rodrigo's father, because she arrived at school too late.

She had notified the students' parents of the fact that since she was pregnant she preferred to wait for less crowded buses and this would sometimes make her come in late. Rodrigo's father had criticized her while talking to Rodrigo and other parents. She thought that he was overprotective of his son. He always accompanied Rodrigo to the classroom and waited for him in front of the classroom, came to fetch him at the end of the lesson. He ignored Regane's repeated request for parents to wait downstairs. Regane said that it was as if Rodrigo was a *bicha* (gay). My expression showed my disagreement. I did not understand why Rodrigo's father's behaviour had to lead to the conclusion that he was gay. I suggested it was Rodrigo's father that took care of everything, because I recalled how disconnected Rodrigo's mother seemed. I remembered his drawing with the two heads and what he had told me about it and recounted it to Regane. Rodrigo's father worked in a car wash in the Várzea and did not allow his wife to work.

Regane answered that she was not sure that Rodrigo was doing his homework himself, because in the class he did not seem to be able to write more than his name. She would ask him if someone else was doing his homework, but he refused to answer. She added that she could act like other teachers, who don't give a damn, but she was not like that.

Rodrigo talked to me about his nine-year-old brother. He told me that this brother of his had two other siblings living with their father. He was probably the son of Rodrigo's father, but with a different biological mother to Rodrigo. However, I never succeeded establishing the facts. With time, Rodrigo began to trust me and felt more at ease in my company. Indeed, we were not 'heating up each other's heads'. He started to stay behind at the end, to help me to tidy up the room and the art material along with Leticia. He also surprised me with his self-portrait. He was the only one to take the real dimensions of his face into account.

I went to visit Rodrigo's home on the same day in which I went to Walln's home. Both lived in the Caxangá neighbourhood but in two very different areas. Walln lived on the side of the Country Club and Rodrigo lived on the other side of a viaduct between two main roads, at the entrance of the Várzea. The latter area was more industrial, with many motels. Rodrigo came to meet me on the way with his female cousin. He was happy to see me and we walked together to his house. Fátima was there and looked more present than the first time I met her. Her blue-green eyes shined and had more life in them.

However Rodrigo's mother was not very talkative. Rodrigo was just coming back from an afternoon at the Evangelist church. During the weekend children went there for sermons, prayer and religious songs. It was clear that during this time they were not

on the street but still... Rodrigo seemed to be a child that lived under strict control – by the church and by his father. As for Fátima, it was difficult to deduce where she stood. She went to church every night and spent two hours there. She would like to work but she refrained from trying to convince her husband, who wished her to stay at home. I started to film with Rodrigo. He showed me the bedroom where the entire family slept. There was a bunk bed for the children and Rodrigo slept in the bed closest to the floor, because his parents were afraid he would fall.

Rodrigo's father was working at the time of my visit. He was now working in another car wash closer to home. He drove the children to school every morning and picked them up at noon. I concluded that the church and Rodrigo's father insisted on keeping the children in very tight rein. Rodrigo was very annoyed by the way his father treated him and it is unlikely that he enjoyed going to church every weekend. However, there was not much he could do as an eight year-old child to free himself from the Evangelist church.

Rodrigo did not interact much with the other children, because he already had friends. He had his older cousin and brother at school and Vitor at home. The latter was a boy of eleven who lived close to Rodrigo's home. He came to play with Rodrigo every day after school, at his place. They had known each other since Rodrigo was five and he considered him his best friend. This friendship was important because it gave Rodrigo the feeling that he could have a normal life after all. All his movements were controlled by his father and dictated by the church. But playing with his friend Vitor in the back of the garden before his father came back from work, Rodrigo was free to do and play as he wished.

Ricardo (Daruê Malungo)

Ricardo started to work with me in late 2004. He was seven years old and was part of the Daruê formal dance group. He acted as the king of the Maracatu dance. He was the quietest of the boys and preferred the company of girls. If attacked by the boys, he would defend himself, but he tried to avoid fights. He liked to draw and often asked me for an extra sheet of paper in order to draw more at home. Sometimes, when the others were making too much noise, he would take his paper sheet and move to another table to finish his drawing.

The other children respected him and I never saw them trying to humiliate or insult him. He was small and thin and apparently did not have anything special to deserve such a respectful treatment from the others. Even though the others did not necessarily listen to what he had to say, he often criticized his classmates when they went too far verbally with another child or with me. I think that the reason for his treatment by the others was that Ricardo was in the most precarious situation of them all and for that reason was left in peace.

Amélia had told me that for some of the children, it was also possible to visit their home during the week, because their mothers did not work outside. This was the case

with Willyane's mother, for instance. However, Ricardo's mother went to the movement. I did not understand what Amélia meant by the movement. She then explained me that it was the MST – the movement of people without land. I asked Amélia who took care of Ricardo when his mother was at the movement. She replied that the neighbour did. I found it a bit strange and I wondered if it was a way for Ricardo's mother to receive money, food and clothes.

When I arrived at Ricardo's house, Cássia, his mother, was expecting my visit. She invited me to sit down and we started to talk. She was timid and I decided not to make her more uncomfortable by using the camcorder. She said that she told Ricardo that they lived in a poor people's home and that it was not worth filming. I told her that, on the contrary, I wanted to know where the children whom I worked with lived and who shared their household.

Cássia had been separated from her husband for seven years. The father had remarried and had a child with his new wife. Ricardo's older sister Renata was also by the same father. The children went to their father's home most weekends in order to give their mother a break. Her ex-husband worked as a public van driver and earned seventy to eighty reais per week. However, since the city had forbidden this illegal transport in November 2003, he was currently unemployed.

Cássia was part of the movement of people without a roof and the movement of people without land. They had illegally taken possession of a piece of land close to Chão de Estrelas and she did not know if they would be able to stay there or not. At the time of our encounter in 2004, she had put ropes to mark the borders of her land because she did not have money to build a shelter. At night she went to sleep in other people's shelters in the vicinity, in order to watch over her land. She had already taken three rubber bullets and had to send her children to live with their grandmother more than once. According to Cássia, it did not matter what happened to herself as long as the children were not exposed to it.



Ricardo My Best Friend

At the time I visited her, she had to pay forty reais in rent for a house full of holes with cardboard walls and a floor of packed earth. She managed to survive thanks to

her daughter's school grant (one hundred and twenty reais per month). Although she was unemployed, she also worked as a domestic and had washed clothes in the past. Whenever she had to pay for a *botijão*²⁶ (thirty reais), she had to wait for the next month in order to pay her rent.

Ricardo once told me that the activity he enjoyed most with a member of his family was to tidy up the home with his mother. He liked to clean up with his mother and sister, because these were always nice moments spent together. They went to cook, wash and use the toilet at the home of her ex-mother-in-law, who lived nearby. The latter came to introduce herself and to confirm that the Daruê work was of fundamental importance. Without the centre many children would not eat, which was clearly the situation in the case of Ricardo and Renata. Cássia was waiting for an answer regarding her possible future land and prayed every night for a better life.

Ricardo's best friends were his sister and the wife of his mother's brother. Though at the time of the fieldwork life was no better for Cláudio, Willyane, Bianca or Dougla, it was Ricardo whose situation appeared to be the most desperate. His good relationship with his family was an advantage. The fact that they were united in getting through these hard times, made it easier for them to endure their plight. Ricardo also shared experiences with his sister: hardships such as having to move away from their mother during the summer, without knowing if they would be back together again, as well as the everyday struggle of their mother who was forced to risk her own life. This second adult female figure seemed to be important for Ricardo's sense of being surrounded by people he could rely on. He was the only child who mentioned an adult as his best friend. It somehow matched his personality of already being a very mature and responsible boy at the age of seven.

II. Reflections on Friendship

Friendship was an important theme for all the children I worked with, but when the time arrived to talk about friendship, it turned out to be difficult to describe what it meant and what the difference was between a best friend and a mere schoolmate. While talking about street children, Hecht (1998) refers to Ennew's findings regarding street children, which described them as having very strong ties of friendship with each other. Comparing this with his own observations, Hecht concluded that friendship did not seem to have the same weight among the street children of Recife. It appeared to be much more a situation of 'every man for himself'. Loneliness was identified by street children as being one of the difficulties encountered on the street (Grupo Ruas e Praças, 1998). Considering what the children I worked with had to say concerning friendship, the idea was more one of having someone to play with.

The only child to expound on a different definition of friendship was Duda, who said that a best friend was someone whom you told your most important secrets. Duda was referring to

²⁶ Metal vessel containing combustible gas.

Bruna; however, Bruna did not consider Duda to be her best friend, meaning that the relationship was not reciprocal. In a way, Bruna served Duda's ego more than anything else. The children seemed to find it important to be accepted by their peers at school, to have people to play with during the break, to have a neighbour, a cousin, a sibling to play with at home, but it did not go any further. I saw friendships change in the course of the ten months that I did field work, but I did not observe any magical bond between two or more children.

Igor, Mateus, Bruna and Letícia named someone of the opposite sex as their best friend. I was interested in the response of Bruna, who was the most popular one in her class but who named two best friends who had changed school. I don't know if Vitor, the best friend of Rodrigo, was from the Evangelist church as well, or a member of his family, yet I was glad for him that he had someone to play with everyday while his father was working and he was not in church. Ricardo named people from his family and it was heartwarming to see how, in the midst of all the problems he had to endure, he still felt solidarity and friendship from and for the people close to him.

Friendship is about spontaneous sympathy directed towards the other party, and the desire to maintain a relationship. It is construed on the basis of shared and differing experiences; being from the same socio-economic class, living in the same neighbourhood, having a younger/older brother/sister, having or not having the same teacher, having or not having divorced parents, and so forth. The other's world inspires our attention and affection with luminous intensity. In a positive relationship, power relations are exchanges of forces. Affect describes the forces behind all forms of social production in the contemporary world and these affective forces' ethical, ontological, cognitive, and physiological powers (Colman, 2005).

As philosophers, Hume, Bergson, Foucault, Spinoza, Nietzsche and Deleuze dedicated their lives to the development of concepts that describe what make everyday life an intense and affirmative experience. In this experience, the individual does not exist without the other(s). This implies sympathy, which is an immanent potential that can initiate, accompany and reward the process of Fragmented Becoming. So it is sympathy that makes the individual bring depth to his/her relations with some more than with others, depending on the inclination of his/her actualization.

Enveloped in a certain body, the individual always lives with his/her singular body and mind. The art of living, the art of being, imply their own practice, through the association of ideas, passions and peculiar circumstances that arise out of the relations and connections existing between the individual and the other party. If guidelines exist for the art of living, the art of being, and all intensities soar into fulfilment, their lines of flight would be:

To be an agent, putting forward the creativeness of our singularity.

To be drawn towards intuitive knowledge, in order to practice a direct approach of the other, a spontaneous sympathy, respecting the internal momentum of the experience(s) of being other.

To be aware of our duration as our very essence – that which makes the belief and the creation of the movement of the subject possible.

To live our life with passion, fully experiencing the temporal moments that release ecstatic pleasure within our physical body.

To relate to the other without losing sight of the plan of immanence in which we encounter ourselves in that particular moment.

To strengthen our respective life potential through our ability to positively affect one and another.

To be in a constant process of becoming, while familiarizing ourselves with the different possible modes of existence, with our various conceptual characters and aesthetic figures.

To view our life trajectory as a continuous assemblage of the many ways we undertake to move forward.

To spend a full life by living it intensely and affirmatively.

To be in constant movement, favouring in-between locations, partial stances and unfixed identities, always on the border between the Stranger and the Autochthon. While we are unique and do not survive time, at the same time part of us is anchored in its duration (Klein, 2003).

III. Friendship or Children and Philosophy

The idea that philosophical knowledge can only be transmitted when the individual is already an adult is not based on sustainable arguments. It is based on the circumstance that maturity of thought comes with chronological age, which as I have shown is a relative matter. Furthermore, if philosophical particularities need to be practised and lived through in order to be experienced, they are in fact attainable for any thinking individual, independent of his/her age.

A child does not start thinking only when he/she starts to talk, and even when it has only just mastered speech the child already starts to ask questions. Children are familiar with themes such as friendship and relations and they treat them with the same interest as adults. The philosophy of children expresses children's voices within the different dimensions delineating a philosophy, be they aesthetic, ethic, politic, metaphysic or social (Omar Kohan, 1999). Children's ideas enable one to define better who Man is. With the exclusion of a segment of the middle class and the elite, a large majority of children in Brazil is forced to endure sexual, labour, economical, political and cultural exploitation, a fact that underlines the importance of hearing what children themselves have to say about their treatment at the hands of adults.

Mathew Lipman (1980) developed a method for teachers and students to deal with philosophical concepts adapted to children of the primary school age and secondary school-level adolescents. Lipman and his followers (Oscanyan, Sharp, Kennedy and Omar Kohan) vehemently criticize the Western educational system and its patchwork reforms. The various superficial measures that have been taken to modify the educational system, which is in need of drastic reform, do not address the heart of the matter, rendering them ineffective. The curriculum does not correspond to the children's interests, making school an arduous experience; a period when the sluggish passing of time seems to say that you will never grow

up and be free to make your own decisions. As for the teachers, their training does not prepare them to connect the different subjects in a way that would promote a significant school experience. Along the margins of this system, which is caving in on itself, a variety of initiatives are undertaken by people who still have hope for change and transformation.

One of the main criticisms made by Lipman and al. (1980) is that the educational system *makes children learn*, instead of teaching them to think and reflect for themselves. It is through dialogue that people take up positions regarding their personal views. Intellectual investigation has to originate in the student's own interests. The emphasis is on the word *discovery*. The information can be transmitted but its significance has to be discovered by the student him/herself. We can't *give* the significance or the meaning to the other. Discovering significance is a singular and individual experience that helps us to feel that we have control of our life – that our experiences make sense. The significance that we happen to find in a novel is not necessarily the same the author had in mind. Children as much as adults want to have significant experiences, and all of us regardless of age are familiar with the confusion and perturbation that result from things not making sense.

For Lipman and al. (1980) when children question the fundamental presupposition of the subject they are studying, they put forward metaphysical questions. Every time they want to know how they can be sure of something, they ask epistemological questions. Every time they suggest an alternative to the choice made by their teachers or parents, they are asking aesthetical questions. To say that they are too young to understand, or to not help them to develop concepts expresses a paternalist attitude. Children need to have the opportunity to follow their ideas through as far as they can. In order to allow them to feel at ease, the philosophical examination has to be geared towards the terms and concepts that are part of their everyday lives. Children are as much interested in what lays behind an answer as they are in the answer itself, however in Western culture, intelligence is sooner defined as the capacity to answer questions than as the capacity to develop them.

In fact the idea of *philosophy in the classroom* is to help the child to make sense of his/her experiences. Discussing a subject with its peers, the child has the possibility of discovering the different significances that revolve around it. At the same time, conversing with others allows the child to deconstruct preconceived ideas, by comparing them with alternative opinions, attitudes and experiences. Certain themes can be developed that tend to lead towards imaginative and creative outcomes, while others suit themselves more for discovering whether an discourse is coherent, representative of the parts and the whole, and based on strong arguments.

Different individuals have different thinking styles; they have different life experiences and they have different methods and objectives. However, children need to be able to refer to coherent models given by the adults in their close surroundings, which can help them to ponder over their choices and actions. 'Every difference makes the difference' and in this sense a child who bases his/her vision of the world on a certain set of presuppositions might drastically change his/her way of thinking if he/she received new information that set his/her

initial interpretation in a different light. It is not unusual to hear children saying that their way of seeing things is the only possible way.

Exposing a variety of alternatives to children will make them aware of the diversity and complexity of the world, and help them overcome a tendency towards narrow and rigid interpretations. The idea is not to discredit the way they think, but to help them discover that it is important to evaluate and reflect upon our intellectual choices. There should be a balance between discovery and instruction, liberty and discipline, order and innovation, and practice and creativity in order for the child to feel agent of its own life.

Philosophy in the classroom would actually help children to organize themselves and become more articulate, in order to be taken seriously regarding their political, economical and sexual rights.

2.7 PART-II CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

The second part of my dissertation – the ethnographical section – started with the presentation and description of the State of Pernambuco and the Brazilian city of Recife where I undertook my research in the field. The city's history is evidence of how contemporary class divisions are rooted in its economic past as a sugar cane area and the use of African slave labour. I provided a brief description of the political party currently in power in Brazil, and sketched the internal and general difficulties of the Worker's Party (PT) in realizing radical and sustainable change with regard to poverty and class segregation in the city of Recife. At the time of my research, the president of the Brazilian Republic, Lula, was involved in a variety of political scandals, which were damaging his popularity among the electorate.

I then turned to the city of Recife and the qualitative and quantitative data of the two neighbourhoods I worked in. Middle-class, low middle-class and poor people live in the neighbourhoods close to the city centre and in many parts of its periphery, explaining the existence of favelas throughout the city. I compared the two neighbourhoods and relied on the quantitative data and my field work experience to establish that the life conditions of the poor children I worked with are more bearable in the Várzea neighbourhood.

I then turned to my ethical position vis-à-vis the children and adults included in my research. I pointed out that the method I followed developed as I went along, and while this did not provide any clear-cut answers it did help orientate my lines of thought. I described how I proceeded with the children and recounted the difficulties I experienced with the adults that worked with the children taking part in the research. I then underlined the importance of setting and presenting ethical concerns while working with other people. Although there is no magical ethical formula for working with people, responsibility and solidarity were determined as being of the outmost importance.

I went on to emphasize that the more diverse the methods used, the richer the ensuing research material. I employed drawings, sound recordings and film as means of collecting data, primarily with the aim of producing a DVD as a form of reciprocal exchange with the participating children. Drawing was highlighted as an interesting working tool, if employed as an alternative mode of communication. I introduced the concept of Initial Imagery, which brought me to affirm that the children's drawings were used throughout my research as a facet of plurimedial communication, rather than as potential evidence of a child's unconscious responses to particular themes.

Field work research is a very personal undertaking, and this dissertation has dealt with the beginnings of a particular kind of field work, as well as shedding light on a small portion of the efforts done by particular NGOs and grassroots organisations to better the life of young people in the city of Recife and its environs. I used these examples to illustrate an approach similar to my own; one that relies on establishing a dialogue between the parties involved, in order to ground the action in what children and teenagers deem most important in the project in question. Such an approach creates room for a more symmetrical power relation. Though this research was realized in one NGO and micro-political initiative, the two other settings were primary schools. Here one could see evidence of institutional thinking, as these institutions were relatively slow to adapt. Working in an institutional adult-centric context, children proved to be harder to reach.

With regard to my methods of inquiry, describing the ethnographic and the data-collection methods that underpinned my research emphasized the different ways one could approach the singularity of a research collaborator. I ventured that the relation between researcher and collaborators is a fragmented instance; one that is defined in terms of a certain period of time that is spent together, with a special interest on the side of the researcher in becoming involved in the daily life of his/her collaborator.

By designing the research project in partnership with the participant, a more reciprocal exchange and symmetrical power relation could be established. The idea of difference is connected to the singularity of each individual life, and is informed by the interactive grammar (gender identity, sex, ethnicity, class, age) that makes an individual – be it a child of seven or a twenty-seven-year-old adult – the complex personality he/she is. I worked on the basis of the relationship we constructed together, and the relation the children had with their peers, teacher and family: in other words social institutions. In order to work with a diverse range of interactive grammars, I chose to work with middle-class children in a private primary school and low-middle class to poor children living in poor areas and favelas in a municipal public school of the Várzea neighbourhood.

I also worked with poor children in a cultural and literacy NGO, Daruê Malungo, situated in the favela Chão de Estrelas. The group included girls and boys of white European descent (in the case of the middle-class children) and of white, black and native descent (in the case of the low-middle class and poor children). These groups are representative of the population composition of the northeastern Brazilian city of Recife.

The Fragmented Becoming method takes as a starting point the schizoanalysis that concentrates on the composition of generalities from singular investments, and the parts that cause social oppression to create psychological repression in the minds of individuals. It subsequently resulted in developing experimental ethnographical field work, and initiated a process of meeting and building relationships with singular individuals that might turn into research collaborators. This process is based on intuition, empiricism, sympathy, experiment and nomadism. While making the activity of meeting and building relationships with prospective collaborators is a complex affair, such elements also illuminated the becomings, differences, agency and creativity of the individuals concerned. Furthermore the Fragmented Becoming method stresses the importance of examining the interactive grammars (class, race, gender, sex, sexual orientation, age and so forth) of the individuals the researcher is working with, in order to determine what makes them part of one group or groups and not another. Working with these findings, the researcher can infer deeper lying connections and describe the institutions influencing and forming the boundaries between groups.

As a method, Fragmented Becoming corresponds with the actual field work itself, locating the experience in time. It consists of an organic collection of life fragments gathered together by the researcher, rather than the fixed account of an individual, frozen in time as the only reference.

Fragments mean that different possibilities of composition stand open to the individual, in order to achieve his/her own inner momentum. The Fragmented Becoming method is about the positive exchange of forces, with the goal of attaining a better understanding of an individual's singular reality. Basing themselves on these accounts, the researcher and research collaborator can actively develop projects and policies that stand in a closer relationship to the reality described. Fragmented Becoming is about the positivity of differences and maintaining respect for each singularity as part of a Universal human condition.

In each of the Fragmented Becoming narratives, on My School, My Home, My Family and My Best Friend, the ethnographic material was followed by theoretical and personal reflections on the social institutions informing the narratives in question. This in turn highlighted the singularity of each of the children and how they responded as individuals to repressive and oppressive patriarchal systems of thought and institutional practices. I went on to present micro-political initiatives whose efforts are aimed at countering the effects of patriarchal socio-institutions that condemn children to a life of asceticism [repressed desires or something like that?]. Finally, dealing with the last theme, My Best Friend, I reflected that the concept of Philosophy in the Classroom developed by Lipman and al. (1980) is one of the many reforms that the educational system should undergo in order to help children develop a critical consciousness and reflect on their lives and the institutions that cross their path in a more enlightened and positive way. This will strengthen their feeling of agency and empower them as individuals.

CONCLUSION

The outcomes of this research reflect the multidisciplinary character of its theoretical framework and methodology. They can be divided into three different lines of thought and action: academic, socio-institutional and micro-political. The main connecting elements between the three lines are dialogue and network construction.

A) The Academic Line

As for the academic line, a number of reflections can be divulged from the importance attached to interdisciplinarity in the first place. This is aimed at giving more fluidity to the exchange of theories and ideas. The objective is not to change research and political agendas, but to establish connections with other disciplines and theoreticians, in order to investigate new theoretical avenues beyond the areas defined by dominant knowledge systems. To counter such patriarchal patterns, it is vital to make use of empirical methods and social activism, in order to better reach minority groups.

I also wish to underline the importance of empirical research and direct encounters as a precondition for comprehending people's inner workings. As a social scientist and researcher, I believe that activism should go hand in hand with written intellectual production. We should endeavour to establish an on-going dialogue between grassroots organisations, small-scale projects and non-governmental and governmental bodies, acting on the basis of local project initiatives. Anthropologists are in a good position to promote these dialogues.

Working on this research project presented various ways to approach the other. In the case of my own ethnographical research practice, the other pertained to a minority. This minority position is determined by the fact that the dominant group in position of power does not recognize the individuals' full agency, on the basis of criteria such as race, sex, gender, age, class and so forth. Enduring prejudicial ideas and discourses obstruct the power of action of these minorities and reinforce their alienation. My role and commitment as a researcher is to deconstruct these prejudicial ideas, by recounting the actual life experiences of individuals relegated to such minority positions.

As an anthropologist, I also feel responsibility for and solidarity with the individuals with whom I work. I offer my services to facilitate communication and to promote activity and actions that are more grounded in the local environment. My ethical position as a social scientist is that it does not suffice to simply catalogue, describe and publish research on minority groups in underdeveloped countries. Researchers' studies dealing with subjects in underdeveloped countries do not go far enough if they do not lead to direct commitment and a consecutive plan of action that benefits the collaborators. The relational process that is involved in research and its eventual outcome should make a positive difference for the

parties involved. The main motivation behind listening to singular life stories is to gain a more immediate view of the different realities in place.

B) The Socio-Institutional line

The Socio-Institutional line is more complicated. We cannot avoid institutional powers and their influence but we can counter the paternalistic practices of such institutes, by focusing on the reality of a minority through the Fragmented Becoming complex of singular life, trajectories and narratives. The singularity of an active and affirmative life unveils the dynamics at play between an individual's strategies of survival in general and the separate considerations that they are based on. In the relational process, one sees possibilities of empowerment emerging. For such empowerment to be actualized, it is essential to maintain a positive attitude regarding differences and view them outside the comparative cul-de-sac of dominant normalcy. We all interact and participate in institutions: we have a family, we go to school, we marry, we work, etc. With their interchangeable roles, the Western family model and educational apparatus are the institutions that most intensively take possession of the child, viewing him/her as a clay figure waiting to be moulded, told how to behave, how to be good and do the right thing.

Children in Western societies are subjected to control and mental repression from all corners. The institutional efforts aimed at moulding them into useful members of society alienate children from their own creativity and capacity to act. My aim was breach a hole in this system, allowing my research collaborators to express and reflect on their life experiences and the active role they took in shaping them. Even though they had very little room for action, it became apparent that children spoke up and acted out various forms of resistance against that which they deemed unfair, depending on their personality and life situations.

The fact that I was not attached to any institution had a positive effect on how the children viewed me. It was clear that I did not represent a danger for them, since we did not see each other enough and my insistence on following them to their homes and meeting their parents, siblings, extended family, dogs, fishes and so forth, put me in a more equal relation of forces with them. I was not the one showing off and teaching them, I was the one asking to be shown – the authority was in their hands.

Children start to resist socio-institutional forms of socialization at an early age, even if might end them up in a re-educational centre. Institutional ideals certainly lack correspondence with the child's desire to bear responsibility, gain autonomy and use his/her own creativity to sort things out and make sense of his/her experiences. In my dissertation, I have aligned myself with thinkers like Paulo Freire and Edgar Morin who propose drastic educational reform. But before this can be realized, more research needs to be done in different localities, in order to better understand the different realities pertaining to education. I think that children's ideas regarding the way in which their school and in general, their lives, should be different, should be taken into serious consideration.

It is very uncommon for children to be asked to give their opinions and be respected for it. Usually, adults interpret and transform children's opinions into what fits their own views. Children, when directly asked to take position on themes related to their lives, need time in order to go beyond the learned institutional ideals and express what they really wish for themselves, independent of institutional formulations. The researcher's role includes putting forward the positive aspects of differences, in order for the child to reflect on his/her singular situation in an ever-changing web of constructive forces. When a researcher and collaborator move beyond the received institutional ideals, it serves as proof that a relation of trust and sympathy has been established.

C) The Micro-political line

Leaving aside issues of methodology, we have to focus on the encounter: the always renewing event of meeting the research collaborators. Establishing a good relationship makes all the difference between success or failure of the research. The exchange of positive affects is crucial in developing a relation of sympathy with one another, aiming at both physical creative transformation and becoming.

The idea of a symmetrical power relation is at the basis of micro-political activism. All individuals involved need to develop their awareness, independent of their interactive grammar. Micro-political initiatives are based on the direct observation and identification of dead-end situations. Their activities encompass all the fundamental dimensions in play for sustainable transformation, and take the consequences for future generations into account. In this respect, micro-political projects can be said to be concerned with the dis-alienation of minority members. The drastic transformation targeted by micro-political activity, can only be actualized by intensifying communication between heterogeneous projects that touch both similar and different minority groups. The operational principle is that through exchange, the micro-political project is enriched by multi-layered psychical, social and ecological dimensions, which can lead to the development of universal and local guidelines for sustainable initiatives.

No sustainable changes can be made without all the people involved becoming aware of the role they have previously played and the new attitude they need to adopt in order to successfully carry out large-scale social projects. It is not unrealistic to expect the dominant class to concede some of its power. There is no much choice left for a person living in daily fear of being assaulted and robbed by the poor on the street, as well as being robbed by a rich elite of politicians and entrepreneurs. Fragmented Becoming, symmetrical power relations and the positive exchange of forces between individuals form the basis for socio-environmental long-term sustainable projects. The Academic line and the Micro-political line need to be merged in order to destabilize patriarchal socio-institutions and bring about their eventual transformation. In order to eradicate poverty, promote equality and strengthen ecological consciousness and practices, it has become necessary to develop a new system of thought and action.

Intuition

Bergson's Three Rules Method p.44

In describing Bergson's three rules method, I will follow the descriptions of Deleuze (1996) and Sayegh (1998):

1- To challenge the truth and falsehood contained within the problems, to denounce the false problems, to reconcile the truth and the creation at the level of the problem.

A problem well-described generates its own solution. It is often more important to identify the problem and consequently pose the relevant question than to resolve it. The very notion of problem is rooted in life itself. In this sense, for Bergson the problem category has a much wider biological importance than mere essential needs, which are subject to negative interpretation. We cannot forget biology. Generalizations, imagination, false conceptions do not come out of the blue. Life exigencies are analogous to men, animals and plants. As Edgar Morin says, we cannot forget Man's animal nature. Talking about biology does not constitute a simple reduction of the discussion. The human dependence to the environment is one of the premises of our autonomy.

1- The false problems are of two kinds: 'the inexistent ones', which are characterized by the confusion generated by the 'more' and the 'less' of their own terms, and 'the ill-posed problems', which are defined by an ill-conceived mixture of representative terms.

For the first type of issue, Bergson gives the example of the none-being, where the idea of being is present coupled with a logical operation of a generalized negation and a psychological motive particular to that operation (when someone ultimately does not meet our expectations, we can end up seeing him/her only in terms of a lack of what interested us). This theme is essential to Bergson's philosophy, as it sums up his critique of the negative and all sources of negation as being the foundation of false problematics.

The second type of problem is illustrated with the example of intensity. In the case of a badly posed issue with an ill-conceived mixture of terms, things of a different nature have been grouped together arbitrarily. In the case of intensity, the quality of the sensation is confounded with the quantity of its external causes. In the end, it is only intuition that decides the falsehood or veracity of the posited issues. We cannot start from an impure reality to arrive at the ideal of the intuition; in this sense, the intuitive method initiates itself as being a divisionary method in which the line of the essence and the line of the materiality are isolated.

2- To struggle against the illusion, to find the true differences of nature or the articulations of the real.

This second rule is an extension of the first one. Ill-conceived mixtures of terms need the philosopher's full attention in order for him/her not to fall into the illusion that engenders these terminological mixtures. Bergson of course is aware that the experience in itself is responsible for such mixtures. The point is that we view degrees of differences where there are in fact differences of nature. Intuition leads us to go beyond the state of experience towards its conditions. Beyond this watershed, we ultimately discover the differences of nature in force. Beyond the *decisive* watershed has two meanings: it first describes the moment where lines diverge from their confused common origin in a particular experience. They then continue to diverge, conforming to their real differences in nature. Finally, the term indicates a second moment when the lines once again converge, this time to give us the virtual images or the distinct reason of the common point.

2- The real is not only what can be cut up following natural articulations or differences of nature, it is as well what can be re-cut, following convergent tracks towards the same ideal or virtual point.

This rule has the particular function to show how a problem, when well-posed tends to resolve itself. For instance, the question of soul immortality tends to be resolved by the convergence of two very different lines: one of memory experience and another completely different line of mystic experience. Virtual means what is chronologically real. The virtual has to actualize itself; and this actualization is ruled by the difference or the divergence and the creation. According to Deleuze (1966), in order to actualize itself, the virtual cannot proceed by elimination or limitation, but should *create* its own actualization lines within positive acts.

3- To pose and resolve the problems in terms of time instead of space.

This rule gives a fundamental definition of intuition: intuition presupposes duration – it consists of thinking in terms of duration. Always, duration is the location, the transition of differences of nature, it is in fact simultaneously its grouping and multiplicity, there are differences of nature only in terms of duration – in the space are only the place, the in-between, and the grouping of differences of degree. Without intuition as a method, duration would merely be considered a simple psychological experience. Inversely, without its correlation with duration, intuition would be incapable of realizing the three rules' correspondent program: the determination of the true problems or the veritable differences of nature...

Full Themes' Description of each Child and School p.106

Magalhães Bastos Municipal Public School

Letícia: Home-School-Family-Car- Television-Friends

Mateus: Television-Clown-Family-Home

Acildo: Family-Home-Water-School-Reading

Walln: Studying-Reading-Home-Car-School

Vitor: Studying-Reading-Playing-Going out-Square-Riding my Bicycle

Rodrigo: Playing-Studying-Reading-Going out-Riding my Bicycle-Going out in the street

Tayna: Square-Studying-Reading-Home-Television-Riding my Bicycle

Arco-Íris Private School

Igor: Studying-Receiving education-Not being sick-Having a mobile phone-Making homework-Loving my mother and father-Not dieing

Luana: Mother-Dog-Home-Heart-Father-Cousin-Aunt/Uncle-Grandfather/Grandmother

Camila: Mother-Dog-Father-Brother-Aunt-Grandmother-Home

Bruna: Family-Dog-School-Learning-Eating Lasagne-Pizza-Zoo-Swimming-Dancing-Restaurant

Duda: Family-Dog-Eating Lasagne-Receiving education-Making homework-Swimming-Going out in nice clothes-Dancing-Home

Pedro: School-Family-Grandmother-Dog- Eating

Amadeu: Family-Home-Aunt-Grandmother-Swimming-Bedroom-Friends-Father/Mother

Daruê Malungo Centre

Reading-Working-Family-Neighbourhood-Studying-Respecting-Going out-Playing-Dancing-Singing

English translation and Portuguese original letter to the Parents p.108

March 2nd, 2004

Dear parents,

My name is Natasha Prévost, I am a French-Canadian currently doing my Ph.D. at Utrecht University in the Netherlands. In 2000, I performed field work in Brazil in the city of Fortaleza for my Masters in Anthropology, which I concluded in Montreal. I came back in 2001 to film in the cities of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Fortaleza. I am back to conduct my Ph.D. field work research here in the city of Recife.

I chose three primary schools, two of which are located in the Várzea neighbourhood; one private school, one municipal public school, and one in the Chão de Estrelas literacy, dance

and music centre. I am working with seven children per school. The selection of the children was random and depended on the desire of the children to work with me. My proposal is to work with them until September 2004. I met the three groups of children to explain them the nature of the research and asked them if they were interested to participate. You are receiving this letter because your child has agreed to join the project.

The general methodological lines are as follows. I asked the children to write down the themes that are important in their lives. After they finished I registered the themes that showed up most often. These themes were conceived by the children themselves and it is the children that will direct the research. I do not have any prompt tests or questionnaires; the child is allowed to develop freely on the themes. A monthly schedule with the themes touched upon has been given to the child for you to consult. The first week of the month, the child is going to draw on the theme, the second week, we will film images, the third week we will record stories and the fourth week we will conclude the theme. This work schedule has been made with the intention of working once a week with the group of seven children. Although I won't be able to meet the children once per week in the private school, I will organize my meetings with these children differently and will have time to work on the theme following all the methods described.

Many of the themes are related to aspects of the child's life outside of school. For some of them there is work, for others sports and activities outside school. The home is another theme, as well as the family and the neighbourhood.

I kindly request your cooperation in eventually receiving me for an interview. I am available for any questions and comments on the research project. At home: 3426.2426 or on my mobile: 9922.5510. Here is my e-mail: natashaprevost@yahoo.ca If you wish, I can also call you to schedule a private interview.

Thank you very much.

Your collaboration and interest are of fundamental importance for my work.

Natasha Prévost

2 de março de 2004

Queridos pais,

Meu nome é Natasha Prévost, eu sou canadense-francesa e estou fazendo meu doutorado na universidade de Utrecht na Holanda. Trabalhei no Brasil em 2000 em Fortaleza para minha pesquisa de campo para meu mestrado em antropologia concluído em Montreal. Voltei em 2001 para filmar no Rio de Janeiro, em São Paulo e Fortaleza. Estou de volta para fazer a pesquisa de campo do meu doutorado aqui no Recife.

Escolhi três escolas primárias, duas no bairro da Várzea; uma escola particular e uma escola municipal pública, e uma em Chão de Estrelas; centro de alfabetização, dança e música. Estou trabalhando com sete crianças em cada escola. A minha proposta é trabalhar com crianças até setembro de 2004. A maneira que escolhi as crianças foi aleatória e se direcionou pela disponibilidade para o trabalho. Fiquei com o grupo de crianças em cada escola e expliquei a natureza da pesquisa para elas e perguntei se elas estavam interessadas a participar. Estou lhes mandando essa carta porque a resposta da sua criança foi positiva.

As linhas gerais da metodologia de pesquisa são as seguintes. Pedi para as crianças escrevem temas que são importantes na vida delas. Uma vez que elas completam o exercício, escolho os temas mais repetidos. Os temas vêm da criança e a criança vai orientar a pesquisa, eu não tenho testes ou questionário prontos, a criança desenvolve de maneira livre os temas. Fiz um cronograma mensal para desenvolver um tema por mês até setembro de 2004. O cronograma com os temas abordados, foi dado às crianças e está disponível para quem quiser consultar. Na primeira semana do mês as crianças vão desenhar sobre o tema, na segunda semana, vamos filmar imagens sobre o tema, na terceira semana vamos gravar entrevistas sobre o tema e na quarta semana vamos ajustar e completar o tema. Esse cronograma está funcionando dessa maneira na escola municipal e no centro de Chão de Estrelas porque trabalho com sete crianças uma vez por semana. No caso da escola particular, vou organizar o mês de maneira a ver todas as crianças e ter tempo de trabalhar com elas com todos os métodos.

Vários dos temas estão ligados a vida da criança fora da escola, para algumas tem o trabalho, para outras esportes e atividades para-escolares, a casa é um tema, a família e o bairro são outros. Nesse sentido eu estou pedindo a sua colaboração para me receber ocasionalmente para uma entrevista. Estou disponível para quaisquer esclarecimentos sobre o trabalho, em casa: 3426.2426 o no meu celular: 9922.5510, e ainda por e-mail: natashaprevost@yahoo.ca . Posso também ligar ou marcar um dia para uma entrevista particular.

Obrigada, sua colaboração e interesse são importantíssimos para meu trabalho.

Natasha Prévost

Ten Ethical Points Highlighted by Roberts (2000) and my answers to them p.111

1- *The purpose of the research: If the research findings are meant to benefit certain children, who are they, and how might they benefit?*

In my case the benefit is in the form of a reciprocal gift that I wished to give to all the children participating in the study: a DVD. In the case of the children of the Daruê, who went to state and municipal public schools that lacked computers, their only options for viewing the DVD were to go to the Daruê centre, which had two computers in 2005, or to the local computer centre, which would certainly allow the use of one of the computers if the person in charge of the Daruê made this request. It might turn out even more interesting for them, as they would be able to go with friends and family to show them their experience.

2- *Researching with children – costs and hoped-for benefits: Might there be risks or costs such as time, inconvenience, embarrassment, intrusion of privacy, sense of failure or coercion, fear of admitting anxiety?*

My aim while working with children was to provide them with a valuable experience. We chose the themes for the research together, focusing on what was important to them. Now, when the time arrived for me to visit the family, for example, some of the children were positively anxious about my visit while others had changed their minds during the course of the research. In the case of Camila of the Arco-Íris, she became more anxious every time throughout the year and I think that it was mainly related to her household situation of the year before. However when I visited her, after we talked about the fish in the aquarium, she relaxed and I think that she ended up enjoying the time I spent at her house. As for Claudio of the Daruê, he let me know directly that he did not want me to come to visit his home and meet his mother. This position was a change from his readiness to let me visit at the beginning of the year. As Vilma told me, Claudio's role in the household organisation was to keep an eye on his younger siblings, which made him get both out of school and the Daruê. When he learnt that his mother was expecting a child from a boy who was not going to assume any responsibility, Claudio got depressed and no longer wanted to participate in the research. Knowing the reason, I did not insist and I thanked him for the time we had worked together.

3- *Privacy and confidentiality: When significant extracts from interviews are quoted in reports, should researchers first check the quotation and commentary with the child (or parent) concerned?*

The research I conducted with the children dealt with things important to them and the themes that came out of their lists were positive things to be developed. I made it clear to them from the outset that everything we used while working together was going to be used as a source of information and interpretation. When I visited the parents I also told them that I was going to use the images I was filming and their comments. I also told them that I would change their names in the text. Concerning the children, I knew that it would be important for them to see their names in the DVD as well as on paper and since a post-graduate professor with extensive experience in working with adolescents told me that it was not a problem, I decided to keep their real names. I did not use significant extracts from interviews as quotes.

4- *Selection, inclusion and exclusion: Have some children been excluded because, for instance, they have speech or learning difficulties? Can the exclusion be justified?*

I have already described how the selection was made. In the case of Magalhães Bastos school and the Daruê, I had to concede to what adults thought was best for my research. As for of the Arco-Íris, the children themselves decided on their own terms with whom they preferred to work. However, in all the schools, I could have worked with a child with special needs. In actuality it proved quite difficult for me to impose my authority on the children and in all honesty I think that it would have been much harder for me if I had to divert extra attention to children with special needs. I would have felt that the child with special needs required more attention than the others, which in fact could also be my own prejudice. But then again, the teachers I observed dealing with children with special needs showed a definite tendency to interrupt activities in order to respond to the needs of the special student. I think it is very important to make room for children's complex diversity, but I also think that there should be fewer pupils in each classroom in order to allow the teacher to give each child sufficient attention. According to Edgar Morin, we cannot think of humanity as a homogeneous whole (occidental mode). We have to consider the symbiosis of diversities.

5- *Funding: Should the research funds be raised only from agencies that avoid activities that are potentially harmful to children?*

At this point in my research the question has a certain irony. I never succeeded in receiving money from any agency, which I suspect is due to a lack of orthodoxy in my worldviews. Due to a lack of money, I had to wait three years to see a documentary dealing with transvestites realized, and this only came about because I gave the images I had collected to someone else. I produced the DVD with the help of graphic design students for whom the exchange formed an interesting assignment. I think that I would accept research funds from any source, but this does not mean that I would not be prepared to criticize such a source and eventually try to effect change within such an agency by maintaining this critical stance.

6- *Review and revision of the research aims and methods: Do children or their carers help plan the research or provide it with commentary?*

Yes they did; something that is covered in more detail in the section on data collection.

7- *Information for children, parents and other carers: Are the children and adults concerned provided with information regarding the purpose and nature of the research, its methods and timing, and the possible benefits, harms and outcomes?*

Supplying a time schedule, writing a letter, describing details of the research to both participating and non-participating children, offering my phone number to parents and teachers to answer any questions they should have – these were the measures I used to regularly communicate the experience of the exchanges I embarked upon with the children. This open approach established a secure environment in which we could be creative and work as freely as possible.

8- *Consent: Are the children aware that if they refuse or withdraw from the research, this will not be held against them in any way? How do the researchers help children to understand this?*

My main focus – the thing that was most important to me – was that they thought about the fact that we would work together for a certain period of time. I always told a child that was looking sad, or very enervated or indifferent, that the activity could be done at another time, and that if he/she preferred to go back to the class he/she was free to do so. When I went to visit them in their homes I only filmed what the child described to me and then talked with the parent or parents in the presence of the child. Often when I met the parents face to face, they wanted to know more about the research, but more particularly about me. Of course the child could withdraw at any moment in the course of the research, but then my research would have been incomplete as a result. I sincerely believe that I developed a relationship of trust with the children and even though I did not see them often, 90% of them were visibly happy when they saw me arrive to work with them.

Oakely (1992) has observed that social research is always about social relationships. When working with children, forming relationships in which children feel that they want to participate throughout the research process is particularly important, as it allows one to maintain an ongoing dialogue that both children and researchers feel they have control over (Christensen, James et al., 2000).

9- *Dissemination: Will the children and adults involved be sent short reports of your main findings?*

The DVD will be given to all the children (and as a result their families) and to all the adults that worked closely with them: the teachers, the pedagogical coordinators and the directors of the schools. I am strongly convinced that this multimedia product of my research will be appreciated.

10- *Impact on children: Besides the effects of the research on the children involved, how might its conclusions affect larger groups of children?*

Since the basic assumption of this research concerns difference as the positivity of differences, I hope that the conclusions of my research and the accompanying DVD will encourage a positive perspective on difference.

English translation and Portuguese original letter written for the Parents and Teachers at the end of the field work research, p.112.

November 3rd, 2004

Dear parents and teachers,

I finished my field work research at the end of September and personally think that it has yielded positive results. I will be starting to write the dissertation at the end of January 2005 and am still looking for funding to produce the DVD. I hope to be able to give it before returning to Holland at the end of July 2005.

I would like to thank you all for your participation and receptivity, which have made this research so rich and dynamic. I would like to thank the teachers for allowing me to work with the children and for their support and belief in my work. In my experience, the research has been very successful and I am confident that the dissertation that I will base on my work here in Recife will be very good.

I am going to write down my phone numbers in case you need to talk to me. If you move to another address or if your child moves to another school, please let me know, so I will still be able to send the DVD in 2005.

Thank you very much
Natasha Prévost
Home: 3441.2826
Mobile:9922.5510

3 de novembro de 2004

Queridos pais e educadores,

Eu terminei a pesquisa de campo no final de setembro e creio que foi um sucesso. Vou começar a escrever a dissertação a partir de janeiro de 2005 e ainda estou atrás de financiamento para produzir o DVD. Espero ter a possibilidade de entrega-lo antes de voltar para a Holanda no final de Julio 2005.

Gostaria agradecer a todos vocês pela participação e abertura que fizeram com que esta pesquisa ficasse tão rica e dinâmica. Gostaria também agradecer aos educadores que me deixaram trabalhar com as crianças e pelo apoio e fé no meu trabalho. Considero que a pesquisa obteve êxitos e tenho certeza que a dissertação ficara muito boa.

Vou deixar meus números de telefones caso vocês precisem de mim. Se em algum momento algum de vocês mudar de endereço ou seus filhos mudarem de escola, por favor entrem em contato comigo para me avisar e possibilitar que eu entregue o DVD em 2005.

*Muito obrigada
Natasha*

*Casa: 3441.2826
Celular: 9922.5510*

Pedagogical Proposal p.141

Pedagogical Proposal Arco-Íris (private) School - Várzea neighbourhood

The following pedagogical proposal was written in November 2000 by the owners, director and pedagogical co-ordinator of Arco-Íris. The document does not specify the name of the authors. The Arco-Íris was founded in 1979.

Working from a concern with the changes taking place in society, the school believes that school knowledge needs to have a connection with the pupil's social life. The school considers itself a pioneer in projects conducted by pupils that involve the examination of and intervention in real life situations. The Arco-Íris receives children from 2 to 14 years old.

Foundation

We choose to diverge from traditional pedagogy, which serves as a vehicle for concepts such as a dominant curriculum, the idea that knowledge consists of the accumulation of facts and isolated information, and places heavy emphasis on the 'right' answer or employs problems that do not encourage the student to think and to reflect. The Arco-Íris finds that this form of education does not contribute towards the development of autonomous people; people who are independent, critical, free in the creative process and in this sense are able to make their own life decisions.

In this sense, Cognitive Psychology, through Constructivist and Socio-Constructivist theories coming from Piaget and Vigotsky, allows us in practice to reaffirm our ideas regarding knowledge construction processes and to develop behaviour in line with these principles (Escola Arco-Íris, Novembro/2000, Proposta Pedagógica).

We believe that it is possible to achieve identity formation in both the political and educational domain, providing that the educator him/herself is involved in a constant process of rethinking education while simultaneously rethinking society, like Paulo Freire, Freinet and so many others have done in their writings and practice.

We identify ourselves with Freudian psychoanalysis and with sociology, looking forward to evaluating the actual condition of young members of our society, especially those of the middle class – our work objective – and to studying the relationships that they establish with fellow human beings and nature.

Immersed in the economic crisis that our country is now going through and subjected to the allure and impact of mass communication media, the new generation is developing anxieties and affective/emotional problems that are reflected in its everyday relations with other people, in its learning process, in its ethical conception and in its behaviour in general.

Methodological Principals

For us, the task of the school is to form a privileged space that generates knowledge and produces it in the formation of citizens. We have established certain principles regarding the relationship educator/educated which apply to all people involved in the school dynamic – parents, students and civil servants:

We believe that Man's social dimension requires him to compromise with the processes of an ethical and democratic society, which includes the recognition of regional, national and universal aspects and a continuous reflection on the themes of culture and nature;

We think that learning to respect and negotiate differences enriches the individual, and promotes the development of mutual respect and social integration. The recognition of diversity is an important factor in people's socio-cultural formation and in strengthening democracy;

The pedagogical relationship is permeated by the socio-cultural and psycho-cognitive characteristics of the members that compose a working group. And so it is of fundamental importance to systematically recognize the issues involved in an individual (class, culture and affective) story and in the development of educators and pupils;

The knowledge developed and systematized by Man has been formed out of social necessity. The school has to prepare itself to transmit meanings, adding a true social function to its proposed activities;

Recognizing the interpretational forms adopted by children/teenagers when confronted with information pertaining to real life involves admitting that as sentient beings, they relate to this information by elaborating hypotheses based on the elements that they have access to;

Cognitive functioning emerges from social interaction. It is by exchanging points of view that conflicts emerge, which we understand to be the motors behind the teaching-learning process. The school should encourage working in groups, and promote the timely and opportune exchange of opinions and situations of knowledge socialization;

Knowledge is not a hermetic affair. It is integrated in a network that contains broader signifying contexts. Neither it is something fixed, immutable and definitive; it is in constant transformation. Its approach has to be historically contextualized and revitalized on the basis of values and social signifiers;

'Mistakes' in pupils' work shouldn't merely be subjected to correction but can form the starting point for an investigation of the reasons that lay behind them, allowing us to gain an insight in the forms of interpretation and understanding that the pupils employ and giving us clues regarding more adequate forms of intervention;

The evaluation of the process of teaching-learning is considered to be a continuous and transparent work action – an instrument of analysis of the student process based on the critical action directives of the teacher.

Educator Profile

The educator at the Arco-Íris school is a professional person who believes in ideological principles akin to the pedagogical route adopted by the institute. He/she is a collaborator in the process of permanent construction and reconstruction of the parameters proposed by the educational line of action, sensitive and human, preoccupied with social questions, curious and inquisitive. An individual open to innovation and discussion and able to propose and share experiences. A person responsible for developing and evaluating the school's educational proposal and its implementation. He/she is studious and interested in its constant actualization, as well as aware of the necessity to document its practices in the form of reflection and socialization. In conclusion, he/she is a competent person, with a sound character and a strong ethical education, dialogue skills and interest in continuous growth.

Principles of diversity will be reflected in the composition of the educational crew, particularly with respect to gender and race.

Student Profile

What kind of person do we want to form?

Ethical and competent,

Identifying with his/her culture and nature,

Strong, cooperative, participatory, autonomous,

Responsible and conscious of the meaning and effect of his/her work,

Open to social transformation and changes,

Capable of assuming a critical attitude towards reality,

Capable of expressing his/her inner world,

Creative in the face of unexpected confrontational situations,

Affectively balanced,

Integrated in society,

Conscious of his/her role in the world,

Capable of integrating his/her life experiences in a learning way.

Pedagogical Proposal Escola Magalhães Bastos (municipal public) School – Várzea neighbourhood

The pedagogical proposal for the municipal educational network of Recife was presented as a preliminary version reformulated by the Worker party (PT). When the female director of the Escola do Dom handed it to me she told me that they were interpreting it in order to match their actual situation but that it will at least give me an idea of the ideology of the municipal educational network.

The Secretariat of Education of Recife formulates, induces and implements public policies, working towards the construction of a social project that provides new avenues of growth for Brazil. The pedagogical proposal is based on the following ethical principles; solidarity, liberty, participation and social justice, established by the actual political administration in order to contribute to the re-orientation of different branches of society, with a focus on education that promotes social quality.

This being said, the pedagogical proposal is founded on three pillars that relate to the aforementioned principles, which are: education based on a strong focus on rights; culture, identity, social vehicles and science; technology and collective quality of life.

Basing ourselves on the three aforementioned pillars, we work towards the development of an education of a social nature that represents, above all, our support for a policy of inclusion, respecting diversity and variations in learning capacity while simultaneously developing egalitarian policies aimed at integrating the pupils in a fairer and more democratic society.

Pedagogical Proposal –Building Competencies- (For the Director and Teachers)

Contemporary society is going through important transformations that require the social subject to interact with new technologies and mass communication that invade his/her daily life. Other challenges also impose themselves, such as the question of how to deal with the increasing number of students from different social and cultural backgrounds, and how to understand the complex structures of life in society, in which one can find one's rights, duties and desires.

The 2001-2004 administration notes the existence of these multiple interests, and looks forward to forming, by means of education, people who are able to take on these complex challenges, instead of gearing their personal development towards the competitive concepts permeating the figure of the successful individual. The administration also wishes to promote self-awareness and awareness of the other, co-responsibility and respect regarding differences.

In line with the socio-interactionist paradigm, human beings learn and develop themselves in relations with the other members of society. It is by interacting with the other that a person builds up objective and subjective knowledge, establishing himself as a historical subject who influences and is influenced by culture.

Considering this development and these learning processes, the educational system aims to form a subject who is capable of learning to know, learn, do, and live together and of learning to be.

Taking into account interdisciplinarity and contextuality as fundamental elements of the knowledge building process, some pedagogical practices need to be reconsidered, especially those that limit themselves to simple knowledge transmission – where various content is simply 'deposited' in the students' mind in form that lacks significance. According to Philippe Perrenoud (2000), the consequence of this practice is that although the students accumulate knowledge, they are not able to employ what they have learned in real-life situations.

A curriculum that incorporates notions of competence translates, in a certain way, the desire to bypass the fragmented method of acquiring knowledge that generally occurs when knowledge is transferred in separate disciplines. School is intended to form subjects capable of articulating and relating the different knowledge, attitudes and values they develop inside and outside school, in order to develop into competent citizens. Marise Ramos, cited by Carlos Cruz (2002), affirms that competence works in conjunction with a wide range of knowledge.

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Gefragmenteerde Wording. Een Deleuziaanse versie van Kind- Wording in Brazilië

Samenvatting

Dit research project is gebaseerd op empirische gegevens die ik verzamelde in de loop van één jaar (2003-2004) etnografisch onderzoek dat in de noordoostelijke stad Recife (in de deelstaat Pernambuco – Brazilië) uitgevoerd werd. Ik werkte daar met 25 kinderen – 11 meisjes en 14 jongens – uit lage middenklas en middenklas families. Dit praktische onderzoek vond plaats in onderwijsverband: ééns per week in zowel de privé Arco-Iris school, alsmede de openbare Magalhaes Bastos school en ook het culturele en literaire Daruê Malungo NGO centrum.

Het uitgangspunt was de vraag aan de kinderen wat belangrijk voor hen was. Uit hun antwoorden heb ik het meest terugkerende geselecteerd om daarvan een thema van de maand op te stellen. Wekelijks hebben de kinderen zo de thema benaderd: ze schilderden, vertelden een verhaal en werd beeldend materiaal door mij gefilmd aangaand de thema. Uit het materiaal dat toen verzameld is, heb ik een DVD samengesteld met vijf minuten beelden, geluiden en tekeningen per deelnemend kind.

Tenslotte werden kopieën hiervan aan de kinderen en de directies van de betreffende scholen en centrum uitgereikt.

Ik heb het kader van het etnografische onderzoek opgesteld met de bedoeling, een serie van theoretische vraagstukken te onderzoeken, die directe sociale en politieke consequenties inhouden voor onderzoek met kinderen en – meer in het algemeen – met minderheidsgroepen. De belangrijkste hypothese van dit onderzoek project is de etnografische toepassing van het schizoanalysis concept van de Post-structuralist denkers Gilles Deleuze en Félix Guattari. De schizoanalysis of micropolitiek concentreert zich op individuele eigenaardigheden bij minderheidsgroepen alvorens men zich met dominante institutionele beschouwing en praktijken bezig houdt.

Overeenkomstig heb ik eerst de vraag naar de plaats van de kinderen gesteld, in academische werken, nog vóór het verlenen van de status van minderheidsgroep aan de categorie kinderen. Teneinde een antwoord hierop te kunnen geven begon ik naar de plaats van kinderen te onderzoeken, binnen de raam van de westerse filosofische geschiedenis,

psychoanalytische methoden van interpretatie, alsmede naar traditionele theorieën van maatschappelijke en ontwikkeling modellen. Verder heb ik ook het gebruik van de etnografische methode in de culturele/sociale antropologie opgehaald, gesteund door een historische beschouwing over de plaats van kinderen binnen deze discipline.

Daaropvolgende concentreerde ik mij op formatie van minderheidsgroepen en zijn definitie binnen het verband van academische en politieke beschouwingen. De tweede golf van de feministische beweging kwam naar voren voor de consolidatie van de definitie en implicaties van en op formatie van minderheidsgroepen. Hierbij hoorden ook de theoretische weergave binnen kinderen studies en in de sociale wetenschappen.

Deze uitkomsten vormden de beschrijving van de verschillende theoretische posities n.l. de subjectieve, de politieke en de ethische bij het aangaan van een unieke relatie met de kinderen waarmee ik het onderzoek verrichtte in Brazilië. De ontwikkeling van een symmetrische kracht relatie tussen de kinderen en mij, was duidelijk geïnspireerd door Deleuze's filosofische concept, de zo genoemde "ontologie proces". De verkregen uitkomsten vormden tenslotte de manier waarop ik de plaats van kinderen beschouw, binnen de geschiedenis van Brazilië. Ook beïnvloedde de uitkomsten mijn visie op de manier waarop de kinderen naar buiten gepresenteerd worden, als een minderheidsgroep (in drie Braziliëaanse speelfilms en een documentair.) Verder heb ik ook uitgezocht hoe schizoanalysis als een methode op de interpretatie van etnografisch praktijk onderzoek licht kan scheppen en deze te transformeren.

De observaties van belevenissen van kinderen worden belicht door een prisma van een feministische benadering met een interactieve grammatica die geografische locatie, juridische rechten, socio-economische klas, ras, geslacht, seksuele oriëntatie, seks en leeftijd aspecten overwogen worden.

Dit onderzoek werd geleid door de nalezing van het werk van de filosoof Gilles Deleuze (1925-1995), met name concepten van kind in wording, verschillendheid, experiment, affect, intuïtie, levensethiek en nomadisme. De aandacht wordt dan gefocuseerd op unieke levensverhalen en praktijken van zevenjarige kinderen in de stad Recife, Brazilië.

Het etnografische materiaal werd gevormd door de thema's die de kinderen ontwikkeld hebben, door de vraag te beantwoorden "wat is belangrijk voor je leven".

De transformatie van schizoanalysis, of micropolitiek, naar een etnografische methode, heeft geleid tot de introductie van een nieuwe term, die de toegevoegde betekenis van Deleuze's concept aan het empirische onderzoek verleent, aanduidt. Ik heb de term "gefragmenteerde wording" genoemd.

"Gefragmenteerd" staat voor het slechts tijdelijke (een "moment opname" van slechts een jaar) van het contact met de kinderen. Het gefragmenteerd zijn verwijst ten eerste naar het verleden van de kinderen, voorafgaande aan onze ontmoeting. Ten tweede verwijst dit naar een narratieve product van het hier en nu van onze wekelijkse ontmoeting. Ten derde suggereert het een idee van een toekomstige continuïteit.

De definitie van het wording concept heb ik van de genoemde denker Deleuze geleend. Het berust op veranderingen en transformaties in het bijzonder, van krachten verzameling die in de tegenwoordige tijd plaatsvinden en ook verrijkt worden door individuele, unieke belevingen van machten die elkaar beïnvloeden.

"Wording" verwijst naar de eigenaardigheid en verschillen van het hier en nu bij het tot stand komen van gebeurtenissen. Ik heb ten eerste, unieke levensverhalen van kinderen naar voren gebracht. Vervolgens haalde ik op, voor iedere thema, de geschiedenis van dominante maatschappelijke-institutionele verhandelingen en de stipte consequenties voor het leven van kinderen. Tenslotte werden voorbeelden van lokale micropolitieke initiatieven, indien toepasselijk, beschreven.

Fragmenten betekenen dat verschillende mogelijkheden van samenstellingen openstaan voor het individu om zijn innerlijke impulsen te scheppen. De methode van gefragmenteerde wording handelt over positieve krachtenwisseling met de bedoeling een beter begrip te verkrijgen van eigenaardige, unieke realiteiten. Uit de aldus verkregen verslagen kan actieve positie van de onderzoeker en onderzoekscollaga,s tot stand komen teneinde projecten en beleid voor te stellen die wel dichter bij de betreffende realiteit staan. Gefragmenteerde wording gaat over het positieve aspect van verschillen en het respect voor het unieke als deel van een universele humane stelsel.

De conclusies van dit onderzoek geeft het multidisciplinaire aan van zijn theoretische raamwerk en methodologie. Deze kunnen in drie groepen met verschillende lijnen van denken en uitvoeren ondergebracht worden: het academische, het socio-institutionele en het micropolitieke. Dialoog en netwerk constructies zijn centrale elementen van verbinding tussen de drie lijnen.

Symmetrische krachtverhouding van gefragmenteerde wording en positieve krachtenwisseling tussen individuen, vormen de basis voor bestendige sociale projecten voor de lange termijn. De Academische lijn en de Micropolitieke lijn zouden verenigd moeten worden teneinde de Patriarchale socio-instituten te destabiliseren en deze tot transformatie te bewegen en aldus een nieuw systeem te bevorderen dat zich aan de bestrijding van armoe en gelijke behandeling toewijdt en aan ecologische bewustwording en praktijken.