The Epistemology of Violence: Understanding the root causes of violence and 'non-conducive' social circumstances in schooling, with a case-study from Brazil.

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Abstract.

This study investigates the root causes of violence in Schooling, an area of study which lacks in-depth conceptual foundations upon which effective interventions and non-violent practice can be built. The thesis begins by discussing what is currently lacking in theory, illustrating this with an analysis of 'Educommunication'; an example of current practice considered to take a 'radical' and innovative approach to reducing violence in schooling. After highlighting the inadequacies of such approaches, the thesis formulates a multidimensional theoretical model for understanding the root causes of violence drawing on sociology, psychology, neuroscience, philosophy, learning theory and critical theory.

Two new key concepts are introduced: 'violent epistemology' and 'non-conducive social circumstances'. These concepts are put to the test through a detailed ethnographic and socio-historical analysis of a case-study school in Brazil and its surrounding context, demonstrating how violent epistemology and non-conducive circumstances combine to foster multiple manifestations of violence (broadly defined) in schooling. Finally, a preliminary formulation of the concepts of 'non-violent epistemology' and 'more conducive circumstances' are presented, along with suggestions about how these concepts might be translated into practice.

This study combines detailed theoretical formulations with analysis of sociohistorical accounts, and of primary data collected during an immersive period of qualitative field research. Primary data was collected using Participant Observation and analysed using methods inspired by critical dialectics, phenomenology and grounded theory. The key contributions of this thesis include the presentation of a systematic and comprehensive framework for understanding the root causes of violence in schooling; the demonstration of how violent epistemology and its effects can be identified as running through all levels of society as well as throughout history; and the identification of theoretical and practical starting points for addressing violence at its root causes.

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Chapter One
The State of Things: A Moment of Crisis.

'While the primary role of ideologies is to mask contradictions within society, a point is eventually reached when the contradictions within the ideology itself, when the gap between what it proclaims and what actually exists is too great for the ideology to mask any longer' (Morgan, 2013)*.*

A Sunny Afternoon.

On a sunny afternoon in June 2011 I found myself in São Paulo, Brazil in the midst of what I would now best describe as an overwhelming experience of absurdity (Camus, 1991). I felt on this particular afternoon as if a lifetime of hunches had finally come together, culminating in an uncomfortable realisation. The 'state of things' in my research context was a lot worse, a lot more entrenched than I had been willing to admit, and there was to be no more hiding from that fact. It was a giddying, emptying feeling as if the world I knew, full of hope and meaning, had fallen away before me, exposing a terrifying wasteland of hopelessly entrenched social decay. I felt rather nauseous, unsure how to make sense of the scenario that, although familiar by now, felt starkly lit by a new clarity of vision.

This rather traumatic experience spurred me, in the weeks that followed, to admit that I would have to stop trying to force my experiences to fit the rose-tinted images of reality that I had been taught, and that I wanted to believe. Slowly and painfully I came to terms with the fact that I could no longer reasonably hold onto my previously held theories about the world. The suitcase of books and articles sitting in my São Paulo apartment became redundant. Their contents simply did not match up to my experiences, certainly offered no meaningful way to interpret them, and gave no indications of a way forward either theoretically or practically. Reluctantly, and with a good dose of trepidation, I

faced the feeling of groundlessness that filled their place.

Smith (2011) writes that the experience of absurdity generally takes 'the form of a 'crisis', particularly when we find ourselves in a situation where our belief systems […] are challenged, when the contradictory evidence of our projects becomes too much' (P. 211). On this particular sunny afternoon the contradictory evidence of my research project finally reached a point where my beliefs crumbled away before me. This is where I will begin.

The Pedagogical Meeting[1].

I was wedged-in behind a small Formica desk at the back of a classroom with a group of teachers and a school director in an otherwise empty municipal school in the centre of São Paulo. The plain white walls, the pencil scratches on the desk tops and our tired faces, all laid bare under the caustic fluorescent light. As I stared wistfully up at the little shaft of sunlight that was just visible through the frosted glass vents at the top of the classroom wall, looking out at the crumbling back end of a dilapidated apartment block that loomed over the school building, I heard something which stopped me in my tracks. An elderly lady who taught year five was speaking. As I turned my attention to her she leaned in toward the group and said earnestly;

> *...I put tables against the door so they don't leave, because there's nobody in the corridor to ask for rescue. I go to the head teacher's room and there's nobody there... They start throwing chairs and tables on the floor, laughing, they start dancing and there's nothing you can say... If they get up and pull the tables away from the door and say 'Teacher we're going now because the other classes have already gone' – is it worth holding the door?*

I looked around. To either side of me, backed right up against the rear wall behind a barricade of tables as if trying to protect themselves from the school director and

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[1] Held at intervals throughout the school year, pedagogical meetings (which are a common feature of Brazilian schooling) are intended to provide a space for teachers and school management to reflect on the overall progress, direction and educational aims of the school.

possibly from the rest of the group, a small huddle of teachers sitting at jaunty angles, various expressions of boredom, disbelief, scepticism, desperation, impatience, indignation and doubt filling their faces in waves. A group to my left sat muttering under their breath, suppressing laughs or shaking their heads in disbelief almost every time the school director spoke. A mix of disaffection, frustration, resignation and a feeling of ridiculousness seemed to dominate the atmosphere in the room.

But I wondered why nobody seemed to have batted an eyelid at that statement. '*...I put tables against the door so that they don't leave, because there's nobody in the corridor to ask for rescue...*' Wasn't there something quite terrible about this statement? It was the sense of violation that struck me, stirred by the image of children being locked in the classroom with tables, to which they could seemingly only respond by trashing the room and trying to leave. Equally there was the desperation of the teacher, the sense of the hopelessness of a situation in which she felt alone and unsupported, the only action she felt she could resort to was to bar the door. But even that option seemed rather worthless to her. Was this not an expression of a situation that was not at all healthy? The children being held against their will, the pressure on the teacher to keep the children in the classroom… and all for what?

The empty building was strangely silent in the way that schools are without children wandering, running, crashing, crying, shouting, hovering, whispering, giggling and picking their way through its hollow stairwells and corridors. The children had been sent home for the day to allow the teachers to meet as they did three or four times a year. I carried on listening to the conversation.

Following the elderly teacher's statement a man in a wool sweater at the edge of the group sat up and raised his hands, a mix of tensions and empathy in his voice.
'They invade the classrooms without asking to be excused. Sometimes they come into your lesson and turn off the light and start clapping their hands saying, "Come on! Let's mess about!" trying to work up the kids in the class. The other day they said, "'Let's mess about!" They threw tables, turned off the light, swore at me... And I didn't know whether to get the tables, turn on the light, hold the door... They didn't do it because they don't

like me, it's because they like to mess about. They apologised afterwards, and one boy came and put his hand on my heart and said, "Wow teacher you got really nervy!" and I said, "I did, but I'm calming down now". I get worked up and stressed, but I'm not going to let it get to me. I'm not going to get ill'.

Somewhere in the discussion a younger woman piped in frustratedly.

'When some teachers get fed up and let their class out early, they all come banging on the doors of all the other classrooms that are still in lessons. We can't maintain the routine! They are out of control! JL[2] carries on being out of the classroom from 1.30 until 6.30. He isn't a criminal, he doesn't use drugs... Why can't we reach him?'

A young man in a tracksuit spoke of how he had told a boy who was in the corridor to go back to his classroom a few days previously.

'He told me, "I'll go back, but only because it's you who's telling me". Sometimes I think they only respect me because I'm a P.E. Teacher and P.E. Is "cool". But you need to have a strong posture. If they find a millimetre of fear in you it's over.'

'They're not bad**,** another young teacher argued, 'they just need limits. They're children. They're not monsters. They just want limits. They want you to tell them where the limits are'.

The younger woman added, 'It's their way of saying, "we can be violent in the classroom too. We become animals if the teacher shouts."

Across the room a tired looking man in a leather jacket sighed, 'We come here in the morning, and when we leave this place it seems as if we're leaving a battle front'.

Heads nodded in agreement, and it was clear that many in the group could relate to this sentiment.

The conversation moved to the topic of what could be done to improve discipline. An older man, who had been sitting in silence during the entire discussion doodling on a notepad, looked up and said calmly, 'Things that seem banal sometimes help a lot. For example, if the blackboard is by the door, the teacher can control the flow of entering and leaving. When I call the register I always stay by the door so as not to let the people who hang around hassling at the door come in.'

The school director stood up from her table in the middle of the room and tried to move

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2   All names have been changed to randomised initials for reasons of confidentiality.

the discussion on to the topic of next week's national test, but before she could continue a new teacher who had been sitting meticulously filling out attendance registers from the start of the meeting looked up nervously, tense, her hair awry from running her hands through it. 'Test? What test? When is it? Do I have to apply it? Because I don't know how... and I don't think I'll be able to...'

She got out of her chair and walked half-way across the room, a look of panic on her face. 'In my class... I don't think... I already have so many problems with discipline...'

She looked at the group, wide-eyed.

'Ask someone for help.' The school director replied, rather shortly.

'But there's nobody to ask.' The woman said desperately. 'Sometimes I look outside to see if there's anybody to help but there's never anybody there.'

'Well go to the head teacher's office.'

'But I can't leave the room, if I leave the room they start throwing tables and...'

'Well that's just the conditions we work under, we're understaffed.' The school director replied. 'We should ask the DRE[3] for some help... we're alone here....'

She paused for a few seconds in thought and then took a deep breath and carried on. 'And discipline is not my responsibility. I can't help you with that. It says so in my job description. I can go and get it and read it to you if you want. Come and see me afterwards and we'll go over the test.'

The new teacher slid back into her chair with a meek nod of acknowledgement, evidently still extremely anxious.

The younger teacher who spoke earlier had been sat with her head in her hands, shaking it from side to side and muttering, 'I don't believe this' under her breath. Suddenly she burst out: 'People, there's no such thing as team work here! There's no such thing as interdisciplinary work here! We have a discipline of shouting!'

The man in the leather jacket cut in. 'We teachers don't know each other, we are strangers to each other. We sit together for forty minutes in the staff room, me here at the table and the other on the sofa over there. The two of us breathing for forty minutes. And then the bell rings and not even a "have a good class!" How am I going to ask for help from a person that is a stranger to me?'

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[3] Regional Directorate of Education.

He was getting more and more worked up, his face becoming red and tense as he waved his arms emphatically in the air. He turned and pointed his whole arm at the man in the wool sweater.

'And you, who said that you won't get ill... you will! We don't know any more who are our colleagues and who aren't. Are we unbalanced? Are we? I came to this school balanced and healthy and now I'm ill, so-and-so is ill, you're going to get ill.'

He brought his arms down decisively. Some of the others hid sniggers and looks of amused surprise at their colleague's outburst.

The director looked around at the entire group and said, 'We're all in this together. We're all going to get ill'.

The man in the leather jacket sighed and his shoulders slumped as if in defeat. 'I see the state of education as a silent scream' he said, 'we shout and shout and nobody hears.'[4]

The meeting carried on much to the same tune for a while longer and then disbanded along with a few complaints about the school director being up in the clouds and ' not having a clue', about how it was another day wasted, and how perhaps a change in the time schedule for the year groups might help improve discipline. As I travelled home I was overcome with a sense of the sad desperation of daily struggle in the school. Why was the school day so chaotic[5] and conflicted? Why were there so many tensions and hostilities? Why were the children driven to respond in such ways, and the staff constantly at breaking point? What did all of this suffering and turmoil achieve?

There was a sense of helplessness and powerlessness in the face of the children who appeared so unpredictable; and a raging undercurrent of tensions, anxieties, and frustrations erupting in moments of confrontation, being played out in destructive ways, and resulting in breakdowns of both individuals and relations. The sense of alienation

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[4] Teacher's meeting at DCX, a Municipal School of Fundamental Education in São Paulo, 15/06/11.

[5] I use the terms 'chaos' and 'chaotic' a number of times throughout this thesis because they best reflect the language used by teachers themselves to describe their experience of the school environment and their relationships with students (see data excerpts 99 and 110 in Appendix Two, for example). The most common descriptive words used by teachers and students alike were 'bagunça', and 'baderna' which translate as 'mess', 'shambles', 'disorder', 'confusion', 'noisy disruption' and 'commotion' (Collins Dictionary, 2017; Dício, 2017a; 2017b). The closest English 'conceptual equivalent' (Temple, 1997) to these terms, I found, was 'chaos' (Oxford English Dictionary, 2017).

between teachers, students and school management was palpable. I felt the tragedy of the fact that this was an educational environment, somewhere intended to foster learning, growth and inspiration. How had things come to be this way?

Chapter Two

Methodology and Course of Research.

'Go deep, folks, go deep and stop worrying about things that are only outer symptoms of inner conflicts' (Neill, 1966: 11).

Introduction.

How had things come to be this way? My thesis addresses this basic question, which as mentioned previously, arose out of a moment of 'crisis'. This came towards the end of an extended period of fieldwork, on which I had set out with a slightly different set of questions in mind. The experience of crisis, while unsettling at the time, became a pivotal moment that changed the direction and scope of my PhD project. This chapter explains where my research began, how and why it changed, and the methodological process that I followed.

A Starting Point: The issue of violence in schooling.

Since the beginning, the purpose of my PhD research has been to understand the root causes of violence (broadly defined) in schooling, and to investigate potential approaches for addressing such violence at its root causes. This intention led me to São Paulo in 2011 with a plan to study a project grounded in the concept of 'Educomunicação' [Educommunication]. This was an innovative project being implemented by local government in the São Paulo Municipal Education Network, with the intent of reducing violence in schools.

It is well known that violence is an issue in schools around the world. Few people have not heard of violent tragedies in the USA in which youngsters have taken guns to their peers, teachers and themselves (Elliott et al., 1998). Indeed, while I was carrying out my

research in 2011 a former pupil returned to his school in Rio de Janeiro, gunning down twelve students then killing himself (Phillips, 2011). More common in other parts of the world, South Africa being one example, is the use of corporal punishment in schools and the occurrence of sexual violence, often carried out by male teachers on female pupils (Harber, 2002). Teachers are common victims of physical attacks by pupils in schools around the world, and even more common are occurrences of physical conflict, verbal abuse and bullying between pupils (as is the case in Brazil) (Smith, 2003; Sposito, 2001).

To varying degrees, all of the above are widely recognised and condemned. Even more commonplace however, and particularly insidious because it largely goes unrecognised and unchallenged, is the bullying of students by teachers and the socially accepted forms of violence and abuse which are carried out by school institutions on pupils and teachers every day (such as the control, suppression and neglect of physical, emotional, psychological and intellectual needs) (Schostak, 1986). The latter is so commonly engrained within the day-to-day functioning, rituals and policies of the school day in traditional schooling that it is normalised, and is therefore rarely recognised as a form of violence (Horta, 2005).

Unlike mainstream texts on violence and schooling which tend to conceive of violence in its explicit forms only, and perceive it as stemming largely from students (Elliott et al, 1998; Hoffman, 1996) or from conflict occurring outside the school (Smith, 2005), the Educommunication project was grounded in a theoretical framework that recognised the insidious, less explicit dimensions of violence in schooling. Rather than advocating a zero tolerance, disciplinary, or security-based approach to addressing violence as is common policy in other contexts (Debarbieux and Blaya, 2002; Smith, 2003), the Educommunication project aimed to address less explicit forms of violence perceived as stemming from modes of functioning fostered by the school itself. More explicit forms of violence were seen stemming from more implicit forms. It was the innovative effort to understand and address violence in schooling at a deeper, more causal level, that inspired me to travel to São Paulo to research the potentials of this project.

The Conceptual Foundations of Educommunication.

The conceptual foundations of Educommunication have been pulled together by researchers at the University of São Paulo, and are largely grounded in the work of Paulo Freire and other Latin American theorists who have been influenced by his work. Inherent in this theoretical framework is a conceptualisation of violence in schooling.

Freire saw traditional school curricula and pedagogy as symbolically and epistemically violent, because, he argued, they aim to transmit knowledge that is perceived to be neutral, value-free and objective to students who are erroneously posited as unknowing and passive, through a one-way stream of communication from the 'knowing' teacher to the 'unknowing' student (Freire, 1973). Freire argued however, that knowledge is not objective and neutral and cannot simply be 'handed over' from one person to another, but rather is continually created and re-created as people reflect and act upon the world (Freire, 1996).

Freire believed that genuine learning could only come about through dialogue and direct reflection on students' own lives, actions and experience in the world. He criticised traditional education as an 'exercise of domination [which] stimulates the credulity of students, with the ideological intent (often not perceived by educators) of indoctrinating them to adapt to a world of oppression' (ibid: 59). He argued that this domination over people constitutes a form of domestication and an active restriction on elements of the human self (such as critical questioning, inquiry, creativity, and responsible action) which contradict the passive and compliant character that students are expected to be in the classroom. He argued that rather than being educative, experiences of traditional schooling are largely painful and dehumanising (ibid). For education to be humanising and genuinely educative, Freire argued that it must 'abandon the educational goal of deposit-making and replace it with the posing of the problems of human beings in their relations with the world' (Freire, 1996: 60). Rather than a distant and authoritarian relationship between teacher and students, he emphasised the importance of collective

solidarity in learning.

Educommunication theory has built on Freire's ideas by incorporating an analysis of contemporary developments in media and communication technologies and their impact on schooling. Educommunication theorists argue that the rapid expansion of media and communications technologies has created tensions between new, and traditional 'schooled' practices of knowledge production and dissemination. These tensions are seen to exacerbate the symbolic and epistemic violence already present in traditional schooling. Kaplun (1998) and Valderrama (2000) discuss how school knowledge is traditionally considered to be 'textbook' knowledge - that which can be stored and transmitted through reading and writing, packaged in a manner suited to memorisation and testing. They argue, however, that media and communication technologies have resulted in the expansion of new and diverse practices of communicating, creating and sharing knowledge, which has fostered growing competition between traditional schooling and more popular spheres of society which educate people in different ways.

Mignolo (2006) also highlighted how reading and writing is not a neutral technology of communication but one which carries with it certain ideologies and 'mentalities', arguing that its promotion through schooling as an 'official' mode of communication has led to the devaluing of other forms of expression, such as the oral and the visual. Young urban Brazilians grow up in an environment of only very recent near-universalisation of alphabetic literacy, and functional literacy levels remain low (Hall, 2003). In a context of rapid expansion of media and communication technologies across all sectors of society (Amaral, 2002), young urban Brazilians are steeped in hybridities of traditional oral and modern multimodal forms of expression (Berry, 2006; Souza, 2007), which constitute 'other' ways of producing, sharing, organising and expressing knowledge than those traditionally valued by the 'book culture' of the educational institution.

Despite this, Brazilian public schooling carries a strong legacy of 19th century 'chalk and talk' education (Azevedo, 2007; Hall, 2003; McCowan, 2010; Souza and Valdemarin, 2005; Vidal and Faria Filho, 2008), based on a largely one-way transmission-reception

style communication in which the promotion of literacy and 'classic' textbook contents is emphasised (Citelli, 1999). In light of this, Brazilian schooling can be seen as fostering a hierarchy of knowledge and forms of expression which does not necessarily correspond to the experiences and values of those who attend school. In relation to formal schooling, the hybridity of multimedia and orality of the illiterate or child are often seen as primitive, in need of education into the rational world of reading and writing (Valderrama, 2000; Huergo, 2001).

This scenario is seen to present clear challenges for the ways in which students are perceived as subjects in relation to schooling. Contrary to images of young people as passive receptacles of education or as primitive 'illiterates', Torres and Puiggrós (1995) highlight how young Latin Americans are exercising agency by choosing certain cultural legacies, communicative forms and ways of knowing over others, rejecting the authoritarianism of past generations. Contrary to images of young people as passive receptacles of education or primitive illiterates, Educommunication theorists point to this agency in calling into question the validity of the traditional authoritarian educational model.

Another issue highlighted by Educommunication theorists is how, prior to the expansion of electronic media, adults could act as 'gatekeepers', controlling children's access to information about the world outside their immediate experience (Meyrowitz, 1985; Buckingham, 2000; 2003). Previously, it was necessary to learn to read and write in order to access information that was 'transmitted' by teachers, in schools, in a steadily controlled flow. In this way, teachers were afforded authority over students due to their power to control access to information. With new multimedia technologies it is no longer necessary to learn the complexities of alphabetic literacy to decode messages, it becomes increasingly difficult to control what children see and hear, and children can access and produce a whole range of multimodal texts without adult control or formal training. Educommunication theorists argue that this produces tensions for schooling because it represents a loss of teacher authority over knowledge. As the growing 'information society' reveals young 'digital natives' (Capistrán, 2010), notions of the student as an 'empty bucket to be filled' and of childhood as a time of passivity and

innocence no longer hold up, and the authoritarian school environment is revealed as a place which does not cater to students as active subjects.

Carlos Lima, who oversees the implementation of Educommunication projects in São Paulo's municipal schools, believes the above issues cause a number of problems for Brazil's schools. Firstly, he argues that the school faces strong competition for students' attention from media and communications technologies – a competition which it is currently losing. He also believes that the conceptual 'chalk and talk' lessons taught in schools are distant from students' own lives and irrelevant to their daily experiences. He sees this as a central reason for students becoming dissatisfied with education, resulting in boredom; the generation of conflict; aggressive attitudes between students and teachers; students not wanting to go to school; and the failure of the education process (1) [6].

Lima also believes that the traditional structure of schooling fosters distance, prejudice, and a lack of collaboration between people which contributes to violence and tensions:

> *The school still teaches in a way that is very Fordist [...] You build knowledge just like you put together a car. [...] The same modus operandi as decades ago. Not only Brazilian schools and not only municipal schools, [but] schools in the whole world, still have this ancient formula to educate people. [If] you see [a] classroom in any part of the world, the student is looking at the back of the other's neck. It's hard to find a classroom where people are in a circle, conversing or discussing a theme in a collective manner. The curriculum ends up creating a series of little rooms, like a shopping centre, each person in his own shop, and they don't converse with each other. [...] You don't see the student getting to know the person in front of him with this model. Nor the person behind him, because he just sits looking to the front, at the teacher and the blackboard* (Interview with Carlos Lima, 09/05/11).

Lima believes that prejudice thrives in this environment because there is little opportunity for people to work together, communicate, and come to understand each other better.

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[6] Supporting data for this chapter is presented in Appendix One. References to the numbered data excerpts are included here in brackets e.g. (1) refers to data excerpt 1. in Appendix One., (2) refers to data excerpt 2. and so on.

How Educommunication Projects Propose to Address Violence in Schooling.

Educommunication theorists subscribe to the Freirian argument that 'Education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction, by reconciling the poles of the contradiction so that both are simultaneously teachers *and* students' (Freire, 1996: 53). Rather than promoting a one-way narration from teacher to student, Educommunication aims to foster education as an act of learning together in mutual solidarity and dialogue. Within schools, the aim of Educommunication is to reduce violence by promoting the development of a type of 'communicative ecosystem' (Barbero, 2002) in which all members of the school community can actively participate as subjects and agents in the production of knowledge:

> As it strives to open up channels of expression and participation, in opening spaces for the pronouncement of the subjectivity of all involved in the actions of the school, Educommunication is proposing, among other things, to combat the symbolic violence practiced in school spaces (Horta, 2005: 57-58)[7].

In the city of São Paulo, Educommunication has been implemented as a social intervention by the Municipal Secretariat for Education, with the aim of reducing both symbolic and explicit (verbal and physical) violence in public schools. The intervention takes the form of a growing number of projects in municipal schools throughout the city. At the time of research there were approximately 250 projects in operation, usually organised by a teacher or small group of teachers outside of class times. The projects usually follow the format of creating a school radio station, newspaper, blog, and You Tube channel (or combination of these) which are intended as avenues for expression and communication to be managed collaboratively by staff and students, working together to produce, publish and transmit content.

Carlos Lima's hopes at the time of research were that introducing media and communication formats into the school would help reduce competition for students'

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[7] All quotations from literature published in Spanish or Portuguese are my translations.

attention with external sources of entertainment and information, and bring the school more up to date with the growing alternative forms of producing and sharing information. By encouraging students to express themselves using the same media formats that they engage with outside of school, it was hoped that the value given to these forms of expression would increase within the school, opening up space for student expression and reducing the symbolic and epistemic violence of 'banking' style education.

Lima's proposal is that fostering a communicative ecosystem be considered similar to the creation of a social network for learning:

> *Why isn't the school a social network? Why doesn't a community that consists of one thousand people in a school turn itself into a social network where people can bring, discuss, and exchange information, and from there create a curriculum that is more flexible?* (Interview with Carlos Lima, 09/05/11).

Lima was enthusiastic about using the projects to integrate student experience into the curriculum, arguing that aside from tipping the balance of knowledge production back towards students and broadening the curriculum, this would develop proximity and improve dialogue between teachers and students, reducing tensions between them. To encourage a break in the hierarchical relations of the school, the Educommunication projects also placed great emphasis on collaboration and team work, by bringing teachers and students of different ages together to work on the same project. The hope was that this would encourage intimacy in contact and communication between different members of the school community, increasing horizontality and mutual understanding, and reducing conflict and prejudice (2).

Compared to the 'zero tolerance' exclusion policies that are often put into practice in British schools, and the bullet-proof school materials that are being marketed to American schools (Elliot et al, 1998; Hoffman, 1996; Smith, 2005), Educommunication could be considered a radical approach because it aimed to address what it perceived to be the root causes of violence. Aside from this important point, I was inspired by the fact that unlike many other participatory education projects which tend to operate outside

of mainstream schooling, this project was being integrated within public schools not only with the intention of offering an alternative within the mainstream, but also with the explicit intention to transform the existing model of schooling. Unlike other isolated and one-off projects that I had seen, this project appeared to have greater potential because of its scale. Protected by municipal legislation and supported by a team of specialists from a major University, this was one of the largest and most structurally supported projects of its kind.

The Case Study, Data Collection Methods, and Expectations Prior to Commencing Field Research.

Initially, I was fascinated to investigate the potential of Educommunication to transform the long-standing hierarchical dynamic of traditional schooling. To achieve this, I chose a qualitative ethnographic case-study approach to data collection, with participant observation as my primary method. The case-study, DCX, is a Municipal School of Fundamental Education situated in a run-down neighbourhood in the centre of São Paulo, which I will refer to as 'the Baixada'.[8] The Educommunication project at DCX was managed by a core group of three teachers, who organised activities during the early evenings every week from Tuesday to Friday for students who wished to take part, while the project teachers met every Monday evening to discuss the previous week and plan the week to come.

Thirty children signed up at the start of term to take part in the project. Most were fifth-year students aged between ten and twelve, but a handful of older students aged thirteen to seventeen also took part. Of these, twenty-one also opted to participate in my research. Children self-selected to take part in the project and my research, with no selection criteria imposed other than that parental/guardian consent was required. Almost all student participants lived within walking distance of the school, and all came from low income families (a characteristic of the overall student population at DCX, not just of participants). Approximately 45% were housed in (often overcrowded and

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[8] For reasons of confidentiality, these are not the real names of the case study school and neighbourhood.

insalubrious) tenement accommodation within the Baixada. Like the rest of the student population, many of the children had experienced difficult family circumstances such as relationship breakdowns, disability, poverty, illness, incarceration, dislocation or bereavement. A number of children were living with friends or extended family rather than with their parents, and many had one absent parent. Many of the children were regularly left unsupervised for long periods while parents or carers were out at work, and undertook significant responsibilities in the home such as cooking, cleaning and caring for younger siblings.

The core adult participants in my research were the three teachers leading the Educommunication project, with whom I worked closely on a daily basis. Their experience ranged from six to twenty-five years of teaching, and all held either an undergraduate or master's degree. All lived outside of the local neighbourhood, commuting up to 1.5 hours each way to teach at DCX. Other participants included two teachers who assisted with project activities from time to time, approximately twenty teachers who participated in observed staff meetings, and the School Director. For reasons of confidentiality I am not able to provide contextual information about individual participants.

Each evening the children made their way to the computer room where project activities were mostly held. Each student joined one of four different activity groups: Radio, Audiovisual, Blog, or Wall Newspaper, and was then free to attend regular timetabled sessions in their respective group to work on planning and producing their own radio programmes, videos, blog posts, or newspaper articles. Students were also invited to take part in weekly group meetings and discussions, occasional workshops on themes such as photography or journalistic skills, and occasional trips to social or cultural events in the local community. Attendance was not compulsory but teachers often encouraged students to attend. I accompanied all of these activities for a full semester, whilst attending weekly discussion meetings with the project teachers and regular whole-school staff meetings.

I chose ethnographic data collection methods because of their ability to provide 'in-

depth description and understanding of the human experience' (Lichtman, 2006), and case-study because of its ability to provide 'powerful human-scale data on macro-political decision making' (Cohen et al, 2011: 291). I also chose case-study because of its usefulness for answering 'how' and 'why' type questions and for generating theories about the behaviour of individuals, groups, organisations, communities and societies (Yin, 2009: 27-35), because of its ability to capture unique features that might hold the key to understanding a situation (Nisbet and Watt, 1984), and its ability to produce data that is 'strong in reality' (Adelman et al., 1980).

The selection of the case study school was largely opportunistic (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007). I approached the São Paulo Municipal Secretariat of Education with a request to carry out research in up to three municipal schools. Three schools (including DCX) expressed interest in hosting me, and I visited each to meet with teachers and discuss my research plans. All three schools initially agreed to participate. However, one school was forced to withdraw when financial resources for their Educommunication project were rescinded, and another withdrew for unexplained reasons. By this time I had already commenced data collection in DCX and had observed firstly that I was producing a large amount of data and that carrying out a multi-site study would not be possible considering the time and resources that I had available. Secondly, I began to perceive the value of DCX as a single case-study due to its social, historical and geographical context and characteristics (which I outline in Chapters Five and Six).

The benefit of a single case-study design was that immersing myself in, and concentrating my attention on just one school and its surrounding context enabled me to 'intensively investigate the case in-depth, to probe, drill down and get at its complexity' (Ashley, 2012: 102). While I did not set out to select an extreme case (Patton, 1980), DCX can be seen as lying closer to the severe end of the spectrum due to its location within a neighbourhood marked by extreme degradation and social neglect. This meant that students came to school having experienced more difficult life events and circumstances than average. Rather than undermining the relevance of my findings to other contexts, I found this beneficial because it shed light on the potential extent of the impact of a wide variety of factors contributing to school violence, where a less

extreme case would not have provided the same quantity and richness of relevant data. While there are some more extreme cases than DCX, and while DCX's location makes it more extreme than the average São Paulo municipal school, social inequality is pervasive in Brazil and thus there are numerous schools situated in similar locations of socio-spatial segregation. As such, many of the issues highlighted by this case can be considered relevant to other contexts.

For both ethical[9] and methodological reasons I was interested in a Chicago School style naturalistic approach (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007; Lichtman, 2006) with its emphasis on understanding social phenomena by studying them in 'natural, uncontrived, real-world settings with as little intrusiveness as possible by the researcher' (Cohen et al, 2011: 220. For this reason I chose participant observation as my core data collection method. As Marshall and Rossman (2006) attest, immersive participant observation can allow the researcher to learn directly from reflecting on their own experience and interactions in the field, and thus develop a deeper understanding of how participants perceive their world. This enabled me to gain a strong feeling (Agrosino, 2012) for the day to day struggles and contradictions of life in São Paulo, the Baixada and DCX School, and while still an 'outsider' in many respects, aided the approximation of an 'insider's perspective' to complement my 'outsider's overview' (Agrosino, 2012: 166).

In line with my naturalistic affinities I aimed to hang closer to the 'observer' end of the observer-participant spectrum (Cresswell, 2014) and made a point of being non-directive (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007) by following the lead of teachers and students. However, for ethical reasons I also aimed to be a helpful presence by supporting the teachers and students in their daily activities, and to balance my 'observer' role by participating just enough so that my presence would not feel unnatural. Rather than assuming a single role I shifted roles depending on what felt appropriate, ethical, and useful for my research in each situation. Sometimes I assisted students with their work, sometimes I took part as if I were a student. At other times I accompanied activities as a friendly presence without taking on any particular role. While I aimed to avoid being

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[9] See the section on ethics at the end of this chapter.

seen as a source of authority, there were one or two occasions when I was alone with students who became physically aggressive toward each other. In these instances I felt a responsibility to safeguard the children's wellbeing, and took on more of a 'responsible adult' role. While I was not fully comfortable with this, I found it to be a useful insight into the experiences of teachers (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007).

All data was collected in Portuguese, and consisted largely of observational notes which I began writing on the train home as soon as I left DCX each evening, so as to reduce the risk of forgetting important details (Lichtman, 2006). I recorded observations about activities, conversations, interactions between teachers and students, appearance and behaviour of teachers and students, the environment, my own thoughts and feelings, and anything else that stood out to me (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007)[10]. I did not take notes in front of teachers or students because I felt that this interrupted our interactions and rapport. For conversation-rich activities such as meetings and discussion groups, I gained permission to take audio recordings. I conducted a small number of interviews with people whose view I considered relevant to the research but with whom I did not interact often, such as the School Director and Carlos Lima. I also gathered audio visual data such as videos produced by teachers and students as part of the Educommunication project, and kept copies of end-of-term evaluation forms completed by student participants. However, observations and informal conversations with teachers and students were my primary data sources.

Aside from the above, I also employed the ethnographic method of keeping a field diary, in which I recorded and from which I generated some 'thick descriptions'[11] (Geertz, 1973) of my experiences in the wider metropolis, the Baixada neighbourhood and DCX School. While used minimally in the final thesis, writing these during the research process helped me to record multidimensional aspects of my experiences and observations whilst reflecting on how these could be understood as expressions of the

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[10] Written and verbal consent was sought from all participants, including from a parent/guardian in the case of children.
[11] Which include not only detailed observational data but also notes on meanings, interpretations or situations and unobserved factors (Geertz, 1973).

broader sociocultural and political context, as well as their impact on subject development. The two extracts below, for example, helped me to reflect on how aspects of the city and school environments might impact on subject development – themes which I conceptualise in more detail later in the thesis.

'safer' too, we hear people say), it makes sense to get a car. The cars don't all fit on the roads, however, and a rotation system is devised. Half of the time, half of the cars, are out of use. Two and a half hours in traffic for a 15 minute journey, my face pressed against the bus window as the crush of people press each other into the bus, all trying to get somewhere on time. Those who can, have given up on the traffic down below, and looking up we can see them hopping from building to building in private helicopters. For some, using public transport is inconceivable – the threat of kidnapping seems very real. Everybody knows somebody who's been kidnapped, had their house invaded, been held up at gunpoint. At the bus stop somebody has written in spray-paint 'against the rise in bus fairs'. For the majority, the price of a bus ticket is simply beyond their means. This majority have no great wealth to protect, and while kidnapping seems out of the question, the threat of assault, a knife-point in exchange for one's mobile phone or R$20, is a familiar and constant friend in the back of one's mind.

Walking down the street in my neighbourhood, I do not see a single home that is not surrounded by high fencing, topped with electric wire. Guards stand with arms folded at the gates, or sit in their guard houses looking out across the street. Many buildings can only be accessed via double gates, to enter one must wait for the first gate to lock before the guard will open the second gate. By the grated garage entrances signs read 'turn off your headlights and await recognition'. Passing by in the street I feel that I am outside the 'safe-zone', the same feeling of quiet panic is evoked that I felt as a child playing tag, when I stepped outside of 'home' and anyone could catch me. Once vetted and locked inside, I can relax, and feel relatively safe from the threat and uncertainty of the outside world. Until one night I hear blood-curdling screams rising from the street below, a woman, and I look out of the window to see a band of men running off into the back streets and out of sight. A few minutes later a number of police cars arrive and pull up outside a house. I am simultaneously gripped with fear for my own safety, concern for the woman, and relief that I live behind bars.

1. Example of field diary and thick description (1).

As I climb the steps I pass the corridor attendant, smiling at him on passing, he looks at me with a solemn face. He looks tired and stressed and his skin is flushed. He is talking to a woman, a small child holds his hand. I go to climb the stairs and am overwhelmed by young children, running and shouting, bashing their school cases down the steps, sliding down the banisters, bashing into me as I weave between them. I wait for the lady to unlock the padlocked gates at the top of the steps and smile at her as I enter and wish her good evening. She does not smile back. I stop on the way to empty my bursting bladder in the female staff toilets. As I hover over the seatless toilet pan I read the back of the toilet door. 'Bunch of daughters of bitches' and below, 'Let's plant a bomb and kill all the teachers'. I am sweating, and I take a few deep breaths before leaving the bathroom. I pass another teacher in the corridor and smile at her. She smiles back, and I climb the rest of the stairs and, pushing the creaking metal door, enter the brightly lit computer room. 'Beth! Beth! Come here!' shouts Rachel, a ten-year old girl sitting at the computer. I smile and walk over to her, feeling flushed. I say 'good evening' to the teachers sitting at the computer, they reply 'good evening', their voices and smiles tense after a long day. I look around at the group of young children

2. Example of field diary and thick description (2).

While ethnographic methods have made a valuable contribution to this research, the

thesis is broader and rather different in scope than a traditional ethnography. Aside from the fact that my analysis has been influenced by other approaches (namely critical theory, critical realism, phenomenology and grounded theory), unlike many ethnographies (Cohen et al, 2011) my intention was not to study the culture of a specific context, but rather to investigate a particular phenomenon (violence) which involved an openness to allowing anything relevant to understanding the phenomenon to be considered. This meant making use of what ethnographic case-studies afford through their ability to capture the particularities of a specific context in detail (Dobbert and Kurth-Schai, 1992), but also broadening my focus to allow more explicit consideration of 'regularities, order and pattern within such diversity' (ibid: 150) that extend beyond issues of 'culture' and the specificity of the particular case.

Ethnography and naturalistic enquiry are often conflated because the former is by nature naturalistic and the latter utilises ethnographic data collection methods (Cohen et al, 2011). However, while ethnographers tend to emphasise the production of descriptive cultural knowledge of a specific group (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989), naturalistic enquiry tends to emphasise investigating the characteristics, causes and consequences of a specific phenomenon in its real life context (Lofland, 1971; Arsenault and Anderson, 1998). In this sense my case-study can be seen to operate more as an example of naturalistic enquiry than ethnography. On the other hand, naturalistic enquiry has been criticised for failing to engage adequately with social theory (Norris and Walker, 2005). I have broken away from this in my analysis by looking far beyond the immediate context of the case-study to the broader municipal, national, and global contexts and by engaging in depth with both historical analysis and theory (including social theory) from a wide range of disciplines. Rather than being a narrowly defined ethnography of a particular context, the DCX case-study both aided the development of a theoretical model for understanding violence as a global phenomenon, and served to illustrate how this model can aid our understanding of violence in specific contexts.

Before commencing data collection I had thought about how there was sure to be friction between such a radically inclined project and the highly structured and hierarchical school environment which it intended to transform. I had read personal

accounts of such friction, and of the limitations and restrictions fostered by the school structure in a report on the early stages of the project (Rosetti, 2004). At the time I wrote of how I intended:

> To investigate staff and student responses to the deconstruction and reconstruction of long established roles, identities, relations and practices within [the] school, as demanded by the implementation of [the Educommunication project]. Pilot programmes have resulted in power struggles, conflicts, and little lasting success. [...] This research proposes to investigate the underlying causes behind problems of translating education and communication theory into practice (Titchiner, 2010).

However, when I proposed to investigate the 'underlying causes behind problems' of putting such a transformative vision into practice, I had little idea of the depth, breadth, and challenges of the journey that this investigation would follow.

Preliminary Analysis: A project of limited scope.

Throughout the course of my data collection, I had remained hopeful that my research would reveal the revolutionary potential of this project. However, the moment of crisis that I experienced towards the end of my field research was steeped in the realisation that this would not be the case. Upon returning to the UK I carried out a preliminary analysis which confirmed this intuition:

On the one hand, the project created unprecedented avenues for the use of alternative technologies and methods of producing and sharing information, other than the textbook based teaching that students were accustomed to. However, these teaching methods were preserved for the students participating in the project (approximately 2% of the student body), during project hours only. Outside of the project, teaching methods remained largely unchanged with a continued reliance on textbook knowledge. This was reinforced by the Pedagogical Coordinator, who regularly promoted the didactic method of reading verbatim to students directly from textbooks, giving demonstrations of this to teachers in pedagogical meetings.

It was also evident that the conceptualisation of the school as standing in competition for with media and communications technologies as alternative sources of information, was only partially true in this context. While some of the students cited that they would stay up late watching films or browsing the internet and subsequently miss school the following day, many lived in very poor and precarious circumstances, had little or no access to media and communications technologies outside of school, and struggled to use these technologies without teacher assistance. Rather than using the same technologies that students use outside of school, the project introduced students to new technologies (3).

The project did encourage students to participate as agents of knowledge and change in a number of ways. Students created radio programmes to play during the younger children's break time to address the issue of fighting - a particular problem at that time of day; wrote articles on topics of relevance to their experience to display on the wall in the communal area; and created a short video about violence in response to the school shootings in Rio de Janeiro, to name a few examples. However, this was restricted to students participating directly in the project. On one occasion project students tried to include members of the wider school community by creating a 'Give Your Opinion about DCX' page on the school blog, inviting contributions from other students and teachers. However, only two people commented on the page over a period of four months. Aside from this, there were no other opportunities for students who were not participating directly in the project, to actively participate as subjects and agents of knowledge and change.

The project teachers actively encouraged teamwork and collaboration during project activities. As a result, some students reported that they had learnt to work better in groups, had interacted with people that they do not normally communicate with, and had developed greater respect for their fellow students (4). One teacher noticed that this had some impact on classroom dynamics outside of the project, at least in lessons she taught with project students in her class (5). However, some students continued to find it hard to collaborate with each other, especially the older students with the younger

ones, and students of all ages continued to exhibit a reticence towards working collaboratively within the project (6, 7). Overall, while there were positive effects for a small number of students, the impact on the school as a whole was minimal.

The project did foster opportunities for integrating local issues and student experience into the subject matter of project activities. Homelessness and precarious housing is an issue of particular relevance to the local community and many DCX students. On one occasion we took some of the project students to a local homelessness association, where they interviewed staff members about the association and its activities, and wrote articles for the wall newspaper about the experience. On another occasion we took some of the students on a walk around the local neighbourhood, encouraging them to photograph anything they found particularly striking, and held a discussion with the rest of the project students around the photographs. On other days discussions were held with the project students about class relations in São Paulo, and about the antagonistic relations between teachers and students in the classrooms at DCX – both issues of relevance to students' personal experiences. As a result, some students reported that their thinking had developed and that they perceived school and the outside world differently (8).

However, while two of the project teachers made a concerted effort to encourage students to draw on their own experience, interests and ideas in deciding the themes and content of project activities, the third teacher continued in the traditional 'banking' manner of allocating topics for students to write about, and focussing on improving technique rather than eliciting discussion about these topics. This teacher's method was very prescriptive, instructing students, for example, to choose a short story from the internet to publish rather than encouraging them to write their own, or telling them what to write word for word and where to write each word on the page, leaving little or no room for student expression or autonomy. While the project certainly created spaces for the integration of local culture and student experience, the inconsistency in practice between the project teachers meant that this space was not consistently available. The concept of a 'communicative ecosystem' and Lima's concept of a 'Social Network' style curriculum encapsulates the whole school. However, because the project only created

this space for a tiny percentage of students, and did so rather inconsistently, it did not come anywhere near to establishing such a concept in practice throughout the rest of the school, which remained largely unchanged.

The project did create more space for student expression than the traditional classroom. When asked whether they felt they had space to express their ideas in the project a number of students responded that they did (9), and some students, especially those who took part in the radio production activities, demonstrated increased confidence in expressing themselves after participating in the project (10). The experience of dialogue with teachers and each other also appeared to impact how some of the students perceived their relationship with others. Some students reported that they were more interested in what teachers had to say, felt more respect for the school space, had experienced a different, more respectful way of relating, and saw new ways to resolve conflict (11).

Even though two of the project teachers made a concerted effort to reduce symbolic violence by actively encouraging students to express themselves and share their own knowledge and experience, this was offset by the more authoritarian, 'banking' approach of the third teacher; the fact that students had been subject to this approach for a number of years prior to joining the project; and the continuation of this approach in their usual lessons outside on project hours. As a result, many were afraid or ashamed to speak their mind, and were particularly afraid of getting something 'wrong' when expressing themselves. When asked whether they felt comfortable to express themselves in the project, not all students did:

> *I feel anxious because it's a place full of people, and ashamed* (Student, 28/06/11).
>
> *I don't feel comfortable, I'm scared of being teased* (Student, 28/06/11).
>
> *No, because firstly I'm shy and feel ashamed, and secondly because I don't feel comfortable in the discussion circle* (Student, 28/06/11).

No because I'm afraid of getting something wrong (Student, 28/06/11).

No, because it's possible that I'll say something that doesn't have anything to do with what they're talking about (Student, 28/06/11).

While there were clear benefits for some students, the overall reduction of symbolic violence was minimal because the changes in pedagogical approach adopted by the two project teachers did not extend to the third teacher, nor to the rest of the school.

The project did foster opportunities for teachers and students to interact in less hierarchical ways. However, this was limited to interactions with the project teachers and the occasional teacher who would come to assist with activities. Because of the emphasis in the project on collaborative working and the fact that the teachers were not experienced in media production, there were a number of instances in which teachers and students would work and learn together, creating a relation that was more horizontal than in the classroom. However, it was also clear that the teachers very much remained 'in charge' during project activities. This was expected of them by the school, especially in terms of managing student behaviour, and students also expected this of teachers. Therefore, the traditional school environment and hierarchical ways of relating exerted an influence over the project.

Outside the school environment, during outings organised as part of the project, this influence appeared to fade away and the relating between teachers and students became much more horizontal. Students who would often 'act out' rebelliously during project activities held at school, ceased to do so outside of this environment (12). This removal from the hierarchical structure of the school environment fostered a dynamic in which the adults and children could interact more as equals, without all the tensions and power struggles that occurred in the classroom and project environments (13), and after experiencing this kind of relating, some of the students expressed that their perception of teachers had changed (14).

However, the project teachers did struggle to let go of the authoritarian ways of relating that they were accustomed to, and as mentioned previously behaved inconsistently and

in contradictory manners towards students (15). Student-teacher relations were often chaotic and fraught with tensions during project activities, and extended to being physically aggressive and verbally abusive outside of the project:

AP: There was a day when the history teacher said something to LC, I don't know what they did, I was at the back, and I saw that the history teacher said just like this [puts on a threatening, aggressive tone in imitation] 'I'm going to cut your throat'. And he got so angry that he shouted because he got, I don't know what he got but he said just like this 'I'm going to cut your throat'. Whenever the students don't return [something to him] he says something like that.
BR: He said like this, that if he was his son he would want to kill him and throw him in the trash (Student comments, 28/06/11).

Student: There was a teacher and […] he said to [lists some girls' names], he was trying to explain, and he said that if anyone said that they didn't understand he would give them a smack in the face.
Another student: A smack in the face (Student comments, 28/06/11).

We heard shouts coming from the corridor […] it was a teacher shouting in despair at her students (Field notes, 25/05/11).

At the beginning of the session a teacher was screaming at one of her third year students out in the corridor, in front of the rest of her class. She grabbed the student aggressively and shouted (Observation notes, 08/04/11).

After trying to call the group to sit on the floor in a circle and have a meeting with little success, the teacher hustled everybody up the stairs to the computer room, and as soon as all were in the door she exploded, shouting 'What am I supposed to do when the director walks by and sees you acting like animals!? She'll lose faith in everything that I've told her about how well you're all doing! She'll think 'I don't know what they're doing in this project but it isn't working'. You, who are supposed to be role models for the rest of the school! You're terrible! Terrible!'

The teacher was red-faced and close to tears, and the children sat silently staring into their laps, fidgeting awkwardly. One of the boys was laughing nervously, half covering his face with his cap (Observation notes, 29/04/11).

As a result, it is not possible to conclude that the project fostered any lasting break in the traditionally hierarchical relations between teachers and students, and when asked whether they perceived their teachers differently after taking part in the project, many of the project students reported no change:

No, because the teachers don't change (Student, 28/06/11).

No, they carry on being the same as always (Student, 28/06/11).

Nothing changed (Student, 28/06/11).

I don't think so, things continue being the same (Student, 28/06/11).

No, because they are the same as always (Student, 28/06/11).

No, they're the same as always, nothing has changed (Student, 28/06/11).

No, I think they carry on being the same (Student, 28/06/11).

The project teachers also experienced significant challenges when it came to bringing ideas into fruition. This was partly due to chaotic and fractious interpersonal relations within the project, but also due to lack of time and continuity. This was felt by both students (16) and teachers (17):

[The teacher] started to lose motivation: 'I've been thinking that our project doesn't make much difference. I ask myself if it really helps in any way, and it seems to me that DCX is worse this year, with more conflicts and fights, and our project reaches what? 1% of students? And I don't know if it's making any difference for this group. I don't know if it has any relevance to the rest outside [the project]. Even if the project students influence the others in some way as role models, I don't know if we have achieved much' (Observation notes, 26/04/11).

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This preliminary analysis confirmed the findings of earlier studies on Educommunication pilot projects (Rosetti, 2004), namely that they resulted in little lasting success. I had predicted that the Educommunication project would trigger power struggles and conflicts as it demanded the reworking of established roles and identities. However, I found that power struggles and conflicts were already pervasive throughout all aspects of school life, and that these fraught relations, along with pre-established roles, were largely carried over into the project. I had initially set out to investigate the underlying causes behind problems of translating Educommunication theory into practice. I this preliminary analysis I identified a number of said problems, including insufficient numbers of students and teachers involved in the project; inconsistencies in the translation of theory into practice; the overriding influence of the hierarchical school environment; ongoing tensions and conflicts in teacher-student relations; and insufficient time to bring ideas into fruition. However, when it comes to understanding the *root causes* of these problems, Educommunication theory does not provide a sufficient interpretive framework.

The Need for a New Interpretive Framework and Epistemology.

Educommunication theory argues that conflict, aggression, and student disaffection in the school environment stem from competition between traditional schooling and new technologies, and from the symbolic violence of the 'banking' model of education. I found that tensions between the school and new technologies were not actually a causal factor in the fraught interpersonal relations at DCX, since students had little access to such technologies outside of school, and there was no resistance to encouraging their use within school. I found that the symbolic violence of the hierarchical, one-way transmission model of schooling *did* appear to be a significant causal factor for conflict, aggression and student disaffection. However, preliminary data analysis also suggested that this was just one of a much more complex combination of a variety of causal factors operating at multiple levels, from individual subjectivity to the local neighbourhood, different levels of Brazilian society, and global trends. I found that Freire's theories did

not provide a suitable framework for understanding these issues. His dichotomy of oppressor and oppressed fails to do justice to the complexities of individual subjectivity because it offers no solid theory regarding how subjects find and maintain themselves at either position in this relationship, nor how they can occupy both positions at once. His theories also fail to adequately locate the subject within a sociohistorical context, and do not do justice to the co-constituting relationship between individual agency and oppressive social structures.

I had answered the question 'What are the underlying causes behind problems of translating Educommunication theory into practice?' as well as I could using Educommunication theory, and established that the Educommunication project was not a sufficiently effective intervention for reconciling violent interpersonal relations in schooling. I was left with the fact that I still did not fully understand the root causes of the conflict, aggression and disaffection that I witnessed in DCX School, and therefore could not contribute anything towards the development of more effective interventions. My initial question 'What are the underlying causes behind problems translating Educommunication theory into practice?' became 'What are the root causes of the establishment and maintenance of violent interpersonal relations in DCX School?' Considering that I had established that the conceptual framework of Educommunication could not help me develop such understanding, I was left with a large amount of rich qualitative data, but no interpretive framework for answering this question.

When I designed my research I began not only with a conceptual framework based on the concept of Educommunication but also with a largely post-structural epistemology. Since I intended to assess the translation of Educommunication theory into practice, it made sense to analyse my research data in relation to Educommunication's own theoretical framework. Also, in undertaking research into violence and subjectivity within a postcolonial context, poststructuralism appeared valuable with its anti-positivist emphasis on particularity, diversity, subjectivity and critique of power relations. To the extent that post-structuralism has become incredibly popular in critical social science research, as a novice researcher I was also under the impression that if one wanted to be critical, one must be post-structuralist. As I uncovered the flaws in Educommunication

theory, I also found flaws in my post-structural epistemology.

My moment of crisis came after months of bearing witness to a tumultuous, fractious and fraught school environment, in a neighbourhood marked by extreme degradation and social neglect, and to a large group of individuals (teachers, school staff, parents and students) all struggling desperately to cope. In light of this, not only did the conceptual foundation of Educommunication feel superficial, overly simplistic and absurd, but the subjectivist and relativistic tendencies of my post-structural epistemology also left me feeling paralysed, with no indications for how to make sense of the complexities and depth of struggle that I was witnessing. Trusting that I would find a way forward eventually, I continued to gather data for the remainder of my time in the school. However, when I returned to the UK I felt rather stunned by what I had witnessed, and suspended in a kind of conceptual vacuum without the interpretive tools to make sense of it all.

Developing a New Epistemic, Methodological, and Interpretive Framework.

In response to the above scenario I decided to begin my analysis again from scratch by abandoning post-structuralism and Educommunication theory, and exploring alternatives. Out of this exploration I developed the epistemic and methodological framework in which the conceptual, interpretive and analytical work of this thesis is grounded. Since I flesh out my epistemic framework in detail in chapters Three, Four and Seven I will not repeat it here. My methodology is grounded in this epistemology and can perhaps be better understood once the entire thesis has been read. However, to orientate the reader I will outline its basic foundations here.

My search for a suitable interpretive framework began with the sense that post-structuralism failed in the face of my lived experiences in the case-study context. I therefore began with a mind to seek out literature that could begin to do justice to these

experiences. While I saw no value in reverting to a positivist, rationalistic approach[12], I found that while post-structural frameworks allowed for the expression of subjective experiences, they offered me little in terms of interpreting these experiences within a broader theoretical and contextual framework.

I found a way out of this paralysis in early Frankfurt School critical theory and elements of post-Husserlian phenomenology. While I do not subscribe wholeheartedly to any one author or tradition, within these areas I found a number of very useful strands of thought which, combined, served to provide an epistemic and methodological framework that I felt could to do justice to my data and experiences in a critical yet balanced and useful way. The key benefits of this framework include:

- An ability to 'lend a voice to suffering' without decontextualizing, neutralising or depoliticising it.
- An ability to maintain a dialectical, balanced and integrated relation between particularity/generality; individual consciousness/society; structure/agency; subjective experience/sociohistorical context.
- An ability to recognise (inter)subjective experience whilst also examining it from a critical perspective.

Allow me to explain. Some valuable work comes from strands of post-structural thought that challenge modernistic narratives of progress, and in doing so lend voice to the human suffering often hidden beneath such narratives. Post-structuralists also tend to criticise the 'repressive hierarchies' of the dualisms of modern philosophy (such as universal/particular, public/private, subject/object, etc.) in which one pole is often afforded significantly more worth than its counterpart, leading to the marginalisation of the latter (Schick, 2009; McLaren, 1995; Hammer and McLaren, 1991)[13]. Post-structuralism aims to counter this by giving focus to the less valued poles of traditional dualisms, celebrating the local and the particular whilst eschewing the analysis of

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[12]   As Schick (2009) states, the rationalistic, positivist 'rush to 'solve' the problem of suffering with the forward-looking articulation of an abstract, universal response skims too quickly over concrete human experience' (p. 138).
[13]   Cf. Edkins 2002, 2003 and Zizek 2002a, 2002b.

metanarratives. Some such authors argue that in modern philosophy particular experience of suffering is silenced to prevent it disrupting narratives of order and progress[14], by reinserting survivors of suffering and trauma back into the established social order and encouraging them to 'forget' suffering or otherwise labelling them with mental illness (Edkins, 2002). It is argued that the incorporation of such experience into a broader historical narrative should be prevented, as it only contributes to this silencing (Schick, 2009).

While this approach can be praised for challenging the unbalanced treatment of dualisms and the silencing of suffering, it can be criticised for tipping the balance too far in the opposite direction. By refusing to incorporate particular experiences of suffering into a broader social narrative, it fails to provide us with any means for understanding and addressing the causes of suffering, leading to what I experienced as a theoretical 'vacuum' with no clear way forward. Adorno brings a valuable alternative to this approach. While he shares critical aspects with his emphasis on the importance of particularity (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002) and his refusal to forget suffering (Adorno, 1973), he differs in one key respect: he maintains a dialectical approach which 'attends to broader social processes and institutions and the ways in which these constitute (and are constituted by) particularity' (Schick, 2009: 141). Adopting this dialectical approach enabled me to analyse both particular, individual experiences and the sociohistorical context in which these experiences took place, opening up a fascinating and valuable line of enquiry which resulted in the conceptualisation of the relationship between individual epistemology and the 'conduciveness' of social circumstances, as presented in Chapter Four. What I found particularly valuable about Adorno's work is that he does not prioritise one pole of a dualism over another, but rather advocates holding the two in balance, not synthesising or settling for a 'weak middle ground', but examining in detail the complex, co-constitutive relationships between the two.

These ideas paved the way for a comprehensive approach that incorporated both historical and contextual analysis as well as the study of individual consciousness and

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[14] I will illustrate examples of this later, as indeed, the motto emblazoned on Brazil's national flag is 'order and progress'.

lived experience. In pursuit of the former I drew on strands of critique from Adorno and his Frankfurt School contemporaries, as well as more recent authors who are contributing to a revival of Frankfurt School critical theory for the 21st Century (Cf. Cook, 2005; Sherman, 2007; Smith, 2011). In pursuit of the latter I drew on strands from post-Husserlian phenomenology (Cf. Merleau-Ponty, 2012, 1964; Sartre, 1956; Wider, 1997) and more contemporary works which highlight the links between Frankfurt School critical theory and phenomenology (Sherman, 2007; Smith, 2011). The strengths of these works include:

- The understanding of consciousness as embodied and situated in the world (and as intentionally and intersubjectively relating with that world, as opposed to more Cartesian strands of phenomenology).
- Acknowledgement of the multidimensionality of consciousness and phenomena, and of the ever-changing nature of phenomena (as opposed to phenomena possessing immutable 'essences').
- Emphasis on the importance of a dialectical 'openness' to experience (as opposed to pure 'objectivity' or 'subjectivity').

Many equate 'openness' to experience with the phenomenological concept of 'Bracketing' (Cohen et al, 2011). This has been criticised as an assumption that it is possible to 'set aside' our pre-existing experiences and concepts, positioning ourselves as a 'tabula rasa' and thus gain an objective view on phenomena (Hutchinson, 1988). Contrary to this view, I adopted a more dialectical interpretation grounded in Adorno's (1973) critique of 'identity thinking'. As Waring (2012) argues, bracketing is unrealistic if understood in the above way. However, by seeing 'bracketing' as temporarily 'suspending' my pre-existing concepts and experience and remaining open to new experiences, I could maintain a dialectical relationship between the former and the latter, thus preventing the subsumption of the latter by the former. In this way I did not subscribe to either the concept of pure objectivity nor to subjectivism, but rather to an intersubjective, dialectical relationship between my own subjectivity and my data/experiences in the field (what Sherman (2007) calls 'mediating subjectivity').

This attitude was central to my analytical approach, based in what Clough and Nutbrown (2012: 26) call 'radical enquiry'. Characterised by the 'arrest' or 'bracketing' of experience (which I employed in the dialectical manner described above), radical enquiry is defined as an 'exploration beyond the familiar and the (personally) known, to the roots of a situation'. While I did not adhere strictly to its specific procedures of data collection and analysis, and therefore cannot claim that my research has produced a 'grounded theory' in the traditional sense, I found several aspects of Grounded Theory useful and drew on these during my process of analysis. Firstly, the intention of radical enquiry to get to the 'roots of a situation' is also reflected in the methodology of Grounded Theory, which asks 'what is happening and why is it happening?' (Waring, 2012: 299). Secondly, I found Grounded Theory compatible with my dialectical framework because it 'assume[s] the capacity of an agent to act in the world and be producers and well as products of social systems' (Bryant and Charming, 2007: 21). Finally, in aiming to understand the root causes of violence I also found the analytical methodology of Grounded Theory useful because it looks for 'a set of relationships among data and categories that proposes a plausible explanation of the phenomena under study' (Moghaddam, 2006: 299).

In establishing this epistemic framework I did not simply adopt a single set of concepts deriving from a pre-existing 'ism' (e.g. foundationalism, poststructuralism, etc.) but rather opted for the selection of constructs and positions from a range of disciplinary/theoretical areas to compose a 'patchwork'[15] like epistemic framework, in which pieces of this patchwork were selected on the basis of how well they were able to accommodate the multidimensionality of my data and experience in the field. As mentioned above, this led me to select epistemic concepts from early Frankfurt School critical theory and elements of post-Husserlean phenomenology. As Chapter Three demonstrates, I have also drawn on research in psychology, neuroscience and learning theory to refine the finer points of my epistemology.

However, for those who might wonder where this epistemic patchwork lies in relation to

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[15] The use of the term 'patchwork' here is not to be taken to mean a lack of coherence, but rather a coherent framework pieced together from compatible elements of a variety of separate frameworks.

other existing frameworks: it can be seen as closely aligned with Critical Realism (Cf. Bhaskar, 1979; Fletcher, 2016; Fleetwood, 2013). While foundationalist epistemologies presume that a concrete, phenomenal reality exists outside of human consciousness, and is fully accessible to that consciousness (Kurki, 2008; Rockmore, 2004; Cruickshank, 2003), idealist epistemologies (e.g. postmodernism, poststructuralism) argue that this is a fallacy, and that reality is in fact socially constructed through language, discourse and human subjectivity - meaning that 'objective' truth cannot exist (White, 2006). In their most extreme forms, idealist epistemologies appear to promote the view that 'if we cannot have absolute untarnished access to knowledge, there can be no knowledge' (ibid: 54). White (ibid) argues, however, that this position is untenable and unnecessary, quoting William James' argument that 'when we give up the doctrine of objective certitude, we do not thereby give up the quest or hope of truth itself' (ibid). This latter view (which acknowledges a concrete reality existing outside of human subjectivity and accepts that we cannot 'have absolute untarnished access to knowledge', yet does not abandon the quest for understanding altogether) underpins both Critical Realism and my own epistemology.

Where foundationalist epistemologies emphasise the material dimension at the expense of the ideal (i.e. discursive) and social dimensions of reality and idealist epistemologies can be accused of doing the opposite, Critical Realism, like my approach, recognises the material, ideal, social and artefactual dimensions as being equally 'real' components of a multidimensional reality (Fleetwood, 2013; Maxwell, 2012). Critical Realism recognises that 'existing theories may not necessarily reflect reality accurately' (Fletcher, 2016: 184) and therefore argues that researchers should 'avoid any commitment to the content of specific theories and recognise the conditional nature of all [...] results' (Bhaskar, 1979: 6). However, unlike idealism, Critical Realism assumes that, since there is a concrete reality to which our theories refer, 'some theories may be more accurate than others' (Fletcher, 2016: 184). This position was central to the elaboration of the theoretical dimension of this thesis: by assuming that 'some theories may be more accurate than others' whilst treating all theories as provisional, I was able to review and select theoretical constructs based on how well they were able to accommodate or represent my data and experience in the field, without pressure to squeeze my data into theoretical

constructs into which it did not 'fit'.

In line with my approach outlined earlier in this section, Critical Realism also takes a dialectical approach in which structure and agency are both recognised and seen as distinct yet interrelated. That is, agents are seen to interact with structures (which pre-exist their action) in a cyclical relation through which structures are reproduced or transformed (Fleetwood, 2013). The theoretical framework that I outline in this thesis extends beyond this to explore how subjectivity can also be shaped by structures. The two core concepts presented in this thesis (violent epistemology and non-conducive circumstances) are products of employing this dialectical approach – the former represents a deep engagement with subjectivity (agency) and the latter with context (structure), while the relationship between the two is examined in detail throughout Chapters Four to Seven.

As already highlighted, the finer points of my epistemic framework are fleshed out in Chapters Three, Four and Seven, since this also operates as my theoretical framework. In turn, my theoretical/epistemic framework also informed and grew to operate as my methodological approach to analysis. Since both my epistemic and (analytical) methodological frameworks were reconstructed from scratch post- data collection, the two emerged and were refined in intimate relation with each other. As mentioned above, after discarding my post-structural leanings I began by selecting elements of early Frankfurt School critical theory and post-Husserlian phenomenology, because I felt that these perspectives were most able to underpin an approach to analysis that could do justice to the multidimensionality of my data.

Analytical methods were then selected for their compatibility with this dialectical, multidimensional and phenomenological ethos. As my analysis progressed, exploration of the finer points of epistemic behaviour and the interactions between agentive subjectivity and facticity within social and institutional structures, served to inform and further refine my epistemic and methodological frameworks, leading to tweaks in my analytical methods (for example, the introduction of Bronfenbrenner's (1944, 1979, 2005) bioecological model of human development, and the use of axial and selective

coding using the paradigm model (Waring, 2012) from grounded theory). In this way, there was an abductive interaction not just between my data and theoretical formulations, but also between these and my methodological approach to analysis. A key point however, is that while I used a variety of methods, the core factors that make the thesis what it is are my epistemic and theoretical frameworks rather than the methods themselves, since the methods I used have been employed by researchers with differing epistemic perspectives (Fletcher, 2016; Harich, 2010; Cohen et al., 2011; Nurjannah et al., 2014; Waring, 2012), to produce analyses that do not possess equally comprehensive or foundational character.

Handling Causality

As already mentioned, after acknowledging the limited transformative potential of the Educommunication project, my focus shifted to understanding the 'root causes' of violence in DCX School. Causality can be a contentious issue in social research, and it is important to clarify my approach to this. Foundationalist/Empirical Realist social science has received heavy criticism for its Humean approach in which causality is seen as event regularity, laws, and law-like or functional relations operating in linear temporal 'causal chains' (Fleetwood, 2013). Many argue that this approach, which emphasises statistical analysis and deterministic prediction, is inappropriate for understanding the social world in which the complexity of social phenomena cannot be reduced to numerical data, and human agency makes determinism a fallacy and prediction impossible (Kurki, 2008; Fleetwood, 2013; Fletcher, 2016; Cohen et al., 2011). The idealist response to this has been to reject the notion of causality altogether, and consequently disengage from it (Fleetwood, 2013). However, this is unhelpful because it does not help us to understand the mechanisms and processes contributing to the manifestation of social phenomena (e.g. violence), and without such understanding it is very difficult to identify appropriate means to address social problems (Harich, 2010).

Like other aspects of my theoretical framework, I have adopted an approach to causality that can be seen as aligned with Critical Realism. This approach engages proactively with

causality by striving to develop 'causal explanations' through uncovering and understanding the 'causal mechanisms' underlying social phenomena (Fleetwood, 2013), thus making the 'suggest[ion of] practical policy recommendations to address social problems' (Fletcher, 2016: 181) more viable. Unlike strong empiricist or idealist social science, Critical Realism sees the social world as an open system in which prediction is impossible, but explanation still possible (Fleetwood, 2013). Although it is not straightforward to demonstrate causality in social phenomena, as Cohen et al. (2011) argue, 'there are regularities, there are likelihoods based on experience, there are similarities based on situations and people' (p. 60), and therefore while inferring causation can be 'complex and daunting' (ibid), it may still be possible.

This perspective frames causality as complex, tendential and at times probabilistic, rather than deterministic (ibid). According to this view, the best causal explanations are those which engage with 'the most comprehensive theory (e.g. that [...] which embraces intentionality, agency, interaction as well as structure, i.e. micro- and macro-factors), that explain all the elements of a phenomenon, that fit the *explanandum* (that which is to be explained)' (Cohen et al., 2011: 61-62). Rather than aiming to isolate decontextualized variables and identify statistical association based on correlation or event regularity, and rather than aiming to uncover 'regimes of truth' using discourse analysis alone (Fleetwood, 2013), Critical Realism employs abductive and retroductive analysis in aiming to 'understand the emergent history of a phenomenon or whole' (Cohen et al., 2011: 71).

This 'emergent history' considers all dimensions of reality from the material to the discursive (Fletcher, 2016) and can involve multiple and simultaneous causes and sub-causes, processes, effects and sub-effects, operating in causal chains, feedback loops and holistic webs of connections involving interactions between agency, intentionality and structural constraints (Morrison, 2009; Cohen et al., 2011; Harich, 2010). As Cohen et al. (2011) and Fletcher (2016) argue, elucidating these complex relations is where qualitative data can come into its own and hold pre-eminence over quantitative/statistical analysis, because understanding causal processes involves understanding 'how macro- structural features from society actually enter into

individuals' actions and interactions and how individuals' actions and interactions determine social structures' (Cohen et al., 2011: 63). These processes are often opaque and need cautious elucidation – something that qualitative analysis tends to be better suited to because experimental methods 'tend to overlook the significance of context and conditions, of processes, of human intentionality, motives and agency' (ibid: 66).

As Pearl (2009) writes, it is also important to consider circumscription in research seeking causal explanations. This involves deciding how far back in time and how far out into the 'causal space (how many conditions and circumstances contribute to the causation at work […])' to go (Cohen et al., 2011). The factors included or excluded can affect our judgments of causality: casting the net too widely or narrowly can make it difficult to differentiate the wood from the trees (Pearl, 2009). To address this issue I turned to the concept of 'root' causes. Harich (2010) differentiates between 'intermediate', 'apparent', 'interim' or 'pseudo root' causes, and 'true root' causes. The former can be seen as sub-causes in a causal (not necessarily linear) chain, or as 'coincident occurrence[s] that, like the trouble symptom itself, [are] being produced by the feedback loop dynamics of a larger system' (Forrester, 1971: 95), whereas a 'root cause' can be defined as 'a portion of a system's structure that "best" helps to explain why the system's behaviour produces a problem's symptoms' (Harich, 2010: 57).

'Difficult problems' Harich (2010) explains, 'usually have multiple […] causes' (p. 58) and 'asking why a phenomenon is the way it is, often leads to the identification of more fundamental causes further down the causal chain' (p.57), highlighting that a phenomenon is actually a symptom or 'an intermediate, rather than a root, cause' (ibid). Harich argues against stopping at intermediate causes, and instead for treating them as 'starting points for deeper analysis' (ibid) in a process of asking a series of 'why is this happening?' (ibid: 58) questions until the root cause(s) are found. But how can we know when we have arrived at a root cause? Harich (ibid) proposes that a root cause has three identifying characteristics: firstly, it is clearly a (or the) major cause of the symptoms (e.g. manifestations of violence); secondly, it has no worthwhile deeper cause; and thirdly, it can be resolved. There may be deeper, unchangeable causes (in my model these are identified as emotions and to some degree motivations) and Harich (ibid) states that it

may be useful to emphasize these for greater understanding and to determine the point at which intervention can effectively be targeted (i.e. at the level of the root cause, rather than at deeper, unchangeable or higher, symptomatic levels). Harich's formulation guided my analysis towards the identification of 'violent epistemology' and 'non-conductive circumstances' as the root cause and causal conditions (Cohen et al., 2011) of violence in DCX School. In the following section I will outline how the above-described approaches to causality informed the analytical methods and processes that led me to this conclusion.

A New Process of Analysis.

After taking a break to gain some emotional distance from the data (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007), I began my analysis again from scratch by re-familiarising myself with the data and writing memos on initial themes. I then read widely in order to increase my theoretical sensitivity. Strauss and Corbin (1990), state that theoretical sensitivity is developed through personal experience, professional experience and reading literature. Referring to the latter, Glaser (1998) argues that by studying many themes across different disciplines, researchers may identify numerous theoretical codes embedded in these theories, and thus enhance their own knowledge base of theoretical codes. With this in mind I read widely in sociology, psychology, neuroscience, history, learning theory, education, and philosophy. Working part-time supporting young people in situations of risk during data analysis, also helped me to increase my theoretical sensitivity by offering insight into issues such as vicarious traumatisation, burnout, organisational change, and the interrelationships between precarious housing, poverty, mental health and violence.

My overall approach to analysis and theoretical formulation was grounded in this expanded theoretical sensitivity; in the approach to investigating causality outlined in the previous section; and in the employment of abduction to relate theory to data in 'a selective and creative process in which [I] carefully investigate[d] which hypothesis explains a particular segment or set of data better than any other' (Thornberg, 2012b; Douven, 2011). In this abductive process I treated pre-existing theories and concepts, as

Thornburg (2012) advocates, as provisional, disputable and modifiable conceptual proposals. Following the advice of Strauss and Corbin (1990: 23), I did not 'begin with theory, and then prove it', but rather began with an area of study, allowing what was relevant to that area to emerge. I found, as Kelle (1995) argues, that the ability to draw good abductive inferences was dependent on my previous knowledge (theoretical sensitivity), rejection of dogmatic beliefs, and the development of open-mindedness (through my dialectical approach to 'bracketing').

After transcribing my audio recordings and collating these with my observational notes in chronological order, I carried out various cycles of coding and analysis by hand because I wanted 'to be close to the data and have a hands on feel for it' (Cresswell, 2014: 264). Beginning with the question 'what are the root causes of violence in the DCX School?' I read through the data to identify regularities, patterns and topics, then assigned words or phrases to these which became my initial codes (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007: 173). I specifically looked in the data for indicators of manifestations of violence in any form, and potential factors contributing to such manifestations. Initial codes were then arranged into themes (such as 'student experience brought from outside of school') and each code given an abbreviation and colour (Cresswell, 2014). I then went through the data again, marking relevant sections with the appropriate code abbreviation and colour, and adding any new codes to this system that arose. All highlighted data was then translated into English (by myself), and reorganised by theme and sub-code. The data was then read again, new sub-codes added, and reorganised again according to this complete list of themes, codes and sub-codes (see Appendix Three).

que quase passou mal hoje tb. Perguntei 'por que tá
todo mundo passando mal?' e a ▮▮▮▮ 'ah, passei de
onibus ne'. A M explicou p/ a ▮▮▮▮ que como a J
teve que dar aula hoje na sala de informática a L não
pudia trabalhar no blog, então a M queria que a L
ajudasse o rádio e fizesse um roteiro. A L disse 'ajudo'.
A L perguntou se não pudesse faze rádio, já que na
última semestre quando ela tenha feito conseguiam fazer
poucas programas e não fizeram muita coisa e ainda foi
correria. A M disse 'ah mas você tambem não tem
participado muito do blog, e é bom você participar mais do
blog p/ aprender sobre isto, pq se só fize rádio não
vai aprender sobre outras coisas'. e A L 'ai professor
tem ... ... um ... 4 textos e foi eu que enauimor[...]

3. Example of field notes.

M: Entao vamo fazer esse acordo essa semana pra gente fazer isso...
J: Se nos tres entrar na sala dela vai parecer... 'que isso?'... ne... uma comissao que querem me coagir? Eu acho assim
M: Ela tem, ela tem uma coise de... de...
J: Eh... acho assim
M: Que possa ser defenciosa
J: uma pessoa assim poderia sentar, conversar com ela, ne? SOndar, ver qual que eh, na boa. Umas vezes eu faco, entro la, tenho alguma questao a ser colocada, vou la e falo. Ne? Eh, das posibilidades, vai. 'Ah, tal coisa poderia?'
M: E a gente vai usa a lista de email pra tentar divulger isso pros professors, gerar... de uma maneira geral, vai escolher algum... alguns pontos..
J: Ah gentes vamos escolher umas pessoas... de liderancas
M: Entao gente vamos ja escolher umas pessoas. Pra quem que a gente vai, mobilizar?
J: E ver tambem se alguns, nao vao DESmobilisar... por interesses pessoais, nao?
M: Entao, o que a gente tambem pudia fazer, eh elaborar uma carta, entendeu? Falando...
J: Eu acho que as questoes seria o seguinte... tambem... propor para os professors avaliarem, ne? Esses, dois anos. Por que por exemplo, da galeira que tem por exemplo uma jornada de manha.. para eles tanto faz como tanto fez.
M: Tanto faz
J: E o cara vai ate comentar, que se for tirar a sexta serie vai acabar com a jornada dele da manha. 'Ce entendeu? A JOrnada com que ele ta comfortavel la.

4. Example of transcribed audio recordings.

No meeting to resolve problems – lack of teacher cohesion
↳ 09/05/11 p.1

Teachers not turning up to work – strain on other teaches
↳ 09/05/11 p.1

Verbal Violence / Intimidation ⟶ 12/05/11 p.1 – ' você é danada!'
↳ 09/05/11 P.1 bottom – 'É só dá um bronco nas meninas que
bagunçam como eu fiz c/ a AP, e elas se assustam.'
↳ P.2 JB falou que G mudou 'por causa daquela fala que eu custumo
e gosto de dar para todos eles, onde eu digo 'É só você que vai
perder, porque eu não vou perder nada', ae a ficha começa cair que
aquilo não adianta nada e ele começa a tomar um pouco de
consciência que é só ele que vai perder.'

Violence is embedded in environment/society – not just product of school
⟶ 09/05/11 p.2 bottom → JB talks of teacher's lives
at risk: 'if a teacher hits a student and leaves a mark, all of the
teaches will be risking their lives down here.'
↳ and more illustrations of poverty + social inequality – woman exercises
in a cage next to a line of hungry people under the viaduct.

Subtle Violence
↳ 09/05/11 – P.3 bottom: Jb talks of how he thinks we gave the students
too much freedom, and that he prefers to cut their wings right from the beginning
and then let them have more freedom bit by bit. ① → interesting that the
idea that one subject (teacher) believes they have the right to restrict +
control the freedom of another (student) is inherently violent – yet it is
commonly accepted as normal.

5. Example of memos on initial themes.

CATEGORIES FOR ANALYSIS

The impact of student experiences of epistemic violence outside of school, inside of school: (SE)

SE1 • Thwarted self-actualisation through lack of space to run and play – results in pent up energy and frustration – results in students running wild, shouting, screaming, getting into fights, throwing desks and chairs in classrooms, and being unable to stay settled in the classroom

SE2 • Experience of racism – bullying, fights and self-exclusion (case study of boy whose father perpetuated reverse-racism)

SE3 • Experience of trauma – girl who was aggressive to everyone after having lived on the streets and had to be accompanied 24/7 under the arm of a teacher, orphaned boy who refused to enter classroom and spent all day under the stairs

SE4 • Parent's lack of ability to provide proper care and supervision – result students being tired and less able to engage in school activities, and in low self-esteem

SE5 • Awareness of underclass status (racially, economically, educationally) – low self-esteem – result quick misinterpretation of situations leading to defensive responses, and putting down of others cycle. i.e. name calling in class results in fist fight, or accidental knock results in violent physical retaliation.

SE6 • learnt violent epistemology (from outside school)

A schooling system built on violence, that perpetuates violence: (SS)

SS1 • Low teacher pay and lack of sufficient clinical supervision – over-tired and over-stressed, demoralised teachers having breakdowns, absenteeism leaving other teachers to take up slack, perpetuating problem

SS2 • Hierarchical system – punitive system

SS3 • Defensive system (locks and gates in school, prison-like building)

SS4 • Homogeneous system unable to respond to student need – further eroding of self-confidence (i.e. being asked to read in class when can't read), lack of personal approach (blank walls, strict timetables) lack of feeling of personal value.

SS5 • Teacher cliques – lack of mutual support and co-working between teachers results in isolation and tensions between staff, and between teachers and directors (i.e. lecture on teaching about dengue from pedagogical coordinator).

Other - added during analysis:

→ Read for good examples of practice for ch. 8.

PA • positive aspects of teacher practice or outcomes of project

EC • Epistemic Contradictions in teacher practice

TS • Teacher Safety

SS6 • Cultural deficit perception

SS6. Learnt violent epistemology (from inside school)

SS7 • Objectifying students- labelling

NN • Neighbourhood neglect

6. Initial themes with allocated colours and code abbreviations.

que podia ter sido o primeiro beijo dele. Ela falou que ele tinha arrumado este trabalho no forum, mas que deu problema porque a mae dele nao queria assinar os papeis e porque ela (a mae) nao pudia subir are o forum por que era muito longe. E que ela (a J) e a M e o JB se juntaram para ajudar ele e convidaram a mae para conversar, levaram ele e a mae la no forum para conversaram juntos e deram a forca para ele conseguir trabalhar la, onde ele tem um estagio para um ano agora. Falei que isto eh legal para ele ne? E ela faou 'sim, principalmente para um rapaz que nao tem renda nenhum'. Ela falou que foi muito legal conhecer a mae dele, e que ela acha tao importante convidar os pais para a escola tambem, como hoje, porque ela acredita que so quando os pais, os alunos, e os professores sentam-se juntos que vamos contruir a escola que queremos. Que todos querem. Para saber o que os pais querem, o que os alunos querem, o que eles querem fazer o que eles querem aprender, so assim criaremos uma escola. Mas que infelizmente existe pais que acham que os professores sao inimigos, como hoje ela tinha visto uma mae na escola deseperadamente falando mal de um professor, e que tem professores que pensam que a culpa eh dos pais, ou dos alunos. E falei que eu pensei que botar a culpa em um grupo ou uma pessoa nao adiantaria nada, que seria necessario todo mundo trabalhar juntos para melhorar. Ela fez que sim, mas que infelizmente muitas vezes o professor eh visto como uma pessoa mal, que recentemente os professores da rede publica tinham uma reputacao terrivel, mas que isto nao levava em conta a grande disvalorizacao do professor. Que o professor, como tinhamos visto na conversa de ontem sobre a divulgacao do salario que era muito baixo, que o professor nao eh pago para o que faz, que fica muito tempo estudando, se formando e fazendo licenciatura mas as vezes as licenciaturas sao muito ruins, que os professores nao sao equipados e nem pagos, e que a maioria deles fizeram ensino basico na rede publica tambem. Ela disse que o governo esta comecando a oferecer cursos de licenciatura gratis, em parceria com as universidades particulares, mas que ela nao sabe qual tipo de professor eles vao formar, se vai ser bom (parecia pelo ton da voz que ela achou que nao seria uma formacao boa). Ela falou que o Brasil tem uma problema cronica, que o governo esta tentando resolver com o programa 'mais educacao' e a craicao de ensino em tempo integral, por que eles nao sabem o que fazer com todos os meninos que estao na rua, no farol etc, e que querem 'internar' eles nas escolas para tirar-los das ruas. Isto cria um grande questao porque o professor eh expected to do the work of the pais, mas ele nao eh pago por isso, e ela nem sabe se cabe ao professor fazer isto. Pensei na significancia da separacao do juventude do resto do mundo, dessa segregacao, e da institucionalizacao da familia

7. Example of coding by colour and code abbreviation.

The door man had disappeared and I couldn't leave [the school]. A boy wanted to enter as well, so I went to look for the door man. He came with a mouthful of food. I joked with him that I had thought he had ran away, and he replied in a defensive tone that he was alone guarding the door the entire night and sometimes he needed to go to the bathroom. He unlocked the gate and I wished him goodnight. I said goodnight to the policemen outside, and walked uphill to the metro (Field diary, 08/04/11).

There are teachers who go on strike because they don't want to be left holding the fort for the rest, and there are some that see themselves as victims (Teacher comment, 27/04/11).

I asked the teacher what she thought needed to be done to improve conditions for the teachers. 'Knock everything down' she replied (Teacher comment, 27/04/11).

The teacher left half way through the meeting because she was called to cover for a teacher who hadn't turned up. This happened nearly every Monday (02/05/11).

The teacher said that she always goes to the Women's Day protests, and that she has been an activist for many years, but that she always sees the same people there and the crown never grows, which makes her sad. 'The working class is very immobilised, and has become even more so since Lula was elected because people think that everything is OK now and that they don't need to do anything else because the PT [Worker's Party] will fix things (Teacher comment, 27/04/11).

The teacher said she had read an article which said that in the last 10 years, the number of people training to be teachers has fallen by 50%, and that the majority of teachers are working class, and educated in public schools. She said the worst thing is when someone only wants to be a teacher because of a lack of other options, because it brings a stable career (Conversation with teacher, 27/04/11).

8. Analysing translated data for sub-themes.

While I did not follow the Grounded Theory open, axial and selective coding phases as distinct processes, I integrated aspects of these phases into my overall analytical process, and used techniques such as memos and diagrams to aid analysis (Thornberg, 2012a).
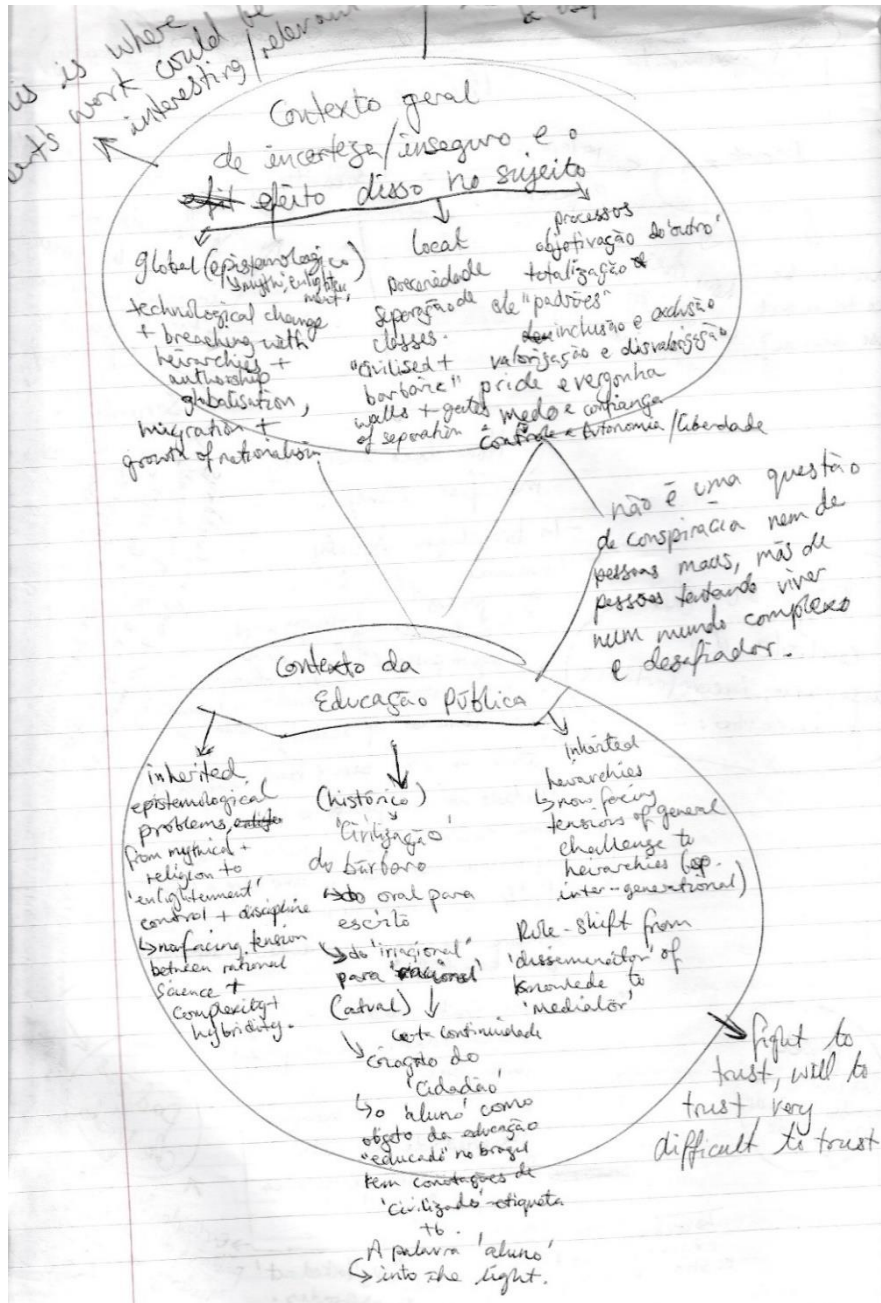
9. Use of memos and diagrams (1).
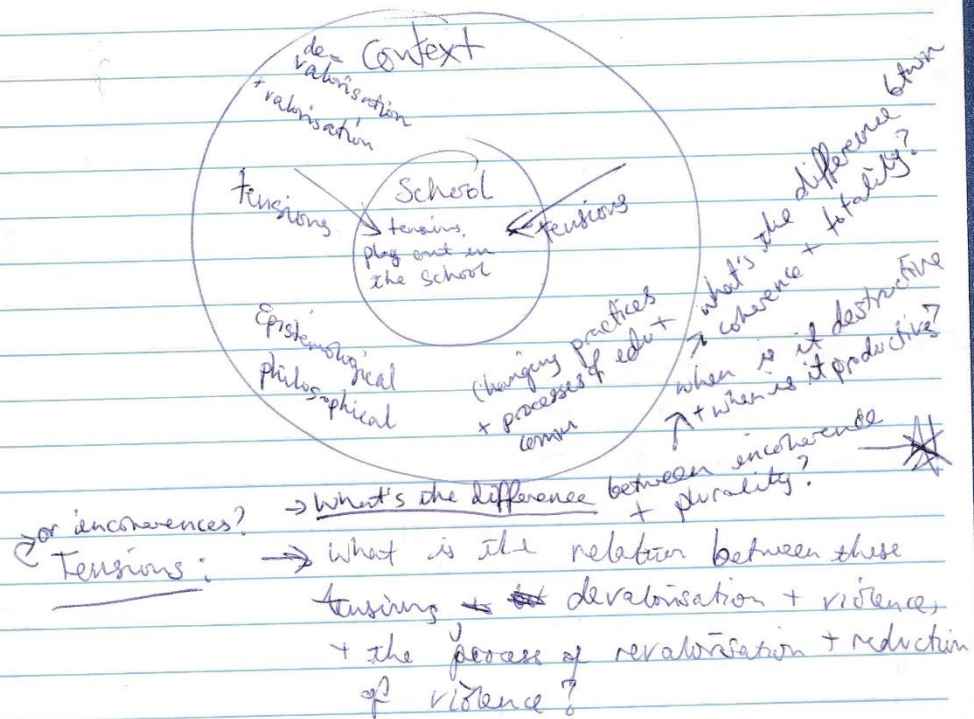
10. Use of memos and diagrams (2).

These initial rounds of coding resulted not only in a substantial list of themes, sub-themes and codes, but also in indications of feedback loops (Forrester, 1971) (e.g. 'vicious cycle of low staffing') and a wide range of causal relations between different factors (e.g. 'low self-esteem linked to low literacy'; 'exhaustion results in lower quality engagement with students'; and 'pressure on teachers to be in control results in aggressive and controlling behaviour by teachers'). When taken together these indications, combined with the many identified manifestations of violence and numerous causal/contributing factors that emerged from the coding process, represented a broad 'network' (Cohen et al, 2011) of causal factors and relations. However, a clear picture regarding exactly how these many factors related to each other was not evident at this stage, and while many intermediate causal factors were apparent, the was no clear differentiation between 'intermediate' and 'root' causes (Harich, 2010).

The next stage therefore, was to develop a clearer picture of this network of causal relations and to differentiate between intermediate and root causes. To achieve this I began with the manifestations of violence in DCX identified during the coding process, and taking each, followed Harich's (2010) process of asking a series of 'why is this happening?' (p. 58) questions, again looking to the data and coding results to formulate answers. Each 'Why?' question often resulted in more than one answer, reflecting Harich's (2010) assertion that 'difficult problems usually have multiple […] causes' (p. 58). Answers that arose during this questioning process were treated as intermediate causes, and as 'starting points for deeper analysis' (Harich, 2010: 57). Taking each answer, I then asked 'and why is *this* happening?'. This questioning cycle was repeated multiple times, resulting in the delineation of various causal chains such as that illustrated in diagram 9 on the following page.

While not uniformly the case, there was a tendency that with each cycle of questioning my analysis was drawn further out into the causal 'space' (Cohen et al., 2010) to incorporate local, national and global factors. Since my data was strongly concentrated on DCX School itself, to some degree the local neighbourhood, and to an even lesser degree the city of São Paulo, there was a need to supplement primary data with reading from historical, contextual and theoretical research and literature in order to formulate answers as the questioning cycles continued. At this stage Bronfenbrenner's (1944, 1979, 2005) bioecological model of human development became useful as a means to structure the spatial and contextual aspects of my analysis (see Chapter Five). After beginning with manifestations of violence that largely occurred at the level of individuals, the cycle of questioning drew my analysis all the way out to the scale of global issues such as neoliberal economic ideology. At this point, asking 'and why is *this* happening?' led quickly to ideology as both a collectively affirmed phenomenon and a phenomenon of individual thought. This in turn resulted in the scale of the causal chain collapsing right back down to the level of the individual (since, as discussed in Chapter Four, ideology is born from the subjectivity of individuals). At this stage a feedback loop could be drawn from 'subjectivity' (at one end of the causal chain) to the violent behaviour at the other which constituted the starting point for enquiry.
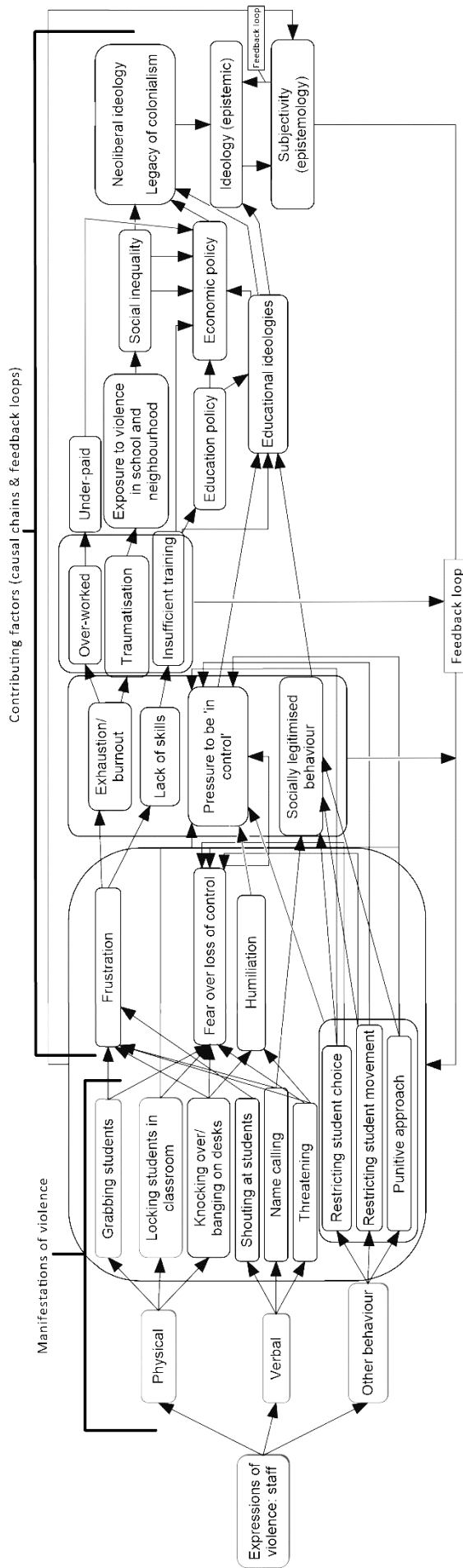
11. Example of causal chain analysis

However, it was not sufficient to conclude at this stage that 'ideological subjectivity' was the root cause of violence in DCX. As the data illustrated, a variety of different ideological schema were at play, resulting in a range of different effects at different contextual levels. Aside from this, teachers and students did not share any overarching ideology (nor did they engage in significant ideological conflict), and often violent or aggressive behaviour was motivated by frustration, exhaustion, anxiety, humiliation, or practical and material factors, rather than by explicitly ideological thinking. This meant that the dimension of 'subjectivity' needed to be investigated further in order to understand its relationship to ideology, contextual factors, and the motivations and emotions that often appeared to fuel teachers' and students' violent/aggressive behaviour.

In order to achieve this I drew on the Grounded Theory concept of 'Axial Coding' using the 'paradigm model', described by Waring (2012) as the relating of sub-categories to categories which entails the 'identification of the causal conditions associated with the occurrence or development of a phenomenon; the specification of a category for the phenomenon; the specific set of properties that pertain to a phenomenon; the structural conditions bearing in action/interaction strategies that pertain to the phenomenon; action/interaction strategies devised to manage/respond to a phenomenon under certain circumstances; and the consequences of action and interaction' (P. 303). As Waring (ibid) states, this process required complex abductive thinking.

Having used the above-described process to identify the causal factors associated with the occurrence and development of different types of violence in DCX, I sub-divided these causal chains into categories such as 'situation' (the immediate situation or context in which the violent or aggressive behaviour took place); 'circumstances' (broader contributory circumstances in the fostering of such behaviour); and 'emotions and motivations' (the emotions and motivations fuelling such behaviour). Codes categorised under 'situation' and 'circumstances' (both treated as Waring's (2012) 'structural conditions') were then investigated in more depth, to better understand the roots, history and particularities of each factor. This involved both collating and examining evidence from the data and also wider reading to fill gaps not fully covered

by the data itself (for example, the history and causal factors in the degradation of the local neighbourhood; and the history of public education in Brazil and São Paulo).

The third category, 'emotions and motivations' was then taken along with 'subjectivity', and examined from the perspective of aiming to delineate how the structural conditions (situations and circumstances) described above bore on the action and interaction strategies that resulted in teachers and students enacting violent or aggressive behaviour[16], and the action and interaction strategies devised by teachers and students to respond to violence in the different circumstances and situations that were evidenced in the data. This resulted in the identification of two core themes: the mediation of subjectivity in interaction with specific situations and circumstances; and the mediation of subjectivity in interaction with ideology. I then returned to the literature, reading in areas relating to emotions, motivations, cognition, and ideology (including philosophy, psychology, neuroscience, learning theory, sociology, and critical social theory); all the while seeking to better understand the emotional, motivational and cognitive processes underpinning teachers' and students' enactment of violence (whether explicit or implicit).

Theoretical constructs were then selected, adapted, and combined based on how well they were able to explain the teachers' and students' emotions, motivations, behaviours and experiences, as demonstrated by the data. Through this process, particular common themes became evident. Under the category of motivations the themes of self-preservation and self-actualisation emerged. Under the category of emotions, fear, shame, anger and desperation were common. Under the cognition dimension of subjectivity, certain thinking patterns became evident that were also highlighted by a number of authors in a range of fields with concepts such as 'type α behaviour' (Piaget, 1987); 'non-learning' (Jarvis, 1961); 'identity thinking' (Adorno, 1973); 'everyday consciousness' (Leithäuser, 1976) and 'stage one' (Rogers, 1961). I noticed that these thinking patterns were evident not only in individual teachers' and students' responses to specific situations, but were also analogous to the ways in which some authors

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[16] Remembering that I was working with a broad definition of violence that included both implicit as well as explicit forms of violence.

conceptualised the cognitive structure of ideological thought. This led me to consider the possibility of a single underlying structure of thought, a particular epistemic practice, which might underpin both ideology and the mediation of teacher and student subjectivity that resulted in the many different manifestations of violence evidenced in the data. This led me to formulate the concept of 'violent epistemology'.

Further exploration of the mediation of teacher and student subjectivity with ideology revealed that while violent behaviour was often directly influenced by ideological thought (e.g. the subscription (even momentarily) to collectively affirmed ideology, especially (in this case) educational ideology), this was not always the case. Often teachers would behave violently even though they were making a conscious effort to try not to subscribe to traditional educational ideology, and both teachers and students would often behave violently out of sheer desperation, frustration or exhaustion. In these situations teacher and student subjectivity could be seen as mediated not only with ideology, but also often by situations and circumstances which pushed them to their emotional and psychological limits. As my causal chain analysis highlighted, the circumstances themselves were often shaped by ideology even if the individuals within did not prescribe to that ideology. This led me to formulate the concept of 'non-conducive circumstances' – circumstances that are often shaped by ideology, and not conducive to the enactment of non-violent epistemology.

Finally, I examined the consequences (Waring, 2012) of both non-conducive circumstances and the epistemically violent action and interaction strategies enacted by teachers and students. This entailed identifying a range of feedback loops within the data (such as the vicious cycle of teacher absenteeism, classroom violence, and its impact on student learning and teachers' physical and mental health), and also examining how both enacting violent epistemology and being exposed to violence and non-conducive circumstances could impact on subject development. This resulted in the formulation of the concept of 'learnt violent epistemology' (which was evidence in the data by students mimicking teachers' and parents' violent or prejudicial behaviour and language, for example), and the integration of the concepts of 'thwarted self-actualisation' and the 'de-formation of subjectivity' into my overall analysis.

In Grounded Theory the Axial coding phase is followed by 'selective coding', which involves 'the selection of a core category and systematically relating it to other categories' (ibid). Glaser (2010) states that the core category should be a concept which is related to a behaviour that applies not only in one context or situation. In line with this, I selected 'violent epistemology' as my core category, because of how it could be seen as implicated (either directly or indirectly) in the numerous manifestations and types of violence evidenced in my data. I then took this core category and examined it against each element of my causal chains (and the associated data), to confirm and refine my conceptual framework and thesis model (as presented in chapters Three and Four). This analysis confirmed that my concept of 'violent epistemology' did indeed operate as a core category (Glaser, 2010), but also confirmed the central importance of the concept of 'non-conducive circumstances' in understanding violence in DCX. Finally, I returned to Harich's (2010) concept of 'root cause', and found that my core concept of 'violent epistemology' also operated as a root cause, according to this definition.

The formulation of the right-hand side of the thesis model presented in Chapter Four, and accompanying conceptualisation of 'non-violent epistemology' presented in Chapter Seven, was largely a theoretical-hypothetical exercise, extrapolated from the outcomes of the analysis described above. My intention has not been to present this as a direct finding from my data, but rather as a starting point for conceptualising non-violent thought and action and the conditions that might be conducive to fostering this, with the aim that these formulations could be refined through further empirical research. Although this builds on the outcomes of my analysis rather than directly from my data, I have included this as a means to offer a starting point for those who might be keen to develop forms of non-violent relating and practice, or continue this direction of research.

Because I changed the core focus, conceptual framework and analytical methodology of my research post-data collection, I was not able to adhere strictly to grounded theory methodology. I could not carry out simultaneous data collection and analysis as part of the 'open coding' stage, nor carry out 'selective sampling' (Waring, 2012: 304) in order

to reach 'data saturation' and fully validate all conceptual relationships against sufficient appropriate data. This meant that while my data was rich and plentiful, there were 'thinner' spots which a simultaneous data collection and analysis could have filled. All things considered, upon evaluation I found that my core category of 'violent epistemology' did appear to behave as a core category would in a grounded theory, in that I was able to relate it to all manner of contexts and situations, including my professional work with young people in situations of risk in the UK. As such, while I recognise areas of methodological weakness from the perspective of producing grounded theory, this process did produce a detailed, comprehensive and rigorous model for understanding the root causes of violence, which can be refined in future research.

Ethical Principles and Procedures.

This research was planned and conducted in line with the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and University of East Anglia (UEA)'s policies, guidelines and procedures regarding research ethics (cf. UEA, 2010, 2013, 2016; ESRC, 2017), and followed the core ethical principles of informed, voluntary consent (and parent/guardian consent in the case of children); protecting the interests, identity and dignity of participants; taking steps to ensure that no harm would come to individuals as a result of participating in the research (UEA, 2013); being unobtrusive and non-demanding in relation to participants' time, energy and daily activities (Lichtman, 2006); doing justice to participants' experiences in data collection and analysis (Temple and Young, 2004); and making a meaningful contribution to knowledge so as to benefit participants and society (ESRC, 2017).

The research project was approved by the UEA School of Education and Lifelong Learning's Research Ethics Committee, the São Paulo Municipal Secretary of Education and DCX School. Before commencing data collection I met with the teachers, students and parents involved in the Educommunication project at DCX to introduce myself and explain the research. All participants were given information sheets, and written consent

was obtained from either the participants themselves or from a parent/guardian (in the case of children) (Swain, 2016). Care was taken to ensure that children also understood who I was, what I was doing, and that they had the right to opt-out of the research at any time (ibid). As Bogdan and Biklen (2007) write, in observation-based research, participants can easily forget that data is being collected. For this reason I was careful to regularly remind participants that I was conducting research, and to re-confirm their consent (for example, by asking permission each time I wanted to start an audio recording), making clear each time their right to refuse (Swain, 2016).

Despite the fact that informed consent was given and all data was anonymised (Lichtman, 2006), when it came to making decisions about distributing the thesis, ethical questions arose regarding anonymity and protecting participants from harm (ESRC, 2017; Swain, 2016). Teachers in particular, whilst being aware that conversations were being recorded, chose to disclose a significant amount of sensitive information about their own and colleagues' (mis)treatment of students. This included accounts of physical and verbal aggression and bullying. While these expressions were incredibly insightful from a research perspective, and were given freely by teachers (without prompting or questioning on my behalf), I was concerned about potential risk to reputations, livelihoods or personal safety should these comments be connected to participants through inference. This raised questions about how much of this data to include in the thesis, and whether to share the thesis publicly.

After significant consideration and discussion with my supervisory team and the Chair of the department's Ethics Committee, it was decided that this data should be retained in the thesis, on the grounds that firstly, the teachers knew what the focus of the study was, and freely agreed to share this information in the presence of other teachers and administrators; secondly, the teachers knew that the Municipal Secretariat was aware which school I was conducting the research in, and that some of the teachers referred to in the data could potentially be identified, and lastly, the disclosure of violence within the school setting was not unusual or unexpected given the context, as this was often discussed freely amongst both school staff and municipal administrators, thus tempering

the 'sensitivity' of the data[17].

The fact that the full thesis will be made available in English only, and not actively publicised in Brazil, was also considered to be a protective factor for participant identity. It was agreed that a copy of the full thesis will be shared with the three key teachers who contributed the most time and energy to the study, and with the Educommunication lead in the Municipal Secretariat, since this is what was agreed prior to data collection. However, since it is considered good practice to share the results of research with participants (UEA, 2013; Bogdan and Biklen, 2007), and to reduce the extractive nature or conducting research in one language and publishing it in another (Briggs and Sharp, 2004; Selener, 1997), I will endeavour to produce an article in Portuguese summarising the main findings and theoretical contributions of the thesis, without including the more sensitive data, for free distribution in Brazil[18]. This is in line with the Economic and Social Research Council's recommendation that 'research should aim to maximise benefit to individuals and society and minimise risk of harm' (ESRC, 2017).

The issue of epistemic justice (Fricker, 2013; Anderson, 2012)[19] also raised a range of ethical considerations. Fricker (2013) defines epistemic injustice as when 'someone is wronged in their capacity as a knower' (p. 1317), and this concept requires researchers to ask questions about the credibility afforded to research participants' knowledge and the balance of power between researchers and participants in relation to who produces knowledge, who theorises, whose theoretical concepts are deployed and who reads research (Anderson, 2012). Questions relating to epistemic justice were present at all stages of the research process, from choosing which research methods and theoretical constructs to employ, to translating and presenting the research data. The remainder of this section outlines how these issues were considered and addressed.

For the reasons outlined earlier, I was interested in using ethnographic data collection

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[17] While such disclosures would likely trigger disciplinary and safeguarding procedures in the United Kingdom, such interventions are rare in Brazilian school settings (see Swain (2016) and Lichtman (2006) for relevant discussions on handling the disclosure of sensitive information).

[18] Subject to resources.

[19] See Chapter Three for further discussion on epistemic justice.

methods. However, traditional ethnography has been subject to significant critique from postcolonial and post-structural standpoints, for being 'based on Western rationality and categories' and for 'construct[ing] 'others' as underdeveloped and ignorant' (Hobart, 1993: 2) and as 'unknowing, inert, passive political subjects or pliant consumers, rendered silent or ineffectually critical' (Hobart, 1993: 20). Participatory research methods have developed as a popular alternative to traditional ethnography, with the aim of redressing imbalances of power between 'researcher' and 'researched' by handing more control over research questions, processes and outcomes to participants (Kapoor, 2002; Attwood, 1997; Cancian, 1993; Kothari, 2001). Concerned with the extractive nature of traditional ethnography, these approaches also commonly aim to make research worthwhile for participants by catalysing some form of change in participants' lives, espousing such goals as 'empowerment', 'emancipation', 'transformation', 'conscientization', and 'action' (Sense, 2006; Selener, 1997; Briggs and Sharp, 2004) – terms which have become 'buzz-words' in certain circles (Kapoor, 2002).

However, it is possible to argue that such goals can (perhaps more insidiously) also mask the perpetuation of researchers' underlying perceptions of others as underdeveloped and ignorant (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012; Kothari, 2001). Hobart's (1993) critique of researchers depicting 'a state of affairs requiring action and intervention by the party doing the depicting' (p. 2), can easily be applied to participatory research in which the researcher enters a context with the explicit goal of facilitating change. As Hall (2005) states, participatory researchers often aim to work with 'the powerless [and] exploited [such as] the poor, the oppressed and the marginal' (p. 12). This language reflects a reliance on such dichotomies as oppressor/oppressed and powerful/powerless (Kothari, 2001). These dichotomies and the accompanying assumptions that participants' lives require intervention by the researcher through the introduction of a participatory research project (and that such a project is capable of fostering 'transformation'), felt both naïve and condescending to me. Rather than addressing imbalances of power, I felt that such perspectives actually perpetuated the 'othering' (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012) of research participants, while grossly oversimplifying the researcher-participant relationship and the interrelations between subjectivity, agency, and social structures

(none of which can be reduced to simple dichotomies)[20].

While often presented as offering an ethical alternative to traditional ethnography, participatory researchers have (perhaps for the reasons outlined above) also been accused of acting as 'facipulators'- a combination of facilitator and manipulator (Pottier, 2003: 185). For these reasons I decided that participatory methods would not necessarily make my research more ethical or epistemically just. My goal was to deepen understanding of the phenomena being studied, not to intervene by 'facipulating' action from an uninformed, outsider perspective (ibid). This decision was reinforced upon commencing fieldwork. As Bogdan and Biklen (2007) highlight, different research methods require participants to contribute differing amounts of time and effort to the research, and upon arrival at DCX I perceived that neither teachers nor students had sufficient time nor physical, cognitive or emotional energy to commit to participatory research[21]. This reaffirmed my decision that naturalistic, participant observation would be the least demanding, least manipulative, and least intrusive method since it allowed teachers and students to go about their usual activities without disruption, and to volunteer as much or as little interaction and information to me as they wished (as Bogdan and Biklen (2007) write, in participant observation, participants 'have a say in regulating the relationship and […] continuously make decisions about their participation' (p. 49)). The non-manipulative nature of observation-based methods also, as Cohen et al. (2011) write, often make them an ethical choice for investigating causality since they better enable the researcher to do justice to phenomena by studying them naturalistically (ibid).

My sensitivity to issues of epistemic justice (particularly with regards to critiques of ethnocentric research (Hobart, 1993; Spivak, 1992; James et al., 1997; Lichtman, 2006)), and my own positionality (Bourke, 2014; Lichtman, 2006) within the research context, were heightened by my being a white European entering a postcolonial context to study a project grounded in Freire's (1973; 1996) very anti-colonial theories. Because of this, I was incredibly cautious not to impose my own agenda or interpretations during data

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[20] As I discuss elsewhere in this thesis.
[21] As demonstrated in Chapter Six.

collection (Cohen et al., 2007; Waring, 2012), and instead aimed to watch, listen, and follow the lead of teachers and students (Lichtman, 2006), and to relate with participants in a person-centred manner (Rogers, 1980), rather than as researcher to 'subjects' (Cohen et al., 2007). The result was that I developed a rapport with teachers and students that felt something close to a friendship (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007: 95) or partnership (the teachers often referred to me as 'friend', 'companion' or 'partner'). This appeared to be aided not only by my ethical principles and methodological choices, but also by other dimensions of my subjectivity that affected my positionality - such as the fact that my preferred clothing style (jeans and t-shirts) matched how teachers and students tended to dress, whereas managers and administrators tended to dress more formally[22] (Cf. Bogdan and Biklen, 2007: 98)); the fact that I did not come from a wealthy background[23]; and my informal communication style (I discuss the implications of this later in the section).

While my relationship with the students was largely friendly and collegiate, as an adult in the context of a hierarchical school structure it was clear that I was perceived as an authority figure at times (cf. Lichtman, 2006), which was evidenced by students switching between calling me 'Beth' or 'aunty'[24] and 'teacher'. This was reinforced particularly on a few occasions when teachers left me 'in charge' and students started acting out seeing me as an authority figure to rebel against, or when I was forced to intervene when students became physically aggressive. While this temporarily shifted our relationship to a more hierarchical plane, it also provided valuable insight into the power struggles experienced by teachers and students (Cf. Bogdan and Biklen, 2007: 101). After such instances I tried to shift our relating back to something less hierarchical – for example by returning the next day and sharing a packet of crisps with the students while chatting about the weekend. I did find that the perceived authority that comes

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[22] For example, teachers would often speak honestly to me about their relationship with school management, and one teacher spoke at length about their distaste for smart or branded clothing and its relationship to social exclusion. These valuable conversations may not have occurred had I been wearing such clothing myself.

[23] For example, conversations with teachers about affordable places to shop on a student budget aided the development of rapport and sparked discussions about the cost of living and socioeconomic inequality in São Paulo.

[24] In Brazil it is common for children to call any adult 'aunty'.

from being an adult within the school environment often appeared to prevent students from feeling comfortable sharing their thoughts and feelings with me while at school, and noticed that students would communicate much more freely when we left the school building (our best conversations happened whilst walking to and from fieldtrips).

My positionality within the neighbourhood was most similar to that of the teachers, in that I did not live locally but travelled to DCX by Metro. Other than walking through the neighbourhood to access the school, and accompanying students on foot to a number of visits to local events, like the teachers I had little involvement with the local community. This was unfortunately necessary for reasons of personal safety, due to high violent crime rates in the area. For this reason I did not gain in-depth personal experience of neighbourhood life. In effort to do justice to teachers' and students' experiences I based my analysis of the neighbourhood (see Chapters Five and Six) heavily in teacher and student accounts, and in the PhD theses of two local researchers who had conducted mixed-methods research in the area within the two years prior to my visit. As discussed previously, this was supplemented with observation-based 'thick' descriptions that I produced based on my experiences of walking through the neighbourhood every day.

My efforts to avoid imposing my own agenda and interpretations were useful during data collection because by watching, listening and following the lead of teachers and students I was able to generate a large amount of data that was naturalistic and 'strong in reality' (Adelman et al., 1980). However, my initial sensitivity to questions of epistemic justice raised tensions when it came to analysing, theorising and writing my thesis. Not wanting to impose Eurocentric theories (Briggs and Sharp, 2004), I had begun with the theoretical framework of Educommunication because it had been developed locally at the University of São Paulo, in partnership with the municipal government and local schools. This framework was based largely in the work of Brazilian and other Latin American theorists, and had been developed in reference to the local context. However, as already discussed, after preliminary analysis it became clear to me that this framework did not apply accurately or fully to the specific context of DCX School, nor to the phenomenon of violence in schooling as a whole.

When searching for alternative frameworks to support my analysis I considered the ways in which teachers and students at DCX expressed their interpretations of the challenges they faced and the phenomenon of violence in the school, neighbourhood and broader society. These ranged from rather traditionalist to strong Marxist perspectives among teachers, and among students ranged from beliefs that they needed to try harder and be more obedient and collegiate, to frustrations with broader structural factors such as low staffing; parental poverty; violence in the neighbourhood; social inequality in São Paulo; and the government's perceived lack of interest in meeting their needs. A key concept in relation to epistemic justice is that of recognising research participants as credible 'knowers' (Fricker, 1999; Anderson, 2012). This combines well with interpretivist research grounded in subjectivist epistemologies, in which the researcher's core focus is to understand the different ways in which participants perceive a phenomenon. However, the ontological and epistemic foundations of my Critical Realist approach (i.e. that 'there is a 'real' world and it is theory-laden, not theory-determined' (Fletcher, 2016: 188)), and my desire to really understand the root causes of violence in schooling, not just how participants perceive this, required me to balance the question of epistemic justice with the need to develop a comprehensive and coherent theoretical model (Nurjannah et al., 2014) that could answer my research question. No single theory or participant explanation could fully explain the multiple dimensions and complexities of the phenomenon of violence at DCX School.

Unlike interpretivist approaches, by assuming that a reality exists to which (sometimes competing) explanations refer, Critical Realism allows the researcher to make judgments about which explanations appear to better reflect that reality (Fletcher, 2016). This 'may be seen as disempowering for participants' through the implication that the researcher 'knows best' (ibid: 188). However, because Critical Realism also treats all explanations of reality as fallible (Bhaskar, 1979), 'including [those] provided by research participants, theorists and scientists' (Fletcher, 2016: 188), participants' interpretations and explanations are carefully considered, and certainly not summarily dismissed. Rather, Fletcher (ibid) argues that 'participants' experiences and explanations of a phenomenon may in fact prove most accurate', while Redman-McLaren and Mills (2015) explain that in Critical Realist research, research participants' experiences and understandings can

also challenge existing theory. This approach cannot therefore be seen as contrary to the ideals of epistemic justice, but it may not sit comfortably with strong idealists because it does allow the researcher to 'practice rational judgment, wherein [they] may need to elaborate upon (or deviate from) participants' own interpretations' (Fletcher, 2016: 190) in order to provide 'fuller or more adequate interpretations of reality' (Parr, 2013: 10).

This Critical Realist approach expresses how I balanced tensions between doing justice to participants' diverse and particular perspectives and making coherent, broad and holistic theoretical and interpretive assertions. On the one hand I fully considered, and integrated into my analysis, the experiences and interpretations expressed by teachers and students at DCX School. I also carefully considered locally constructed theoretical frameworks. However, I also made judgments about which explanations and theoretical concepts appeared to most accurately reflect the reality (albeit a complex and multidimensional reality) reflected in the data, and allowed myself to elaborate on and deviate from participants' own interpretations in order to construct a comprehensive theoretical model. When local theories did not appear to do justice to what was being expressed in the data, I allowed myself to consider theories developed in any context – selecting constructs based not on who constructed them or where they originated, but on how well they represented dimensions of my own and participants' experiences (as expressed in my field diary and the data). In this way I felt I was able to do justice to both to my own and to students and teachers' varied experiences, whilst also constructing a holistic and coherent conceptual model that advances theory in related fields of study.

Finally, issues relating to language also necessitated consideration of epistemic justice. As Temple and Young (2004) write, in cross-language research grounded in positivist epistemology, it is common for interpreters to be used during data collection with little acknowledgment of how the background and subjectivity of the translator can impact on how participants' words are interpreted. However, interpretivist researchers recognise that 'translators […] also form part of the process of knowledge production [and that] there is no neutral position from which to translate' (ibid: 164). Bearing the latter point in mind, I was keen to interact with participants without third party mediation. While this can result in more 'direct, comfortable and elaborate' (ibid:169)

data for researchers, Temple and Young (ibid) highlight that this can also cause participants to constrain their communication in order to adapt to a researcher who is less than fluent in their language. While I was able to communicate fluently with participants in Brazilian Portuguese, because Portuguese is not my native language there was also some risk of not fully understanding, or of misunderstanding, what participants were expressing.

I found that members of school management appeared to underestimate my language ability, and tended to speak to me in a simplified and restricted manner. This, compounded by the fact that they had little available time to spend with me, meant that my data contained little direct input from school managers. However, I was able to spend significant amounts of time with teachers and students. While it is possible that teachers and students may have constrained their communication with me believing that I would not understand, I did not notice signs of this happening. This may be because my ability to communicate fluently using colloquial vocabulary and pronunciation may have reassured participants' of my ability to keep up with conversation. Despite this, I did struggle at times to follow if somebody was speaking very fast, or when more than one person was speaking at once. Using an audio recorder was particularly useful in these cases, because I was able to re-listen to conversations to confirm my understanding.

Even when an interpreter is not used during data collection, it is common practice for researchers to involve third parties in translating data from the source language into the language of write-up (Nurjannah et al., 2014). While some argue that this is important to ensure 'correct' translation (and therefore avoid misrepresentation) (Su and Parham, 2002), there are three potential pitfalls in doing this. Firstly, while professional translators may possess advanced technical knowledge of a language, they may lack the contextual knowledge required to grasp the depth, attitude, and nuances behind what has been said (Svetlana, 2007; Bradby, 2002). Secondly, the translator's subjectivity acts as a filter for interpretation, which some argue can influence the outcome of research (Adamson and Donovan, 2002; Squires, 2009). Thirdly, as Temple and Young (2004) write, translating data too early in the analytical process (also referred to as 'early domestication' (p. 174)) can result in a loss of meaning, and employing a translator

usually means that data must be transcribed and translated before analysis can begin, potentially causing important nuances to be missed (Larkin et al., 2007).

Nurjannah et al. (2014), argue that researchers, if they possess the linguistic fluency, are often best placed to translate data because they have first-hand experience of the context in which the data was produced, and were often present when things were said. Witnessing tone, body language, and the context in which something is expressed means that the researcher has access to invaluable information that can be used to inform their interpretations. For this reason (as well as a desire to maintain 'conceptual congruency' (ibid: 5)) I decided to carry out all translation myself. I found that my own experiences and memories of 'being there'; my observation notes and my audio recordings (which allowed me to remember the tone in which something was expressed – something which is easily forgotten in written notes), all provided valuable contextual information not only for translation from one language to another, but also for interpreting the underlying nuances of meaning and contextual significance, which fed into my broader analysis.

As Suh et al. (2009) write, waiting until later in the analytical process to translate data can also aid the retention of meaning, and result in richer analysis that does better justice to participants' experience. For this reason I conducted my initial analysis of the effectiveness of the Educommunication project without translating the relevant data at all until the write-up stage. When carrying out the next stage of analysis, I conducted initial coding on the raw, untranslated data (as Nurjannah et al. (2014) advocate), and only translated data once I began the more detailed coding and abductive process of moving back and forth between the data and more abstract, conceptual thinking. I found translating the data helpful at this stage of analysis because the act of translation itself made me focus in detail on checking that I understood what, exactly, participants' had said and meant. I found this helped me to confirm my understanding during analysis, whereas leaving translation to the very end may have resulted in the late discovery of misinterpretations that had already been used to inform analysis (Suh et al, 2009).

As Simon (1996) writes, a crucial part of interpretation is the researcher/translator's own subjectivity and experience, because 'the solutions to many [translation] dilemmas are

not to be found in dictionaries, but rather in an understanding of the way language is tied to local realities' (p. 137). While being a native English speaker and a relative outsider it is likely that I missed some nuances of expression, I found two aspects of my own experience and positionality particularly useful during the translation and interpretation process: my pre-existing knowledge and experience of Brazilian history and culture; and my understanding of many informal terms used in colloquial Brazilian Portuguese. Both of the above have developed through spending a lot of time in different parts of Brazil prior to this research project; through living, working and interacting with Brazilians from a wide variety of backgrounds; and through having been involved with a number of Brazilian cultural forms such as Maracatu, Capoeira , Samba and Brazilian reggae, hip-hop, cinema and street art. This meant that I was able to understand many turns of phrase and words used by teachers and students that could not be found in formal dictionaries, and grasp many rich cultural and historical references within teachers' and students' speech.

One important challenge of translation, according to many (Su and Parham, 2002; Nurjannah et al., 2014; Deutscher, 1968; Temple, 1997), is achieving conceptual equivalency. Both cultural differences and Brazil's rich oral tradition which is steeped in a wealth of cultural and historical references, meant that this was not always simple. A number of words used commonly by teachers and students were not directly translatable, and where an equivalent word in English could be chosen, this often resulted in a loss of cultural and historical meaning. Some researchers advocate back-translation, a process in which a third party is employed to translate the English version of the data back into it original language, in order to confirm accuracy (Nurjannah et al., 2014). I chose against this however, because as Birbili (2000) writes, it is a resource-intensive and time consuming process, and as Su and Parham (2002) argue, it does not reduce problems related to linguistic and cultural differences. Instead, I addressed issues stemming from cultural and conceptual difference by leaving some words for which no English equivalent exists untranslated, and adding a footnote to explain their meaning (e.g. 'aprontar', 'cacetar' and 'baçaco'), while in cases where an equivalent word exists in English but has slightly different cultural meaning, I employed this equivalent but added a footnote to explain these connotational differences (e.g. 'democratisation' and

'educating'). To check my understanding, aside from using formal dictionaries I also referred to dicionarioinformal.com.br[25], and contacted participants to confirm my interpretation of certain data excerpts.

The decision to write the thesis in English was dictated by the University of East Anglia's regulations regarding the submission of doctoral theses, and my goal of obtaining a PhD which meant conforming to those regulations. In this way, writing in English serves my own interests, and makes the research largely extractive (Briggs and Sharp, 2004). This act can be located within the context of the current scenario in which power differentials continue to exist between countries, and between English and other languages (Spivak, 1992), and writing this thesis in English reinforces, rather than challenges, this imbalance. As Temple and Young (2004) write, 'speaking for others […] is always a political act' (p. 167) and methodological expediency, particularly in relation to translation and the language of write-up, can 'reinforce the political invisibility of [a] language and its users' (p. 166). Temple and Young (ibid) also highlight that readers 'produce an understanding of a text […] by reference to their own understanding of contexts and debates filtered through their own experiences' (p. 165). In light of this I have felt very conscious of the risk of 'othering' (Spivak, 1992), and of readers misinterpreting this thesis through a culturally imperialist (ibid) lens, as a critique of Brazil and/or of participants themselves.

I did a number of things to ameliorate these issues as best I could. Firstly, I made the extractive nature of the research explicit to participants at the outset, by explaining that the thesis would be written in English. In this way I ensured that participants understood the nature of the research and its output, and had given informed consent to this. While I did not promise a report in Portuguese, as stated above, if sufficient resources can be acquired I plan to produce a summary of the research outcomes in Portuguese to be shared with participants and distributed in Brazil, as another means to make the research less extractive. Secondly, I strove to maintain the political visibility of participants within the write-up by focusing on, and making explicit, participants'

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[25] A dictionary of informal Brazilian Portuguese containing definition for terms not found in 'official' dictionaries.

experiences and expressions of political action, inaction, inequality, exclusion and frustration – themes which occur repeatedly throughout the thesis. I also strove to maintain the presence and integrity of participants' language as much as possible, by including substantial amounts of raw data in the thesis, and by using 'literal' (Honig, 1997) translation: rather than re-phrasing participants' expressions to make them 'read well' in English (Birbili, 2000), I chose wherever possible to retain unique words and syntactical characteristics that might seem unusual to the English speaking reader, in order to maintain the visibility of participants' own language and expressive style.

Lastly, I made some conscious decisions in the theoretical formulation of the thesis, to reduce the risk of 'othering' and of cultural imperialist interpretations. These included the addition of a 'globosystem' level to Bronfenbrenner's (1944, 1979, 2005) bioecological model of human development and to my subsequent analysis, to ensure that the issue of violence was presented as a global, rather than country- or class-specific problem; and the emphasis on epistemic structures and behaviours from the perspective of human experience and agency (as distinct from circumscribed notions of culture and identity), to reduce the risk of specific groups being labelled 'more' or 'less' violent. Some terms used in the thesis could be considered contentious (such as 'underclass', 'neo-hygienist', and 'chaotic'). In these instances I have included footnotes to explain or justify their use, in order to avoid misinterpretation.

Chapter Three

Developing a New Conceptual Framework and Working towards a Deeper Understanding of the Root Causes of Violence.

'Violence is every attempt to violate the being of the other, [to violate] their condition as subject' (Horta, 2007: LVII).

Redefining Violence.

One difficulty when it comes to investigating the root causes of violence in schooling, is that violence has been defined in a variety of different ways in relation to education, which can confuse things when discerning exactly what is being investigated. In this chapter I propose a new, 'foundational' way of defining and conceptualising violence, through the idea of an 'epistemology of violence'. However, before I outline this new approach, let us review some of the ways that contemporary writers define violence in relation to schooling.

Definitions of violence in relation to schooling range from the very narrow to the relatively broad and far-reaching. At the narrower end of the spectrum, Elliott et al. (1998: 13) state that 'violence refers to the threat or use of physical force with the intention of causing physical injury, damage, or intimidation of another person'. Based on this definition the authors assert that 'historically, our schools have been relatively safe havens from violence. However, over the past decade there has been an epidemic of youth crime' (ibid). This narrow perspective allows for the perception of physical acts of interpersonal violence in which the student is the perpetrator, but is blind to violence perpetrated by schools and those who work in them; to historical violence (such as corporal punishment or the use of schooling in colonial contexts to 'civilise' indigenous people); and to non-physical forms of violence. Hoffman (1996) also takes this narrow definition, writing that the perpetrators of violence in schools are either 'trespassers

who enter the school building to steal, rob or assault someone' or 'students enrolled in the school' who commit violence 'against teachers, administrators, other staff members, or fellow classmates' (p. 11). Again, this definition does not allow for non-physical forms of violence, nor for the school or school staff to be perpetrators.

Harber (2002) offers a broader conceptualisation, stating that violence is 'behaviour by people against people liable to cause physical or psychological harm', defining this as 'how schools can be both violent towards pupils and can foster violent activity'. Ardizzone (2007) also argues for a broader definition of violence 'that includes not just war, torture, homicide, and other physical abuse but also emotional abuse, oppression and exploitation' (p. 2). These perspectives go beyond the purely physical understanding of violence, making possible the consideration of schools and teachers as potential perpetrators.

Galtung (1996) argues that it is important to distinguish between different types of violence, naming three in particular: *Direct violence*, which is 'intended to insult the basic needs of others (including nature); *structural violence* which includes that exploitation and oppression built into social and world structures; and *cultural violence* - aspects of culture (such as religion and language) which legitimize direct and structural violence' (Galtung, 1996: 40). Unlike Elliott and Hoffman's definitions, Galtung's formulation demonstrates that violence does not only occur on an interpersonal level.

Ross Epp (1996) also goes beyond the interpersonal and acknowledges that violence can function on a structural level. She speaks of 'systemic' violence, defining it as 'any institutional practice or procedure that adversely impacts on individuals or groups by burdening them psychologically, mentally, culturally, spiritually, economically or physically. Applied to education, it means practices and procedures that prevent students from learning, thus harming them' (p. 1). Harber (2002) also describes the 'structural violence' of the ways that poverty and global economic relationships affect schooling provision, and also proposes three additional ways of defining violence in relation to education. These include how schools are affected by contexts of violent conflict; Bourdieu's 'symbolic violence' of schools imposing forms of dominant

knowledge; and the way in which schools can be implicated in violence through omission by, for example, ignoring racism or bullying.

From the few authors cited above we can already see that violence has been defined in many different ways, just within the field of education studies. Ralph (2013) argues that this broad variation is in part due to the multidimensional nature of violence. If we consider the definitions cited above, each one appears to focus on a different dimension (or selection of dimensions) of violence. On the one hand there are physical dimensions, and on the other psychological and emotional. There are also dimensions of violence functioning at the level of the individual (as victim or perpetrator) and also at the institutional, societal and global levels (in the forms of structural and systemic violence). Furthermore, there are explicit dimensions of violence (such as its expression through physical aggression) and more implicit dimensions (such as schools neglecting to act on bullying, or enforcing authoritarian disciplinary regimes).

Ralph (ibid) argues that the multidimensional nature of violence reinforces the need to consider this subject from a number of disciplinary perspectives, and that by adopting a multidisciplinary approach we can gain a greater and fuller understanding of the often complex subject of violence from a fresh perspective often not seen from within the framework of our own discipline. This perspective affirms my decision to take a holistic, multidisciplinary approach to understanding violence. To avoid creating another definition of violence that encompasses just one or a few of its dimensions, I intend to develop an overarching conceptual framework that encompasses all of its dimensions – a framework which, in line with my quest to 'get to the roots of things', can be applied regardless of the outward form in which violence manifests. The key to such a framework, I propose, is to examine violence from the perspective of epistemology.

Moving from 'Epistemic Violence' to an Epistemology of Violence.

As we have seen, one of the core theoretical motivations of the Educommunication project was to overcome the symbolic violence of the traditional banking method of education, in which the knowledge of the teacher is legitimised and the knowledge of the student de-legitimised, making the student the object, rather than the subject of education. Freire's banking model can be framed as an example of Epistemic Violence or 'Epistemic Injustice' (Fricker, 1998; 1999). The term Epistemic Violence is one familiar to post-colonial discourse, and refers to the legitimisation and imposition of one person or group's knowledge and way of knowing over and above that of another. The most obvious example of this is the imposition of the epistemology of the coloniser over that of the colonised (Foucault, 1980; Spivak, 1988). Similarly, the term Epistemic Injustice, 'concerns the process of credibility conferral upon knowledge claimants' (McConkey, 2004: 198). According to McConkey, the contention of the latter term is that 'individuals belonging to marginalised or underprivileged groups may suffer from a lack of credibility when they deserve to be counted as credible knowers' (ibid). Along these same lines Young describes the experience of epistemic injustice as when 'dominant meanings of a society render the particular perspective of one's own group invisible at the same time as they stereotype one's group and mark it out as Other' (Young, 1990, pp. 58–59). As we can see, there is a strong overlap between the concepts of Epistemic Injustice, Epistemic Violence, and the concept of Symbolic Violence in Freire's banking model. Considered in this way, we can argue that this is what the Educommunication project aimed to overcome.

However, the approach of relying on theories of epistemic violence/epistemic injustice to address violence is lacking on two core accounts. Firstly, discourse about epistemic violence and epistemic injustice tends to be rather relativistic, and within this discourse I have found no discussion about the extent to which different epistemologies may be more or less violent *in themselves*. Secondly, when discussion remains at the level of whose knowledge or way of knowing is afforded more status or credibility, questions about what violence is, where it comes from, how it manifests in schools and why it

manifests, are overlooked. As long as overt student violence is perceived as a response to implicit epistemic violence carried out by the teacher and the institution, the focus on whose voice is afforded more space and credibility blinds us to these questions, and also to the possibility of answering them.

The Historical Problem of Violent Epistemology: A product of conscious agency, not of an inherently violent or non-violent human nature.

It is common to hear advocates of traditional education hark back to a 'golden age' in which the problems faced in schools today (violence, chaotic relations, disengagement) did not exist because students were kept firmly under control and 'respected authority' (Lowe, 2007; Schostak, 1986). This view can be traced back to views of human nature like that of Hobbes (1996), who saw people as inherently prone to violence unless kept under control by the rule of a higher power, and religious beliefs that children are born in original sin and need to be 'civilised' through strict education (Francesco, 1976). In so-called 'radical' and 'alternative' education spheres, another phenomenon is the formation of a rather romanticised ideal that looks to 'primitive' societies with envy, and views the educational practices of indigenous communities as free from the violence and corruption of the modern world (Eisler and Miller, 2004). This view, in which primitivism is seen to bring with it peace, equality and harmony with nature can be traced back to Rousseau's notion of the 'noble savage' where he writes 'nothing is more peaceable than man in his primitive state' (Rousseau, 1984: 115).

However, evidence suggests that neither view of human nature is correct. While violence is recognised as a problem in contemporary 'civilised' societies (Elliott, 1998; Hoffman, 1996), archaeological and historical records show us that violence has been present throughout human history (Ralph, 2013; Flannery and Marcus, 2012; Wu et al., 2011), and that the so-called 'primitive' communities so idealised by Rousseau were, and are, not immune to violence. Studies of human consciousness (Trevarthen and Reddy, 2007; Trevarthen, 1998; 2004) also debunk the notion that humans are inherently violent, by showing that we have conscious agency and an ability to choose how we think about,

and respond to our experiences of the world, ourselves and each other. This suggests that interventions based on the concept of human agency and the ability to choose violent or non-violent responses are more likely to be effective than those based on concepts of educating individuals out of original sin/disciplining an inherently violent being into 'civility', or of nurturing/allowing the inherently peaceable nature of the individual to emerge.

Considering a conceptual foundation based on conscious agency, requires a closer examination of epistemology. Epistemology is formally defined as 'the theory of knowledge, especially with regard to its methods, validity, and scope, and the distinction between justified belief and opinion' (Oxford English Dictionary, 2014). The term is also used in reference to 'personal epistemology', meaning 'the beliefs we hold about knowledge and knowing' (Hofer, 2002), and 'epistemic cognition', meaning individual reflection on 'the limits of knowing, the certainty of knowing, and criteria of knowing' (Kitchner, 1983). All of the above definitions frame epistemology and epistemic thought as explicit thinking *about* the nature of knowledge and knowing. This view, which is common to cognitive science and contemporary psychology, presents epistemic thought as something that operates outside the domain of situated cognition, and only within cognition *about* cognition (Shanon, 2002; Praetorious, 2000).

Hofer (2002) however, presents an understanding of epistemology as integral to daily acts of thought – cognitive processes that we employ to define 'truth' for ourselves. Similarly, Shanon (2002) and Praetorious (2000) propose that epistemology is not only present in explicit reflective thought *about* the limits, criteria and certainty of knowing, but that it is integral to *all* cognition. As Kant (1953), Heidegger (1962) and Merleau-Ponty (2012) affirm, cognition is grounded in 'the interface between organism and the world' (Shanon, 2002), and it is via this interface (via the mediation between subject and object as Adorno (1973) and Sherman (2007) would say) that we experience conscious awareness of, and create what we believe to be knowledge about, phenomena. In other words, as Shanon (2002) concludes, 'ipso facto cognition involves epistemology'.

In this thesis I use the terms 'epistemology' and 'epistemic cognition' to refer not only to explicit thinking about the limits of knowing, certainty of knowing, criteria of knowing

(Kitchner, 1983), but also to refer to the experiential and cognitive processes through which we engage and relate with the phenomenal world, and how we create what we believe to be 'knowledge' or 'truth' via these processes.

The Human Capacity for Violence: The epistemic relation between consciousness and phenomena.

Returning to the argument that humans are neither inherently violent nor nonviolent, but that the capacity for violence lies in our agency, we can consider Smith's (2011) assertion that certain 'fundamental epistemic conditions' (p. 24) lie at the roots of violence and violent regimes. These conditions, he argued, relate to the 'epistemic relation' between human consciousness and the phenomenal world (including other people and organisms). If this assertion is correct, then it follows that an examination of this relation could help us to better understand the root causes of violence.

The relation between human consciousness and the phenomenal world is one that philosophers have argued over for centuries, as it entails discussion about the nature of consciousness itself, the nature of the phenomenal world, and to what extent human consciousness can 'know' that world (Velmans et al., 2007). For centuries, as Trevarthen and Reddy (2007) write, 'the nature of consciousness defined in subtle ways has frustrated the understanding of philosophers' (p. 54). These authors suggest that this difficulty in understanding consciousness has been due to two related habits of thought which are deeply embedded in our language and meta-theoretical assumptions. These are, firstly, thinking of organisms as separate from the environment in which they exist, and secondly, assuming a categorical division between the intentional/mental and the physical/behavioural. This latter distinction can be traced back to the influential Cartesian strain of philosophy grounded in mind-body dualism, and subsequent representationist and behaviourist theories which present an individualistic view of consciousness (ibid).

However, various authors including James (1918), Vygotsky (1978) and Dewey (1997) have pointed out problems with this dualistic way of thinking about consciousness. Namely, that it leads us to believe that consciousness can live as thoughts, locked away inside the brains of each organism, rather than in dynamic interrelation with the physical and social world. Contrary to the traditional Cartesian dualism, Thompson (2001) proposes that 'human consciousness is formed in the dynamic interrelation of self and other, and therefore is inherently intersubjective' (P. 1). Another problem created by the age-old mind/body dualism is the view that consciousness exists as separate from the body. More recent authors such as Wider (1997) and Searle (2007) have contested this theory, arguing that consciousness is grounded in the in the physiological and neurological operations of the body. In this thesis I adopt these latter views - that consciousness is intersubjective and embodied.

Let us look at the intersubjective and bodily nature of consciousness in more detail. Firstly, we can discern the existence of a phenomenal and social world in which we (as conscious beings) are situated, acting within and on that world. Considering the phenomenal world, we can discern that it is incredibly diverse, complex and ever-changing. Bauman (2000) uses the metaphor of liquid. This is reinforced by contemporary physics which at its present level of understanding tells us that matter and energy are in constant flux and that even apparently static objects change over time (Taube, 2012). Our everyday experiences also confirm this: the changing seasons, plants growing and dying, people growing and changing, and the simple fact that the same water never passes under the same bridge twice (Jarvis, 2009). Kierkegaard (1989) also argued that 'existence is continually in the process of becoming' (P. 82). For him, our essential existential position in the world is that there is no resting place, and no end point.

Existing and acting within this ever-changing phenomenal world, we find ourselves. Psychologists and neuroscientists now commonly accept that our consciousness operates *intentionally* (Graham et al., 2007; Siewert, 2003; Chalmers, 2004) meaning that it is always directed towards something, and it is always conscious *of* some thing or things as they present themselves to our awareness, whether these be phenomena

external to our body (such as a landscape) or internal to our body (such as bodily sensations, emotions and imaginings). While the concept of intentionality is used to express how our consciousness is always directed towards some thing or things, the term is also used to represent our ability to *focus* our attention and the power that we have, through *conscious agency* (Trevarthen and Reddy, 2007; Trevarthen, 1998; 2004) to give a *focus* and a *margin* to consciousness through voluntary effort (James, 1918; Sully, 1890; Posner, 1978).

Conscious intentionality, by its nature, involves sense perception. Dainton (2007) and Chalmers (2007) speak of how phenomena become available to our consciousness via 'different sensory modalities'. As Tye (2007) illustrates:

> Attending to the phenomenology of a perceptual experience, to its felt character, is a matter of attending to the way things look, smell, taste, sound or feel by touch. In the case of bodily sensations, the object of your attention is the way a certain part of your body feels. With emotions and moods, the attention and focus is often on things outside – things perceived as dangerous, foul or pleasing – but there is also attention to the ways in which one's body is changing (pounding heart, shaky legs, higher blood pressure) (P. 47).

From this passage we can discern that via our different sensory modalities and awareness of both internal (interoception) and external (exteroception) phenomena (Rothschild, 2006), our conscious experiencing is complex, diverse, multidimensional and ever-changing. Rather than experiencing all of these different phenomena and dimensions of experience as separate, we experience them together, in unified, continuous experience. As Dainton (2007) illustrates:

> You are, let us suppose, studying a landscape painting hung on a museum wall; while so doing you are absentmindedly playing with a pen, exploring its shape with your fingers, and over to your right you can hear a murmured conversation. The painting, as it features in your consciousness, is a complex of many parts all of which are unified in a distinctive way: you see the depicted tree - covered mountains, the bubbling brook, the frame and surrounding wall. The same applies to your experiences of the pen and the conversation: these too are unified complexes – albeit in different sensory modalities. [...] Your experience of the painting is experienced along with your tactile explorations of the pen, but also with the remainder of your bodily experience, your conscious thoughts, mental images, and your current emotional feelings (Pp. 209-210).

This description illustrates how we are continuously embedded in unified and multidimensional conscious experience which, composed of an intersubjective interrelation between our exteroception (awareness of the multidimensionality and diversity of phenomena external to our body), and interoception (the multidimensionality and diversity of feelings and sensations that occur within our body).

The Importance of Phenomenological Freedom.

As mentioned previously, our ability to focus attention on particular phenomena or push them to the margins of our awareness is something that numerous philosophers and cognitive scientists have recognised. While James (1918) recognised the power of attention to give a focus and a margin to consciousness, Broadbent (1958) argued that we 'selectively attend' to sensory inputs in order to prevent overload of our information-processing system. Treisman (1964) also suggested that we 'attenuate', or 'turn down the volume' of certain sensory inputs so as to move them to the background of our awareness. While this process is thought necessary for preventing sensory overload, it is also important to be aware of when considering epistemology: As we have already mentioned, deploying selective attention and attenuation requires voluntary effort i.e. – agency (Posner, 1978), and because of its interaction with cognition this agency can be considered 'epistemic'.

A characteristic of consciousness in which we find epistemic agency, relates to Sartre's (1956) 'phenomenological freedom', which is found in the interrelationship between what he called 'prereflective' and 'reflective' consciousness. These can be seen as two 'interactive structures' of conscious experience (Smith, 2011: 69). *Prereflective* consciousness consists of the bodily/tacit dimension (Wider, 1997), which comprises the 'immediate, instantaneous, immersed, embedded, unabashed level of phenomenological experience' (Smith, 2011: 69) i.e. the immediacy of sensory input, whereas *Reflective* consciousness consists of the mechanisms by which we process, interpret, and reflect on sensory inputs. Reflective consciousness also consists of our ability to reflect on our own reflecting, constituting a 'third person perspective' type of

thought that enables us to evaluate our own thoughts and actions (ibid). As Sartre (1956) wrote, we experience ourselves as experiencing.

Analogies to Sartre's concepts of prereflective and reflective consciousness have been identified by other philosophers and cognitive scientists. Locke (1990) contrasted 'outer sense' (the mind's experience of things) with 'inner sense' (the mind's reflective experience of its own experience of things). Block (1998) spoke of 'phenomenal consciousness' (which consists of immediate, subjective experience and feelings) and 'access consciousness', which consists of information globally available in the cognitive system for the purposes of reasoning, speech and high-level action control, while Jarvis (2009) writes of 'primary experience' (experiencing with the senses) and 'secondary' experience (that which occurs as a result of language and other forms of mediation). According to Jarvis, primary and secondary experience occur as a complex process of simultaneously experiencing 'both sensations and meanings' (p. 30). Sartre presented the *prereflective* and *reflective* dimensions of consciousness as ontologically distinct from each other - as opposite poles with little interaction between the two. In a retrieval of Sartre's work, Sherman (2007), like Jarvis (2009) argues that there is in fact a much more fluid, constant, interactive relation between prereflective and reflective consciousness, in what he calls 'mediating subjectivity' (P.6).

By drawing a distinction between the prereflective and instantaneous level of consciousness and the explicitly reflective level, Sartre enables us to consider that in order for one to reflect upon the other, there must be a certain degree of 'space' between the two. This space, which enables us to be conscious of our own conscious experiencing and of our own reflecting on that experiencing, allows for what Sartre (1956) calls 'phenomenological freedom'. Phenomenological freedom, defined as freedom of conscious thought and reflection, is one of the great gifts of human intelligence. It gives us agency and allows us to learn. However, it also makes us capable of violence. As Smith (2011) explains, 'In experiential experience there is just enough space between our being embedded in a situation and our ability to reflect on that situation, and it is this space that makes possible the act of self-deceptive thought' (P. 70).

Smith is highlighting a crucial point: Whilst affording the amazing capacity of reflecting on our experiences, phenomenological freedom also makes us capable of lying to ourselves about our own experiences, by enabling us to choose to believe something even when our experiences prove it not to be true. For example, when teaching I can tell myself that I am knowledgeable and my students are not, and I can uphold that belief by consciously attenuating all aspects of my experience that might suggest otherwise. In this sense I am using my epistemic agency to manipulate the focus of my attention in order to actively close myself to experiences that might challenge my preconceived belief. But this alone does not stop me from experiencing phenomena that challenge my truth claim. Therefore in order to uphold my belief I need to not only choose 'not to focus' on certain aspects of my experience but also to lie to myself about these experiences (for example by telling myself that the student who disagrees with me in class is 'petulent', not knowledgeable). On the one hand at the immediate, embedded level of experiencing I am aware of aspects of my experience that challenge my belief, and on the other hand I can utilise my focusing and reflective abilities to 'push to the margins' and deny the existence or distort the significance of experiences that challenge my belief. Therefore, as Sartre (1956) puts it, I can simultaneously believe (know) something whilst not believing it. Sartre (ibid) calls this 'Bad Faith', while Smith calls it 'self-deception'.

Orientated, Orientating, Orientations.

As we have already established, consciousness is commonly understood as being intentional. One function of intentional agency is what phenomenologists such as Merleau-Ponty (2012), Husserl (1973) and Heidegger (1962) identified as a constant process of orientating ourselves by 'turning toward' phenomena. This 'turning toward' can be the simple focussing of our attention 'without moving our eyes' (Sully, 1890), or the physical act of moving our eyes, turning our body, or approximating ourselves to our chosen subject (Ahmed, 2006a).

As discussed earlier, we exist in a dynamic and intersubjective interrelation with the world, and both the world and ourselves are multidimensional and ever-changing. Considering this, it is fair to say that we can never *absolutely know* the world, nor ourselves or others. However, considering that consciousness is intentional and we are constantly *orientating* ourselves toward phenomena even if we cannot absolutely know them, we are still continuously engaged in a process of *trying* to understand the world. Trevarthen and Reddy (2007) state that 'conscious awareness is adapted to detect the prospects for action that have definite purposes in the outside world' (P. 54). *Orientating* can therefore be seen as an integral mechanism through which we try to understand the phenomena that we become aware of (and focus our attention on), in order to inform our decisions about how to act in the world.

Orientation, as Ahmed (2006a) writes, 'is about making the strange familiar' (P.11). It also entails processes of storing (remembering), reflecting on and interpreting our immediate experience in order to create and re-create concepts, mental constructs, or 'orientations' to help us identify and develop a sense of understanding towards phenomena (ibid). The act of orientating and the orientations that we create for ourselves in relation to our experiences are considered by contemporary learning theorists to be integral to our very being. Jarvis (2009) uses the term 'biography' to refer to our entire history of orientations, which can be thought of as the memories that we have of our past experiences and the mental structures and meanings that we have developed in order to make sense of those experiences. As Merleau-Ponty (2012) states, 'we cannot dissociate being from orientated being' (P. 295). However, considering the assumption that we can never absolutely know the world, ourselves, or others as these are constantly in flux, it may be more correct to think of our being as in a constant process of orientat*ing* and re-orientating, rather than in a static state of being orientat*ed*.

The need to be constantly orientating and re-orientating ourselves springs from the fact that our orientations will never be identical to the phenomena of our experience, because we cannot simultaneously access all dimensions of a phenomenon with our consciousness, and that phenomenon will be in a constant process of change (however fast or slow). Because of this, there will always be a discord between our orientations

and phenomena themselves. Ahmed (2006a) states that when we become aware of this discord we experience a sense of *dis*orientation, or what Piaget (1977) calls *disequilibrium* and Jarvis (2009) calls *disjuncture.* This is particularly evident when we are faced with new, unknown or unexpected phenomena, and as Jarvis (ibid) argues, this sense of disjuncture, felt as a gap between our existing orientations and our lived experience, is unavoidable and central to how we learn.

In line with Trevarthen and Reddy (2007), Illeris (2009) writes that 'The endeavour of the learner is to construct *meaning* and *ability* to deal with the challenges of practical life' (P. 10). Because of the nature of our consciousness, we all engage in informal learning as an integral element of our day-to-day, lifelong experience (Jarvis, 2009). In line with the recognition that we are multidimensional beings, Piaget (1953) wrote that learning begins with the body and takes place through the brain, which is also part of the body, and only gradually is the mental side separated out as a specific but never independent area or function. In contrast to the mind-body dualism of Cartesian philosophy, learning can be seen as happening on many bodily and sensory dimensions, and not as a purely cognitive process. As Illeris (2009) describes:

> Human learning is the combination of processes throughout a lifetime whereby the whole person – body (genetic, physical and biological) and mind (knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, emotions, beliefs and senses) – experiences social situations, the perceived content of which is then transformed cognitively, emotively or practically (or through any combination) and integrated into the individual person's biography resulting in a continually changing (or more experienced) person (P. 23).

Like Freire, Illeris sees learning as socially mediated. This 'social constructivist' model of learning is valuable because it acknowledges the collective affirmation of constructs or orientations. However, it misses out a crucial and ethically relevant point when it comes to a discussion of epistemology. That is, although we are capable of agreeing on collective 'truths' through communication, dialogue and discourse (something which Friere actively promoted) our capacity for self-deceptive thought means that unless these truths are also developed in intersubjective relation with the phenomena to which they refer, they run the risk of not doing justice to these phenomena. This is something

commonly seen in racist discourses, for example. This social constructivist model also leaves out the recognition that learning can, and often does happen outside of immediate social situations, in direct relationship with our sensory experience (for example when a child learns by playing alone outside, exploring textures, smells, sights, sounds and movements).

While I have recognised that learning entails the multidimensionality of bodily experience as well as the mind, in seeking a deeper understanding of violence I am most interested in the *cognitive* dimension of learning because, being essential for concept-formation, the cognitive dimension is central to our epistemic relating with the phenomenal world. Illeris (ibid) writes how 'the learner him - or herself actively builds up or construes his/her learning as mental structures' (P. 23). Piaget called these structures 'schema', which influenced the contemporary psychological metaphor of 'schemes'. Illeris explains that rather than being some kind of archive, brain scientists believe schemes to be analogous to what they call 'engrams', which are 'traces of circuits between some of the billions of neurons that have been active at earlier occasions and therefore are likely to be revived, perhaps with slightly different courses because of the impact of new experiences or understandings' (ibid). In order to deal with them more practically, Illeris suggests that we think of schemes as 'what we subjectively tend to classify as belonging to a specific topic or theme and therefore mentally connect and are inclined to recall in relation to situations that we relate to that topic or theme' (ibid).

If we consider 'schemes' and 'orientations' to be analogous, then we begin to see a connection to categorisation and generalisation as cognitive processes that we employ in creating and recreating orientations. Ahmed (2006a) writes, 'we think with and through orientation'. If this is true, the implications of creating orientations that do not do justice to the phenomena they intend to represent, are ethically concerning. If categorisation and generalisation is central to how we orientate ourselves and therefore how we choose to act in the world, then our quest to develop a deeper understanding of violence demands a more detailed examination of these processes.

The Importance of How we Generalise.

So far I have proposed that our epistemic agency lies in our ability to pay selective attention to or attenuate phenomena in our awareness, and in the interrelation between reflective and pre-reflective consciousness which enables us to form schema/orientations. This section outlines in more detail how these two important functions of consciousness also enable us to enact self-deceptive thought. I also outline how such thought can be considered precursory to violent action, and propose that the particular cognitive behaviours and structures that define this type of thinking be termed 'violent epistemology'.

Kegan (2009: 44) argues that '"Epistemology" refers to […] not *what* we know but our way of knowing'. In this section I present a way of conceptualising the core difference between 'violent' and 'non-violent' epistemology as stemming from two different 'ways of knowing' which can be distinguished by how we relate the *general* and the *particular* in our experience, or rather, how we generalise. Illeris (2009) writes (my interpretations are presented in square brackets):

> In relation to learning, the crucial thing is that new impulses [experiences] can be included in the mental organisation [schemes] in various ways [different epistemologies], and on this basis it is possible to distinguish between [...] different types of learning [epistemic processes] which are activated in different contexts, imply different kinds of learning results [violent or non-violent] and require more or less energy (P. 13).

In this section I will propose that different epistemic processes or 'types of learning' can be more or less violent, depending on the ways in which we do or do not acknowledge and integrate the particulars of our experience into our general schemes/orientations. As already discussed, our epistemic relation with the phenomenal world, ourselves and each other entails a constant process of orientating ourselves towards our experiences through conscious intentionality. Central to how we orientate ourselves is the practice of generalisation. We can discern this quite practically using a simple example given by Polanyi (1969):

> The traveller who admires a landscape sees a particular image of trees, fields, rivers and peaks, and nearer his position he hears church-bells ringing and sees villagers walking to attend service. His experience is composed of particular instances of the classes denoted by the terms 'tree', 'river', 'peak', 'church-bell', 'villagers', 'walking', and 'religious service', etc. (P. 190).

Polanyi describes this process of orientating within an experience, of interpreting particular sensory impulses in relation to pre-existing general categories or concepts, as *sense-reading*. Polanyi highlighted how, when we have a first-hand experience such as that of the traveller described above, we witness 'particular instances' of phenomena, or 'aggregate[s] of objects that differ in every particular' (ibid). This view is compatible with my earlier point that the phenomenal world is diverse, multidimensional and ever-changing, and in light of this, no two phenomena can be experienced as absolutely identical. Waismann (1945) argued that the general terms or categories we use to identify phenomena have an 'open texture' which admits differences in the instances to which they apply. Another example from Polanyi (1969) illustrates this well:

> Our conception of a tree, for example [...] arises in a tacit integration of countless experiences of different trees and pictures and reports of still others: deciduous and evergreen, straight and crooked, bare and leafy. All these encounters are included in forming the conception of a tree; they are all used subsidiarily with a bearing on the conception of a tree, which is what we mean by the word 'tree' (P. 191).

Polanyi argued that there is no 'explicit procedure' by which we form these general orientations, however he did begin to point towards certain cognitive procedures when he wrote that 'when groping for words to describe an experience, we [...] use the particulars we have seen and heard as clues to conceptions covering them, and we then designate these particulars by the names of these conceptions' (ibid). Piaget, on the other hand, has provided us with research that has expanded the possibility of discerning such 'explicit procedures' by which we form orientations in relation to our experience – something I will get to in a moment.

However, Polanyi's work does present one useful concept for delineating such 'explicit processes' - the notion of 'conceptual subsumption'. Citing Kant, Polanyi (Op. cit.) writes that subsuming particular instances (of experience) under a general term or concept

(such as 'tree') is a 'skill so deeply hidden in the human soul that we shall hardly guess the secret that Nature here employs' (Pp. 105-106). He presents this as a rather neutral and unavoidable procedure which enables us to communicate such experiences to others via language. The 'tacit integration' of particular experiences into general, 'open-textured' orientations towards phenomena (e.g. 'trees', 'villagers' etc.) can be seen as a necessary and organic cognitive process which enables us to orientate ourselves towards our experience. However, when considering the ethics of epistemic processes I propose that this practice needs to be examined more critically. Falzon (1998) writes how:

> Encountering the world ... necessarily involves a process of ordering the world in terms of our categories, organising it and classifying it, actively bringing it under control in some way. We always bring some framework to bear on the world in our dealings with it. Without this organisational activity, we would be unable to make any sense of the world at all (P. 38).

While a necessary action which helps us to understand and make sense of our experiences, Jarvis (2009) writes how the process of categorisation also makes it possible for us to impose general categorisations upon the particulars of our experience in a way that minimises our perception of diversity and particularity. This is where we begin to see the potential for violation. In such instances it becomes easy to 'take for granted' that the world is identical to the concepts and categories that we have created. Jarvis writes:

> We assume that the world as we know it does not change a great deal from one experience to another similar one (Schutz and Luckmann, 1974), although as Bauman (2000) reminds us, our world is changing so rapidly that he can refer to it as 'liquid'(P. 26).

In other words, in this 'taken-for-grantedness' we tend to focus more on what we perceive to be general and presume to 'already know' in our experience, rather than on what is particular - those new and diverse encounters that may pose a challenge to our existing categories and schema.

Cook (2005) reminds us that 'the polarity between universal and particular takes a cognitive form' (P. 24). That is, while we can discern phenomenologically that general

similarities between phenomena do not cancel out or override the diverse particularity of the phenomenal world, there appears to be a cognitive tendency in humans to sever the organic and dynamic interrelation between generals that we can perceive in our experience and the particular instances that those generals are comprised of. Instead, generality and particularity tend to be perceived as two opposing and irreconcilable poles (as can be seen in the epistemic war between positivism and relativism).

Adorno (1973) cautions us against imposing general categories on diverse phenomena in a manner that tries to make phenomena identical to our concepts of them. He is especially concerned with what happens when phenomena are subsumed by 'their concepts without leaving a remainder' (P. 5). That is, using our general concepts to negate or override any particularities which do not fit neatly into them. When we negate or override particularities of our experience, we fail to do justice to the phenomenon of that experience, 'violating its condition' as Horta (2007: LVII) would say.

Adorno heavily criticised this epistemic mode of thought, which he called 'identity thinking'. According to Sherman (2007) 'Adorno does not want to discard the moment of identity altogether' (P. 240). As Adorno (1973) writes, 'the appearance of identity is inherent in thought itself,' or, put more simply, 'to think is to identify' (P. 5). Therefore, while Adorno is not arguing that we should give up on constructing concepts and categories to make sense of our experience[26], he is arguing 'the need for conceptual fluidity to adequately (and therefore never completely) describe the actual [phenomena] of a fluid reality' (Sherman, 2007: 240). This type of conceptual fluidity that Adorno advocates is perhaps something more like Polanyi's 'open-textured' concept. The greatest epistemic error that we make, according to Adorno (1973: 12), is falling into the trap of identity thinking; tricking ourselves into believing that phenomena are identical to our conceptualisations of them. He argued that we should 'respect the nonidentity of objects with concepts' (Cook, 2005: 24).

Adorno wrote that 'To gain [...] perspectives without velleity or violence' is the 'task of thought' and that such perspectives could only be gained 'from felt contact with objects'.

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[26] Throwing the baby out with the bathwater, as postmodernists could be criticised for having done.

(2005: 247). That is, in order to enact a non-violent epistemology it is necessary to be normatively attentive to the particularities of our first-hand experiences with phenomena so as to assimilate particularities into our general concepts and adapt our concepts accordingly, rather than paying little attention to or rejecting particularities, and negating them by subsuming them under general concepts which we take for granted as being identical to our experience. In sum, Adorno argues that in order to overcome the violence of identity thinking, we need "to change the direction of conceptuality, to give it a turn toward nonidentity" (1973: 12).

In line with Polanyi and Adorno, Piaget (1977) recognised that the identification and categorisation of phenomena into mental schema is central to how we orientate ourselves. However, it was Piaget who made most clear that the relating of particularities and generalities in our experience is a central and unavoidable aspect of the formation and re-formation of schema. He explained how, as we encounter new experiences and phenomena we sort them according to what we perceive to be similar (general) between them and other phenomena that we have experienced, and what we perceive to be different (particular). We use our analysis of the generalities and particularities of phenomena to orientate ourselves – to decide what they might be and where they ought to fit within our schema in relation to other phenomena that we have experienced both past and present. This process is at its most intense during childhood, but as Jarvis (2009) highlights, it continues until the moment we die.

Importantly, Piaget identifies different ways of relating with the phenomena of our experience. One, 'assimilation', involves the integration of new experiences into existing categories and schema without changing the schema themselves. Another, 'accommodation', involves adapting schema to account for the particularities of experience as observed. As Jarvis (2009) writes, assimilative epistemic relating demands little energy as it does not require the subject to de-construct and reconstruct any aspect of the concept, but rather simply identifies the phenomena with a pre-existing concept as with identity thinking. Piaget (1977) writes how he has witnessed something in his experiments that he calls 'assimilative distortion'. When the subject experiences particularities which appear to contradict or not to fit into already existing

conceptualisations, this causes the feeling of 'disequilibrium' (or 'disjuncture' as Jarvis (2009) calls it) – a sense of 'not knowing' or 'disorientation'.

Piaget (1977) identifies different ways in which the subject tends to respond, in order to regain a sense of equilibrium. One of these, he calls 'type α behaviour'. This is when 'the form [conceptualisation] rejects certain elements [particularity] of the content [phenomenon as experienced], so that the force exerted by the form [concept] in its rejection is opposed to that which is characteristic of the content [phenomenon]' (p. 150). In essence, Piaget appears to be describing the subsumption of particularities under general concepts to make the phenomena identical to the concept, as in Adorno's concept of identity thinking. Piaget (ibid) writes that in the process of constructing or adapting a schema, what the subject has retained of his experience and conceptualised, amounts to what the subject has 'centred [focussed on], valued, and not dismissed' (p. 148). In type α behaviour, in the attempt to regain a sense of equilibrium 'what the subject retains [of his experience] is reduced entirely to what at first was assimilable and comprehensible' (ibid). The 'remainder' (to use Adorno's terminology), is 'somewhat removed from awareness [as] the objects [phenomena] of a kind of repression or inhibition' (Pp. 149-50).

As Piaget writes, 'in these examples, it is clear that the subject does not simply neglect elements or make incomplete conceptualisations […]. [Rather,] a greater [selective] focussing is apparent. The missing perception [that which was not integrated into the scheme] was actually dismissed because it was contradictory to a frequently used conceptual scheme' (Piaget, 1977: 149). What Piaget appears to be describing is how somebody can perceive something and then pretend that they had not actually perceived that particular thing by rejecting or 'neglecting observables' (ibid) so that they do not have to undertake the demanding work of accommodation (adapting or reconstructing the scheme in order to accommodate the particularity). This is a prime example of how our epistemic agency (our ability to focus on certain particularities of experience and push others to the margins of awareness, as well as the 'space' between pre-reflective and reflective consciousness), enables us to deceive ourselves about what we have experienced.

According to Piaget (1977), the sense of equilibrium achieved by type α behaviour is unstable, because 'neglected observables' have a tendency to 'exert [...] pressure in opposition to th[e] resistance' of the form [conceptualisation] (p. 150). In other words, the subject will most likely continue to re-encounter those 'remainders' or particularities which have been consciously rejected, and is therefore faced with the challenge of either continually upholding that rejection so as to protect the structural integrity of the concept, or admitting that they have lied to themselves and making the effort to adapt the concept to account for those particularities which had been repressed. As Illeris (2007) writes, individuals can become invested in the concepts that they have worked so hard to protect, which can contribute to the subject 'blocking' themselves from acknowledging and learning from new and rejected particularities. Adorno refers to this as 'guarding the old particularity' (1973: 283-284), meaning that the subject refuses to acknowledge any new particularities which challenge their existing petrified concepts. We can imagine how 'guarding the old particularity' could perpetuate type α behaviour and, in the context of this thesis, violent epistemic behaviour.

The severing of the organic interrelationship between general and particular that occurs in piaget's type α behaviour and Adorno's identity thinking, can also be seen as analogous in some ways to Jarvis' (1987) concept of 'non-learning', Leithäuser's (1976) theory of 'everyday consciousness' and Rogers' (1961) 'Stage One' of the process from 'fixity' to 'flowingness'. I will outline each of these briefly. Jarvis proposes that there are three broad types of non-learning. The first, *presumption*, implies that one already thinks one has an understanding of something and, therefore, does not register new learning opportunities. This appears analogous to the 'taken-for-grantedness' (as described by Illeris, 2007) that we enact when imposing pre-existing general categories or concepts onto new experiences.

The second, *Non-consideration*, implies that one might register new opportunities (particularities), but not accomodate them into one's orientation perhaps through being too busy or too nervous of what they might lead to. The latter part of this sentence (fear of what integration might lead to) brings to mind the act of lying to oneself so as to protect the comfort and security of the 'old particularity'. The final type of non-learning

outline by Jarvis is *Rejection*. This means that on a more conscious level, one does not want to learn something new in a particular context. This also brings to mind 'guarding the old particularity', as well as the rejection of new particularities because of the effort involved in integrating them into a restructured scheme.

Leithäuser's (1976) theory of everyday consciousness is based, among other things, on the idea that we adopt a fragmented, impoverished, prejudicial and automatic manner of conceptualising our everyday experience as a way of coping with the modern world. He writes how in modern life we are held to strict time-constraints and routines, and bombarded with overwhelming amounts of information and sensory impulses, such as the atrocities that appear every day on our television screens and the numerous irresistible offers surrounding us in the supermarket. In such an environment it is incredibly challenging to remain open and candid, to the degree that psychological and emotional defence appears necessary in order to cope. As a result we feel the need to rationalise our consciousness, developing an 'everyday consciousness' that is characterised by fragmentation, stereotypes and unmediated contradictions. Leithäuser describes this as a psychological structure comprised of limited schema by which we are able to routinely interpret the themes we come across in our everyday lives without reflecting on them or integrating new impulses. This is a form of 'filtering' which Illeris describes as functioning similarly to Piaget's type α behaviour. In this way we avoid relating to the huge stream of new impulses to which we are subjected in contemporary society, and part of our life fulfilment is confined in routines, impoverishment, falsity and prejudice (Illeris, 2007; Leithäuser, 1976).

Finally, Rogers (1961) proposed a seven-stage process by which, through the therapeutic process, people could progress from 'fixity' to 'flowingness' in their way of relating to the world, themselves and others. It is not difficult to see that each one of these stages is also analogous to an epistemic way of relating with one's experience. What Rogers describes as 'Stage One' is particularly interesting as it appears analogous to Adorno's identity thinking and is characterised by a similar rigidity and closure as that found in Piaget's type α behaviour. Rogers describes this stage as marked by 'fixity and remoteness of experiencing' (P. 132), in which:

> The individual has little or no recognition of the ebb and flow of the feeling of life within him. The ways in which he construes experience have been set by his past, and are rigidly unaffected by the actualities of the present. He is (to use the term of Gendlin and Zimrig) structure-bound in his manner of experiencing. That is, he reacts "to the situation of now by finding it to be like a past experience and then reacting to the past, feeling *it*". […] There is much blockage of internal communication between self and experience. The individual at this stage is represented by such terms as stasis, fixity, the opposite of flow or change (P. 133).

Rogers appears to be describing the failure of the subject to attend to, achnowledge, and accommodate the particularities of present experience into their general orientations. Instead the subject severs the organic general-particular relation by imposing a fixed general orientation onto the particularities of experience in a manner which negates the ways in which they may be different from past experience. In short, the subject subsumes particularity under general concepts.

While I have not encountered any authors who use the term 'violent epistemology', and many of those cited in this section do not explicitly acknowledge the potential for violation within the concepts they present, I have demonstrated how a variety of research and concepts exist which point towards the same set of conclusions:

1. Through our epistemic agency (our ability to focus on and push particularities of experience to the margins of our awareness, and to reflect on our immediate experience), we are able to enact different epistemic behaviours while forming and maintaining schema.

2. Relating generalities and particularities of our experience is an essential cognitive behaviour which allows us to create and recreate schema, but the way in which we do this can impact the degree to which we do justice to the phenomena of our experience.

3. The concepts of type α behaviour (Piaget, 1987), identity thinking (Adorno, 1973), non-learning (Jarvis, 2009), everyday consciousness (Leithäuser, 1976) and Stage One (Rogers, 1961), all point towards a similar type of epistemic

behaviour which is marked by the pushing of certain particularities to the margins of awareness and the subsumption of those particularities under general concepts, so as to maintain those concepts in their rigid and unchanging form.

I propose that this type of epistemic behaviour can be integrated into the single concept of 'violent epistemology'. Some of the authors cited in this section present this epistemic behaviour as ethically neutral (Polanyi, Piaget, Jarvis, Rogers), while others (Adorno, Sherman, and Leithäuser) demonstrate more explicit consideration of its ethical implications. If we analyse this behaviour while trying to understand the root causes of violence (as I am doing in this thesis), then we begin to perceive the crucial importance of considering its ethical implications.

To illustrate this, let us return to the teacher who shut her students in the classroom. If we imagine that she may have developed, over time, a scheme that relates to the role of 'good teacher' and with which she identifies – i.e. she has subsumed the particularities of her own being into that scheme, 'objectifying herself into character' as Sherman (2007) would say. The scheme may contain certain generalisations that she has assimilated over time through her experience of schooling, teacher training, working in schools, and societal discourse about teachers. If we consider that one such generalisation may entail the common association of 'good teacher' with the characteristic of commanding a high level of control over the students in class, then we can imagine how she, wanting to be a 'good teacher', may strive to attain/maintain this generalised characteristic.

When the children start acting out – throwing chairs, dancing, laughing – the structure of this scheme and her identification with it is placed under threat (into disequilibrium) by the particularities of the situation, which threaten the stability of her generalised, rigid scheme. In a desperate effort to maintain her control over the students and therefore her ability to identify with her 'good teacher' scheme, she places tables against the door to stop the children spilling out into the corridor where her inability to control them will become evident to her colleagues, threatening her perceived ability to identify

with that scheme even further. Thus, the teacher enters into a desperate panic in which she tries to keep the children locked in the classroom by any means possible, in order to 'guard the old particularity'. To maintain the integrity of her existing scheme she must push certain particularities of her experience to the margins of her awareness (such as the students' needs), because recognising and integrating them into her scheme could force her into further disequilibrium and necessitate the energy-consuming effort of deconstructing and reconstructing the scheme and her own identification with it altogether. The disequilibrium could be so intense that it forces her into 'crisis' or the experience of absurdity – an even more terrifying prospect. The result of maintaining the integrity of her pre-existing scheme and using that as a guideline for action, is that she has failed to do justice to particularities of her experience with herself and others, and acted violently by locking the children in the classroom with tables against the door.

Through this one example (I will provide more throughout chapters Five and Six), we can see how the epistemic behaviours described in this section can act as precursors to violent action. For this reason I propose that it is necessary to explicitly recognise the ethical implications of these cognitive behaviours by integrating them into the single concept of 'violent epistemology'.

The Importance of Motivations and Emotions.

So far I have presented a detailed outline of a new concept of 'violent epistemology', by focussing on the capacity of human consciousness to enact certain cognitive behaviours. I have emphasised the crucial importance of integrating the cognitive and epistemic dimensions of experience into an understanding of the root causes of violence. As I have highlighted, the cognitive dimension is also home to the agency that enables us to choose which cognitive and physical behaviours to enact. Understanding this is vital because our agency can provide the linchpin for change. However, I mentioned earlier that phenomena (ourselves included) are multidimensional, citing Dainton (2007), Chalmers (2007) and Tye (2007) to illustrate that one important dimension of our experience, aside from our cognition, is our emotions. I also mentioned that I intended

to take a multidimensional approach to understanding violence, and this cannot be achieved without discussing the role of emotions.

Research has found that what we usually term 'reason' (i.e. the cognitive dimension) cannot function independently of emotions (Illeris, 2007: 13). Thus, as Kant (1953) suggested more than 200 years ago in his 'critique of pure reason', the Western and scientific ideal of 'pure reason', unaffected by emotion, is an illusion. Many psychologists have also been aware of the close connection between emotion and cognition (Vygotsky, 1978; Furth, 1987) and neurology has also confirmed this (Damasio, 1994). In relation to violent epistemology, a number of authors point to emotion as the driving force for cognitive acts of severing the generals from the particulars of experience - including the acts of self-deceptive thought, of blocking ourselves from honouring the diversity and new particularities of experience, and from integrating new particularities into our conceptual orientations. It stands to reason then, that we must examine the relationship between emotions and violent epistemology in more detail.

Motivations.

Psychological and sociological literature identifies certain phenomena which are often described as 'drives' or 'motivating forces'. These are usually divided into two core concepts: 'self-preservation' (Hobbes, 1996; Spinoza, 1985; Freud, 1910; Adorno, 1973), and 'self-actualisation' (Goldstein, 1939; Maslow, 1954; Rogers, 1961). In examining this literature, there appears to be a strong interaction between these motivating forces, our emotions, and the enactment of violent or non-violent epistemology. I will outline each of the two concepts in a little more detail[27].

Early discussions on the theme of self-preservation can be found in the work of Hobbes (1996) and Spinoza (1985). Arguing that 'the passions that incline men to peace are fear of death, desire of such things as are necessary to commodious living, and a hope by

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[27] By discussing core motivations or 'drives', I am not attempting to make ontological assertions about 'human nature', but rather to identify what appear to be pertinent themes for the study of violence as a historical human problem.

their industry to obtain them', Hobbes (1996: 78) proposed that individual self-preservation is the primary motivating factor behind both the actions of individuals and the formation of societies. Spinoza (1985) wrote of a 'striving by which each thing strives to persevere in its own being' (P. 20). He refers to this as 'conatus' – a striving of the whole being of the person, both body and mind – to persevere in its existence. Freud (1910) later elaborated on this theme when he spoke of 'those [...] instincts, which have as their aim the self-preservation of the individual, the ego instincts" (P. 214). He believed self-preservation (particularly of the ego) to be a 'primal instinct' of humankind (Freud, 1915).

Later, Adorno (1973) and Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) continued with, and elaborated on the theme of self-preservation – in particular exploring its relation to violence and epistemology. In his explanation of Horkheimer and Adorno's use of the concept of self-preservation, Sherman (2007) employs italics to clarify the two ways in which the authors use the term. Essentially, *self*-preservation refers to the 'preservation of the particular ego-structure which separates a human being from both nature and other human beings'[28] (P. 185), and self-*preservation* relates to the preservation of the biological organism (P. 184). Horkheimer and Adorno explored various ways in which the drives for egological *self*-preservation and biological self-*preservation* serve as a core theme in the history of human violence, domination and repression.

The term 'Self-Actualisation' is thought to have been coined by Goldstein (1939), who saw humans as possessing innate 'capacities' or 'potentialities' which:

> Belong to the nature of the organism, but [...] are utilized only by the organism in the course of its encounter with the outer world and its coming to terms with external stimuli. Thus, they develop with the attempt of the organism to adjust itself to the environment in a certain way. The development of these capabilities is dependent on the possibility of a specifically formed environment suited to the use of such capacities (P. 158).

In this sense, self-actualisation means the 'tendency to actualize, as much as possible,

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[28] This is not a presumption that humans *are* separate from nature, but rather refers to when a person perceives himself as such.

[the subject's] individual capacities [...] in the world' (ibid: 162). Goldstein presents the 'drive' for self-actualisation as a characteristic of a healthy human organism. He contrasts this to self-preservation, which he describes as being a pathological phenomenon (self-actualisation which has undergone a characteristic change), marked by:

> The tendency to maintain the existent state [which] is characteristic for sick people and is a sign of anomalous life, of decay of life. The tendency of normal life is toward activity and progress. For the sick, the only form of self-actualization that remains is the maintenance of the existent state (P. 162).

In short, Goldstein sees self-actualisation as the action of a healthy subject who is constantly changing, growing and developing in interaction with its environment. This interaction 'corresponds to a continual change of tension of such a kind that over and again that state of tension is reached that enables and impels the organism to actualize itself in further activities (P. 163). This is analogous to Piaget's continual process of equilibration in which the subject constantly experiences new feelings of 'disequilibrium' as it encounters new experiences, and works to equilibrate itself to its experience through continuous assimilation and accommodation of those new experiences into its schema/orientations. Similar to type α behaviour in which the subject attempts to resolve all disequilibrium by rejecting rather than accommodating new experiences, Goldstein proposes that self-preservation is marked by 'The tendency to discharge any tension whatsoever [...] even if in an imperfect way' (P. 161). Just as in type α behaviour, in Goldstein's self-preservation 'the tendency to remove any arising tension prevails' leading to 'the process of equalisation [being] disturbed' (ibid) because the subject reduces his 'scope of life' (P. 162) as 'he is driven to maintain a certain state of living and not to be disturbed in this condition' (ibid). This is a marker of what Goldstein calls 'sick life', and can be seen as analogous to Rogers' Stage One'.

Later, the term 'self-actualisation' was adopted by Maslow (1943; 1954), who described it as 'the desire for self-fulfilment, namely, [...] the tendency for [the subject] to become actualized in what he is potentially. This tendency might be phrased as the desire to become more and more what one is, to become everything that one is capable of becoming' (1943: 10). According to Maslow, the emergence of the self-actualising tendency 'rests upon prior satisfaction of the physiological, safety, love and esteem

needs' (P. 11). He writes:

> We shall call people who are satisfied in these needs, basically satisfied people, and it is from these that we may expect the fullest (and healthiest) creativeness. Since, in our society, basically satisfied people are the exception, we do not know much about self-actualization' (ibid).

From this statement, we can imagine how a lack of basic (including emotional) need satisfaction could (though not deterministically) result in the subject acting in more of a 'self-preserving' rather than a 'self-actualising' manner, leading to a violent epistemic relationship between the subject and themselves, the world, and others. Rogers (1980), who also engages with the theme of self-actualisation, suggests something very similar when reflecting on his experience with clients during therapy:

> The actualizing tendency can [...] be thwarted or warped, but it cannot be destroyed without destroying the organism. [...] Life would not give up, even if it could not flourish. [...] So unfavourable have been the conditions in which [some] people have developed that their lives often seem abnormal, twisted, scarcely human. Yet, the directional tendency in them can be trusted. The clue to understanding their behaviour is that they are striving, in the only ways that they perceive as available to them, to move toward growth, toward becoming. To healthy persons, the results may seem bizarre and futile, but they are life's desperate attempt to become itself (P. 118).

We can imagine the teacher putting tables against the door, and the children throwing chairs as 'life's desperate attempts' to become itself, or in such difficult circumstances to at least preserve itself - even though to me as an observer these acts may have appeared futile and self-destructive.

Emotions.

The discussion above highlights how motivations to enact certain epistemic patterns of thought are deeply intertwined with our emotions. A review of relevant literature uncovered numerous mentions of fear and anxiety in patterns of behaviour and thought that appear to match what I have termed 'violent epistemology'. Smith (2011) explores how anxiety, if not managed effectively, can lead us to enact self-deceiving thought.

Smith writes of how the phenomenal world as we experience it is so complex that it does not provide us with any kind of absolute orientation that we can rely on to know how to act in any given situation. Rather, it provides us with incredible amounts of sensory information that we must process and interpret ourselves. Smith calls this the 'lack of an absolute orientation', arguing that it is inherent to our epistemic relation with the phenomenal world. Horkheimer and Adorno (2002), spoke of a similar concept when discussing the 'nonconceptual', or 'remainder' of experience which cannot be conceptualised:

> Primal and undifferentiated, it is everything unknown and alien; it is that which transcends the bounds of experience, the part of things which is more than their immediately perceived existence. What the primitive experiences as supernatural is not a spiritual substance in contradistinction to the material world but the complex concatenation of nature in contrast to its individual link. The cry of terror called forth by the unfamiliar becomes its name (P. 10).

Building on this idea, Smith (2011) uses the term 'nonconceptual moreness' to describe the fact that there is always 'something more' to our experience which we can't absolutely know. This stems from the nonidentity of objects [phenomena] with our concepts of them, as observed by Adorno (1973) and explained earlier.

Both Adorno (1973) and Smith (2011) propose that this nonconceptual moreness has historically stirred a deep-rooted fear or anxiety in humans. Adorno (ibid) speaks of how it was our fear (for our self-preservation) in the face of the threat of nature that spurred the beginnings of abstract identity thinking. As he put it, 'abstraction is the medium of self-preserving reason' (ibid: 179). He is referring to his argument that, in the face of the unpredictability or 'moreness' presented by nature, upon which early civilisations depended for their self-preservation, humans responded by enacting 'a thinking that tolerates nothing outside it' (ibid: 172). Put crudely, humans created and sustained absolute, rigid schema in the form of myths and religions to satiate this fear and regain a sense of absolute security through those orientations, which was not provided by nature (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002). As we know, many atrocities (such as slavery and ritual sacrifices) were carried out in the name of these early myths and religions.

Adorno's argument provides an age-old example of violent epistemology being enacted as a means of biological self-*preservation*.

As we know, the enlightenment was an attempt to overcome our dependence on myth and religion. Adorno (1973) argues that in striving to break free from this dependence enlightenment thinkers transferred our search for absolute security from the creation of abstract myths, to the painstaking and 'rational' study of nature itself. However, rather than freeing us from our dependence on myth, Adorno proposes that enlightenment thought actually created just another set of myths by using identity thinking and instrumental rationality in its effort to create an absolute orientation towards nature upon which we could ultimately depend. Essentially, in order to reduce the anxiety of not being able to absolutely know the phenomenal world, enlightenment thought tried to subsume nature under 'identical' categories and concepts in order to absolutely know and dominate it (1973). As Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) state, 'humans believe themselves free of fear when there is no longer anything unknown (P. 11).

In sum, in the age of myth humans responded to the anxiety induced by the 'disequilibrium' of not knowing, by trying to find absolute security in the creation of myths. In the age of enlightenment humans continued to seek security in an absolute orientation – only this time to be created through scientific study. Both responses, according to Adorno, involved the enactment of identity thinking (violent epistemology), hence Adorno's famous assertion that myth is already enlightenment and enlightenment reverts to mythology (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002), because both employ the same violent epistemic structure of thought.

The theme of anxiety has also been highlighted by Maslow (1943) in his discussion of the human need for safety, in which he outlines how some people act neurotically in effort to feel safe in the face of overblown fear. Fromm (2013) also discussed how:

> Any threat against vital (material and emotional) interests creates anxiety, and destructive tendencies are the most common reaction to such anxiety. [...] The threat can be circumscribed in a particular situation by particular persons [where]

destructiveness is aroused towards these persons [or] be a constant [...] anxiety springing from an equally constant feeling of being threatened by the world outside (P. 213).

Rogers (1959) also engages with this theme. In relation to egological *self*-preservation, he discusses the relationship between anxiety, the preservation of the ego-structure, and the enactment of behaviours that match my formulation of violent epistemology:

> [A]s the organism continues to experience, an experience which is incongruent with the self-structure (and its incorporated conditions of worth) is subceived[29] as threatening. The essential nature of the threat is that if the experience were accurately symbolized in awareness[30], the self-concept would no longer be a consistent gestalt [integrated or unified whole], the conditions of worth would be violated, and the need for self-regard would be frustrated. A state of anxiety would exist. The process of defence is the reaction which prevents these events from occurring (P. 227).

The paragraph above illustrates how threat to the self-concept (especially if that concept is a rigid scheme, highly protected by the subject) can cause the subject to experience anxiety. Below, Rogers continues with a clear explanation of how, on a cognitive/epistemic level, that anxiety can fuel violent epistemic thought:

> This process consists of the selective perception or distortion of the experience and/or the denial to awareness of the experience or some portion thereof, thus keeping the total perception of the experience consistent with the individual's self-structure, and consistent with his conditions of worth. [...] The general consequences of the process of defence, aside from its preservation of the above consistencies, are a rigidity of perception, due to the necessity of distorting perceptions, an inaccurate perception of reality, due to distortion and omission of data, and intensionality[31] (ibid).

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[29] The term 'subceive' refers to perception that is not necessarily experienced as an explicit awareness – i.e. the subject may feel threatened but not explicitly admit this to themselves, may deny awareness of the feeling or tell themselves that this is something other than threatenedness.

[30] The idea of 'accurate symbolisation' points towards the concept of non-violent epistemology. I discuss this in more detail in Chapter Seven. The behaviour of the teacher who trapped the children in the classroom with tables can be seen as one example of a *self*-preserving 'process of defence'.

[31] Rogers defines 'intensionality' as when the subject 'tends to see experience in absolute and unconditional terms, to overgeneralize, to be dominated by concept or belief, to fail to anchor his reactions in space and time, to confuse fact and evaluation, to rely upon abstractions rather than upon reality-testing' (1959: 205).

Anxiety in relation to egological *self*-preservation can motivate the subject to use his or her self/identity-concept as a criterion by which to 'screen out experiences which could not comfortably be permitted in consciousness' (Rogers, 1959: 251), resulting in a violent epistemic behaviour analogous to Piaget's type α.

More recently, other emotions have been linked to the *self*-preservation motivation, in the formation of Social Self-Preservation Theory (Gruenewald et al., 2004). Research in this field suggests that the creation and maintenance of a positive 'social self' is a primary human goal. Gruenewald et al. (ibid) conducted experiments which found that situations where the subject perceived their 'social self' to be under threat engendered both psychological reactions (feelings of low social worth, shame, humiliation, embarrassment and reduction in self-esteem) and physiological reactions (higher levels of cortisol). In their research into the relationship between emotions and violence, Scheff and Retzinger (2001) identified unacknowledged shame as the primary emotion experienced by individuals before feeling rage and behaving violently. However, considering that Gruenewald et al. found that shame followed the experience of threat to the social self, it may be more correct to propose the following pattern: Threat to the social self elicits anxiety, which if unacknowledged can be felt as shame, which, in turn, if unacknowledged, can be felt as rage. Adorno (1973) also proposed that unacknowledged fear (and perhaps also shame) related to the preservation of the social self could precede the projection of rage onto others, whilst acknowledging the epistemic consequences of negating these more primary emotions:

> 'The "rational animal" with an appetite for his opponent is already fortunate enough to have a superego and must find a reason. The more completely his actions follow the law of self-preservation, the less can he admit the primacy of that law to himself and to others; if he did, his laboriously attained status of a *zoon politikon* would lose all credibility. The animal to be devoured must be evil. The sublimation of this anthropological schema extends all the way to epistemology' (P. 22).

This example contains similarities to Reich's (1972) concept of 'character armour' - a kind of attitude which an individual develops to act as a defence against the breakthrough of unwanted or intolerable feelings, sensations, emotions, or experience (Appleton, 2002).

It is also similar to Smith's (2011) concept of 'conscious evasion'[32], which has clear emotional roots and epistemic consequences, and to the theme of mechanisms of defence (especially ego defence) in the psychoanalytic tradition.

Aside from anxiety, whilst reviewing literature I came across another emotion highlighted by a number of authors as playing a role in behaviour analogous to what I have termed violent epistemology. This is the feeling of 'being overwhelmed'. Whether this feeling contains an element of fear or anxiety is unclear, however, like anxiety it is often associated with defensive behaviour. Freud (1942) saw defence mechanisms as being active in specific personal relations. However, Illeris (2009) argues that in today's complex late-modern societies, these defence mechanisms 'must necessarily be generalised and take more systematised forms because nobody can manage to remain open to the gigantic volumes and impact of influences we are all constantly faced with' (p. 15).

This relates back to Leithauser's 'everyday consciousness', in which 'people develop a kind of semi-automatic sorting mechanism vis-à-vis the many influences' (Illeris, 2009: 15) that they encounter in everyday experience. Illeris argues that this sorting mechanism may serve as a means to protect ourselves emotionally from the sheer volume of cruelty, wickedness and negativity that we are bombarded with every day either in first-hand experience or in the media, because 'people who cannot protect themselves from this are doomed to end up in some kind of psychological breakdown' (ibid). However, one could also argue that the closure inherent to 'everyday consciousness' and its 'automatic sorting mechanisms' through which general concepts undoubtedly subsume or cause the subject to reject certain new particularities, could also result in what Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) called a 'hardened' or 'callous' subject who is no longer able to allow himself to be open to, and reflect on the pain and suffering witnessed in social life.

Similar behaviour is witnessed in those experiencing secondary traumatic stress, vicarious trauma, or 'compassion fatigue', all of which result from the psychological and

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[32] Characterised by closure to and rejection of certain particularities of experience.

emotional strain of witnessing and imagining the suffering of others (Rothschild, 2006). As mentioned previously, we rely on past experiences (often processed into orientations/schema) to make sense of sensory information received in the present. To consider possible connections between past experiences and present sensory information, we must undertake what Graeber (2011) calls 'labour of the imagination'. This is similar to Piaget's (1977) type γ behaviour, which relies on existing schema to try to predict the possible or likely outcomes of present experiences and actions. However, (and for example) while we may have formed schema relating to the possible meanings of facial expressions, tone of voice, body language etc. based on past experience, we can never absolutely know what another person is thinking and feeling. Therefore, in trying to understand another person we must also draw on the sensory information we are perceiving in the present to *imagine* what the other person may be thinking or feeling. Psychologists call this 'mentalization' (Fonagy et al., 2002).

As Graeber (2011) writes, interpersonal relationships 'require a continual and often subtle work of interpretation; everyone involved must put constant energy into imagining the other's point of view' (P. 48). Because we cannot absolutely know phenomena, one of our core resources for approximating understanding is our imagination. The role of imagination in this sense, as Graeber writes, is not that referred to (since Descartes) as transcendental, in which imagination relates to that which we know is not real (i.e. fantasy, fiction or mythical abstraction). Rather, the role of imagination is conceived here as a more immanent dimension of experience which helps us draw connections between past orientations and the particularity of our present experience, in order to interpret what might be happening. For example, a teacher might draw on past experiences and study (existing orientations) as well as present information (the behaviour of a student) to imagine what that student might be feeling.

According to Graeber, Smith (1761) first made note of our capacity to empathise with others through imaginative labour, when he observed that humans 'appear to have a natural tendency not only to imaginatively identify with their fellows, but also, as a result, to actually feel one another's joys and pains' (ibid: 51). When faced with the suffering of others, a person who wants to be caring, compassionate, and non-violent

will often draw on their own experience of suffering, undertaking imaginative labour to empathise with the other. However, this practice makes the 'imaginer' vulnerable to experiencing emotional distress themselves, sometimes even resulting in 'vicarious traumatisation' (McCann and Pearlman, 1990; Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995). Empathic feeling can become overwhelming, causing the subject to feel a need to withdraw or shut down in order to protect their own psychological and emotional health. Graeber (2011) gives an example of this in modern society, writing of how, 'the poor, however, are just too consistently miserable, and as a result, observers, for their own self-protection, tend to simply blot them out' (P. 51).

Suppressing, evading and ignoring the suffering of others have been identified as primary symptoms of compassion fatigue, secondary traumatic stress, and vicarious traumatisation (Figley, 1995; Meadors et al., 2008; Van Hook & Rothenberg, 2009). According to these authors, when overwhelmed by the suffering of others we can experience a strong desire or need to safeguard our own emotional stability and psychological energy reserves causing us, just like sufferers of primary trauma, to avoid experiences that might trigger distressing emotions. While is it well known that trauma sufferers often avoid 'triggering' stimuli, and can sometimes become very aggressive when 'triggered' (behaviours that could be linked back to violent epistemic behaviour motivated by self-preservation), the possibility of violent epistemic behaviour being enacted by those who have become overwhelmed after witnessing the suffering of others has received very little attention outside traumatology research in the United States of America. However, research in this field has identified that teachers are particularly vulnerable to this phenomenon (Rothschild, 2006).

Can Self-preservation Thwart Self-actualisation?

The ideas presented so far regarding the relationship between motivations, emotions and epistemology have all been related to biological self-*preservation* and/or social and psychological *self*-preservation. Earlier, I introduced self-actualisation as another core human motivation. However, I have not yet discussed how this can be related to

violence. Regarding this, I propose two possible scenarios. Firstly, in line with Rogers' own views (1980: 118), I suggest that a neurotic response (or pattern of neurotic responses which become habitual) to fear or anxiety felt in relation to self-preservation, can result in the 'thwarting or warping' of self-actualisation. Secondly, I propose that when social or practical circumstances are not conducive to healthy self-actualisation and severely restrict the subject's ability to self-actualise or 'flourish freely' (Smith, 2011), this can cause the subject to experience a strong sense of frustration[33] and/or helplessness. We can imagine how the individual could respond to these emotions with aggression in an attempt to alleviate frustration, or turn feelings of frustration and helplessness inward upon themselves, experiencing diminished self-worth, and/or depression. The former involves violence towards phenomena outside of the subject, the latter involves the subject enacting violence upon themselves. I explore these scenarios in more detail in the next chapter, and provide some examples from my data to illustrate this in chapter Six.

Conclusion.

After discussing the inadequacies of Educommunication and existing theories of violence in the context of schooling, this chapter set out to develop a more rigorous conceptualisation of violence to improve our understanding of its root causes. Drawing on psychological, sociological and philosophical literature, I have presented a theory of violence as stemming from particular epistemic behaviours. These behaviours, which I have termed 'violent epistemology', can be seen as a product of conscious agency, and as deeply intertwined with the core motivations of self-preservation and self-actualisation as well as with the emotions of fear, anxiety, shame, rage, overwhelm, frustration and helplessness.

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[33] For a discussion on frustration see Fromm, 1973.

Chapter Four

How Violent Epistemology Fosters 'Non-conducive' Social and Institutional Circumstances.

'Beneath […] known history […] there runs a subterranean one. It consists of the fate of the human instincts and passions repressed and distorted by civilisation' (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002: 192).

Introduction.

In the previous chapter I conceptualised a type of cognitive behaviour that I propose we call 'violent epistemology'. I discussed what makes us capable of enacting violent epistemology, and some of the things that might motivate us to do so. This was all discussed on the level of the individual. As we know, individuals do not live in isolated bubbles, but in a social world which comprises a large part of their 'facticity' (Sartre, 1956). It is important therefore, that any attempt to understand violence holistically, also examines the relationship between the individual and the social.

From the Individual to the Social.

As mentioned above, it is not enough to examine violence at the level of individual cognition alone, because we are born and raised in a social world. The model of violent presented in the previous chapter illustrates how it can be seen as a response to experiences that we have in this world, and as Social Constructivists[34] have highlighted, we often learn our ways of responding through social interactions and relationships with others, and through formative social institutions such as schools (Collins, 2009).

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[34] Note that this thesis supports neither a purely constructivist and individualist, nor a purely social constructivist perspective, but rather recognises the contribution that both constructivism (e.g. Piaget) and social constructivism (e.g. Vygostky) make to our understanding of human learning, development and epistemology.

The model of violent epistemic cognition presented thus far can help us to understand individual responses to situations. However, it does not help us to clearly understand how violence becomes engrained in our societies, cultures and institutions (including schools). As discussed at the start of Chapter Three, violence is perpetrated not only by individuals but also by societies and institutions (Ross Epp, 1996; Galtung, 1996). In today's world, violence seems to be perpetuated as much by individuals who find themselves in difficult situations to which they struggle to respond non-violently, as it is by social circumstances marked by ideology, coercion, or even outright control and domination, and which limit the scope of individual choices (Hegel, 1977; Sartre, 1963; Adorno, 1973; Sherman, 2007; Smith, 2011; Harber, 2002; Ross-Epp, 1996; Galtung, 1996).

If we consider the proposal that one motivation for enacting violent epistemology can be fear or anxiety felt in the face of the 'non-conceptual moreness' of experience (Smith, 2011), we can discern that this anxiety relates to an existential facticity which will not change regardless of the type of society that we live in. While we can learn to manage our anxieties better and to respond to them without violence, there will always be an 'unknowable' dimension to experience. However, other motivations for enacting violent epistemology such as frustration felt at having one's self-actualisation thwarted, or overwhelming sadness felt at witnessing the destitution and suffering of others, might not be so commonplace if social circumstances were more conducive to human flourishing. Therefore, it is important to develop an understanding of how 'non-conducive social circumstances' arise, and of the role these circumstances can play in thwarting self-actualisation and fostering the enactment of violent epistemology.

Defining Ideology.

A term that comes up repeatedly when researching social circumstances that are not conducive to human flourishing, is 'ideology' (Morgan, 2013; Adorno, 1973, 2005; Aiyer, 2001; Amman and Baer, 2002; Benjamin, 1977; Clarke, 2004; Gillespie, 2006; Harris, 2000; Marcuse, 1964). A number of authors' formulations of the concept of ideology

also bear remarkable similarities, analogies even, to the formulation of violent epistemology that I have developed (Horkheimer, 1947; Smith, 2011; Morgan, 2013; Sherman, 2007). In light of this, I propose that if we examine the relationship between ideology and violent epistemology, we can better understand how the collective enactment of violent epistemology can result in the establishment of social circumstances which are not conducive to self-actualisation or the enactment of non-violent epistemology.

'Ideology' is commonly defined in such terms as 'a system of ideas and ideals' or 'the set of beliefs characteristic of a social group or individual' (Oxford English Dictionary, 2016). These definitions present ideology as something rather relativistic and ethically neutral, and do not indicate any explicit relation between ideology and violent epistemology[35]. However, the work of some authors in the field of Critical Theory, does present some analogies. Smith (2011) argues that ideological thought possesses an epistemic structure that differentiates it from non-ideological thought. Ideological thought, he argues, can be identified by one basic marker: the cognitive act of separating out one or a small number of dimensions from our experience with a phenomenon, and holding that/those dimension(s) up to be of superior importance than all other dimensions. In the process, other dimensions are suppressed, pushed to the margins of awareness, or attributed little importance. This conceptualisation is supported by Morgan (2013), who writes that ideology 'privileges a certain reading of reality, elevating certain elements of human existence, while ignoring and repressing others' (No page).

These formulations share characteristics with Adorno's 'identity thinking', in which a certain particularity of experience is generalised into a universal concept, and all particularities which challenge the validity and universality of that concept are subsumed or suppressed. They also share characteristics with Piaget's 'type α behaviour', and Rogers' 'Stage One behaviour' in which phenomena that do not fit well into a rigidified scheme are rejected. In the selecting of one or a few dimensions of experience and holding them to be of superior importance to all other dimensions, Smith

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[35] See Horkheimer (1947: 3-57) for a critique of subjectivist and relativist epistemology and its relation to the neutralisation of ideology.

and Morgan's conceptualisations of ideological thought also share the epistemic characteristics of violent epistemology because, in holding one or a few dimensions of experience to be superior to other dimensions, the fluid relationship between generalities and particularities of experience is severed, and other particularities that may also hold importance are neglected or subsumed.

Sherman (2007) explains how, in ideological thought, 'phenomena, which are levelled to conform to [an] ontological project, cannot be grasped in their full facticity: what conforms is abstracted from and transposed directly into ontology, in which it is absolutized, while what does not conform is set aside' (Pp. 49-50). In this statement Sherman also appears to be expressing the characteristics of violent epistemology, in which particularities that do not conform to a pre-existing scheme that the subject is 'protecting', are not fully acknowledged by the subject. Particularities that do conform to the pre-existing scheme are severed from their relationship with the remaining particularities, and assimilated into the scheme in an abstract manner (abstract because their relation with the remaining particularities is now severed). As long as the scheme, comprised of a select particularity or small number of particularities is held to be a general truth, absolutized and held as being 'identical' to the phenomena it purports to represent, then the subject will 'set aside' by pushing to the margins of awareness or subsuming under that scheme, all particularities that do not conform with it.

Like schema, ideologies are formed by humans to help us make sense of and respond to situations in the world. As Morgan (2013) writes, 'ideologies […] seek to present themselves as a unified body of thought, which provides a perspective on how the world functions and a method for action within this framework' (No page). As we have established, schema are a necessary dimension of cognition because they enable us to orientate ourselves and function in the world, and we can think of them as only becoming epistemically violent when we utilise identity thinking, type α/Stage One behaviour, and the severance of the general from the particular in forming and maintaining them. Assuming that they possess the epistemic structure outlined by Smith, Morgan and Sherman, and since this structure appears to be formed and maintained through violent epistemology, I propose that ideologies can be seen as

analogous to violent epistemic schema.

The Collectivisation of Ideology.

So, how does the formation and maintenance of ideological schema on the part of the individual, translate into the construction and maintenance of social circumstances that are not conducive to self-actualisation and the enactment of non-violent epistemology? Adorno (2005) proposed that the individual subject who has created their own ideological schema or 'delusions', also experiences loneliness and craves community, and in search of community such individuals come together and, collectively affirming the ideological schema, form collectives based on their shared acceptance of such schema as valid representations of reality:

> The bottomless solitude of the deluded has a tendency to collectivisation and so quotes the delusion into existence. This pathic mechanism harmonizes with the social one prevalent today, whereby those socialised into desperate isolation hunger for community and flock together in cold mobs. So folly becomes an epidemic: insane sects grow with the same rhythm as big organisations (Adorno, 2005: 163).

Fromm (2013) also discusses a similar mechanism:

> In most cases the destructive impulses […] are rationalised in such a way that at least a few other people or a whole social group share in the rationalisation, and thus make it appear to be "realistic" to the member of such a group (P. 212).

Adorno (2005) suggests that as more and more people collectively affirm the validity of the ideological scheme, the more it is perceived and accepted as a true representation of reality, thus 'quoting delusion into existence'. He proposed that via this process human civilisation has been built on violence, and as a result individual subjects are born into a world that does not foster self-actualisation or non-violent epistemic relating with self, the phenomenal world or others. In our societies, 'narrowing down the world, shutting off experience, developing an obliviousness both to the terrors of the world and [our] own anxieties' (Becker, 1973: 178) has become almost necessary and very much

normalised. As Becker writes, 'in order to function normally, man has to achieve from the beginning a serious constriction of the world and of himself. We can say that the essence of normality is the *refusal of reality*' (ibid).

Adorno (2005) and Sherman (2007) argue that as a result of this we grow up with unmet needs and 'stunted' subjectivity, resulting in a sense of isolation from self, the phenomenal world and others. In trying to ameliorate this isolation as well as our existential anxieties, they suggest that we have a tendency to look for a sense of security and belonging in collectives that provide and affirm ideological schema which can provide guidance and affirmation for action in the world.

One motivation behind violent epistemic cognition has not yet been discussed. That is, a desire for control and domination over ourselves, the phenomenal world and others. As mentioned previously, the act of forming rigid conceptualisations of phenomena that sever the universal from the particular, can be seen as an attempt to tie that phenomenon down and hold it in a 'safe' place within a rigidified world view (Becker, 1973). In this sense, violent epistemology can be seen as an attempt to order the world and maintain a sense of control, eliminating the threat of not knowing and the vulnerability of disequilibrium that comes with being challenged by new and deviant information. A desire for control can also be seen in the subject's attempts to intentionally 'not know', when the full reality of one's experience is too uncomfortable, overwhelming, and perceived as threatening (ibid). When the ideological schema of individuals become collectively affirmed, the desire for domination over phenomena is not eliminated, but rather 'the question of insecurity turns into a question of power and domination on behalf of a collective frame of reference' (Smith, 2011: 88). In other words:

> The history of society largely represents projections of [our destructive responses to] the basic epistemic conditions of human experience via the endless historical re-emergence of models of (social) thought and action driven towards domination (i.e. totalitarianism, barbarism, political dictatorship, colonialism, economic and social monopoly, and so on) (ibid: 24).

Inherent to the epistemic structure of ideology is also the phenomenon of hierarchical thinking. By selecting and separating out one dimension or particularity of experience and holding it up to be of superior importance compared to all other dimensions, the subject is allocating hierarchies of value to dimensions of phenomena. When collectively affirmed, hierarchies inherent to an ideological scheme can translate into social hierarchies.

> Ideology, in the simplest sense, is the process of hypostatisation [...] it is represented by certain fundamental epistemological features, which [...] often [...] take the form of certain specific recurring phenomena in the formation and practice of social collectivity (i.e., hierarchical organisation) (ibid: 32-33).

Some examples of this could include the historical tendency of societies to categorise people into hierarchies of social class (Sidanius and Pratto, 2001). One effect of hierarchical societies, Young (1990) argues is the maintenance of 'in-groups' and 'out-groups', marked by 'the repression of the difference of those who do not conform to the dominant norms' (P. 59). People who are different 'become viewed as in some way deviant or inferior. Lacking the normality of the dominant group, they become marked out as Other' (ibid). Maintaining such rigid social structures has historically often involved rituals of violence. As Ralph (2013) writes, such rituals serve as a means to maintain social relations, reinforce cultural messages and maintain the power of the collectively affirmed ideology. In such an ideological social atmosphere, 'sanctified violence and ritual can offer justification to an individual, or a group, that their victims are morally and spiritually inferior, or antithetical to society, thereby making the violence more acceptable' (ibid: 8).

The result of the collective affirmation of ideological schema (which contain inherently controlling, dominating and hierarchical characteristics) is that, according to Adorno (2005) our modern societies are constantly being shaped by hierarchies and 'delusions' (ideologies) which become embodied in the sects, big organisations and entire structure of a society, forming what he called a 'bad totality'. Adorno's reference to collectivity as central to the construction of a 'bad totality' recognises the importance of collectives in determining the influence of ideologies within society, but also the participation of

individuals as central to this. As Smith (2011) writes:

> If the concrete phenomenon of self-deceptive thought implies anything for us here, it is the *initial choice* [of the individual] to suppress or emphasise some qualities of experience over other qualities of experience, and how this becomes the groundwork for a systemic enterprise (P. 74).

Smith is referring to the fact that violent epistemology occurs in individual cognition, and relies on the *choice* of the individual subject to create and maintain ideological schema by suppressing and emphasising certain particularities or dimensions of experience. However, he is also arguing that this individual choice lies at the heart of the embedding of ideologies into our social systems. He illustrates this further:

> [W]hen an ideological group is formed around the belief in racial supremacy and is found to express significant discrimination toward other groups of people, it's the inner prejudice of the individuals (of the subject) to blame. The group in this case only represents the instrument for the prejudice; it symbolises a form of mutual recognition of belief in the abstract. While this [may] seem like an obvious observation, the problematic status of the subject in an ideological collective tends to be commonly overlooked (ibid: 81).

Therefore, while on the one hand, as Adorno argues, it is the collective affirmation of ideology that 'quotes it into existence' on a social level, on the other hand this would not be possible without individual subjects choosing to enact and seek affirmation for their violent epistemic cognition.

This view is also affirmed by Gramsci (2011), who argued that the ideology of one group cannot be solely imposed upon others. Rather, the alliance of others must be won through their consent. Without such consent, an ideology cannot grow from being perceived as the delusion of a small number of individuals, to a hegemonic social ideology that is accepted by a significant proportion of a society as 'common sense'. As Smith (2011) writes:

> A totalized worldview is not dominantly secure without achieving unceasing affirmation of itself on a social level. This affirmation is found in the mutual recognition of others, as it is the collectivising moment of any ideological development which is integral to the birth of a functional totality' (p. 86).

However, as with a violent epistemic scheme that the subject can only maintain by constantly guarding it against the onslaught of particularities that present themselves to challenge the scheme's integrity, the collective development and maintenance of an ideological totality…

> …is a constant struggle against a multitude of resistances to ideological domination, and any balance of forces that it achieves is always precarious, always in need of re-achievement. Hegemony's 'victories' are never final, and any society will evidence numerous points where subordinate groups have resisted the total domination that is hegemony's aim, and have withheld their consent to the system (Fiske, 1987: 41).

In sum, we can consider that individual acts of violent epistemology can be collectively affirmed through mutual affirmation. While ideological hegemony is never absolute, if a significant proportion of society consents to an ideological scheme and its hierarchical, controlling and dominating attributes, a degree of ideological hegemony can result which is not only built upon but also officially sanctions hierarchical social organisation; in-groups and out-groups; violence against social 'deviants'; and the narrowing of (and desensitisation towards) one's experience. The outcome, McConkey (2004) argues, is a 'society [that] is less just through its exclusion of uncomfortable truths' (p. 6).

Non-conducive Social Circumstances.

It is easy to imagine how such circumstances might not be conducive to healthy self-actualisation and non-violent epistemic thought. When discussing the hierarchical, controlling and dominating attributes of ideological thought, Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) proposed that three key aspects leading to the 'bad totality' of modern societies are the historical human behaviours of dominating over 'external' nature (the phenomenal world), repressing 'internal' nature (ourselves), and dominating over each other. A fourth factor inherent in all of the above and which is heavily implied in Dialectic of Enlightenment (though the term is not explicitly used) is what Horkhiemer (1947) called 'instrumental reason'. In Dialectic of Enlightenment Horkheimer and Adorno

propose that in a 'bad social totality' 'The control of internal and external nature has been made the absolute purpose of life' (P. 25). Below I outline how these ideas can contribute to an overall concept of 'non-conducive' social circumstances.

Domination over External Nature (The Phenomenal World).

Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) famously presented the argument that in effort to secure our own self-preservation, humans have employed reason (and with it technology) as an instrument to dominate over nature:

> Enlightenment, understood in the widest sense as the advancement of thought, has always aimed at liberating human beings from fear and installing them as masters. […] Enlightenment's program was the disenchantment of the world. It wanted to dispel myths, to overthrow fantasy with knowledge (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002: 1).

They tell of how enlightenment thinkers proposed a systematic enquiry into nature, and how 'knowledge obtained through such enquiry would not only be exempt from the influence of wealth and power but would establish man as the master of nature' (ibid). While the enlightenment was fuelled by ideals of freedom and liberation from dependence on superstitions, magical rituals, and mythology through the establishment of 'objective facts', Horkheimer and Adorno argued that the rationalistic, positivistic thinking that emerged from this period actually reverted to an instrumental subjectivism because it subjugated nature to humanity's subjective motivations and ends (self-preservation) and thus could not be exempt from the influence of subjective interests, including those of people in positions of wealth and power. In this way, enlightenment thinking was unaware of its own internal contradictions:

> What human beings seek to learn from nature is how to use it to dominate wholly both it and human beings. Nothing else counts. Ruthless toward itself, the Enlightenment has eradicated the last remnant of its own self-awareness. Only thought which does violence to itself is hard enough to shatter myths (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002: 2).

As Horkheimer (1947) explained, being instrumentalised as a means to advance human knowledge of nature, reason began to be utilised in the manner perceived as most efficient for achieving this task. Only those aspects of phenomena which could be severed from their relationships with other particularities in order to classify and organise them (thus reducing them to a mass of data to be computed), were perceived as worth acknowledging. Particularities and concepts (such as emotions, desires, happiness, and justice) which did not submit so easily to this process began to be seen as 'scientifically unverifiable and useless' (P. 24) and to be attributed to a type of thought that is 'uncertain, superstitious, nonsensical, in short more 'metaphysical,' than their own isolated assumptions that are simply taken for granted and made the basis of their intellectual relation with the world' (P. 85). As a result, a reductionistic kind of thinking emerged:

> Concepts have been reduced to summaries of the characteristics that several specimens have in common. By denoting a similarity, concepts eliminate the bother of enumerating qualities and thus serve better to organize the material of knowledge. […] Any use transcending auxiliary, technical summarisation of factual data has been eliminated as a last trace of superstition. Concepts have become 'streamlined,' rationalized, labour-saving devices (ibid: 21).

This 'streamlined' thought which acknowledges only the particularities that make phenomena alike, whilst relegating those which demonstrate the diverse, varying and changeable qualities of experience, is seen by Horkheimer to have been instrumental in the expansion of industry, which as we now know has had such a destructive impact on the natural world:

> The advantage of mathematics – the model of all neo-positivistic thinking – lies in just this 'intellectual economy'. Complicated logical operations are carried out without the actual performance of all the intellectual acts upon which the mathematical and logical symbols are based. Such mechanization is indeed essential to the expansion of industry; but if it becomes the characteristic feature of minds, if reason itself is instrumentalized, it takes on a kind of materiality and blindness, becomes a fetish, a magic entity that is accepted rather than intellectually experienced (ibid: 23).

This type of instrumental rationality has resulted, according to Horkheimer and Adorno

(2002), in an increasing distancing between human subjectivity and the phenomenal world which better enables us to dominate, control, and manipulate it:

> Human beings purchase the increase in their power with estrangement from that over which it is exerted. Enlightenment stands in the same relationship to things as the dictator to human beings. He knows them to the extent that he can manipulate them. […] In their mastery of nature, the creative God and the ordering mind are alike. Man's likeness to God consists in sovereignty over existence, in the lordly gaze, in the command (ibid: 6).

This 'estrangement' could also be seen to be exacerbated by the division between subject and object that exists in enlightenment thought, and also in the vast majority of philosophical thought that came both before and after the enlightenment era (including that of Horkheimer and Adorno). However, as Zuidervaart (2007) highlights, missing from such thought is 'any indication that the object can also be a subject' (P. 119). Historically, the object has primarily been defined as 'what human beings can know and, by extension, what they can (try to) make, control, or influence' (ibid). However, as Zuidervaart argues, 'this leaves out of account an entire range of relations within which human beings and their ''objects'' are mutual subjects' (ibid):

> Animals, for example, perceive us just as much as we perceive them, and they have needs and emotions that no mere ''object'' could have. So too, humans share biospheres with plants and animals. Although dramatically shaped by human activity, for better and for worse, biospheres are co-constituted by nonhuman life. In that sense plants and animals have an ''agency,'' or at least a subjectivity, that exceeds mere ''objecthood,'' and on which human ''subjects'' depend (ibid: 120).

Zuidervaart argues that there is a need for recognition of the 'mutual intersubjectivity of human beings with other creatures [, of] the mutual interdependency of all organisms in the biospheres they inhabit' (P. 122). He argues that human control over other organisms becomes illegitimate and destructive when it promotes human flourishing at the expense of the interconnected flourishing of all organisms in the biosphere. As he puts it, 'Freedom is not a freedom to dominate but a freedom to flourish' (ibid). In light of this, he agrees with Horkheimer and Adorno's argument that violence based on

freedom conceived as 'freedom to dominate' has permeated human civilisation from its inception, and that this pursuit of freedom (essentially from fear) has been based on a misrecognition of the subjectivity of other creatures, which has violated the very meaning and pursuit of freedom.

Repression of Internal Nature (Ourselves).

Not only has the instrumental reason of enlightenment thought come to deny the subjectivity of other beings, as Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) argue, it has also come to deny its own subjectivity, creating a distance not only from the phenomena of experience, but also from the self and the multidimensional particularities of our emotions, desires, bodily sensations, etc., which have come to be seen as separate from, and unnecessary for the functioning of reason:

> Not only is domination paid for with the estrangement of human beings from the dominated objects, but the relationships of human beings, including the relationship of individuals to themselves, have themselves been bewitched by the objectification of mind. Individuals shrink to the nodal points of conventional reactions and the modes of operation objectively expected of them (ibid: 21).

Rather than being successful in the pursuit of objectivity, Horkheimer and Adorno argue that humans have instead developed a shrunken, narrowed, form of subjectivity:

> The self which, after the methodical extirpation of all natural traces as mythological, was no longer supposed to be either a body or blood or a soul or even a natural ego but was sublimated into a transcendental or logical subject, [which] formed the reference point of reason, the legislating authority of action (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002: 22).

The creation of a self-identity as 'rational' being, necessitated, as Sherman (2007) argues, a 'domination over the self' (P. 241). Through the repression of all aspects of the self which did not match this rigid self-schema, Sherman argues that in striving to absolutely 'know' the phenomenal world through this one dimensional self-identity of 'rational' being, humans have created a normalised neurosis which:

is simply this boring imprisonment of the self in itself, crippled by its terror of the new and unexpected, carrying its sameness with it wherever it goes, so that it has the protection of feeling, whatever it might stretch out its hand to touch, that it never meets anything but what it knows already (ibid: 241).

This repression of so many dimensions of our being has resulted, according to Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) in a 'sacrifice of the self':

Paid for by a denial of nature in the human being for the sake of mastery over extrahuman nature and over other human beings [...] the human being's mastery of itself [...] which is dominated, suppressed, and dissolved by virtue of self-preservation [...] practically always involved the annihilation of the subject in whose service that mastery is maintained (Pp. 42-43).

As I explain a little later, this domination over the self contributes to what Sherman (2007) calls the deformation of the subject – a deformation that operates in co-constitutive relation with 'non-conducive' circumstances, in a vicious cycle of individual and 'social pathology' (Smith, 2016).

Domination over Others.

Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) purport that domination over nature and ourselves has also translated, by way of the same instrumental reason, into domination by some human beings over others. Just as with nature and our own selves, the violent epistemology of instrumental reason enables the reduction of other human beings to objects that can be utilised in the service of ideological schema. Fuelled by self-preserving aims, the 'rational being' thus manages to justify the exploitation of the other, whether in the form of direct control or indirect coercion. This phenomenon, as Zuidervaart (2007) argues, can be identified throughout the 'various societal formations that have characterized Western civilization, from Homeric times to the twentieth century' (P. 124). Based on the analysis of Brazil's social history presented in the following chapter, I propose that this pattern has also been present in non-Western

societies and continues into the 21st Century.

Ideological schema used to justify the exploitation of humans have taken many forms throughout history, from mythologies and religions to social, scientific and political doctrines. The most predominant and all-encompassing of these has taken the form of economic ideology (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002; Sherman, 2007; Smith, 2011). Regardless of ideological justifications, Zuidervaart (2007) argues that, 'exploitation is always illegitimate and destructive, directly destructive for the exploited and indirectly destructive for the exploiters' (P. 124). Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) argued that exploitation is directly destructive for the exploited because it forces the suppression and appropriation of the physical, emotional, psychological and intellectual needs and desires of the exploited for the benefit of the exploiter(s), and is indirectly destructive for the exploiter(s) because it requires the same reduction and sacrifice of one's own subjectivity in order to formulate and maintain the necessary schema to justify such exploitation. As Horkheimer and Adorno illustrate:

> [The exploited] cannot enjoy their work because it is performed under compulsion, in despair, with their senses forcibly stopped. The servant is subjugated in body and soul, the master regresses. No system of domination has so far been able to escape this price, and the circularity of history in its progress is explained in part by this debilitation (ibid: 27).

They go on to argue that instrumental reason (which in the name of ideology suppresses the particularities, needs and desires of individual human beings) fosters social circumstances in which:

> Not merely are qualities dissolved in thought, but human beings are forced into real conformity. […] Each human being has been endowed with a self of his or her own, different from all others, so that it could all the more surely be made the same. [B]ecause that self never quite fitted the mold [of the predominant collectivised ideology], enlightenment throughout the liberalistic period has always sympathized with social coercion. The unity of the manipulated collective consists in the negation of each individual (ibid: 9).

Horkheimer (1947) argues that:

> This explains the tendency of liberalism to tilt over into fascism and of the intellectual and political representatives of liberalism to make their peace with its opposites. This tendency, so often demonstrated in recent European history, can be derived, apart from its economic causes, from the inner contradiction between the subjectivistic principle of self-interest and the idea of reason that it is alleged to express (P. 20).

This 'tilting' between a liberalistic (and more recently neo-liberalistic) state and fascist, authoritarian or dictatorial political tendencies can be seen not only in European history but also in Brazil, as we will see in the following chapter.

While the most common form of domination over other human beings can be seen in the economic exploitation of the various stages of capitalism, this phenomenon is also evident in other forms, including racism and prejudice. As Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) state:

> The self which learned about order and subordination through the subjugation of the world soon equated truth in general with classifying thought, without whose fixed distinctions it cannot exist (P. 10).

The classifying behaviour inherent in the positivism of enlightenment thought can also be seen in the classification of human beings into different classes or categories based on the isolation of one dimension of being (wealth, bloodline, religion, skin colour, gender, age, etc.) which becomes violent epistemology when that dimension is held up as more important than all other dimensions. Such categorisations, which entail a severing of the relationship between generalities and particularities of individual human beings, can be formed as rigidified schema in which the fearful, anxious or threatened subject seeks security. In this sense, it is not so much the dimension of being that is isolated, as the fact that it is isolated and used in this way that matters when it comes to violent epistemology being expressed as prejudice. As Sartre (1922) stated, 'if the Jew did not exist, the anti-Semite would invent him' (P. 13). For both Adorno and Sartre it was the epistemology behind the 'anti' rather than the selection of the dimension of 'Semite' (as opposed to other possible dimensions that could be selected to create a category), that mattered. As Sherman (2007) explains:

> To sustain his object of hate, and thus solidify his own (reactive) self-understanding, the anti-Semite must close himself off to the richness of experience since the truths of experience tend to undermine the stereotypes that provide the very stuff of the anti-Semite's identity (P. 220).

This reading reflects Adorno's argument that:

> The less anti-Jewish imagery is related to actual experience and the more it is kept 'pure' from contamination by reality, the less it seems to be exposed to disturbance by the dialectics of experience, which it keeps away through its own rigidity (P. 311).

The above descriptions contain clear analogies to the model of violent epistemology presented in the previous chapter, especially with regards to Piaget's Type α behaviour. While the example used here is anti-Semitism, we can imagine how the same epistemic behaviour can apply to other forms of prejudice. As I highlight in the next chapter, one form that is particularly prevalent in Brazil is that of racism based on the classification of people by skin colour.

Non-conducive Social Circumstances and the De-formation of Subjectivity: A vicious cycle.

As mentioned above, Horkeimer and Adorno use the term 'bad totality' to refer to the entirety of a society built on instrumental reason and the various forms of domination it entails. However, Holloway (2010) criticises Horkheimer and Adorno for presenting a 'totalizing theory' which does not adequately acknowledge the presence and potential for 'cracks' in the social totality where other forms of relating with the world, ourselves and each other can emerge. However, one thing that is prevalent in Horkheimer and Adorno's argument regarding the collectivisation of ideology, is that it fosters social circumstances which, while not 'total' and absolute, are generally not conducive to the enactment of non-violent epistemic behaviour. For this reason I have chosen to introduce the term 'non-conducive circumstances', as an alternative to 'bad totality'.

As illustrated in some of the examples given above, in a society built on violent epistemology (enacted in the name of self-preservation), 'self-preservation succeeds only to the extent that, as a result of self-imposed regression, self-development fails' (Adorno, 1968: 85-86). This 'failure of self-development' is what Sherman (2007) terms the deformation of the subject. Sherman writes of how Sartre spoke of selfhood as 'being formed within the dynamic interaction between consciousness, other persons, and the natural world' (ibid: 8), meaning that our developing subjectivity, which operates in mediation with our self-concept, is shaped by the interactions that we have with others and our environment. Bronfenbrenner (1979, 2005) and Kegan (2009) also support this view. For the vast majority of humans who are born and raised in ideological social circumstances, the ideological aspect will have played a role in shaping these interactions to a greater or lesser degree. As Sherman (2007) writes, 'the formation of the subject is inextricably intertwined with the contemporary dynamics of domination and subordination' (P. 190).

Given that, according to Sherman, subjectivity 'is the result of experience', he proposes that 'to the extent that we misconceive our relation to the [phenomena] of our experience, we deform our experiences, and, therefore, ultimately our selves' (ibid: 273). Reflecting Horkheimer and Adorno's argument, Sherman indicates that when we enact violent epistemology, we simultaneously deform not only our experiences of phenomena, but also our own developing subjectivity. When we consider this process occurring 'inextricably' with the contemporary social dynamic, we can imagine the development and maintenance of a widespread, normalised social pathology (Smith, 2016), which is more conducive to the deformation of subjectivity than it is to healthy self-actualisation , as Fromm (2013) illustrates:

> A society could be called neurotic in the sense that its members are crippled in the growth of their personality. Since the term *neurotic* is so often used to denote a lack of social functioning, we would prefer not to speak of a society in terms of its being neurotic, but rather in terms of its being adverse to human happiness and self-realisation (P. 165).

Likewise, considering the entwinement of subject deformation with social dynamics also sheds light on why Benjamin (1977) states that 'the ego creates an increasingly hostile

world through its exercise of domination and control' (P. 46).

As noted earlier, the formation of ideology and its development into functional hegemony begins with the acts of individual subjects which over time become collectively affirmed by other subjects. Indeed, as Smith (2011) reminds us, 'ideology […] is a product of the subject […] not a mystical force; it is created by human beings' (P.81). If we remember that ideology can be seen as analogous to violent epistemology because it isolates and 'holds up' certain particulars of experience whilst suppressing others, then we can also consider the collective affirmation of ideology as a collective deformation of subjectivity.

For Horkheimer and Adorno (2002), identity thinking and the 'bad totality' (or non-conducive circumstances) are just different expressions of the same underlying epistemic behaviour. They write of how, in the collectivisation of ideology into social structures (with the instrumental reason it entails), 'the control of internal and external nature has been made the absolute purpose of life [and] self-preservation has been finally automated' (P. 24). Rather than fostering the flourishing and free development of human subjectivity in all its diversity, as it relates openly to the multidimensional particularities of experience, Horkheimer and Adorno argued that society based on collectivised ideology, fosters conformity and a closing down of the subject in order to fit the 'mould':

> Through the mediation of total society, which encompasses all relationships and impulses, human beings are being turned back into precisely what the developmental law of society, the principle of the self, had opposed: mere examples of the species, identical to one another through isolation within the compulsively controlled collectivity (P. 29).

As already stated, in contemporary society this is most clearly expressed through economic ideology. Bronner (2004) explains how underpinning capitalist social relations is an instrumental reason which subjects everything to the calculation of costs and benefits. Under this reason, he argues, 'knowledge' has become 'freed from any commitment to liberation', transforming 'itself into a whore employed by the highest bidder' and '[internal and external] nature into an object of domination' (P. 3).

Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) go on to speak of the 'violence' of economic ideology which 'amputates the incommensurable', dissolves the diverse qualities of humans and phenomena in thought, and forces human beings into 'real conformity'. In the 'exchange society', they write, 'the possibilities conferred by birth are moulded to fit the production of goods that can be bought on the market (P. 9). In these comments Horkheimer and Adorno are referring to the reduction of human beings to their economic value by instrumental reason employed in the name of economic ideology.

This example begins to illustrate how, aside from the deformation of the subject that is inherent to the establishment of ideology, once established, ideology can in turn foster the deformation of the subject in a continual 'feedback loop'. As Horkheimer and Adorno highlight, we are born into pre-established, ideological, social circumstances. We develop with ideological epistemology as a significant frame of reference during our formative years, and under the 'possibilities conferred by birth' into such society, we begin our young lives already being coerced to relate with ourselves, others and the phenomenal world in violent epistemic ways. Thus society built on ideology fosters the deformation of subjectivity from birth. As it mediates 'all relationships and impulses', the violent epistemology of ideological society is fostered through media, parenting, culture, social policy, schooling, and through all kinds of daily experiences.

One particularly problematic aspect of ideological social circumstances is that they assign 'conditions of worth' (Rogers, 1959) to individuals. Those individuals who align most accurately with the dimensions of experience that are held up above all others, are perceived to be of most value (for example, in capitalist society, those individuals who are most economically productive and who accumulate the most wealth). Likewise, those dimensions of the self that are perceived to be most instrumental to economic productivity are held to be of superior value than those which are seen as superfluous. The problem with living in such an environment is that (as Rogers found in his research) being subject to such conditionality can have an incredibly destructive impact on the formation of the subject.

In order to meet such conditions, individuals must suppress certain dimensions of

themselves which, as Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) argued (especially in relation to labour in late capitalist societies), 'enforces the self-alienation of individuals' (P. 23). As Sherman (2007) describes, motivated by the desire for self-preservation, identity thinking applied to the self (the development of a rigid self-concept to which one tries to conform such as in Sartre's (1956) concept of 'bad faith') is fostered and perpetuated by capitalism. While the diverse and multidimensional particularities of phenomena are reduced to their 'exchange value', the diverse, multidimensional particularities of individuals are reduced to the identity of 'worker'. This employment of violent epistemology as instrumental reason functions to make both phenomena and human beings 'fungible', which, as Sherman (2007) states, 'progressively tends to alienate human beings from themselves (P. 241). Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) also explain how, as an attempt to overcome fear and preserve the self, the contradictory outcome of the enlightenment is that it has resulted in societies which reduce, deform and alienate the self, resulting in isolated individuals who remain ever more fearful for their self-preservation. In capitalism this manifests as the experience of society being largely indifferent to anything beyond one's economic role:

> The self, entirely encompassed by civilization, is dissolved in an element composed of the very inhumanity which civilization has sought from the first to escape. The oldest fear, that of losing one's own name, is being fulfilled. For civilization, purely natural existence, both animal and vegetative, was the absolute danger. Mimetic, mythical, and metaphysical forms of behaviour were successively regarded as stages of world history which had been left behind, and the idea of reverting to them held the terror that the self would be changed back into the mere nature from which it had extricated itself with unspeakable exertions and which for that reason filled it with unspeakable dread (ibid: 24).

The reduction of the self to its economic value extends to the body, which as a dimension of self is sublimated, suppressed, and appropriated in the name of the prevailing social ideology, and as Honneth (1995) states, is often subject to 'silent acts of [...] enslavement and mutilation' (P. 121). In contemporary society this process can be overt (such as in prisons, certain workplaces and schools) but also complex and subtle, making it harder for subjects to understand and resist:

> The more complex and sensitive the social, economic, and scientific mechanism,

to the operation of which the [capitalist] system […] has attuned the body, the more impoverished are the experiences of which the body is capable. The elimination of qualities, their conversion into functions, is transferred by rationalised modes of work to the human capacity for experience (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002: 28).

According to Rogers (1959) and Fromm (2013), a common response to the isolation, alienation and fear for self-preservation that results from being subject and reduced to such conditions of worth, is to adapt in whatever way seems possible. Rogers argued, as a result of his studies, that all humans experience a need for positive regard (both in the eyes of others as well as in the form of self-regard). He found that when individuals are subjected to conditions of worth (rather than unconditional positive regard), they exhibit a tendency to selectively deny and distort experiences which did not fit with such conditionality. As Rogers (1959) writes, 'he cannot regard himself positively, as having worth, unless he lives in terms of these conditions' (P. 225). Horkheimer and Adorno present an analogous argument:

> The countless agencies of mass production and its culture impress standardized behaviour on the individual as the only natural, decent, and rational one. Individuals define themselves now only as things, statistical elements, successes or failures. Their criterion is self-preservation, successful or unsuccessful adaptation to the objectivity of their function and the schemata assigned to it (Pp. 21-22).

Rogers (1959) explains how this process of adaptation occurs:

> Because of the need for self-regard, the individual perceives his experience selectively, in terms of the conditions of worth which have come to exist in him. […] Experiences which are in accord with his conditions of worth are perceived and symbolized accurately in awareness. […] Experiences which run contrary to the conditions of worth are perceived selectively and distortedly as if in accord with the conditions of worth, or are in part or whole, denied to awareness. […] Consequently some experiences now occur in the organism which are not recognized as self-experiences, are not accurately symbolized, and are not organized into the self-structure in accurately symbolized form. […] Thus from the time of the first, selective perception in terms of conditions of worth, the states of incongruence between self and experience, of psychological maladjustment and of vulnerability, exist to some degree (P. 226).

We see here how the attempt to adjust psychologically to a society which places conditions of worth on us can result in psychological 'maladjustment' and the deformation of subjectivity. As Rogers writes, such conditions of worth can become introjected to the extent that the individual internalises them, making it very difficult for the individual to integrate experiences which might challenge these conditions. We see in this a violent epistemology that is analogous to Piaget's type α behaviour. From this point on, Rogers states,

> [The subject's] concept of self includes distorted perceptions which do not accurately represent his experience, and his experience includes elements which are not included in the picture he has of himself. Thus he can no longer live as a unified whole person […]. Certain experiences tend to threaten the self. To maintain the self-structure defensive reactions are necessary. […] This, as we see it, is the basic estrangement in man. He has not been true to himself, to his own natural organismic valuing of experience, but for the sake of preserving the positive regard of others has now come to falsify some of the values he experiences and to perceive them only in terms based upon their value to others' (ibid: 226).

This threatenedness manifests, as Fromm (2013) argues, as a 'kind of constant anxiety [which] results from the position of the isolated and powerless individual' (P. 213). Fromm details 'mechanisms of escape' through which individuals attempt to overcome this feeling of insignificance by either renouncing their integrity, 'or by destroying others so that the world ceases to be threatening'. One such mechanism, he claims, is the solution found by the majority of individuals in modern society:

> The individual ceases to be himself; he adopts entirely the kind of personality offered to him by cultural patterns; and he therefore becomes exactly as all others are and as they expect him to be. The discrepancy between "I" and the world disappears, and with it the conscious fear of aloneness and powerlessness (ibid: 218).

An important outcome of this however, is what Fromm calls 'the thwarting of life', in which:

> The isolated and powerless individual is blocked in realising his sensuous, emotional and intellectual potentialities. He is lacking the inner security and spontaneity that are the conditions of such realisation. This inner blockage is

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increased by cultural taboos (ibid: 213-214).

To put it briefly, 'external social repression' as Adorno (1950) says, 'is concomitant with the internal repression of impulses' (P. 759). That is, social circumstances built on violent epistemology and the deformation of subjectivity, foster the perpetuation and furtherance of both. The outcome of such (mal)adaptation to the conditions of worth of ideological society, as we have seen above, is the further destruction of the self and potentially also others and the phenomenal world. Fromm (2013) writes that the more the drive toward life (or self-actualisation to use Rogers' terms) is thwarted, the more the individual is likely to feel driven toward destruction in a distorted attempt to self-actualise. Destructiveness, as Fromm says, 'is the outcome of unlived life' (ibid: 216).

> Those individual and social conditions that make for suppression of life produce the passion for destruction that forms, so to speak, the reservoir from which the particular hostile tendencies – either against others or against oneself – are nourished (ibid).

This discussion of hostile tendencies is reminiscent of Horkheimer and Adorno's (2002) illustration of the 'hardened subject'. They write of how blocked attempts to self-actualise can leave a 'scar' on the developing subject:

> Mental life in its earliest stages is infinitely delicate. [Just as] the body is crippled by physical injury, the mind [is crippled] by fear (P. 213).

'At the point where [the child's] impulse has been blocked' they say, especially 'if the thwarting has been too brutal', 'a scar can easily be left behind, a slight callous where the surface is numb' (P. 214). As examples of such 'blocking', they mention how 'not only the forbidden question but the suppressed imitation, the forbidden weeping or the forbidden reckless game, can give rise to such scars' which in their turn can…

> …lead to deformations [and] produce 'characters' hard and capable; […] produce stupidity, in the form of deficiency symptoms, blindness, or impotence, if they merely stagnate, or in the form of malice, spite and fanaticism, if they turn cancerous within. Goodwill is turned to ill will by the violence it suffers (ibid).

This metaphorical blindness and impotence which Horkheimer and Adorno describe, appears to refer to the development of 'blindness' manifest as the suppression and negation of particularities of experience, and 'impotence' manifest as the type of powerlessness described by Fromm, characterised by an inability to respond to the world sensitively and non-violently as an autonomous subject. The problem, as Fromm (2013) highlights eloquently, is that adaptation to a society built on ideological epistemology that ascribes conditions of worth to individuals, while often perceived as healthy and 'normal', is actually not healthy at all because it is not conducive to the healthy development of the subject:

> From the standpoint of a functioning society, one can call a person normal or healthy if he is able to fulfil the social role he is to take [, if] he is able to work in the fashion required [and] is able to participate in the reproduction of society [...] From the standpoint of the individual, we look upon health or normalcy as the optimum of growth and happiness of the individual. If the structure of a given society were such that it offered the optimum possibility for individual happiness, both viewpoints would coincide. However, this is not the case in most societies we know [...] there is a discrepancy between the aims of the smooth functioning of society and of the full development of the individual. [...] This differentiation is often neglected. Most psychiatrists take the structure of their own society so much for granted that to them the person who is not well adapted assumes the stigma of being less valuable. On the other hand, the well adapted person is supposed to be the more valuable person on a scale of human values. If we differentiate the two concepts of normal and neurotic, we come to the following conclusion: the person who is normal in terms of being well-adapted is often less healthy [...]. Often he is well adapted only at the expense of having given up his self in order to become more or less the person he believes he is expected to be (Pp. 162-164).

In this lengthy but eloquent quote, Fromm provides great insight into the functioning of a societal 'feedback loop' (Myrdal, 1944), or a vicious cycle in which, as Marcuse (1969) states:

> Repression disappears in the grand objective order of things which rewards more or less adequately complying individuals and, in doing so, reproduces more or less adequately society as a whole (P. 51).

This social pathology, as Smith (2016) states, plays and active role in the reproduction of

all or most facets of contemporary social life. 'Within modern capitalist society', he writes, 'with its dominant and coercive institutions and structures, as well as its deeply ingrained instrumental rationale and mode of cognition (Parton, 2015a), the subject is both produced and reproduced. Within this process of reproduction [...] social norms, traditions [and] patterns and structures of behaviour [are] reproduced (No page).

To summarise, we can see ideological social circumstances as having developed via the collective affirmation of ideological structures of thought which include domination over nature, ourselves, and other human beings, and entail the deformation of subjectivity and the sublimation of the body as an outcome of ideologically driven instrumental reason. In turn, ideological social circumstances can be seen as 'non-conducive' to the healthy development of human subjectivity, because they foster a further deformation of the subject by encouraging conformity with conditions of worth. The result is alienation from ourselves, others and the phenomenal world and a kind of (mal)adaptation to an already pathological society in which our self-actualisation is often thwarted. A further stunting of development can occur as a result of this thwarted self-actualisation, potentially resulting in destructive tendencies and a 'hardening' of subjectivity which interferes with our ability to respond sensitively to our experiences. This deformation of subjectivity contributes to a 'feedback loop' in which circumstances that are not conducive to healthy subject development, nor to the enactment of non-violent epistemic behaviour, are reproduced.

Summary of Thesis and Potential Pathways of Response.

Throughout the last two chapters I have presented a lot of ideas, and while I have tried to explain clearly how they all fit together to form a coherent thesis, I feel it may be beneficial at this point to provide a visual illustration in the form of a diagram, accompanied by a brief summary of how these ideas all relate to each other to form a broad conceptual model of violent epistemology and non-conducive circumstances.

From the beginning I have intentionally emphasised the existence of phenomenological

freedom or cognitive agency because, like Sartre, I believe it enables us to choose whether or not to enact violent epistemology, and to a certain degree how to respond to the phenomena of our experience, including the circumstances (facticity) in which we find ourselves. In this diagram I have outlined what I propose to be the potential pathways of response that a subject could follow during any given moment in the process of interacting with the phenomena of experience. Finally, the diagram also outlines a number of 'scenarios', illustrating some key ways in which chosen responses can either contribute to the further deformation of subjectivity and the perpetuation of ideology, or to a healthier form of subjectivity and behaviour that is less likely to be violent or reinforce ideology.

This diagram is not intended to be read as a linear, deterministic map of cause and effect. Certain dimensions are represented in a linear fashion for the sake of readability, but are probably more correctly thought of as operating cyclically – for example, it is probably more accurate to think of emotions and cognition as operating in constant mediation with one another, rather than as one always occurring before the other (Padesky and Greenberger, 1995).

A. Situation (Facticity)
(Often shaped by ideological
or 'non-conducive' circumstances)

Motivations

B. Self-Preservation:
Self-Preservation / Self-*Preservation*

C. Self-Actualisation
(The ability to 'flourish freely'
and pursue self-determined goals)

Emotions

D. Primary Emotions:
Fear, anxiety, threatenedness

F. Full range of emotions

E. Secondary Emotions:
Shame, embarrassment, rage, anger

Epistemology

G. Closure to experience
Denial, distortion, compartmentalisation,
Objectification
(Violent Epistemology)

H. Openness to experience
recognition and integration
inter-subjective relating
(Non-violent Epistemology)

Behaviours

I. Rigidity, reactiveness, aggression,
withdrawal, avoidance, evasion,
domination, control, predjudice,
manipulation, incongruence

J. Reflectiveness, congruence,
openness to change, curiosity, engagement,
respect for self, respect for others,
non-violent communication

Outcome Scenarios

K. Scenario 1:
Violent self-preservation
contributes to cycle of
de-formation of the subject

L. Scanario 2:
Violent self-preservation
'thwarts or warps' self-actualisation,

M1. Scenario 3:
Violent self-preservation
is collectivised into social,
economic, political and
religious ideology

M2. Scenario 3 cont:
Ideological or 'non-conducive'
circumstances
thwart self-actualisation

N. 'Anytime' Scenario:
Subject relfects and returns
to 'openness to experience'
stage, and continues with healthy
self-actualisation

O. Common Pattern:
Subject moves back and forth
between violent self-preservation
and healthy self-actualisation.
Time spent in each varies according
to degree of neurosis and
conduciveness of situation.

Emotions

P. Frustration / Helplessness

Epist.

Q. Violent Epistemology

Behaviours

R. Aggression

S. Resignation, passivity

12. Outline of thesis.

Dimension A: The Situation (Facticity).

This represents the 'situation' (Sherman, 2007: 7-8) (or 'facticity' in Sartrean terms) in which the subject is situated. This can be a momentary situation bound by time (i.e. an interaction) or the wider familial, institutional and societal environment within which the subject lives (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002; Bronfenbrenner, 2005). In today's world, many 'situations' constitute 'non-conducive social circumstances' which as Sherman (ibid) writes, 'not only limit[…] the ways in which a person can act on his phenomenological freedom, but also fundamentally circumscribe[…] the very nature of his selfhood'. However, it is possible to have situations which are more conducive to self-actualisation, healthy subject-formation, and non-violent ways of relating with the world, ourselves and others. I discuss what these may look like in Chapter Seven.

Dimension B: Self-Preservation.

As discussed in Chapter Three, self-preservation and self-actualisation appear to constitute two core motivations commonly experienced by humans for acting in daily life. The motivation of self-preservation can be comprised of *self*-preservation (the preservation of the social, psychological, and emotional self), and self-*preservation* (the preservation of the biological self).

Dimension C: Self-actualisation.

In Chapter Three I discussed the core motivation of self-actualisation which is described as the 'tendency to actualize, as much as possible, [one's] individual capacities [...] in the world' (Goldstein, 1939:162), 'the desire for self-fulfilment' (Maslow, 1943: 10), and a 'striving […] to move toward growth' (Rogers, 1980: 118). I also discussed how self-actualisation depends, according to Maslow (1943), on the satisfaction of basic physiological needs as well as the need for safety, love and esteem. As described above, the non-conducive social circumstances of late capitalist society do not tend to foster the satisfaction of all these needs and therefore, as Maslow stated, 'basically satisfied

[self-actualised] people are the exception' (ibid: 11).

Dimension D: Primary Emotions.

Next we come to the emotional dimension of experience. The arrows connecting self-preservation to primary emotions represent the primary emotions (discussed in Chapter Three) commonly associated with self-preservation i.e. fear, anxiety and threatenedness. Such emotions have been identified in relation to physical self-*preservation*, as well as to psychological, emotional and social *self*-preservation.

Dimension E: Secondary Emotions.

As discussed above, non-conducive social circumstances can foster situations in which, as Fromm (2013) states, 'the individual ceases to be himself' and adopts 'the kind of personality offered to him by cultural patterns' (P. 218). As Adorno (1950) argued, this 'external social repression' fosters the 'internal repression of impulses' (P. 759), creating a situation in which, often as a result of cultural taboos 'the isolated individual is blocked in realising his sensuous, emotional and intellectual potentialities' (Fromm, 2013: 213-214). In such circumstances certain primary emotions such as fear, anxiety and threatenendness may be experienced by the subject as taboo and therefore 'unacceptable', resulting in the negation of these emotions. As Scheff and Retzinger (2001) found, subjects who behaved violently tended to negate and suppress emotions that they felt to be unacceptable, and instead redirect their emotional energy into expressions of anger and rage. These could be considered secondary emotions.

Dimension F: Full Range of Emotions.

Connected to Dimension C, this dimension relates to the idea that in social circumstances that are more conducive to fostering free and healthy self-actualisation, the subject's ability to fully experience and acknowledge the full range of their emotions would also

be fostered. As Sherman (2007) states:

> Under the right state of affairs […] the individual would feel free to open himself up to the world, which would mean that self-identity would become more fluid, the individual would be in a position, as Nietzsche states, to become who he is. Openness to a world in which the individual can actually afford to be open is therefore the very condition of the liberated subject' (P. 281).

We can imagine how in more conducive, non-ideological social circumstances, the individual would be better able to self-actualise.

Dimension G: Closure to Experience.

This is the basic epistemic characteristic of the cognitive behaviours discussed in Chapter Three, that are central to what I have termed 'violent epistemology'. These include Piaget's (1987) 'type α behaviour', Adorno's (1973) 'identity thinking', Jarvis' (2009) 'non-learning', Leithäuser's, (1976) 'everyday consciousness', Rogers' (1961) 'Stage One', Smith's (2011) 'ideology', Horkheimer and Adorno's (2002) 'domination over internal and external nature' and Horkheimer's (1947) 'instrumental reason'. All of the above entail cognitive behaviours characterised by the negation of certain particularities of experience; the suppression of particularities and their relegation to the margins of awareness; the over-focussing on certain dimensions of phenomena at the expense of all other dimensions; and the distortion or severing of the relationship between the generalities and particularities of phenomena. Inherent in all of the above is a closure to certain dimensions of experience. The arrows leading from dimensions D and E to dimension G, illustrate how closure to experience can be motivated by certain emotions.

Dimension H: Openness to Experience.

This dimension relates to an alternative attitude towards experience than that described in Chapter Three and presented as dimension G. If we agree with Sartre that we maintain phenomenological freedom at all times, then we cannot assume that closure to

experience will always follow from the experience of the emotions outlined in dimensions D and E. Phenomenological freedom theoretically enables the subject to, in any moment, open themselves to acknowledging, observing and engaging with any particularities of experience. However, as discussed, the individual may only feel able to be open 'under the right state of affairs' (Sherman, 2007: 281). I discuss this further in Chapter Seven.

Dimensions I and J: Self-preserving and Self-actualising behaviours.

Dimensions I and J represent a non-exhaustive list of the types of behaviours that we might expect to be fostered by violent and non-violent epistemologies. In dimension I we see types of behaviours that may be fostered by violent epistemology. If we consider deformed subjectivity as characterised by repression and closure to experience, which in turn thwarts self-actualisation, then we can formulate that a self-actualising subjectivity would stem from an openness to experience and an absence of repression. Here I suggest just a few ways in which such a subject might act in the world.

Outcome Scenarios.

The bottom half of the diagram presents what I have called 'outcome scenarios'. These represent the possible outcomes of the motivational, emotional, epistemic and behavioural 'pathways' described in the top half.

Dimension K: Scenario 1.

As discussed previously, the enactment of violent epistemology through dimensions B, D, E, G and I, can be seen as contributing to cycles of subject de-formation (Sherman, 2007).

Dimension L: Scenario 2.

The arrow leading from Scenario 1 to Scenario 2 represents the notion that the enactment of violent epistemology and the continued de-formation of subjectivity 'thwarts or warps' self-actualisation (Rogers, 1959) because through 'self-imposed regression, self-development fails' (Adorno, 1968: 85-86). The thwarting or warping of self-actualisation can also perpetuate the cycle of subject de-formation (Fromm, 2013), represented by the arrow leading back from Scenario 2 to dimension B.

Dimension M1: Scenario 3.

This represents how violent epistemology can be seen as analogous to ideological thought, and how ideological thought, if collectivised into social ideology, can foster social circumstances which are not conducive to healthy self-actualisation and the enactment of non-violent epistemology.

Dimension M2: Scenario 3 Cont.

This represents how non-conducive social circumstances often constitute the 'situation' or 'facticity' in which we find ourselves. In such circumstances not only are violent epistemic ways of relating with the world, self and others fostered in developing subjects, but there are also many constraints on freedom which can prevent the self-actualisation of the developing subject.

Dimensions P, Q, R and S.

Dimensions P, Q, R and S represent how violent epistemology is not only motivated by the type of existential anxiety identified in the works of Horkheimer and Adorno (2003) Smith (2011) and Sherman (2007), but also by emotions which can arise in response to living in non-conducive circumstances that restrict, thwart, and warp self-actualisation

and expose the subject to overwhelming amounts of social suffering. As discussed above, this can result in withdrawal and/or destructive behaviours. This was something that I witnessed particularly in DCX School, and which I elaborate on in Chapter Six.

Dimension N: 'Anytime' Scenario.

When it comes to considering the possibility of change, or of other, non-violent ways of relating, dimension N is of crucial importance. It represents the existence of 'phenomenological freedom', and therefore the subject's potential capacity to pause, reflect, and reopen themselves to experience, and to reintegrate neglected particularities into their schema. For a person who is deeply engrained in the de-formation cycle, 'opening up' can invite serious challenges to existing orientations and self-identity, and therefore be highly unsettling. However, the existence of phenomenological freedom means that whatever stage we might be at in the cycle of deformation, we are never pre-determined to enact violent epistemology.

Dimension O: Common Pattern.

In the diagram I have presented the cycle of violent epistemology and subject de-formation, and the cycle of non-violent epistemology and self-actualising subjectivity, as binary antitheses. This is mostly for the purpose of presenting my conceptual framework in an easily digestible format. However, on the one hand we have established that individuals are born into a social context, and in contemporary society this is almost always marked by ideology. It is therefore hard to imagine a subject not marked by some degree of deformation or 'scarring' (Horkheimer, 2002). On the other hand, as Holloway (2010) stated, ideology is never absolute, and there are always 'cracks' which make other ways are possible. In contemporary societies subjects are often bombarded with vast amounts of stimuli from multidimensional and diverse phenomena and from a wide variety of conflicting cultural and political viewpoints. In light of this, the interrelation between subjects and the world has the potential to be incredibly diverse, varied and complex. Therefore, it is probably more correct to think of subjects as moving back and

forth between violent and non-violent epistemology, and between subject de-formation and self-actualisation. Based on the arguments presented in this chapter we can propose that the amount of time spent by the subject in violent or non-violent epistemic pathways of response, can be influenced by the degree of existing deformation and scarring, the conduciveness (or non-conduciveness) of circumstances in which the subject is situated, and the subject's choices as an epistemic agent.

Conclusion.

The theoretical framework presented in the last two chapters illustrates how a multidisciplinary, 'radical enquiry' approach, can produce a much more detailed and comprehensive framework for understanding the root causes of violence than those that currently exist within the field of education. In the next chapter I demonstrate the usefulness of this framework by applying it to an analysis of my case-study context.

Chapter Five

Ideology and Violent Epistemology in the Case-Study Context: Brazil, São Paulo, and the Baixada.

'We continually forget our history, rewriting it in memory in terms of past golden ages. Many psychological and social mechanisms aid in the repression of, or selective inattention to acts of violence. […] To distance ourselves from acts of violence and the people who commit them we label them as bizarre, alien, inhuman, typical only of certain classes of abnormal individuals […] or criminal subcultures […]. We distance them from ourselves and our culture. We are civilised they are uncivilised. It is hard, however, to escape the fact that our civilisation is constructed out of violence. It is a fact we would wish to forget'
(Schostak, 1986: 8).

'On the other side of the ocean there was a race of less-than-humans' (Sartre, 1963: 26).

'Brazil […] is a monument to social neglect' (Bethell, 2000: 15).

Introduction: A socio-ecological approach to analysis.

This chapter takes the conceptual framework presented in the last two chapters, and begins to demonstrate how it applies in practice. It does this by analysing the role of violent epistemology in the creation of the non-conducive circumstances that comprise my case-study context: Brazil, São Paulo, and the 'Baixada' neighbourhood in which DCX School is situated. I dedicate a whole chapter to this analysis because, aside from illustrating the impact of non-conducive social circumstances built on violent epistemology, as Schick (2009) writes, it is important to locate trauma and suffering within concrete sociohistorical context, in order to better understand the co-constitutive relation between the two. As Morrell (2002) states, 'context is important – [teachers and students] operate within schools which in turn are located within communities. They have histories' (P. 42). Understanding the community in which DCX School is situated, demands an examination of its broader socio-historical context, from a multi-level

perspective.

To provide structure for this examination, I have drawn on Bronfenbrenner's (1944, 1979, 2005) bioecological model of human development, which conceptualises a series of structural layers comprising the social 'ecology' (or facticity), within which developing subjects are located. This model enables us to imagine the complex interrelationships between historical and social forces at different levels of society, and the impact of these forces on schools and the individuals within them. In line with Adorno (1973), Bronfenbrenner asserts that 'piecemeal analysis, fixed in time and space, of isolated aspects and attributes is insufficient and even misleading' (1944: 67).

Complementing the discussion presented in Chapter Four, Bronfenbrenner's model enables us to think in terms of the 'progressive, mutual accommodation, throughout the life course, between an active, growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by the relations between these settings, and by the larger contexts in which the settings are embedded' (Bronfenbrenner, 2005: 107). Diagram 2 draws on Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model to illustrate how both the school individual subjects can be seen as situated within various levels of interconnected systems. Bronfenbrenner argued that the boundaries of these systems should be thought of as porous, shifting and fluid – and the relationships between the different levels as complex, changeable and not always clearly defined. The exact combination of elements within the system and their positioning in the diagram is therefore not intended to be read as absolute. Rather, I present this model simply as a guide for structuring my analysis.

Globosystem

Macrosystem

Exosystem

Mesosystem

Microsystem

Individual

Family

Neighbour-hood

School

Employment

Media

Economic Patterns

Cultural Values

Global Economic Forces

International Relations

Religion

Health Care

Housing

Ideology

Chronosystem

Education System

National Political Agendas

International Political Agendas
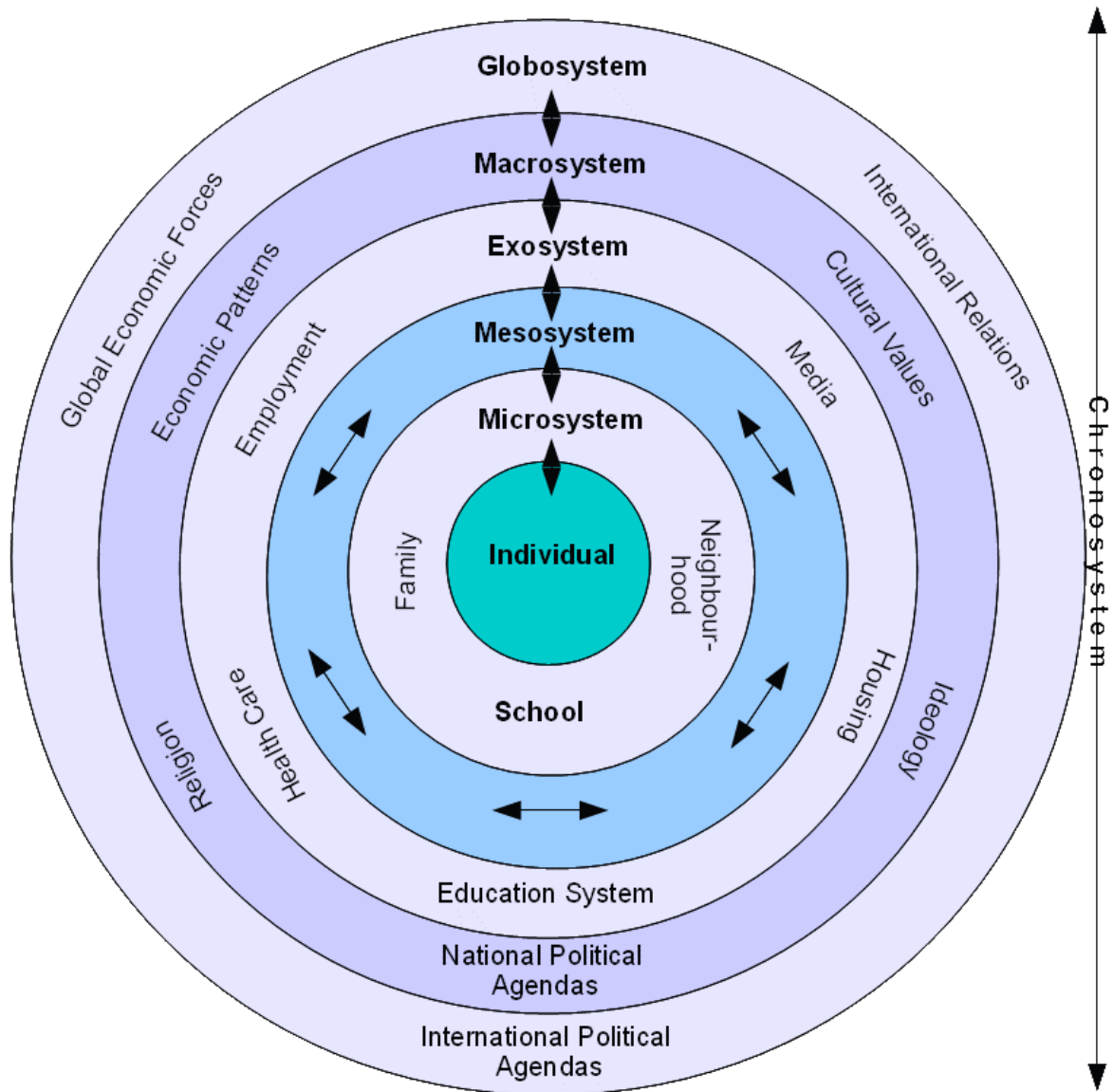
13. Bioecological model of human development.

Diagram 2 illustrates various nested dimensions of the bioecological model, with the individual at the centre to illustrate that human development occurs as a function of the relationship between the individual and the context (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) that comprises their 'situation' or 'facticity' (as discussed in Chapter Four). I structure of my analysis according to these levels, which are defined in the following ways:

Globosystem.

This entails factors exterior to the case study country such as global economic forces and trends, international political agendas, and international relations. This level is absent from Bronfenbrenner's formulations, however I added it because ignoring the impact of global and international forces would contradict my methodological intentions to develop a holistic perspective on violence.

Macrosystem.

Bronfenbrener (2005: 149-150) defined this as consisting 'of the overarching pattern of [sub]systems characteristic of a given culture, […] or other broader social context, with particular reference to the developmentally instigative belief systems, resources, hazards, lifestyles, opportunity structures, life course options, and patterns of social interchange that are embedded in each of these systems'. I treat the macrosystem as analogous to the 'national' level of Brazil.

Exosystem.

This 'encompasses the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings, at least one of which does not ordinarily contain the developing person, but in which events occur that influence processes within the immediate setting that does contain that person' (Bronfenbrenner, 2005: 148). While the city of São Paulo undoubtedly 'contains' the DCX students, they rarely venture out beyond the local neighbourhood. I treat the city as the exosystem because while students are largely excluded from the rest of the city, they are very affected by events at the level of city planning as well as by broader city-wide issues such as rental prices, labour markets, social segregation and municipal education policies.

Mesosystem.

The mesosystem comprises 'the linkages and processes between two or more settings containing the developing person' (Bronfenbrenner, 2005: 148) e.g., the relationship between home and school. I do not explore the mesosystem as a separate section within this chapter. However, in Chapter Seven I do explore the influence of experiences in the neighbourhood and home, on teacher and student engagement with roles in DCX school.

Microsystem.

'A microsystem', Bronfenbrenner writes, 'is a pattern of activities, roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by a developing person in a given face-to-face setting with particular physical and material features and containing other persons with distinctive characteristics of temperament, personality and systems of belief' (2005: 148). The school therefore comprises a microsystem in itself, as do the family, neighbourhood, peer groups, clubs or other groups in which teachers and students take part. Because I dedicate a significant amount of space to a detailed analysis of the school microsystem in Chapter Six, I focus in this chapter on the primary microsystems experienced by DCX students outside of school – the neighbourhood and home life.

Chronosystem.

The chronosystem cuts across all levels in the biolecological model. It represents Bronfenbrenner's assertion that human development is processual and situated within a historical, not just physical and social, context. The chronosystem can refer both to the ordering of events 'in their historical sequence and context' as well as to the impact of broader historical events, contexts, personal life events and experiences on subsequent development (Bronfenbrenner, 2005: 83).The concept of chronosystem encourages consideration of the cumulative impact of violent epistemology and non-conducive circumstances over time. I incorporate the cronosystem throughout this chapter, by analysing the impact of historical events at different levels of the nested systems.

Using the structure outlined above (globosystem, macrosystem, exosystem, and microsystem), the remainder of this chapter analyses how violent epistemology can be seen to have shaped the course of events at each level, and how these events have shaped the development and perpetuation of the 'non-conducive social circumstances' in which teachers and students at DCX School found themselves at the time of research.

The Globosystem: Violent epistemology and the globalisation of economic ideologies.

This section focuses on what have arguably been the two main external forces to have shaped Brazil's development: colonialism and economic neoliberalism. The recorded history of Brazil begins in 1500, when the Portuguese nobleman Pedro Alvarez Cabral happened upon its North East coast and claimed the land for Portugal (Levine, 1999). This marked the beginning of colonial Brazil, the first significant manifestation of violent epistemic thought to shape Brazil's history. This happened in the context of the European 'age of discovery' – an age which has historically been attributed to the technological and intellectual 'superiority' and scientific curiosity of 16th Century Europeans (Abulafia, 2008). However, as Blaut (1993) argues, there is plenty of evidence to suggest neither technological nor intellectual superiority, but rather a simple geographical advantage over inhabitants of the African and Asian continents, who were also engaged in international travel, trade and colonising endeavours at the time. The 'age of discovery', Blaut (ibid) writes, began as feudalism was coming to an end and protocapitalist societies were beginning to form around the world. Mercantilism was on the rise in Europe, and in an environment of emerging capitalism, both citizens and rulers in Europe were looking to increase their wealth.

According to this account, rather than stemming from intellectual or technological superiority, the age of European 'discovery' and colonisation can be seen as closely associated with the growth of capitalism in Europe and its associated instrumental rationality of exploitation. Blaut explains how, as feudalism's ruling classes began to exhaust the potential of their own subjects to increase the production of material and economic surplus (exacerbated in Portugal by severe population reduction caused by the

bubonic plague (Levine, 1999)), 'they tried to conquer and exploit other communities of producers, to acquire external as well as internal fields of exploitation' (Blaut, 1993: 271).

Rather than being motivated by scientific curiosity, the claiming of Brazil by Cabral in the pre-enlightenment 1500s was motivated by the instrumental reason of early capitalist ideology. As the Portuguese crown faced problems of severe population and wealth reduction, the efforts to reach out, 'discover' and conquer new territories can be interpreted as motivated by self-preservation: The aim of the Portuguese crown was to amass as much wealth as possible in order to preserve and increase its power, status and survival chances in a changing world. Considering the epistemic structure of ideology outlined in the Chapter Four, we can argue that at this time the economic dimension of life was isolated by the Portuguese crown and held up above all other dimensions in importance. Many atrocities would be carried out in the name of this economic ideology.

One of the greatest atrocities was the enslavement of indigenous and later African people in Brazil. This manifestation of violent epistemology has played a particularly significant role in shaping Brazil's history and development, and has left an indelible mark on Brazilian society. Following Cabral's arrival, Brazil's land was recognised as favourable for sugar production, and claimed as an extension of Portugal with the sole purpose of becoming a sugar-producing territory to support Portuguese economic growth. After rather unsuccessful attempts to use indigenous people as a local labour force, the Portuguese plantation owners began importing Africans to work as slaves on the plantations. Between 1550 and 1888, an estimated four million black Africans, mostly young males, were brought to Brazil as slaves. In the early 19th Century, two-thirds of Brazil's population were African slaves or their descendants (Levine, 1999).

Marcílio (2001) writes of how 'mobilizing slaves in great estates and plantations, Brazil entered into the global mercantilism at the time of the flourishing European renaissance' (P. 4). This history demonstrates how the Brazil we know today was founded on the violence and exploitation of slavery, carried out in the name of the economic ideology of emerging capitalism. This ideology is exemplary of violent epistemology: by holding up the economic dimension of life and repressing all other dimensions, slave traders and

owners were able to perceive and treat indigenous and African peoples according to their usefulness for economic productivity, whilst attenuating other dimensions of their beings such as their humanity, pain, suffering, needs, dignity, and so on. This is one of the most profound examples of instrumental reason being employed to justify the domination of some humans by others in the name of a collectively affirmed ideology. Brazilian society is still feeling the effects.

While it may have been the most influential, this was not the only manifestation of violent epistemology to come from outside Brazil and shape its early development. In the 1500s the Portuguese state was officially Catholic, and colonial expansion was accompanied by a missionary zeal for spreading Catholicism to the 'infidels' of the new world (Hudson, 1997). Not long after Cabral arrived in Brazil, the Jesuit order who founded and in 1540 the Portuguese king sent Jesuits to Brazil with the mission of pacifying and Christianising the native population (Levine, 1999). Gathering native Brazilians into small towns and villages called 'Aldeias', the Jesuits endeavoured to instil in them the characteristics of 'good Christians'. These included, among other things, a European 'work ethic' which served to provide a pliable work force for the colony (Fausto, 1999). While the intention to instil a 'work ethic' was arguably a manifestation of economic ideology, the missionary activities can also be attributed to religious ideology. By holding the notion of an all-powerful Christian god above all other dimensions of life and experience, the missionaries were able to reject the pre-existing lifestyle and beliefs of the indigenous population. On the face of things, the missionaries were more humane than the slave owners. However, their missionary activities can also be seen as acts of violent epistemology because they negated many of the indigenous population's particularities. Indigenous people in Brazil have struggled economic and cultural appropriation, exploitation an extirpation ever since.

The economic ideology of mercantilism that fuelled Brazil's colonialization, developed into full-blown industrial capitalism as industrialisation took hold in Europe and America in the mid-18th to early 19th centuries (Wood, 2002). Brazil followed suit towards the end of the 19th century and throughout most of the 20th century (Levine, 2009). In Brazil industrialisation was initially supported by the exploitation of newly freed slaves who

had been made destitute, and could be worked hard for very low pay since they had very little opportunity to make a living by other means. Freed slaves and their descendants, followed by European economic immigrants seeking a better life in the 'new world' (only to find a life of hardship and poverty as workers in industrial Brazil), together formed the foundations of an entrenched underclass[36] in Brazilian society that remains to this day (Kohara, 2009).

The epistemic structure of thought behind industrial capitalism can be seen simply as a continuation of the instrumental reason of economic ideology. Slavery was formally abolished in the 19th century. However, domination over others in the form of economic exploitation continued as the notion of free labour became popular. By employing 'free' workers and paying a low wage, owners of the means of production were able to free themselves of the responsibility to provide for workers' basic needs (e.g. housing, clothing, sustenance and medical care), placing this responsibility back on workers (Klein and Luna, 2010). However, in Brazil wages remained so low that workers often lived in squalor, barely able to provide for their basic needs (Kohara, 2009). The violent epistemology of economic ideology once again fostered a situation in which the economic dimension, along with the concepts of profit and economic growth were held up above all other dimensions of life, allowing 'free' industrial workers to be perceived in narrow instrumental terms. Particularities such as workers' basic needs and quality of life were suppressed.

Between the 1970's and 1990's popular support for the established model of industrial capitalism was waning in the 'developed' world, and global financial institutions and economic leaders showed increasing support for the ideas of economic neoliberalism. As Morgan (2013) writes, neoliberalism offered 'an attractive ideological framework because it presented itself as increasing individual freedom through limiting the extent

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[36] My use of the term 'underclass' in this thesis refers to the phenomenon of social stratification in Brazil, which can be seen as a symptom of ideology, and in which certain individuals and sectors of society are subject to stigmatising and exclusionary discourse and practices, and treated as belonging to a separate, 'underclass'. This is not to be misinterpreted as an agreement with such discourse, nor as an agreement with the reduction of diverse individuals to simple (e.g. class) categories. As already mentioned, the ideologies that foster this can be seen as global in nature, but this phenomenon is especially pronounced in Brazil due to the country's particular history.

that society could impinge upon individual action' (no page). However, as Bauman (2002) argues, this promise of freedom was false, because the collective adoption of neoliberalism simply made the universalisation of economic ideology all the more pervasive, and even more dimensions of life were assimilated into its schema.

One way in which neoliberalism sought freedom was through privatisation and deregulation, shifting elements that were formerly governed by society and the state, to the market. However, by positioning the market as the 'sole mechanism of governance' individual freedoms were actually reduced because (building on mercantilism and industrial capitalism's instrumentalisation of life under the economic dimension) neoliberalism simply furthered the constraint of individual action to the narrow framework of economic productivity, efficiency, and consumption (Morgan, 2013). While neoliberalism purports that a deregulated market (rather than nationalised public services) offers more freedom to individuals through the ability to choose from a wider variety of market products, Marcuse (1964) argued that 'the range of choice available to individuals in not the decisive factor in determining the degree of human freedom, but [rather] what can be chosen and what is chosen by the individual' (p. 9). What the neoliberal free market has demonstrated in practice is increased economic competition. This puts companies under pressure to lower prices which increases pressure to reduce wages and work employees harder and harder, leading to increased economic exploitation. For the majority working class whose 'freedom of choice' is dependent on their purchasing power and ability to compete in the job market, the result is actually a decrease in freedoms. Employees have less free time, energy and disposable income (if any), which hugely restricts their ability to choose what they want and need for a healthy and fulfilling life (Morgan, 2013). In other words, the potential for self-actualisation is highly restricted.

Another criticism of neoliberalism is that, in a 'free' market where the 'free' individual is perceived as having limitless choice, responsibility for meeting one's basic needs and ensuring one's wellbeing is placed almost entirely on the individual. According to Clarke (2004), neoliberalism is based on unrealistic assumptions about economic and social relations, as well as about human needs and behaviour. The impact of this has been that

since the 1990's, 'the whole world's population [has been subject] to the judgement and morality of capital' (ibid: 58). As a political project which has 'conquered the commanding heights of global intellectual, political and economic power', the neoliberal model 'does not purport to describe the world as it is, but the world as it should be' (ibid). The point of neoliberalism, Clarke argues, 'is not to make a model that is more adequate to the real world, but to make the real world more adequate to its model' (ibid). Strongly reminiscent of Piaget's type α behaviour, this manifestation of violent epistemology illustrates the 'doubly deleterious effects' (Harvey, 2005: 76) of an ideology which refuses to accommodate phenomena that highlight its conceptual inaccuracies; as long as individuals who do not have many choices and opportunities available to them (for example, due to lack of adequate housing and education, poverty, disability, prejudice, or any other reasons) are perceived as having access to limitless choice, 'personal failure is generally attributed to personal failings' (ibid), with victims of non-conducive circumstance being blamed for their own destitution.

In Brazil, neoliberal economic policies began to take hold in the mid 1990's when the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and US Treasury were heavily promoting such reforms for 'developing' countries. In 1994 a number of Latin American countries, Brazil included, agreed to a deal with the IMF in which some 60 billion dollars of external debt would be written off on the condition that they adopt neoliberal economic reforms (Harvey, 2005). The common characteristics of economic policy supported by these Washington based financial institutions were outlined in what Williamson (1989) called the 'Washington Consensus'. These included deregulation of the market, opening up to direct foreign investment, privatisation of state enterprise, and investment in 'pro-growth', 'pro-poor' services like primary education, primary healthcare, and infrastructure. However, Harvey (Op. cit.) questions whether a neoliberal state can simultaneously be 'pro-growth' and 'pro-poor' because 'the practices of the neoliberal and developmental state [which] is necessarily hostile to all forms of social solidarity that put restraints on capital accumulation […] typically produce […] legislation and regulatory frameworks that advantage corporations over human wellbeing' (P. 75). This illustrates yet again how ideological thought pushes phenomena (such as wellbeing) which do not serve the dimensions upheld in the core ideological scheme (capital

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accumulation), to the margins of awareness.

These neoliberal reforms came when Brazil was transitioning to democracy from a long period of military dictatorship. Rather than a civic overthrow of military rule, this transition was orchestrated by political and economic elites who understood that neoliberal democracy would better support their economic interests. There was no intention of redistributing wealth, but rather democracy paved the way for neoliberal economic policies and the perpetuation of social stratification (Saad-Filho 2012). Williamson (2002) illustrates how the ideas attributed to the Washington Consensus have taken on the power of collectively affirmed ideology, as they 'have continued to gain wider acceptance over the past decade, to the point where Lula [Brazil's 'pro-poor' Worker's Party president from 2003 to 2011] has had to endorse most of them in order to be electable. For the most part they are [taken for granted]' (No page) by both citizens and governments worldwide, meaning that even presidential candidates who may not fully agree with them, are under significant pressure to adopt them – as was the case for the 2003-2016 Worker's Party presidencies in Brazil.

Brazil's political and economic elites have always worked together to preserve their wealth and power. However as Harvey (2005) states, under neoliberalism representative democracy is often overwhelmed and corrupted by money power, to the extent that 'the coercive arm of the state is augmented to protect corporate interest and, if necessary, to repress dissent' (P. 77). The repression of dissent has been illustrated time and again in Brazil over the last five years, as people protesting against economic injustice have repeatedly been subject to physical violence at the hands of the military police[37]. This demonstrates the type α behaviour inherent to ideology, showing how when dimensions of life that do not serve the economic dimension attempt to push themselves into the foreground of awareness, the apparatus of structurally engrained ideology (such as Brazil's military police) does what it can to prevent these particularities from challenging the equilibrium of the schema. In Brazil, this repression can be seen as motivated by the

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[37] This included the violent repression of school children at the end of 2015, who were sprayed with tear gas, beaten, shot at with rubber bullets and arrested when protesting public school closures in São Paulo which were to be carried out in the name of efficiency savings (Attanasio, 2015).

self-preservation motivation of the Brazilian elites.

In all the different forms it has taken since 1500, pervasive globalised economic ideology (whether mercantilism, industrial capitalism or neoliberalism) has consistently resulted in exploitation, violence, injustice and inequality in Brazil, as a result of the economic dimension of life being held over and above all other dimensions. Over the years, sensitivity to these injustices on the part of some, has fostered discussion about the need for universal agreements on, and protections for, basic inalienable rights for all people. The horrendous events of the holocaust and Second World War spurred the establishment of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the late 1940's. As attention turned to global economic development in the late 1980's, the spread of neoliberal ideology to 'developing' nations acted as a catalyst for the UN to push for the fulfilment of basic human rights, one of which was the right to education. In 1990 representatives from countries around the world met in Jomtien, Thailand, and agreed on a World Declaration on Education for All. In 2000 the international community met again at the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, and agreed on the Dakar Framework for Action, which contained a set of six goals to be achieved by 2015 (UNESCO, 2016):

> 1: Expand early childhood care and education.
>
> 2: Provide free and compulsory primary education for all.
>
> 3: Promote learning and life skills for young people and adults.
>
> 4: Increase adult literacy by 50 percent.
>
> 5: Achieve gender parity by 2005, gender equality by 2015.
>
> 6: Improve the quality of education.

The Education for All goals have received widespread support from neoliberal governments for two reasons. Firstly, education has been heavily promoted by the World Bank as a worthwhile investment because it increases a nation's Human Capital and therefore potential for economic growth (Robeyns, 2006). Secondly, even though it contains many internal contradictions, neoliberalism is grounded in liberal theory, which promotes ideas such as human rights, freedom, education etc. (Williamson, 2002). While in practice neoliberalism places many restrictions on freedom and fails in many cases to

fulfil basic human rights, these underlying liberal 'values', along with the economic argument for increasing human capital, indicates why many governments have supported Education for All.

The second Dakar goal (universal, free and compulsory primary education) has spurred a huge effort over the past 15 years to enrol as close as possible to 100% of primary age children in schools across the world. However, massive increases in enrolment have generally not been met by proportional increase in resource allocation, resulting in over-crowded, under-resourced schools providing 'education' of questionable quality (Alexander, 2008). While there is recognition in Goal 6 of the need to improve the quality of education, defining what 'quality' means is a highly contentious area of debate, and many schools in developing countries (Brazil included) have maintained a traditional 19th century European schooling model in practice, even if attempts to move away from this model have been written into policy (ibid). In Brazil, the increase in enrolment has caused many to argue that the overall quality of public education has decreased (Marcílio, 2001). In response, an expanding private education market has arisen, creating a division between those who can afford to send their children to better-resourced private schools and those who have to make do with under-resourced public schools. This has further contributed to social stratification (ibid).

The Macrosystem: Violent epistemology and the establishment of social inequality in Brazil.

The previous section focussed on some of the significant manifestations of violent epistemology which have operated at the level of the 'globosystem', specifically those which have played a role in shaping Brazil's development. This section outlines in more detail how these phenomena have manifest in the 'macrosystem' of Brazil and how they have contributed to the establishment of 'non-conducive' social circumstances in the country today. As Bronfenbrenner (2005) explains, the macrosystem consists of the 'repertoire of available belief systems [from which] parents, teachers, and other agents of socialization draw when they consciously or unconsciously define the goals, risks, and

ways of raising the next generation' (p. 149). For this reason it is important to examine how violent epistemology operates at the level of the macrosystem, as this helps us to consider what is 'passed on from one generation to the next through processes of socialization carried out by various institutions of the culture, such as family, school, church, workplace, and structures of government' (ibid: 150).

Brazil provides a valuable case study on violence because violence and exploitation have been core drivers of the country's development ever since Cabral set foot on its shores. From this point forward, Brazilian history demonstrates clear examples of domination over external nature (the phenomenal world), repression of internal nature, and control/domination over others, all of which point towards an underlying violent epistemology. This section explores manifestations of this epistemology in more detail, focussing on the three main consecutive periods in Brazil's history: colonialism, industrialisation, and neoliberalism.

As mentioned previously, the first significant economic ideology to impact Brazil was the early capitalist mercantilism that fuelled Cabral's claiming of the land for Portugal. Often referred to as the 'discovery' and cited as the beginning of Brazilian history, this event already illustrates the violent epistemic thought which, viewing the land with an instrumental reason that saw only economic potential, pushed to the margins of awareness certain important particularities: namely that the land had been home to human populations for thousands of years with an established way of life in their own right (Levine, 1999). Negating these factors (which if acknowledged could challenge the equilibrium of the colonial schema), the land was called 'Brazil', and the people who lived there assimilated into Portugal's economic project, seen as free for the taking (Fausto, 1999).

The arrival of colonisers spelled disaster for the indigenous population. As the Portuguese tried to enslave them in service of their economic endeavours, those who resisted were only able to preserve themselves through self-isolation, moving to distant and poor regions. Others survived by siding with the Portuguese against rival tribes – a continuation of inter-tribal conflict that already existed. Those who were unable to resist

suffered cultural violence, epidemics of diseases imported from Europe, and death. After three decades marked by efforts to occupy land and establish a colony and trading posts, Portugal provided incentives for commercial endeavours with massive land holdings, which tended to produce higher profits than those with less land (Fausto, 1999). A significant legacy of this has been the establishment and preservation of a vocal oligarchic elite who do not shy away from exercising their political clout:

> *What we had in our country was great landowning and autonomous families, lords of the plantation, with an altar and a chaplain in the house and Indians armed with bow and arrow or Negroes armed with muskets at their command; and from their seats in the municipal council chamber these masters of the earth and of the slaves that tilled it always spoke up boldly to the representatives of the crown (Freyre, 1986: 4).*

> *Plantation owners wielded considerable economic, social, and political power in the life of the colony. They formed an aristocracy based on wealth and power (Fausto, 1999: 37).*

To this day, there has been no significant land reform in Brazil. Most of the land is still owned by a small minority of the population (in 1999 1% of landowners owned 44% of the land in Brazil's Northeast (Levine, 1999)) and much of it is left unfarmed, while the majority have no access to land. This land ownership policy, which was established in the name of economic ideology, represents one of the key contributing factors in the solidification of social inequality in Brazil.

As mentioned earlier, another significant factor in the establishment of social and economic inequality was domination over other human beings at a time when waged labour was not convenient for the interests of enterprise. This began with the enslavement and catechisation of indigenous people. Because the indigenous population were in a good position to forcibly resist slavery in their native territory, and because they were also killed in huge numbers by European diseases, from the 1570's the colonisers began to import Africans en-masse, providing the bulk of Brazil's work force for the next three hundred years. Slavery can be seen as one of the most explicit manifestations of violent epistemology in Brazilian history, simply by its reduction of human beings to their economic value (dimension) alone:

Many slaves came from cultures which regularly worked with iron implements and in which cattle were raised. Because of this, their productive capacity was significantly higher than the Indians. It has been estimated that during the first half of the 17th century, during the peak years of the sugar economy, the purchase price of a black slave was recovered after 13 to 16 months of work. Even after a huge rise in slave purchase prices after 1700, slaves paid for themselves in 30 months (Fausto, 1999: 18).

This quote demonstrates how the same instrumental reason was applied to both Amerindians and Africans. Seen as economic instruments rather than people, slaves were afforded no rights whatsoever by law (Fausto, 1999), and any action to promote their health and welfare was carried out in the name of economics rather than an acknowledgment of particularities which called for a more humane response:

Everyone involved in this despicable trade had one aim and one aim only – to make as much profit as possible. In order to do that, they had to keep alive as many of their cargo as they could; and not just alive, they had to be in good condition when they arrived on the other side of the ocean so that they could be sold for the best possible price (Kerr, 2014: 38).

However, this did not mean dignified treatment. As Kerr (ibid) describes, slaves were packed into ships like sardines, lying in spaces smaller than graves, and instruments such as the multi-tailed whip 'cat-o-nine-nails' were used to maintain subordination. Slave life was hard and conditions brutal, with Almost 50% of children dying before age 5 (Klein and Luna, 2010). However, the ideology of reducing people to their economic (and also racial) dimensions as a justification for domination and exploitation was collectively affirmed to the extent that slavery went largely unquestioned for centuries. As Mauritas once said, 'It is not possible to effect anything in Brazil without slaves... and they cannot be dispensed with upon any consideration whatsoever; if anyone feels that this is wrong, it is a futile scruple' (Mauritas, cited in Kerr, 2014: 40).

Aside from severe exploitation in the name of profit, Brazil's social stratification was also born in colonial society, where people were classified by 'purity of blood' (race, skin colour) and occupation, in a hierarchical system. People were classified as either 'Persons' (free people) or 'non-persons' (slaves), and slaves were categorised by skin colour. This impacted on life opportunities, as lighter skinned slaves were preferred for

work in the masters' houses, whilst the darker skinned were set to hard labour in the plantations. For free people racial mix, religious background and family ties also defined access to (or exclusion from) certain occupations and groups (Fausto, 1999). While it seems absurd to discuss slavery and self-actualisation in the same sentence, these examples illustrate how the violent epistemology of racial, genetic and religious 'identity thinking' also restricted life chances and therefore the self-actualisation of both slaves and free people.

Though Brazilian society is very different today, the social stratification established in colonial times remains. While in colonial times wealthy rural landowners and merchants engaged in foreign commerce were at the top of the social pyramid, and recently arrived black Africans were at the very bottom, in contemporary Brazil wealthy (mostly white) men fly to business meetings in helicopters while Angolan immigrants and Haitian refugees struggle to survive in the poorest neighbourhoods[38]. This social stratification is indicative of the collectivisation of identity thinking into social ideology: As a single dimension of a person (i.e. skin colour) is separated from all other dimensions and made into an identity category, certain particularities or characteristics can be ascribed to this category through the severance of generalities and particularities, achieved and maintained through type α behaviour, reducing the diversity of individuals to prescribed social roles and categories.

The abolition of slavery came about late in Brazil because it was strongly resisted by the Brazilian elites, whose wealth was built on the back of slave labour. Brazil had become an empire after the Portuguese court and Prince Regent fled there to escape Napoleon in 1808. The Prince Regent was later succeeded by his son Pedro I who declared independence for Brazil. It was Pedro I's granddaughter, Princess Isabel, who signed a law abolishing slavery in 1888. This act was very unpopular with the Brazilian elite who staged a military coup the following year and declared the country a republic, headed by a dictatorship (Schwartzman, 2003; Fausto, 1999).

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[38] In 2001, the average income of whites was twice that of non-whites (Schwartzman, 2003).

At this stage the sugar industry (which had concentrated most of Brazil's wealth and population in the rural Northeast) had declined, and Brazil's latest cash crop was coffee, produced mostly in the South. Two thirds of the population were newly freed slaves or their descendants. However, after abolition various policies ensured that neither the former slave-owners nor the government would be responsible for the wellbeing of this segment of the population nor for their integration into society. Such policies included anti-vagrancy laws which stopped freed slaves coming to the cities to look for work (Levine, 1999). The neglect of former slaves amounted to 'one of the bleakest chapters in Brazil's long history of governmental insensitivity to the needs of its underclass, largely black and of mixed race' (ibid: 123). As freed slaves and their descendants (along with their suffering) were pushed to the margins of awareness, so too were they held firmly at the margins of society.

Rather than supporting freed slaves into paid employment, the majority were left to live in poverty in the northeast with no access to land or income. To populate the growing cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo and replace slave labour in the southern coffee plantations, immigration was encouraged from Europe and Japan. This movement of the economic centre of the country from the previously sugar-rich northeast to the urbanising, modernising, coffee-producing south solidified an uneven concentration of wealth which remains today. The monopoly over land-ownership remained, but the decline in cultivation left most of the rural population in deep-seated poverty with no work and no land on which to develop even a subsistence living (Levine, 1999).

After the Second World War Brazil entered a period of rapid industrialisation, economic growth and modernisation in an attempt to revive its economy which, until 1930, had been largely dependent on exportation. The external shocks of the two world wars and the great depression resulted in drastic reductions in export revenues and finance from abroad (much of state revenue came from import tariffs on non-agricultural products), leading to a large fiscal deficit (Saad-Filho, 2012). To remedy this, the economic policy of Import-Substituting Industrialisation (ISI) was adopted from 1930-1980. This 'system of accumulation based on the sequenced expansion of manufacturing industry, with the primary objective of replacing imports' (ibid: 119) led to a huge shift away from

agriculture and into industry.

This caused mass migration from rural areas to the cities, especially São Paulo. Between 1970 and 1981 the population shifted from being more than 50% rural to almost 80% urban (Melamed, 2011), and in 2003 only 15% of Brazil's population remained in rural areas (Barreto and Souza, 2007). Industrialisation led to significant economic growth, but also tendential deterioration in income distribution (Saad-Filho, 2012) marked by further concentration of revenue in the hands of the elite and the lowering of workers' salaries (Kohara, 2009). According to Green (2003), between 1960 and 1970 the richest 10% of Brazilians saw their share of total income increase from 28% to 48%, and most sectors were dominated by four to ten percent of the largest firms. Goods tended to be expensive and of poor quality, and there were not enough jobs to accommodate the vast numbers migrating to the cities. The needs of the poorest rural population were also neglected (Melamed, 2011). In 1964 another military coup led to a 21 year dictatorial regime focussed on repressing the majority while offering stability and growth to the minority elites, middle classes and workers in successful companies (ibid). By the 1980s the ineffective macroeconomic management of the industrial period contributed, in sum, to 'political instability, insufficient infrastructure provision, the concentration of income and the reproduction of mass poverty' (Saad-Filho, 2012).

The transition from slavery to 'free' labour and from an agricultural to industrial economy, can be seen as marked by a continuation of structurally engrained economic and elitist ideology. The economic reforms of ISI were clearly focussed on increasing overall economic growth and the wealth of the already wealthy, while the needs of the majority population, especially the descendants of slaves, the rural and the poor, were neglected. This ideology was reinforced by the military dictatorship, which served to repress the poor majority and award increasing power and stability to minority elites. We can see this as a continued expression of the self-preservation motivation on the part of the Brazilian economic and political elite, coupled with a negation and repression of the popular classes and their particular needs that is characteristic of the type α behaviour inherent to ideological epistemology.

This long history has provided the foundation for modern Brazil, which has some of the highest rates of social inequality and urban violence in the world. Although Brazil is now known to be one of the world's largest emerging economies and inequality has decreased a little since the election of President Lula in 2003, Brazil's social, political and economic development has held fast to its legacy of social exclusion and extreme stratification. Since the move away from ISI, this has been perpetuated by the introduction of neoliberal economic policy and its associated ideology.

Introduced to Brazil in the 1990's, neoliberal economic policy assumes that with economic growth, poverty will be reduced by default through a 'trickle-down' effect (Saad-Filho, 2012). In Brazil, neoliberal policies have been consolidated into a durable macroeconomic regime. However, while this regime has brought significant economic growth, it has not resulted in significant wealth redistribution (Amman and Baer, 2002). As Kohara (2009) writes:

> The [social problems that exist] in Brazil [are] the result of a model of economic and political development, in which an interest in obtaining profits prevails above any other interest, a model that has always been imposed by the dominant elites. The concentration of wealth in the hands of a minority and, consequently, extreme poverty for the larger part of the population, has prevented Brazil from being an egalitarian nation. In the last few decades there has been an improvement in certain social indicators such as the index of literacy, the percentage of children registered in schools, the reduction of infant mortality and the increase in life expectancy at birth. But these advances have not impeded the worsening of many other problems, such as the lack of adequate habitation in the big cities, violence, environmental pollution, and difficulties in urban mobility (P. 29).

The introduction of Neoliberal economic policy was accompanied by a 'substantial increase in the openness of the economy to foreign trade, [and] a dramatic retreat of the state's participation in the economy' (Amman and Baer, 2002: 957). This reopened the doors for foreign imports and existing industries had to deal with a reduction in market share. The economy began to shift from industrial to service-based enterprise as newly privatised companies[39] were encouraged to install labour-saving technologies,

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[39] Instead of offering out share ownership to the public, privatisation authorities chose to transfer the assets of public enterprises to a select group of long-established major domestic and foreign investors

and substantial numbers of workers were dismissed. Between 1990 and 1997 employment in manufacturing dropped by 40% (Filho, 2014). This huge reduction of job opportunities in the industrial sector was, however, not compensated by a comparable increase of opportunities in the service sector (ibid). What opportunities did exist were more poorly paid and less secure (Amman and Baer, 2002), while the wages of the minority who remained in the industrial sector increased. Public utilities were also privatised, and as incentive to the new owners regulators allowed price-hikes. For people living in Rio de Janeiro for example, the cost of public services rose by 90% between 1990 and 1994, massively increasing the cost of living (ibid). These examples illustrate how rather than resulting in a 'trickle-down effect', neoliberal restructuring has perpetuated poverty and economic inequality in Brazil.

Gillespie (2006) argues that the structural deficits caused by neoliberal modernism (displacement from the land, joblessness, migration to urban areas, social dislocation and isolation, greater income inequality, and increased poverty) lead to social disorganization and violence. According to Huggins (2000), at the time of writing the richest 10% of Brazil's population earned 69.5 times more than the poorest 10%. This, along with the endurance of powerful political elites throughout Brazil's history, is a good indicator of structural violence which Galtung, (1996), Galtung & Hivik (1971), Montiel & Wessells (2001) and Nagler (1997) argue results from an unequal distribution of economic and political power where one class benefits from this disparate system while another suffers.

This level of structural inequality, research has shown (Cf. Bourguignon, 2001; Fajnzylber, et al, 2002; Wade, 2004), can foster frustration, aggression and interpersonal violence. Smith (2012) argues that this has contributed to the high levels of interpersonal violence in Brazil, which have increased since the introduction of neoliberalism. Andrade and Lisboa (2000) also found dramatic increases in homicide rates in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo that coincide with the structural adjustments introduced in the 1990's: In Rio de Janeiro the rate of male homicides per 100,000 inhabitants aged 5-24 rose from 149 in

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(Amman and Baer, 2002).

1981 to 275 in 1995, while in São Paulo the rates for the 5-14 and 24-44 age bracket more than doubled, rising from 54 to 128, and 49 to 106 respectively for the same period.

Violence disproportionately affects Brazil's poor, with homicide numbers being the highest in areas with the most poverty (Gillespie, 2006) and socioeconomic disparity (Gawryszewski and Costa, 2005). Part of this has been attributed to the state, which Aiyer (2001) suggests acts in a disciplinary manner, working to enforce social control under the neoliberal regime. According to this view, neoliberal policies require states to relinquish control of their economies but maintain control in the maintenance of law and order. Huggins (1998) and Huggins et al (2002) give examples of how violence was routinely used as a means of formal social control and state surveillance in Brazil throughout the transition to capitalist democracy, largely carried out by police, paramilitary and military forces.

Of course state violence was common in Brazil prior to the democratization that accompanied neoliberalism – the practice of state sponsored torture and assassinations during the military dictatorship of 1964-1985 is well documented (Mezarobba, 2006; 2008). However, this pales in comparison to the levels of state violence that accompanied the democratization and neoliberalisation process. According to Huggins (2000), in 1992, in the greater metropolitan area of São Paulo alone, 1470 civilians were killed by police. This is almost four times more than the total amount of police killings throughout an entire 15 years of Brazil's 21 year dictatorship. While during the dictatorship state-sponsored violence was mostly perpetrated against politicians, academics and students considered to be a threat to the regime, since the transition to neoliberal democracy it is most commonly directed at the 'undesirable' poor (Aiyer, 2001). The privatisation that accompanies neoliberalism has also extended to security forces in Brazil, with growth of private security services, 'rent-a-cops', death squads, lone-wolf 'justice-maker' killers and lynch mobs, some of which are employed by the rich in order to protect themselves from the poor (Huggins, 2000; Gillespie, 2006).

Between 2003 and 2016, when the Worker's Party presidents Luiz Inacio (Lula) da Silva

and Dilma Rousseff were in power, more efforts were made to redistribute wealth. However, these were limited because both Lula and Dilma had to comply with neoliberal economic policy. As such, there has not been any redistributive economic or land reform. As Gillespie (2006) highlights, the globalisation of neoliberalism has not lived up to its promise of improving standards of living for the majority. Rather, it has contributed to rising poverty, escalating violence, and a whole host of derivative problems for the poor.

Violent epistemology has been particularly evident in two aspects of Brazil's development since 1990. Firstly, in the globally pervasive economic ideology of neoliberalism and its enforcement in Brazil by the Washington based financial institutions, and secondly, in the self-preserving behaviour of the Brazilian elites which has continued from previous periods. These factors have combined to foster 'non-conducive social circumstances' characterised by extreme social inequality and prejudice between rich and poor. This more implicit, structurally engrained violence has been responded to by the state, the wealthy and the poor with explicit interpersonal violence. I present examples of this in the next section.

The history outlined in this section illustrates how inequality, exploitation, poverty, social exclusion and violence are historically engrained and deep-rooted characteristics of the 'facticity' or social circumstances of Brazil. These issues can be traced back to their roots in colonialism and slavery, and their perpetuation can be seen all the way through industrialisation and urbanisation, into contemporary Brazil in the grip of neoliberalism. Throughout the history of modern Brazil and every change of political regime, one thing has stood out: a type α behaviour evident in the 'extraordinary capacity of the Brazilian elites to defend the status quo and their own interests by controlling, co-opting, and, if necessary, repressing […] forces in favour of radical social change' (Bethell, 2000: 16).

Such historical repression led to a long period of very little popular mobilisation for change, and Brazilians consequently developed a reputation for their 'extraordinary capacity […] for tolerating poverty, exclusion, inequality, and injustice and thus collaborating in their own subordination' (ibid). However, inspired by the 2011 'Arab Spring' and the spate of popular uprisings that followed around the world and

dissatisfied with government spending in the build up to the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics, public protests have become much more common in Brazil over the last five years. However, true to form the military police have reliably responded with violent repression.

The Exosystem: Social stratification in São Paulo.

Of all Brazilian cities, São Paulo has experienced the highest levels of population growth since industrialisation. São Paulo is Brazil's largest urban area, and is ranked among the most important global metropoles. In 2010 Brazil had the 7th largest GDP in the world (World Bank, 2010), and in 2009 close to one quarter of the country's wealth was concentrated in São Paulo (Kohara, 2009), making it the 2nd largest BRICS economic region (Florida et al, 2009). However, as with the rest of Brazil, São Paulo is also marked by huge extremes of inequality. Unemployment levels are high, the statutory minimum salary is grossly inadequate compared to the cost of living, and in 2003 28.9% of people in the municipality of São Paulo were recorded as living in poverty (IBGE, 2003).

São Paulo is considered to be a vibrant cultural hub, but urban planning and infrastructure has been unable to keep up with the speed of population growth (More than 20 million people live in the São Paulo metropolitan area alone) (Levine, 1999), meaning that habitation is a grave problem. While the city is home to some of the most extensive luxury housing complexes in the world, adequate accommodation is dependent on financial circumstances, which for the majority of the population are poor. Come nightfall, thousands of people can be found in the entrance queues of overnight hostels, many others making beds on the pavement from cardboard, and millions more housing themselves in precarious slums and tenements (Kohara, 2009: 19).

São Paulo's population is heavily influenced by generations of economic migration and immigration (Levine, 1999). The city's rapid urban growth began in the first two decades of the 20th century when immigrant labourers were attracted to the area to fill the labour gap in the coffee industry after the abolition of slavery. Between 1880 and 1900 São

Paulo's population increased from 64,000 to 239,000 inhabitants (Fausto, 1999), and this growth continued as the city began to industrialise and immigrants came from Europe and Japan in the hope of achieving a better life. The majority of immigrant workers, however, found themselves unsupported, heavily exploited by industry, and suffering appalling living and working conditions (Canton, 2007).

Around 1950 the influx of foreign immigration waned, and as the city was still in full industrial swing it began to attract more economic migrants from all over Brazil, especially the now poor, rural north-eastern regions. Between 1950 and 1980 over three million people (workers and their families) moved to São Paulo from other areas of Brazil (Municipal Prefecture of São Paulo, 2012), and population growth continued at a rapid pace until the end of the 20th Century. This expansion was not matched by growth in the city's labour market however, and hundreds of thousands of people were forced into the underground economy, further solidifying the city's 'permanent underclass' unable to access stable employment. Meanwhile, the elite maintained tight controls on society, suppressing any dissent (Levine, 1999: 21-22).

14. Starkly contrasting living conditions in São Paulo.[40]

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[40] Image by Tuca Vieira. Reproduced with permission.

Since its early days, São Paulo has been characterised by extremes of wealth and poverty. It is a city of two worlds, in which the extremely wealthy live in high-security luxury condominiums offering enclosed 'lifestyle packages' (Landman and Schonteich, 2002), travel by bullet-proof car from underground garage to underground garage or by helicopter from the top of one high-rise building to another. As a result a certain type of socio-spatial segregation exists, in which different social classes are confined to specific geographical areas. This is exemplified by the geographical demarcation of favelas, tenement neighbourhoods such as the Baixada, and the fortified enclaves of the elites. As Barker (2002) writes:

> Enclaves arise partly from a fear of crime. Although designed for collective use, they are private property - their walls and systems of surveillance enforce an internal social homogeneity by keeping the lower classes out. The most extreme examples of these enclaves are like city-states within the city, with tens of thousands of residents and hundreds of private guards. In this respect, enclaves mark the end of a particular type of modern public space. Enclaves embody a concept of urban space characterized by bounded zones of class homogeneity rather than a public space of [...] heterogeneity, and a free circulation of differences (P. 1032).

The children of these 'enclave' families attend international private schools and participate in a variety of extracurricular activities. On the other end of the social scale are the children who live on the streets, in hostels and tenements, and in favelas on the urban peripheries.

The elitist attitudes of the colonial and imperial oligarchies remain today in the plutocratic social groups of São Paulo, who live lives of luxury alongside extreme poverty as if it were an unpleasant truth that would rather be forgotten (Barker, 2002). While middle and upper class children attend private fee-paying schools, public education is seen as being of terrible quality and only suitable for the poor. The wealthy visit shopping complexes, yacht clubs and jockey clubs (all named after the North American and European institutions upon which they are modelled) at weekends. Spending the day at the shopping mall in São Paulo is something of a cultural event, an opportunity to get dressed up and show off one's social status (Lara, 2008).

This world, in which social status is married with purchasing power, is reliant on social exclusion for its very survival. That is, as Marx famously asserted all those years ago, social status associated with high purchasing power, the consumption of 'luxury' items and exclusive leisure pursuits (this 'ideal' of the modern, affluent lifestyle) depends on a permanent 'underclass' for its very existence, both in the form of cheap labour as well by providing 'lesser' and 'outsider' groups from which to distinguish itself (Marx, 1990). The Brazilian media has presented, over time, the upper and middle class lifestyle as the ideal of modernity, especially with regards to consumption, as words like 'paradise' and 'dream' are frequently associated with the consumer ambitions and collective lifestyles of these groups, presented as aspiration for the rest of the population (Lara, 2008).

The media present the idea that social mobility and a lifestyle of luxury (associated with social status and inclusion) are open to all. However, this is entirely incongruent with the reality of social and economic exclusion experienced by a large portion of the population. While on the one hand television and magazines present the ideal of a modern, westernised lifestyle reminiscent of upper-middle class North American suburbia, on the other hand (aside from the fact that its integrity is rarely questioned), most of the population can never achieve this ideal because Brazil's social and economic system (while outwardly presenting itself as democratic and 'free' in line with the current phase of neoliberal capitalism) relies on social hierarchy, masks an underlying plutocracy, and produces social and economic exclusion. In this way São Paulo's sharp social divisions are insidious; there are no formal or legal barriers to social mobility and integration, but inequality and prejudice are deeply engrained in Brazil's history and economy.

The promotion of this 'ideal' way of life can be seen as a manifestation of the collective affirmation of economic ideology and an associated ideological identity concept. In the latter, the economic dimension of the person is isolated and held up as superior to all other dimensions, meaning that desirable characteristics become those that reflect this dimension - namely expressions of material wealth and affluent lifestyle. This collectively affirmed identity concept can be experienced by individuals (especially the most excluded) as replete with 'conditions of worth' (Rogers, 1959) which represent gateways

to social inclusion. The desire to conform to such conditions of worth can manifest as explicit acts of violence. This is demonstrated in Bill and Athayde's (2006) interviews with adolescent boys in Brazil's urban drug-trafficking gangs:

> Imagine your mum worked in a family's home, that she was never able to give you any presents. When she did it was second-hand clothes or toys, left in her boss's rubbish, or toys offered out of charity after her boss's children didn't want them anymore, because they were really old (Boy's response to being asked why he entered a life of crime (Bill and Athayde, 2006: 94)).

Turning to crime as a means to meet societal conditions of worth was not uncommon in young people in the Baixada neighbourhood, as this data excerpt illustrates:

> Teacher 1 gave me an example of a student of hers, who had just come out of prison. She asked him what he had done, and he told her he had stolen some money. She asked why, and he replied, 'spending Christmas without money, teacher, nobody wants that'. She said to him 'ah, I've also spent really miserable Christmases with almost nothing to eat'. 'No' he had replied, 'there's no problem with food teacher, even if there's not enough food there's always someone in the community who gives you some, or who invites you to eat at their house. The problem is not having money to take a girl to the cinema, or to a party, and not having good clothes and good trainers' (Field notes, 11/05/2011).

Aside from a desire to conform to conditions of worth associated with the 'ideal' identity concept promoted in the Brazilian media, Bill and Athayde's interviews also illustrate how 'destructive' and 'hostile tendencies' (Fromm, 2013) can stem from isolation, powerlessness, and an 'unlived life' (ibid), or 'thwarted self-actualisation' (Rogers, 1959) and the 'scars' left by such thwarting (Horkeimer, 2002):

> Athayde: Why are you in this life, even knowing that it only has disadvantages?
> Boy: Out of revolt. Out of hate. Sadness. Pain. I hold all this in my chest. Suffering. Various things. I try to give good things to my family. Even today my family can't [have everything they want], but I try to do what I can (Bill and Athayde, 2006: 79).

> That was where I started to enter a life of crime, the life I have now. It all started eight years ago, when my family was going through that suffocation, that tragedy, you know brother? The day to day, me seeing my mum go out to work, those conditions, she couldn't give the best to us, you know? What I wanted I couldn't have. The remote control car, a bike... couldn't have it. Until, we lived in a little

wooden shack, it caught fire. Ten years old I took a punch in the face from a police man. I hold this in my chest, in my heart. It created a grievance against him, and so I began to enter this life that I'm in now, the life of crime, the right side in the wrong life (ibid: 78).

These tales are reminiscent of Adorno's statement that 'wrong life cannot be lived rightly' (2005: 39), and illustrate dimensions P, Q, R, and S of the thesis model presented in Chapter Four – that violent epistemology and action can be fostered by non-conducive social circumstances which thwart self-actualisation and promote the deformation of subjectivity.

However, even when an individual is not necessarily caught up in a cycle of subject deformation and experiences a conscious desire not to engage in violence (whether epistemic or in action), the constraints on choice imposed by non-conducive social circumstances can appear to leave them with no other option:

> I'm here [working wrapping up drugs] because society out there doesn't provide any way of life for us to follow. If we want to look for work, it's hard. Even to find a school is hard, we don't have a school here. […] I'm not a criminal, I'm here because I need to help out at home, because I don't want to see my mum suffering. [I'm] a person who wasn't meant to be here. But this is what the government wants, it's what the governor wants, to see us here. Because he doesn't pay attention to anything. He doesn't give us a right to defence, doesn't give us a job. Our mum went out to get a job and was humiliated. We have to have been to university. How are we going to get a job then? So, we are obliged to return to crime, but a lot of the time we don't want this (ibid: 180).

The excerpts cited above illustrate the impact of social exclusion in a society shaped by neoliberal economic ideology as a form of violent epistemology. However, mainstream popular discourse on crime and violence in São Paulo tends (like some of the common definitions of violence cited in Chapter Three) to lean on the notion of an inherently violent human nature, with a minority of 'untamed' or 'pathological' individuals being seen as the perpetrators within an otherwise 'civilised' and healthy society. As Caldeira (2000) explains:

> Paulistanos from different social groups […] share certain conceptions about crime and evil. They seem to think that the spaces of crime are marginal ones,

such as favelas and tenements, and that their inhabitants, potential criminals, are people from the fringes of society, humanity, and the polity. They also see crime as a phenomenon related to evil, something that spreads and contaminates easily and requires strong institutions and authorities to control it. This control is seen as a labour of culture against the forces of nature (P. 53).

This view, strengthened by neoliberal discourse, places the blame on individuals who are unable to achieve an unobtainable ideal, and who are erroneously seen to have excluded themselves from society. These individuals, commonly perceived as the main perpetrators of violence, are seen as social outcasts and labelled 'marginals'. When Bill and Athayde (2006) asked a so-called 'marginal' what he thought about Brazil, he voiced a different perspective:

Unjust country. Unjust. An unjust country. All we have is this here [the life of the favela and drug trafficking]. But the real 'marginal' is in a suit and tie. In a suit and tie, and justice doesn't see this (P. 81).

This boy's perspective reminds us of how, without a holistic model of violence that incorporates the epistemic and social dimensions, all of a society's ills can be blamed on a select group of individuals without recognition of the bigger picture or of our collective social and epistemic responsibilities.

The idealised lifestyle presented in the Brazilian media is a reflection of the elitist, idealised vision of North American and European cosmopolitanism upon which Brazil's (particularly São Paulo's) urban development has been modelled. This rather fantastical view aspires to mimic cities like Paris and Los Angeles, but is shaped by hygienist and neo-hygienist[41] thought, which imagines a city in which the poor do not exist (Kohara, 2009). As industrialisation and mass migration/immigration into São Paulo caused rapid

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[41] My use of the term 'neo-hygienist' in this thesis is based on analyses of how hygienist thought shaped São Paulo's development throughout the 19th and 20th centuries – a period in which 'hygiene' meant 'sanitising' the poor and 'cleaning' them from the city (Sobrinho, 2013). Local researchers Kohara (2009), Canton (2007), and Frúgoli (2000) who have all spent significant time researching the neighbourhood in which my case-study is located, discuss how recent initiatives to 'cleanse the [area] of street vendors, street children, beggars and the unemployed' (ibid: 102) and enforce the degradation of tenements so as to increase land value for property development (Kohara, 2009), represent a resurgence of hygienist attitudes. Frúgoli (2000) has called this a 'new sanitation' of the city.

urban growth, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries elites looked to Europe for a model of urban expansion. An image of urban modernity emerged based in a positivist, liberal, republican discourse and (perceived) European 'civility', cleanliness, 'order' and 'progress'. However São Paulo's high numbers of poor freed slaves and their descendants, along with economic migrants and immigrants, did not conform to this ideal. This population was seen as dirty - their neighbourhoods as centres of contagious disease, their habitations unsanitary, and their dispositions as idle and prone to vices (ibid).

Sobrinho (2013) describes how at this time 'an incipient liberal-capitalist culture flourished, fed by ideas of a way of life imported from Europe which identified the white, 'civilised' subject as the ideal profile of man' (P. 233). The upper classes intended to diffuse a 'bourgeois aesthetic' based on idealised Parisian customs, whiteness, cleanliness, and Christian family morality. Plans were made to construct great avenues and neighbourhoods, to demonstrate grandiosity and good taste (ibid). As this conceptual blueprint was held up and began to dominate, anything perceived to be 'tropical' or 'backwards' was rejected.

While São Paulo's elites worked to foster this new modernised urban space, a certain 'disorder relating to the backwardness of the tropics' prevailed in the precarious living conditions of the poor, who were seen to oppose the goal of 'civilisation'. As Chalhoub (2006) explains:

> The poor [...] came to be seen as dangerous because they posed problems for the organisation of public works and the maintenance of public order. The[y] also represented danger of contagion. Th[is] appeared in the Brazilian political imaginary at the end of the 19th century via the metaphor of contagious illness: the dangerous classes continued to reproduce themselves as the[ir] children would remain exposed to the bad habits of their parents. Thus, in discussions about the repression of idleness, [...] the strategy to combat the problem was generally presented as consisting of two stages: more immediately, it was advisable to reprimand the supposed non-working habits of the adults; in the longer term, it was necessary to provide for the education of minors (P. 29).

As Sobrinho (2013) highlights, poverty was associated with illnesses caused by lack of

hygiene in unsanitary accommodation. Common examples given were the rats, germs and dangerous diseases that seemed to emanate from tenement buildings. Tenements, which housed the poor and industrial workers and the poor, were also perceived as a threat to the notion of 'civility'. The elites and authorities became preoccupied with these things, because they were seen as posing a threat to the ideal order of Christian morality and the clean, disciplined city.

Rather than being recognised as products of capitalist exploitation, the unsanitary living conditions and ill health of the poor we perceived by the elites as caused by 'idleness' and 'bad habits'. It was therefore believed that these 'traits' should be treated by keeping the minds of the poor far from 'degenerative thoughts' and by educating their children for work. The inexistence of sufficient opportunities for work was ignored, helping mask the contradictions of the prevalent ideology and reinforcing discourses of deficiency that blamed the poor for their own degeneration (Sobrinho, 2013).

To acknowledge particularities such as Brazil's long history of exploitation, lack of opportunity, prejudice, social exclusion and low wages, would have posed a threat to the liberal discourse of individual freedom and responsibility that allowed for inequality to go unchallenged. By negating these particularities, the elites instead saw the suffering of the poor as a threat to the stability of the ideological schema of the 'clean and healthy city'. As such, a process of 'hygiene and 'social cleansing'' (ibid: 211) took place. In the name of 'order and progress'[42], men dressed in blue overalls went knocking on the doors of the poor with buckets full of acrid green disinfectant, forcing literal cleansing.

This idealised image of 'European modernity' also promoted a 'whitening' of the population. European immigrants were given preference for employment in industry over the descendants of freed slaves, who tended to migrate from rural areas and had darker skin. Whiteness and urbanity were associated with modernity, while non-whiteness and rurality were associated with backwardness. Rather than acknowledging and integrating the poor, non-white, rural migrants into socially just urban planning, this

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[42]   The positivist thought of Aguste Comte had a strong influence in Brazil in the 19th century, so much so that the motto written on Brazil's flag 'order and progress' is directly inspired by his words.

population was largely rejected by being pushed wherever possible to the margins of the urban perimeter, and the margins of awareness (Kohara, 2009). As Levine (1999) describes:

> The lower classes, residing on the periphery of the glittering symbols of progress, were as often as not victims of modernisation. Affluent Brazilians ignored the plight of the poor, whether urban – often living in shanty-towns and tenements in close proximity to their stately homes – or in the rural hinterland (Pp. 78-79).

These hygienist efforts to bring 'civilisation' to São Paulo have resulted in more cosmetic than structural change, and the attitudes which cling to an imaginary European or North American ideal remain to this day. This was exemplified during my stay in São Paulo when residents of the wealthy neighbourhood Higienópolis (from Greek, meaning 'city of hygiene') petitioned against the planned installation of a Metro station within the neighbourhood. They argued for the station's relocation as they feared that public transport would cause 'gente diferenciada' [differentiated people] (a 'callow euphemism' for people of low purchasing power) to 'invade' the area (Matias, 2011). The petition gained 3,500 signatures, and the planned location for the station was moved. This is just one example of how hygienist attitudes remain to this day[43] amongst São Paulo's upper classes, how ideological thought works to exclude that which it cannot accommodate within its schema, and how the Brazilian elite maintain the power to influence urban development to this day.

Although Brazil markets itself as a racial democracy, the legacy of slavery, colonialism and hygienism has resulted in the persistence of racial inequality. State violence against the poor, and in particular (though not exclusively) young black men is a particularly powerful illustration of this. In São Paulo 10% of all homicides are carried out by policemen. As Levine (1999) describes, 'state police forces have committed numerous human rights crimes, including playing self-appointed vigilante assassins of suspected miscreants' (P. 162). This is violence is especially targeted towards the poor and

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[43] Another example is how these attitudes were found amongst administrative workers in the city's education system: when visiting schools, the workers from the Regional Directorate of Education who accompanied me would cry 'hold your noses and secure your handbags!' as we entered poor neighbourhoods.

marginalised. A recent UNESCO study found that non-white men aged between 12 and 29 face a 50% higher risk of death by homicide than other cohorts of the São Paulo population (UNESCO, 2014), and a 2013 study found that non-white adolescents between the ages of 12 and 18 were 3.7 times more likely to be assassinated than their white peers (Junior and Lima, 2013).

Another indicator of racial inequality is income distribution. Government statistics counter the rhetoric of racial democracy by showing that in the last national census more people in São Paulo classified as being 'black', 'brown' or 'indigenous' had either no income or earned less than the equivalent of 2 minimum salaries per month, than people classified as having 'white' or 'yellow' skin. However, there was also significant stratification within the white and Asian population, as by far the largest proportion of São Paulo's population, regardless of skin colour, had either no income or earned less than 2 minimum salaries (IBGE, 2010):
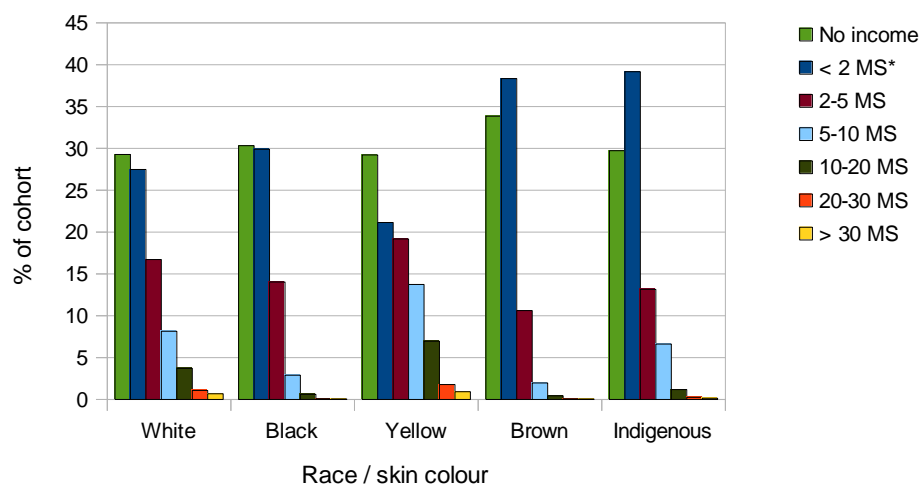
15. Income distribution by race/skin colour in São Paulo.

MS = Minimum Salaries (or equivalent) received per month. One minimum salary was equal to approximately $271 USD at time of data collection.

Since the cost of living in São Paulo is comparable to that of major European and North American cities, these statistics highlight not only significant racial inequality, but also the real extend of poverty and social stratification regardless of skin colour.

This section has demonstrated how, by collectively affirming ideological schema that hold certain particularities to be of superior importance to others, Brazilian elites have shaped the development of São Paulo as a metropolis marked by extremes of wealth and poverty, lack of access to formal employment and dignified housing, socio-spatial segregation, high rates of violence, and racial inequality.

The Microsystem: The 'non-conducive' social circumstances of the Baixada.

This section provides a brief history of the Baixada neighbourhood and a general overview of its characteristics, before discussing some of the issues faced by DCX students and their families while living in this neighbourhood. This excerpt from my research diary sets the scene:

> *Arriving at the nearest metro station to the Baixada, I exit the train, and am shuffled up an escalator along with the crowd. Up ahead a woman, smiling and swaying, swings at two security guards, trying to hit them, and then leaps onto another escalator and rises up out of the station to the street, dancing and singing as she goes. As she reaches the top her shouts echo back down into the station: 'Bye Security! Ha Ha!' I dodge the incoming flow of people rushing towards the turnstiles to embark, and climb out into the street. It is dark, the flashing lights of a police car greet me as I exit. A stream of people in office clothes strides in the direction from which I have just come, hurrying to make the train. A boy of around thirteen sells chocolate bars half way up the steps, his face pensive and serious, not even paying attention to the box of chocolate bars in his arms as he stands leaning against the handrail. Lingering around the neatly dressed office workers, on the sidelines, their direction seemingly aimless in comparison, I see a woman, naked and wrapped in a grimy wool blanket, and a man, alone, his trousers too long, dirty, ripped at the bottom where they catch under his sandals, his hair thick with dirt from days and nights on the street. They seem to blend into the grime of the street itself, part of the architecture, almost invisible as they move in the shadows between the hustle and bustle of business-as-usual. A man holds out a pamphlet to me insistently. 'Hear the word of god, we want to save you!' his eyes gleaming. I shake my head and walk past, and as I wait at the traffic lights among suited office-workers, the naked blanketed woman streaks barefoot across the road in front of the oncoming traffic. Another woman, wearing clothes that she has evidently not chosen because they are very much too big for her, holds out*

her hand and asks a man for some coins. The sound of an organ floats out of the cathedral behind me, and the flashing lights of another police van parked on the corner flicker across the crowd as a group of armed police sit and stand about the van, invigilating. There is a familiar tension in the night air.

I cross the street, a man pulls a broken fridge and some cardboard boxes in a cart through the oncoming people, shouting and talking to the general night air, his dirty dog following faithfully behind him. A little further on a ragged, sweating, unkempt man preaches to the deaf ears of passers-by, bible in hands. 'I was imprisoned, I was interned, nobody came to visit me. This is what Jesus suffered.' Crossing the square I weave between groups of teenagers playing and joking, lawyers in sharp suits smoking cigarettes and talking on mobile phones, and mothers sitting on the pavement with their toddlers on their laps and their belongings in bin-liners on the cobbles next to them. A small boy runs across my path with a shoe-shine stool on his back, looking back to his friend who shouts down at him from his perch high atop a rubbish lorry. Past another police car, I stop by a man on his hands and knees in the road searching fervently for something. A hot sweet smell fills the air as I run across the street past a young man selling steamed corn on the corner, and a woman selling socks on the wall. As I begin the decent into the Baixada I pass a sign reading 'security area'. High walls and barbed wire. I pass security men, people in suits and dodge a bullet-proof car as it leaves the law courts. I see a young man leaning on a lamp post in an empty side street, his back to the main road, looking nervously over his shoulder to make sure nobody sees the joint he is smoking. A tired looking mother holds her two young children's hands as they cross the road. A man across the street sits on a pile of black bin-liners on the pavement. A tall man leans out of a gap between two buildings and tells me that Jesus loves me, and a young woman walks past and jokes with him, crying 'Jesus loves you!' and they laugh. In a dark doorway, a middle-aged woman lies on her side, wrapped in a blanket, her things in a tattered shopping bag at her feet. She stares expressionless out at the street. She looks sad and terribly lonely.

In the middle of the road, the Brazilian flag has been painted across the tarmac, reading 'order and progress', and further down a huge white Nike football is branded into the asphalt. I pass many men and try not to look at their faces. A teacher told me that if the gang members know you recognise them, and you happen to see them assaulting somebody in the street one day, they will be obliged to kill you. I pace on down the hill, past a group of young men in the shadows, the smell of marijuana rising from their midst. A young woman is leaning on the wall, tears streaming down her face and a joint smoking in her hand. A man kisses her on the forehead as she clutches at her stomach and cries 'how did he end up here?' A tiny girl grasps at the woman's leg, looking up at her mother, temporarily forgotten. One of the students that I know from the project runs up the opposite side of the street, shouting 'Hi Beth!' I wave back and smile, not wanting to open my mouth and advertise my foreign accent in the street. A girl of no more than ten shuffles up the middle of the street, alone, with a fed-up look on her face, dragging her school case unenthusiastically behind her,

intentionally letting it bash into cars and against the pavement as she passes.

I look up and see a man in front of me, wandering dazedly into the street. The back of his scalp is almost completely cut off, and the huge centre of the wound oozes red and damp, as he rubs it with his dirty hand. A man walks smiling past him, coming out of the gym where loud music blasts onto the street. Mothers sit in doorways while their toddlers potter about the pavement. A young boy rides his battered bike in the middle of the crossroads, nearly getting hit as a car rumbles by him. As I turn the corner I come up almost face-to-face with the leader of the local organized assault gang standing outside the bar. I recognize him already and smile tightly, walking past. Suddenly eight or so young men come running down the street, agitated, and my heart skips a beat as I am quickly put on alert. I pause and wait to see if anything precarious is about to happen. It seems not, and I dodge a flying plastic bottle that one of them kicks in my direction as he rounds the corner. I notice that the streets are particularly dirty, and particularly dark. I skip over an open manhole cover, and finally arrive at the high metal gates of the school, which seems to sit in its own pool of shadow at the bottom of the hill, surrounded on all sides by high, deteriorating buildings. I nod my head and wish 'good evening' to the five armed police officers by the gate, the blue flashing lights of their car gracing my skin as I wait for the doorman to let me in.

As this excerpt illustrates, markers of social inequality, precarity and deprivation are clearly visible in the neighbourhood. Known colloquially as the 'Baixada' (meaning lowland), it lies in the centre of São Paulo, but in an area of extreme degradation. Representative of the city's extreme socio-spatial segregation, it is just streets away from the legal district and main cultural centres. However, as Souza (2010) writes, the Baixada 'is basically inhabited by families of migrants, northeasterners principally, who live in tenements or in buildings invaded by "Sem Tetos"[44], known as 'vertical favelas', and by street dwellers who live in hostels' (P. 12). The Baixada has one of the highest densities of tenement housing in the city, and in 2008, 42% of students at DCX School resided in tenements (Kohara, 2009).

Many of the Baixada's inhabitants survive on informal labour, especially ambulant commerce (the touting of wares from easily portable, makeshift 'pop-up' stalls which can be quickly folded away and concealed if a police presence is noted), and by collecting

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[44] The Movimento Sem Teto (roofless movement) aims to tackle Brazil's housing deficit by occupying empty buildings as group squats. When housed in high rise apartment blocks the occupations are often called 'vertical favelas', due to the poverty of their inhabitants and their illegal nature.

recyclable materials which are exchanged for small change at recycling centres, or for food and clothing at the local homelessness association. The illicit trades of drugs and prostitution are also present. The Baixada is a key place of arrival for economic migrants and refugees, and is also the territory of homeless children and adolescents who populate the squares near the school. Aside from the School, the Police, some NGOs and the 'São Paulo is a School' programme who provide a few socio-educational activities, public services are notably absent and the culture that prevails is that of the evangelical churches, drug trafficking, and the prostitution of minors at the school gate (Souza, 2010 P. 22).

The main issues faced by the Baixada's residents are related to housing, employment, crime, violence, and a poor quality urban environment with lack of access to the usual benefits of city living. The Baixada was originally established as a residential area, but of low value due to flooding from the nearby river. In the early 20th century residents were evicted to make way for industry, but the area was later repopulated by Japanese and Italian immigrants who came seeking employment in the expanding industries. In the 1950's, large high rise housing blocks were constructed containing small kitchenettes, then in the 1970's a highway system was installed, linking the east of the city with other regions via a series of large viaducts placed right in the centre of the neighbourhood, cutting it in two and contributing to the area's degradation (Kohara, 2009).

16. Aspects of the Baixada.[45]

São Paulo's industrialisation, and later collaboration between government policymakers and property developers under the neoliberal regime, have both contributed greatly to the Baixada's degraded state. The influx of migrant and immigrant workers in the late 19th century that followed the abolition of slavery, created a housing problem. In response to the demand for cheap accommodation in the area that is now the Baixada, large country properties that lay on the peripheries of the growing city were divided into plots for constructing cheap housing that could be rented to industrial workers. The property owners' main aim was to extract income from their land, and houses were built on the lowest lying and least valued land in the river valley, which happened to be in the vicinity of the textile and cigarette factories where many came for work. Inadequate legislation coupled with high demand for rental accommodation resulted in a lack of control over building standards, and the houses were constructed without adequate sewerage or protection from flood waters. Bonduki (1998) describes conditions in these houses:

Individuals who live in misery and are housed in pairs, in dark cubicles and

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[45] Image by Kohara, 2009. Reproduced with permission.

breathing foul-smelling gases that exude from their own unclean bodies, have lost at once the principles of morality and throw themselves blindly at crime and robbery to either lose their freedom or gain in this way means to eat or to sleep better' (Cited in Canton, 2007: 23)*.*

Of course, discussion of 'principles of morality' and people 'blindly throwing themselves at crime' reflects questionable assumptions grounded in the prevailing hygienist attitudes of the time. However, this description offers valuable insight into living conditions in the early days of the Baixada. Legislation was later introduced to protect tenants' rights and, driven by the hygienist movement, laws were introduced to regulate the conditions of hygiene, sanitation and maintenance of the buildings. This included a drive to constrain the spread of tenements in the city centre by demolishing them and moving low-cost housing to the urban peripheries. However, these laws were rarely upheld in practice. As Canton explains:

At the end of the 19th century, the gap between the legal standards and the construction of popular housing, undertaken almost always by individuals who sought to obtain revenues from them through rental charges, began to widen. The constructions had to be achieved as cheaply as possible, an intrinsic requirement in this business because the pay levels of workers could not permit high rental charges. The tenements and collective houses were, therefore, essential for the reproduction of the workforce at low cost and, as such, couldn't be restrained and demolished on the scale expected by the laws of the hygienists. This conflict between legislation and reality, which has never disappeared, stemmed from the inevitable necessity for habitation in the process of the exploitation of the work force and has permeated the production of popular housing in São Paulo (Canton, 2007: 24)*.*

Since the shift from ISI to neoliberalism, the Baixada has become dominated by small business and trade in specialist products rather than large industry. However, many of the original tenement houses still remain, in a state of deterioration, alongside the now crumbling 1950's high rise apartment blocks. While infrastructure such as asphalt streets and drainage has been installed, due to poor maintenance it is common to see open drain covers, streets piled with waste, and flooding which at times leaves students and teachers trapped within the school building. Despite São Paulo's rapid economic development over the past century, the tenements still maintain most of their 19th century characteristics (Kohara, 2009). The rental system remains, and following

adaptation from single to multi-family living spaces, they are now densely over populated by families on very low incomes, with an average of between two and four families (10.73 people[46]) occupying each living space designed for single-family occupation (Canton, 2007).

The Baixada tenements are largely occupied by those who cannot access formal employment, and as such are excluded from the formal (regulated) rental market. In exchange for living in the city centre where it is easier to access to the informal labour market, tenants are exploited by landlords who know their tenants cannot access formal tenancies, and therefore get away with charging exorbitant prices for rooms in terrible condition. This degree of marginalisation and exploitation (exacerbated by neoliberal economic policy) results in an extremely high level of precarity for tenants and their children, with tenement fires and unregulated evictions commonly leading to homelessness.

Kohara (2009) tracked the housing situation of 27 fifth year students (approximately the same number and demographic that took part in my research) across one year, and found that almost 50% moved address within this period. The reasons for six of these moves were unknown. Five moves involved either repossession, eviction, or fire/safety hazards in the tenement. One child from this group became street homeless and passed away. Kohara (ibid) also found that 42% of 65 students that he assessed, shared tenement accommodation with between two and ninety-nine other families, and a number of these students lived in just one room which was shared by their entire family for eating, sleeping, and carrying out all domestic activities.

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[46] This data is from 1997. According to Canton (2007) this situation worsened from 1997-2007.

17. Single room tenement accommodation.[47]

The extreme degradation and precarious living conditions of the tenements has been perpetuated by a combination of forces, including a long history of conflicting private interests. On one side, are the tenement owners who want to maintain the tenements' existence in order to protect their ability to profit from them. On the other side, are real estate industry stakeholders who want tenement inhabitants to be expelled from the city centre, to promote the development value of the land:

> The real estate sector defends its point of view, based on the hygienist vision of tenement housing, because, according to this vision, the poor are unhygienic, are propagators of disease, possess bad customs and cause real estate devaluation (ibid: 66).

Formally, the municipal government has always attended to the interests of the real estate industry through legislation and the development of urban intervention programmes. However, it has also informally supported the interests of tenement owners by neglecting to enforce regulations that relate to living conditions and the rights of tenants. In both instances, political power and profit are help up to be of primary

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[47] Image by Kohara, 2009. Reproduced with permission.

importance, while other dimensions such as the rights and wellbeing of tenants are neglected.

The Baixada's degradation has been further exacerbated by the introduction of legislation by heritage institutions to 'protect' the historic tenement buildings by (contradictorily) restricting investment in their maintenance. This 'Freezing' of investment has also been connected to the political and economic agendas behind a government initiative called Operação Urbana Centro [Operation Urban Centre] (OUC) which (as in Sao Paulo's earlier days) aims at 'revitalising and redeveloping the city centre' to model the cosmopolitan urban centres of major European cities. The initiative designates 'reserved territories' within the city centre, which 'are characterised as deteriorated spaces, maintained in waiting for investment, stimulating real estate capital in its speculative process, envisioning great profits' (Canton, 2007: 46). In this way investment has been frozen in the Baixada (which has been designated a reserved territory), 'fortif[ying] the situation of degradation, whilst waiting for the most advantageous moment to invest' (Canton, 2007: 40-41). By promoting the neighbourhood's deterioration, OUC can be seen as operating according to an instrumental reason which serves the ideologically elevated dimensions of profit and everything associated with 'order and progress', while neglecting the needs and interests of the neighbourhood's current residents.

18. Tenement buildings in the Baixada housing DCX students.[48]

Another factor contributing to the marginalisation of the Baixada's residents is the participation of private organisations in the 'requalification' of the city centre. One example is the Associação Viva o Centro [Long Live the Centre Association], created in 1991 and formed by various banks, commercial companies and service providers. The group, which maintains close relationships with São Paulo's administrative bodies, advocates for the development of the city centre through increases in public security, the recuperation of abandoned/degraded areas, the elimination of informal commerce, and incentives for new construction (Canton, 2007). Aside from prohibiting informal commerce (namely street vendors) in the area, Viva o Centro and the Municipal and State governments have also introduced a mega operation to clean the areas streets of beggars and homeless people, with the support of the Military Police and the Metropolitan Civil Guard (Frúgoli, 2000).

When I frequented the area during my research, the absence of street vendors in the

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[48] Image by Kohara 2009. Reproduced with permission.

city centre was evident, but most had moved to Rua 25 de Março, a street known for its concentration of informal commerce, or to the main street leading into the school neighbourhood, securing safety in numbers in areas with reduced police efficacy. While there was a high police presence in the local area, many homeless and destitute people remained, camped on the pavements and wandering the streets under strict police surveillance.

Kohara (2009) found that the criminalisation of informal commerce was directly affecting a large proportion of DCX students, whose parents were reliant on income from such activities. Crackdowns on 25 de Março were common, during which police sweep the area, closing down commerce and arresting some vendors as 'examples'. Students' parents often lost income or got in trouble with the law in this way, which at times resulted in students going hungry or being made homeless due to missed rent payments. While the plans of Viva o Centro may not have been entirely successful, what remains clear is the predominance of official attitudes based on controlling, criminalising and evicting the poor and marginalised rather than providing appropriate support. Viva o Centro can be seen as an example of violent epistemology because it maintains the rigid ideological scheme of neo-hygienism through the type α behaviour of rejecting and suppressing particularities that challenge this scheme – namely, the poor.

Conclusion.

Returning to the concept of nested systems presented at the beginning of this chapter, we can now assess the key ways in which violent epistemology has manifest at the different levels of these systems, over time, to foster the non-conducive social circumstances of the Baixada neighbourhood in which the DCX School and the majority of its students are situated. The two core manifestations that run throughout Brazil's history and are present at all levels from the Globosystem to the Microsystem, are:

- Economic exploitation in the name of mercantilist, capitalist, and neoliberal economic ideology which holds profit above all other dimensions of life,

motivated by the self-preserving desires of those who hold political power and wealth.

- Social and economic exclusion in the name of racist and neo-hygienist ideologies which hold whiteness, cleanliness, order and a European/North American ideal of 'progress' above diversity, social inclusion, and the wellbeing of all sectors of society.

In relation to the former, we have seen a long history of economic exploitation from slavery to the low pay of industrial workers and the precarious labour market of the neoliberal era. This has resulted in the suffering of generations of slaves and their descendants; impoverishment in Northeast and rural Brazil when industrialisation wasn't coupled with land reform (leading to mass-migration into cities that lacked adequate infrastructure); horrendous living conditions for industrial workers; and the criminalisation and exploitation of those who cannot access formal employment in the neoliberal 'job market', through crackdowns on informal commerce and expensive, poor quality housing.

In relation to the latter, we have seen how social class (and access to opportunities) was organised by skin colour during colonial Brazil; how racist anti-vagrancy laws prevented freed slaves from accessing work in the cities; and how their descendants were excluded from industrial work as white Europeans or lighter skinned Asians were encouraged to immigrate instead. We have also seen how in modern Brazil people with darker skin (who are often descended from slaves and/or indigenous groups) continue to face police violence and repression, and how these groups face exclusion from society through neo-hygienist policies which label them as 'dirty, unsightly, and dangerous', and push them to the peripheries of cities where there is a lack of economic and educational opportunity, or into intentionally neglected neighbourhoods such as the Baixada where access to formal income is lacking, efforts to make an income informally are criminalised, and access to public services is scarce.

Influenced by the rhetoric of neoliberalism in contemporary Brazil, we see a situation in which the poor and marginalised (such as the Baixada residents) are perceived as being

responsible for their own situation. At the same time, the long history of violent epistemology (manifest in the ways outlined above) that has fostered this situation, is predominantly pushed to the margins of social and political awareness.

Chapter Six

The Impact of Ideology and Violent Epistemology in Brazilian Schooling and DCX School.

'In our culture there are some individuals who are torn apart, rendered hopeless in their very being […] because they were not allowed to grow, because their centres were uprooted and smashed by threatened, closed, and sometimes even timid liberal "good" citizens' (Kohl, 1974: 106).

Introduction.

The previous chapter illustrated how the sociohistorical context in which DCX School is located, has been shaped by violent epistemology. This chapter 'zooms in' on DCX school itself to assess how the mesosystemic relationship between this context and the school impacts on subject development, interpersonal relations, and the way in which teachers and students engage with their 'roles' within the school. However, my research also found that the above are not only affected by the non-conducive social circumstances surrounding the school, but also by violent epistemology embedded in the structures, pedagogies, ideology and behavioural expectations that accompany the education system of which the School is a part. Before delving into an analysis of my primary data, it is therefore necessary to provide a brief history of Brazil's education system, and how its development has been shaped by violent epistemology.

A Schooling System Built on Violence.

A broad selection of literature discusses Brazil's 'long history of failure' when it comes to education, usually measured by matriculation rates and test scores in comparison to European and other BRICS countries (Cf. Marcílio, 2001; Kinzo and Dunkerley, 2003; World Bank, 2003, 2004; Schwartzman 2004; Luna and Klein, 2006; Bruns et al, 2012).

While these analyses cite some important contributing factors such as lack of investment and political complexities, seldom do they contextualise the perceived failures within Brazil's colonial past and postcolonial/neoliberal present. None of these studies consider the role of such things as violent epistemology, nor the violent epistemic aspects of their own frame of reference which tends to be Eurocentric and rooted in the concept of Human Capital. Rather than repeating these analyses, I will explore the ways in which Brazil's schooling system has been built on and shaped by violent epistemology, demonstrating how such an analysis can provide a deeper understanding of the root causes of the problems experienced in Brazilian schools.

Collectivised ideology, with its violent epistemic structure and logic of instrumental reason, have shaped Brazilian schooling since the colonial era. For the first 250 years of colonisation the only formal education was that implanted by the Jesuits. The Jesuits brought European morals, customs and religiosity, and a European model of education and pedagogy, overriding the indigenous populations' own educational practices (Rauber, 2008). As Arrais do Nascimento et al. (2012) write:

> The model [of education] implanted by the Jesuits [...] was to be an instrument of domination for the Metropolis [Lisbon]. In this interim education assumed the role of colonising agent [...] configuring itself in a process of acculturation in which the natives had their culture and education depreciated (P. 4891).

Jesuit schooling can be seen as shaped by violent epistemology in two ways: The adoption and universalisation of a rigid schema in which the teachings of Jesus were held above all other dimensions of life, and adherence to the economic ideology of the time which the schools served by instilling a 'work ethic'. By isolating and universalising European profit and religion, other dimensions of life were pushed to the margins of awareness, such as the pre-existing autonomy, ways of life, beliefs and forms of education held by the indigenous populations. This negation can be seen as enabling the Jesuits to justify according to their own violent epistemic schema, the exploitation of these populations in the service of the prevailing European ideologies.

Despite its messianic ambitions, Jesuit schooling was only available to a small minority of the population, and it came to an end by the mid-18th century when the Jesuits were

expelled from Portugal and Brazil in efforts to conform to the European enlightenment. In Brazil much of the catholic education was dismantled, and was not replaced by any other coordinated education provision for the time being (Schwartzman, 2004).

Until the late 19th century, public schools were virtually non-existent. The plantation economy was fuelled by slave labour, and since slaves were already fulfilling their economic purpose no other reason to provide education was considered. What formal education there was lacked coherence and resources (Marcílio, 2001). Lack of education provision in the absence of economic need for it, illustrates how dimensions of life (such as learning for personal interest and development) that do not serve the dimension that has been held up above all others in the prevalent ideology (in this period, profit from mercantile enterprise which was not dependent on an educated workforce), tend to be pushed to the margins of awareness and neglected.

Only at the beginning of the 19th century, with the arrival of the Portuguese court followed by independence, were attempts made to bring education provision in line with the developments of European nation-states. Education began again to be thought of as instrumental in progressing the ideological endeavours of the elite. Now that Brazil was its own nation, its sole purpose no longer to provide profits for the Portuguese State, Brazilian elites began striving to develop a national identity and prestige. Aspiring to the growing European trends towards rationalism, 'modernity', and bourgeois 'civilisation' (essentially enlightenment), for which education was seen to be instrumental, the first higher education institutions and public secondary school were built. Elementary education was still sparse however, and no national system existed (Arrais do Nascimento et al, 2012).

Due to a lack of good quality public education, the number of private schools increased exponentially during this period in order to meet the demands of the influx of wealthier classes arriving from Portugal:

> The scenario […] at the end of the imperial period, was one of an education divided between public schools of poor quality, and private schools that detained the best teachers and exclusively served the dominant classes (ibid: 4895).

Although great changes were implemented during this period, all of the measures to improve education were taken with the objective of forming a Brazilian ruling class, and in this way served only the elites (Ramos, 2011).

Despite the growing number of private schools, by the 1890's the concept of a public education *system* began to take root, in line with European enlightenment ideals. In São Paulo, previously disjointed teaching units were brought together into 'school groups' and began to organise students according to age and proficiency - the beginning of the sequential, multi-serial style education that is central to Brazilian public schooling today (Souza, 1998). Unlike today however, these schools were housed in bespoke buildings constructed according to the most advanced architecture of the time (Schwartzman, 2014). This coincided with the population expansion that accompanied immigration, as well as the elite's desires for an education system that mimicked those of modern European nation states and could incorporate the diverse population into a coherent and integrated 'nation' (Schwartzman, 2003). At this time, the ultimate 19th century education model of graded schools built as 'veritable temples of knowledge', was introduced first in São Paulo, then in the rest of Brazil:

> Presented as the way in which the republicans could break free from the imperial past, the graded schools looked forward, projected a future in which, under the Republic, the people, reconciled with the nation, would beget an orderly and progressive country (Faria Filho and Vidal, 2007: 589).

With the aim of 'civilising the nation' in the aftermath of slavery (ibid) for the first time the elites placed significant value and hope in education (Marcílio, 2001) and a hegemonic schooling model was established, its characteristics described thus:

> The materials of intuitive teaching, the desks affixed to the floor, the central position of the teacher, all seemed to indicate predefined places for pupils and teachers in the classroom. [...] The rigid division of the sexes, the precise definition of individual places inside the classroom, and the control of body movements during class breaks gave shape to a dispositional and motor economy that distinguished the school pupil from the one not attending school.
>
> On the other hand, contact with the monumental architecture, the wide corridors, the tall ceilings, the grand dimensions of windows and doors, the

rationalization and cleanliness of spaces, and the way the school building stuck out among the other city buildings were designed to impress upon the students the appreciation for rational and scientific education, valuing a cultural and aesthetic symbolism constituted by the lights of the republic (Faria Filho and Vidal, 2007: 589).

19. Late 19th century public school classroom in São Paulo.[49]

The influence of Auguste Comte's positivist ideas in Brazil at this time, resulted in Education policy dominated by rationalism and efficiency, and scientific tendencies in teaching. Along with the rigid control of space and movement in these new 'enlightenment' schools, came the rigid control of time and activity within time, which fitted into the early industrial capitalist relations that were being established at the time (Faria Filho and Vidal, 2007). This period marked the beginnings of a Brazilian education system grounded in the instrumental reason of two interconnected spheres of ideology: a nationalism based in European positivist enlightenment rationality; and the economic ideology of industrial capitalism.

In the service of these schema certain particularities were held up above all others: whiteness, hygiene, order, scientific rationality, urbanism, cultural homogeneity, and

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[49] Governo do Estado de São Paulo, 2015b.

profit from industry. Aspects that did not fit this vision were marginalised, such as the pre-existing religious, cultural and linguistic practices of the indigenous and majority black population as well as the physical, emotional, and psychological needs and interests of a diverse student population. As in other parts of the industrial world, by employing education in the service of the elevated dimension of profit, schools became institutions for preparing workers for industrial labour. The use of highly structured routines, control of physical movement, surveillance and lack of space for students' personal interests and experience in the learning process was typical of 19th century schooling, and illustrates how students were reduced to objects for exploitation, their subjectivity largely negated (Clovis de Azevedo, 2007; Schwartzman, 2004).

While the concept of public education had become popular and efforts were made to extend public elementary schooling to the children of workers, the poor, immigrants and ex-slaves, administration of the school system was decentralised and its development lacked coherence throughout Brazil. Only the wealthiest regions managed to significantly strengthen their schooling provision and it remained that only a minority of the population had access to schooling. In 1900 only 25% of children attended public primary education in the capital city of Rio de Janeiro and the same proportion of the population at most were literate (Schwartzman, 2004).

The period of 1930-1945 was marked by the political dictatorship of Getulio Vargas. The beginning of the Vargas Era coincided with the start of Import Substituting Industrialisation and concurrent increase in demand for specialist labour hands, for which it was necessary to invest in education (Arrais do Nascimento et al., 2012). Education became even more of a national priority and with a move towards political centralisation a Ministry of Education and Culture was established for the first time. Article 149 of the 1934 constitution set out ideals for education, stating that education was the right of all, the responsibility of the family and the state, and had the purpose of producing 'effective agents for the moral and economic life of the nation' (ibid). This statement of purpose illustrates the continued development of education in the service of 'civilising' and economic ideologies.

The 1934 constitution also stated that education should promote 'human solidarity' (ibid), but in practice this meant the enforced fostering of cultural hegemony and patriotism rather than acknowledgement of and respect for the diversity and particularity that existed within the population at this time. Various social groups protested by calling for education reform, from Marxists to Pragmatists, to Authoritarian Fascists and Ultra montane Catholics. However, in the end bureaucratic and administrative trends, fused with the conservative nationalist values of the Vargas regime prevailed. The National Institute for Pedagogic Studies (INEP) was created with the aim of making education more technical and scientific, and there were concerted efforts to infuse students with patriotic ideals through the teaching of national and patriotic hymns. Immigrants' schools were also closed, and those who taught immigrant children in their mother tongue were prosecuted (Schwartzmann, 2003).

During this era a distaste for the lavish architecture of the neo-colonial school buildings also began to develop, largely because they were expensive and signified for many the restriction of education to the elite. This criticism, along with the movement to universalise and popularise education paved the way for the construction of simple, inexpensive school buildings that refused the colonial style. The buildings could be huge, but were designed to be functional and rational (Faria Filho and Vidal, 2007).

20. School building in São Paulo, late 1930s.[50]

21. School building in São Paulo, late 1930s.[51]

While this shift from one ideological schema (neo-colonialism) to another (industrial modernism) may have been considered progress, it did not necessarily represent a move toward less violent epistemology. In the schooling of the Vargas era, the 'rational' dimension (with its rejection of anything 'soft' or 'subjective' such as emotions, along

[50] Governo do Estado de São Paulo, 2015a.
[51] Governo do Estado de São Paulo, 2015a.

with its subjugation of body to mind) and the economic dimension (with its rejection of all that does not seem to serve it), persisted as isolated, elevated and universalised particularities in the service of which not only school architecture but also core aspects of school activities (pedagogy, timetables, movement) were employed. In the cold, hard, concrete architecture (which Brazil's public schools retain to this day), students and teachers perceived as objects of education for the purposes of forwarding the 'moral' and economic agenda of the nation's elites, were overlooked as diverse subjects. Questions such as whether the school space was comfortable or suitable to inspire learning, and whether the model of education promoted satisfied teachers' and students' particular needs and interests, were left aside.

While efforts were increased during the Vargas era to create a universal public school system, at the end of the 1940's less than 50% of school age children were enrolled in school, and only 13% of schools were government owned (Faria Filho and Vidal, 2007). Between around 1950 and the late 1980's the state struggled to expand public education provision to meet the pace of economic and urban growth. However, public education was still considered to be of poor quality and the private education sector continued to expand, catering to both the elites and the lower middle-classes. During this period schooling continued to be seen as an instrument for furthering both modernisation and the political ideologies of authoritarian regimes. Continuing trends from the Vargas era, schools were perceived more and more as places to teach basic skills quickly, cheaply, and to as many people as possible.

> The growing simplicity and economy of school construction […] in the 1950's and 1960's […] pointed to changes in conceptions about school spaces and, therefore, about the place of the school in the Brazilian social environment. [T]he struggle for the democratisation[52] of schooling made itself felt in the functionalist buildings, technically designed for a quick and efficient education (Faria Filho and Vidal, 2007: 596).

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[52]   In Brazil the term 'democratisation of schooling' refers to universal school matriculation, not to any form of democratic governance.

22. School building in São Paulo, 1961.[53]

In 1964 Brazil faced a military coup which resulted in another 21 years of dictatorship. Supported by the US government, the regime carried out a series of educational reforms, whilst instilling strict mechanisms to repress dissent through the imposition of a series of 'Institutional Acts'. These took away rights to free expression, to collective manifestation and protest, and sanctioned punitive acts including the blacklisting of 'subversives', interrogation, and political imprisonment. Most significant for education was Institutional Act No. 5 (AI-5), promulgated simultaneously with Decree No. 477. AI-5 gave powers to the president to close congress, revoke mandates, and suspend political rights. By enabling the president to act as sole executive and legislative authority, AI-5 stripped citizens of 'all individual guarantees [of rights], whether public or private' (Romanelli, 1978: 226).

Decree 477 extended governmental repression throughout the education system, and significantly restricted the rights of students, educational workers and teachers. The first article defined 'infractions' by teachers, students and school workers that would justify disciplinary action. These included incitement to strike; attacks on people, goods and buildings; and acts destined towards the organisation of subversive movements or the sequestering and use of school establishments for 'subversive ends'. These infractions,

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by decree, would be punished in the following ways: If the individual was a member of the teaching body or an employee of an educational establishment, they would be dismissed and prohibited from being reappointed for 5 years. If a student, they would be excluded and prohibited from re-registering at any educational establishment for three years. If the individual received any government support (such as scholarships) they would lose this, and be ineligible for government support for three years (Piletti, 1990).

To enforce these acts a Department for Political and Social Order (DOPS) was created, and it kept 'blacklists' of teachers and students who were taken to be subversives. Excessive state and military violence was often used to repress dissent, whether real or imagined (Dockhorn, 2002).

> In virtue of this policy and of the laws installed to its benefit, many musicians, teachers, artists, writers and students were persecuted, imprisoned, tortured and exiled. Naturally we can comprehend, therefore, that at this level [of repression] people lived their own private form of censorship, or what we can call 'self-censorship'. […] Most of the population that lived through this time came to know specific forms of pain and silence that, in the context of the regime, had a connotation of coercion and fear (Rosa, 2006: 37-41).

The dictatorship affected not only the freedoms of students and educators, but also the style and content of education itself. At the end of the 1960's the military government solidified agreements between the Brazilian Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), which included reforms to Brazil's education system. These possessed characteristics which, according to Rosa (2006) had to be authoritarian, domesticating and technicistic in order to serve transnational capital. Brazilian minister Roberto Campos believed that education at the time was disconnected from the labour market and not demanding enough of students, which he argued was leaving 'vacuums of leisure' that students were filling with 'political adventures' (Ghiraldelli, 2000: 169). In line with this view, the USAID-MEC reforms aimed to depoliticise students and train them for the labour market.

Philosophy and political education was replaced in the curriculum with 'moral and civic

education' and teaching hours for history were decreased, to reduce the chances of students becoming politicised in opposition to the state. Promoted by American policy technicians, technocratic approaches were expanded, based in concepts of scientific neutrality, rationality, efficiency, and productivity (Ghiraldelli, 2000). This was largely in the service of the developmentalist project to accelerate Brazil's socio-economic growth, in which education was seen to be important for the preparation of adequate human resources (Veiga, 1989).

This economistic model of education came with efficiency aims embodied in a greater division of labour between those who plan and those who execute those plans on the ground. The discouragement of critical thinking and dialogue fostered by the restriction of humanities subjects, coupled with technicistic approaches, resulted in an education restricted to professional training for working class children and the promotion of 'exact science' as the only valid knowledge (Pellanda, 1986). These reforms transformed educators into technicians supervised by other technicians via technical and objective instructions, reinforced the separation of theory from practice in curricular content, and reduced students to instruments expected only to fulfil instructional objectives (Ghiraldelli, 2000) aimed at meeting the needs of the growing economy (Aranha, 1996). This resulted in a continued perception of public schools as 'second class' educational establishments: while , in 1971 mandatory education was increased from four to eight years in continued efforts to keep up with international trends, grade repetition and dropout rates remained high for reasons ranging from problems of access to lack of relevance to learners' interests and needs.

Violent epistemology can be seen to have shaped education during this period in a number of ways. The isolation of the economic dimension pervaded schooling even further through the technicistic and efficiency aims of the USAID-MEC reforms. Through this process, dimensions of the curriculum which did not serve or which threatened the stability of the developmentalist agenda (such as the humanities and their inherent historical and political aspects) were excluded, while dimensions of student and teacher subjectivity which did not serve the economic agenda were also neglected. The continued aspiration to model European and North American nation states perceived as

'developed' and 'civilised', continued through the collaboration with USAID, and with this came the perpetuation of the universalisation of a particular ideal of 'progress' which neglected the wishes and needs of a diverse and heterogeneous population. Finally, in a powerful illustration of type α behaviour, all subversion and dissent, whether real or imagined, was actively and consciously suppressed through acts of law, coercion, and physical violence.

In 1985 the military dictatorship ended and Brazil began its transition to democracy, paving the way for neoliberal economic reforms. In 1988 a new constitution was drawn up, in which free education was once again enshrined as a right of every person, then in 1996 a new Law of Directives and Foundations for National Education (Piletti, 1999)[54] was approved by the neoliberal administration of President Ferndando Henrique Cardoso, in line with the global movement for Education for All and IMF structural adjustment programmes. LDB 1996 included directives to increase investment of federal and municipal resources in education, increase levels of training for teachers, and universalise matriculation in school whilst assuring access and attendance for all students at the 'correct' age. From the 1990's onwards the scope of education changed rapidly, and Access to basic education became near-universal (Schwartzman, 2004).

In line with previous decades, the LDB 1996 attributed great importance to techno-scientific education and capacitation for the world of work. Citizenship was connected to the accumulation of basic skills and competencies that would enable students to continually reform their knowledge in a world of constant technological change (Leodoro, 2001; Clovis de Azevedo, 2007). This type of education reflected what Postman (1992) called the 'technocrat's ideal – a person with no commitment and no point of view, but with plenty of marketable skills' (P. 186). Leodoro (2001) accuses this approach of fostering an education in which students feel unstimulated and do not comprehend the value of pursuing understanding in relation to history and human existence.

While the directive for universal matriculation spurred a rapid expansion of provision, Brazil's long history of low investment in education and teacher training meant that a

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[54]   Law no. 9 394, 20/12/1996.

strong, valued teaching profession and the necessary infrastructure to cope with such expansion did not exist. Lack of resources and teacher training led to overcrowded schools, poor quality teaching with great inconsistencies in classroom practice, and high numbers of students being held back to repeat years of schooling and leaving education illiterate or only semi-literate (Crespo et al., 2001). This rapid expansion was problematic both for schools and for the poorest students. While the percentage of adolescents not in school dropped significantly, public schools were not prepared to meet the needs of rapidly increasing numbers of adolescent students from poor backgrounds who had not previously engaged consistently with education (Marcílio, 2005). Racial inequalities also persisted, with the white population having attended on average 5.75 years of schooling in 2001, whereas the non-white population averaged 4.04 years. Years of schooling were also found to correlate with income - the average income of white Brazilians was twice that of non-whites in the same year (IBGE, 2001).

Throughout the 2000's, President Lula introduced the Bolsa Escola and Bolsa Familia programmes which helped Brazil achieve near-universal matriculation by providing cash incentives to families who enrolled their children in school. The numbers of students being held back to repeat grades also reduced significantly with the introduction of automatic grade promotion regardless of learning outcomes. In 2010 compulsory elementary education was also expanded from eight to nine years in duration (Koppensteiner, 2011), and plans to increase the length of the school day from a half to a full day were also made. This further expansion means that aside from more young people than ever attending school, they are now also expected by law to spend more time (both in years and on a daily basis) within the school environment, putting an even greater strain on teachers and resources.

This situation has continued to feed the division between public and private schooling, and between public schools in poorer and wealthier areas. For reasons such as geographical inequalities in resource allocation and more qualified/experienced teachers being less inclined to work in more challenging schools, the quality of public schooling in poor states, municipalities and neighbourhoods tends to be lower than in wealthier areas (Schwartzman, 2004). Due to the poor quality of public schooling, middle

and upper class families continue to send their children to private schools, which tend to prepare students better for admission to the free and prestigious public universities. Students from public schools are less prepared to access public universities and must find the means to pay for private, lower quality university courses – something not possible for many. This inequity of access to quality education impacts disproportionately on students from low income families.

Until LDB 1996, public school teachers were only required to hold a secondary school qualification. The majority were therefore poorly qualified and knew little of pedagogy or philosophy of education. Now all teachers of infant and the first four years of basic education must obtain a degree in a school of education or pedagogy, and teachers in the second half of basic education must obtain a degree in a specialist subject, but not necessarily be trained in pedagogy and philosophy of education (Koppensteiner, 2011). The implementation of these requirements has been slow; in 2004 just 25% of teachers had obtained degrees, most of which were of questionable quality granted through distance learning or evening programmes, by providers which had sprung up to profit from the increase in demand. The fact that teachers in the second half of basic education are not required to have any training in pedagogy means that they may be knowledgeable in their subject but unprepared for teaching and classroom management. The failure to develop a quality system of teacher education, coupled with low pay and lack of resources, has resulted in high levels of discontent amongst teachers, who often feel devalued, alienated and dejected (Schwartzman, 2014: 24).

During the neoliberal era, the perpetuation of violent epistemology in schooling can be identified in a number of ways. As the economic dimension has been held above all other dimensions of life, the continued promotion of a technocratic and market-based approach to curricula and teaching (the result of continued efforts to join the neoliberal western world in its perceived state of modernity) with its focus on educating students for the needs of a rapidly changing labour market, has meant that dimensions of learning which do not serve the instrumental aims of developing 'basic skills and competencies', as well as the needs, desires, interests and autonomy of students, have been pushed to the margins and suppressed. As Clovis de Azevedo (2007) states, in neoliberal schooling

'the world of desires, of feelings, of social and biological needs, has been conditioned and contaminated by the economic dimension' (P. 94).

The adoption of neoliberal ideology continued the trend of transplanting education systems from 'advanced' countries, with the aim of overcoming the 'chaotic' situation in Brazil (Marcílio, 2005). In this way, legal reforms have been used as a magic wand, seen as able to create change on their own (Clovis de Azevedo, 2007). However, this has illustrated the epistemic problems of severing the general from the particular. By importing general policy schema from other contexts without paying attention to the particularities of the Brazilian context, various problems have arisen resulting in a general sense of alienation and disaffection amongst teachers, and an atmosphere of chaos in schools as staff and students struggle to cope with demands whilst dealing with inadequate training and resources (ibid).

One of the most insidious ways in which the violent epistemology of the neoliberal era has acted in education, has been the placing of most of the responsibility back onto students and teachers. This era has brought an increase in flexible contracting (Americano, 2011), temporary employment, underemployment and autonomous/informal labour, creating high levels of precarity for individuals and families; increases in structural unemployment; and an aggravation of social problems (Amman and Baer, 2002). Rather than acknowledging these particularities as products of its own system (doing so would threaten the stability of the overarching schema), as discussed previously neoliberal ideology works to negate the socioeconomic context and instead promote the discourse that the individual can resolve their own problems and is solely responsible for doing so (ibid). Individuals who are unable to 'succeed' in school and in the labour market are therefore posited as deficient, lazy, etc. (Clovis de Azevedo, 2007).

This discourse, which focuses on the initiative and disposition of the individual to face up to free competition and make the most of the opportunities offered by the market (in which individual success will be reserved for the 'most apt' - those who try hard and are able to permanently renew their skills) has, according to Clovis de Azevedo (2007),

invaded the field of education. Imported policies formulated by international agencies such as the World Bank recognise that large proportions of the population in developing countries such as Brazil cannot afford to purchase education on the free market, and have therefore included directives for the provision of free, 'basic' education to meet the needs of students from low income families (ibid). However this has perpetuated the division between those who have access to 'basic services' and those who are able to 'obtain more ample services, of better quality, via the market' (Coraggio, 1997: 16).

While neoliberal rhetoric purports that the provision of public 'basic' education creates a level playing field, this can be seen as a violent epistemic generalisation because it severs the individual from their socioeconomic background, from the real opportunities available to them, and from their particular ability (or inability) to access and engage with these opportunities. Individuals who do not 'succeed' in school are seen as not trying hard enough, while the variety of particular factors that often make engagement in schooling difficult (poor quality teaching, lack of resources, inadequate housing, poor nutrition, lack of parental support, unstimulating curriculum, psychological and emotional difficulties, etc.) are ignored. As neoliberal economic ideology is collectively affirmed to such an extent that the subject is reduced to an instrument of the economy rather than an autonomous individual with particular interests, desires and needs, and as the rhetoric of individual responsibility for succeeding in the prescribed role of economic instrument is fostered within both schools and society, those who choose not to or are unable to participate as expected, are labelled as 'marginals' and both literally and figuratively pushed to the margins. As Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) write:

> Tyranny leaves the body free and directs its attack at the soul. The ruler no longer says: You must think as I do or die. He says: You are free not to think as I do; your life, your property, everything shall remain yours, but from this day on you are a stranger among us (P. 125).

In this way, students who are unable to or do not wish to conform and participate in schooling as expected, are often subject to stigmatisation and social exclusion.

While the ideologies outlined thus far have predominated in Brazilian education throughout its history, this has not occurred without resistance. In the 1920's the ideas

of the 'Escola Nova' movement, based on equality, reflexive freedom and student autonomy, began to emerge. Although they were suppressed by the authoritarian nationalism of the Vargas Era, some of the Escola Nova ideas are still popular with educators. Paulo Freire was considered a subversive in his time and forced to live in exile during the dictatorship of 1964-1985. However, his ideas of educating for critical consciousness and using participatory and anti-authoritarian pedagogical methods, are now considered favourably by many Brazilian educators. These more progressive, libertarian ideas have shaped a number of projects and initiatives within Brazil's education system over the last few decades, some of which have been initiated by local government. The Educommunication project is one example, and a small number of public schools in São Paulo operate, with the permission of the municipal secretariat, according to more participatory and democratic principles by allowing students to participate in planning their own timetable and curriculum.

However, while these more progressive ideas and practices exist, the overarching atmosphere in public schooling is one in which a continual process of reforms, coupled with difficulties for teachers and schools in translating reforms coherently into practice, has resulted not in a coherent singular approach but rather a combination of approaches inherited from the past, in which authoritarian and technicistic practices prevail (Garcia, 1995). The ideals and initiatives of more progressive teachers have largely been neutralised by the conservative structure of the traditional school. As Clovis de Azevedo (2007) explains:

> The [traditional] school institution […] is not capable of absorbing progressive theories and practices of learning. The organisation of teaching is almost impermeable, there is no capillarity even for minimally coherent practice based in progressive and transformative educational thought. Progressive thought, as a rule, succumbs to the traditional school, suffers a theoretical impoverishment and doesn't result in new practices. In many cases it transforms itself into a neotechnicistic glaze, that rearticulates conservative pedagogy in 'modern' form […] It tends to transform itself into sterile pedagogism or didacticism, strengthening the social isolation of the school and its inability to respond to the real needs of its students (ibid: 246-247).

As I demonstrate in the remainder of this chapter, this was the situation in which I found

the Educommunication project and the DCX School.

The Manifestation of Violent Epistemology within DCX School: An institution that bears the brunt of non-conducive circumstances.

Situated in the centre of the Baixada neighbourhood at its lowest point, in what used to be the river bed but is now a dark street surrounded by crumbling tenements and high-rise apartment blocks, DCX School almost visibly epitomises the culmination of the impact of all the different manifestations of violent epistemology outlined thus far. It had approximately 1000 students enrolled at the time of research, and offered three shifts of schooling per day running almost back-to-back from 8am-10pm, catering for all nine years of basic education as well as a 'fast track' evening course for young people and adults who had missed out on schooling at the appropriate age. A School of Fundamental Education, DCX is part of the São Paulo Municipal Education Network which comprises a bureaucratically complex organisational structure made up of 11 core 'directorship' groups headed by the Municipal Secretary of Education.

Each directorship coordinates a different area such as 'Administration, Infrastructure and Logistics', 'Planning and Finance' or 'Information and Communication Technology', and includes up to thirteen subgroups such as the 'Division for Evaluation and Qualifications' or the 'Division for Learning Technologies'. These in turn are divided into further subgroups, such as the 'Nucleus for Educommunication' or the 'Nucleus for Assessment'. The primary Regional Directorships of Education (DRE's) group comprises 13 offices spread throughout the city, each responsible for overseeing the operations of all municipal education units within their region. There are 11 types of municipal education unit, ranging from Centres of Infant Education (CEIs), to Municipal Schools of Fundamental Education (EMEFs) like DCX, Integrated Centres for Youth and Adult Education (CIEJAs), and a variety of combinations in between (Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2016).

Surrounded by the degradation of the Baixada neighbourhood, the large concrete

building housing the DCX School is representative of the functionalist ideology that pervades contemporary Brazilian school architecture:

23. Interior of DCX School (1).

24. Interior of DCX School (2).

25. Interior of DCX School (3).

26. Interior of DCX School (4).

Aside from this almost prison-like architecture, the atmosphere in the DCX School is shaped by the impact of violent epistemology manifest in a variety of non-conducive circumstances. I will provide a detailed breakdown and analysis of these below. Due to the quantity of primary data collected, I quote only the most illustrative exerpts in this chapter. Further supporting data is presented in Appendix Two, cross-referenced here by paragraph numbers presented in brackets. Reference will also be made to the corresponding dimensions of the thesis model diagram presented in Chapter Four, presented as letters in brackets separated by arrows. For example (L→P→Q→R) refers to outcome scenario L followed by the pathway of response P→Q→R as illustrated in the

diagram, and the corresponding conceptual framework as outlined in chapters Three and Four, and summarised at the end of chapter Four.

The Impact of Non-conducive Circumstances in the Baixada (Including Family and Home Environment) on Student Subject Development and Engagement with Schooling.

Living in the non-conducive circumstances of the Baixada impacted student's subject development and engagement with schooling in a number of ways. The exclusion of families from the formal labour and rental markets had a direct impact on students, many of whom lived in cramped, over-crowded tenement accommodation or tiny high-rise apartments without space to move around. Many children's parents feared letting them out to play in the street, and kept them inside where they were often confined to sitting on the bed due to lack of space (Kohara, 2009). Restricting students' ability to self-actualise, especially in terms of the need/desire to run and play, this situation resulted in pent up energy and frustration for the younger students (particularly those in year 5 – mostly aged 10-12), who would often arrive at school agitated. The school building with its large ground-floor patio and long corridors represented for many children one of the only places that offered a space to satisfy the need to run around, play, and release this pent-up energy and frustration (1).

This caused many difficulties for teachers who struggled to manage the hyperactive, agitated and often aggressive behaviour of large numbers of students. Break times were particularly problematic as up to 350 students at a time would be released onto the patio. While this offered an opportunity for the children to 'blow off steam', levels of agitation were often so high that they would return from break with injuries and torn clothing after being caught in the ruckus or having been involved in physical conflicts with other students (3):

> *The teacher said that the little kids are fighting a lot during break. The other teacher said 'yes, the other day a little boy came to me with his head all fractured and bleeding, it was ugly, they are really hitting each other' (Observation notes, 10/06/11).*

What leaves me despairing is that they come back [from play time] injured, afflicted; today – today one came upstairs [to class] with their t-shirt ripped, because they had a fight downstairs. They were a third year. When it's not the fifth years, eh? Or the first years – the first years are fighting! During break. […] It's the fights that start downstairs [during break] and continue upstairs [in class], they're… the anxiety… my god (Teacher comment, 18/04/11).

The more timid students were fearful of break times for this reason, and could be seen hovering on the stairs, too afraid to go down to the patio (2). The pent-up energy and frustration resultant from thwarted physical self-actualisation also made it difficult for many students to engage in classroom learning. Following the traditional 19th century model of schooling, students were expected to remain in the classroom, seated and quiet, at all times other than break. Many students, especially those in year five, struggled to comply with this expectation which resulted in a difficulty engaging with the content of lessons, and also in tensions between students and the teachers who were expected to keep students calm, quiet, and in the classroom. Children would often become very agitated during lessons, and classes regularly broke into mayhem with students running around, crawling on the floor, throwing chalk and balls of paper, knocking over desks, and running out into the corridors shouting. Unable to manage the situation, teachers would often let the children go early, cutting lessons short (4-8). This level of agitation and disruption to lessons often prevented students from learning (9):

Everyone is messing around in Teacher AR's math's classes and you can't learn the lesson (Student comment, 28/06/11).

Can there really be a class so out of control as this? Because every time I pass by, whoever is teaching them, I see the whole class on their feet, causing a riot. I've only not seen that in your class [to teacher 2]. Even in MRL's class, everyone's class. When I pass by they're not doing anything. They're on their feet, taking the piss, running around, and another thing, they're not full classes! They're not full classes! Today there were what, 24 students here in my classroom. Imagine. I've already taught classes of 42 5th year students in other schools. We teach, you know, they're not full classes. And thank god! Because if they were full we really wouldn't be able to stand this school anymore. But they're not. We can't complain about overcrowding. And we can't manage, and this isn't just today, it's been like this since 2006 when I came here. It's really typical, typical of this school, this clientele, these kids that only un-learn the whole time, there are some that have only regressed since the start of the year (Teacher comment, 23/05/11).

These examples can be seen as manifestations of the outcome scenario/pathway of response M2→P→Q→R (and for some students, →S), as illustrated in the thesis model presented in Appendix 2.

Because many of the Baixada residents are excluded from the formal labour market, the area attracts those who make their living by elicit means, including the drug trade, street muggings, and organised crime. One side-effect of this is that children are often witnesses to acts of violence either between those involved in these activities, or on the part of the police entering the neighbourhood to pursue them. Such incidents are not uncommon. For example, in 2015 a young man was pursued into a tenement building on the same street as DCX School and fatally shot by police officers in front of his pregnant partner, mother and daughter (Globo, 2015). DCX students are often either direct witnesses to these incidents, know somebody involved, or hear the stories (55, 370).

> *Walking home with a teacher, we saw a fight in the street. She said it reminded her of when the police tried to kill a young man in front of the school gates last year, right when the children were arriving for class, and she had asked them to take him somewhere else. A girl student had told her later that the police had taken him somewhere else and killed him (Conversation with teacher, 27/04/11).*

Many children are also exposed to domestic violence in the tenements, and some witness violence and aggression being espoused or modelled by their parents (15):

> *There were some mothers complaining in the parents' meeting, really angry because their children had been beaten up at school. One mother wanted to beat up the boy who had hit her son, and the teacher had to try to calm her down, telling her that she couldn't do this because she will get in trouble for having hit someone else's child (Observation notes, 11/05/11).*

Another source of exposure to violence is through music, particularly some in the 'baille funk' genre which is very popular in neighbourhoods with an organised crime presence in the community:

> *I suggested that we could do some work around the rap group 'Racionais MCs' with the project students. The teacher agreed, and said that it's better than most*

of the Baille funk music that the students suggested to her, which were 'totally full' of derogatory sexual lyrics. She said even the little kids are listening to it, it's just sexual derogation and lyrics which talk about crime in a way that makes her feel sick. 'They sing about crime as if it were a thing of honour, you know? They only sing about this and branded clothing' (Conversation with teacher, 18/05/11).

If we consider the concept of phenomenological freedom then we cannot argue that students exposed to violence will automatically behave violently. However, it is possible that the emotional impact of witnessing, hearing about, and being subject to violence and aggression may have been a contributing factor in the students' agitated and aggressive behaviour, due to the impact of primary, secondary and/or vicarious traumatisation (Rothschild, 2006) (A→B→D→E→G→I), and/or the impact of learnt violent epistemology, where students prescribe to the belief that violence is an acceptable way of dealing with situations, when this is modelled by those around them (M1→G→I). Some aspects of student behaviour could be exemplary of learnt violent epistemology from such exposure (53-54):

Do you know what they did today? Him and the other one, they made a gun… out of plastic bags… it was so well made… and they were in break time, terrorizing the other kids! It was them that had a big wooden weapon on Friday that I took from their hands. The same kids. They had a HUGE long piece of wood in their hands (Teacher comment, 09/05/11).

Learnt violent epistemology could also be seen in the behaviour of students who prescribed to, or complied with, violent epistemic aspects of social discourse such as racism (10-14, 56), homophobia, and concepts of beauty based on the stereotyped (often white) idealised body images presented in the Brazilian media (M1→G→I):

Teacher 1: But why do think the students do this with [Teacher AR]?
G5: I know teacher, because the student are preju… preju…
Other student: Prejudiced.
G5: Yeah. Because he's Japanese and they like to harass him, today they wrote on the board 'Little Jap'.
PL: AR, little Jap, DJ AR little Jap faggot.
Students giggle.
Teacher 1: They wrote that on the board?
G5: I know because they've written even worse things (Conversation between teachers and students, 28/06/11).

JSC [a boy of Angolan heritage] tried to log on to Think Quest[55].
'Teacher, I can't get into my Think Quest!' he complained.
'Because you typed something wrong' said the teacher.
'Do you know what he wrote?' Said AP, 'He wrote JSC black cock' and started laughing
(Observation notes, 17/06/11).

A new girl in class 5B was beaten up by other girls on her first day, because she was
'prettier than them' (Observation notes, 11/04/11).

Other issues that stem from the social and economic exclusion of the Baixada neighbourhood are economic and sexual exploitation, and this could be seen in the behaviour of some of the students (16) (A→B→D→E→G→I→K):

One day V [age 13] climbed up on top of the school wall and started calling to the men in the bar next door 'trying to sell herself to them' said the first teacher (Field notes, 16/04/11).

AP and P stained EV's t-shirt. EV asked them for R$100 [Approx. £37.00] to keep quiet about it. 'They are influenced by something out there [in the neighbourhood]' said the teacher (Teacher's meeting, 15/06/11).

Another issue faced by some students is parental neglect and inability to provide adequate care and supervision for their children (M2→P→Q→R/S):

One teacher said that she asked a student if he was still living with his uncle, and he replied 'no, I live with my dad but my dad doesn't sleep at home' 'in other words he's alone at home, his dad doesn't look after him' she concluded (Field diary, 19/05/11).

They discussed a girl in the 2nd year who is twelve years old. Last year not one teacher could stand to have her in their class for more than a day. Her mother had left the family and the children stayed with the father, but he drank and neglected the children, and they didn't go to school. The girl and her mother ended up living on the streets. 'She has a great rancour, and even her mother is afraid of her because she already pulled a knife on her mother. It was her who swore at and kicked a teacher yesterday', the school director said (Observation notes, 12/04/11).

Parents struggled to meet the needs of their children (25-27) for a variety of reasons caused by social and economic exclusion, including family breakdown (31) and death,

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[55] Think Quest is a piece of software that the DRE has made compulsory for all schools to use in IT lessons.

incarceration, having to work long or antisocial hours, and attending night school:

> *K, J, and the others that I can't remember their names in 5C. I think it's like this: Those who are in a degree of marginality[56], are J… K I don't know, if he smells I don't smell him, and R. R from 5C. His mum died. It was him whose mum died last year. R was RG's brother, from those four boys. I don't know how R's life has been, but it's R that is leading ALL the disruptions in 5A (Teacher, 09/05/11).*

> *Student's problems are not with the teachers, but come from outside [the school]. 'You threaten the boy but what does he have? Both parents in prison… (Pedagogical Coordinator, 19/05/11).*

> *We returned to the classroom and the students were given invitations for a meeting with their parents, next Tuesday. PL said that his dad couldn't come, because he's doing night school, and that his mum works at night too (Classroom observations, 22/03/2011).*

Absent fathers was a particular issue for many children. Mothers tended to be the primary or only caregivers (18, 33). The students whose parents were most 'absent' tended to behave most disruptively in the classroom, were more aggressive, and struggled the most to engage in learning (17-19, 30) (M2→P→Q→R/S). Parental absence also meant that many students had to take on extra responsibilities at home and struggled to maintain a regular sleep pattern, often causing them to miss school activities and struggle to engage at school due to exhaustion (20-24) (M2):

> *Another teacher said that there are students who she can tell that their parents clearly leave them on their own, because she hears the students saying 'ah, I wake up in the morning and lie there thinking about whether to get up or not' (Field diary, 19/05/11).*

> *[The teacher said] the girls won't arrive to help in the mornings because they go to sleep at 4 am and sleep for the whole morning – they don't even come to school. M said that one girl had told her she feels anaesthetised the whole time, and the teachers said that this is a serious problem but what could they do, right? They talked about how most of the students arrive late (Observation notes, 01/04/2011).*

> *'I'm tired, I woke up at 5am today', said T.*
> *'Really?' I answered, 'why did you have to wake up so early'?*
> *'Tidy up the house before coming to school' she replied (Conversation with*

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[56] In this context 'marginality' is used to mean involved in criminal activities.

student, 26/05/11).

N said that it's difficult for her to come to the project because she has to clean the house, and look after her little sister until her mum gets home. She's tired and sleepy. She wasn't going to come today, but just managed to at the last minute. (Conversation with a student, 12/04/11).

Another impact of high levels of parental absence was that parents struggled to engage with their children's school life (28-30). The awareness of parental struggles to meet their children's physical and emotional needs, as well as a perceived lack of 'education'[57] (371), often resulted in teachers trying to take on a parenting role with students (27, 32, 36):

J was telling the school director how a mother had complained because J had shouted at her children, in an attempt to break up a fight between them and another child. J said that she had asked the mother 'How many sons and daughters do you have at home?' The mother had replied that she had four. 'My god in heaven!' the school director exclaimed, then said 'well, here we have more than a thousand sons and daughters'. Then she went on to say that many of the children don't have care, warmth and 'education' at home, and that 'it's us [the school] who have to do this work' (Conversation with teachers and school director, 12/04/11).

Due to the socio-spatial segregation of the Baixada, poverty and parental absence, students lacked access to the wide range of 'cultural' products available in São Paulo, from radio and television to cinema, arts, theatre and music. What access they did have was often limited to a few television programmes and a limited range of music. As a result students struggled to engage with curriculum content due to the unfamiliarity of cultural references (34-35) (M2):

The teacher said the students don't have the habit of listening to the radio, at least not content based radio. There is the same problem with the audio visual group. They like to use the recording and editing software but they lack repertoire. She said she asked the group to come up with ideas for a programme but nothing came out because they lack the repertoire (Conversation with teachers, 18/04/11).

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[57] In Brazilian Portuguese the use of the term 'educating' in this context refers to the instilling of manners, social skills and discipline rather than to any other form of education.

Due to the only very recent near-universalisation of public basic education; unequal access to quality education; and generational poverty which has impacted on parental engagement with schooling, many of the children's parents were illiterate or semi-literate. Coming from homes where reading and writing were not common practices, parental absence and low levels of parental literacy also meant that most students did not receive support with literacy or school work at home. As a result, many struggled to keep up with classroom activities, and this experience of failure could be seen in expressions of low confidence and self-esteem in relation to learning, especially (but not exclusively) in relation to reading and writing (38-40, 44-45) (M2→P→Q→R/S):

Teacher 1: I get tired. They don't understand ANYTHING. You tell them to copy, understand? COPY, COPY, COPY… a username and a password. They don't copy it right, they don't understand what is happening, you know?
Teacher 2: On Friday I taught three lessons in a row for the 5th years because I was the only teacher there at the beginning, and I told the students to write a text during the three lessons. ONE text. LTC wrote two lines, during three lessons. […] At the end I looked at their work and gave it back to them, and signed it. Obviously I didn't sign LTC's. As soon as she walked out the door she threw hers on the floor. I'll talk to her parents tomorrow.
Teacher 1: Yeah. We really have to keep on their backs (Conversation between teachers, 23/05/11).

Today JF was incredibly agitated and messing around a lot - pretending to hit people, hitting G5, speaking to himself very loudly, messing about with equipment in the room, grabbing the microphone at random and making noises into it, kicking things, etc. […] [A]s soon as my back was turned I heard a crash behind me. JF had pulled G5's chair from underneath him and G5 was lying on the floor. […] IN suggested that JF talk on the microphone. I agreed and we all tried to encourage him. He lifted his shirt over his head and hid under it, saying 'no, I don't want to, I'm really bad'. We encouraged him to try. He sat in front of the microphone and IN gave him the script. He held it in his hands and did nothing. IN said 'don't you want to read through it first?' He held his head down and whispered 'I don't know how to read'. IN said 'don't you know how to read?' and he said, counting off on his fingers 'I'm good aren't I? I don't know how to draw, I don't know how to count, I don't know how to read…' (Observation notes, 02/06/11).

Students also demonstrated signs of lacking confidence when it came to reading out loud and verbalising their knowledge (41-43):

MY arrived, and the teacher greeted her 'Hi MY! How good to see you! Pull up a

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chair!' MY came in and sat a little away from the group. The teacher called her to come closer and she resisted a bit, then came. […] The teacher said we were going to continue our learning about the beginnings of cinema. She asked MY to tell FLP what she had learnt in the research that she'd done last week. She said nothing. 'Go, tell us!' Said the teacher. But MY remained silent. The teacher encouraged her a number of times but she said nothing. The teacher picked up the notes that MY had made last week and gave them to her, saying 'you can consult your notes if you like'. MY looked at the notes but still said nothing. [After some talk from the teacher about silent movies] MY said that film began with photographs and tried to explain the process of joining still images to create movement. She mumbled a bit and didn't finish her sentence, looking at her hands while she spoke (Observation notes, 01/04/2011).

Other signs of low self-esteem that I witnessed included difficulty dealing with setbacks or challenges in the learning process (expressed as a tendency to become upset easily and/or to give up when faced with a problem or challenge), difficulty accepting praise, criticising or putting others down, and low expectations of self (46-52) (A→B→D→E→G→I→K):

At one point JSU took the mouse to add effects to the animation. It went wrong and he got the slides in a mess. He got embarrassed and angry, and said 'this junk is no good for anything'. He sat down heavily in his chair and didn't try to use the computer again. 'Delete everything and start everything again!' he said to the other group members. He stayed in a bit of a bad mood for the rest of the session (Observation notes, 08/04/2011).

When B said what she thought about the video, BR (who was sitting away from the group at the back) laughed, and B (looking upset) said 'hey BR, why are you laughing? (Observation notes, 27/05/11).

On the first day of the project, student G introduced himself. 'My name is G and I'm lazy' (Field notes, 16/06/11).

As these excerpts illustrate, lack of confidence and low self-esteem (caused by lack of parental support and difficulties engaging with schooling), contributed to a cycle of subject deformation. In this cycle, students' self-schema of being 'bad' or 'lazy' thwarted further self-actualisation, resulting in agitation, aggression, and further disengagement from learning opportunities.

While the teachers tried to encourage the children towards a future in further and higher

education, students demonstrated an awareness of their 'underclass' status. This was reflected in their knowledge of the fact that they were receiving a so-called 'second class' education (representative of the longstanding division between 'quality' private education and 'basic' public education) (372), and living in a neighbourhood neglected by the government (57-63). During discussions on these topics they demonstrated an awareness of the impact of these factors on their life chances (57-58), perceived value, and voice in society.

Teacher 3: I'm going to bring to you all a piece of information that another teacher told me. You know that when you finish basic education, you'll go to college, to high school?
Students: Hmmm.
Teacher 3: I think this is an important piece of information to bring you. When they go to high school, most of the students from DCX, are dropping out. Why? Because they're not learning enough because of all the messing around [in class]. They get there and they can't keep up with high school. So this is very serious, because not finishing high school means not getting to university (Conversation between teacher and students, 16/06/11).

Teacher: So, more or less half way down Avenida Angelica, there crossing Rua Sergipe, a new metro line was going to open, the orange line. And this is the Angelica line. And what happened? What happened? The RESIDENTS of that NEIGHBOURHOOD, which is called Higienopolis... does anyone know what HI-GI-en-OPolis means?
RF: Hygiene?
Teacher: [Loudly] It's city of HYGIENE. From the Greek right? From the Greek city of hygiene. And the residents, what did they do, do you think? They made a PETITION, AGAINST the metro line in their neighbourhood.
G5: Why?
Teacher: Why? Ah, now that's the question. Why could it be, that they didn't want it? Could it be that the neighbourhood of Higienopolis – what do you all think? Is it a neighbourhood like the Baixada? What is the neighbourhood of Higienopolis like? Does anyone here know it?
RF: Rich.
Teacher: What?
RF: Rich.
Teacher: Did you all hear what he said?
Voices: Uhmmm... a rich neighbourhood.
Teacher: A Neigbourhood of rich people. And, why could it be that they didn't want... what was it that they didn't want there then?
Low voices: Opposed to poor people.
Teacher: Opposed to...?
Voices louder, in unison: Poor people.

Teacher: Poor people. But they didn't use this word, they gave the name [indignant tone] 'different people'. [… Reading own writing from screen] 'The Brazilian bourgeoisie wants to enjoy…' - what do I mean by enjoy?

JS: Make use of.

Teacher: Make use of. Very good. Use. '…the work of the 'different people'. What makes them different?

G5: The poor.

Teacher: The workers, right? Maids, doormen.

JS: Security guards.

Teacher: Security guards, rubbish collectors… who else?

G5: All the people who…

JS: Shopkeepers.

Teacher: Shopkeepers, exactly. All the people who?

G5: Don't earn much.

JS: Police, teachers…

G5: My mum […] Teacher?

Teacher: Yes?

G5: What are people, other than being 'different people'?

Teacher: AhhhhAHAHAHA… like, the people there with their tiny dogs, right? To live there and not here is to not be 'different people'

IG: And what if people from other neighbourhoods signed petitions, without being rich people?

Teacher: That's what P said, and what JS always brings up, I mean, there was that Girl in Boi Mirim, right? In the extreme Eastern Zone, there are lots of problems with transport there, and in the extreme South Zone, right? There in my own periphery there are transport problems.

G5: Are there not problems with transport here in the centre?

Teacher: Well, here, principally in our region here – remember when we talked last year JS, about how not many lines, not many options of buses pass here in the area of the Baixada?

LC: You have to walk really far to be able to catch a bus.

Teacher: Right. And are these people heard, guys?

P: Not a bit!

LC: No.

Teacher: Do you know what would be great? We could…

G5: Pay three thousand in cash and get heard straight away.

Teacher: What lesson can we learn from this?

JS: That it's like, I can have an idea, I can have a project, I can have everything organised, but five guys with money come along, throw everything in the trash.

Teacher: That's right, it's true.

G5: And those who have money…

Teacher: Does everyone here think they are 'different people' or not? What do you think?

G5: I think so.

JS: I am.

Teacher: Are we 'different people'?

Voices: Yes, yes.

[…]
LC: What is 'different people', is it some type of race that was given to us?
(Dialogue between teacher and students, 18/05/2011).

The impact of this awareness, developed through living in a situation of social and economic exclusion, was visible in some students' expressions of frustration or resignation (373-374) (M2→P→Q→R/S).

As illustrated above, the non-conducive circumstances of the Baixada neighbourhood and the family and home lives of students impacted on students' ability to self-actualise; on their behaviour at school and engagement with schooling; and on their subject development. The connections between these factors are complex. However, I have indicated some of the different ways in which these situations, circumstances and student behaviours can be seen as manifestations of the outcome scenarios and pathways of response proposed in the thesis model, in which violent epistemology can be seen to play a pivotal role.

The impact of the non-conducive circumstances of the Baixada on teacher subject development and engagement with their roles at DCX School.

While the majority of teachers did not live in the Baixada, the experience of entering and spending time in the neighbourhood impacted on teacher subjectivity. Bearing witness to such extreme social neglect affected teachers deeply (64-65):

> *Teacher 3: I saw a video on You Tube, showing the neighbourhood, […] I took the part coming down the hill. Which is something that many people, teachers, […] we come down the hill, and the impact it has on us, […] you know? […] It's a thing that is kind of personal to us, nobody will understand this descent very well. The suffering and such, it has a very important relevance for us. […] I think that everyone remembers the first time they arrived in the Baixada […].*
> *Teacher 1: Yeah. Going down the hill, I always think, God and the Devil in the Land of the Sun[58], right? This descent down the street, that I say is Justice, God, and*

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[58] This is a cultural reference to the film 'Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol' by Brazilian film maker Glauber Rocha, which critiqued the social problems of 1960's Brazil just prior to the commencement of the military dictatorship.

the Devil[59], understand? They live side by side (Conversation between teachers, 23/05/11).

There was a clip that she had filmed, which showed the front of the school building and, looking up, the tower blocks surrounding it. She said that with this image she wanted to show the feeling that she has of the school being swallowed by its surroundings. I said 'as if it was in the middle of a hole?' Yes! She replied (Conversation with teacher, 19/05/2011).

These examples illustrate how teachers are regularly exposed to experiences that can cause secondary and vicarious traumatisation (Rothschild, 2006). Another risk factor for secondary and vicarious traumatisation was the experience of losing students to preventable accidents such as tenement fires and violent crime. Most teachers at DCX School had experienced the death of at least one (often more) of their students in such ways. As a result teachers expressed a keen awareness of the precarity of the children's lives (66). As discussed in chapter Three, the emotional overwhelm associated with this can be a motivation for the response pathway A→B→D→E→G→I.

Another factor which affected teachers was the threat to their own lives, particularly in relation to the organised crime gangs in the local area:

The [cartel leaders] went there… in the school. There were some kids provoking, and the big bosses came, they beat the boys up IN FRONT OF THE SCHOOL DIRECTOR, in the director's office, the director sitting there. They beat them up, hit the boys in there, and said to the director that, firstly, they didn't want the police there […]. And secondly, if the boys played up again it was THEM that the director had to call. Not the police […]. Can you imagine? […] If something happens here… people I don't even want to come [to work]… (Teacher, 09/05/11).

This constant feeling of insecurity was often mentioned by teachers (67-72), and as described in Chapter Three can be one of the primary motivating emotions when it comes to enacting violent epistemology. DCX School was marked by high rates of attrition and teacher absence due to mental health difficulties, as well as emotional

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[59] Here the teacher is referring to the street leading down into the neighbourhood that begins with the law courts surrounded by high walls and barbed wire fencing, is flanked further down by a church and shops selling religious memorabilia, and ends in the school, surrounded by degraded buildings and visible human suffering.

instability and aggression on the part of teachers. This could be particularly attributed to traumatic stress resulting from working in an unsafe environment and constant exposure to the suffering of others.

The Impact of Non-conducive Employment Circumstances and Working Environment, on Teacher Subject Development and Engagement with Roles at DCX School.

Chronic underinvestment in education has meant that teachers are underpaid and overworked. At the time of research, the salary for a medium level teacher in the São Paulo municipal education network with a workload of 40 hours per week was R$1,187.08 per month (approx. USD $585.66) (Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2016). In the same year, the minimum salary needed to meet an individual's basic needs in São Paulo was calculated at R$2,329.35 (approx. USD$1,147.73) (DIEESE, 2012). Because of this, many teachers had to work more than one job in order to survive. The Prefecture's rules state that teachers can accumulate teaching workloads up to 70 hours per week and many did so, working up to three shifts a day across different schools (Jacomini and Minhoto, 2012). Low pay and overworking impacted teachers in a number of ways, including an inability to meet basic needs, disaffection, and feeling undervalued professionally (73-74) (M2→P→Q→ R/S):

> *A teacher came in and said that she and other teachers had been watching the video testimony of Amanda Gurgel, a teacher from Rio Grande do Norte. The video had 151, 404 views in five days. Gurgel spoke about the challenges of being a teacher in the Brazilian public school system, about the low salary and poor working conditions. Three DCX teachers spoke about how they related to her talk:*
>
> *Teacher 1: She said that in 15 or 20 years' time there won't be any more teachers, nobody will want to become a teacher and all the teachers will become ill.*
> *Teacher 2: There really won't be [any more teachers].*
>
> *They started talking about the increase in teaching days due to come, and the government's proposal to abolish summer holidays:*
>
> *Teacher 2: It's the only rest we get, the only thing that makes us survive. If they take away the holidays what do we have? We won't be able to stand it. [To teacher 3] Are you going to get a different job?*
> *Teacher 3: I'm going to prostitute myself! [Laughter].*

Teacher 2: I will! I already live next door to the red light district, I won't even need to commute!
(Field notes, 19/05/11).

The teacher said that unfortunately teachers are often seen as being bad people, because recently teachers in the public school system have had a terrible reputation. But this doesn't take into account the great devaluing of teachers, because the teacher, like we saw yesterday in the conversation about salaries which are very low, is not paid for what they do. They spend a lot of time studying, gaining qualifications and doing teacher training. But sometimes the teacher training courses are really bad, so the teachers are not equipped nor paid, and most of them completed their basic [primary and secondary] education in the public school system too [which has a reputation for poor quality] (Conversation with teacher, 29/03/11).

Aside from frustration at being underpaid for the work they already do, teachers were also concerned about the impending implementation of the government's plans to increase the required daily school attendance for each child from four hours to a full day (A→B→D):

She said that Brazil has a chronic problem, which the government is trying to resolve with the 'Programa Mais Educação' ['More Education' programme] and the creation of full school days, because they don't know what to do with all the children who are in the street, at the traffic lights[60], etc., and they want to 'intern' them in schools to get them off the streets. This creates a big problem because the teacher is expected to do the work of parents, but is not paid for this, and she is not even sure whether it is the teacher's role to do this (Conversation with teacher, 29/03/11).

Having to work such long hours meant that teachers struggled to carry out tasks of daily living outside of work, had very little family time, and suffered from severe exhaustion (75-79). Having to rush from one school to another meant that teachers lacked time to communicate with one another about essential work-related matters (80), and fatigue impacted on the quality of teaching (M2→P):

And then she said 'since I teach in two schools' and she said 'it's a lie, whoever says that you can teach two shifts of quality lessons'. Is that not true? You can start the day teaching a lesson, you know, lalala, because you just woke up... the day goes on, you don't have the same motivation any more (Teacher, 23/05/11).

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[60]   In Brazil it is common for children from poor families to spend the time they are not in school selling things at traffic lights on busy intersections of highway.

Rushing from another school often meant that teachers arrived late at DCX, causing disruption to students and other teachers:

> *One teacher said that there needed to be more cooperation between teachers. She said that on the 3rd floor the teachers cooperate, and they don't have problems with students loose in the corridors, messing around, because if a teacher arrives late because they're coming from another school, she leaves her classroom and goes into the other class, tells the students that the teacher is on their way, and puts an activity for them to do up on the blackboard. She said that she talks to students who aren't her students, makes friends with them and if they are loose in the corridors chats with them and keeps an eye on them. She said 'you have to be friends with the student, even if they're not your student. If you don't have this partnership they kick our doors, swear at us, etc.' Another teacher said that this is difficult to do, and there needs to be some way to deal with the absence of teachers, because to leave your classroom to go and look after another teacher's class is complicated. Perhaps a staff member should stay with the class downstairs until the teacher arrives. The School Director said there weren't enough staff for this, and that if the class didn't go upstairs the rest of the students would refuse to go too. She said the only solution was for teachers to arrive on time (Pedagogical meeting, 19/05/11).*

Another issue for teachers is the complexity and in some cases precarity of how their work is contracted. Municipal law stipulates a complex system of different types and combinations of employment contracts for teachers which include different combinations of 'in-class' hours and 'supplementary activity' hours, and different criteria for pay and career progression. While some teachers are contracted for a set number of hours and timetabled to specific classes, others who are at school carrying out 'complementary activities' to an allocated workload (called 'CJ's) are not timetabled to specific classes but required to substitute the absences of other teachers, often with no notice or knowledge of what the students have been working on (Americano, 2011). The combination of the complexity of this system, disaffection, and CJ contracting contributes to confusion, instability, difficulty planning activities, low motivation, and high levels of absenteeism which have a cyclical knock-on effect (81-83) (M2→P):

> *The teachers who teach the 5th years in the afternoon don't have contracted hours, so it's really easy for them to be absent. Sometimes in the afternoons there is only one teacher to teach [four simultaneous classes] (Teacher comment, 15/06/11).*

Having to work such long hours in order to survive, in such challenging circumstances, often left teachers without the time or energy to pursue personal and professional development activities (84-87) (M2→P):

> Teacher 1: *You don't manage to read what you would like to, it's no good. And she said 'teachers don't manage to study'. The teacher works and spends time studying? What time? When? Right?*
> Teacher 2: *Between midnight and 6am.*
> Teacher 1: *Right. I, I at least get exhausted, if I teach... last year when I taught morning, afternoon and night two days a week... I was EXHAUSTED during the last shift. There's nothing else you can do. You get on the bus home and you want to SLEEP. Understand? You don't want to read, you don't even want to concentrate! (Conversation between teachers, 23/05/11).*

This, coupled with often poor quality, technicistic pre-service training (characterised by the separation of theory and philosophy of education from practice based on the 'simple' transmission of 'facts, skills and competencies'), left teachers unprepared to provide a quality education which students could engage with. Teachers also lacked training in dealing with students' challenging behaviour, and in looking after their own wellbeing when exposed to the demands, stresses and 'trauma inputs' (Rothschild, 2006) of the Baixada and the DCX School. As a result, many teachers experienced high levels of anxiety in relation to their roles (88-93) (A→B→D→E). To provide an illustrative example, in the teachers meeting of 15/06/11, five items were timetabled for discussion. However, none of these were discussed as the entire meeting was taken up with teachers venting about the difficulties they were having managing students' challenging behaviour. Lack of training in managing difficult behaviour put the teachers in a vulnerable position, and also increased the risk of teachers responding to such behaviour with aggression (94) (A→B→D→E→G→I):

> *Another teacher said that she wouldn't know how to respond if a student attacked her. Once a student tried to attack her a few years ago. The student threatened her and she just said 'come on, come on, you can attack me and you'll end up in hospital and I'll end up in prison' (Conversation with teachers, 11/04/11).*

Despite the difficult circumstances of the Baixada and DCX School, teachers were not

provided with emotional or psychological support, nor any kind of professional or clinical supervision. As a result, teachers often showed signs of emotional overwhelm, compassion fatigue and secondary or vicarious traumatisation. In a state of exhaustion and saturation, teachers struggled to control these emotions which would often spill out in interactions with students (95) (A→B→D→E→G→I). While there were some opportunities for teachers on a certain type of contract to collectively reflect on practice, these sessions were reserved only for these teachers and were often dominated by the pedagogical coordinator who subscribed to a particularly strong 'banking' style pedagogy. As a result formal opportunities for genuine reflection on practice were not available, and this was visible in the broad disparities between different teachers' pedagogical styles and approaches to curriculum, as well as in inconsistencies in individual teachers' practice (M2).

The physical and emotional impact of working at DCX took its toll on teachers, resulting in both short and extended sickness absences. This increased pressure on other teachers who felt unable to manage the workload and keep the students safe with such low staffing (96-99) (A→B→D→E):

> *This third year boy that was being beaten up today, I don't know who it was attacking him, he didn't want to say but he got really scared, his heart was nearly coming out of his mouth when I went there to defend him. Oh, that one… from 5C whose name I can't remember right now, punched him too. The fight wasn't even with him, but he went there too, to pick on him. You know? If we leave them alone they LYNCH each other! If we leave them they lynch each other! And there is nobody in break time, nobody is watching. Nobody… you know? The day I die people, touch wood, but the day that the worst disgrace happens here in the school that gets in the news, who knows, people will demand that the school be closed. They'll say 'There aren't the conditions to work here in the Baixada. Close DCX'. I know that I'm indignant people, it's impossible… it's impossible… [Voice fades away to a tired, defeated tone] soon I'm going to ask for medical leave… (Teacher comments, 09/05/11).*

As illustrated in this quote, high rates of medical leave increased pressure on remaining staff (126-128). As so many lessons were cancelled due to teacher absence, students struggled to get into a routine and would act out more (102). Aside from the extra workload, remaining teachers struggled to manage student behaviour (103) and in turn

felt the need to take medical leave themselves (100-101). In effort to maintain staffing levels the School Director actively discouraged staff from taking sick leave:

> *The school director said 'we're all in the same ship, we all run the risk of getting ill, so don't take time off' (Pedagogical meeting, 19/05/11).*

This culture in which self-care was not fostered or promoted, coupled with the lack of appropriate training, further impacted on staff who, unable to cope sustainably would reach breaking point and be forced to take medical leave whether the director approved or not (M2→P→Q→R/S):

> *The teachers said that many teachers don't know how to deal with seeing violence every day, with being attacked and threatened and such. One teacher spoke about another teacher who had tried to intervene with a girl who had brought a knife to school to kill another girl. He had seen the other teacher arrive at school, open the cupboard, then drop to his knees and sit there, staring into the cupboard. Then he closed the cupboard and left without coming back. Now he is on medical leave (Field notes, 11/04/11).*

Another factor that impacted on staff wellbeing was sensory overload from the school environment. The large, concrete quad-style building acted as a sound amplifier. The smallest noises echoed and bounced off the shiny concrete floors, walls and metal doors. Sound from all floors flowed up the central staircase filling the rest of the building, and sound from the street filtered in through the thin single glazing. All of the audio recorded during data collection contained very high levels of background noise – banging, shouting, buzzers, chair legs screeching on concrete floors, sirens, and booming, rumbling traffic. Shouting was a particularly common background noise and stress factor (104-105) (A→B→D→E→G→I):

> *There is a noise outside of a mother and son shouting ferociously at each other in the corridor, a heated argument. The teachers go quiet… then teacher 3 says 'it's really distressing' (Field diary, 13/06/11).*
>
> *We heard shouts coming from the corridor. One of the teachers flinched. 'Are they calling me?' Then she relaxed a little, laughing… 'I thought they were calling me, because they haven't called me yet!' The shouts continued, it was a teacher shouting in despair at her students. The teacher who had flinched said to the*

other teacher 'you go out there, you have more strength than me' (Field notes, 25/05/11).

The above quote also illustrates how teachers were often on 'high alert' (106), ready to spring into action at any time due to the necessities of a high risk, chaotic environment (A→B→D). Research has shown that the stress levels associated with being in this state for long periods can be detrimental to health (Rothschild, 2006).

The result of the above factors (being over-worked, low staffing, challenging student behaviour, sensory overload, unpredictable working environment, high levels of trauma inputs, lack of appropriate training and supervision, and being discouraged from practicing self-care), was that teachers demonstrated many symptoms of stress, compassion fatigue, secondary and vicarious traumatisation, and burnout. These symptoms included physical exhaustion (113, 123), headaches (124), insomnia (119), increased susceptibility to illness (110, 119, 121), somatisation (110, 116, 121), absenteeism (118), anger and irritability (103, 124), exaggerated sense of responsibility (27, 36), compromised care for students (367), attrition (114, 115, 122), emotional exhaustion (107-108, 111-112, 120, 123), depression (117), reduced ability to empathise (124), cynicism and embitterment (124) resentment (103, 110, 124), dread of working with certain students (103), feelings of professional helplessness (109, 120, 124, 126), diminished sense of career enjoyment (120, 124), disruption of worldview (130), increased sense of personal vulnerability (125), inability to tolerate strong feelings (122), hypervigilance (106), hypersensitivity or insensitivity to emotional material (110, 122), loss of hope (120, 124, 129), difficulty separating professional and personal lives (110), and failure to nurture non-work-related aspects of life (110)[61] (Mathieu, 2011: 49-62). One particular symptom was emotional instability and overreactions to student behaviour (124) (M2→P→Q→R):

> *Teacher 1: I agree with LTC that each teacher has their limit. Am I not fierce sometimes?*
> *Girls: You are.*

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[61] All of the above are clinically recognised symptoms of prolonged exposure to stress and 'trauma inputs' (Mathieu, 2011).

Teacher 1: I have my limits too. Always for my reasons, in truth. Teacher 2 has too, for his reasons. I think that within their own reasons, teachers do end up becoming saturated. Right? Are there not days when… how was it on Monday in 5D, G[62]?
G: My god, it was terrible.
Teacher 1: It was terrible, it was.
G: It was horrible.
Teacher 1: It was horrible. And the other day in 5C, when I ended up saying a whole load of crazy things (Conversation between teacher and students, 16/06/11).

As a result of all of the above, the overall atmosphere among the teachers was one of anger, despondency, powerlessness and resignation. There was a feeling that burnout and illness was an inevitable consequence of working at DCX (125), and that they were stuck in an endless self-perpetuating cycle from which there was no way out (129) (M2→P→Q→R/S):

Are we unbalanced? Are we? I arrived at this school balanced and healthy, and now I'm ill, they're ill, and you're going to get ill (Teacher comment, 15/06/2011).

M [a CJ teacher] had a problem. She was covering all the Portuguese, Science and English night classes because all three teachers are on medical leave. And today Z [another teacher] hadn't arrived yet. She was stressed because she couldn't cover all the teachers who were absent today. She went to teach a class. When the first night class finished we saw her in the corridor. Z had arrived and they were debating rapidly who would take which class. As I passed Z looked at me with anger in his eyes and said 'this school is going to be fucked, Beth' (Field notes, 23/05/11).

Somebody enters to tell teacher 3 that EDL (a teacher) is in hospital and Z (another teacher) is late because he comes running from another school. So teacher 3 has to go cover EDL's class.
Teacher 3: So, let's finish up here quickly… and the blog… and I, I'll lead the blog. [trying to make plans for the following day in the project, gets flustered]
Teacher 1: Calm down, calm down, calm down, who, who is EDL?
Teacher 3: EDL… she's hospitalised and is going to stay hospitalised…
Teacher 1: And there's no activity at all right? [for EDL's students]
Teacher 3: Nobody ever leaves any activity [for them to do].
Teacher 1: Ah, ok.
Teacher 3: Never.
Teacher 1: This is a problem.
Teacher 2: But you know what I do [teacher 3]? When I am going to enter a maths

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[62]   G is a student.

class, for example, I take the textbook that is there, take a theoretical part and give it to them [the students]. One, two exercises and one text. For Geography I do the same thing – I take something from the end of the book and give it to them. Teacher 3 asked teacher 2 to finish a task for her that she now won't have time to do, and gets up to leave the room, flustered and unhappy saying 'now I won't be able to do it'.

Teacher 1: Calm down, calm down.

Teacher 3: I don't know, they tell us to do the project but we can't do it and the project is going to be left for Beth [to do alone]

Teacher 1: Because it's not possible, not possible to do anything.

Teacher 3: I don't know, any class that doesn't have a teacher, I take. I can't do it… [Leaves room]

Teacher 1: And, there's nobody left [teaching] the night classes now, there's practically only her because Z must be arriving soon in truth, but PL [another teacher] has taken the Geography classes now, right? I know that soon nobody… look people, soon nobody is going to want to be a teacher, for real (Conversation between teachers, 02/05/11).

Teacher 1: [...] Today our problem is cyclical.

Teacher 1: Ummmm [in agreement]

Teacher 3: These days we are in a… vicious cycle.

Teacher 1: Ummmmm [in agreement]

Teacher 3: You know, that we can't break out of (Conversation between teachers, 23/05/11).

The feeling expressed by teachers of being stuck in a self-perpetuating cycle which they couldn't break out of, was exacerbated by a number of factors. One of these was a difficulty imagining alternatives for society, for the school, and for dealing with the issues that they faced (131-134). This is illustrated by this discussion between teachers as they worked on a video about their perspective of the school:

Teacher 3: Shall I stick with 'See us'? Or should I put a different phrase there? What do you think?

Teacher 2: I'm going to do a literary interpretation. 'See us' is a cry for help, isn't it? 'Look at me here please, look at me' – 'See us'.

Teacher 3: Yeah, I watched it with a lot of the atmosphere that we have here that, that I think we're in.

Teacher 1: I like it. I don't think you need to change anything, just build on it. You could put 'What alternative?' This 'I'm still alive' is great.

Teacher 3: But, for how long?

Teacher 1: Yeah, 'For how long?' If you put after 'Alternative society', 'What alternative?', understand? So, I think this idea of 'I'm still alive' was a great observation, understand? Because despite everything that goes on here, we're still alive right! I would put 'This is not a fiction' [...] Ummm [...] But I think, in the

worst case scenario, I would put after 'Alternative society', things like 'What?'
'What alternative?' I would play with this thing of 'What alternative?' Right? I
would put, like this, 'What alternative?' 'How?' 'When?' Understand? Like, to
show, I mean, ok, is there really an alternative for society? 'Alternative society',
'Is there an alternative?', 'What alternative?'
Teacher 2: And this alternative isn't ours, right? This alternative is social.
Teacher 1: Yeah... It's not ours. Because we even have the alternative of getting
out of here, let's say. Right? So I mean, others don't have this alternative. Right?
Others, by which I mean the children. It's not even us. Right? I think they have
even fewer alternatives than us Right? Most of them (Conversation between
teachers, 23/05/11).

This can be seen as an example of how the collective affirmation of ideology fosters social circumstances in which the only forms of social organisation and practice that are valued, are those perceived to serve predominant ideologies. At the same time, the possibility of alternatives is negated, resulting in a 'limit situation' in which 'the ordinary person is crushed, diminished, converted to a spectator, maneuvered by the myths which powerful social forces have created' (Freire, 2003: 5). As highlighted in Chapter Four, phenomenological freedom means that no ideology can be absolute. However, when teachers did come up with ideas for alternative ways of working, they had significant difficulty putting these into practice due to the restrictions imposed by non-conducive circumstances (137) (M2):

Teacher 1: But I think it can be really heavy too, this thing of how hard it is, to
work, to do things, to make things happen (Conversation between teachers,
23/05/11).

These difficulties were also connected to a fear of 'doing differently' to the collectively affirmed practices that prevailed, shaped by the ideological schema on which Brazilian schooling is built. This included a fear of losing one's job and a fear of being judged (135) (A→B→D). Teachers' feeling of being undervalued also translated into a lack of motivation to reflect on their own practice (136) (M2→P→Q→R/S). Brazil's long history of state sanctioned repression of dissent, often through the use of police violence, also translated into a lack of political mobilisation (138-141) when it came to fighting for change (A→B→D):

I mean, the Spanish went to the streets, to demonstrate their indignation, right? The teachers. And the Greeks, and Egyptians, and Libyans… so. And we hardly ever go to the streets. Right? And when we go, what happened on Saturday happens[63] (Teacher, 23/05/11).

Lack of resources and difficulty investing time, energy and resources into projects also made it difficult for teachers to respond to challenges effectively (142), which resulted in despondency and low motivation when it came to implementing ideas for change (143-145, 149-152) (M2→P→Q→R/S):

When the teacher suggested introducing a programme to reduce violence, she highlighted that implementation would require the cooperation of the whole school. The only response was from one teacher, who said 'will we need a photocopier? Because if we need to have a photocopier, if we need to have everything photocopied, if the school doesn't have a photocopier then don't even bother thinking about doing anything' (Pedagogical meeting, 19/05/11).

One teacher said he was disappointed because the others had promised to support his project of making dolls out of bottle tops, but they hadn't done so. He said his hand is all burnt from making holes in bottle tops in his own time at home, the school didn't give him any budget nor support, and people complained about the smell of burning plastic when he used a tool to make the holes, which is the third tool that he has bought with his own money, and now he thinks he will give up on the project (Teacher meeting, 15/06/11).

Another major factor that impacted on teachers' ability to work effectively and to come up with and implement ideas for change, was an overall lack of mutual support and co-working between staff at all levels within the school (153-178) (A→B→D→E→G→I & M2→P→Q→R/S):

Beth: Do you think one factor is a lack of coherence amongst the teachers?
Teacher 1: There's that too… a LOT of that.
Teacher 2: But not only amongst the teachers – amongst the teachers, amongst the management…
Teacher 1: We make agreements in meetings, and afterwards those agreements disappear. You understand? I don't know what happens with the agreements that we make in meetings (Conversation with teachers, 09/05/11).

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[63] The previous Saturday a planned public march against the criminalisation of marijuana had been prohibited by the government. 1000 citizens marched peacefully in protest of this prohibition and were repressed by the military police with rubber bullets, stun bombs, tear gas and pepper spray (Abos, 2011).

I asked how the teachers communicate, to resolve the types of problems that were discussed in the meeting. One teacher laughed, 'they don't communicate! This is the biggest problem. Sometimes they call a meeting but people don't come because of their schedules, or they disagree in the meeting, or make agreements but nothing happens.' 'So there isn't a regular meeting unless someone calls one?' I asked. 'There are collective times' said the teacher, but many of us can't attend because of the time' she replied (Conversation with teacher, 09/05/11).

There's no such thing as team work, no such thing as interdisciplinary work… (Teacher comment, 15/06/11).

There was a discussion about tensions between teachers, who helps who, who doesn't, and disagreements about who works when. Then teacher 3 said: 'It's that I'm feeling like we're really lacking in partnerships… it's so horrible… […] It's serious, we're really isolated [teacher 2], don't you have this feeling? We are really isolated…' (Field diary, 27/06/11).

And another thing, there are people who don't even care… people who don't even care… I can't see the kids fighting and not go there and separate them. I think that it could be my son being beaten up there… but the others… there are people who pass by, 'ah, they're not in my class' and simply go away! I can't see how people can be like this… I can't. They should be living in caves (Teacher comments, 09/05/11).

On the walk to the Metro the two teachers said that they thought the discourse presented by the School Director at the teachers' meeting is very disconnected from reality, up in the clouds, and that the School Director must be counting the days until she retires. One teacher said 'She is on another planet completely'. During the teachers' meeting, while the School Director had been speaking, I had noticed the two teachers' expressions of disbelief numerous times, and also noticed them smiling sceptically (Field notes, 15/06/11).

I think we need to take responsibility for certain things, because things aren't working. I take responsibility too so… but it's like this: there comes a time when… why do we even have management? Why do we even have directors? (Teacher, 09/05/11).

This lack of mutual support and co-working was often mirrored by students (185-187), and also extended to relations between the school and parents (179-181), the school and the DRE (182-183), and the school and other agencies (184):

The teacher said that […] unfortunately, there are parents who think that the teachers are enemies, like today, she had seen a mother at the school, ranting about a teacher. And there are teachers who think everything is the parents' fault

(Conversation with teacher, 29/03/11).

Teacher 1: I am a Think Quest of nerves, it's a Think Quest of nerves, because, it's useless, I don't know what to do.
Teacher 3: You have to talk to the people at the DRE.
Teacher 1: No, they won't come here. She said that she won't come here (Conversation between teachers, 13/06/11).

The meeting began with a visit from a government worker, who spoke about the inclusion of people with learning disabilities. She explained that her team (a psychologist, a therapist, a nurse and six other workers) evaluate and monitor students with possible or diagnosed disabilities. The teachers wanted to know if they should refer students to her that they suspected might have a learning disability, and she said yes. The teachers started talking about a student at DCX who they think has autism, and who isn't receiving any kind of specialist support. The lady said that she knows this student and that he is already being supported by CAPS Infantil[64]. The teachers said that they didn't know this [and] they spoke about the fragmentation between the school and specialist support services (Staff meeting, 19/05/11).

The impact of all of the factors cited in this section was that teachers found it very difficult to work effectively, and as a result lacked a sense of personal efficacy (146-148) (M2→P→Q→R/S):

[The teachers] commented on the quantity of teachers in public schools who have depression. 'It's a hard job' said the art teacher, 'I think if teachers felt like they were making some difference in people's lives then they wouldn't feel depressed. There are days and moments that make up for the rest, but the rest is truly difficult. Sometimes it seems that we're not getting anywhere at all [...]. The new teacher who can't deal with the class must feel like they're not getting anywhere at all. And the teacher who doesn't recognise himself in his work...' 'It's because it's very alienated work' said the IT teacher, 'It's very sad, feeling alienated in your work, someone said we should be happy when we're not at school, otherwise we can't stand it, but I think we should be happy here at school as well because we spend a large part of our lives here, and if we can't manage to be happy here inside... and we have to be happy with the students too, right? Feel like we're making some difference (Field notes, 06/05/11)'.

I think it's a tragedy, because the potential that exists that [the students] sometimes have, and [...] we don't broaden anything, they continue, you know, going round in circles, [...]. It's a tragedy! [...] Of course, this is alienated work. We don't have mastery of [the students]. [...] So, these things create a certain anguish, right? In us, [...] in what happens in the day to day of the school, right?

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[64]   A psychosocial support service for children with severe emotional troubles.

Because [the students] have potential, and we can't manage […]. How many philosophers, how many historians, how many masters, how many judges, how many teachers are there? And we can't manage… to make [the students] flourish (Teacher comment, 02/05/11).

This section has illustrated the multiple and complex ways in which the violent epistemology of collectively affirmed ideology, translated into policy and practice, constitutes non-conducive circumstances which thwart the self-actualisation and healthy subject development of teachers. Many of these factors can be seen as symptomatic of the prevalence of positivistic, rationalistic and efficiency-related aims in schooling, in which there is little room for things like work-life balance, secure employment contracts, adequate pay, self-care, and psychological and emotional wellbeing. The outcome, however, is widespread physical and mental ill-health and the perpetuation of non-conducive circumstances, as well as the further enactment and manifestation of violent epistemology.

The Impact of Structurally Engrained Violent Epistemology in Schooling on Teacher Subject Development, Student Subject Development, and Interpersonal Relations between Teachers and Students.

Aside from the non-conducive social circumstances of the Baixada neighbourhood, and the non-conducive employment circumstances in which teachers operated, the presence and impact of violent epistemology could also be strongly seen in the organisational structure of the school and the collectively affirmed ideological premises upon which it functioned. This impacted the subject development of both teachers and students, and shaped interpersonal relating between the two.

As is common in many schools, particularly in post-colonial contexts, the DCX School operated according to traits inherited from the 19th Century European schooling model with its control of bodily movement and activity within time, positivist, rationalistic, 'civilising', authoritarian and domesticating tendencies, as well as the emphasis on technicism and efficiency of more recent years. Based in ideological schema which hold the cognitive dimension – associated with the learning of 'facts' and basic skills such as

reading, writing, arithmetic and computing – above all other dimensions of being (such as the physical, emotional, psychological, etc.), a traditional 'banking' style pedagogy was largely employed, in which teachers aimed to 'transmit' such facts and skills to students via the use of 'chalk and talk' teaching methods. Bare-walled classrooms were laid out with chairs and desks in rows facing a large blackboard at the front, from where teachers would be encouraged to read aloud from textbooks and set exercises for students to copy:

27. DCX School Classroom.

As is common in this model of schooling, an official hierarchy of power was in place, with the most 'knowledgeable' individuals expected to command over the least – the school director being at the top and students at the bottom. This hierarchy was maintained via a number of methods. One notable method was the strict vigilance and control of student movement, both within the classroom and around the building. One example of this is how entrance to the building and its different interior levels was controlled via a series of padlocked gates:

28. Padlocked entrance gate.

29. Second padlocked entrance gate.

30. Padlocked interior gate.

Movement through these gates was strictly controlled by staff members (189):

Going upstairs to the project room, I saw G5 sitting by the locked metal gate that allowed access to the upper floors of the school. The lady that guards the gate (and holds the keys to its padlock) was refusing to let him upstairs. I saw IG and he asked me if he could go upstairs with me to the project. He said his lesson had been cancelled. I said yes, but then another teacher came and said sternly to him no, telling him to go back down to the patio and wait (31/05/11).

The school also had a strict policy that no student should be outside the classroom during lesson times (190, 194, 196), and many teachers held the view that students needed to remain under surveillance at all times (191, 193):

It's no use saying 'Ai, how bad they are', like I heard today. The alternative is that firstly, they can't be left, in any scenario, by themselves (Teacher comment, 23/05/11).

Teachers also exerted significant control over students' bodies and movement within the classrooms (188, 192, 195, 197-199):

'Where's A?' the teacher said. 'A, come here!' A came back to the computer but remained standing. He leant over the back of the chair to type the corrections that the teacher instructed him to. I asked him if he wanted to sit down. 'No', he replied. 'Sit down' the teacher said. 'I don't want to', said A. 'Sit down PLEASE' said the teacher in a forceful tone. A sat down (Observation notes, 12/05/11).

This strict control over student movement can be seen as an expression of dimension M2 of the thesis model, because the ability to self-actualise (which includes meeting physical needs) relies on freedom of movement.

Another method by which hierarchies between teachers and students were maintained, was the restriction of space for students to express their own thoughts and needs. This was embedded in the structure of the chalk and talk pedagogy in which teachers controlled when students were permitted to speak and what they were allowed to say:

> *Teacher 1: So, it's written there… right girls I'm going to separate you, you hear? Oh, pay attention here, oh. [Reading from the screen] 'I am one of the 'different people', and you?'*
> *IG: I'm one*
> *Teacher 1: Could it be that B is one of the 'different people'? He's chatting just like a little rich girl – now is not the time for you to be playing – go and sit there with the teacher.*
> *Teacher 2: B. Sit here by my side.*
> *(Dialogue between teachers and students, 18/05/11).*

The silencing of students was also embedded in teachers' approaches to resolving problems or conflicts. These interactions focussed largely on discipline and punishment rather than on teachers inviting students to express their needs:

> *The teacher told AP off today. AP hadn't gone straight home yesterday, and her father had come to complain again. AP was silent while the teacher asked why she didn't go home. She sat there fidgeting with her hands, then mumbled that she had gone to eat dinner in the canteen. The teacher said 'You're losing your father's trust and today you lost even more. You can't just sit there with a face like 'scared Maria', you have to use your head and react. If things aren't going well you have to react because the world doesn't go round on its own. I have told you many times already [voice getting angrier] and it looks like you're not thinking about what I say, like it's not going in to your head. How long have you been in Sao Paulo?' AP said that she didn't know. 'How old are you?' asked the teacher. '13' said AP. 'And at 13 years of age you have no notion of time? How many months?' 'I arrived when I was 12' said AP. 'One year then' said the teacher. 'You have to earn your father's trust and think about what you do because people are coming to complain about you every day, wanting to claim money from you and all kinds of things, and you father has already come to speak to me. I won't involve myself in family things anymore because I'm promising things to your father that you are not fulfilling, so you need to think now and decide what you're*

going to do'. AP looked furious, but stayed silent. The teacher looked despairing. 'Think about what I said' said the teacher. 'You're going away aren't you? You have a lot to think about during your trip and afterwards, and if I speak to you again say something in response'. The teacher stopped talking, and AP asked me in a quiet, timid voice whether I had saved her work from yesterday. I sat with her and spent some time trying to teach her to correct her own work. She hardly knew how to use the computer, and could barely type (Field notes, 10/06/11).

While in this example the teacher expressed frustration that AP had remained largely silent, her demeanour and language demonstrated a closure to considering AP's perspective, and a predetermined assumption that AP was 'to blame'. This behaviour is indicative of the holding of rigid schema, maintained through type α behaviour and a lack of imaginative labour. Such epistemology was also reflected in how teachers tended to ask questions in ways that expected students to give the 'correct' answer or say what the teacher expected of them, rather than expressing their own particular thoughts (200-201). This resulted in students being fearful of saying the 'wrong' thing or making mistakes (375-379) (A→B→D→E→G→I):

> *The students were asked whether they felt free to express their opinions in group discussions:*
> *EST: I feel too ashamed. […] I'm afraid of getting something wrong.*
> *LC: And of people laughing in your face.*
> *EST: Yeah. (Conversation between teacher and students, 28/06/11).*

The general 'silencing' of students can be seen as a manifestation of violent epistemology because it involves a 'closure' to, and suppression of, the particularities and diversity that students could express (dimension G of thesis model) whether this takes the form of type α behaviour, identity thinking, a lack of imaginative labour or a self-protective 'everyday consciousness'. This 'Silencing' resulted in students feeling unheard, which led to frustrations expressed through agitated and aggressive behaviour (202-206) (M2→P→Q→R):

> *MR was agitated today – picking things up and putting them down, picking up the register and flicking through it, laughing in a strange sort of disconnected way, saying that she wanted to join the blog group because the radio group was rubbish, getting up to talk to AP in the blog group, etc. Then I saw her write on the desk 'Thank you JB [a teacher] for not letting me collect an invite, MR'. Then she rubbed out her name*

and re-wrote it with the letters jumbled up (Observation notes, 16/05/11).

G: But teacher, rarely when you say [who did something], [...] rarely will [the teachers] do anything... One day I said, and nobody heard me, and it seemed like me against everyone, nobody heard me. I said 'But it wasn't me that did it' and everyone said 'Ai but you were there, you went there' and I ended up losing it with a friend (Student comment, 28/06/11).

While some teachers wanted to encourage students to express themselves more freely but struggled to do so, others subscribed to the ideology of 'banking' style education and liked being authoritarian because it helped them to achieve the goal of transmitting information (207-209):

'I personally don't agree very much with the way the other teacher does things' said one teacher to me in private. 'She defends the students a lot. I'm not very accustomed to doing things this way. I'm more authoritarian, or dictatorial you could say. I'm sterner with the students and this works for me – I manage to pass the information that I need to them (Conversation with teacher, 26/04/11).

The hierarchical system fostered a general expectation that teachers should control the students and their behaviour (210) (M1→M2):

Teacher 2: She came one day and asked me to remove a student from her class, which is a really horrible thing.
Teacher 1: It is. The other day [another teacher] came and asked me, she said it like this 'Ai, I'm going to 5B, can you help me?' I said 'It's just that I'm going to 5D right now' and she said 'Ai, but can you...' and so I went there, got them inside, made them sit down... but, like, people, it's really... it's more or less... it's what the people from the Assistencia say, if you do this, it takes away the authority of the teacher, no?
Teacher 3: It does.
Teacher 1: It's not cool, you understand? So when [the School Director] said 'look people, you can't call for help all the time, because it takes the authority away from the teacher!' So how can I go... I mean, I go into HER lesson to make the students sit down. I think that up to a certain point – tell one off... say 'Get inside!' to whoever's in the corridor still, because I'm there by the door still, waiting for my students, but... It's ok for her to say 'I need help', but then what? When I go and turn my back, it'll just continue! Right? It's the teacher that will have to take that on... with [the students]... understand? So I went there but... it doesn't resolve the problem... (Conversation between teachers, 27/06/11).

The impact of this was that students expected to be controlled by the teacher, and would

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'lose control' whenever teachers were not present (211-216) (K):

> *If I enter the classroom, everybody maintains a certain attitude because I am there. As soon as I leave it turns into mayhem because I'm not there anymore (Teacher comment, 06/06/11).*

Students also showed more 'respect' for more authoritarian teachers, and tended to bully teachers who were not perceived as 'strict' or 'cool' (217-219) (K):

> *G: […] Why do the students disrespect teacher AR and don't disrespect teacher 2 for example?*
> *BR: Because he arrives in the classroom and it looks like he is afraid of the students. Because if the students mess around, knock over the desks, he doesn't say anything right? He just resolves these things with the School Director, and the others throw chalk, swear at him, and he doesn't say anything… […]*
> *Student: If you ask him why he lets the students mess around, he says like this that he's tired… […]*
> *Student: They take the chalk box and throw [chalk] at him, once a boy threw it right at his glasses.*
> *Teacher 1: But let me ask you, you're not answering, I mean BR answered G's question, why do they disrespect…*
> *JSC: Because he comes in the classroom and he stays, kind of quiet in his corner and everyone thinks 'he's not fierce' because teacher 2, when he arrived on the first day of classes he already arrived more… with more… but not AR.*
> *PL: Because he arrives and he arrives throwing chalk and he doesn't say anything right?*
> *Teacher 1: A teacher throwing chalk?*
> *PL: No [lots of giggling]*
> *Teacher 1: Calm down.*
> *PL: The students.*
> *Teacher 1: The students, ok.*
> *PL: The students throw chalk and there was that day when he got really upset with the students wasn't there? (Conversation between teacher and students, 28/06/11).*

Another impact of teachers being expected to be 'in control' was that students became accustomed to being told what to do and how to do it, and to being asked to copy from the blackboard rather than using their own creativity or initiative. This resulted in students lacking intrinsic self-motivation and ability to act autonomously (220-229) (M2):

> *'So, we could make a film about recycling in general, using the recordings from the*

fair and other things too' I suggested. FLP and N appeared to like the idea. FLP got up and said goodbye. I explained to N that he attends night classes and had to go to these. There were 10 minutes left, and N looked at me with an expression that said 'I don't know what to do now', pen hovering over the notebook in her hand. I said 'let's note down our ideas then?', and she looked at me with the same expression. 'Let's write 'Recycling' as our idea?' I prompted. 'Where?' she asked, not sure where on the page she should write. 'Anywhere is fine' I said. 'Here?' she asked. 'There's fine' I replied (Observation notes, 04/05/11).

Because students were not free to move around or leave the classroom, and due to the lack of materials for stimulation, they would become bored and agitated when they had completed tasks set by the teacher (M2→P→Q→R/S). This resulted in a pressure on teachers to keep students occupied within the classrooms at all times, reminiscent of how 'vacuums of leisure' were 'filled' with educational activities during Brazil's military dictatorship in order to suppress dissent:

They have finished their work really quickly and ended up hanging around, really idle haven't they? Really idle, and anxious, driving us crazy at times up there, understand? So we have to give them as much work as possible so they don't get anx... idle (Teacher, 13/06/11).

Another impact of the hierarchical structure in which teachers were expected to maintain control over students, was that students understood 'respect' to mean obedience and pleasing the teacher (another expression of the 'civilising' aims of schooling). Teachers saw this kind of 'respect' as something to be imposed, and students tended to reproduce this authoritarian rhetoric (238-242):

[Our behaviour is] our responsibility because there are a lot of people messing around and each teacher has their limit. AR, he has his limit because he has more patience, but RB doesn't. And I arrived and the boys said that JL had taken NTS' sandal, and the teacher asked 'whose sandal is this?' she said 'It's mine' and he threw it in her face (Student comment, 28/06/11).

The art teacher said that he thinks the students respect the teachers with contracted hours more, with whom they have regular contact, and not the teachers who are just filling gaps in the curriculum (like him). He wanted to know whether the teachers with contracted hours could work with or talk with the students, to try to get them to respect the fill-in teachers (Field notes, 15/06/11).

Discussing the script, MR and another student were thinking about phrases to say to

the younger students over the radio during break time, such as 'don't mess around in the classroom, it's not worth it'. MR said 'but we need to remember that they're small children', at which another student suggested 'Don't mess around in the classroom, always obey your teachers' (Observation notes, 16/05/11).

Students struggled to understand who was responsible for their behaviour and its impact (243). Some saw their parents (244-245), their teachers (246), or themselves as solely responsible (247-248), whilst others believed there was a shared responsibility (249). Many demonstrated a belief that they were accountable to authority rather than responsible for acknowledging the impact of their own actions, and tended to curb their own behaviour based on what teachers had told them was 'wrong' or that they 'shouldn't do', rather than an understanding of the impact of this behaviour on others:

BR: It's our responsibility [to control our behaviour when the teacher isn't there] because nobody is going to say that you're doing something wrong but you're doing something that you shouldn't, right? (Student comment, 28/06/11).

The expectations that teachers 'control' students can be seen as an expression of domination over some human beings by others in the name of ideology. As discussed in Chapter Four, because of how ideologies hold certain dimensions of life above others, creating conditions of worth that correspond to this hierarchy of particularities, social organisation based on such ideologies also tends to take a corresponding hierarchical form. In such circumstances, those higher up in the hierarchy tend to employ instrumental reason to dominate over those lower down, in order to serve the perpetuation of that ideology. In school, domination over students by teachers can be seen to impact student subject development, as students come to see themselves as subjects without autonomy or responsibility for their own actions. The development of such self-schema can be seen as an example of learnt violent epistemology that contributes to the deformation of subjectivity.

The emphasis on authority-based behaviour monitoring also represents violent epistemology through its focus on looking to a 'higher power' for guidance on how to act in the world (which risks negating the particular demands of the situation at hand), rather than a focus on being open and responsive to the particularities of phenomena

that present themselves to our awareness in any given situation. Some teachers felt that this stemmed from a punitive approach to social control rooted in society as a whole, and which they were forced to reproduce:

> *So their need is the same need as the whole of society, for the guy to be obligated for example not to racially discriminate against others, because there's a law that will have him arrested. Not because he has to understand that all people are equal blablabla. No, because there's a law. 'Ah, if I do this the law will have me arrested'. So I don't… I understand… they live according to this overarching idea… this is why we have to tell them to sit down, have to tell them to do this, do that. It's not that we agree. Shall we invent another way? But then it would have to be a different school. It can't be this one (Teacher comment, 27/06/11).*

Pressures on teachers to keep students in the classroom, quiet, sitting still, and occupied at all times (230-233) were often too much for teachers to handle, especially considering the high levels of student agitation and teacher burnout. This often resulted in angry outbursts on the part of teachers (A→B→D→E→G→I) and the fostering of hostile, disruptive interpersonal relations within the classroom. This, in turn, impacted on students' ability to engage in classroom activities and learn (234-237) (M2):

> *At the beginning of the session a teacher was screaming at one of her third year students out in the corridor, in front of the rest of her class. She grabbed the student aggressively and shouted. One of the project teachers shut the door and commented that she was shocked by this teacher, because her class didn't learn anything throughout the entire year and she didn't know how this was possible. She said the school management never did any kind of evaluation in the classrooms and simply let this happen. Another project teacher said that this teacher's students didn't have any autonomy at all in the classroom, and were only allowed to copy from the blackboard. She said she thought third year students should have some autonomy already, and that this class was the only one this year that didn't learn anything (Conversation with teachers, 08/04/11).*

After witnessing countless fractious interactions in the school environment, it was interesting to perceive how the distant, hierarchical relationships between teachers and students transformed into warm, friendly and egalitarian interactions when taken outside of the rigidly structured school environment (250-257), highlighting the strength of influence that the 'non-conducive' circumstances of the hierarchical school environment had on interpersonal relating. Within the school, teachers tended to take

disciplinary or coercive approaches to managing student behaviour, that involved blaming, disapproving, combative and intimidating tactics rather than fostering an intersubjective understanding of particular situations, individual feelings and needs (258-278):

> *Teacher 2: I don't know, I think that we need to take measures that are a bit more drastic, at least now, we need to take one of them, and make him sit outside for a week to appear as if he is being punished because he provoked such and such. Was it just him? No. It was ALL of them without exception. But we will have to take one to be an example to try…*
> *Teacher 1: Because if we… I'm not in favour of physical aggression so punishment is, is the only way out people. I say this to my son… I put him there, sat down, I take away his toys, understand? Make him think about his life, right? (Conversation between teachers, 09/05/11).*

> *Today as I arrived the two project teachers were outside the IT room with B. He was standing with his back to the wall, his whole body pressed up against the wall, with the teachers standing over him, hands on hips. He looked as if he had been backed into a corner and was trying to melt backwards through the wall to get away. 'Think about what we said. Go home and think about it' said one of the teachers to him. B was silent, and the teachers looked stressed (Observation notes, 30/09/11).*

The epistemic closure inherent to such disciplinary approaches appeared to foster alienated and mutually objectifying relations in which students and teachers developed and maintained rigid and limited identity schema in relation to each other. On the one hand, teachers held schema about students in which they were seen to be deviant and in need of control (279-281). On the other hand, students held schema about teachers as being authority figures to rebel against, rather than people trying to carry out educational work (282) (A→B→D→E→G→I, M2→P→Q→R/S):

> *The teacher told me that once there was a boy in his class, and when he asked him to read out loud the young man had said 'I won't read'. The teacher had replied 'Here there is no such thing as 'want', the only thing that exists is you doing what I tell you so you will read', and the young man had whispered 'I don't know how to read'. 'I wanted to cry!' said the teacher. 'I felt so bad' (Conversation with teacher, 02/06/11).*

> *The teachers were talking about the school coordinator, who the children have nicknamed 'Panettone'. When the rebellion happened the other week, all the students ran out the classrooms and shouted 'Panettone, Panettone!' (Conversation with teachers, 06/04/11).*

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They don't see us as workers right? When I said 'you treat us badly... or... do you want your parents to be treated badly in their work?' [They said] 'No teacher' [and I asked] 'So why do you mistreat us workers?' So, sometimes there's this alienation that they don't see sometimes, they see us as something else and not as someone who is carrying out his or her work' (Teacher comment, 18/04/2011).

Some students showed signs of having internalised teacher reprimands into a rigidified schema of self as 'bad', playing out this self-schema as a type of 'hardened', callous (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002) subjectivity (K):

During the group discussion, B sat the whole time with a half-smile on his face, looking as if he was being permanently told off. He had a 'naughty boy' expression on his face, but in the depth of his eyes I felt like I could see another expression – something which suggested a profound insecurity. He sat with a catapult made from an elastic band on his fingers, and spent the whole session threatening people with it with that wry - yet also ashamed looking - half-smile. The teacher made him move places and sat behind him for a long while, monitoring his behaviour (16/05/11).

Another impact of being held accountable to authority rather than encouraged to understand and take responsibility for their own behaviour, was that students would often do anything to avoid accountability, which signified punishment from teachers or parents. Students would threaten each other, use bribes, and form strategic 'friendships' in order to keep each other silent about indiscretions (A→B→D→E→G→I):

Teacher 2: [To PL] Do you think it's fair for you to take the blame for the person who threw chalk? Or do you think you should have said who it was?
PL: I should have said, but in the moment when I told the teacher I got scared.
Teacher 2: [To all students] Would you say who it was, in this situation?
[Some students said they would, others said 'sometimes'].
AP: You should say. If you say they threaten to hit you or something else, to do something wrong.
Other students: Yeah.
PL: Like AP said, there are people who threaten, right? And if there were two people that threw [chalk], and if they threaten you, then if I tell the teacher it will be everyone against me, and the teacher will say that it was the other person, and then what will I do? (Conversation between teacher and students, 28/06/11).

This self-censorship can be seen as an example of how non-conducive circumstances can foster a situation in which subjects close themselves down, motivated by a desire for

self-preservation in a world in which they cannot 'afford to be open' (Sherman, 2007). This kind of threatenedness was visible in interpersonal relating across the school, which was marked by the types of self-preservation motivated behaviours of response pathway A→B→D→E→G→I, such as physical violence, bullying and threats (283-288):

> *I saw who it was but I don't want to say. I won't say because otherwise afterwards they'll want to make me pay (Student, 09/05/11).*

> *T was smacking another girl in the face, and she started to lose her patience and T swore at her, and she pushed T to the floor and started hitting her (Student comment, 16/06/11).*

> *People this public school looks like hell and nobody notices. Our inspector walked around with a piece of wood in his hands this big, banging on the doors. It's horrible, it looks like a FEBEM[65] [...] which is crazy (Teacher, 09/05/11).*

> *'You threaten the boy but what does he have? [...] there's no point saying that you're armed because he'll say he has a bigger gun' (Pedagogical coordinator, 19/05/11).*

This defensiveness in response to threat also extended to the physicality of the school, with its locks, gates, and guards (289-297):

> *This school is horrible, it reproduces those tower blocks there, where they live confined (Teacher comment, 13/06/11).*

> *As we left I saw 5 or 6 policemen wearing bullet proof vests, guarding the school gate. We said goodbye to them and went on our way. As we passed I saw a policeman get out the police car, take a gun and tuck it into his belt. I noticed that all of them were armed (Field diary, 30/03/11).*

> *A teacher was leaving at the same time as I entered [the school gate], and gave me an untrusting look. I smiled at him but he continued with this expression. I went upstairs and the barred gate halfway up the stairs was locked with a padlock. A lady came to open it for me. I explained who I was and went through (Field diary, 22/03/11).*

This can be seen as the response pathway A→B→D→E→G→I, manifest in the physicality of the school's architecture and security structure, and motivated by a desire for self-preservation in a world seen as filled with threat.

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[65] Young offenders' institution.

Another significant manifestation of violent epistemology in the DCX School was homogeneity. Not in terms of teachers or students, but in its 'one size fits all' approach to school organisation, rules, curricula and teaching methods. One example is the implementation of universal policies based on the instrumental reason of local and international governing bodies rather than particular student needs. This was evident in areas such as the use of 'Think Quest', an information technology learning platform which was imposed by the DRE but too challenging for DCX students (299), and the introduction of extended school days imposed by the government with a mind to meet international development goals, but which did not take into account the ability of teachers to provide this service, nor the family and home life obligations of the poorest students (298). Also, while the Brazilian public school system has expanded dramatically in order to meet the global development goal of universal matriculation, in doing so the existing model of schooling was simply multiplied, rather than adapted with a consideration for the particular needs of a new student demographic. The impacts of this were exacerbated by inadequate infrastructure, Brazil's long history of underinvestment in teacher training, and insufficient consideration of the suitability of efficiency-based, technicistic education for this new demographic (303-305):

> *'No', responded the IT teacher, 'I think the students do have to learn. We shouldn't forget content. But I think it's not everything'.*
> *'And when they made the inclusive school' the art teacher added, 'they only made half of it. Yes, there are people going to school all together, we have people with disabilities, autism…'*
> *'Yes' said the IT teacher, 'which is democratic access – everyone has the same access to school – which is more than what we had in Brazil in the past'.*
> *'Yes' said the art teacher, 'but it doesn't stop there. The school, I believe, will only work when it becomes a cultural centre, a health centre, you know? [For now] things remain fragmented' (Discussion between teachers, 06/05/11).*

This can be seen as a manifestation of the response pathway A→B→D→E→G→I on a national level. Brazil signed up for the international Education for All goals out of perceived need for economic self-preservation. The traditional 19th century model of schooling which had been imported from Europe to serve the needs of wealthier classes who aspired to a vision of European-style 'progress', was simply expanded to allow for

the matriculation of rapidly increasing numbers of poorer students, representing a 'closure' to the particular needs of this new demographic. The imposition of policy reforms in Brazil by international financial and governing bodies can also be seen as the domination of some people over others through the employment of instrumental reason in the name of strengthening globalised neoliberal economic ideology.

Significant aspects of the traditional model of schooling that has become established in Brazil are the homogenisation of the use of time (300, 301) and space (302), and the standardisation of class sizes. Throughout the course of the Educommunication project, the teachers and students came up with many wonderful plans for interesting and meaningful projects. However, unfortunately due to the rigid time constraints of the school day there was only time to start some of these projects, and none were completed (M2):

> *Sometimes the time is too short, right? On Thursday there was a load of tasks and things [to do] and we couldn't manage [to complete them] (Teacher comment, 18/04/11).*

Classroom spaces at DCX were also homogenised, and could not be adapted to meet student needs (M2):

> *I asked the teacher if she thought the physical organisation of the class made any difference to student behaviour. She said that in the past, when there were classrooms designated for specific subjects, she had the Geography classroom, with all of the Geography materials, and she put the chairs in a circle, and saw that it worked really well with some groups, and not so well with others. Sometimes the students would crawl around under the chairs in a line, and it was difficult to catch them. Now that they no longer have subject-specific classrooms she gave up doing this, because she would lose a lot of time arranging the chairs and then rearranging them. 'You have to leave the classroom back how it was, for the next teacher' (Conversation with teacher, 15/06/11).*

As in schools around the world, children were grouped in classes of approximately 30 students, according to age. This was problematic for two reasons. Firstly, many children at DCX had missed out on parts of their schooling or struggled to learn at school, and therefore had different needs from other children the same age. Secondly, many children

required 1:1 emotional, behavioural and learning support which was not possible in large class sizes. Teachers struggled to meet these needs (306-310):

A teacher told me about a girl who 'freaked out' in his classroom. 'She punched me, and shouted and such. We took her to her parents, to talk, and she lived in a tiny room, 3x3, with no water, no bathroom, and no kitchen. They cooked and did everything in that same space, and they were living, eight people in this room. The poor mother, and the uncles, they were all drunk. There was no food at all in the house, no food at all! So, these people have really difficult lives. We complain that life is difficult but they have a really difficult life. But I don't think that, even like this, I can go accepting any old behaviour in the classroom!' (Conversation with teacher, 02/05/11).

There were three teachers and me in the classroom, with less than 20 students, and it was really difficult to meet the needs of the group (Field diary, 03/05/11).

The teachers said that they can't give individual attention to all the students, as much as they need, which leads to them dispersing during classroom activities. The teachers said the students need guidance, and when it doesn't arrive they start messing around (Field diary, 03/05/11).

Speaking about JF, a student who needs extra support with reading and writing, the teachers said that even though taking part in the Educommunication project could help him a little, it wasn't enough to meet his needs. He needed extra support. They said there should be a SAP [Pedagogical Support Class] to provide reinforcement classes for those students that haven't learnt to read and write yet, but there isn't one. I asked if there is any support available to him and they said 'there's nothing'. They said the school is going to start providing a class to support students with special educational needs, the plan was to have 20 students in the class. One teacher said 'imagine 20 students with special needs in the same class, is it going to help? No – because all of them need the type of attention that you saw just now where I sat the entire time with JF. It's not going to work' (Conversation with teachers, 01/05/11).

Another factor was that, being conditioned to teach in a standardised system, teachers were not accustomed to considering and adapting for particular student needs (311-316):

After students complained about teachers not making lessons interesting, the teacher said that what was important was to learn the content, and that when the test or exam time came they would see just how much they had lost, just because they didn't want to make the effort to pay attention in the lessons of the teachers who didn't teach in the way they liked, and that they should try harder to pay attention (Observation notes, 24/03/2011).

I argued with the school director recently, because I sent a student home to fetch his book. And the guy came back and said 'I lost the book'. I said 'Deal with it. Get your mum and take her to the bookshop to buy another one'. Is a guy who doesn't even eat going to buy a book? That's his problem, it's not my responsibility! […] I say 'You haven't got a book? Then come here to the front, you sit here, you there, you here. You do times tables, you…' Today they sat writing a text. The entire time. Not even allowed to get up from the table. Writing a text (Teacher comment, 09/05/11).

Such standardisation can be seen as a manifestation of violent epistemology because it represents a system built on the universalisation of particularities (such as age) under which all other particularities are subsumed (such as the particular needs of individual students). This led, as is common in Brazil, to many students leaving school only semi-literate, and developing schema relating to 'self-as-failure' as a result of struggling to engage with an educational institution that could not meet their needs (M2):

50% of students who left DCX School last year didn't finish high school. They were marked as having abandoned their schooling, because they didn't know how to read and write (School Director, 15/06/2011).

The teacher gave the print-out of information about genre to JSU, and said 'read the explanation there about video clips and documentaries for us'. He sat with the paper in his hands, doing nothing. 'Read it loudly' said the teacher. 'Read it loudly' JSU repeated back. 'Eeesh, but I'm really bad'. He sat for a few seconds looking at the paper as if he was trying to make out the text in his head. Then he said 'I need to go to study class' and left (Observation notes, 11/05/11).

These examples also illustrate the dangers of how neoliberal ideology places the responsibility for 'success' mostly on individuals, whilst largely negating the social, historical and economic context that shapes the availability of opportunities and the ability of individuals to engage in these opportunities.

Another aspect of school life marked by the drive for homogeneity, was how students were expected to behave in a standardised manner (namely by remaining calm, quiet and largely stationary). Students found these expectations hard to meet. However, rather than considering the reasons for this or reflecting on whether these expectations were reasonable, teachers tended to reprimand and suppress behaviours that didn't meet these expectations (317):

Trying to find solutions to the problem of children running around and becoming agitated during break times, the teachers discussed how the radio could be used for this purpose. 'What would be good for this group of fifth years during break? Just listen to music? Just dance to funk which didn't work very well before? Or have, for example, for the first and second year students, to stop them running around, you could have circle songs, in this radio programme, which encourages them to play [in a structured game] or charades […] we could make a 'radio corner' downstairs on the patio, with tables for people to sit and listen to the radio to stop them running around so much' (Conversation with teachers, 18/04/11).

With standardised expectations of behaviour also came an expectation that staff and students leave dimensions of their selves outside the school gate:

Talking with a teacher about the relationship between school and society, the teacher said 'The school is not separate from society, the two need to change together. We say 'here at school you can't do this' but I don't understand how they don't want violence in school, as if it were something separate from society. They want the students to say goodbye to aspects of their being to come into school, and the teachers demand this. They demand this, but the school directors also demand that the teachers say goodbye to the social aspects of their being. Only when we have parents, students and society all together will things change, because they <u>are</u> society' (Conversation with teacher, 27/04/11).

This rejection of particularity was also visible in the standardisation of curriculum content (320), which can be seen as an example of the same violent epistemology behind the 'civilising', nationalising and homogenising aims of Brazilian schooling from the colonial through to the republican era; the prosecution of teachers who taught students in their mother tongue during the Vargas era; the nationalism and political repression of the military dictatorship; and the developmentalist goals of Education for All:

Our students suffer linguistic prejudice all the time […]. All the time. Understand? All the time. Last year I worked on a project 'the different ways of speaking in the writing of letters'. A teacher reported me for it. She called it absurd because I was reinforcing 'incorrect speech'. No. It was the contrary. I was giving an example to our student to show that it isn't that he speaks incorrectly, but that he has a REGIONAL speech of his own. […] if you don't understand this and don't help the student to understand this, you work from the presupposition of linguistic prejudice […] Now if you treat grammar as the be all and end all, without understanding that it is part of a historical process, that it's a synthesis of a historical process, that language is something ALIVE, is a historical process… understand? This is something that most people don't discuss. […] How did the purist Portuguese of Brazil begin? When the economic and political

power was transferred from Salvador, to the Central-South. From the Northeast to the Central-South. […] Because when you talk about accents, and about speaking incorrectly and speaking correctly, people don't include the Paulista or Carioca accents, they include the North Eastern. […] But the Paulistano thinks he's the only right one, because of this history, which we don't teach. So I work on this with my students, and it's interesting, when I teach this, like I was going to last year here at DCX, I was going to work with a text, but the proposal of the teachers working with this text in the classroom, they didn't embrace the idea. Much to the contrary, they boycotted it. And one day the students said they didn't want me to teach them this anymore because I was reinforcing… they said I wanted them to speak incorrectly, and they wanted to speak correctly (Teacher comments, 23/05/11).

This emphasis on reinforcing nationalised 'standards' rather than integrating the particularities of regional histories and student experience into the curriculum, fostered the development in certain students of a schema relating so 'self-as-sub-standard' (318-320):

When RF spoke he looked at the floor and fumbled his words. He spoke with a very strong North Eastern accent (Project observations, 16/05/11).

Again, the standardisation of behavioural expectations and curriculum content represent violent epistemology as select particularities are made universal, and all other particularities are either subsumed beneath these universalised schema or negated and suppressed.

The cumulative impact of hierarchical and dominating relations, and the experience of standardised schooling that did not meet their needs, meant that many students felt alienated from schooling and as if the school space was not genuinely *theirs*. This often manifest in frustration and aggression, and in students intentionally damaging or 'messing up' parts of the school building, furniture, spaces or learning materials (P→Q→R/S). Teachers interpreted this as a lack of respect for the school space and learning materials (321-326), but gave little consideration to the possible reasons for this behaviour.

Another expression of violent epistemology could be seen in the language teachers used to describe students. Teachers would often refer to students as *Danado* [Damned] (327-

328), *Da pá virada* [Useless] (329-331), *Marginal* [Marginal/Criminal] (332), *Mal* [Bad] (333)*, Idiota* [Idiot] (334), *Terrivel* [Terrible] (335), *Problema* [Problem] (336), Aquela Raça [That race] (337) or Cobra criada [Scoundrel] (338). These terms were expressed in specifically objectifying language, as they were often prefixed by the permanent form of the verb 'to be'. Portuguese has two forms of this verb. É is used to refer to something being in a long-term or permanent state, such as *Ela é alta* [she is tall], whereas está is used to refer to something being in a temporary state, such as *Ele está cansado* [he is tired]. By prefixing these terms with *é* in statements like *Ele é danado* [he is damned], teachers promoted the subsumption of the many and changing particularities of a student under a single, rigidified scheme that both neglected to consider the underlying reasons for their behaviour, and objectified them 'into character' (Sherman, 2007).

Students also showed signs of having learnt, from schooling, to reproduce violent epistemology. Aside from the internalisation of violent epistemic self-schema discussed earlier, learnt violent epistemology was also expressed in the use of the same kind of objectifying language used by teachers (339-341), as well as in expressions of homophobia and racism that appeared to be learnt through schooling (342-343). Students would also often interpret the epistemically violent language of teachers as a promotion of physical violence (344-345):

> *Teacher 2 encourages the students to stop associating themselves with the students who lead the messing around in class, until those students become isolated:*
>
> *Teacher 1 [to students]: Teacher 2 said that you need to ISOLATE this minority. Let's do this [...]*
> *Student: There was a time when I was arriving at school and a boy was harassing me. I told him to stop, he didn't stop. I told my brother and my brother went there and gave him a kick [proud tone]. Then on Monday, NR was taking my keys [...] and I hit her [still with proud tone] (Conversation between students and teachers, 16/06/11).*

When teachers behaved violently towards students, student would also mimic this by responding violently in return:

> *It's like the students are saying 'we can be violent in the classroom too. We turn*

into monsters if the teacher shouts at us' (Teacher comment, 15/06/11).

Teachers' use of objectifying language and the encouragement of student to 'isolate' peers who do not conform to behavioural expectations, is exemplary of how violent epistemology maintains rigid schema and rejects particularities that do not conform. These behaviours could also be seen as expressions of neoliberal ideology in how it posits individuals who are unable to 'succeed' by conforming to societal expectations, as deficient or lazy subjecting them to stigmatisation and social exclusion.

Not all teachers intended to be authoritarian or perpetuate violent epistemology, and some explicitly tried to practice a more Freirian style pedagogy. However, these intentions were often overridden by the overall hierarchical structure of the school, resulting in epistemic contradictions in teacher practice. Teachers would struggle over allowing students choice, freedom and responsibility (346-349); demonstrated limited understanding of what student autonomy might look like in practice (350); and found it difficult to resist the expectation that they be 'in control', causing them to act in an authoritarian manner one moment, and anti-authoritarian the next (351-357). This really illustrates the continuing prevalence of both traditional and neotechnicistic tendencies in schooling which make coherent, progressive or transformative practice virtually impossible.

Regardless of how hard they tried not to be violent, the cumulative impact of all of the factors discussed above (including being overworked, underpaid, insufficiently trained, and expected to maintain control over large groups of students with complex needs without appropriate support structures in place), meant that teachers were often in a state of such high anxiety, stress, and exhaustion that they would lose control of their emotions and act in explicitly violent ways (358-362) (A→B→D→E→G→I, M2→P→Q→R):

We have a discipline of shouting (Teacher comment, 15/06/11).

AP: There was a day when the history teacher said something to LC, I don't know what they did, I was at the back, and I saw that the history teacher said just like this

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[puts on a threatening, aggressive tone in imitation] 'I'm going to cut your throat'. And he got so angry that he shouted because he got, I don't know what he got but he said just like this 'I'm going to cut your throat'. Whenever the students don't return [something to him] he says something like that.
BR: He said like this, that if he was his son he would want to kill him and throw him in the trash (Student comments, 28/06/11).

JSC: [...] Once IG was messing around, weren't you?
IG: I was
BR: [The teacher] took a thing off the wall and started to throw it at IG. IG was complaining about the teacher and the teacher said he would put him outside and IG got up on the desk and started harassing him through the window, and the teacher took a thing off the wall and started to throw it at IG.
JSC: And the teacher couldn't write with his hand because he [IG] made him break his arm, Because he went to take IG outside and he broke his arm, and he went for an operation, and he said he broke his arm because of IG. He lost the movement in his hand. He [IG] was banging on the chair and he [the teacher] said 'this is serious, I should hit him'. Because he was banging on the chair, and he'd broken all the chairs during the semester, and he said 'teacher, I've lost my patience'. And the teacher ran after him and knocked over everything in his path. He even pushed the chair over (Student comments, 28/06/11).

The phenomenon of teacher violence appeared to contradict the schema that teachers held about themselves and the school. This made it difficult for them to acknowledge their own violent behaviour and adapt these schema accordingly. The result was that teachers often negated their own and their colleagues' violent behaviour, and blamed students for disruptions in class (A→B→D→E→G→I). This could be seen to further perpetuate violence, as student disclosures of teacher violence were not openly acknowledged or responded to (363-369) (K→M1→M2):

Student: There was a teacher and [...] he said to [lists some girls' names], he was trying to explain, and he said that if anyone said they didn't understand he would give them a smack in the face.
Another student: A smack in the face.
Teacher 1 [without acknowledging what students just said]: But can you answer Beth's question? (Conversation with students and teacher, 28/06/11).

As long as only certain manifestations of violence are acknowledged whilst others are negated, we can imagine that such collective 'type α behaviour' will act to prevent the establishment and success of any project that intends to address violence in schooling at its root causes.

Conclusion.

As this chapter has illustrated, DCX School can be seen in the context of a schooling system built on a long history of collectively affirmed violent epistemology. I have demonstrated the many ways in which violent epistemology can manifest in schooling. This has included how non-conducive social circumstances (also established through a long history of collectively affirmed violent epistemology) outside of the school itself can impact on student and teacher subject development and engagement with prescribed roles in schooling. I have also illustrated how non-conducive employment circumstances as well as hierarchical and homogenising tendencies in schooling can foster teacher burnout and violent, alienating relations between teachers and students, contributing to a self-perpetuating cycle which teachers struggle to break out of.

Let us return to the phrase that so caught my attention back in that teachers' meeting in 2011: '*I put tables against the door so that they don't leave*' (Teacher comment, 15/06/11). At that time, Educommunication theory and existing theories of violence in schooling could not help me to understand how things had 'come to be this way'. After reviewing concepts from a variety of disciplines and carrying out a detailed sociohistorical and case-study analysis, I have developed a holistic and comprehensive framework for understanding the multiple factors that can lead to situations like the one in which this teacher found herself – a framework for understanding the root causes of violence in schooling.

While manifestations of violent epistemology (as I have shown) can take many different forms, in this particular context the overwhelming expression was one in which 'the world of desires, of feelings, of social and biological needs, has been conditioned and contaminated by the economic dimension' (Clovis de Azevedo, 2007: 94). In a world shaped by a globalised capitalist economy this is likely to be the case in many contexts. However, this thesis demonstrates how we should not see economic ideology in itself as the root causes of violence, but rather the underlying violent epistemology upon which such ideology is built.

I would like to close with two pieces of data that particularly motivated me to complete this thesis:

We watched M's video again. She had added some words superimposed over the images. J [another teacher] said she liked the shot with the word 'Lack' superimposed. 'Because what is lacking, right? So many things. Lack of teachers, lack of education, lack of salary, lack of discipline'. JB [another teacher] said he liked the scene with 'See us' superimposed. 'It's as if we're asking to be seen – 'look at us' he said (Conversation between teachers, 30/05/11).

I see the state of education as a silent scream; we shout and shout and nobody hears (Teacher comment, 15/06/2011).

I hope that the work presented in this thesis goes some way towards seeing and hearing the challenges faced by these teachers and their students, and to beginning to find ways of breaking out of such 'vicious cycles' of violent epistemology and non-conducive circumstances.

Chapter Seven

Working towards Non-violent Epistemology and Practice.

'We are only as blind as we want to be'
Maya Angelou

Summary of Thesis and its Key Contributions.

The aim of this thesis has been to develop a more thorough understanding of the root causes of violence in schooling – an area which is currently under-theorised. Drawing on a number of methodological approaches and disciplines, I have developed two core concepts: *violent epistemology* and *non-conducive circumstances*. This has involved rethinking existing definitions of violence in relation to schooling, and considering violence in detail at both individual (cognitive, emotional and psychological) and societal (political, economic and institutional) levels, drawing on a range of disciplines to examine the co-constituting relationships between the two. Central to this relationship, I have argued, are the roles that ideology and the de-formation of subjectivity play in the perpetuation of violence.

Through detailed analysis of a case-study school and the socio-economic and historical context in which it is situated, I have demonstrated how this conceptual model can be used to better understand violence in particular contexts. This involved a detailed examination of the prevalence and impact of violent epistemology at different levels of society and throughout history – from the global history of colonial exploitation through the history of Brazil and São Paulo, down to the level of non-conducive circumstances in the neighbourhood where the case study school was located. Finally, I carried out a detailed analysis of the impact of this long history of violent epistemology and non-conducive circumstances, on the development of schooling in Brazil and São Paulo and on the day-to-day lives of teachers and students in the case study school. Throughout

the remainder of this section I will summarise the overall arguments, findings, and key contributions of this research.

As outlined in Chapters Two and Three, the complex phenomenon of violence in schooling is sorely under-theorised. While explicit forms of violence are widely recognised and condemned (Elliott et al., 1998; Hoffman, 1996; Smith, 2005), implicit manifestations, particularly forms of domination, control and neglect enacted by teachers and institutions, go largely unrecognised and unchallenged (Harber, 2002; Schostak, 1986; Horta, 2005). While some theorists do recognise these more insidious forms of violence (e.g. Galtung, 1996; Ardizzone, 2007; Ross Epp, 1996), theoretical frameworks tend to emphasise the typology of violence (perhaps due to its complex and multidimensional nature), rather than seeking to understand its root causes (Ralph, 2013). While some studies attempt to identify the causes of school violence, these are often limited to the identification of correlational relationships (Elliott et al., 1998; Hoffman, 1996)), but are largely unable to explicate precise causal mechanisms. The most important contribution of this thesis therefore, has been to significantly advance current theory by developing a broad and coherent conceptual model that is not just able to accommodate the many forms in which violence manifests, but also conceptualises precise causal mechanisms for the occurrence of violence.

Another important contribution has been the development of the innovative epistemic framework and methodological approach through which this model was developed. As presented in Chapter Two, a key outcome of my initial analysis of the Educommunication Project was not only the finding that interventions based on current theories of school violence are limited due to lack of understanding of the root causes and causal mechanisms pertaining to violence in schooling, but also the finding that methodological frameworks grounded in idealist epistemologies (such as post-structuralism) are not suitable for developing such understanding. An important contribution of my methodological framework therefore, has been the formulation of an epistemic approach to analysis that overcomes the limitations of idealist epistemologies, without reverting to a strong foundationalism.

By understanding consciousness as embodied and situated in a real world, acknowledging the multidimensionality and ever-changing nature of consciousness and phenomena, and emphasising the importance of maintaining a dialectical 'openness' to experience, this epistemic framework (which is closely aligned to Critical Realism) has enabled me to 'lend a voice to suffering' (Schick, 2009) without decontextualizing or neutralising it, and to maintain a balanced and integrated appreciation of both generality and particularity, individual consciousness and society, structure and agency, and subjective experience and sociohistorical context. The strength of this is that it has enabled me to consider a complex and multidimensional issue in a balanced and holistic manner. This has allowed me to identify patterns and regularities and to draw conclusions without reducing complex phenomena to either select dimensions that can be 'objectively' measured, nor to a relativistic debate on subjectivity. The framework has also allowed for the treatment of causality in a manner that could not be accommodated by a strong foundationalist or idealist approach, which has enabled me to bring new insight to the study of violence in schooling.

As discussed in Chapter Two, this epistemic framework both operated as and informed my methodological approach to analysis. Rather than choosing an 'off the shelf' analytical methodology, I selected dimensions of a number of different methodological frameworks and practices based on their compatibility with this overarching epistemic stance. This resulted in a patchwork-like methodology which included a dialectical approach to 'bracketing' (Cohen et al., 2011; Hutchinson, 1998; Waring, 2012), a 'radical enquiry' (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012) approach to analysis, and a Critical Realist approach to investigating causality (Fleetwood, 2013; Fletcher, 2016)). I also adopted Harich's (2010) definition of 'root causes' and used select analytical practices from Grounded Theory (Glaser, 2010; Waring, 2012)). The dialectical nature of my epistemic and methodological framework was valuable in that it fostered a normative practice of complex abductive thinking throughout the entire analytical process.

Employing this innovative epistemic and methodological approach has allowed me to complete a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the DCX case-study and its surrounding context, and develop a holistic framework for understanding the

manifestation and perpetuation of multiple forms of violence within this context. This analysis demonstrated that violence in DCX is not simply a matter of students responding to the symbolic violence of traditional 'banking' style education with physical violence (as theorised by proponents of Educommunication), but rather a complex interplay of student and teacher subjectivity in interaction with challenging circumstances that result from a long, embedded history of multiple manifestations of violent epistemic ideology within Brazilian society and its education system.

As already mentioned, the most important outcomes have been the development of the concepts of violent epistemology and non-conducive circumstances, and the conceptualisation of the interrelationships between the two. This entailed asserting (as outlined in Chapter Three) some core principles regarding the nature of human consciousness and its relationship with the phenomenal world. This which began with a discussion of how human beings can be seen to possess conscious agency (James, 1918; Broadbent, 1958; Block, 1998; Trevarthen and Reddy, 2007; Trevarthen, 1998; 2004; Jarvis, 2009), and the arguments that it is therefore necessary to study violence as a product of this. This approach advances current theories of violence in schooling because it requires us to consider the specific agentive mechanisms of consciousness underlying the enactment of violence, rather than assuming violence to be a product of either an inherently violent (Francesco, 1976; Lowe, 2007) or non-violent (Rousseau, 1984; Eisler and Miller, 2004) human nature.

Drawing on the concept of phenomenological freedom (Sartre, 1956), I have demonstrated how our epistemic agency can be located firstly in our capacity to focus our attention on or attenuate any particular aspects of phenomena (Treisman, 1964; Posner, 1978) that come into our awareness through sense perception (Chalmers, 2007; Tye, 2007), and also in our ability to reflect on our experiences (something which is made possible by the 'space' between our pre-reflective and reflective consciousness (Sartre, 1956; Sherman, 2007). I have also discussed how a core function of intentional agency is what phenomenologists (Merleau-Ponty, 2012; Husserl, 1973; Heidegger, 1962) have identified as the continuous process of orientating ourselves towards phenomena, forming concepts (also referred to as orientations or 'schema' (Piaget, 1977)) about

ourselves, others and the world (Ahmed, 2006a: 11).

Since schema can be seen to constitute our guides for acting in the world (Trevarthen and Reddy, 2007), I have argued that understanding violent action is a matter of understanding processes of schema formation, which is in essence a matter of epistemology. In Chapter Three I presented a key concept – the notion that different processes of schema formation, which constitute different epistemic behaviours, can do more or less justice to the phenomena of experience and as such be more or less violent. I drew on a combination concepts and research from phenomenology, neuroscience, psychology, learning theory and early Frankfurt School Critical Theory, to discuss how the formation of schema can be seen to operate through the cognitive relating of generalities and particularities in our experience.

From these different fields I identified a number of concepts (type α behaviour (Piaget, 1987), identity thinking (Adorno, 1973), non-learning (Jarvis, 2009), everyday consciousness (Leithäuser, 1976) and Stage One (Rogers, 1961)) which all point to a similar manner of relating generalities and particularities in experience, characterised by 'conceptual subsumption' (Polanyi, 1969; Adorno, 1973) and selective attenuation (Treisman, 1964). By drawing new connections between these previously un-combined concepts I proposed, crucially, that epistemic behaviours which can be identified in each concept, can be brought together under the single concept of 'violent epistemology'.

The idea that some epistemic behaviours can be more or less violent than others, and the concurrent formulation of the concept of 'violent epistemology', is one of the most important contributions of this thesis. This argument breaks away from current discussions on violence and epistemology which revolve around the concepts of epistemic violence and epistemic injustice (Fricker, 1998; 1999; Foucault, 1980; Spivak, 1988; McConkey, 2004; Young, 1990). As discussed in chapters Two and Three, these discussions tend to be rooted in idealist (and consequently rather relativistic) epistemic discourse. This keeps discussion at the level of considering the implications of affording more or less credulity to the epistemologies of different social groups, whilst preventing the consideration that some epistemologies can be more or less violent than others (and

- perhaps controversially - thus more or less deserving of credulity). While the popularity of idealist epistemologies means that such assertions are likely to garner some contention (Fletcher, 2016), I have demonstrated how doing away with epistemic relativism without reverting to foundationalist epistemology, can open up new ways of understanding the specific cognitive (epistemic) mechanisms implicated in violent relating with the phenomenal world, ourselves, and others.

However, the cognitive dimension of violent epistemology by no means constitutes the whole picture when it comes to understanding the root causes of violence in schooling. I Chapter Three I also discussed the importance of investigating the role played by motivations and emotions in fuelling violent epistemic behaviour, since emotion and cognition are intimately interrelated (Dainton, 2007; Chalmers, 2007; Tye, 2007; Illeris, 2007; Kant, 1953; Vygotsky, 1978; Furth, 1987; Damasio; 1994). Here, I proposed that the emotions underlying the enactment of different epistemic behaviours can be related to two core 'motivating forces' - self-preservation (Hobbes, 1996; Spinoza, 1985; Freud, 1910; Adorno, 1973) and self-actualisation (Goldstein, 1939; Maslow, 1954; Rogers, 1961). Self-preservation, I discussed, can be understood as both biological self-*preservation*, and egological *self*-preservation (Sherman, 2007). Building on these conceptual links, I drew new analogies between the work of Goldstein (1939) and Piaget (1977), showing how Goldstein's self-preservation can be associated with Piaget's type α behaviour, and his self-actualisation with Piaget's constant process of equilibration. By drawing such connections I have introduced a new way of thinking about these concepts, by highlighting the epistemic implications of Goldstein's work, and the ethical implications of Piaget's.

Examining the interplay between emotions, motivations and epistemic behaviour in more depth, I discussed how some have associate such behaviour with a 'deep rooted fear' (Smith, 2011) felt in response to the experience of disequilibrium (Piaget, 1977), which can arise out of the discord between multidimensional and ever-changing phenomena (Ahmed, 2006a; Jarvis, 2009), and our conceptual schema which can never be identical (Adorno, 2006a). Further, I discussed how anxiety felt in response to real or perceived threats to biological or egological self-preservation can also motivate such

behaviour (Maslow, 1943; Fromm, 2013; Rogers, 1959). Aside from this I considered how Social Self-Preservation Theory (Gruenewald et al., 2004) and research into the relationship between emotions and violence (Scheff and Retzinger, 2001), have also identified feelings of low social worth, shame, humiliation and rage, as common motivators for the enactment of the self-preserving behaviours described in the psychoanalytic tradition as 'mechanisms of defence' (Appleton, 2002; Adorno, 1973; Reich, 1972).

Into this theoretical framework I have also integrated other emotions which featured pertinently in the case-study data. These include feelings of overwhelm in the face of large volumes of sensory input and 'the sheer volume of cruelty, wickedness and negativity that we are bombarded with every day' (Illeris, 2009: 15) and the emotional impact of secondary traumatic stress, vicarious traumatisation and compassion fatigue (Rothschild, 2006), both of which have been associated with forms of violent epistemology such as Leithäuser's (1976) 'everyday consciousness', Horkheimer and Adorno's (2002) 'hardened' or 'callous' subjectivity, and the reduced enactment of mentalization (Fonagy et al., 2002) and 'labour of the imagination' (Graeber, 2011). Other pertinent emotions represented in the data included frustration and/or helplessness felt in response to thwarted self-actualisation (Rogers, 1959). By drawing these connections I have brought together insights both from different disciplines and from my own research data, to provide a fresh way of looking at the role that emotions and motivations play in the enactment of particular forms of epistemic behaviour.

Shifting away from the individual and towards the social and structural dimensions of my multidimensional analysis, in Chapter Four I presented a theoretical framework for understanding how violent epistemology can be seen to foster social and institutional circumstances which are 'non-conducive' to healthy subject development and the enactment of non-violent epistemology. This included the introduction of an alternative way of thinking about ideology as being analogous to violent epistemology. Drawing on Horkheimer (1947), Smith (2011), Morgan (2013) and Sherman (2007), I proposed that ideological thought can be identified by the cognitive act of separating out one or a small number of dimensions of a phenomenon and holding that/those dimension(s) up to be

of superior importance to all others, coupled with either the suppression/attenuation of the latter and/or the recognition of the latter only inasmuch as it serves the former. Importantly, I demonstrated how this epistemic behaviour can be seen as analogous to aspects of the behaviours that make up the concept of violent epistemology already presented. This formulation brings a very different perspective to debates around violence, epistemology and ideology, because it breaks away from current relativistic and idealist conceptualisations of ideology and de-neutralises the concept, by highlighting the violence inherent to its underlying epistemic structure.

Moving on from this, I presented the idea that violent epistemic ideology can be collectivised into the social ideology that shapes our societies and institutions. This has included a discussion of how loneliness and societally enforced 'stunting' of subjectivity can motivate individuals to collectivise around ideological schema (Adorno, 2005; Fromm, 2013; Sherman, 2007), and how such schema (as a product of their hierarchical epistemic structure) tend to foster both social hierarchies (Sidanius and Pratto, 2001) and the attribution of 'conditions of worth' (Rogers, 1959) to individuals and activities. I also discussed how ideologies tend to generate a form of instrumental reason that can be seen to foster the domination and repression of external nature (the phenomenal world), internal nature (ourselves) and other human beings (Horkheimer, 1947; Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002), as it brings multiple phenomena and dimensions of phenomena into the service of those dimensions given primacy under the ideological schema (ibid). This, I argued, can can foster social and institutional circumstances which are not conducive to fostering healthy subject development or the enactment of non-violent epistemology.

By introducing the concept of 'non-conducive circumstances' rather than adopting Horkheimer and Adorno's (2002) notion of a 'bad totality', I have moved away from the idea that societies can be seen as absolutely and entirely consumed by ideology. Replacing the word 'bad' which is rather vague in its expression, with the more specific 'non-conducive' brings more clarity to the concept, and replacing 'totality' with 'circumstances' allows for the consideration that rather than being absolute, ideological circumstances are continually mediated by human subjectivity and agency, and vice-

versa. A key contribution of this thesis has therefore been not only the introduction of this new terminology, but also the advancement upon Horkheimer and Adorno's (2002) concept with clearer, more systematic theorising and the use of case-study analysis to illustrate the concept's application and grounding in research data.

Aside from the above, I have made an important contribution to the study of violence by formulating specific mechanisms by which violent epistemology and non-conducive circumstances can be understood to co-constitute each other. Central to this is the concept of subject deformation, which can be seen to operate in a number of ways. Firstly, I discussed how the individual enactment of violent epistemology can be seen to result in a 'stunting' of subjectivity and 'failure of [individual] self-development' (Sherman, 2007; Adorno, 1968). Secondly, I outlined how once ideological social circumstances are established, the manner in which they tend to reinforce social hierarchies and assign 'conditions of worth' (Rogers, 1959) to individuals, can also enforce the 'self-alienation' (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002), adaptation, sublimation, suppression and appropriation of the self (Honneth, 1995; Rogers, 1959). Finally, I discussed how such (mal)adaptation to an already pathological society might further reinforce the stunting of development (Fromm, 2013; Rogers, 1959; Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002). This provides a means to conceptualise how both violent epistemology and non-conducive circumstances can be perpetuated in a continual 'feedback loop' (Myrdal, 1944) which both reinforces and is reinforced by, such deformations of subjectivity. This, along with a consideration of how non-conducive circumstances can be seen to thwart self-actualisation and limit choices for action, provides both a detailed and comprehensive framework for understanding the problems of self-perpetuating cycles of violence in contemporary societies.

To conclude the conceptual chapters of the thesis I have presentation a visual diagram which illustrates how the different dimensions of this theoretical model relate to each other (elements C, F, H and J are expanded on later in the current chapter). This model operates not only as a summary and guide for readers of this thesis, but could also provide a useful reference tool for practitioners and researchers interested in considering the possible causal mechanisms behind manifestations of violence in other

contexts. The most important contribution of this model is in how, rather than providing a simple typology of different manifestations of violence it offers a holistic, multidimensional illustration of causal dimensions and mechanisms and the ways in which they can be seen to interrelate.

In chapters Five and Six I brought this theoretical model to life by presenting the case-study analysis that resulted in its formulation, which at the same time demonstrates its application to a real life context. Structuring this analysis according to a slightly adapted version of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) bioecological model of human development, has enabled me to consider the manifestations and interactions of violent epistemology within and between different contextual levels. The introduction of a new 'globosystem' level to the model has also enabled me to examine violent epistemology as global, human issue, rather than as something stemming from a particular culture or nation-state.

This multi-level analysis has demonstrated how two core manifestations of violent epistemology can be seen to run throughout Brazil's history, from the level of the globosystem to the microsystem. On the one hand, globalised economic ideology has shaped Brazil's development through a long history of economic exploitation spanning from slavery (Levine, 1999; Blaut, 1993) to the low pay of industrial workers (Kohara, 2009; Green, 2003), to the precarious labour market conditions of the neoliberal era (Amman and Baer, 2002). At the same time, racist and neo-hygienist ideologies have fostered a number of manifestations of violence throughout Brazilian society including the affording of higher social status and increased access to opportunities to those of lighter skin (Landmand and Schonteich, 2002; Bill and Athayde, 2006); disproportionate rates of police violence and repression against those of darker skin (Levine, 1999; UNESCO, 2014); and the marginalisation and socio-spatial segregation fostered by discourses that paint the (majority non-white) poor as being 'dirty, unsightly and dangerous' (Chalhoub, 2006; Sobrinho, 2013).

I have shown how these ideologies have fostered the development of non-conducive social circumstances throughout Brazil, and how the impacts of this in São Paulo and the

Baixada neighbourhood have included (among other things) mass-migration into metropolis without adequate infrastructure (Levine, 1999), the exploitation and criminalisation of those unable to access the formal labour market (Kohara, 2009), social stratification and socio-spatial segregation (ibid), and the degradation of the neighbourhood's buildings and infrastructure caused by strategic governmental and private-sector neglect. The impacts of this for residents of the Baixada have included expensive, poor-quality, overcrowded and insecure tenement accommodation, lack of access to public services, and high rates of organised crime, police violence and homelessness. In contrast to this picture, I discussed how contemporary neoliberal ideology tends to promote the illusion of limitless choice and opportunity, while simultaneously fostering such social and economic circumstances in which opportunity and choice can be severely limited (Harvey, 2005). As an expression of type α behaviour, I have argued that such ideology both negates the restrictions to self-actualisation that it has produced, whilst contributing to the deformation of subjectivity by fostering circumstances in which 'personal failure is generally attributed to personal failings' (ibid: 76). This contextual analysis makes a significant contribution to the study of violence in schooling by demonstrating how the contexts in which schools are located can be shaped by violent epistemology, the impacts of which will affect students' and teachers' life experiences, opportunities and subject development.

Building on this, I have also demonstrated how in the same way that it has shaped society, collectivised ideology with its violent epistemic structure and logic of instrumental reason has also shaped Brazilian schooling. This has spanned from the Jesuits' use of schooling to catechise the indigenous population and provide a pliant work force during the colonial era (Schwartzman, 2004), to the failure to provide education from the mid-18th to late 19th centuries due to a lack of perceived economic need (Marcílio, 2001), to the later development of schooling as a means to progress the ideological endeavours of an elite aspiring to 'civilise the nation' in the aftermath of slavery (Faria Filho and Vidal, 2007), and the establishment of typical 19th century style schooling to meet the needs of industrial capitalism (Schwartzman, 2003). This has also included the introduction of Neoliberal technocratic reforms aimed to depoliticise students and train them for the labour market (Piletti, 1990; Rosa, 2006), and the legal,

physical and coercive repression of teacher and student dissent (Dockhorn, 2002).

Finally, I discussed how the above factors, coupled with the implementation of successive reforms in the service of ideological schema without paying sufficient attention to particular contextual needs, has resulted in certain non-conducive circumstances within Brazilian schools which can be seen to contribute to the deformation of subjectivity and ongoing cycles of violence. While more progressive, less epistemically violent ideas have emerged throughout the history of Brazilian schooling, I concluded that the overall scenario is one in which prevailing conservative, authoritarian and technicistic tendencies (Garcia, 1995) tend to neutralise less violent ideas and initiatives (Clovis de Azevedo, 2007). While some authors recognise the role that ideology and schools themselves can play in the perpetration and perpetuation of violence (e.g. Harber, 2002; Ross Epp, 1996), this contextual analysis adds deeper insight to our understanding of how any why violent and ideological forms of schooling develop.

Bringing all of this analysis together, I have concluded the main body of the thesis by demonstrating how the impacts of these multiple manifestations of violent epistemology, running through all contextual levels, can be seen to culminate in the non-conducive circumstances and many manifestations of violence witnessed in DCX School. To begin, I demonstrated how the non-conducive circumstances of the surrounding neighbourhood and teachers' employment and working conditions, have impacted on teachers' and students' engagement with their roles at DCX. For students, living in cramped tenement accommodation with no space to run and play, having to take on significant responsibilities in the home, experiencing little parental supervision and input, and being exposed to violence and sexual exploitation, all had physical, emotional and psychological impacts which affected their self-actualisation, subject development and ability to meet teacher expectations with regards to behaviour and learning. For teachers, being chronically underpaid and overworked, lacking sufficient training, witnessing violence and social neglect, working in an unsafe environment, being exposed to high levels of sensory input, and being expected to maintain control over students whose behaviour was often significantly challenging, resulted in exhaustion, poor work-life balance, thwarted self-actualisation, overwhelm, frustration, confusion, stress,

disaffection, and burnout. These factors combined to fuel a self-perpetuating cycle of teacher attrition which had significant knock-on effects throughout the school.

The structures and practices of schooling at DCX (which operate according to the instrumental reason of both 19th century and neoliberal educational ideologies), could also be seen to foster non-conducive circumstances characterised by official hierarchies of power; strict vigilance and control over student behaviour, movement and expression; the suppression of deviance and dissent; and the enforcement of standardisation and homogeneity in terms of class groupings, curricula, teaching methods and expectations of behaviour. I demonstrated how the multiple impacts of this could be seen to foster the further enactment of violent epistemology, the thwarting of self-actualisation, the deformation of subjectivity, and fractious, violent, and/or alienated interpersonal relations throughout the school.

To give one example, hierarchies of power and control tended to foster the use of disciplinary and coercive approaches to managing student behaviour (including physical and verbal aggression), and alienation between management, teachers and students. This resulted in students often feeling unheard and afraid to speak up, fostering frustration, agitation and aggression. Such hierarchies also encouraged students to understand 'respect' to mean imposed obedience and to see themselves as accountable only to strict authority figures. A consequence of this was that students tended to 'disrespect' teachers perceived to be less 'strict' by bullying them and other students and by 'acting out' with hyperactive, loud and aggressive behaviour in the classrooms and corridors. This caused significant disruption to learning and resulted in teachers retaliating with further aggressive and disciplinary tactics, and labelling students as troublemakers, 'damned' or 'useless'. In turn, this also contributed to the deformation of student subjectivity through the reinforcement of self-schema as 'bad' or 'lazy', and fostered the development of 'hardened' or 'callous' (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002) subjectivity in students. In this context, students would strive for self-preservation by enacting self-censorship, using bribes and threats, forming strategic friendships, and using physical violence and bullying.

To give another example, the rigid use of time and standardisation of class groupings and curricula also meant that students' diverse physical, emotional, behavioural and learning needs could not be met, furthering the thwarting of self-actualisation and the development of student self-schema as 'failure' or 'sub-standard'. This led to students struggling to engage in lessons and becoming bored and agitated. Feelings of alienation from a schooling that could not meet their needs, would manifest in further frustration and aggression, and in students damaging or 'messing' up parts of the school building, furniture, spaces and learning materials. Ideological conditions of worth embedded within curriculum content could also be seen to reinforce negative self-schema in students who could not conform to such conditions (for example in students from the north-east who did not speak the south-eastern dialect promoted through language curricula as the 'correct' Brazilian Portuguese). Aside from this, students would also show signs of having learnt violent epistemic behaviour from schooling by mimicking teachers' violent behaviour and objectifying language, and through interpreting teachers' instructions to isolate students who did not conform to behaviour expectations, as a sanction for physical violence against those students.

To conclude the analysis I discussed how, while many teachers did not intend to behave violently, the overriding hierarchical and standardising structure of this model of schooling coupled with non-conducive employment and working conditions, tended to foster such behaviour and prevent teachers who explicitly tried to behave non-violently from doing so with any consistency. While many teachers were keen to foster change, the strength of engrained ideology in organisational structures and practices coupled with lack of time, resources and co-working; difficulty acknowledging that violence was also perpetrated by teachers and the school; and awareness of Brazil's long history of repression of political mobilisation and dissent, all meant that teachers found it very difficult to effectively imagine and foster change. This left teachers lacking a sense of personal efficacy and contributed to feelings of anger, despondency, powerlessness and resignation.

Returning to the research question: what are the root causes of violence in DCX School?, this comprehensive and multi-level analysis has shown that violence in schooling can be

understood as a complex, multidimensional phenomenon. On the one hand, we can see it as stemming from a certain form of epistemic behaviour which is made possible by epistemic agency, and fuelled by core motivations and a range of emotions. On the other hand, it can also be seen as fostered by the 'non-conducive' circumstances that result from the collectivisation of violent epistemology into social ideology, which then shapes the structures and characteristics of our economies, societies and institutions (including schools). Preserved through instrumental reason, such circumstances tend to foster the perpetuation of violent epistemology through hierarchical social relations; the domination and repression of self and others; the thwarting of self-actualisation; the assignment of conditions of worth; and the repression of diversity, deviance and dissent.

In the same way, the many expressions of violence in DCX School can be seen to result from the culmination of multiple manifestations of violent epistemology that have become engrained throughout all levels of Brazilian society, and which can also be seen to manifest in the dominant model of Brazilian schooling. Considered together, these phenomena can be seen to foster non-conducive circumstances in both DCX School and the Baixada neighbourhood, resulting in the many forms of violence evidenced in the case-study data. Rather than stemming from factors unique to Brazil, I have shown how violent epistemology is a global, rather than a local or national issue. However, I have also shown how violence is also simultaneously an issue of individual subjectivity, without which the collectivisation and maintenance of globalised ideologies would not be possible. In this sense, and returning to the discussion on methodology from Chapter Two, violent epistemology can be seen to behave as both a 'core category' (Glaser, 2010) and a 'root cause' (Harich, 2010), while the many other manifestations of violence discussed in this thesis can be seen as 'sub-causes' and 'sub-effects' (Cohen at al., 2011).

The core achievement of this thesis has been the identification and formulation of 'violent epistemology' as the root cause of violence in schooling, and the development of a framework for understanding the specific causal mechanisms by which it interacts with, fosters, impacts on, and is perpetuated by causal conditions, sub-causes and sub-effects (ibid). As a result, I have been able to formulate not only a comprehensive theoretical framework and model for understanding the root causes of violence in DCX

School, but also to make a significant contribution to the study of violence in schooling as a whole by demonstrating how we can better understand this complex phenomenon. This, in turn, both highlights the inadequacies of existing interventions designed to combat violence in schooling, and also offers new insight (but not easy answers) for those interested in considering how we can best address the issue.

Working towards a Non-violent Epistemology.

At this stage, I imagine the question for practitioners is 'what can we do now?' or as Holt (1970) says – 'what do I do Monday?' In many contexts, either a 'peace education' (Burns and Aspeslagh, 2014) or a disciplinary and security-based approach is adopted. The former has been criticised for fostering the suppression of diverse ideas, needs and perspectives that might foster change in favour of an oppressive form of 'peace' (Gur Ze'ev, 2010) or what Galtung (2013) calls 'negative peace', while the latter has been found to increase, rather than decrease, rates of explicit violence (Noguera, 1995). As my research has shown, violence in schooling is a complex phenomenon, rooted in the interactions between individual subjectivity, collectivised ideology, and non-conducive circumstances. This demonstrates the need to develop much more complex and sophisticated approaches to addressing the issue – approaches which are likely to require significant changes at a societal level and involve rethinking both the depths of our own ways of relating with the world, ourselves and others, as well as the fundamental ideas, policies and practices upon which societies and school operate. This is no easy task since as I have demonstrated, violent epistemology is historically and deeply engrained in human subjectivity and social structures, tending to be self-perpetuated in cyclical feedback loops.

Despite the enormity of this challenge, I propose that the most useful starting point would be to address the issue at its root cause as Harich (2010) argues, by beginning to consider how we might enact less-violent epistemology, and consequently how we might begin to foster circumstances conducive to its enactment. Throughout the remainder of this chapter, and to conclude the thesis, I will outline some thoughts regarding what just

such an epistemology and its conducive conditions might look like then provide some brief thoughts on the challenge of fostering change, ending with a few notes on possible avenues for future research.

To begin thinking about how we might enact non-violent epistemology, we can start with the question of choice or agency since, as the concept of phenomenological freedom implies, this is the one dimension over which we each possess a degree of control. As discussed in Chapter Three, we can determine two interconnected points of *epistemic agency* within our cognition. The first lies within our ability to control attenuation – to choose what to focus on and what to push to the margins of awareness (James, 1918; Broadbent, 1958; Treisman, 1964; Posner, 1978). The second lies in the interplay between our immediate, pre-reflective consciousness of sensory experience and our reflective consciousness. This interplay (what Sherman (2007) calls 'mediating subjectivity') can be seen as a site of agency because it enables us to choose what to think about the particularities of our experience. As previously outlined, this has been called 'phenomenological freedom' (Sartre, 1956; Sherman, 2007). Therefore, the starting point for considering how we might enact a non-violent epistemology is remembering that we possess epistemic agency, and therefore the ability to make epistemic choices when cognitively processing our experiences. This means that however deeply engrained a subject is in enacting violent epistemology, the possibility always exists of changing one's epistemic behaviour. As I will discuss in a moment certain factors can make this extremely difficult to achieve, but the epistemic agency within us all makes it theoretically possible in any circumstance[66].

We will also remember the assertion in Chapter Three that our sensory experience (both interoceptive and exteroceptive) is multidimensional (encompassing sight, sound, touch, smell, taste, feeling and emotion), and that the phenomenal world is also multidimensional and fluid (ever-changing). As we discussed, our epistemic agency enables us to enact violent epistemology by choosing to push certain dimensions and particularities of this complex, multidimensional experience to the margins of our

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[66]   Except perhaps for those with impaired cognitive function. More research would be necessary to explore the impact of this on epistemic agency.

awareness (and to reject them from our schema or allow them to be subsumed). However, I have discussed, it is also our epistemic agency that enables us to try to do justice to the particularities of our experience by attending toward them and integrating them into our schema formulations – in other words, to learn from them (Jarvis, 2009; Illeris, 2009). Drawing on the concept of phenomenological freedom (Sherman, 2007), we can consider the possibility of choosing and consciously monitoring how we use this agency.

Considering the formulations presented in this thesis regarding the cognitive behaviours that I have argued constitute violent epistemology, we can propose that choosing to use our epistemic agency to enact non-violent epistemology would require a particular attitude towards the experience of being 'disoriented' (Jarvis, 2009; Piaget, 1977), the process of 'orientating' (Merleau-Ponty, 2012; Husserl, 1973; Heidegger, 1962) ourselves toward phenomena, and the way in which we construct our schema or 'orientations' (Ahmed, 2006a) during this process. In Chapter Three I proposed that the unsettled feeling of disorientation or disequilibrium (Piaget, 1977) that occurs when the particularities of our experience do not match up with our pre-existing schema (ibid), can be a motivating factor for the enactment of violent epistemology. In light of this, we can suggest that enacting non-violent epistemology would require a shift in how we respond to these unsettling feelings. As Illeris (2007) writes, disequilibrium is a natural and inescapable part of the learning process, since as I have discussed, and as Smith (2011) highlights, our pre-existing schema can never absolutely match the particularities of our experience. However, Piaget's (1977) work demonstrates that there *are* different ways in which we can respond to the experience of disequilibrium.

In Chapter Three I discussed one of these – type α behaviour. We will remember that type α behaviour is characterised by the rejection or negation of particularities that do not fit with pre-existing schema, so that a sense of orientation or equilibrium can be maintained without having to adapt one's schema. This is what Adorno (1973) referred to as 'guarding the old particularity' (pp. 283-284). As discussed and demonstrated in this thesis, the ethical implication of this is that type α behaviour does not fully acknowledge the particularities of a phenomenon, which can result in the development

of violent epistemic schema in relation to that phenomenon and since, as discussed in Chapter Three, schema operate as guides for acting in the world (Trevarthen and Reddy, 2007), violent epistemic schema can guide violent behaviour (as demonstrated by the case-study presented in this thesis). However, Piaget identified another type of epistemic behaviour in his research which gives some indication of a less violent approach to equilibration.

After type α behaviour, Piaget (1977) discussed what he calls type β behaviour. Rather than rejecting or negating particularities of experience that do not match up to pre-existing schema, type β behaviour consists 'of integrating into the system the disturbing element arising from without [through behaviour which] no longer consists in cancelling the disturbance or in rejecting the new element, so that it will not intervene within the whole set already organised, but in modifying the system [by] alter[ing] the […] scheme itself to accommodate the object and follow its orientation' (Ibid: 67-68). In other words, rather than rejecting or negating new particularities, in type β behaviour these particularities are integrated into existing schema by adjusting those schema to account for the new particularities. Rather than 'guarding the old particularity' (Adorno, 1973), in type β behaviour the subject re-orientates themselves toward the phenomenon, re-working aspects of existing schema to accommodate new particularities.

Compared with type α behaviour, we can argue that type β epistemic behaviour is much less violent since it does not negate or reject particularities of experience. However, as Piaget (ibid) argues, in type β behaviour pre-existing schema sets are left largely intact with new experiences being integrated as variables of pre-existing concepts: 'there is, therefore, equilibrium displacement but with minimisation of the cost (as much as possible of the […] scheme is conserved and with maximal gain the disturbance is integrated as a new variation of the scheme)' (p. 68). In this way entire schema sets are not deconstructed and reconstructed in a different form, but rather dimensions of the schema set are simply 'adjusted' to accommodate new particularities. While, according to the definition of violent epistemology presented in Chapter Three, we can argue that type β behaviour would be less violent than type α behaviour, we can also argue that type β behaviour carries with it some risk of conceptual subsumption, another

characteristic of violent epistemology presented in Chapter Three. We will remember that conceptual subsumption (Polanyi, 1969; Adorno, 1973) occurs when the subject subsumes particularities of experience under conceptual categories that do not fully acknowledge the complexity, multidimensionality and particularity of phenomena (what Adorno (1973) called 'identity thinking'). Assessing Piaget's statement above, we can interpret this as meaning that in this behaviour there is minimal 'cost' for the subject because accommodating most phenomena into its pre-existing schema sets with only minor experiences of disequilibrium (which can be easily resolved through minor adjustments to schema), does not demand great amounts of mental and emotional energy.

Piaget (1977) considers schema maintained through type α behaviour to be unstable because they 'concern a very restricted field [and because] their organisation continues to be incomplete and neglects a whole set of observables capable of intervening, it is obvious that these observables, precisely to the extent that they are neglected, are the sources of possible great alterations' (p. 74). In other words, to the extent that many particularities are rejected, these particularities are likely to continue presenting themselves to the subject as challenges to the stability of that schema, and if acknowledged and incorporated by the subject would result in a significant reconstruction of the schema (which we can assume, based on the discussion above, would involve significant 'cost' (ibid) to the subject in the form of overcoming a significant sense of disequilibrium through considerable mental and emotional effort).

Piaget (ibid) argues that schema maintained through type β behaviour are more stable than those maintained through type α, but still not particularly stable because 'the disturbance factors conserve a great modification power as compared to the cognitive system considered but less than in type α, since they are integrated by the compensating reaction and result in changes of equilibrium which retain a part of the initial form and remove from the alterations their disturbance character' (p. 74). In other words, particularities which appear to the subject as close but not identical to existing schema sets cause minimal disequilibrium, and can easily be integrated into the existing schema

by tweaking or reworking part of the schema or schema set[67]. However, a particularity, phenomenon or combination of such could still present themselves to the subject in a way that challenges the validity of an entire set of schema, throwing the subject into a more unsettling sense of disequilibrium or disorientation[68].

If we remember that the subject can be seen to possess epistemic agency, we can argue that at this stage, the subject has a choice: to engage in type α behaviour and regain equilibrium by negating the disturbing phenomena and maintaining the old schema, or to deconstruct the entire schema set and construct a new one that does better justice to the phenomena at hand. As Fromm (2013) writes, 'once the individual faces the world outside of himself […] two courses are open to him […]. By one course he can progress to "positive freedom"; he can relate himself spontaneously to the world […] in the genuine expression of his emotional, sensuous and intellectual capacities; he can thus become one again with man, nature and himself, without giving up the […] integrity of his individual self (Pp. 165-166). Piaget does not deal with the latter scenario, however Illeris (2007) addresses this with the concept of 'transformative learning', which he defines as 'learning that takes place when a large number of schemes are reorganised at the same time' (P. 44). Rogers (1969) speaks of something similar which he calls 'significant learning', that comprises a 'change in the organisation of the self', which is 'pervasive' in how it involves the 'whole person' reaching out to illuminate the 'dark area of ignorance she is experiencing' (p. 20).

Bearing in mind the definition of violent epistemology as that which rejects particularities that do not fit comfortably into existing schema, we can argue that the act of deconstructing existing schema sets and constructing new ones to better incorporate the particularities of the disturbing phenomena, would be the less epistemically violent choice. However, as we have discussed, this could bear significant 'cost' (Piaget, 1977)

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[67] For example, noticing that my pot plant dies when I overwater it can easily be integrated into my existing schema about growing that particular kind of pot plant by adjusting my ideas about watering, but does not cause significant disequilibrium by challenging the validity of everything else I know about caring for plants.

[68] Such as when I was faced with the extent and complexities of violence in DCX School and the Baixada neighbourhood which could not be integrated into my pre-existing schema set of post-structural and Educommunication theory, leaving me with a very unsettling feeling of disequilibrium.

to the subject by being mentally and emotionally demanding. As Rogers (1969) states, 'any significant learning involves a certain amount of pain, either pain connected with the learning itself or distress connected with giving up certain previous learnings. [It] involves turbulence, within the individual and within the [cognitive] system' (Pp. 157-158 & 339), and can even reach the level of existential crisis (Illeris, 2007). This indicates that while the choice to enact non-violent epistemology may be arguably the most ethical (because we can propose that as guidelines for acting in the world, less violent schema would likely inform less violent behaviour), it may also be a painful and challenging process requiring a level of courage and effort from the individual.

In Chapter Three I discussed how violent epistemology can be characterised by an attitude of closure to new particularities (Jarvis, 1987; Illeris, 2007; Rogers, 1961; Leithäuser, 1976; Adorno, 1973; Piaget, 1977) which, motivated by fear or anxiety, can constitute a form of 'self-imposed regression' (Sherman, 2007) and even a 'hardened' or 'callous' subjectivity (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002). I light of this, we can formulate that the enactment of a less violent epistemology would require a more 'open' (Rogers, 1959) attitude towards the process of orientating ourselves toward phenomena. Piaget's formulation of type β behaviour indicates a more open attitude to newness, particularity and diversity and a willingness to adjust existing schema to integrate such particularity into learning. As we have discussed, transformative learning can be seen to require courage and a willingness to endure the pain and effort involved in letting go of large parts of previous schema sets and in constructing new ones. Arguably, both types of epistemic behaviour require the subject to be willing to let go of the 'old particularity' (Adorno, 1973) and to overcome emotional blocks to learning.

Rogers (1959) proposes that this is more than just a cognitive process, because it involves a transformation of the whole person, and is therefore intricately entwined with our emotional and psychological development. Rogers (1961) describes this as a process of moving from 'fixity to changingness, from rigid structure to flow, from stasis to process' (p. 131). As mentioned in Chapter Three, Rogers defines a person in a state of fixity (or at Stage One) in the following way:

> The ways in which he construes experience have been set by his past, and are rigidly unaffected by the actualities of present. He is […] structure-bound in his manner of experiencing. […] He reacts "to the situation of now by finding it to be like a past experience and then reacting to that past, feeling *it*" (ibid: 133).

Flowingness, on the other hand, is described as a way of living in which:

> The self and personality emerge *from* experience, rather than experience being translated or twisted to fit a preconceived self-structure. [It means] an absence of rigidity, [and] of the imposition of structure on experience. It means instead a maximum of adaptability, a discovery of structure *in* experience, a flowing, changing organisation of self and personality' (ibid: 189).

According to Rogers (1959), a shift away from the former and towards the latter can at times involve transformative or significant learning, characterised by what he calls 'the process of breakdown and disorganisation'. As in the experience of disequilibrium when schema maintained by type α or β behaviour are significantly challenged, Rogers describes how:

> If the individual has a large or significant degree of incongruence between self and experience and if a significant experience demonstrating this incongruence occurs suddenly, or with a high degree of obviousness, then the organism's process of defence [re-equilibration through type α or β behaviour] is unable to operate successfully. As a result anxiety is experienced as the incongruence is subceived. The degree of anxiety is dependent upon the extent of the self-structure which is threatened. The process of defence being unsuccessful, the experience is accurately symbolized in awareness, and the gestalt of the self-structure is broken by this experience of the incongruence in awareness. A state of disorganization results (ibid: 228-229).

Rogers (ibid) goes on to outline how (often with the support of appropriate therapy) the individual can recover from this state of disorganisation through a 'process of reintegration' (p.230), moving towards a more flowing and 'fully functioning' engagement with experience. Reintegration, he writes, is a process of 'increasing the *congruence* between *self* and *experience*' by reversing the 'process of *defence*' (i.e. type α behaviour) and allowing *threatening experiences* to be '*accurately symbolized* in *awareness* and assimilated into the *self-structure*' (ibid). Two key concepts in this process from 'fixity' to 'flowingness' are 'openness to experience' and 'congruence between self

and experience'. The former he outlines thus:

> When the individual is in no way threatened, then he is open to his experience. To be open to experience is the polar opposite of defensiveness. The term may be used in regard to some area of experience or in regard to the total experience of the organism. It signifies that every stimulus, whether originating within the organism or in the environment, is freely relayed through the nervous system without being distorted or channelled off by any defensive mechanism. [...] In the hypothetical person who is completely open to his experience, his concept of self would be a symbolization in awareness which would be completely congruent with his experience (ibid: 206).

Rogers describes such 'congruence with experience' as a scenario in which 'the individual appears to be revising his concept of self to bring it into congruence with his experience, accurately symbolized' (ibid: 205-206). As we can see, the process of moving from more defensive, 'type α' epistemic behaviour to more open, integrative and congruent epistemic behaviour can be thought of not just as a simple practice that can be quickly learnt, but as something that, depending on the degree of fixity or 'neurosis' (Rogers, 1961), could also involve a rather unsettling process of disintegration and reintegration of schema and self-concept which could even result in a significant change of personality (ibid). Of course, as Rogers highlights, each of us sits somewhere on a continuum between 'fixity' and 'flowingness', and the experience of moving away from the former and towards the latter will be different for each person. What Rogers brings to discussions about moving away from violent epistemology towards less violent epistemic practice, is the idea that non-violent epistemology cannot simply be 'adopted' but is rather a complex, whole-person approach which can have a deep and potentially transformative impact on how we relate with our selves, others and the phenomenal world.

Returning to Chapter Three, and as mentioned above, we will remember that one dimension of my formulation of violent epistemology was based on Adorno's (1973) concept of 'identity thinking'. This can be summarised as the imposing of general categories or schema onto diverse phenomena in a manner that tries to make phenomena identical to our concepts of them. In such thought phenomena are subsumed by their concepts 'without leaving a remainder' (ibid: 4-5). This was

considered in Chapter Three to be a form of violent epistemology because it involves negating or distorting any particularities which do not fit neatly into our concepts.

As an alternative to identity thinking, Adorno (ibid) proposed the concepts of 'non-identity thinking' and 'mimesis'. 'Non-identity', he proposes, 'is the secret telos of identification [...]. Dialectically, cognition of non-identity also lies in the fact that this very cognition identifies – that it identifies to a greater extent, and in other ways, than identity thinking' (ibid: 149). By this Adorno means that if we recognise phenomena as not being identical to our concepts of them, we do more justice to their particularity and are thus able to understand or 'identify' them better. Adorno argued 'the need for conceptual fluidity to adequately (and therefore never completely) describe the actual [phenomena] of a fluid reality' (Sherman, 2007: 240). This type of conceptual fluidity that Adorno advocates, brings to mind Rogers' (1959) state of fluidity in that, like Polanyi's (1969) 'open-textured' concept, it implies a constant reworking of our schema through 'felt contact with objects [phenomena]' (Adorno, 2005: 247). Like Piaget's type β behaviour and Rogers' fluidity, Adorno's non-identity thinking requires of the subject an openness to experience that 'respect[s] the non-identity of objects [phenomena] with concepts' (Cook, 2005: 24).

Adorno's conceptualisation of 'mimesis' is complex and a full discussion of it is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, a few key elements can be highlighted as relevant to a discussion of non-violent epistemology. Mimesis appears to be presented by Adorno as both an epistemic attitude and method. As with the other concepts outlined above, it rests on the conditions of 'openness' to experience and 'felt contact' with phenomena. He writes, 'in mimesis, the subject immerses itself in the things it attempts to present' (1973: 189). Further, Cook (2008) explains that 'mimesis is an attitude towards things; it is affected by an *epoché* which allows things themselves to come into view' (P. 92). This phenomenological attitude, which as discussed in Chapter Two is represented by the suspension of previous conceptualisations, speaks to Adorno's refusal to subsume phenomena under concepts. However, in the concept of mimesis he does not appear to be arguing that all previous concepts be suspended *all the time*, but rather that this suspension is something that we should normatively return to as a protective factor

against slipping into identity thought (as I have attempted to do in this thesis with the dialectical approach to 'bracketing' (Waring, 2012) outlined in Chapter Two).

Rather than a pure subjectivity or objectivity, through the concept of mimesis Adorno is also arguing for a normative, dialectical interrelation or dialogue between subject and object [phenomenon], in which neither dominates over the other:

> In its proper place, even epistemologically, the relationship of subject and object would lie in the realization of peace among men as well as between men and their Other. Peace is the state of distinctness without domination, with the distinct participating in each other (Adorno, 1978: 499-500).

In Chapter Four I discussed how the desire for control and domination over ourselves (internal nature), the phenomenal world (external nature) and over others can be seen as a core motivating factor for the forming of rigid conceptualisations, in an attempt to tie phenomena down and hold them in a 'safe' place within a rigidified world view. Mimesis is presented as an alternative to this. By reconciling 'the world and consciousness, […] objectivity and subjectivity […] mimetic rationality seeks to find ways in which the subject's experience of the world is not merely instrumental' but is rather marked by an 'undistorted' form of relating 'with nature, with […] inner nature, and with fellow human beings' (Verdeja, 2009: 500-503) that respects the particularity of all phenomena without trying to dominate them by subsuming them under rigid 'identity' concepts. Even though Adorno speaks of reconciliation between the subject and phenomena, he does not propose that there exists some ideal 'end point' in which the subject forms a perfect, accurate conceptualisation of a phenomenon. Rather, because both our own subjectivity and the phenomenal world are in constant flux, in order to maintain a non-violent epistemic practice he argues that we must also maintain an 'interminable dialectic' ibid) between phenomena and our conceptualisation of them, in which neither is permanently 'fixed'.

A final point to considering in relation to conceptualising a non-violent epistemology, concerns the role of the imagination. So far I have largely been concerned with the importance of attempting to remain open to, and to fully acknowledge what *is*, but a

number of authors also argue that there is an important role for the imagination in considering what *could be*. Three important functions of the imagination appear relevant to a conceptualisation of non-violent epistemology: firstly, the ability to imagine what another person may be thinking or feeling, a central aspect of empathy; secondly, the ability to imagine what may be occurring or what may occur in a given situation, allowing for decisions to be made about action; and finally, the ability to imagine how things might be better as a starting point for overcoming oppressive, violent or generally 'non-conducive' circumstances. An important point to be made in relation to the first two functions is the importance of recognising the difference between imaginings and observations – considering the arguments made above, to assume that what we are imagining is identical to what is actually happening would be equivalent to enacting identity thinking. However, this is not to say that it isn't possible (or worthwhile) to make educated guesses (whilst acknowledging that they are guesses and therefore provisional), based on past experience.

We can consider that doing this 'without velleity or violence' (Adorno, 205: 247) however, would require a number of factors. When it comes to imagining what might be happening in a given situation, Piaget argues that we require 'structures for prediction' (1977: 68), the reliability of which, he argues, are far superior in people whose schema are maintained through type β behaviour (and which are therefore broader in scope and closer to the reality of phenomena) than those maintained through type α behaviour which tend to be restricted and distanced from phenomena (ibid). When it comes to empathy, we can imagine that schema sets maintained through mimetic and transformative learning would also contain more accurate and sophisticated structures for prediction because the epistemic behaviour associated with such schema sets entails an openness to considering and integrating the diversities and particularities of phenomena (which can of course include other human beings).

As discussed in Chapter Three, Graeber (2011) also argues that we must undertake 'imaginative labour' - the work that we do to try to understand what our fellow human beings are thinking and feeling (which can be seen as central to empathy), rather than merely applying simple schema or concepts (prejudices and stereotypes especially) onto

others, thus subsuming their particularity. This, he argues, takes care and energy. Rogers (1961) also argues that empathy is a core condition of therapeutic processes which aim to bring the client from a state of fixity to fluidity. In this process, therapists are encouraged to foster an empathic understanding of the client's internal frame of reference. If we consider empathy as imaginative labour (rather than identity-thinking assumption), we can see that this necessarily requires openness to the other, as one aims to gain as accurate an insight as possible into another's frame of reference without assuming absolute knowledge. In this way we can perceive the importance of imaginative labour as a constituent of non-violent epistemology, which as we have discussed requires the same attitude of openness – whether it be for the teacher trying to understand the perspective of a student (or vice-versa); the politician trying to understand the perspective of those in poverty; or the therapist trying to understand a client.

Finally, we can consider the important role that imagination can play in envisioning a different way of being in the world. As I am doing in this chapter, Shick (2009) argues that while it is not often recognised, Adorno proposed that such imaginings can 'perceive[…] the world as it is, fully aware of the contradictions and oppression that permeate existence, but […] also see[…] beyond these failings to what could be, remaining alive to the possibility of beauty and kindness' (p. 155). This highlights the potentially important role that imagination could play when it comes to finding ways out of 'limit situations' (Freire, 1996) such as that experienced by the teachers at DCX School, as well as for imagining alternatives for greater societal change.

Earlier, I discussed how moving towards the enactment of non-violent epistemology can involve a deconstruction and reconstruction of a large part of the subject, even resulting in personality change. To close this section I will offer some ideas regarding what such a non-violent personality might look like. In Chapter Four I discussed the notion of the subject who has undergone processes of deformation as a result of enacting violent epistemology, thus becoming self-alienated (Adorno, 2002), 'blocked in realising his sensuous, emotional and intellectual potentialities' (Fromm, 2013: 213-214) and 'crippled by […] terror of the new and unexpected, carrying its sameness with it

wherever it goes' (Sherman, 2007). As an alternative to this mode of being, Adorno (1973) presents the concept of the 'right human being', who he proposes 'would be nothing like the person, that consecrated duplicate of its own self-preservation' (p. 277). Rather, this subject would 'give the object [phenomenon] its due instead of being content with the false copy' by 'resist[ing] the average value of such objectivity [it would] free itself as a subject' (ibid: 170-171).

Similarly, Rogers (1959) presents the concept of the 'fully functioning person', which he sees as possessing the following characteristics:

> An inherent tendency toward actualizing his organism […] the capacity and tendency to symbolize experiences accurately in awareness […] the capacity and tendency to keep his self-concept congruent with his experience […] He will be open to his experience […] he will exhibit no defensiveness […] Hence all experiences will be available to awareness […] All symbolizations will be as accurate as the experiential data will permit […] His self-structure will be a fluid gestalt, changing flexibly in the process of assimilation of new experience […] He will meet each situation with behaviour which is a unique and creative adaptation to the newness of that moment […] He will find his organismic valuing a trustworthy guide to the most satisfying behaviours, because [a]ll available experiential data will be available to awareness and used [and] no datum of experience will be distorted in, or denied to, awareness (Rogers, 1959: 234-235).

Rogers makes a specific point of highlighting that 'the fully functioning person' would be a 'person-in-process, a person continually changing' and 'continually in a process of further self-actualisation' (ibid).

Lastly, Sherman (2007) presents the concept of the 'free flourishing' or 'liberated' subject:

> The free individual (in a free society) would not be "guarding the old particularity" [but] would be a work of art ceaselessly in progress. And, indeed, it is each individual constantly reworking his self (and, impliedly, the collective of which he is a part), that is the essence of the notion of a mediating subject. In contrast, what impels the individual to hypostatize the "old particularity" in its presently existing form – that is, to undertake the "bad faith" project of making himself into a thing – is the fear that by not making himself into a thing […] he will die under the weight of an indifferent economic system. Under the right state of affairs, there would be no such fear, and the individual would feel free to open

himself up to the world, which would mean that self-identity would become more fluid, the individual would be in a position, as Nietzsche states, to become who he is. Openness to a world in which the individual can actually afford to be open is therefore the very condition of the liberated subject (P. 281).

We can see immediate similarities between all three authors' concepts, and between these concepts and the concept of non-violent epistemology formulated above. This includes an emphasis on openness to new experiences; a rejection of identity thinking or of 'guarding the old particularity'; the constant re-working of schema including concepts of self; and freedom from thwarting - freedom to self-actualise. Sherman's concept in particular emphasises not only the importance of a certain emotional, psychological and (what we could formulate as non-violent) epistemic attitude in the individual, but also the importance of the social and economic context surrounding the individual being such that they can 'actually afford to be open', which brings us again to the importance of considering the conductivity of circumstances. I will address this latter point in the next section.

Thinking About Change and Imagining More Conducive Circumstances.

So far, I have advanced from the conceptualisation of violent epistemology presented in Chapters Three and Four, to formulate a preliminary conceptualisation of a less violent epistemology. I have also discussed how, as individuals, we might move towards enacting less violent epistemic behaviour. However, as I have demonstrated in this thesis, violence is not only a matter of individual subjectivity, but is also deeply engrained in how individual epistemic behaviour and non-conducive social circumstances co-constitute each other. With this in mind, it is not sufficient to address the issue of violence at the level of individual epistemic agency alone. Rather, my research suggests we must also consider how we might foster *social circumstances* that are more conducive to healthy subject development and the enactment of non-violent epistemology.

As formulated in Chapter Four and illustrated in Chapters Five and Six, non-conducive circumstances can be seen as those economic, social, political and institutional

conditions which have been designed, built, or developed on the back of, or fostered by, violent epistemology manifest as collectively affirmed ideology. As my case-study analysis has demonstrated, such circumstances tend to foster multiple manifestations of violence, the deformation of subjectivity, and the enactment of violent epistemology. Contrary to this scenario, we can imagine that circumstances that are designed, built or developed on the back of, or fostered by *non-violent* epistemology, would be more conducive to healthy subject development and would also foster the continued enactment of non-violent epistemology through similar co-constituting interactions.

As my case-study has shown, non-conducive circumstances operate at all levels of a nested system, from the globalisation of economic ideologies, down to the dynamics in a classroom. Therefore, this thesis indicates a rather daunting conclusion – that to truly address the issue of self-perpetuating cycles of violence, it is necessary to coordinate fundamental epistemic and systemic change on a global scale. This is an enormous, complex, and perhaps insurmountable task, which as both a concept and a project would likely meet with multiple barriers and contestations. Even at a national, local or school level, such a project is likely to face similar barriers, and would require an impressive degree of coordination to achieve. Some schools have tried to overcome these issues by fostering their own island of more conducive, less violent circumstances (A.S. Neill's Summerhill School is one example[69]). However, this does not get away from the fact that as soon as staff and students leave the school grounds, those broader non-conducive circumstances remain.

If we can conclude, based on the findings of this thesis, that breaking the current cycles of violent epistemology ↔ non-conducive circumstances and establishing healthier cycles of conducive circumstances ↔ non-violent epistemology would require both fundamental, structural, societal change *and* changes in individual epistemic behaviour that may require deep personal learning and transformation, then we can fully appreciate the enormity of the challenge that addressing violence at its root causes

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[69] This is not to say that Summerhill School is a perfect example of conducive circumstances, but is rather an example of a school that aims to break away from many of the characteristics of traditional schooling that can be seen to constitute non-conducive circumstances.

really presents. In this way, the current global state of affairs (as well as the context in which the case-study analysis presented in this thesis is located) can be seen to represent something of a 'limit situation', defined by Pinto (1960) as the boundary which separates simply being, from being *more* (i.e. being in flowingness or self-actualisation as Rogers (1959) would say, or being open in a world in which one can 'actually afford to be open', as Sherman (2007) writes. While, as already mentioned, such barriers may appear insurmountable on a broad scale, as highlighted above we can still consider a role for the imagination as one means to visualise what overcoming such a limit situation might look like.

As I have already proposed, we can consider a core characteristic of non-violent epistemology to be its openness and adaptability to the particularities of any given phenomenon or situation. Therefore, it is not possible to propose a 'one-size-fits-all' recommendation for the development of more conducive circumstances - whether at the global, national, local or school scale. Actions stemming from a truly non-violent epistemology would need to be responsive to the specific context for which they are designed. Therefore, outlining a detailed scheme of specific recommendations is far beyond the scope of this thesis. However, I would like to offer some thoughts on what the general characteristics of more conducive circumstances might look like, with reference to both my theoretical formulation of non-conducive circumstances and the example of the DCX case-study.

As discussed in Chapter Four, the core driver of non-conducive social circumstances can be seen as the collective affirmation of ideological thought. As I have shown through my analysis of the DCX case-study, although not absolute, ideology in today's world has become all-pervasive and cannot simply be done away with overnight. However, as Fiske (1987) argues, one way in which we could begin to address this (even on a minute scale) could be for individuals to 'withhold consent' by refusing to subscribe to collectivised ideological schema, aiming instead to honour the particularities of experience as described in the concept of non-violent epistemology proposed above.

As I have also discussed, Adorno (2005), Fromm (2013) and Sherman (2007) propose

that the collective affirmation of ideology stems from the loneliness, isolation and 'stunting' of subjectivity often needed to survive in society, which motivates individuals to seek out a sense of comfort and community in the ideological collective. Aside from the need to foster social circumstances in which individuals are not reduced to enacting violent *self*-preservation as a means to survive, this also raises the question of whether other forms of collectivising can be fostered in a manner which can provide a sense of human solidarity and community, but without the need for a central ideological scheme. Rather than thwarting subject development, we might imagine that such collectives would operate so as to allow room for diversity, particularity, and the ongoing development of individual subjectivity without the need for social exclusion. Some interesting discussions in this area can be found in Edgerton (2010) and Smith (2017).

A key characteristic of the thought governing ideological collectives is its hierarchical structure, which tends to suppress and attenuate phenomena or dimensions of phenomena which are seen to be of lesser importance than those held up within the scheme. A core function of this is the operation of instrumental reason, which serves to facilitate such repression and also fosters the domination and control of all other dimensions so as to pull them into the service of these elevated dimension(s) (Horkheimer, 1947; Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002). As discussed in Chapter Four, this tends to foster social hierarchies (Sidanius and Pratto, 2001), as well as the domination and repression of internal nature (ourselves), external nature (the phenomenal world), and others. While, as I have argued, the core underlying issue here is the epistemic structure of ideology, this does also highlight the importance of identifying and examining the operation of instrumental reason within the many different spheres of life. We might ask questions in our personal and professional lives about where such reason is operating, take some time to examine its impact, and consider what we could do to challenge or change this.

As I have already discussed, another characteristic of ideological social circumstances is the way in which they tend to assign 'conditions of worth' (Rogers, 1959) to individuals and activities, which can foster the adaptation, sublimation, suppression and appropriation of the self (Honneth, 1995; Rogers, 1959) as individuals are compelled,

coerced or forced to conform to the expectations of ideological society. This in turn can foster the de-formation of subjectivity through the stunting of self-development (Sherman, 2007) and the development of a 'fixed' (Rogers, 1961) or 'hardened' subjectivity (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002). All of the above can thwart self-actualisation and encourage the enactment of violent epistemology in relation to both the self and others. As already stated, I have proposed that the underlying issue here is ideology. However, we can also examine the ways in which we consent to, perpetuate, or ascribe conditions of worth onto ourselves and others, and as above, consider its impact and what we could do to 'withhold consent', challenge, or change this.

In relation to the case-study presented in this thesis, two core manifestations of violent epistemic ideology can be seen to run throughout the entire context, from the level of the globosystem down to the microsystem of the school. As discussed, these are globalised economic ideologies and a particular vision of development grounded in ideals of whiteness, cleanliness, order, and rational positivism. Since these ideologies are globally entrenched, they are not easy to overcome. However it is possible to imagine other ways. There are a number of interesting proposals for alternative views and models of economic practice (cf. De Graaf, 2016; Smith, 2013, 2017; Castells, 2017; Dohndt, 2004; Weiss, 2013 – to name just a few). While such texts can offer ideas for alternative ways of doing things, as this thesis indicates, a crucial point is that it is not the model itself which is important, so much as its underlying epistemic structure and the ability of global society to implement any new model in a manner that does not revert to a re-enactment of ideology. This is certainly not an easy challenge.

Many authors have also challenged the specific ideological visions of 'progress' and development that have come to dominate since the era of European colonisation (cf. Fanon, 1963; Foucault, 1980; Said, 1994; Spivak, 1988; Bhabha, 1994; Chakrabarty, 2000; Young, 2001). However, the critiques that I made of post-structuralism in Chapter Two, and of the concepts of Epistemic Violence and Epistemic Justice in Chapters Two and Three, also apply to much of this literature. What the points I raised in these critiques ask of us in relation to this issue, is to consider what non-ideological visions of the future might look like. How can we recognise the enduring harm caused by colonial ideology

and foster a future which embraces the rich diversity and particularity of humanity, without reverting to a pure subjectivism that does not consider the underlying violent structures of certain forms of epistemology, regardless of who is enacting them? Aside from a form of epistemic relativism, postcolonial discourse often revolves around issues of identity politics (ibid). However, this thesis indicates that rigid 'identity' schema can be repressive and foster violence. This raises the need to differentiate between the underlying epistemic structure of violent and non-violent forms of self- and identity-schema, and to carefully consider in each situation whether a cultural or identity category is operating as a violent epistemic scheme. I would propose that 'progress' in relation to these issues might entail a shift away from cultural and identity politics, towards a vision of fostering the free self-actualisation and healthy subject development of all, regardless of such categories as race/class/gender/culture and so on[70].

As the case-study has shown, in Brazil these global ideologies have manifest as a long history of economic exploitation spanning from slavery, through the industrial era, to the precarious labour market conditions of the neoliberal era – a history marked by social suffering and exclusion, mass poverty, rabid urbanisation without adequate infrastructure, poor living conditions, and the exploitation and criminalisation of those unable to access the formal labour market (such as was the case for many of the families whose children attended DCX School). These ideologies have also fostered a society in which those of lighter skin colour continue to be afforded higher social status and increased access to opportunities, where disproportionate rates of police violence against those of darker skin continue, and where whole sectors of society continue to face socio-spatial segregation, criminalisation, and exclusion.

The nested system model demonstrates the importance of addressing these ideologies on a global level in order to effect the most systemic change. However, bearing in mind the enormity and long-term nature of this challenge, there are practical measures that can be considered on a national level that might alleviate (rather than solve) some of these problems in the meantime. These might include evaluating the degree to which

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[70] I am not proposing that such categories are done away with altogether, but simply cautioning against their use as a form of violent epistemic 'identity thinking' (cf. Adorno, 1973).

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economic exploitation, precarious contracting and excluding sectors of the population from economic activity is actually beneficial to society (assessing the real outcomes of neoliberal economic policy). Since the Lula administration there has been some recognition of the need to alleviate poverty, resulting in the introduction of cash-transfer programmes such as Bolsa Família and Bolsa Escola (Rasella et al., 2013). Other measures to consider could include developing ways to value and integrate street commerce into city centres rather than marginalising itinerant vendors; investing in degraded neighbourhoods such as the Baixada with measures to improve housing conditions and provide public services (there have been some examples of this in the favelas (cf. Atuesta and Soares, 2016)); introducing measures to foster the use of more stable employment contracting; exploring new ways to support people into employment or self-employment[71]; and considering the potential for rolling out alternative approaches such as Universal Basic Income (De Wispelaere, 2016) and/or worker's co-ops (Vieta et al., 2016; Cheney et al., 2014).

Some measures have been taken to address inequality of opportunities between people of different skin colours, such as the operation of a quota system for admissions to public universities to increase non-white student numbers (Telles and Paixão, 2013). However, this remains a controversial issue. Political and police corruption is widespread meaning those responsible for violence (such as police and vigilante killings or the diversion of funds away from public schools) are often not held to account (Willis, 2015; Ferraz et al., 2012). Since mid-2011 Brazil has seen an increase in public protests (in which teachers and students have been very active). However, these have been consistently met with police repression, and the country has also faced significant political upheaval with a resurgence of the political right in recent years (Cannon, 2016). This indicates that while there is a strong public desire for change, this is also a fragile and contested process which may not result in any significant reduction in violence. This also means that the suggestions made above may not hold much traction with current political leaders.

In Chapter Six, I demonstrated how the history and development of schooling in Brazil

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[71] While recognising that simply integrating more people into the existing economic system does nothing to challenge the underlying ideology.

can be seen as shaped by the instrumental reason of the ideologies discussed above. Particular characteristics of this can be seen to have run throughout most of the development of Brazil's education system, and remain predominant in the structures and practices of schooling today. These include 'civilising' (Faria Filho and Vidal, 2007), repressive (Dockhorn, 2002), pacifying (Rosa, 2006), depoliticising (Leodoro, 2001), standardising and homogenising (Schwartzman, 2003) tendencies. The instrumental reason of such ideologies has also resulted in the implementation of policy reforms without sufficient consideration of the particularities and needs not only for adequate investment in infrastructure and resources, but also of an overstretched teacher population and a diverse student population (Marcílio, 2005), as well as the use of force to repress teacher and student dissent (Schwartzman, 2003).

Considering what education might look like if designed with the aim of creating environments conducive to the enactment of healthy subject development and non-violent epistemology, indicates that this would likely involve a complete deconstruction of the current structures and practices of mainstream traditional schooling, and perhaps even of current notions of 'teacher', 'student' and 'school'. We can imagine that such a schooling would be open and responsive to the ever-changing particularity, diversity and needs of all involved; would value all dimensions of phenomena and being; and would foster rather than thwart self-actualisation. We can also imagine that such a schooling would avoid ascribing conditions of worth and would not require the domination and repression of others, ourselves, or the phenomenal world.

However, as this thesis has shown, schools also exist as part of a nested system and such wholesale deconstruction and reconstruction in different form is unlikely to occur on a broad scale unless the predominant social and economic ideologies are also deconstructed, allowing for the grip of their instrumental reason to be released. This, of course, brings us back to the question of wholesale, global and societal, epistemic and structural change. As I have already discussed, such change (if possible) would likely involve a long, complex and contested process. In the meantime therefore, we can again consider some potential actions that might alleviate some of the issues evidenced in DCX School, bearing in mind that these do not fully address the issue.

To begin, particular issues stemming from the neglect of the Baixada and its residents had an impact within the school. These included the impact on children and teachers of traumatisation resulting from witnessing or being a victim of violence, the impact on children's self-esteem of struggling to develop basic skills; and children behaving in a hyperactive, agitated and aggressive manner at school as a means to release pent-up physical and emotional energy. Without forgetting the need to address these issues outside of the school itself and to reconsider the structures and practices of schooling as a whole, in the meantime the provision of access to psychological therapies may help teachers and students to process and manage difficult experiences. Teachers and school management could also consider introducing alternative means for students to release energy and frustrations. This could include, for example, the introduction of more variety and physical activity into lesson plans; using alternative spaces for learning such as the large open patio and yards that comprise the school building's lower levels; and providing increased opportunities for self-expression and physical self-actualisation through, for example, music, performance poetry, dance, theatre, capoeira, and/or sports[72]. The introduction of extra support to develop reading and basic skills, perhaps in small, supportive group or 1:1 sessions, may also help students to increase their self-esteem[73].

All of the above suggestions would place extra demands on teachers and require time, energy and resources. As my analysis has shown these have all been in short supply at DCX. Measures would need to be taken to secure the necessary resources, and addressing some of the other issues faced by teachers would likely make introducing new practices and trying new ideas more realistic. While this is beyond the control of individual schools, increasing pay by a sufficient amount to enable teachers to work in

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[72] However, previous attempts to introduce such activities have perpetuated the exclusion of students who live in tenements. As Kohara (2009) found, these students would not participate because the activity required them to remove their shoes, and lacking access to adequate sanitary facilities the children were embarrassed about the smell of their feet. This highlights yet again the importance of addressing broader contextual factors.

[73] However, this would not address the fact that low self-esteem is often a product of subject deformations fostered by struggling to conform to conditions of worth ascribed by an ideological society. Therefore such actions do not address this underlying issue.

just one school and for fewer hours overall, would allow for a better work-life balance and more rest time. This, in turn, may decrease exhaustion and stress levels, enabling teachers to invest more energy in their work and to provide higher quality learning opportunities for students. This would also allow teachers more time to pursue personal and professional development goals which, if coupled with the provision of pre-service and in-service training that is designed to meet individuals' particular needs and interests, might enable teachers to feel more self-actualised (thus reducing feelings of despondency and desperation).

Other structures and practices at DCX shaped by the instrumental reason of 19th century and neoliberal education ideologies, included official hierarchies of power and the suppression of deviance and dissent using various forms of discipline, intimidation and coercion. Introducing less hierarchical forms of organisation and governance might foster an environment in which relations between managers, teachers and students become less alienated as individuals have more say in how operations are run. This might increase the ability of the school to listen to the ideas and experiences of diverse individuals and respond more effectively to teachers' and students' needs, potentially reducing the need for violent forms of dissent. There are many examples of democratic school governance which can be seen to foster this (Appleton, 2007; Biesta, 2015). Alternative methods for resolving conflicts could also be considered. Restorative Justice practices have been used in many schools (Song and Swearer, 2016), while others have used democratic tribunals (Appleton, 2007; Biesta, 2015) or peer mediation (Politeia, 2016; Evans and Vaandering, 2016) to resolve disputes without using traditional punitive methods.

Aside from the above, structures and practices resulting from the aforementioned instrumental reason have also included the standardisation and enforcement of homogeneity in terms of class groupings, classroom layout, curricula, teaching methods, use of time, and expectations of behaviour. These practices tended to foster strict vigilance and control over student movement and expression, and to make it very difficult for teachers to meet students' diverse needs. The introduction of more flexibility in how students are grouped, for example allowing for different group sizes and for

students of different ages to work together, might allow for teaching to be better tailored to individual students' interests and needs[74].

Curricula could also take a more multidimensional approach to subject matter, by valuing and exploring the diversity (such as the different regional dialects of Portuguese) and different dimensions (such as the emotional, visual, physical and aural (cf. DeGraaff, 2011)) of phenomena. This could also foster increased participation from students in the learning process and afford more opportunities for students to contribute with their own ideas, feelings, and experiences. Such an approach would encourage an epistemically less violent mode of learning, and might also foster increased self-actualisation by affording more space for student expression and by incorporating the exploration of dimensions of life that better reflect the multidimensional nature of student experience. This, in turn, might reduce students' feelings of alienation from schooling.

As already discussed, rigid use of time and control of student movement are commonly used to manage the project of transmitting 'skills' and 'knowledge' as quickly, cheaply and efficiently (Ghiraldelli, 2000) as possible. However, examples exist of other approaches to the use of time and control of movement and activity within the school space. Class Two at Summerhill School (which is designed for students of a similar age to the majority of those who participated in this research) is one example. Rather than being laid out in the traditional manner, the 'class' is a series of three adjoining rooms, each designed to be used in a different way (e.g. one room for messy activities, another room for quieter, more focussed activity and tutorials, and another room for rest or quiet reading).

Rather than enforcing a strict timetable of lessons throughout the day, many different activities and resources are made available to students who are free to move around between the rooms and from activity to activity, spending as much or as little time on an activity as dictated by interest, motivation and need. The teacher organises

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[74] This would need to be implemented with caution so as not to assign conditions of worth to placement in particular groups, which could simply reinforce students' self-schema as 'bad', or 'sub-standard' if placed in a group which is seen to be for students of lower ability, for example.

workshops and lessons, but rather than expecting all children to sit down quietly and participate at the same time, students who are interested are free to join the lesson, while those who are not can continue with other projects. As I witnessed when visiting the class in 2013 and 2014, this allows for a much greater degree of student self-actualisation and self-determination, and for the teacher to maintain an observational and supportive interaction with students without the need to uphold strict vigilance and control over all movement and activity - thus greatly reducing the need for the teacher to employ dominating, coercive, punitive or aggressive tactics in order to maintain control. This also encouraged students to take responsibility for their own behaviour and choices.

Finally, as previously discussed, violent epistemology could also be seen at DCX in how teachers would often fail to openly acknowledge their own and colleague's violent behaviour, which did not match their self-schema or schema about schooling. This prevented violence perpetrated by the school and teachers from being addressed. In line with the concept of non-violent epistemology outlined above, which emphasises the importance of acknowledging all particularities of a phenomenon and integrating them into our schema, this raises the importance of teachers and school management acknowledging their own violent behaviour and the violence inherent to certain structures and practices of schooling. One provision which might help teachers to develop less violent professional practice and process emotional responses to the difficult realities of teaching at DCX, might include clinical supervision. There are a number of different approaches to using clinical supervision in education settings (Pajak, 2002), and Dussault's (1970) Rogerian inspired approach may provide a starting point for the development of a method that is compatible with the concept of non-violent epistemic practice presented in this thesis.

The practical suggestions made above are not intended to be read as direct recommendations. As this thesis has demonstrated, it is the epistemology which underlies and shapes an intervention that is important. Crucially, while implementing any of the above suggestions might alleviate some of the impacts of violent epistemology illustrated in the case-study (and might foster slightly more conducive

circumstances for healthy subject development and the enactment of non-violent epistemology), as my analysis of the Educommunication project has shown, simply applying an intervention without broad scale epistemic and systemic change, is likely to have limited impact. As I have shown, the non-conducive circumstances and overarching structure, practices and ideologies operating in DCX School mean that even the suggestions made above might be unrealistic. This brings us back once again to the difficult question of the realistic possibilities of mediating and negotiating change, and if change is possible, what might constitute a realistic and effective starting point?

While recognising the clear need for broader epistemic and systemic change, if we consider Harich's (2010) argument that identifying a root cause is equal to identifying the point in a causal chain at which an intervention can effectively be targeted, then we can consider (as mentioned in the previous section) the most fundamental linchpin for change to be the epistemic behaviour of individuals. As Sherman (2007: 6) states and as I have formulated in this thesis, 'although subjectivity is plainly mediated by the existing sociohistorical structures, it also has the capacity to affect these very structures'. However, 'the idea that individuals can truly be raised free from coercive tendencies under the existing sociohistorical conditions is a mistaken one' (ibid, 233). Therefore, while we can take comfort the power of our epistemic agency to effect change, we must also strive to become aware of the deformations in our own subjectivity, and be mindful of how these may impact on our attempts to do so.

Marx also took hope in human agency, stating that '[People] make their own history' (1978: 595). However, he cautioned (and as this thesis has demonstrated), 'they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past' (ibid). In this sense, we must conclude that we can only begin with the facticity in which we find ourselves by striving to understand the complexities of the circumstances that we have inherited and created, and acknowledging that we are forever working from, and on, these circumstances. This process can begin with a 'de-masking' of the realities of these circumstances. In Chapter One I illustrated how my time at DCX School culminated in an experience of absurdity and disequilibrium, as my pre-existing

conceptual framework did not match up to my experience. I reached a point, as Morgan (2013) writes, when the ideologies masking contradictions within society failed; 'when the gap between what [was] proclaimed and what actually exist[ed was] too great for the ideology to mask any longer' (no page). This experience of 'de-masking' became a catalyst for a change in my thinking and methodology, leading to the development of the thesis that I have finally presented. I hope that, in turn, this thesis can also go some way towards 'de-masking' ideologies by highlighting the gaps between 'what is proclaimed and what actually exists', creating a disequilibrium or disintegration of discourse and providing a starting point for the reconstruction of schema about our societies and models of schooling based on a less violent epistemology.

However, as I have made clear above, the 'deconstruction and reconstruction' that I am referring to is epistemic at its core. Because of this, the idea of change brought about by a flash revolution has no use because as I have discussed, the process of epistemic change rests on the slow and effortful transformation of individual subjectivity which involves not only a change in epistemic attitude and behaviour, but also a healing from previous deformations of subjectivity. As Graeber (2011) writes, 'our customary conception of revolution is insurrectionary: the idea is to brush aside existing realities of violence by overthrowing the state, then, to unleash the powers of popular imagination and creativity to overcome the structures that create alienation' (p. 42). The problem with this view is that unless underpinned by a change in epistemic practice at the level of individual subjects, any change in regime or introduction of new social structures, practices and ideologies, is likely to perpetuate violent epistemology - just in a different outer manifestation.

Graeber (ibid) argues that it has become 'apparent that the real problem [i]s how to institutionalize such creativity without creating new, often even more violent and alienating structures'. He asks, 'what does revolution mean once one no longer expects a single, cataclysmic break with past structures of oppression?' (p. 42). In response to this, and in line with Adorno, I propose that while we cannot produce instant ''solutions' for the ills of modernity', in the meantime we can still strive 'towards a different kind of being that might ameliorate its worst excesses' – a politics and intellectual reorientation

'directed at changing our fundamental ways of being and thinking, rather than at particular concrete projects' (Schick, 2009: 150). As Smith (2015) affirms, 'any theory of systemic change worth its salt has to look structurally at the need for societal transformation, while also considering societal transformation on the level of the subject [involving] *a many-sided human transformation process*' (no page).

It is in relation to this 'process of human transformation' that the concept of non-violent epistemology holds so much value because it provides a clear concept of what we could strive towards. However, we are still faced with the fact that engagement in this process hinges on the choice and commitment of individuals through the enactment of individual agency. Our capacity to choose between enacting violent or non-violent epistemology, lies in our phenomenological freedom. While it has become cliché, Eleanor Roosevelt's famous saying, 'with great freedom, comes great responsibility', brings us to reflect on the following question: If phenomenological freedom implies epistemic freedom, ought we to be thinking more about epistemic responsibility?

We have established that engaging in a process of personal transformation from the habitual enactment of violent, to non-violent epistemology can be difficult and painful. In light of this we must ask not just whether we want to change our epistemic practices, considering the potential pain and effort involved, but also to what extent we have a responsibility to change them if we truly want to see a reduction in violence and suffering. Code (1987; 1988) proposes a concept of epistemic responsibility that is largely compatible with, and could be expanded by, the concept of non-violent epistemology presented above. While she comes from a feminist perspective, she is clear that epistemic responsibility is relevant to all contexts, and the outcomes of the analysis presented in this thesis suggest that individual and collective epistemic responsibility is something that needs to be taken seriously when considering our role in processes of change.

For those who might understandably argue that individual change might be too challenging, because our current society is not one in which people can 'actually afford to be open' (Sherman, 2007: 281), I propose that this highlights the importance (as

discussed above) not just of individual change, but also of creating circumstances which are conducive to such change. This may need to include, as Fiumara (2015) proposes, the development of a 'new culture of healing and therapy' in order to collectively overcome a long history of violence, trauma and subject deformation. Some might argue that the above seems impossible in our current social circumstances, permeated as they are by the all-pervasive reach of economic ideology. In response to this I propose we begin by creating or looking for 'cracks' (Holloway, 2010) in that ideology's reach (however small), and use the spaces afforded by such cracks to begin opening up, examining our own epistemic practice, and fostering non-violent epistemic ways of relating with the world, ourselves, and each other.

Directions for Future Research.

While this thesis has made a significant contribution to the development of a deeper understanding of the root causes of violence in schooling and presented preliminary conceptualisations of non-violent epistemology and conducive circumstances, there is much scope for further research. There is room for further investigation and refinement of the concepts of violent epistemology and subject deformation presented in this thesis, particularly from the perspectives of psychology, learning theory, child development and lifelong learning. Such investigations could further explore the cognitive, emotional and motivational dimensions of violent epistemology. There is also scope for further development of the concept of non-conducive circumstances both in terms of how these impact on subject development and foster the enactment of violent epistemology, as well as in relation to how such circumstances are formed and maintained. Both the concepts of violent epistemology and non-conducive circumstances could also be refined through further research into their presence, operation and impact in different contexts. This could include additional case-studies and/or multi-site studies.

Aside from this, the proposed conceptual model of non-violent epistemology presented in this chapter can be developed further, with emphasis on better understanding not only its cognitive, emotional and motivational dimensions, but also its interrelation with

subject development. A particularly interesting area to research could be the processes by which an individual comes to initiate and undergo a significant and lasting change in epistemic behaviour, and the conditions that might foster such a process. Likewise, there is also much scope for research into the concept of conducive circumstances, both in terms of conceptualising the necessary characteristics of such circumstances, and how they might be developed and maintained.

Finally, in direct relation to education as a field of research, this thesis provides a starting point for the development of a new area of research focussed on the interactions between schooling and different aspects of violent and non-violent epistemology, subject development, and the conduciveness of circumstances for fostering violent and non-violent ways of relating with the world, ourselves and each other within educational settings. This could include research into how educational institutions and practices can be designed and developed with the concepts of non-violent epistemology and conducive circumstances in mind, and into ways in which non-violent epistemology and healthy subject development might be fostered through specific curriculum approaches, pedagogical practices, and organisational structures.

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Appendix One: Supporting Data for Chapter Two.

1. *Today we all know that education, the school, is not the only social reference that teaches people. […] The school has competition, and very strong competition. […] And if the school doesn't keep an eye on this competition and lags behind, it will always lose the game. Just as we have seen. The school has lost the game. Because the media anticipates a series of things and wins people over. But not the school. […]To teach a conceptual lesson is easy. You put the information [on the blackboard] and explain what it is. Now, how do you make this information fit into the day-to-day life of the student? Why teach it? Why is this [information] important for this person's life? […] The public school, and I think education across the whole world, lives in this dilemma: what to teach and why to teach? And when you don't have a clear response for this student, then you generate conflict. And this conflict can be generated by the student not wanting to go to school, just as sometimes real pathways are arrived at of having more aggressive attitudes on the part of the student towards the teacher and equally on the part of the teacher towards the student, and [then] the process of education doesn't happen. When you only listen and you can't do anything you get bored with that. Some will want to break everything. Others will keep that feeling hidden and will say 'my god what a boring school* (Interview with Carlos Lima, 09/05/11).

2. *When [somebody] holds prejudice against people it's because he doesn't know them, because if he stopped to converse with them he would say 'hey this person has lots to teach me, he is in some way similar to me'. […] From the moment that you bring local culture into the curriculum of the school, you diminish the tension between the student and the teacher because you are privileging the student. So you begin to develop a proximity [between teachers and students], and the dialogue becomes better.*

I think that the very special projects are those that bring some approximation between the teacher and the student, because in the project you pull out a theme or topic that is of interest to that group. [When this happens] the group becomes collaborative because its members see their will being presented there as a proposal in which they can take part, and which they can construct together with the group. So the question of collaboration and cooperation is born. And the teacher, who needs to be accompanying more closely than usual, ends up being a partner in the group and doesn't remain a mere teacher that teaches while the student listens [...] The teacher and the student to begin to converse on a plane of equality, because the teacher ends up understanding the person with whom he speaks, and the student will end up in his turn understanding the role of the teacher.

So Educommunication can be a methodological possibility to be able to overcome this chasm, [for] the betterment of human relating within the school environment. I think that the school radio [...] is revolutionary because it offers a voice to the student who doesn't have a voice in the school. So for you to open a microphone for the student to be able to say what they think, [...] to bring a different moment to that which he lives in the classroom, to be able to discuss things with his colleagues, it's a revolutionary form. When you open an opportunity for the student to be able to speak and to be able to be heard, then he begins to say 'hey, the school is mine, I too can discuss what I think'. [With the school radio] you [try] to equalise the relationship between the teacher and the student, [so the student can think] 'I can speak too, just as the teacher can also speak [...]'. So you horizontalise this relation a little, and when you horizontalise a relation everybody is friendly because the relation of a friendship is horizontal, it's not vertical [where one person says] 'I command, and you only speak when I say'. In Educommunication you don't have this. You have collective discussion where everyone can speak, at least as close to equality as possible. [...] Educommunication brings this possibility of equalising the speech within the school, but it also brings the possibility of learning many things that were hidden inside the person or inside the community. And when you give a voice to people,

they will say things that I as a teacher could never have imagined (Interview with Carlos Lima, 09/05/11).

3. *I had already used a blog but now I know how to use them better* (Student, 28/06/11).

I used a camera (Student, 28/06/11).

I used the projector (Student, 28/06/11).

[I learnt to use] Movie Maker and Audacity (Student, 28/06/11).

[I used] a Dictaphone, which I had never used or even seen before (Student, 28/06/11).

I learnt to use the radio equipment (Student, 28/06/11).

I learnt more about interviewing and reporting (Student, 28/06/11).

4. *In a group you learn things that you didn't know, and [now] I work better in groups* (Student, 28/06/11).

I didn't get on with my colleagues before (Student, 28/06/11).

The 8th years didn't talk to each other in class, only in the project (Field diary, 12/04/11).

We learn to live together (Student, 28/06/11).

Before I only used to work on my own (Student, 28/06/11).

It's really cool working in pairs (Student, 28/06/11).

Before, when I was in a group I used to keep things to myself, but now if I don't know something I ask a colleague to tell me (Student, 28/06/11).

No human being is the same. I learnt to respect what they are, and not what they appear to be (Student, 28/06/11).

I don't hit my colleagues any more (Student, 28/06/11).

I used to shout at my colleagues but I changed and I don't shout any more (Student, 28/06/11).

Before, [if] our friends came to speak to me, I wasn't interested in them. Because they weren't my friends. But now when they come I say 'how are you?' And even people who aren't my friends, I say 'How are you? Are you alright?' Before me and BR, we weren't friends, I wasn't even interested, but the other day I went to her and asked if she wanted to be my friend. Before I didn't talk to someone because I thought 'they're not my friend', but then I realised that they weren't being aloof towards me, it was me that was being aloof (Student, 28/06/11).

5. *One thing that I noticed is that you are all working better in groups in the classroom, as a result of the experience that you have here [in the project]* (Teacher, 28/06/11).

6. *Not really, I have always worked better alone and I don't know why but I have always liked my ideas and not other people's. I think I work better alone* (Student, 28/06/11).

   Maybe yes… or no (Student, 28/06/11).

7. *When the time came to divide people into pairs to work on articles for the wall journal, some students had already chosen who they wanted to work with. Nobody wanted to work with BR, and some complained about the partner they had been put with. N didn't want to work with anyone* (Observation notes, 29/04/11).

   I have noticed that T almost always sits alone. When she arrived today she asked me 'will I be on my own today?' M said 'you won't be on your own', but T ended up sitting alone for most of the time (Observation notes, 06/05/11).

   The teacher called everyone to make a circle. The girls all sat squished together

on one side of the classroom (at the front), and the boys stayed at the back. The teacher had to ask them to make a proper circle, saying 'this circle is very strange, people!' […] The girls AP, ES and EST sat whispering and giggling amongst themselves during the whole session (Observation notes, 16/05/11).

8. *Before I knew a little, but now I feel like a human dictionary* (Student, 28/06/11).
    I learnt things that I didn't know or learn on my course. My ideas have improved a lot (Adult Education Student, 28/06/11).
    I began thinking and saying things with more intelligence (Student, 28/06/11).

    I started to see things very differently (Student, 28/06/11).

    I think about Brazil differently now (Student, 28/06/11).

9. *Depending on the idea, yes, because in a certain way this is a place where students express themselves* (Student, 28/06/11).
    Yes, because here we are all friends, but each person with different ideas (Student, 28/06/11).
    Yes, all as friends (Student, 28/06/11).
    Yes, because every Tuesday we make a circle with the whole group (Student, 28/06/11).
    Yes, because the circle that we make serves for me to say what I want to say (Student, 28/06/11).

10. *'I was thinking that today our storyteller is going to be IN' Said the teacher. IN put her hands to her face and made an uncomfortable sound. She sat in front of the microphone and began to read the text to herself, in her head. 'Read out loud to practise!' Said the teacher. 'Out loud?' Said IN, and her body became all tense. She sat looking at the paper in her hands and said nothing, fingers fumbling with the page. 'Nobody is listening' said the teacher, 'You don't need to get scared because there's only us here.' […] 'But I'm going to get it wrong!' IN exclaimed* (Observation notes, 02/05/11).

While last week IN had been incredibly shy and timid and had taken a long time to work up the courage to talk on the microphone, this week she spoke into it straight away, without hesitating. She had built up confidence and had already made a huge improvement in terms of speaking out loud and speaking clearly (Observation notes, 09/05/11).

11. *When the teachers said something about the school I didn't pay attention to it as much as I do now* (Student, 28/06/11).

I started to see normal things in a different way. Before I only saw fights and violence, but now I see solutions! (Student, 28/06/11).

I noticed a big difference between here inside [the project] and out there [in the rest of the school]. Here there is more respect and education, and out there everything is madness (Student, 28/06/11).

Student: After the project I began to, not to think, how can I say it, to become… very different… for example I throw… I throw paper in the classroom, I do all kinds of things…
Teacher 3: And didn't you try to change after you came to the project? I mean, you started to become aware. What's the next step? It's to try to change the behaviour about which I have become aware. Did you try to change? Are you trying?
Student: I'm not trying, I already managed to change.
Teacher 3: Oh really? That's great!
Teacher 2: When I enter a classroom with him in, it's nice and clean now.
Teacher 3: This is really good (Conversation between teachers and student, 28/06/11).

12. *The security guard said to us 'can you tell them not to touch anything? […]'. We looked into the next room and the girls were sitting in some ancient arm chairs, resting and bouncing up and down to test their springiness. We said 'Don't touch anything, ok?' 'Can we sit in the chairs?' they asked. 'Especially not the chairs!' said the security guard. The girls made guilty faces, but the act of trying out the chairs had been innocent. […] They weren't causing trouble to be difficult, but out of sheer interest in the experience of the exhibition* (Field diary, 18/06/11).

13. *On the way out of the photo exhibition, the girls signed the visitor's book with everybody's names, and then 'monitor students', without anyone suggesting or asking them to do it. We went to the corridor to wait for the others, and BR sat at a posh looking table, saying 'I'm going to sit down and rest a little… now I need to call the waiter'. […] I joked with her, saying 'Waiter! Bring me a glass of champagne!', and we laughed* (Field diary, 18/06/11).

The way in which we related with the students today [on our field trip] was so different from yesterday. Yesterday I couldn't even get BR and BN to look me in the eye, and I couldn't manage to communicate with them, but today was so different. We talked, and they told me where to get water that wasn't chilled, so I didn't hurt my teeth. We went down to the entrance hall together in the elevator, and sat on some benches to wait for the other teacher. BR and BN sat on either side of the teacher, who shared her experience of being in hospital yesterday. BR shared a similar experience of her own (Field diary, 18/06/11).

14. *What really changed was the way I see the teachers. This changed enough for me to understand that all the teachers are important for our learning* (Student, 28/06/11).

Before, some teachers were boring for me, but now I see that they are not boring, but, they teach differently (Student, 28/06/11).

I started to hear each word that the teachers say differently, and to listen with more wisdom (Student, 28/06/11).

I see [the teachers] as friends (Student, 28/06/11).

For me [my perception of teachers] changed, because here we can talk more and participate (Student, 28/06/11).

15. *'Where's A?' teacher 1 said. 'A, come here!' A came back to the computer but remained standing. He leant over the back of the chair to type the corrections that the teacher instructed him to. I asked him if he wanted to sit down. 'No', he replied. 'Sit down' the teacher said. 'I don't want to', said A. 'Sit down PLEASE' said the teacher in a forceful tone. A sat down* (Observation notes, 12/05/11).

We are equals. This is what's most important. Ok? (Teacher 1 to students, 26/04/11).

I say to them that I don't want them to say 'yes sir'. I detest it more than anything when they say 'yes sir'. I really want the student to question (Teacher 2, 06/06/11).

I always say to the 8th years when they [tell each other to be quiet], that I want to see them finish primary school, finish secondary school, and finish college before they start telling people to be quiet. I say to them 'Until then, you are the student' (Teacher 2, 21/06/11).

16. When asked whether they felt anything was lacking in the project, a number of students answered:

Meetings, and the manifestation of ideas (Student, 28/06/11).

Motivation and creativity (Student, 28/06/11).

Motivation and unity in the group (Student, 28/06/11).

We need to manifest our ideas, and achieve something new (Student, 28/06/11).

17. *I would like [the Educommunication project] to have a wider reach, […] the students who take part will certainly have more knowledge and experience than if they had not had [the] project […]. [But] despite all the efforts of those involved, there is still a lack of cohesion* (School Director, 25/05/11).

Appendix Two: Supporting Data for Chapter Six.

1. *The teachers [...] sat down to talk about the chaotic behaviour of the students. They said that at home the students don't have space to run, so they arrive at school and it seems like the only space they have to run, and they want to run around the entire time. JB heard shouts coming from downstairs and went down to see. He returned saying that he had found the project students coming up the stairs. 'They said they wanted to talk to M, but they were just saying that, they wanted to run around in the corridor. I told them to go downstairs right now and to go straight home'* (Observation notes, 03/05/11).

2. *Teacher 1: My god how they come back from break time so agitated... and some afraid. Some are afraid of break.*
   Teacher 3: There are some that don't come down from the stairs at break time...
   Teacher 1: That don't come down the stairs, that's exactly what I've observed...
   Teacher 3: They stay right next to the gates... don't go to the patio...
   Teacher 1: Don't go down... they're scared. They're scared of break. So, you can believe that break is the most common place for bullying in the school... [...] Putting them all together... is a problem. You understand? To leave all the classes downstairs together... is a problem' (Conversation between teachers, 18/04/11).

3. *We were down on the patio, putting up the wall journal. I saw that A, from the fifth year, was involved in a dispute with an older girl and a little boy. The inspector was trying to resolve it, with a serious face. The girl was shouting in the little boy's face, and another girl came and started to shout at him too. A was involved in some way. The inspector just stood by their sides, watching while the girls shouted and the little boy started to try to kick and punch the girl. The girl swung her school trolley case at the boy and another child tried to hold them back. The inspector walked away and the group ran off, all trying to hit each other. Another teacher came along and ran after them, shouting at them. By this time a large group of project students had accumulated on the patio. Some of them were watching us or helping us to put up the wall journal. The rest ran around, throwing themselves on top of each other and doing cartwheels. A teacher called all the children that weren't part of the project and took them to the school gates. M (a project teacher) came downstairs and called all the project students together for a meeting. 'It's going to be down here on the patio', she called out. BR grabbed A's school bag, and JSC tried to grab BR's, and they were on the verge of fighting. They were all very agitated. M tried to get them to sit down* (Observation notes, 29/04/11).

4. *The teacher asked G5 why he had arrived so early. He said 'the director let us go early because the class was 'aprontando[75]'* (Field notes, 26/05/11).

5. *The classroom was full of children of 10 or 11 years of age. More boys than girls. They were noisy and very energetic, and the teacher was speaking very loudly and slowly, trying to communicate with them. She had to repeat things over and over, and call some students to pay attention repeatedly too. She looked tired, the skin on her face a little flushed, and she lifted up her chin and stood on tip toes, trying to speak over the students. […]* (IT Lesson observations, 31/03/2011).

6. *AP came and said to the teacher 'Do you know what they were doing when you two were outside? BR and P were grabbing each other'. BR and P objected, shouting 'No!', and BN said 'Yes, and she went and jumped on top of him'. 'Oh really?' the teacher replied, 'you're grabbing each other now are you?' and she turned back to the computer. AP started play fighting with P, climbing on his back, grabbing him around the neck, and almost putting him on the floor. The teacher didn't see, or pretended that she didn't see, and I felt like I ought to intervene. I gave them a disapproving look, and BR stopped for a second, then they carried on. I said 'Stop this guys', but they carried on. Everyone was already agitated, hitting each other, running around the room, shouting, grabbing each other. BN had sat at a computer and started playing a game. The rest carried on running around and messing about. The teacher stood up and said 'That's enough! Let's make a circle and talk'. They didn't calm down, and BR threw herself on the floor, lying in the middle of the room. The teacher called them again, to make a circle of chairs. BR crawled under a computer desk and hid there, giggling. The teacher didn't see. P, AP, JS, the teacher, and I all sat down. I said 'there's someone missing' nodding towards BR under the desk. The teacher turned and saw her. 'What are you, a child?' said AP. 'Get out of there and come and sit down' said the teacher. BR climbed out and ran to the other side of the circle, then said, grinning 'now my trousers are dirty, look teacher I'm going to have to go home to change them'. 'Stop this and come and sit down' replied the teacher. BR crossed the middle of the circle, agitatedly grabbed a chair and dragged it back across the circle. 'No, put it here' said the teacher, and BR dragged the chair back to where she had taken it from, and sat down. 'BN, do I need to tell you again to come and sit down?' said the teacher to BN, who was still sitting at the computer playing a game. 'No' she replied, but didn't move and carried on playing her game. 'BN, close that game and come and sit down' said the teacher again. AP got up and went to BN, took the mouse and closed the game, and the two girls came back to the circle. Everyone sat down, still agitated, and the teacher explained how the schedule of work for the wall journal was*

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[75] It is difficult to directly translate the verb 'aprontar' or its gerund, 'aprontando'. Literally, it means 'to get ready', but it is often used colloquially to mean a combination of provoke, aggravate, aggress, affront, incite, etc.

going to be organised, and tried to organise them into groups. They argued with her about the number of people in a pair, about how to divide the groups, and complained that they didn't want to work with certain people (Observation notes, 17/06/11).

7. *Today they [the students] left me stressed; hitting each other, getting up, swearing, and hiding under the table… I didn't know what to do. I got flushed and it took me a while to feel calm afterwards* (Field diary, 17/06/11).

8. *The teachers talked about how the 5th years are messing around a lot, and not taking anything seriously* (Conversation with teachers, 03/05/11).

9. *For example some teachers don't even tell us off. If we carry on messing around it's us that are losing out, because the teacher wants, wants to explain and if the teacher can't explain it then it's us who are losing time, like, to learn* (Student comment, 28/06/11).

10. *J stayed outside the classroom for a while, then came back in and called M and JB to go back out with her. After a while M put her head back round the door and said 'hold the fort, this is going to take a while'. They were talking with JSC's father. They told me afterwards that he had arrived all worked up, accusing the project teachers of racism. J said 'JSC complains directly to his father, he doesn't complain to us'. M said that the father was complaining because an article that JSC had written with IG for the wall journal, had been put up with only IG's name as the author. J said 'and I said to him, 'But IG is black too!'. I said that I don't think IG would do this on purpose, and J replied 'maybe – none of them are saints, IG is damned, he aggravates in the classroom too – we have a group that is good for nothing. It could be that he took JSC's name off on purpose, and I won't say that they don't give each other ugly nicknames, I already heard it so I won't defend them, but I said to him 'yes, they make comments and give each other ugly nicknames which we don't like, but sir you don't know me, you don't know my work, and you already come her accusing me of racism, and he said 'I can see that you are mulata, but they are the worst'. J said that she got angry and said 'I'm sorry, but what am I, and inferior race now?' 'The guy comes here saying this and he doesn't know me or my work. M said 'He said he has a degree from USP, and that he's not a stupid guy, but he only talks to himself, no conversation, just him talking. He should come here and take part in the school, he should come for a conversation'. 'Yes' said J, 'But he has to come and converse firstly with mediation because counter-racism doesn't get anywhere, counter-racism is just as bad as racism'. 'And he teaches this to JSC' said M, 'JSC sees everyone as an enemy. He doesn't want to work in groups with other students, I try to encourage him to participate and he doesn't want to. We have to stay attentive to this'* (Conversation with teachers, 31/05/11).

11. *I sat a little while with IG, who was supposed to be working with JSC, only JSC was watching a video about dinosaurs by himself on the internet and IG was writing their article. The teacher came and said 'are you not participating JSC?' in a kind voice. He mumbled 'it's just they punctured my brother's eye (he covered his face with his hands) and I don't know if he's going to be OK or not'. His voice was filled with worry. […] Where did this happen, here at school? The teacher asked. 'Yes, and they said that they punctured his eye and he didn't do anything'* (Observation notes, 20/05/11).

12. *JSC was sitting alone at the computer, playing a game. He had been sitting for a long while by himself, without saying anything to anyone* (Field notes, 10/06/11).

13. *JSC and AP didn't want to work in their pairs. They wanted to sit alone, each one at their own computer* (Observation notes, 17/06/11).

14. *JS was sitting by himself at a computer, doing his own thing. The teacher told him to shut down his computer and work with PL* (Observation notes, 17/06/11).

15. *In the middle of the meeting we heard very loud, desperate shouting coming from the corridor. The teacher went outside, saying 'do you think she needs help?' assuming it was a teacher shouting at a student. She came back in without intervening, saying that it was just a mother shouting at her son* (Observation notes 13/06/11).

16. *Teacher 2: Have you seen T these days?*
    Teacher 1: T isn't coming any more
    Teacher 3: Not for three weeks already
    Teacher 2: Ok, but it's that I saw that T had a bit of a belly
    Teacher 3: Ai, don't say this people
    Teacher 1: T is still a child
    Teacher 3: T is 10 years old
    Teacher 2: That's why I thought it was really strange
    (Conversation between teachers, 20/06/11).

17. *We discussed some of the reasons that students become violent at school. The teachers suggested some causes: bullying, 'mental problems', losing their mother, isolation… two of their students who have been particularly aggressive present as quiet and isolated* (Discussion with teachers, 11/04/11).

18. *JB said that he was going to invite JN to take part in the wall journal, because he would be a great participant. He said that JN is very timid and quiet, but that if anyone annoys him he gets into a fight. He said that someone had offended JN's mother this week, and that he'd fought with the person (hitting them). M said that the mother is a very strong reference for many of the students, because*

many times the father is absent or they don't even know who he is, and that if someone offends their mothers they get really angry (Observation notes, 06/04/11).

19. *One teacher asked how she can tell if a student's problems are psychological or psychiatric. The visitor said that it's really difficult to tell, but that psychiatric problems can come, as in the case of another student from DCX who they are working with, from a lack of family structure, and the student can develop a very aggressive attitude like this boy* (Pedagogical meeting, 19/05/11).

20. *A teacher was telling me about how ML lives with her brother and uncles. She's the only girl in the house and is 12 years old. It was her that told the story about the brother who drinks and plays video games until late, and how she can't sleep because she shares a room with him. She told the teacher that she has to wake up at 5am every morning to leave food ready for the men before she goes to school. 'It's exploitation of a minor, in the best of cases' said the teacher* (Conversation with teacher, 16/04/11).

21. *The teachers were looking at a timetable on the computer and talking about when the students could come and help in the IT room during the day. They said that JS can't come because he has a little brother who he has to look after. W stays at home trying to look after things in the house while their parents are absent* (Observation notes, 01/04/11).

22. *The conversation turned to the small girl. She said she had missed school this morning because she went to bed at 4.00 am. The teacher asked 'but tell me, why did you go to bed at 4.00 am? 'Ah', the girl replied, 'because I was watching the new Harry Potter film, and then I went to 'have dinner' at one o' clock, and afterwards I was on the computer until four o' clock, and when I woke up I saw that it was 11.45 already and I said 'my god!' […] The teacher said that it's necessary to sleep well in order to grow and be able to stay in school, and someone asked if this was why the girl was small. 'If she had slept more, would she have grown taller?' The teacher said that she didn't know, but that sleep was very important for growing. She said that it also wasn't good to eat at this time, because we have livers, and the liver doesn't work in the middle of the night. She said our body is like a machine, but at night it works like a broken machine. 'So I'm a broken machine' the girl said. 'Could this be why I threw up this morning?' […] Someone asked the girl whether her mum makes dinner at this time, and she said 'No, my mum prepares food for me to eat around six at night, but for me to have dinner at this time, one in the morning is even early for me!' I wondered to myself whether the girl's mother left her like this… they obviously didn't eat together and the mother obviously didn't make sure she went to bed, nor got her up in the morning. (Observation notes, 24/03/2011).*

23. *N was working on her piece about the importance of sleep, for the wall journal. She joked 'I'm sleepy, writing about sleep' (Observation notes, 14/04/11).*

24. *The group talked for a long time about sleep, what times they went to bed, and why they stayed up so late. A lot of the time is was because of the TV or computer. One girl said that she lived with her brother (not her parents) in a single room, and that he stayed up playing video games and drinking, and that because of this she couldn't sleep (Observation notes, 06/04/2011).*

25. *We met at 10am outside the school gates. G looked tired, and S looked as if she'd just got out of the shower. I noticed that S was wearing the same shorts that she always wore, green children's shorts, always dirty, and a green vest, a bit dirty too. The other day I saw her wearing a different pair of shorts, made of coloured lycra and very dirty too, and her white school t-shirt was always dirty. I asked myself whether she has anyone that looks after her and washes her clothes, or whether she had facilities at home to wash her clothes [...] she often smells of stale urine (Notes from a field trip, 16/04/11).*

26. *I noticed the general care and warmth of the parents towards their children, and the exhaustion on the parents' faces. The student JSU, and the sisters N and JSM were in a group with the sisters' mother [JSU had gone to live with the sisters because of problems at home]. There were a lot of small students, from the fifth year. I noticed that some of the students were very dirty. One girl was wearing an old faded pair of school shorts, covered in food stains. She had on a stained school t-shirt, a cotton necklace, and wiggled her toes in an old pair of pink flip flops. Her hair was wild and curly. I saw that the t-shirt of another girl in front of her was also very stained. There was a group of about eight students who had come without their parents. One mother came to ask me for a pen and started to talk about her other son who hadn't come to the meeting. She was dripping sweat, and periodically wiped it from her face. She looked like she was suffering, it was really hot [...] N came to ask for a consent form for her sister, and then left with her mum, sister and JSU. The sisters' mother was joking around with JSM on the way out, running after her and laughing, trying to grab her (Parents' meeting observations, 29/03/2011).*

27. *Today J brought a jacket in her bag for ML, but forgot to give it to her. She told me that she saw ML shivering from cold a few days ago and asked if she hadn't brought a sweater with her. 'Teacher, I only have one sweater and it's dirty' ML had replied. J felt sorry for her and brought a jacket in from home. 'I see a lot of kids here in the cold weather without sufficient clothing. I don't know what their parents think, even in the summer I send my son to school in shorts and t-shirt, but his sweater always goes in his school bag. What if the weather changes?'* (Conversation with teacher, 05/05/11).

28. *The teachers said that the parents that came to the meeting were keen to discuss the issues, and were concerned about their children's education. Many parents didn't come. One teacher suggested that it was necessary to remain really attentive to the students whose parents didn't come. She said there were mothers who said 'don't call me [to meetings] any more, and the teachers need to call them many times or go to their house to explain that it's negligence, if they're not involved in their child's education* (Field diary, 19/05/11).

29. *On the way downstairs we passed the School Director's office. Three young boys were in the office – two sitting resting their heads on the table, and the third at the director's desk. The inspector was leaning out of the window drinking coffee, and commented to us 'they came to sign up for school. They came by themselves to sign up to study!' with an expression of disbelief* (Field diary, 18/04/11).

30. *I asked how the parents' meeting had gone today. The teacher said it went ok, but that the parents of the most disruptive students didn't come. She gave a list of their names to the school director, to invite them again* (Observation notes, 11/05/11).

31. *When we arrived back at school […] JSU passed by, and greeted us. The teacher said it looks like he has moved to N's house [another student], because he used to live with his uncle and stepmother, and the place where they lived was sold to someone else, so they had to move out. They moved away, and he was given permission to move in with N for a while, because he is turning 18 soon. 'But it looks to me like the place where N lives is even worse than where he was before'* (Field diary, 18/06/11).

32. *J told me that JSU had come to confide in her today, telling her that he had a girl interested in him. She was happy that he had come to confide in her. He had said 'Tomorrow I'll bring you an update', 'As if I was the mother he never had, you know?' said J* (Conversation with teacher, 05/05/11).

33. *J gave a student a consent form for a trip. At the bottom of the form was written 'Parents signature……………'. The Portuguese word for 'parents is 'fathers'. J asked 'Who decided that the plural of mother and father is 'fathers'? It's always the mothers that sign'* (Observation notes, 14/04/11).

34. *She said that the difference between public and private school in Brazil is that, yes, in private schools there are children who don't live with their parents, or who have some personal problems, but in smaller quantity and in general they have more cultural references – their parents take them to the cinema, the theatre, exhibitions, so they already come to school with many references. The students from DCX do come with cultural references, but these are references from popular*

culture, media, music, from what's happening on the street corner, and their cultural references are very limited (Conversation with teacher, 11/06/11).

35. *We were watching an animation about Sao Paulo being built on land that used to be rainforest. At one point a signpost for the Metro station Sumaré popped up. 'Is there an actual metro station called Sumaré?' asked NR* (Observation notes, 11/05/11).

36. *J started telling me about the student JSU. [She told me] that he has a very difficult life history, and that he always had ripped clothes and dirty trainers. [She told me] that she had become fond of him, and that he had got a job but was turning up with dirty, ripped clothes. She had given him a new pair of trainers at the end of last year, but that she couldn't do this all the time because 'if not it means something else'. She saw him arrive today with new trainers and clean clothes, and she felt very good. […] She explained how he had got this job in the Forum but that it had been problematic because his mum didn't want to sign consent for him to work, and she couldn't walk up the hill to the Forum because it was too far. J and two other teachers had clubbed together to help him and invited his mum to talk. They took him and his mum to the forum to sort it out together, and supported them so that he could work there, where he has had an internship for the last year now* (Conversation with teacher, 29/03/2011).

37. *M started to write the script for the introduction to a radio programme and then stopped and said 'I don't know how to do it'. The teacher said 'you need to introduce the programme, and it needs to be something that grabs people's attention'. After thinking a little M said 'how about 'Don't run down the stairs because you could fall. Is everyone quiet? Ok, then let's begin'. 'Very good!' said the teacher. F told the teacher what he wanted to write and the teacher said 'cool, write it there'. 'But I don't know how to write' said F. 'Write it how you think it should be and then I'll correct it', said the teacher. He sat there, pencil poised, then said 'but I don't know how'* (Observation notes, 25/05/11).

38. *In the middle of the lesson a mother came in with a girl (T) and a boy. I recognised the children from yesterday's meeting. The girl was a bit dishevelled with a shocked and tired expression, and the two children were clutching consent forms in their hands. Their mother spoke loudly and very fast, with the tone of someone a bit drunk, asking whether there were classes for them today. The teacher said no, and that they should come back tomorrow. The children went away clutching the consent forms in their hands. When I looked at the consent forms later, I noticed that they had been signed in pink glittery pen, by T (in the wrong place), not by her mother. T told me another day that her mother can't read.* (Lesson observation, 30/03/2011).

39. *When helping T work on her Ibirapuera piece, I tried to encourage her to write, and she said 'I don't know how to write Aunty'. When I typed a word on the computer to show her how to write it, she said 'You type really fast'* (Observation notess, 14/04/11).

40. *IR wrote 'First Programme' in the notebook, and made a face because she couldn't remember the first programme. I asked what they thought was good or not so good about the first programme. Someone said that people had liked the music. IR started to write this. JSU started criticising her writing, and she looked at him and said 'do you want to write?' He said no, and she carried on writing. He did this a number of times, with a humorous tone but I could see that she didn't like it much, even though she pretended that it didn't bother her. In a certain moment he called her 'shorty', laughing. [Later on we went out to the corridor so as not to disturb the other groups.] We arrived at the back stairs, where someone had put some chairs in the middle of the staircase to stop people passing. 'Look how perfect!' the teacher said, and she sat down, along with W and IR on three of the chairs. I sat on a step, facing them. The teacher called JSU to sit down with us, but he remained standing, saying that he spends all day sitting down at the forum. They started to talk about last year's programmes again, with the teacher facilitating the conversation with questions and summaries of the main points raised. She said that today IR would note everything down, but that the group had to rotate, a different person taking minutes each week. JS said 'and when my turn arrives you can skip to her' pointing to me. I said that I would also take minutes one day, and the teacher said she would too. JSU repeated that when it got to his turn we could just skip to the next person. He said it laughing, but with a certain discomfort. The teacher said that there is only one way to learn, and that is by doing. He didn't say anything else on the subject, but didn't look very happy about the prospect. The teacher complained that he was trying to kill her, because her neck hurt when she lifted her head to speak to him, standing up like this. She laughed and pretended she was dying, holding her neck. He laughed but didn't sit down. After a while he sat down by himself on the step next to me* (Observation notes, 31/03/2011).

41. *Afterwards, each group described what they had done during the week. The two younger girls in the Blog group were too shy to talk* (Observation notes, 06/04/2011).

42. *'Let's follow the instructions in the document' said the teacher. 'How do we write a script... first, what is a script?' She gave the document to RF and said 'Read it'. He started to read, mumbling, head down and looking at the floor* (Observation notes, 20/05/11).

43. *JF is in year 5 however he is larger than the other students and his voice has broken. I don't know whether he is older and is repeating the year. His Portuguese teacher does not ask him to read aloud in class anymore, because he gets very embarrassed* (Field notes, 02/06/11).

44. *Today JF was incredibly agitated and messing around a lot - pretending to hit people, hitting G5, speaking to himself very loudly, messing about with equipment in the room, grabbing the microphone at random and making noises into it, kicking things, etc. […] I felt the same dilemma that I often feel when it comes to 'discipline'. I don't want to be the authoritarian, having to 'tell the kids off' or 'get them to behave', however he was clearly being disruptive and I also didn't want the school director to come in and see JF messing around with her things. I decided to try to calm him down a little. I placed my hand on his shoulder and spoke quietly to him, away from the others, explaining that I understood that he had a lot of energy right now but that he was distracting the others and making them lose their focus on what they were doing, and did he think he could try to get into the mood of the radio and try to calm down a bit? […] He turned his head away from me and his whole body went stiff, his mouth clamped closed and a tense smile on his face. I asked him if that was ok, if he thought he could calm down a bit and he nodded, still not looking at me. I turned back to the others, and as soon as my back was turned I heard a crash behind me. JF had pulled G5's chair from underneath him and G5 was laying on the floor. […] IN suggested that JF talk on the microphone. I agreed and we all tried to encourage him. He lifted his shirt over his head and hid under it, saying 'no, I don't want to, I'm really bad'. We encouraged him to try. He sat in front of the microphone and IN gave him the script. He held it in his hands and did nothing. IN said 'don't you want to read through it first?' He held his head down and whispered 'I don't know how to read'. IN said 'don't you know how to read?' and he said, counting off on his fingers 'I'm good aren't I? I don't know how to draw, I don't know how to count, I don't know how to read...'* (Field notes, 02/06/11).

45. *Once the speech bubble had been drawn it was time to write. The teacher suggested the phrase 'and this is our first stop motion'. JSU went up to the board, and immediately walked away again without writing anything. He said that he didn't want to, that the teacher was good at writing and that it was better if she did it. The teacher encouraged him, and he went up to the board again, and recoiled again. She encouraged him again and he tried to write, but wrote an 'S'. The teacher said that he should have written and 'E', and he got a bit frustrated and rubbed out the 'S'. He wrote and 'E' and looked confused, not knowing what to write next. The teacher said 'E… Este'. He tried, but didn't know what to do. The pen hovered above the board, his hand trembling a little. He was tutting and a little tense. In the end the teacher took the pen and wrote. JSU watched* (Observation notes, 01/04/2011).

46. *The teacher said to the younger sister 'you weren't at Tuesday's meeting, were you?' The girl shook her head. The teacher replied 'Ok, so if you want to take part in the project we need to talk about something that I already said to all the others, which is about requirements. What do you think the requirements are to take part?' The girl shrugged. 'Speak girl!' the older sister said. 'Look at her rubber face!' The girl remained silent. The older sister said 'you can't mess around, you have to stop doing the things that you do'. The girl made a half guilty face and looked at the floor, slumped in her chair. The teacher gave a summary of the requirements. She said 'you can't come to help in the IT room in the afternoon and skip school in the morning, like your older sister did last year.' She looked at the older sister and said 'if not you'll repeat [the school year] again'. 'I don't want to repeat again', the older sister replied* (Observation notes, 24/03/2011).

47. *The teacher praised T publicly, saying that he was very proud to have her as a student (afterwards he told me that normally he argued with her in class), and that he was very impressed with the piece of work about Ibirapuera that she had done. T looked happy, but ashamed, and tried to cover her face with her hands while he spoke well of her, and everyone was looking at her. She smiled a little but also lowered her head and put her fist in front of her mouth, kicking her legs anxiously* (Observation notes, 06/04/2011).

48. *They were choosing music for the sound track. JSU wanted a piece of music but couldn't download it because of copyright restrictions. The girls chose another piece, which was very slow and romantic. JSU looked like he didn't like it, and said 'you girls choose', and then 'how horrible'. I said that they needed to choose a piece of music that everyone liked, because I noticed that JSU looked angry and upset, and had stood up and moved away from the girls. J noticed the tension and asked what they were arguing about. JSU said 'No, you girls choose', still with a tense expression on his face. The girls carried on downloading the romantic music and a second later JSU said abruptly 'I have things to do', and left* (Observation notes, 08/04/11).

49. *At one point G5 said that the music was strange. Teacher 1 took the headphones from him to listen, and listening to the music she started dancing. JSU took a few steps back from the teacher, saying to teacher 2, 'she's crazy, dancing like that!'* (Observation notes, 01/05/11).

50. *B arrived late today. He came in agitated and with a cheeky, smug look on his face. He didn't sit down, but walked around looking shiftily around the room. M said the he could work with T, and he said 'No, I'll work with him', pointing to A. 'No', M said, 'He's doing something else today, remember that I said we would keep changing work partners?' B was non responsive. He stayed for a while, walking around the room agitatedly, smiling wryly, and then said 'I'm going to*

drink some water'. He went out and never came back. (Observation notes, 06/05/11).

51. *AP was sitting at the computer next to BN. The teacher told her to come and sit with BN and to work together. 'But I'm researching!' AP protested. 'You don't need to research, I want you to write the article with BN' Said the teacher. 'But I'm researching' AP repeated. BN said, aggressively, 'Research WHAT? There's nothing to REASEARCH!'* (Observation notes, 17/06/11).

52. *Beth: But it's also complicated to do something like that with these students, for example AP, she can't manage to… she just says 'do it for me'… and I try to teach her to do it…*
    Teacher 1: But she is lazy… she is lazy… she looks at you with a face that says 'I don't care'. That day when I was talking to her, you saw how she looked at me? She looks at you with an expression like, 'what do you want?'
    Teacher 2: It's not the student that doesn't understand, because we will explain. It's the student who says 'I won't understand'.
    Teacher 3: But this is horrible, because it shows the extent of their low self-esteem. Because if a person is saying this, if you are already thinking that she won't understand because she has a… she depreciates herself with her way… it's a self-depreciation… (Conversation with teachers, 13/06/11).

53. *The younger sister said that if she went into the army like her brother wanted to, she would want to go to war. She mimed firing guns with her hands and said 'I would want to papapapapapapapapa.' The teacher said that it wasn't a game. The younger sister said 'I know, it's papapapapapapa dead' and the teacher said 'it's not just papapapapapapapa and the other person dies, you would also take bullets to the chest and die too'. The younger sister said 'I know, but I like action'* (Observation notes, 24/03/2011).

54. *The teachers talked about a student that had attacked another teacher. 'They live coerced by crime and such', they commented* (Discussion with teachers, 11/04/11).

55. *In the car we passed a guy walking in the middle of the road going down to the school, talking to himself. The teacher said that he is crazy, and that he's always running very fast and talking to himself, he has never seen him stood still. I said that it's sad how many people I see around here who already seem to have given up on life, and he said 'most of these litter collectors [catadores] (pointing to a group of catadores) have relational problems. Rarely do you see them in groups, at most two people. There was a story in the newspaper recently saying that one of them drunk himself to sleep and the others set fire to his cart with him asleep inside. It was guys around here [the catadores tend to sleep under the motorway viaduct near the school]* (Conversation with teacher, 13/06/11).

56. *Someone suggested writing a piece about students climbing on the school roof, under the theme 'health and safety'. The teacher said she couldn't decide whether something like that would encourage people who hadn't yet thought of climbing on the roof. 'What do you all think?' she asked the students. 'Do you think it will end up encouraging people?' BR shook her head, but N said she thought it would encourage people 'because this school has a load of Bagaço'* (Observation notes, 29/04/11).

57. *The teachers discuss how many classes there are in each year, and how many students per class. Many classes started off with 35 students and are now down to 20 something, because many students have dropped out, moved away, or just don't attend regularly* (Field diary, 27/06/11).

58. *Teacher 3: I'm going to bring to you all a piece of information that another teacher told me. You know that when you finish ensino fundamental, you'll go to college, to ensino medio?*
Students: Hmmm
Teacher 3: I think this is an important piece of information to bring you. When they go to ensino medio, most of the students from DCX, are dropping out. Why? Because they're not learning enough because of all the messing around [in class]. They get there and they can't keep up with ensino medio. So this is very serious, because not finishing ensino medio means not getting to university. (Conversation between teacher and students, 16/06/11).

59. *Walking up towards the station after the pedagogical meeting, I passed a man completely flat out on his back, passed out in the road. People walked by him. I passed a child eating an ice lolly, and the man with the wound on his head was alone on the pavement smoking a spliff* (Field diary, 19/05/11).

60. *The teacher said she didn't know whether the rest of the students were going to come, because it looked like it was going to rain. People get afraid when it rains, and they don't come to school because the street the school is on floods sometimes up to the school patio, and whoever is outside can't get in, and whoever is inside can't get out. I asked if we would be stuck if it rained, and she said we would. I said 'and what would we do?' and she said 'wait for the water to go down'* (Conversation with teacher, 24/03/11).

61. *'We could think about something to stop them throwing food, because they always throw food at each other's heads, or in the bin' said the teacher. 'We could say something like 'there are children starving to death and you are throwing food away', she suggested. 'I don't think that's going to work' said G5, 'because it's the same thing their mothers always say'. 'What do you think will work then?' asked the teacher. 'What would get your attention to stop you throwing food*

away? 'I don't know' said G5, 'because I don't throw food away, I eat it'. 'Very well… then, we could think like this: what is it that stops you from throwing food away? Think about that' replied the teacher. He thought a little and wrote something down. The teacher read it out: 'don't throw food away – food costs money and would you do this at home with your father's money? No? So don't do it here'. F interrupted the discussion, saying 'I know why people throw it away – because you only get a tiny bit'. 'What do you mean?' Asked the teacher. 'For example' he continued, 'in the bread rolls you get that pink stuff' 'Pate?' asked the teacher. 'No' he said. 'Goiabada?' she asked. 'Yes!… No!' he replied. 'Cabbage?' she asked again 'No!' he said, 'on bread!' 'Ah' said the teacher. 'Anyway' he said, 'that stuff comes in the rolls, but when you open them there is only a tiny ball of it, and you can't eat it like this so people throw it away' (Observation notes, 25/05/11).*

62. *A teacher was talking about how he had seen a news report which showed that public school food is so nauseating that the students take it and throw it straight in the bin. 'If the kid who is starving to death doesn't eat it, then he must not be able to eat it', he said* (Conversation with teacher, 23/05/11).

63. *At the end of the lesson the teacher asked everyone to write something about teaching and learning, and to read it to the group. […] JS read his: 'Teaching can be good, or it can be so-so. When it is good learning will also be good, and when it is so-so, learning will also be so-so.' Afterwards he looked ashamed, and said that he had lost his rationality in the moment of writing, and that he had got it wrong, but the teacher said it was good* (Observations of exam preparation lesson, 30/03/2011).

64. *M [a teacher] showed me a video that she had made for a course she was taking. She had combined various images and video clips of the Baixada, of the street leading up to the city centre, and of the school. Images from outside the school looking in, and from inside looking out. There was a clip that she had filmed, which showed the front of the school building and, looking up, the tower blocks surrounding it. She said that with this image she wanted to show the feeling that she has of the school being swallowed by its surroundings. I said 'as if it was in the middle of a hole?' Yes! She replied* (Conversation with teacher, 19/05/2011).

65. *Teacher 3: I saw a video on You Tube, showing the neighbourhood, that a little boy, two of them riding a bike, and the one behind filming, and then he goes down the school street, and then down another street, filming. I took the part coming down the hill. Which is something than many people, teachers, come by bus, and we come down the hill, and the impact it has on us, coming down the hill, you know? […] Just that it's a thing that is kind of personal to us, nobody will understand this descent very well. The suffering and such, it has a very important relevance for, for us. Which is the impact, I think that everyone remembers the*

first time they arrived in the Baixada. This thing of the street running down to the school.
Teacher 1: Yeah. Going down the hill, I always think, God and the Devil in the Land of the Sun, right? This descent down the street, that I say is Justice, God, and the Devil, understand? They live side by side (Conversation between teachers, 23/05/11).

66. *The teachers wanted to talk to the students, to do 'something to make them value their experiences, because any moment a guy can come and take it all away'* (Discussion with teachers, 11/04/11).

67. *What I will say to you is that it's dangerous here, and if one day a teacher loses their patience and hits a student to leave a mark, all the teachers' lives will be at risk down here* (Teacher comment, 09/05/11).

68. *Teacher 1: If a disgrace happens during break, ALL OF US are going to pay for it. ALL OF US. The whole school will become demoralised, they're going to want to know why, why not, and what the school is going to do about it. It's inadmissible. Certain things. 'We don't have enough staff'… so people, abolish break time.*
Teacher 2: And open a funeral home because the staff already…
Teacher 1: Ahahaha, open a funeral home… (Conversation between teachers, 09/05/11).

69. *You taught with ELN didn't you? Our friend? Was is in that school where you two taught, that she said the guys [cartel leaders] went there… in the school. There were some kids provoking, and the big bosses came, they beat the boys up IN FRONT OF THE SCHOOL DIRECTOR, in the director's office, the director sitting there. They beat them up, hit the boys in there, and said to the director that, firstly, they didn't want the police there – they were going to call the police again – the guy, the guy next to him was a thief. And secondly, if the boys provoked again it was THEM that the director had to call. Not the police, because she had called the police. Can you imagine? People, have you already thought? If something happens here… people I don't even want to come… I already said that we should suspend this break time for a good while. We have to suspend it. We're in the staff room during break, chatting and eating, if something happens we're all going to pay for it, you see? All of us* (Teacher, 09/05/11).

70. *On the way up the hill we passed a guy who greeted the teachers 'everything OK teacher?' The male teacher shook his hand and patted him on the shoulder, replying 'all OK'. I smiled at the man and continued walking. As we arrived in the car park, the male teacher told me that the man was the head of the local drug cartel. He said he had never done anything bad to the teacher, but they say he has killed a few people around here. We got in the car and as we drove he told me the names of the main cartel leaders (I don't remember their names). He told*

me one managed the drug trafficking business, and the other managed robberies and muggings. I asked if they worked as a team and he said yes, that it was organised crime. I asked whether there was rivalry between them and he said no. I asked what the relationship of the students was to the trafficking, and whether they lived very close to this, and he said they did. He said they don't sell crack because it doesn't turn a profit, so anyone who sells crack in the Baixada is sent away. In the 'Bocas' [places where dealers sell from] of the Baixada there is cocaine and marijuana for sale, but not crack. He said that the cartel leader doesn't step on his [the teacher's] turf, and he doesn't step on the cartel's turf, but that it's not very good knowing him because if the teacher is passing a square and he sees they guy carrying out a mugging, if he recognises the guy, and the guy realises that he recognised him, the cartel leader would have to kill the teacher so as not to leave evidence (Conversation with teacher, 30/03/11).*

71. *The teacher said that Brazil is a long way from a revolution. She was mugged on Monday by three boys and she resisted, telling them that there was no way they were taking her handbag. They were about 13 years old. 'I resisted but they could have killed me', she said, pointing to her chest. I asked her whether they were armed. 'They were pretending to be, but probably not'* (Conversation with teacher, 27/04/11).

72. *One day last year there was a blackout down here, and I don't know whether anyone authorised the boys to do a general sweep, but they all came out around here, by the viaduct, down here, robbing everyone, opening the doors of the cars and robbing everything, and if anyone complained it's not registered. These people don't go to the police* (Teacher comment, 09/05/11).

73. *A teacher was talking about Amanda Gurgel's video testimony, in which Gurgel had said that she earns R$930 per month. 'R$930 isn't even enough to pay the bills after spending what you need to in the supermarket!' said the teacher. 'Nobody wants to earn R$930. If we could have one 40 hour post in the prefecture, just one job, and be paid well for this…'* (Conversation with teacher, 23/05/11).

74. *And another thing, from the moment that you have two jobs like [another teacher] said… we don't earn well, right? So it's like this, you have to multiply, work in two education systems to multiply this salary to be able to have a house, right? To have a car, that is who has one, right? You have to work in two… have two shifts, right? You have to double and… and… that shouldn't be right… […]And she [the teacher] spoke about work in the classrooms, about the precarious employment situation. Who would like to have just one job? To work, say 40 hours a week in the prefecture? Earning double what we earn and being able to really have a better quality of life. I mean, do you manage to maintain a quality of life? We are graduates, we finished university, nobody wants to earn R$930,*

paying – how much do you spend in the supermarket? Right? If I was to spend what I need to in the supermarket, R$600, how much is left? To pay electric and whatever else… so I don't know… (Teacher, 23/05/11).

75. *Walking to the metro after school, the teacher started talking about how she needed to do various things on the way home like going to the bank, but that she just wanted to go home, rest, and see her young son. She said she hadn't seen him for two days because she always gets home after he falls asleep and leaves before he wakes up* (Conversations with teacher, 11/05/11).

76. *She said that she always thought she would have a limit of teaching for 10 years. I asked whether she would leave teaching soon, since she has been doing it for 9 years now. She said that she can't stand to work in two schools any more. She could possibly carry on but she wants to work in one school only* (Conversation with teacher, 29/03/11).

77. *If it was possible I would go home right now… [big yawn] I'm so tired…* (Teacher comment, 09/05/11).

78. *Walking up to the metro the teacher told me she needed to buy new shoes for her son, but that because she always had to rush from one school to the other she never had time* (Conversation with teacher, 04/05/11).

79. *The teacher told me that she has a five year old son, and that she also works in another school in the mornings. There are days when she teaches 10 or 11 classes per day, and also does the Educommunication project activities on top of that (2.5 hours per night). I thought that she must be very tired* (Field diary, 24/03/11).

80. *The teacher started to fill out the class diary, and leave a note for the other IT teacher, saying that she had lost the pen drive, and that she would start to communicate with her via Facebook, because it would be easier. She said to me 'In truth, we are supposed to see each other every day to communicate, but we're never here at the same time. It's not supposed to be like this, it's not allowed, but I always arrive in a hurry and she has another school too. So when I arrive she is leaving and we hardly ever see each other, so we have to leave little notes, but I think it's easier to communicate via Facebook really'* (Conversation with teacher, 17/06/11).

81. *There was a discussion between the IT teacher and the Portuguese teacher. The first tried to explain to the second the selection of which teachers will be responsible for which classes. They didn't agree, understanding the process in different ways. They discussed 'blocks', 'Classification of teachers', 'lessons', 'turns', 'JEIF', 'CJ'... and argued, without agreeing, about how it all works* (Field diary, 05/05/11).

82. *Teacher 2: I can't refuse to take 5A can I, if she goes on medical leave?*
    Teacher 1: I don't think so. Because you're CJ aren't you?
    Teacher 2: Yeah (Conversation between teachers, 09/05/11).

83. *Teacher 2: I could offer to teach some classes at night to help but I don't think it's worth…*
    Teacher 1: No, it won't work
    Teacher 2: It's not that it's not worth it, it's that I don't think it's a solution
    Teacher 1: No, even because, because there are CJ's, you wouldn't even get paid, understand? Today… let me see…today seeing as three [teachers] didn't turn up but probably PL doesn't have any classes today, probably today would be CJ for him too, right? So today we will have two absent, but [Teacher 3] and Z will cover them. Understand? So there's one covering science and the other covering maths, so you wouldn't even get paid. You would only get paid if one day a [teacher with fixed allocated classes] is absent and no CJs have come. Understand? They don't even have a way to pay you (Conversation between teachers, 18/04/11).

84. *I've been here for one year, and I notice that I don't have enough time to dedicate myself to the pedagogical side of things. There have been constant changes in this area, aside from the fact that there have been changes in the bureaucratic processes, which take up time and I have no time left to study, even to attend to a new law, rule, or decree* (School Director, 25/05/11).

85. Teacher 1: *You don't manage to read what you would like to, it's no good. And she said 'teachers don't manage to study'. The teacher works and spends time studying? What time? When? Right?*
    Teacher 2: Between midnight and 6am.
    Teacher 1: Right. I, I at least get exhausted, if I teach… last year when I taught morning, afternoon and night two days a week… I was EXHAUSTED during the last shift. There's nothing else you can do. You get on the bus home and you want to SLEEP. Uderstand? You don't want to read, you don't even want to concentrate! And at that time I already had children. When I only had one job I read much more. I always had literature during the day, a newspaper, a magazine, etc. Not these days! Understand? Sometimes I take ages to read. I pick up a magazine and carry it around to 10, 15 days… 'Ah, now I finished reading it'. One magazine, you should be able to read in a week, understand? (Conversation between teachers, 23/05/11).

86. *She said she would like to go back to university, but at the moment she is so tired from teaching at two schools and from raising her son, that she can't focus to read. 'I have a huge problem with concentration; I am so tired, I sit down to read and the letters start to fall apart, or I read two sentences and the page falls on my face and I'm already asleep. When I began my career as a teacher I read a lot, but these days I feel very distant from this. I try to convince myself that this is just a phase, or else I get depressed'* (Conversation with teacher, 04/05/11).

87. *The teachers told the students there would be no project session the following day. They were going on strike over low salaries and lack of opportunities for career progression. They explained that they were striking so that they could sustain their families and improve the quality of their teaching* (Field diary, 06/04/11).

88. *DCX has something that is… like this… many teachers come here because it's in the centre, and I think this weighs on people too and people can't handle it. When you go to the periphery, you know that you will find periphery there, you go there more prepared. On our sign-up sheet is says [the name of another nearby neighbourhood], the Baixada is not even written on there. So I think this confuses people a bit, and maybe people come with expectations and get frustrated* (Teacher, 06/06/11).

89. *The teachers asked the school director what she could do to support the teachers in relation to managing the students' challenging behaviour. They pressured her to respond. She said that dealing with discipline is not part of her job description. Another teacher said that she could give pedagogical support which might help with discipline. They suggested the idea of her watching a teacher's lesson and giving tips on the pedagogical sequence, for example how the teacher behaves, if they explain things clearly or not, if they call the students to silence, and give tips on how they could improve. Another teacher said she would have really liked it if someone had done this with her, and on the walk to the Metro the project teacher said that she wishes someone had done this with her when she first started teaching, 'because you don't learn to teach at college'. Another project teacher said that there needs to be an exchange of experiences with regards to what works. 'Sometimes you do something and it doesn't work, and you say 'forget it, don't bother', and other times you find something that works and it would be good to share these things* (Teacher meeting, 15/06/11).

90. *They said that she wasn't qualified to be School Coordinator, and that this was visible in her work. But she was appointed so there wasn't much that could be done* (Field notes, 06/04/11).

91. *Everyone was talking over each other, telling stories of students who messed around in class, of discipline problems, things that had happened, complaining about parents, complaining about the situation in general… the conversation lost coherence or focus and everyone was talking at the same time. A teacher turned to me and said 'are you seeing how everyone is lost?', and the teacher next to me said 'nobody knows what to do'. It was clear that the teachers really didn't know how to deal with all the challenges that they faced. The teacher next to me said 'the problem is with society, and nobody wants to deal with it, but we have to,*

it's left to us and we have to deal with this. This part of the meeting had been programmed as small group work, to come up with practical ideas for addressing the problems of violence and chaotic behaviour. Instead it was a cacophony of teacher talking over each other, all at the same time, with no direction or resolution (Pedagogical meeting, 19/05/11).

92. *On the way home the teacher said to me, with respect to N's editorial, that even when the teacher is present it can be harmful. 'If there was a committed group of teachers here that stayed for at least a year or two then we could turn this school around in no time. The thing is that many teachers come here because it's in the city centre and they want to work somewhere that is accessible like this. But when they get here they see that it's really hard work and they don't want to stay, and they find a place in another school, or they can't take it and they go on medical leave. There was a new teacher that came at the beginning of this year [four months ago] who just left because he got offered another job, and there are some teachers that aren't committed, like the 5th year maths teacher, who just put exercises up on the board. The students get aggressive, throw desks, and the teacher is totally switched off. Do you think anyone going to learn like this?' he asked* (Field notes, 02/06/11).

93. *And today I went downstairs to collect 5D, MR [another teacher] was upset. She was with them, she said 'J they're not managing'* (Teacher comment, 20/06/11).

94. *Another teacher said that she wouldn't know how to respond if a student attacked her. Once a student tried to attack her a few years ago. The student threatened her and she just said 'come on, come on, you can attack me and you'll end up in hospital and I'll end up in prison', and the girl had backed down [...]. She said that a girl had attacked another teacher last week, and that today there had been a lot of fights. One girl had attacked a new girl because she was prettier than her. They were in the corridor and she had said to them 'go upstairs, go upstairs, go upstairs' ('in my delicate way' she said sarcastically), and the girl had sworn at her. 'You can swear but it won't get you anywhere' the teacher had replied. Another teacher came and told the girl off for swearing, and the girl lost her temper and started kicking and biting the other teacher* (Conversation with teachers, 11/04/11).

95. *Teacher: Ah, speaking of which people, if anyone saw a car accident... on Sunday night six people died on their way to Parana and one of them was the father of a friend of mine, a friend who she, it was last month that, she has a little girl, turned six months old. And her dad who was driving the car, and the other car that hit him had five people and all five died. In his car they were two and were going to work. In Parana, and that's it he died and the other is in the hospital, my god I'm shocked it was yesterday that I found out. It was in the news and everything, she has a link, of the report with the cars like this, destroyed* (Teacher, 18/05/11).

96. *One of the teachers left the meeting to cover other lessons (she had used the meeting time to make some English worksheets for the lessons). She was really fed up – really angry – with the teachers who didn't turn up and 'left everything for her'. Today she and the other teacher were both really fed up and in a despairing mood with the school* (Field diary, 09/05/11).

97. *The P.E. teacher said that it's difficult to cover a lesson for someone in a subject that he doesn't know. He doesn't know how to teach a Portuguese lesson, so he teaches the theory of Physical Education instead. Then the parents come, and (quite rightly) complain that their child is not having Portuguese lessons. But he doesn't know how to teach Portuguese* (Field notes, 15/06/11).

98. *So tomorrow I'll stay with you until the end, ok? And then we can get some work done because if [teacher 3] also… if they [other teachers] aren't going to turn up these next three days [teacher 3] will be overloaded – she will have to go upstairs [to teach night school] at 7pm, right, all this week. She'll be over worked* (Teacher comment, 18/04/11).

99. *Teacher 3: Today I went up to try and find the School Director, I think you saw me when I went to knock. People, it was absolute chaos… there's nobody upstairs… it's something else…*
Teacher 1: No, that's how the school is…
Teacher 3: It's a no-man's land
Teacher 1: Upstairs, SOMEtimes she has a walk around, today for example I bumped into her, understand, when I was going up with 5B, they were running like this all over the place but I was with them, going up to the IT room. But it's a rare thing… unfortunately the precarity of having staff… of not having staff at the times when they should be here, for example there was that MRC right? In the mornings, because she stayed until 3pm, the inspector, I don't know what hours she works now but I never saw her again. But it's like this, it's kind of precarious, and people can't manage (Conversation between teachers, 27/06/11).

100. *Other people, us, the management team, those who have passed the Concurso… one is on medical leave and the other is away, lent to the DRE. So sometimes the posts are filled here, but they don't stay here. And when we speak about the kids… this is the periphery in the centre, so the kids they… are problematic, yes, and they are… unstable. So we have a coefficient of people giving up, and of a very large turnover in students, which make it difficult for us to manage to continue pieces of work* (Teacher, 06/06/11).

101. *Teacher 2: I think, primarily, the teachers have a contagion. On Thursday MRC [another teacher] argued with the 5D students, then walked out and went straight home, without saying anything to anyone, and told the students that he*

would go to the police. And on Friday PL [another teacher] stayed for the first 20 minutes in the lesson then left and went back to the staff room, because he couldn't take it anymore. He was feeling really bad and went to the staff room. He didn't… apparently he's not normally like this…
Teacher 1: Yeah, PL told me about that on Friday, he had an episode…
Teacher 2: Exactly, but the tension that it gives me is that PL had a difficulty, but I think that the things that happened beforehand with other teachers influenced him too.
Teacher 1: I understand… Everyone is getting kind of tired, kind of fed up do you think? I think that it's like that… the contamination of throwing in the towel. Like, and there isn't that thing of resilience because the teacher says 'ah, my god, there are already so many who've thrown in the towel, so I'm just one more', right? […] And what ends up happening? It's the chaos that ends up increasing (Conversation between teachers, 23/05/11).

102. *I perceive that going into Cycle 2 [fifth year] messes them up a lot, they can't construct a routine in Cycle 2, of waiting for the teacher, why? Because they miss two or three lessons a day sometimes, and they can't create a routine out of this. It's not just today, it's since 2006. Things improved in 2009, but they've worsened again* (Teacher comment, 23/05/11).

103. *Teacher 1: And the 5th years today, 5D [despairing tone]… ai… today 5D put me in, like, I almost flew on top of one of them. Really.*
Teacher 2: Was it B who was fighting today?
Teacher 1: No, it was mainly JL, mainly JL. Because JL has… a lack of manners… a petulance… she hits people all the time. And MRT, MRT is a… and I asked them to call MRT in today and only JF came, B's mother, JL's mother, W's mother… W he drives me crazy, in IT I had left… I went downstairs to talk to the students that had stayed in the class. When I came back up many of them weren't doing anything – AR, W and AU. I said 'W get out'. WL, he drives me crazy too. I said 'Get out, that's enough'. And I asked for both of their mothers to be called. EVERY lesson he drives me crazy, and I said to myself 'No'. […] And… they debauch the class, you know? All the time. JL is really debauched. Really debauched. MRT came and told me that her mother didn't have time, because her mother studies at night. I told JC that I can't get hold of her and asked him to call her. I'll manage to speak to some mothers. I said 'Look JC, so you keep trying, because I'm, I'm fed up and I can't take it anymore'. Nobody can handle this class anymore, it's difficult.
Teacher 3: Because MRT, she defends herself a bit too doesn't she?
Teacher 1: She is petulant, arrogant, and like… ai, my god… ah, arrogant girl… […] And then 5B too, that EVT is really insufferable, there was a moment when I said 'ai, how these boys irritate me, how bad they are'. And EVT had half a dozen students outside and JC putting them back in the classroom, and then a girl came, defending herself, saying that she wasn't messing around [sarcastic tone], that she had only come upstairs to see if I was up there! [Teacher 3 laughs]. I said 'Ah! I don't believe it!' (Conversation between teachers, 13/06/11).

104.   *Loud, angry shouting is an almost normal, day to day environmental sound in this school* (Field notes, 13/06/11).

105.   *It would be cool to put some noises, sounds like this, and preferably have some shouts of teachers. We have these, if you want I can record some in my lessons!*
Teacher 3: I put some teacher's shouting in there, but it came out very distant. You can hear it but it came out very distant. Now I think it would be good to record some more ambient things, like I was saying, record the children's break time downstairs, for example […] (Conversation between teachers, 23/05/11).

106.   *While we stood talking in the corridor, a smell of something burning began to emerge. One of the teachers panicked, and went running towards the smell saying in a tense voice 'what's that!?' Someone said 'It's the art teacher melting holes in bottle tops!' and he relaxed and laughed. 'What a fright!' he said, 'I thought something was burning!' Some people laughed, and another teacher said 'No, you people don't know the reality of the night teachers – they [the night students] have set fire to the school before'* (Field diary, 18/06/11).

107.   *BN: On Tuesday right, in the teacher's last lesson…*
BN starts chuckling and rest of sentence is inaudible.
Teacher 1: [Sarcastic] How funny right!? Do you think that this is...
Student: In CR's class, she put a video on and everyone got up and left the classroom and went walking around the corridors… [Lots of noise, students laughing] and she had an operation…
JSC: There was a day on Tuesday, it wasn't this month is was last month, and they started to mess around in teacher CR you know, from Science, and she gave up. She only came back the next Tuesday and they messed around again, they threw the students' desks, teacher CR's desk, and she left.
Teacher 1: I understand (Conversation between teachers and students, 28/06/11).

108.   *As I was leaving the radio room, a teacher was sitting at a table outside and she asked me who I was. I explained, and asked her who she was. She said 'I'm a Portuguese teacher, but I'm not working in the classroom anymore, because I couldn't stand them anymore'* (Conversation with teacher, 02/06/11).

109.   *Another [teacher] said that students come into his class while he is teaching and say 'come on everyone, let's go crazy!' They throw desks, turn off the light, swear at him, and he doesn't know whether to pick up the desks, turn on the light, hold the door…* (Teacher meeting, 15/06/11).

110.   *One of the teachers was walking slowly with the boys, and the other teacher called to them to walk faster. The first teacher said there was no need to hurry, and the second teacher said, with an air of desperation 'I just want to take*

them BACK, take them BACK, take them BACK!' BR was in earshot, and she was referring to taking the students back to school, so she could go home. The first teacher said 'It's not just about taking them back, we have a job to do' […] On the walk to the car, once we had dropped the students off, the first teacher went to speak to the second teacher, saying 'Don't get upset with me, but, I know you are tired, you're ill, you're stressed, but they [the students] can't see us like this! She stroked the second teacher's face and said 'If you're going to come to work you have to be well and totally present with them, if not, stay at home and rest.' When we got out the car the second teacher looked angry. She said 'Bye ladies' and left in a hurry. 'She's pissed off with me' said the first teacher, 'but as I said to her, they can't see us like this, because we are the only role models of strength for them. They can't see us weak. I'm ill too, I just got out of a 22 day hospital stay and I'm still ill, last night I only slept four hours, and I'm tired too, but when I come to work they can't see this, they have to feel that we are here with a job to do' (Field diary, 18/06/11).

111.   *Every day at school is becoming more difficult and more tiring. Emotionally I feel myself at my limits, and every time I go to school it stirs things up deep inside of me. When I think about going to the school I feel anxious, and when I go I feel introverted and I want to leave* (Field diary, 16/05/11).

112.   *The teacher said she is tired of problems today. In her last class the students gave her a lot of problems. 'They fought, broke someone's school case'* (Conversation with teacher, 05/05/11).

113.   *I turned and saw the teacher sit down, laughing, red in the face. 'What's up?' I asked her, and she replied in a loud and slightly hysterical voice 'the exhaustion just hit me, and I just saw how many students have signed up [to the project]!'* (Field diary, 29/03/11).

114.   *I arrived at school and ran into J [a teacher]. We went to the bathroom. I asked how she was. She said that the students were making her crazy, and that she has to teach today until late at night but isn't in the mood to do this today* (Conversation with teacher, 30/05/11).

115.   *One teacher complained about the quantity of students outside the classroom, out in numbers in the corridors, and another about having found six students running in the corridors trying to kiss each other. Another said that students come into his class while he is teaching and say 'come on everyone, let's go crazy!' They throw desks, turn off the light, swear at him, and he doesn't know whether to pick up the desks, turn on the light, hold the door… Another teacher complained about teachers letting their classes go early, 'those that leave early start banging on the doors of the classes who are still having their lesson, we can't manage to maintain a routine and the students are out of control. JL*

continues to stay in the corridor from 1.30 to 6.20pm – he's not a marginal, he doesn't use drugs… why can't we reach them? They aren't bad, they just need limits. They are children people! They are 10, 11 years old at the most… (Teacher meeting, 15/06/11).

116.   *One teacher said that she saw five teachers who had lost their voices last week 'from so much anxiety!'* (Pedagogical meeting, 19/05/11).

117.   *On the way out we saw Z, the art teacher. He has another teacher staying at his house after a long hospital stay. He didn't want to say what was wrong with her. There are rumours that she is depressed, but he didn't want to create gossip in the school. The Portuguese teacher said 'well, if there's anything we can do just say, ok?' We left and the Portuguese teacher said 'So, another one on medical leave then'* (Field diary, 05/05/11).

118.   *Teacher 3: Because we were saying last term who our partners were, and our partners practically all left.*
Teacher 1: It's true.
Beth: They left?
Teacher 3: They left… it was like [puts on a high pitched, desperate voice] 'THIS IS BAD, I'M GETTING OUT OF HERE!'
Teacher 1: Yeah, it was like that. It's true.
Teacher 3: So, the people who we thought we could go to, you know, they died of an overdose (Conversation between teachers, 27/06/11).

119.   *In the car a teacher talked about how she had insomnia the previous night, and how she had missed her classes in the morning because she hadn't slept and had a cold* (Conversation with teacher, 16/05/11).

120.   *I'm feeling like DCX is really heavy, because it's a complicated… every school is complicated, but DCX has some things that weigh on you a little more. So people [teachers] give up. You know, we sometimes think about giving up. We're not better than those who give up* (Teacher, 06/06/11).

121.   *The teacher turned to me and said that she had a sore throat. I asked if she was ill, and she said 'I've been like this for weeks'* (Conversation with teacher, 31/03/11).

122.   *There was a teacher, […] it was in the fourth lesson and the students didn't stop talking, didn't stop talking, and he went out crying and went upstairs* (Student comment, 16/06/11).

123.   *But it's not only [G] that's giving her problems. I was going to class, she came out of there and looked at me like this, 'J, I'm exhausted, I can't take any more'* (Teacher comment, 27/06/11).

124.   *Teacher 1: Look, I know that today this school was too much. Every day is getting to be too much.*
Teacher 3: But I was commenting, that I'm thinking, that there are things that we're not…
Teacher 1: Ai… my head… I don't know what I'm doing here anymore…
Teacher 3: Did you see, um, you weren't here when BR pulled the chair out from under the girl on Friday, or did you arrive later?
Beth: I didn't see that.
Teacher 3: My goooddddd, well, these kids that are with us [in the project], who are doing these things…
Beth: Do you think it's because there are a lot of them?
Teacher 2: No, they are truly infantile and have no sense
Teacher 3: They have NO sense
Teacher 1: They have no limits, no respect for their colleagues
Teacher 3: They have no respect
Teacher 1: Today I was finishing an activity with 5D, and then one from 5B hit the door so much, so I decided to tell them off. I said 'people, if I don't open the door it's because I was STILL WORKING. Your obligation is to wait here. I wasn't painting my nails, nor combing my hair'. And then the apologised. I said 'you mustn't…' They were SMASHING at the door! You know? And then I finished and I said 'what's wrong'? 'The bell already went' they said. 'Reeeaaallly, you don't say! I didn't hear it [very sarcastic voice]' I said. Look, there are times when they stop us taking things seriously… it's no good (Conversation between teachers, 09/05/11).

125.   *You, who said you won't get ill, you will!* (Teacher comment, 15/06/2011).

126.   *The teachers discussed a teacher who is going to be on medical leave until the end of the year, and the implications this will have for their work* (Field notes, 28/06/11).
There was a conversation about the lack of staff to help at school, at times when students were entering and leaving, and during break times especially. They said that out of four staff whose job it was to help at these times, three were on medical leave. The school director said that there was nobody to do it, and no workers, and that the teachers should ask the Secretariat for aid (Pedagogical meeting, 19/05/11).

127.   *The problems that we have are common to other schools, such as not enough teachers for all the subjects. Even though we have classes without teachers, we still don't have all our teaching posts filled, and this makes it hard to make the necessary substitutions when teachers don't come in sporadically, or when they take medical leave. We also have a very complicated support system,*

because some of the school staff are readapted or on medical leave, and [we are also missing] technical auxiliaries, which reduces our efficacy when it comes to keeping things organised. It is common to blame the school director, but these factors were already in place here in the school, and we are trying to find ways to improve things (School Director, 25/05/11).

128.   *The teacher left half way through the meeting because she was called to cover for a teacher who hadn't turned up. This happened nearly every Monday* (Observation notes, 02/05/11).

129.   *The teacher said one of the classes is without a science teacher* (Field notes, 13/06/11).
Teacher 1: But maybe, I don't know, I think we're in the same place as ever. If you ask some people who have been here a reaaally long time, they, for them things are the same.
Teacher 3: GS [another teacher] told me that, she's been here 13 years, and this is the worst year she's ever had here at DCX.
Teacher 1: Ok, I don't know, I've had worse years. This year is bad, this year things are kind of amplified, but I'll tell you, at this time of year… well I argued with RNT [another teacher] yesterday on Facebook, I said 'It's April crisis' because I've already seen, I mean, April has always been the month of medical leaves, and it's been that way since I came here. We get to April and people start taking medical leave, the school loses its routine, it's always been like this, this didn't begin yesterday, understand? […]
Teacher 3: But I think it needs to be a cyclical thing, put the recordings from the window at the beginning, and we put 'This is not a fiction', and then 'Alternative society', because then it communicates this idea that today our problem is cyclical.
Teacher 1: Ummmm [in agreement]
Teacher 3: These days we are in a… vicious cycle.
Teacher 1: Ummmmm [in agreement]
Teacher 3: You know, that we can't break out of (Conversation between teachers, 23/05/11).

130.   *The teachers discuss setting up a study group to meet in person once a month. Teacher 2 suggests holding in in a particular public square: 'The square is really arid, like education'. Teacher 1 replied 'That's true'* (Field diary, 23/05/11).

131.   *Teacher 1: People, this is unbearable… this afternoon, I said, firstly to [the School Director] 'remove this [boy] from here!' People, we don't have the minimum conditions… From the first lesson, he didn't enter [the classroom]…*
Teacher 3: […] You told me that you don't think he's marginalised?
Teacher 1: No, he's not.
Teacher 3: And what is it, do you know this family?
Teacher 1: No, no, but…
Teacher 3: And if you went to their house? Because (Conversation between

teachers, 20/06/11).

132. *One teacher suggested filming the children's behaviour in the classroom as a means to address indiscipline. 'Don't film' said another, 'it's an infraction of the rights of the child, there will be so much action against us, Globo [Brazil's biggest media conglomerate] will come and destroy us, and personally I don't have the health to deal with that* (Teachers meeting, 15/06/11).

133. *I suggested that we talk about the causes of violence [in the student discussion group]. The teacher agreed, but said that it's very complex and even with the best of intentions she didn't know if it would make any difference, because the problems of society run so deep* (Discussion with teachers, 11/04/11).

134. *I asked the teacher what she thought needed to be done to improve conditions for the teachers. 'Knock everything down' she replied* (Teacher comment, 27/04/11).

135. *How often do we live in fear of losing our jobs because we have a standard of life to maintain, how often we don't do things because we have kids, or we fear the boss, or we fear our partners?* (Teacher comment, 02/05/11).

136. *The project teacher told me she was going to facilitate a discussion with the project students next Tuesday to discuss the issue of violence, following the recent school shooting in Rio. 'But we need to talk to the teachers too' she said, 'Bullying, which is the hot topic at the moment – there are teachers who practice bullying, and I believe we teach by example, and that what we do the students will reproduce. How will we get rid of violence without this reflection? But the teachers are so unmotivated.' I replied that I thought there was a cycle of devaluing of teachers that carries on being reproduced, and she nodded in agreement* (Conversation with teacher, 08/04/11).

137. *Teacher 1: But I think it could be really heavy too, this thing of how hard it is, to work, to do things, to make things happen.*
Teacher 3: That's why I used less of our images, because we were going somewhere, and we lost our way [speaking of the school]
Teacher 1: Oh, we didn't!
Teacher 3: We did, and the community did (Conversation between teachers, 23/05/11).

138. *The working class is very immobilised, and has become even more so since Lula was elected because people think that everything is OK now and that they don't need to do anything else because the PT [Worker's Party] will fix things* (Teacher comment, 27/04/11).

139.   There are teachers who go on strike because they don't want to be left holding the fort for the rest, and there are some that see themselves as victims (Teacher comment, 27/04/11).

140.   So I don't know, because she proposed that we discuss this on Twitter, but it can't just be an internet discussion because this remains very superficial. I mean, the Spanish went to the streets, to demonstrate their indignation, right? The teachers. And the Greeks, and Egyptians, and Lybians… so. And we hardly ever go to the streets. Right? And when we go, what happened on Saturday happens. For the first time ever I decided to show my face at this Legalise Marijuana march, something unheard of in Brazil right, if we think about it, because there have only been a few discussions on the theme. But the people decided to show their faces and 500 people met in Sao Paulo, just to go and protest that the march was suspended. But they went to protest against the repression of the march. Because we had a political right to discuss it. But the government considered it to be an apology for drugs (Teacher, 23/05/11).

141.   The teacher said that she always goes to the Women's Day protests, and that she has been an activist for many years, but that she always sees the same people there and the crown never grows, which makes her sad. 'The working class is very immobilised, and has become even more so since Lula was elected because people think that everything is OK now and that they don't need to do anything else because the PT [Worker's Party] will fix things (Teacher comment, 27/04/11).

142.   Today when I arrived in the IT room there was no teacher there. LC and N were sat at the computers, working, and P, AP, EST, BR and BN were messing around and playing, one grabbing the arm of another. BN wrote 'P and EST' on the computer, and BR went over to fight. They started to argue, one blaming the other, and I thought 'oh, how am I going to resolve this?' I tried to convince them to sit down and start working on their articles. 'Let's start researching!' I said. But the internet wasn't working (Field diary, 05/05/11).

143.   One teacher suggested a programme designed to reduce violence. She said that it's not the only option, and that things don't resolve themselves like magic, but it's one strategy among many to try to make 'this thing' bearable, and to be able to do professional work 'in the middle of this turmoil' (Pedagogical meeting, 19/05/11).

144.   A lot of the time I get upset because we don't manage to achieve everything that we propose to do, but I work with the expectation of improving every day, seeking to work with commitment and responsibility. But we are a group, a group of professionals who also fight to improve things. We also have

those who remain introverted and don't unite with those who are more involved (School Director, 25/05/11).

145.   *A teacher suggested creating a recorder group for teachers. One teacher exclaimed 'nobody will have time!'* (Pedagogical meeting, 19/05/11).

146.   *Why do we have so many teachers if we don't achieve anything?* (Teacher comment, 15/06/11).

147.   *[The teachers] commented on the quantity of teachers in public schools who have depression. 'It's a hard job' said the art teacher, 'I think if teachers felt like they were making some difference in people's lives then they wouldn't feel depressed. There are days and moments that make up for the rest, but the rest is truly difficult. Sometimes it seems that we're not getting anywhere at all, and I, I have a good relationship with the students because they think I'm a good person, because I call them over, I say 'come here, let's talk', and I'm cool with them because that's my way, but the new teacher who can't deal with the class must feel like they're not getting anywhere at all. And the teacher who doesn't recognise himself in his work…' 'It's because it's very alienated work' said the IT teacher, 'It's very sad, feeling alienated in your work, someone said we should be happy when we're not at school, otherwise we can't stand it, but I think we should be happy here at school as well because we spend a large part of our lives here, and if we can't manage to be happy here inside… and we have to be happy with the students too, right? Feel like we're making some difference* (Observation notes, 06/05/11).

148.   *I think it's a tragedy, because the potential that exists that [the students] sometimes have, and we… you know… I said to them 'people, are you fulfilling the objective that you have to fulfil?' 'Ah, what is it teacher?' they replied. I said 'People, to come here every day and learn a little more than you learned yesterday' I said 'Did you learn more today than you learnt on Friday?' and some nodded their heads, right? I said 'Are you going to learn a little more tomorrow than you learnt today? You know, because we don't broaden anything, they continue, you know, going round in circles, going round in circles, going round in circles… it's a tragedy. It's a tragedy! […] Of course, this is alienated work. We don't have mastery of these people [the students]. […] So, these things create a certain anguish, right? In us, in the day to day, in what happens in the day to day of the school, right? Because [the students] have potential, and we can't manage […]. How many philosophers, how many historians, how many masters, how many judges, how many teachers are there here? And we can't manage… to make [the students] flourish. [There's] none of this, right?* (Teacher comment, 02/05/11).

149.   *Sometimes you don't change anything, you just don't conform. But sometimes I burst and I say 'Putz, can't it be, can't this rubbish be a little bit better? Right? I don't know, like today for example, these days I think I am less alienated in the [teaching] profession, than I was when I first started. And sometimes I blame the other teachers, my colleagues, for not demanding a little more beyond… these immediatisms that we demand of the… the day to day and such. Right? And sometimes I refer to… uhhh… have you seen those 'machines stopped, arms crossed'? Of the workers? Sometimes, I refer to this, right? The workers who went, who went on strike, who went to the battle front, who were fired, who were… killed… and those that never did anything just retired, right? So, it's going to be like this in every profession. The guy who will go to the picket line, and who will want to fight for something more within that, that profession, and those who will, simply retire, right? Like teachers, because they want to… because it's the person's final objective, right?* (Teacher comment, 02/05/11).

150.   *I think that, because for example, these colleagues here [tone of disdain, referring to other teachers at DCX] that I'm, I'm not excluding on Facebook, soon I'll exclude from my relations, understand? Because it's like this, it's a group of people who victimise themselves the entire time. But at the time of reckoning they never show their faces. Never. They were never militant, that's the truth. The think this way because they never showed their faces, they never went to the streets, they never did shit. Understand? They always stay in their middle class condition, discussing things in the bar, understand? And another thing, They have never had much proactivity, right? And they see the student as an object, and not also as a subject. Because we and they are subjects* (Teacher, 23/05/11).

151.   *I said to the teacher 'ah, if you organise a discussion with the other teachers about violence I would like to participate'. 'Yes', she replied, 'I will let you know, but I don't know if it will go ahead. Let's see right? Because people aren't very motivated, it's hard to motivate them, but who knows'* (Conversation with teacher, 08/04/11).

152.   *The pedagogical coordinator passed around a worksheet with an activity on it for the teachers to think about proposals for activities addressing indiscipline and violence. Nobody wanted to do it, and someone said 'let's do it in the JEIF.' The pedagogical coordinator didn't facilitate the activity* (Pedagogical meeting, 19/05/11).

153.   *Beth: Do you think one factor is a lack of coherence amongst the teachers?*
Teacher 1: There's that too… a LOT of that.
Teacher 2: But not only amongst the teachers – amongst the teachers, amongst the management…
Teacher 1: We make agreements in meetings, and afterwards those agreements

disappear. You understand? I don't know what happens with the agreements that we make in meetings. And it's every year. Because every year we have a meeting about the 5th years, and meeting about the 6th years… eeevery year, eeevery year. Teacher 2: But it seems like this year it's a bit more morose… things are a bit more morose (Conversation with teachers, 09/05/11).

154. *G5 wanted ideas for phrases to say to the little students, to encourage them to behave. Teacher 1 said that is should always be a different phrase. Teacher 2 said 'No, I think you have to repeat the same thing, if not they don't learn'. 'I don't know' replied teacher 1. With a forceful tone teacher 2 said 'No, you HAVE to repeat it, they are very young! When I say something to my son I have to say it many times, if I teach him something he won't learn if I only say it once! You have to repeat it!'. Agitated, teacher 1 threw up her hands and looked at the floor, saying 'ok, ok!' Teacher 2 continued 'that's it, I think at least…' 'Ok, Ok!' said teacher 1 again. I could tell that both were aggravated* (Observation notes, 25/05/11).

155. *Teacher 2: I think if we had a bit more of a coherent group working, I think we could change the school in three years. In two years, if we had a group of teachers who were keen to teach, just this. The guy [teacher] doesn't have to be exceptional, just needs to look, and enter the classroom, and do some work. And with certainty things would change in no time* (Teacher comment, 06/06/11).

156. *I asked if I could introduce myself to all the teachers properly at the next staff meeting, and they said they didn't have regular staff meetings* (Conversation with teachers, 06/04/11).

157. *We teachers don't know each other, we are strangers to each other – we sit together for forty minutes in the staff room, me here at the table and the other on the sofa over there, the two of us breathing for forty minutes, and then the bell rings and not even a 'have a good class!' How am I going to ask for help from a person that is a stranger to me? We don't know any more who our colleagues are and who aren't* (Teacher comment, 15/06/11).

158. *Teacher 3: I think we need to discuss the discovery of sexuality with them. Because that's what this is, it's basically this, the 5th years are discovering their sexuality. […] I think we need to take this forward, as a concern.*
Teacher 1: I already said this on the day of the pedagogical meeting, but nobody listens.
Teacher 3: People are very backwards, in the pedagogical meetings. (Conversation between teachers, 27/06/15).

159. *Teacher 1: This science teacher seems really cool, right? At least she seems stable, she's not unstable… [The other science teacher], you can't count on her.*

Teacher 3: You can't. She's crazy. (Conversation between teachers, 27/06/11).

160.　　*During the meeting, teacher 3 wonders whether she is needed to cover any lessons downstairs.*
Teacher 3: Let me go and see how my life is downstairs…
Teacher 1: Ok.
Teacher 3 does not move, and continues the discussion.
Teacher 2: Aren't you going to go down and see how things are?
Teacher 3: Ah, let them call me.
Teacher 2: They know where you are, if they need you they'll come and get you.
Teacher 1: Come and shout for you, in truth.
Teacher 3: Yeah… (Conversation between teachers, 23/05/11).

161.　　*The project teachers suggested talking to the teachers who teach the morning classes, but only those who they called 'partners'. They listed about five 'partner' teachers, to ask their help in recruiting students to the project* (Field diary, 01/04/11).

162.　　*Teacher 1: And the guy will even comment, that if we were to take away the 6th years it will destroy his contract in the morning. Understand? The contract with which he is comfortable. […] It was that year that MR went wrong. It was to please half a dozen people that she left the 5th years in the afternoon and the 4th years in the morning. […] It was to please half a dozen teachers in truth, who have already left. […] So her idea was to leave Cycle 1 in the morning and Cycle 2 in the afternoon. She left it this way to attend to the interests of the school, it wasn't to attend to Cycle 2. […]* (Conversation between teachers, 27/06/11).

163.　　*We need an exchange of knowledge. You don't learn to teach at college, you learn in the thick of it, in the day to day. But there are students that you can't reach, I myself admit that I am not managing to teach those students, or that class. We need to go to another teacher and ask what we should do, if they also have problems with these students and these classes, if there is anything we can do* (Teacher comment, 15/06/11).

164.　　*These people see things this way, right? We notice it in the small things that we see, understand? In their posture, their attitudes… because there are people that I think should go to the doctor's regularly because they still use leeches, because they don't pay attention to change* (Teacher, 23/05/11).

165.　　*One teacher read out a list of teachers who could possibly help the other in the parents' meeting. When he read one of the names she exclaimed 'Ah no, not him! I don't want to do it with him!'* (Field diary, 09/05/11).

166.   Even though the school preaches tolerance of diversity, we have noticed that people have many difficulties in accepting and respecting the other as he is (School Director, 25/05/11).

167.   And another thing, there are people who don't even care… people who don't even care… I can't see the kids fighting and not go there and separate them. I think that it could be my son being beaten up there… but the others… there are people who pass by, 'ah, they're not in my class' and simply go away! I can't see how people can be like this… I can't. They should live in caves. I think that there are people who should live in caves! Be hermits, you know? Literally… go and live there with the bats! No, it's really serious. I can't conceive how people can be so different like this. You understand? I can't see J in the corridor and not bring attention to the fact that he's not in class. […] and what we agreed in the meeting was that we would keep him INSIDE the classroom (Teacher comments, 09/05/11).

168.   When people accept their conditions and intend to improve them, that's already a great step forward. But what gets in the way is lack of humility, for example to listen to another even though it might appear that he has little to contribute, or to recognise that you are eternally learning and to start learning from a colleague who brings innovations, for example (School Director, 25/05/11).

169.   Teacher 1 asks Teacher 3 how it went when she went to speak to the Director about school reorganisation. Teacher 3 said: 'I went there and asked if she had 10 minutes to talk, and she got very defensive. I explained that there are people who want to debate this, and that we are discussing it on the e-mail list and I wanted to let her know that there are people who want to debate this, so that she can be prepared for this. And she got kind of defensive and said 'it makes no difference to me'. I think that she's not as happy this year. Last year she was happier, but I think she's thinking about retiring now. This school is heavy… (Teacher comment, 28/06/11).

170.   Teacher 3: So, in terms of projects for the school, one thing that we can't forget, is at least the school organisation. School organisation is that most basic thing that we have to do, the most basic.
Teacher 1: That's right.
Teacher 3: In August. Which is normally…
Teacher 1: In August, what day?
Teacher 3: In the counsel, in the counsel meeting in August, which is when the school organisation is proposed.
Teacher 1: So far nobody has proposed it.
Teacher 2: Exactly, and we aren't putting ourselves forward to do this.
Teacher 2: We're not.

Teacher 3: But people, one thing that we need to talk about, are we going to try to talk to the School Director and see her position beforehand, because we had said…

Teacher 1: I think she will feel kind of intimidated… I don't know, I think that we could choose one person. You could go [to teacher 3] for example, because today I'm going to talk to her about another thing, understand, and…

Teacher 3: So are we going to make an agreement this week, for us to do this?

Teacher 1: If we three enter her office it'll look like… 'what's this!?'… right? A commission that wants to coerce me? I think that…

Teacher 3: She has, she has a thing of…

Teacher 1: Yeah. I think that…

Teacher 3: She could be defensive.

Teacher 1: One person could sit, talk with her, right? Probe, see what's going on, no problem. Sometimes I do this, I go in there, I have some issue to present, I go there and talk. Right? Uh, about the possibilities, say. 'Ah, could we do such and such?' (Conversation between teachers, 27/06/11).

171. *The pedagogical coordinator stood up and read a text about the replacement of the telephone with the internet. It was about how adolescents used to spend many hours on the telephone, but now they spend many hours on Orkut, Facebook, etc. 'And this is what we have here', she concluded. She did not explain the reason for the reading, nor elaborate on top of it, nor facilitate a discussion* (Pedagogical meeting, 19/05/11).

172. *Teacher 3: They have to send off the request in August, because they implement it on top of the request.*

Teacher 1: Ah, that's true… she must already be thinking about this right?

Teacher 3: Why does she want to stay in July? Because in July she organises these things doesn't she…

Teacher 1: Mmm… to come back to things with everything in place already.

Teacher 3: Exactly… because if not it'll be… we don't participate… understand? We don't plan together (Conversation between teachers, 27/06/11).

173. *If I was the school director I would have already thought of a strategy for break time. Because now she's a […] she just stays in the management office doing… you understand? I think she only moved the director's office upstairs to… you understand? To… keep herself at a long distance from the problems. Only when parents come and invade the office, wanting to know why their children were beaten up at break time and such… you understand? Nobody wants their child to be attacked at school, do they? So, I think on Wednesday we'll talk to the parents about this, take this position, you understand?* (Teacher, 09/05/11).

174. *The project teachers are having trouble finding a technician to install the radio equipment, who provides an invoice. The School Director is going on holiday and won't be able to sign a cheque from the beginning of May. One of the video*

cameras has gone missing, and they don't feel comfortable asking for new materials before they have resolved these issues. When more budget is made available they could get another camera for the project, but 'she is going to laugh in our faces if we ask for it now' said a teacher. 'It's already May and we don't have a technician, and we lost the camera!' (Conversation with teachers, 25/04/11).

175.   *The pedagogical coordinator started to read aloud part of a textbook about Dengue Fever, word for word. She read the whole text, which explained what Dengue is and how it spreads, in great detail. Nobody listened. The teachers stopped paying attention, they wanted to leave, one did leave, and one sat the entire time with her head in her hands, looking at her watch, sighing, and saying 'I don't believe this, what a waste of time people, we have so many more important things to be doing!' Some teachers at the back of the room passed a note written on a paper aeroplane to me, to pass to another teacher. She read it and passed it to another teacher. They chuckled. They all looked like children messing around in class. The rest of the room was agitated and nobody paid attention to the pedagogical coordinator. When it finished everybody got up and rushed out the door. The pedagogical coordinator said 'Well, this was the first meeting, I hope I come across better in the rest', and a teacher said 'never again…' with a voice of desperation. Another teacher turned to me and said 'I want to apologise to you Beth', to which I replied 'You don't need to, I learnt a lot'. 'You learnt that the pedagogical meeting is a huge waste of time' she replied'* (Pedagogical meeting, 19/05/11).

176.   *Teacher 3: But I think, the role of management is very important.*
Teacher 2: Yes, of course, but that's what I'm saying. If you ask me what needs to be done, I say put teachers, but not just teachers… today in the changeover between the 5th and 6th lessons I left one classroom and went directly into another, next door. [The students] entered of their own will. Only me. The rest of the classes creating havoc in the corridor, the door of the director's office was open and they did nothing. Here I don't go out of my way, but in my other school this happened this morning between classes. I simply left my classroom and went to the management office. I said 'My friend, somebody needs to take action. She went to the classroom and spoke to the teacher whose students were messing around, and put things right. I managed to teach my lesson. There I can do that because there in truth people go and do that and don't feel offended. Here if I went and did something like that it would be like 'mind your own business' and then I really will leave. So, in order not to have this kind of behaviour… but every day it's the same thing, so there's no point in me saying something, purely and simply because I have to stay in the classroom. Because if I leave that will be the end of things, because firstly there are no teachers, secondly there's no management, there's no directorship… it'll be over! And you lose the students in truth, so the LITTLE that you manage to achieve, gets lost with the passing of time (Teacher, 06/06/11).

177.   Two teachers caught up with me and said 'Ah, you too? Did you learn many things about Dengue?' and laughed. I said (sarcastically) 'Many things.' Then more seriously, 'I ended up thinking that I understood how the students must feel in the classroom'. 'Ah, I also thought this' said one of the teachers. 'Could it be that I commit this big mistake?' I asked if it was like that in the JEIF too, and the teacher replied 'she [the pedagogical coordinator] always reads something, without giving any justification for the reading'. The other teacher said 'how totally archaic that was, and what's more, she ended the meeting without any kind of concluding talk or discussion' (Conversation with teachers, 19/05/11).

178.   The school director stood up from her table in the middle of the room and tried to move the discussion on to the topic of next week's national test, but before she could continue a young teacher who had been sitting meticulously filling out attendance registers during the entire meeting looked up nervously, tense, her hair awry from running her hands through it. She was new to the school. 'Test? What test? When is it? Do I have to apply it? Because I don't know how... and I don't think I'll be able to...' She got out of her chair and walked half-way across the room, a look of panic on her face. 'In my class... I don't think... I already have so many problems with discipline...' She looked at the group, wide-eyed and evidently extremely anxious about the prospect. 'Ask someone for help.' The school director replied, rather shortly. 'But there's nobody to ask.' The woman said desperately. 'Sometimes I look outside to see if there's anybody to help but there's never anybody there.'
'Well go to the head teacher's office.'
'But I can't leave the room, if I leave the room they start throwing tables and...'
'Well that's just the conditions we work under, we're understaffed.' The school director replied. 'We should ask the DRE for some help... we're alone here....' She paused for a few seconds in thought and then took a deep breath and carried on. 'And discipline is not my responsibility. I can't help you with that. It says so in my job description I can go and get it and read it to you if you want. Come and see me afterwards and we'll go over the test.' The young woman slid back into her chair with a meek nod of acknowledgement, evidently still extremely anxious (Teacher meeting observations, 15/06/11).

179.   The teacher had said to the parents 'what would be great would be if you came to the school sometimes. The family and the school have to work together, it's not 'the school gate's closed, your problem now' (Conversation with teacher, 14/04/11).

180.   The teacher said that it was great to meet the mother of one of her students, and that she thinks it's so important to invite parents to the school, as they had done today, because she believes that only when the parents, the students and the teachers sit down together will they build the school that they want. That all of them want. To know what the parents want, what the students

want, what they want to do and what they want to learn, only like that will they create a school. But unfortunately, there are parents who think that the teachers are enemies, like today, she had seen a mother at the school, ranting about a teacher. And there are teachers who think everything is the parents' fault, or the students' fault. I said that I thought placing blame on one person or one group of people wouldn't achieve anything, and that it would be necessary for everyone to work together to improve things. She nodded, but said that unfortunately a lot of the time the teacher is seen as a bad person, and that recently the teachers in the public school system have had a terrible reputation (Conversation with teacher, 29/03/11).

181.   *The teachers said that the parents that came to the meeting were keen to discuss the issues, and were concerned about their children's education. Many parents didn't come. One teacher suggested that it was necessary to remain really attentive to the students whose parents didn't come. She said there were mothers who said 'don't call me [to meetings] any more, and the teachers need to call them many times or go to their house to explain that it's negligence, if they're not involved in their child's education. She said that there are parents who work and can't come to meetings, and parents who want to be rid of their children* (Field notes, 19/05/18).

182.   *The project teachers were waiting for someone to come from the DRE, to remove the School Director's computer from the radio recording room. [The School Director kept coming in and out while the students were trying to record, which was very disruptive]. 'They'll remove it one day' said one teacher. 'I might not still be alive, and you might be in South Africa doing a Post-Doc, but they'll come one day. It looks like a joke. If anyone saw this they would say it was a joke. An old boss of mine once said that we cover ourselves with the blanket that we have. A foot might poke out, an arm might poke out, but we cover ourselves with the cover that we have. This is what we do here at DCX'* (Conversation with teacher, 16/06/11).

183.   *The Educom project is overseen by a small team at the Municipal Secretary of Education's office, but it uses IT resources in the schools, which is overseen by the technical team at the Regional Directorate of Education (DRE)'s office. The project teachers said that there seems to be a divide between the people from the DRE, and the management of the Educom project, even though they are meant to be working together. 'It looks like a battle of Egos', the project teachers concluded* (Field diary, 11/04/11).

184.   *I bumped into a teacher on the walk down to the school. On the way I asked him what he thought of the school. He said that he likes it because he gets on well with the students, especially with the boys who have just got out of prison. But that there are teachers who don't get on so well with them, and that*

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it's very complicated. 'This is an inclusive school, except that they only made half of the school. They constructed the building and put the teachers and students in it, and we make do, and do the best we can. But there are difficulties. There are teachers that blame everyone else, and this is no way to make things improve. There is also a great lack of structure – a lack of social projects, of a doctor, of psychiatric support. We know the students better than anyone, so we do the best we can, but without this structure it's not possible to change much' (Conversation with teacher, 25/04/11).

185.   *When the time came to divide people into pairs to work on articles for the wall journal, some students had already chosen who they wanted to work with. Nobody wanted to work with BR, and some complained about the partner they had been put with. N didn't want to work with anyone* (Observation notes, 29/04/11).

186.   *I have noticed that T almost always sits alone. When she arrived today she asked me 'will I be on my own today?' M said 'you won't be on your own', but T ended up sitting alone for most of the time* (Observation notes, 06/05/11).

187.   *The teacher called everyone to make a circle. The girls all sat squished together on one side of the classroom (at the front), and the boys stayed at the back. The teacher had to ask them to make a proper circle, saying 'this circle is very strange, people!' [...] The girls AP, ES and EST sat whispering and giggling amongst themselves during the whole session* (Observation notes, 16/05/11).

188.   *'JS said that we had lost our focus, and that we should focus on planning what we were going to do next week, but the time ran out and they decided to talk about this during the week. Everyone was freed'* (Observation notes, 06/04/2011).

189.   *When I was going upstairs to the project room, I saw G5 sitting by the locked metal gate that allowed access to the upper floors of the school. The lady that guards the gate (and holds the keys to its padlock) was refusing to let him upstairs. I saw IG and he asked me if he could go upstairs with me to the project. He said his lesson had been cancelled. I said yes, but then another teacher came and said sternly to him no, telling him to go back down to the patio and wait. When I got to the IT room, there were some 5th years there already. I asked if their lessons had been cancelled and J said they had, that some classes had been let out early. Soon afterwards IG came up, having been allowed. I thought about the control of the space, and the locks and metal barred gates – the fact that the students are obligated to attend school, obligated to stay inside the classroom, with no freedom of movement, always watched. I remembered that one motto recited by the pedagogical director was 'no student out of school, and no student*

out of the classroom'. I had heard comments from teachers like 'they mustn't be left even one minute alone' (Observation notes, 31/05/11).

190. *The teachers spoke about the kids who have a taste for running around in the corridors. The school director said that if she catches one, and they say that they are going to the bathroom, she asks if they really need to go, and if they can't wait until break: 'Because they have a taste for circling the corridors, running, knocking on the doors of the other classes to see their friends, etc. The preoccupation of the teachers should be to not let them stay in the corridors – to keep them inside the classroom'* (Pedagogical meeting, 19/05/11).

191. *The teacher spoke about B, who she found running in all directions around the corridors last week and had taken down to the school gate. It has been weeks now, in which every moment he is turning on the computer and showing his 'Bola Cheia' video. When the students left the meeting the teacher said 'Everyone go home now. I don't want to see anyone in the corridor, otherwise I'll pull your ears'* (Field diary, 26/04/11).

192. *Teacher 1: [Shouting] Has everyone closed their browsers there? Let's close the browsers. Everyone. [Firm]. All browsers closed, everyone who was in 5A, oh! [trying to get student's attention]. Ok, people… Oh! Sit down. Come closer to the front I don't want to see anyone talking ok? Ei! [claps hands, shouts] CLOSER TO THE FRONT… Headphones PUT AWAY… ok? [to other teacher] Ai, thanks for the… for the… If you have more later… Lend me that there… [to students] OH! You lot won't see anything like that… why are you all… it's very strange this organisation that you've all made there!... Oh, go over there girls, oh, why don't you go over there? [firm, condescending tone] LI-ft U-p YO-ur CHAI-rs… thaaaaat's it… beeeauuuutiful…*
Student: [To another student] Get out my way! [Lots of sound of chairs moving and chatter]
Teacher 1: Oh, pay attention… People… it's like this, oh!... [still with raised voice trying to talk above the sound of chairs being moved] At the weekend… Oba! [Calls out to individual students] G5… P… JSC… Sit there, oh, JSC… you stay really isolated. Sit there next to ADR.
Teacher 2: [to student] BR!
Teacher 1: [quietly] They're very alike
Teacher 2: [to another student]MR!
Teacher 1: [quietly] I think you two…
Teacher 2: [Threatening, to BR] I'm going to sit over there next to you […]
Teacher 1: Ok, well, what you DIDN'T see in the news, is what me and Beth and JS were talking about before you all arrived. It was a manifestation that happened, here in the centre of Sao Paulo, here really close to us, on Avenida Angelica – does anyone know Avenida Angelica? […] Did anyone hear about this? No? [To students] Look, you guys are intolerable (Dialogue between teachers and students, 18/05/11).

193.	Teacher 1: If I was the school director I'd abolish break times for a week. There will be no breaks.
Teacher 3: But they can't just stay in the classroom
Teacher 1: No, they will go to the toilet, will swap classrooms, just as I suggested, you understand? And we would have to make it work. Even if they go home 20 minutes early, we would have to make it work. What doesn't work is to be indifferent, think that everything's ok, 'they're not our responsibility during break' (Conversation between teacher, 09/05/11).

194.	I put tables against the door so that they don't leave, because there's nobody in the corridor to ask for rescue. I go to the head teacher's room and there's nobody there... They start to throw chairs and tables on the floor, to laugh, they start to dance and there's nothing you can say... If they get up and pull away the tables that I have put against the door and say 'Teacher we're going now because the other classes have already gone' – is it worth holding the door? (Teacher meeting, 15/06/11).

195.	The teacher said that sometimes seemingly banal things help when it comes to discipline. 'For example, if the blackboard is by the door, you can control the flow of students entering and leaving'. Another teacher said that when he calls the register, he always stands by the door so as to not let the students enter who hang around at the door disturbing the class (Teacher meeting, 15/06/11).

196.	B had arrived, and was working with A on the EJA texts. A typed and B sat there winding him up. At 7.15 B came to me and said, with a wry smile 'I'm going, bye'. He was agitated. I said 'what time is written on your badge? It says 7.45 – there's still half an hour left before it's time to go. Don't you want to help A?' 'Ah, but I have things to do' he said, in a jokey voice. 'Help A finish' I said, and he went to the other teacher 'Can I go?' She told him not yet, and he started walking agitatedly around the room and at some point disappeared without me noticing (Field diary, 05/05/11).

197.	B and A were messing around and talking between themselves. One teacher said to the other 'Let's separate them?' and the other replied 'That's what I was thinking. I think it's better to separate them' and asked A to sit next to someone else (Observation notes, 29/04/11).

198.	While the group was discussing topics for the wall journal, B was messing around with the computer. The teacher saw him and asked him to switch places with the other teacher, then said 'oh no, but then he'll end up next to A and that won't get us anywhere'. She asked him to swap places with me. She was putting the Portuguese teacher's suggestion into practice (Observation notes, 29/04/11).

199.   The chaos continues, and teacher 3 returns.

Teacher 3: People, did we come here to have a circus lesson? What's it going to be? I left you with [the workshop leader] and Teacher Beth, one person is going to the bathroom, don't go because if you do things will really heat up here. Whoever asked first can go but don't go now. Agreed? (Workshop observations, 31/05/11).

200.   Teacher 1: That day when Beth [asked the students about responsibility] for example, even the first response, what, and then, right Beth? Then everyone went on the same tack 'No, we're the ones to blame, blablabla'.
Beth: Yeah, I was thinking that they were repeating… 'Ah, I'll repeat what she said'.
Teacher 1: And what you wanted to hear too.
Beth: Yeah. The first two responses I thought were interesting, but they knew what I wanted them to say.
Teacher 1: No, they thought that this was what we expected of them.
Beth: True.
Teacher 1: More that, they would blame themselves, let's say. Right?
Beth: Right.
Teacher 1: 'No, we're to blame' and such.
Beth: Yes, but that's not [what I wanted] (Conversation between me and a teacher, 28/06/11).

201.   'So' M continued 'what do I need to hear from you all?' BR looked at M, covered her mouth with her hand and said rapidly 'sorry it won't happen again'. M replied 'I don't want to hear apologies, I want to hear from your attitude. And is it true that it won't happen again? I don't want you to just say that it won't happen again and then carry on the same. You don't have to be perfect but you have to be committed to improving!' And with that she went around the circle asking each student one by one, by name, whether they were committed. 'And you, B, are you committed?' Some took it more seriously than others. B laughed, and A said 'yes!' but shook his head at the same time. M said 'what should I understand from this? Yes or no?' at which A nodded his head (Observation notes, 29/04/11).

202.   MR was agitated today – picking things up and putting them down, picking up the register and flicking through it, laughing in a strange sort of disconnected way, saying that she wanted to join the blog group because the radio group was rubbish, getting up to talk to AP in the blog group, etc. Then I saw her write on the desk 'Thank you JB [a teacher] for not letting me collect an invite, MR'. Then she rubbed out her name and re-wrote it with the letters jumbled up. I asked her if everything was ok, and she looked at me but said nothing. [...] For the rest of the session she was agitated, laughing nervously and a little hysterically, and behind her laughs I could see a look - indignant, angry, isolated and sad. She looked like someone who was experiencing many emotions

that she didn't know how to, or didn't feel comfortable expressing. Her act of writing on the table reminded me of when I was the same age at school, and the only way I could find to express my anger was to write in the condensation on the window (Observation notes, 16/05/11).

203.   *G said he was afraid of reading the script, in case he made a mistake. He said he was shy and that he was scared of his voice sounding strange* (Observation notes, 27/04/11).

204.   *While the teacher corrected the video, FLP said 'ah, I did that' or 'ah, he did that thing'. He was commenting on things that the teacher had picked out as errors. 'There's no such thing as 'I did this' or 'he did that' said the teacher, we are working in a team, and it's the team that does everything – a collective work in which 'we did it', ok?' said the teacher* (Observation notes, 04/05/11).

205.   *IN sat in front of the microphone and started to read the script in her head. The teacher said 'read out loud, to practice!' 'Out loud?' replied IN, and her body tensed up. She sat looking at the script without saying anything, fumbling with the paper. 'Nobody's listening' said the teacher, 'you don't need to be afraid because it's only us here'. IN still didn't manage to speak, and the room filled with silence for a few minutes. JS said 'we're not here, the teacher isn't here, the microphone isn't there, it's only you. You don't need to be afraid'. 'But I'm going to make a mistake' said IN, her voice wobbling* (Observation notes, 26/05/11).

206.   *Today N, the new girl in the Audio Visual group, came to the project again. She sat the entire time with a serious expression, almost without speaking. She only spoke when either the teacher or I asked what she thought, and on these occasions she either replied 'I think it's fine like that', or simply agreed with what the others said. She never spoke of her own accord, nor gave any suggestions, nor voiced disagreement* (Observation notes, 04/05/11).

207.   *'I personally don't agree very much with the way the other teacher does things' said one teacher to me in private. 'She defends the students a lot. I'm not very accustomed to doing things this way. I'm more authoritarian, or dictatorial you could say. I'm sterner with the students and this works for me – I manage to pass the information that I need to them. I'm a big clown. I tell a lot of jokes and play around a lot, but in this school if you start telling a joke the kids are already up on the tables and running in all directions. You tell a joke and they think it's a party'* (Conversation with teacher, 26/04/11).

208.   *The teacher told me about a boy who everyone complained about in the classroom. 'But I arrived, 'Cacetando com os dois pes'[76], and the other students*

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[76] This phrase is not easy to translate. 'Cacete' is the name given to a length of wood that is wider on one

had told him not to mess with me because I come down hard. They helped me, saying that I come down hard. I have had various problems in the classroom but always managed to deal with the class […] You have to have a really solid structure to deal with this. I think there are only two ways to deal with these people – either you arrive 'Cacetando forte'[77] and they respect you for this, or you treat them so well, in a paternalistic way, and they respect you for this because they see that you are a good person who treats them well, like a father. I am not the least bit paternalistic, so I arrive 'Cacetando forte' (Conversation with teacher, 02/05/11).*

209.   *The teacher said that he would never obligate anyone to work in primary education, 'where you have boys of 8, 9 years old who don't respect a single word you say and speak to you as if you were their mate from the corner, and if you argue with him he argues back, and tells you to get lost. You call his father and the father says 'what can I do with him?', so, if even the father who is with him all the time doesn't know what to do with him, what is the teacher going to be able to do in the two hours that you spend with him? In primary school the boy is only there because his mother made him leave the house, and he would rather do anything than go to school, so he just goes to aggravate the teacher and that's the only reason'. He said that he teaches out of passion. 'It's really difficult, and I argue with the students every day, but in two or three years I'm going to retire so I keep doing it while I have the energy and patience'* (Conversation with teacher, 06/06/11).*

210.   *We went upstairs with all the project students, as we entered the classroom M called loudly 'Oh, everyone looking at me! Everyone sitting in chairs and looking at me! And don't touch the computer B!' B said 'I didn't touch it!' M started to tell them off. N, sitting next to me, turned to me and said 'the teacher is cross.' While M was telling the group off, N told me that she was tired, that she'd only had three hours sleep and had done so much today, and that she still had to go to church after this. The students (mostly 5th years) were laughing while M told them off. 'What will I tell him [I think she was referring to the inspector] when he says that he sees you all running, jumping on top of each other, trying to hurt yourselves? He'll say that the project isn't working and what will I say to him?' They looked at her, laughing, and she said 'Nobody is here by obligation, you are all here because you wanted to do something different, and those of you who want to be monitor students, I can't carry on soaping you!' She saw that not everyone understood, and with a more caring tone said 'soaping is an expression from the countryside, which means to tell off, so, I can't carry on soaping you, I need to know from you that you are committed, and this means not running all*

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end, commonly used as a weapon for beating people. To 'Cacetando com dois pes' means to be hitting someone vigorously with a Cacete. In this context I believe the teacher was speaking figuratively.

[77] 'Forte' means 'strongly'.

over the place trying to hurt yourselves – less talking while I'm talking, AP'. AP stopped talking and smiled nervously (Field notes, 09/05/11).

211.	*When the teachers left the classroom, BN, BR and A got up straight away and one whole side of the circle started talking and moving around. I said 'hang on people, let's stay seated' and BR and BN asked if they could go to the bathroom. The messing around continued until CR [a visiting workshop leader] told some of them off and moved A to another seat. They calmed down a bit after CR adopted a firmer attitude, but they only really focussed on the workshop again once the teachers had come back. At one point, when CR said 'if you all behave like children I'll treat you like children', IG, who was sat next to me, said under his breath 'we're not in the mood for this workshop'. Later he let out an enormous, exaggerated yawn as if he was trying to communicate that he found the workshop boring, and G copied him. BR and BN kept moving seats in order to position themselves behind CR where he couldn't see them very well. I thought about how they see the absence of the teachers as an opportunity to mess about. What does this mean in terms of the implied authority of the teachers, in terms of the reasons why the students are taking part in the workshop, and the responsibility that the students feel for their own actions?* (Observation notes, 31/05/11).

212.	*Teacher 1: I understand, they're children right? They disturb other people's studies. So this has happened, wait, in A, in B, in D… it's happened in all the classes. Speak.*
Lots of noise and student's comments are inaudible.
Teacher 1: Ah ok, hang on, that's a good detail, what she said. Say it again.
BR: The teacher isn't…
Teacher 1: The teacher isn't in the classroom (Conversation between teachers and students, 28/06/11).

213.	*Teacher 1: I think so too. Because in the afternoon for example… why do you think I ended up arguing with a mother on Monday? Because I went to resolve a problem which in the beginning wasn't mine. Ok, of course it was all our problem and I can't arrive and see a fight at break time and say 'ah no, but I'm not, I'm not being paid'. But shouldn't there be other people managing break time? Now they say 'there are no staff… we don't have sufficient staff' so I mean, how are they going to imagine Escola Integral [full school days which will soon be introduced], if the Secretary [of education]… let's think like this… without sufficient staff to manage the… There is going to be lunch time, it's going to get to the time when [the students] will have to stay with other staff members, right? I don't know if they've thought of a format… in which [the students] in truth have to stay with us the entire time. Because the teacher will have breaks, lunch, in unpaid time. I don't know. So do they mean that [the students] will have to stay being taught the entire time and they will never have a moment to themselves?*

You understand? Because we have already observed that getting them together is a problem, that leaving all the classes together downstairs is a problem (Conversation between teachers, 18/04/11).

214.   *The teachers go outside and the students start messing around.*
Workshop leader: Sit down please. Sit down. We are teachers too. Let's continue. Girls, shut that down [the computer]. Raise your hand. You can speak.
A starts messing around after a while.
Workshop leader: A, just a minute buddy. Just a minute please. Buddy, just a minute. Sit there. Look, that's even worse actually. Sit here next to me.
The whole room breaks out in chaos.
Workshop leader: Let's try to hold on to things a little. Come back. Sit anywhere. People, let's carry on here and then we'll take some pictures (Workshop observations, 31/05/11).

215.   *I removed P from the middle of the fighting and started asking him about the article he was working on. He said he had already interviewed a teacher about the little kid's outing to the zoo, and was waiting for the teacher to bring the Pen Drive where he had saved it. I suggested he try to find a computer with working internet, to do some research about the zoo in the meantime. When he left the group the girls calmed down a little. I felt a tension still – a responsibility to take charge of the situation while there was no teacher present. […] A little later the other teacher arrived with the Pen Drive. He was very calm, and called the group over to talk, looking at the notes from the editorial meeting. He said in a calm, quiet voice, who was supposed to be working with who, on what. Finally they sat down to work* (Field diary, 05/05/11).

216.   *In the car, one of the project teachers said to me that the idea I'd presented to the students [asking whether they are responsible for their own actions] would take 10 years to sink in, because they think the teacher is responsible for controlling their behaviour. They have a view of the authoritarian teacher and they want the teacher to place and reinforce boundaries and limits. She said 'Listening to them talk, it's obvious that nothing has changed since I was at school, school hasn't changed since it was constituted – it's total reproduction'* (Conversation with teacher, 16/06/11).

217.   *The P.E. teacher said that the students only respect him because he represents P.E., which is seen as a 'cool' subject by the students. Once he asked a boy to go back to his classroom, and the student said 'I'll only go back because it's you that is asking'. 'But you have to have strength' reflected the P.E. teacher. 'If they find one millimetre of fear in you it's all over'* (Field notes, 15/06/11).

218.   *PL: And we were in the lesson and I was doing my lesson right? And there were people behind me, and they started to throw chalk, and they started to hide,*

and they threw chalk at AR right? And the teacher said to me and said 'You!' and I got up and said that I didn't do anything and he left it. I sat in my place. And then he saw the other person who threw chalk, and he said he would note down their name and the person said 'WHO are you going to give my name to?' and then he went really quiet and didn't note it down.

Teacher 1: I understand (Conversation between teacher and students, 28/06/11).

219.   *Teacher 1: Speak G, answer your own question.*
G: They disrespect AR but not the more authoritarian teachers.
Teacher 1: Do you think that this is the teacher's role? To be authoritarian?
G: No, it's not that. It's like, that we trust. Like, the first day he went in my classroom when the teacher was off, he arrived kind of afraid of the students, distancing himself…
AP: I think this is a prejudice because he's Japanese, and when he writes…
Teacher 1: But they do this with teacher CR and maths teacher CRM too, and they're not oriental.
BR: They call him little goat.
AP: When the student throw chalk they think he doesn't even feel it and that he gets scared of something, he just, he just talks to the Director, he doesn't complain.
JSC: I know why nobody respects teacher AR. It's because teacher AR has his way of staying quiet. Why do they disrespect CR? Because she's not an adult that comes down hard, she doesn't come down hard on the student who does something wrong to make an example of them, that's why they don't respect the teachers who don't come down hard. I think teacher 2, he comes down hard, because a student was talking and he asks the person to talk more quietly because it's disrupting the other students. AR, AR he keeps himself to himself, stays quiet, he just speaks to the Director who sends a note to the parents and he has his way of staying quiet (Conversation between teachers and students, 28/06/11).

220.   *The teacher spoke about the difficulty she has getting the students to make their own choices* (Observation notes, 18/04/11).

221.   *One teacher said he had the impression that the students in the Wall Journal group were taking part in the project out of obligation, not out of interest or pleasure* (Teacher comment, 06/04/11).

222.   *The teachers discussed how the students struggle to develop a sense of authorship when writing articles for the wall journal. They have a culture of copying and pasting text from the internet, rather than reading, understanding, and writing using their own words* (Conversation with teachers, 19/04/11).

223.   *Teacher 1: Right? It's like, when Beth mentioned Summerhill and that, you know, the first reaction is that the guy arrives there doesn't know how to handle that freedom, is that right? This is built up over time, right? Some take a long*

time. I was reading an interview with Pacheco, because the Escola da Ponte runs along the same lines, and he said 'look' for example he says that the students have to participate, to go there with the teachers to a meeting and participate with the planning there. But he said that for example this week there's a student there who doesn't have the minimum conditions [to handle this], he has just arrived. 'And this student he came to our school because he attacked a teacher in another school, who ended up in a coma'. He said 'This student doesn't have the minimum conditions right now to take part in this planning'.

Teacher 3: He has to be prepared.

Teacher 1: He will. Imagine… because they receive many problematic students there, which is the case at Summerhill too, so he said 'until this person can manage this freedom…' because he will choose the subjects that he will study for example (Conversation between teachers, 27/06/11).

224. *Teacher 1: So, I think that tomorrow in the evaluation we have to talk a lot about behaviour to these 5th years, right? Because it's no good people. We have never had a team like this, as agitated.*

Teacher 3: As da pa virada. It's funny because, it's not that they don't have any awareness of anything.

Teacher 1: They're aware, you saw that day that Beth asked? They know! Right? Talking about the teachers, what they…

Teacher 3: But they have always had a reeeeaaaalllly great need to be told what to do

Teacher 1: Yes, but… but thats thing, freedom… what freedom do we have in this society? (Conversation between teachers, 27/06/11).

225. *I went to sit with her and said 'Let's take a look?' She said 'Is it good Beth?' and walked off. I called her back and said 'It's really good, but there are just a few things that we need to take a look at'. 'Corrections?' She asked 'Yes' I said, 'Do you think there's anything missing here in the title? Do you think people will know where it is that you're not going?' 'I know' she said, and wrote 'to the Festa Junina'. 'That's good' she said, and walked away. I beckoned her back and said 'there are a few little things here too, shall we take a look together?' and I started pointing out where she could use a full stop, a comma, etc. We corrected the first paragraph together and she said 'that's good Beth, I corrected it' and walked off to sit with A and BN to play a game on the internet. I started to correct the rest of her work, but didn't feel right about it. I thought 'Will she learn anything if I do it for her?' I called her over again. 'BR, there's something over here that I want to ask you about'. 'It's ok Beth I already finished' she replied, and turned back to her game. 'Pay attention to Beth, BR!' said BN. BR turned back to me. I said 'Do you think you need to write something at the beginning, to explain why you're writing this, that it's because you won't be going to the Festa Junina?' 'I'm writing this because I'm not going to the Festa Junina, ok Beth?' She replied. I said 'That's good'. 'Write it, Beth' She replied. 'I'm not going to write it for you' I said, 'It's your work', I'm not going to do it for you'. 'Ah, write it Beth and it's finished', she*

said. 'It's your work', I'm not going to do it for you', I repeated. 'Ok I'm coming' she said, and turned back to her game. I called her over again, and said 'Let's do it together'. She wrote half the sentence and said 'that's fine'. I encouraged her to finish the sentence. She finished it and said 'that's fine save it for me', and went back to her game (Field notes, 09/06/11).

226.   *I sat with BR, who asked 'Beth, which one should I choose?' She was trying to choose an example of a 'microconto' [Micro story] to place in her article. I said that she should read through them and decide which one she thought was best. She said 'but we chose this one, and the teacher said it wasn't good – which one should I choose?' I said that she ought to choose herself, to read through and find one that she liked. She didn't want to choose, and it seemed as if she either didn't know how to or didn't have the confidence to. I suggested she write her own microconto then, and she said 'No, the teacher said we have to copy one from the internet.' I felt uneasy. Often with BR and BN I honestly didn't know how to help them, because they often want me to do their work for them, and I find it very hard to encourage them to do it themselves* (Field notes, 02/06/11).

227.   *PL said 'I'm tired today, I don't want to write, I want to copy and paste'. I said that he can't copy and paste, because it's the same thing as stealing someone else's work and putting your name on it. He understood and laughed, saying 'can't I just copy some parts and elaborate on them? I said no, that he should read, understand the text, and then write using his own words. 'But I'm feeling too lazy to write today' he objected* (Field diary, 06/05/11).

228.   *Teacher 1 (to students): I also want to say that it looks to me like there are people here who still haven't understood that the work here is serious.*
Teacher 2 (to students): You are here because you wanted to be part of the project, not because you're obligated to come, and you are here to learn, but if you want to come you have to understand that it is serious, and that we will put up with a little, but if you don't start to understand this then you'll be cut. There comes a time when your behaviour gets in the way of those who want to work, and if it continues like this you'll be cut out from project. We don't want to cut you out, but if you carry on being disruptive there's no other way, you understand? (Observation notes, 03/05/11).

229.   *Teacher 1: I discussed this with my high school students, on the day that I showed the videos there, about the school, which was an expectation for sociology there… And then a student said, from the high school, AM, she said 'Ai teacher I think it really has to be the way it is, because if we, we wouldn't know how'… you know that scene from The Class[78] where the girls take part in the class counsel? I showed that scene to them, for us to debate. I also showed them The Wall you know? By Pink Floyd, to debate and it was like this, she agreed that the*

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[78] 2008 French film by Laurent Cantet.

school has to be what it is. AM said 'I, for example, if I didn't have the obligation to do this or that, I wouldn't do anything. Because I don't even like coming to school'. […] AM, not only AM but others too, they said 'No teacher, if you give everyone freedom nobody would do anything' (Teacher comment, 27/06/11).

230. *I felt uncomfortable, because I didn't know how to deal with the situation. I felt pressure to get them to calm down and work* (Field diary, 05/05/11).

231. *MR wasn't interested in working on the script for the radio programme. She was angry with JB [a teacher], and had other things on her mind. She wanted to use the opportunity of being in the IT room to check her e-mails. I had called her away from her e-mails to participate in the group, but after a while she said to the other students 'Ai, I want to check something on the computer guys, do you mind if I look at something really quickly?' JS [a student] said kindly to her 'go on, do what you want to do'. I felt the need to control her actions, to ensure that she was participating in the set activity, but restrained myself. Later she started to help another student look for 'impactful phrases' on the internet, but got up and went over to joke around with the other girls. The teacher called to her 'have you finished your work already?' 'Yes' she replied. 'Well, your place is not over there' he concluded, and she went back to sit at the computer* (Field diary, 16/05/11).

232. *Since there was no internet, many of them wrote something quickly off the top of their heads, and finished with a lot of time left over. Those who had finished started to walk around the classroom, provoking those who were still working, grabbing each other aggressively* (Field diary, 05/05/11).

233. *JP was supposed to be working in his group, but he started to mess about on the computer, typing' Bola Cheia' in to You Tube. I noticed that this had nothing to do with the exercise about editorial leads that they were supposed to be doing. I said to them 'now is not the time for this', and the teacher came and said 'close that down'. I felt frustrated that the three boys in the group weren't paying attention to the exercise, while the girls tried to do it. Afterwards I noticed that I had felt a lack of authority over the group, and had tried to exercise my authority by imitating the teacher's style. I was worried about getting the students to finish the exercise, and hadn't noticed that JP had wanted to show a video of him playing football that he had sent to the programme 'Bola Cheia', to be shown on television. He wanted to be seen, and to show his friends.* (Observation notes, 19/04/11).

234. *Teacher 3: I have a really strong feeling that the students are getting worse, in our FUND1. There are things about FUND1, the teachers are very good you know, but in FUND2, we are losing them bit by bit. They are regressing, in*

truth. In their learning I mean, we are losing them. Do you have this sensation too? That their learning is regressing, you know?
Teacher 2: I blame the students a lot, but I blame the teachers much more than the students. I blame the teachers, the management, the director…
Teacher 3: The school.
Teacher 2: Yes, the school itself (Conversation between teachers, 06/06/11).

235.   *And you start the lesson already fed up, and you're delayed, and there's not enough time to do anything, and then they can't do the little that you… I said to them today 'we are learning, so there are some things that we have to do'* (Conversation between teachers, 13/06/11).

236.   *AP: I think that the students who are leading [the messing around] sometimes end up wasting time, you know, doing things they shouldn't* (Student comment, 28/06/11).

237.   *On the walk to the metro the teacher and I chatted about education. 'The square/quad school is no good' she said, 'we have to knock it all down'. She said she hopes the older generation of teachers will leave soon, but that there are young teachers who are also narrow-minded. She said she thought it would take a long time to change the state of education, and that Brazilian society is a long way off. 'Can the students learn in the project? They can' she said, 'can we make them think? We can. But in the square lessons? We can't'* (Conversation with teacher, 27/04/11).

238.   *JS: Some teachers enter the classroom and don't talk to the students. But I'm like, I go there, talk to the teacher. For example when the teacher was sad in the last lesson I went and said to her 'Look teacher, if I did something wrong in your lesson I'm sorry, I'll change'. It could be that I didn't do anything but I still say it. And then she said that she has me, and another boy and a girl who help her, but I don't know…*
Teacher 1: It's ok (Conversation between teacher and student, 28/06/11).

239.   *G: I think it's our responsibility because if we do things, and there aren't many teachers who go and say something, so if everyone did what they wanted, it becomes a mess. But if everyone starts to respect the teacher it will become something more serious. Because most of us study to improve [our lives] and if most of us mess around we don't learn anything. But there are teachers who lose their patience a lot, so you can't do much in the lessons of the teacher who loses their patience very quickly, like RB, EV, they lose their patience very quickly, that's all* (Student comment, 28/06/11).

240.   *The teachers discussed nominating some of the older project students as 'lead editors', to supervise the other students' work. They said that one student*

doesn't have the maturity to be a lead editor, because they think she will want to really boss the other students around (Field diary, 03/05/11).

241.   *The girls were walking around the classroom, messing around still. LC tried to take responsibility 'whoever has already finished come and sit with me!' But they didn't respond* (Field diary, 05/05/11).

242.   *The students were thinking of ideas for a radio programme for the little kids' break time. They suggested focussing on encouraging them to put their litter in the bin, not to have food fights, and to behave well during break. M started to read a bit of script that she had written: 'Hey little guys, today I'm going to tell you how to behave during break time'* (Field notes, 27/04/11).

243.   *PL: It's our responsibility. I'll tell you why. We take a gun and bring it to school, threaten a person, the person goes to the director, and tells her. They look in your rucksack, there's really a gun there, there's a gun, and you're screwed. They call your mum and your mum comes, but it's not the mother or the father's responsibility, it's mine. The gun was in my care, and I'll go to the Conselho Escolar because I can't take a gun to school and threaten [people], and if I start passing around drugs in corners... I'm here minding my own business, but it's not possible to know whether, it's hard to know whether it's 100% our responsibility or 20% our fathers' and mothers'* (Student comment, 28/06/11).

244.   *Student 1: I think it's the parents' and also the schools' responsibility* (Student comment, 28/06/11).

245.   *G: It's easier to blame the teacher, because it's hard to find the parents so people end up blaming the teacher* (Student comment, 28/06/11).

246.   *BR: Like Beth said, the student is responsible but if a student is in class and talks and talks and talks, the teacher, it's his class so he has the responsibility to stay on top of him, right?* (Student comment, 28/06/11).

247.   *JSC: Think. It's our responsibility because we come out to study, and if we arrive at school and do something wrong it's not the teacher's fault, it's our fault* (Student comment, 28/06/11).

248.   *G5: It's our responsibility. Because who is going to be blamed if we're messing around? The school or the father or the mother? It's our [responsibility]* (Student comment, 28/06/11).

249.   *JS: I think that here at school it's 25% teacher, 25% parents' [responsibility] and 50% ours. Why us? Because for example our parents aren't going to be here at school every day and what will we do? The teacher won't be*

there at break time and we have to be conscious of what we're going to do (Student comment, 28/06/11).

250.   *The teacher said that she was going downstairs to speak to another teacher, and would be back soon. I stayed in the classroom with the students. After a few minutes I saw that BN had got up, and AP too, and that they were play fighting, hitting each other on the chest, both smiling but fighting at the same time. I got up and said 'stop this guys'. They carried on. I went over to them and said 'stop now'. They didn't stop. I placed my hand on BN's shoulder and tried to steer her back to her chair. She ignored me. I started to feel irritated and said loudly 'Girls! Stop!' PL said 'Beth is getting irritated!' and I looked at AP and said 'you two are making me irritated!' They carried on hitting each other, and I tried to think about how I could connect with them in some way to calm them down. I didn't want to shout but I felt a strong urge to, and felt my body tense up and my face flush. I tried looking them directly in the eyes and saying 'stop this, please', but they wouldn't look me in the eyes, there was absolutely no connection. AP said 'but she did this to me!' 'I don't care', I said. JS tried to help, by saying 'please!' to them. I recognised that I was almost losing my temper, and decided to take a step back. BR called me over to view hers and JS's work, and I went to sit with her. As soon as I sat down she said 'just a minute Beth', and she got up, walked over to PL, and hit him on the head. 'BR!' I said loudly, 'Come here please!' She turned to me but didn't come. 'BR!' I repeated, 'Come here please!' She came, saying 'but he called me a...' I said 'I don't care! Come on, sit down!' She sat down and got straight back up again, and I turned and saw AP with her hands around PL's throat, and BN marching around the classroom shouting 'let's write on the board!!' It seemed that she was imitating what happens in other classrooms with other teachers. I made one more desperate attempt to calm them down by clapping my hands and saying 'OH!' loudly to get their attention* (Field notes, 17/06/11).

They way in which we related with the students today was so different from yesterday. Yesterday I couldn't even get BR and BN to look me in the eye, and I couldn't manage to communicate with them, but today was so different. We talked, and they told me where to get water that wasn't chilled, so I didn't hurt my teeth. We went down to the entrance hall together in the elevator, and sat on some benches to wait for the other teacher. BR and BN sat one either side of the teacher, who shared her experience of being in hospital yesterday. BR said that once she had been ill and went to hospital to have IV fluids. She said the woman made a mistake with the needle and had to do it again. 'I had two litres of IV fluid yesterday' said the teacher. 'I was in hospital for five hours'. 'Why didn't you come to the project?' asked BR. 'Gosh BR!' said BN, 'imagine if you had been ill and just got out of hospital all tired, you would say 'today I won't be able to go', wouldn't you?' BR smiled and said 'oh yeah'. The teacher asked if they had liked the exhibition and they said they had. She asked what they had liked best, and they said 'the old things' (Field diary, 18/06/11).

251.   B passed by with a huge dog, black and furry. The teacher called 'come and help us B!' (meaning that he should return to the project, because he hasn't been for a long time and sometimes he passes by saying that he won't be coming because he has another commitment, or because he hurt his leg and had to go to the doctor). I went over to speak to him. 'Is it your dog?' I asked. 'It's my aunt's' he replied. 'What a cool dog!' I said. 'Are there classes today?' he asked. 'We went on a trip to the Caixa Cultural to see an exhibition and take some photos' I replied. 'Oh, ok', he said. I went back to stand with the teachers, and B stood there looking at us for a while. His face was very different to when I see him in school or in the project. He wasn't making that 'I'm a bad boy' face that he always does, but instead had an open, yet a little hesitant, expression. He called 'Bye!' in a friendly voice to us. We said goodbye and he walked away with the dog. The last time I had seen him, last Saturday at the June party, I had passed him with a cup of pudding in my hand and he had tried to grab the cup from my hand, aggressively. I had pulled the cup out of reach, and I saw his friends looking at him as if to say 'what are you doing, B!?' Today he was so different with me. Could it be the fact that he was outside the school environment? (Field diary, 18/06/11).

252.   I saw B on the stairs today, spitting on someone's head. He seemed like a completely different person to the day when I saw him with his dog (Field diary, 28/06/11).

253.   Everyone sat on a bench to rest a little. BN pointed to some headphones hanging on the wall by a video screen, and whispered something to me. 'Hmmm?' I responded, and she whispered 'Can I listen?' 'Yes, you can!' I said, and I took the headphones down for her. She stood there for a while listening, and then passed me the headphones, saying 'do you want to listen?' I asked what she heard, and she said 'it's talking about some photos' (Field diary, 18/06/11).

254.   Teacher 3: Is B causing problems?
Teacher 1: B always causes problems, just that right now he REALLY doesn't want to know. Today he said, he said a load of stuff and replied really rudely. He said 'My mother already came last week'. I said 'That's her problem. I want her here again' I said 'I'm not here to be disrespected' (Conversation between teachers, 13/06/11).

255.   On the walk back to school, the girls walked arm in arm with the teacher. The girls took out some crisps from their bag to eat, and offered them around repeatedly to everyone (Field diary, 18/06/11).

256.   Today the relating between the teachers and students was friendly, and they communicated a lot. Not one teacher told

the students off, and when they told them not to touch the exhibits they did it in a friendly way, smiling (Field diary, 18/06/11).

257.   *I arrived at the Festa Junina and greeted the three students with a kiss on each of their cheeks, and did the same with N and JSU who were stood with the others waiting by the speakers. For some reason I felt that it was necessary to greet them with kisses on the cheek today, because it wasn't a formal school day, and the activities of the day didn't have a formal feel about them. Interestingly, when we work in the IT room I don't feel like greeting them with kisses on the cheek, and sometimes I don't even feel like greeting them at all. Why could that be? Sometimes I feel so much more closed and tense within the formal school environment. Outside this environment I feel less distant from them. I think it has something to do with the role that I feel pressured to fulfil when I'm in that environment. Instead of being just another human being, I feel pressure to be a vigilant watcher, a controller. This makes me feel tense and distant from the students, because I always see the threat of a 'badly behaved' person inside each one of them. I feel pressure to be a person who I am not, and who I don't want to be, and I close up* (Field diary, 11/06/11).

258.   *The Portuguese teacher said that class 5B give him less problems, and he only tells off the girls who mess around, like he did with AP, and they get scared. Classes 5A and 5D give him a lot of problems* (Conversation with teacher, 09/05/11).

259.   *During the meeting, the teacher frowned at all the students who messed around* (Field diary, 26/04/11).

260.   *When I arrived the teacher was telling the students off, sitting with a group of Wall Journal students in a circle and almost shouting at BR. 'Here we don't betray our colleagues, are you hearing me BR!? You're looking to the side, are you hearing me!?'* (Observation notes, 06/05/11).

261.   *Teacher 1: Those, those boys JL and K, people these boys don't have… Ai, I can't stand them any more… I can't take it… Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, it's the same thing…*
Teacher 2: JC went to take them to the director's office, JL and K and the others, they said 'No Sir, you can go away'.
Teacher 1: And then I went, and they turned to the staircase and I said 'Go downstairs'. 'No, teacher JB won't let us' they replied. So I said 'So GO TO THE DIRECTOR'S OFFICE I DON'T WANT YOU HERE in this corridor (Conversation with teachers, 23/05/11).

262.   *Discussing the problem of student's disruptive behaviour in the classroom, one teacher said that a colleague of hers had shared an experience*

where she had put her students in small groups to work sitting facing each other, and taken the most 'damned' students, making them responsible for their group. Like this, if the group messes around the teacher calls attention to the 'damned' student, and not to the whole group, and he has to take responsibility for this. She said that it had worked for a while, but the students soon adapted and the teacher had to move to a different way of working again. She said that sometimes traditional methods such as reviewing the students' work helps to reduce disruption, because instead of messing around the students call out 'teacher, you didn't review my work!' (Conversation with teachers, 15/06/11).

263.   *Today in the classroom I told all of the students to put on a sweater. Some of them said 'but I'm hot!' and I said 'You are going to put on a sweater'* (Conversation with teacher, 10/06/11).

264.   *On the way out the teacher turned to G5 and said 'G5, if another teacher comes to complain about you one more time we'll have a super serious conversation with you, you hear?' G5 nodded, and MR asked what he had done. 'He knows what he's done' the teacher replied* (Conversation between teacher and students, 25/05/11).

265.   *Teacher (to NR): 'You're from 5...?'*
NR: 'A'
Teacher: 'Ah, THAT 5A [tone of voice indicated that she did not approve of class 5A]. You're not taking part in the havoc that they're causing in 5A are you?'
NR: 'No'
Teacher: 'Ah, good' [with a look that said 'you'd better not be']
(Observation notes, 11/05/11).

266.   *Today another teacher came into the classroom demanding to know which students were from 5D. Only JU put his hand up. The project teacher said it was better to wait until everyone had arrived, because G5 and B were also from 5D, but the teacher who had come in started to say loudly and aggressively, to the whole room 'it's that I think the project students should be EXAMPLES for the other students, and this havoc that you're all creating is no good!'. 'Yes', said the project teacher, 'we have already had a word with them about it'. JU went red and looked at them. The project teacher went over to talk to the teacher who had come in, and JU went over to speak to them too. They were speaking sternly to him for a while, and then I heard the project teacher say 'we'll have them all together for a meeting on Tuesday then', and the other teacher went away* (Observation notes, 12/05/11).

267.   *The Portuguese teacher said that he had given EST a shock today. 'She never brings her book to Portuguese lessons, and she was doing theatrics about the fact that she hadn't brought it, and because it's happened so many times I*

went up to her with a serious face and said 'you didn't bring your book so get out the class.' She got shocked and said 'should I really leave teacher?' and I said 'yes', and she left along with another girl who had forgot her book. The School Director found out about it and phoned their parents. At least the School Director knows about it and the parents know now' (Conversation with teacher, 28/06/11).

268.   *G arrived and the teacher went to talk to him. I saw the teacher writing a note to G's mother, inviting her to come to school for a meeting with the teachers. G had fought in the classroom and two of the project teachers wanted to give him a second chance, but the other teacher didn't want to, and wanted to exclude G from the project. They decided to call his mother in to talk and give G a second chance, but to make it clear to him that the third teacher would not have given him this chance. G went home with the invite* (Observation notes, 06/04/11).

269.   *The teacher asked for five minutes to reflect. We discussed how to deal with the large group, and the fact that some don't pay attention, talk over the teacher and over each other. Another teacher suggested a technique that he uses in the classroom, of separating the students who are being disruptive without telling them off or giving an explanation in front of everyone. 'You just say 'you sit over there' and they already know why – my students know why!* (Field notes, 26/04/11).

270.   *Teacher 2: No but IG, it's not that he messes around a lot, he is even an intelligent boy. He isn't inclined to mess around because he measures the consequences. Then he comes here and so and so messes around and nothing happens [to him]. Someone else messes around and nothing happens, [and IG will think] 'I'm going to do that too'. So there are not only two, but three, then come four, five, and soon there are eight that are messing around* (Teacher comment, 09/05/11).

271.   *Teacher 2: Yes well what happened with G? Yesterday he was… I said 'Look kid I'll throw you out with the utmost of ease' […]*
Teacher 1: Well, but I think that B, he is MORE 'cobra criada' than A. It's him that leads, you know? Today I saw in the lesson, today I saw in the lesson that he's like a helicopter, you know? I said 'I've given you a task'. I sat with some students here at my desk, because I still needed to do something… in a little while I see that he was… he had this piece of rubbish, firstly spraying it in people's faces. Then, 'I have to go to the…' getting me to back down right. When I saw that he had hidden it I said to myself 'No, it's ok. When he least expects it I'll get him', understand? Then when he least expected it I said 'Give it to me'. He started to object and I said 'GIVE IT TO ME NOW'. 'Ah teacher, are you going to give it back to me at the end of the lesson?' he said. 'NO' I replied 'I'm only going to give it to your mother'. 'It's water' he said. 'Water!?' I said. 'Water doesn't have a colour, this here isn't water here or in China'. And that's how it is. (Conversation between teachers,

09/05/11).

272.   *Ah, I said to some girls from 5B today, that I'm watching them, that I don't know what they're doing here at school, I told them to have respect for people, because those kids aren't bothered about you, so if you stay there and let them cross the line, afterwards you'll be left with the consequences* (Teacher comment, 20/06/11).

273.   *Watching the videos from the June party, the teacher hardly said anything the entire session. Only once he said 'people, you can talk, but talk quietly otherwise it disturbs others'. The students spoke more quietly. It seems like this teacher has a very serious and distant way of relating with the students. They were* <u>much</u> *less agitated that normal and they hardly moved in their chairs. At one time or another they made comments like 'this person should have held the camera still, they were moving a lot', or 'Issh! The person turned the camera upside down!' But other than this the teacher didn't encourage or instigate any discussion about what they thought was good, and what they could improve on. He sat in silence while I played the videos. At one point EST said 'Teacher, PL is messing with me!' and the teacher said 'PL, are you having some kind of problem?' 'No' replied PL quietly. At the end I played two interviews that the students had recorded, and the teacher said 'you can stop, seeing as people aren't in the mood to listen let's end for today'. He turned to them and said 'People, it's not for you to sit there laughing, it's for you to see where you made mistakes so you can put it right later, because making mistakes is part of the process. So, we'll finish for today. I want you all to turn off the computers.' They turned off the computers and tidied the chairs away in almost complete silence, and then the teacher said 'you can go'. They left in silence. Nobody was agitated, and all the students had serious expressions on their faces, especially PL. I asked BR if she was OK, and she said 'yes', still with a serious expression* (Observation notes, 21/06/11).

274.   *On the way downstairs we caught G and another boy play fighting in the corridor. The teacher told G to go upstairs to his mother. She told him that she had just finished praising him to his mother, but if he behaves like this she will have to repent [having praised him]* (Field diary, 29/03/11).

275.   *The teachers said to the group that the project students are role models for the rest of the school and that they are proud of their attitude, but that this attitude has to be reflected in the classroom too, and if the other teachers complain about them, they could be excluded from the project* (Observation notes, 06/04/11).

276.   *The group stays relatively calm for a while, then A starts messing around and other students start complaining about him moving around and annoying them.*
Workshop leader: People, that's enough now. Let's carry on. If you want to ask a question raise your hand, without talking over each other. Ok. If you respect me I'll respect you. If you carry on behaving like a child…
A objects.
Workshop leader: I don't care. If you behave like a child, I'll treat you like a child. Do we have an agreement? Just pay attention to me here, and afterwards you can relax and do what you want, ok? Let's continue people. Let's try to do this in a productive way, ok? (Workshop observations, 31/05/11).

277.   *He was cited in all the texts that the other students wrote. [Discussion about R breaking a cupboard in the classroom, and J starts to read letters from students about it]… and this one writes… look at this one people that is a frightful lack of literacy… look they write 'the person who I most disagree with, I don't agree with this attitude of breaking the cupboard' then it's illegible nanananana… 'people's things. Ther person who I most disagree with is R.' And another, 'I disagree with R'. I don't know if R is rebelling because he doesn't have a mother I don't know people but here, [another letter] 'For me I think it was R. Today I saw him stealing things from this cupboard'. I didn't ask them to put their name on the letters, nobody's name is on them. 'I don't agree with the fact that R broke the cupboard and took some things. And I saw R going inside the cupboard and he was kicking the tables and hiding behind the cupboard'. 'I don't think it's fair what they did with the cupboard. They scratched the desks, made a mess on the floor, and I disagree. And the person that broke the cupboard was R'. Do you want more prood that it was R? I think what they did was absurd, because the school left everything all clean and now almost halfway through the year… well all the classrooms are locked you see, 5A is one* (Teacher, 09/05/11).

278.   *The teacher said that she was going downstairs to speak to another teacher, and would be back soon. I stayed in the classroom with the students. After a few minutes I saw that BN had got up, and AP too, and that they were play fighting, hitting each other on the chest, both smiling but fighting at the same time. I got up and said 'stop this guys'. They carried on. I went over to them and said 'stop now'. They didn't stop. I placed my hand on BN's shoulder and tried to steer her back to her chair. She ignored me. I started to feel irritated and said loudly 'Girls! Stop!' PL said 'Beth is getting irritated!' and I looked at AP and said 'you two are making me irritated!' They carried on hitting each other, and I tried to think about how I could connect with them in some way to calm them down. I didn't want to shout but I felt a strong urge to, and felt my body tense up and my face flush. I tried looking them directly in the eyes and saying 'stop this, please', but they wouldn't look me in the eyes, there was absolutely no connection. AP said 'but she did this to me!' 'I don't care', I said. JS tried to help, by saying*

'please!' to them. I recognised that I was almost losing my temper, and decided to take a step back. BR called me over to view hers and JS's work, and I went to sit with her. As soon as I sat down she said 'just a minute Beth', and she got up, walked over to PL, and hit him on the head. 'BR!' I said loudly, 'Come here please!' She turned to me but didn't come. 'BR!' I repeated, 'Come here please!' She came, saying 'but he called me a...' I said 'I don't care! Come on, sit down!' She sat down and got straight back up again, and I turned and saw AP with her hands around PL's throat, and BN marching around the classroom shouting 'let's write on the board!!' It seemed that she was imitating what happens in other classrooms with other teachers. I made one more desperate attempt to calm them down by clapping my hands and saying 'OH!' loudly to get their attention. At this point the teacher came back in to the room and I was already fed up. The teacher told the students off and told them all to sit down and save their work because it was already time to go home. They got up and started leaving the room. The teacher told them to wait because there were still five minutes left. AP, BR and BN ran out the room laughing, and went running around the corridors, then came back. The teacher, cross, made all the students sit in a line at the computers along the wall by the door. They were still agitated and asked if they could mess around on the computers. The teacher said there wasn't time, but they started to open up game websites anyway [...] BR started kicking PL's chair. The teacher said she would send a letter to all their parents, and that this was their last warning. She sent them home, asking JS to accompany them downstairs. I said goodnight to the teacher and left. JS came back up the stairs and said to me 'they all ran away'. I saw them running around the corridors and went down to the patio. They were running around the patio. I tried to catch BR and said 'BR!' She said 'you have to call Tio... Tio!!!' Suddenly her mother arrived (at the time I didn't know it was her mother) and BR came and walked with me to the school gate. I said 'the game's over BR'. I was really cross with them [...] I walked up the street, stull feeling really hot and stressed. I took off my sweater, but felt stressed all the way home. Why were they behaving like this? Why didn't I manage to deal with it? Would it have been possible to connect with them and do something productive, or were they already completely closed to this possibility from the beginning of the class? Perhaps the previous class had been very agitated and they arrived already in this climate of agitation? Why were they SO agitated compared to yesterday, when they seemed to be completely different people? Was it something that we had done? Or was it a lost cause from the beginning? Where they bringing 'stuff' from outside into the classroom, or had the way the teacher and I had dealt with the situation made it worse? I felt frustrated and confused, and like the school system was oppressive and that both me and the kids had bought into the distorted power dynamics. It was as if they expected me to come down on them, or they saw me and the teacher as people to revolt against, and we constantly reacted as if they were revolting against us and became irritated. The entire dynamic was distorted and it made me frustrated. I felt as though the kids were enemies, and I didn't like that feeling. I thought about the Scene from South Park where

Cartman becomes a teacher, as like him I asked myself 'how and I gonna reach these kids?' (Field diary, 17/06/11).

279.   *And then at one point when he asked to go to the bathroom, being an idiot I let him, and then EV asked to go after him and I said 'Nobody is going to leave', and they said 'Ai, but A hasn't come back yet'. I said 'Ok, I'll go after him'. I went after him, and he kind of defended himself and said 'No teacher, I went to take a note book for the teacher, the teacher asked me to bring a notebook to the 3rd years but it was downstairs blablabla' but it wasn't any of that* (Conversation between teachers, 27/06/11).

280.   *I went and sat with IG and AP, who had almost finished writing an article about the transport worker's strike. The quality of the writing was really very good, and I felt suspicious that they had copied and pasted the text from the internet. I asked where they had got the information from and IG showed me a website and said 'from here, and from other sites. We looked at various sites and put the information together, but nothing copied and pasted' (he could sense my suspicion). I was still suspicious, because I had seen AP's writing and knew that she had great difficulty composing basing sentences. This text didn't have one grammatical error, and the use of language was very sophisticated. I noticed AP whispering to IG 'It was you that did everything, I didn't do anything.' As I didn't know what IG's writing was like, I didn't want to accuse them of copying and pasting. I also noticed him reading through the work with great attention and adding and changing bits, which made me doubt my own judgment. I decided to leave it, and helped them look for an image to complement the text. I thought about the question of trust; if I trust his word am I an idiot? If I don't trust him am I being prejudiced, assuming that he would copy and paste? If he really is writing to this standard then what is he doing in year 5?* (Field notes, 02/05/11).

281.   *Teacher 1: For example, today I went down with the 3rd years… no – I went to get them, from break time, it was the same break as the 5th and 7th years, there were about 10 upstairs, 5th years, understand? And they are provoking, they are going to the bathroom. Today A was passing messages… and I notice everything. I go around… nibbling at the edges… A and some girls who wanted to say I don't know what, I said 'NO. It's already time to go to class.' And A came and 'blablabla' in EV's ear, that he had to give someone a message. And I said 'Oh, if you feel threatened by this guy here, tell me and we will call his parents in'. He said 'He doesn't threaten me at all', and A said 'I'm not threatening anyone!' I said like this 'Stop now' […] and then I said 'A, I'm not liking this attitude'. And then at one point when he asked to go to the bathroom, being an idiot I let him, and then EV asked to go after him and I said 'Nobody is going to leave', and they said 'Ai, but A hasn't come back yet'. I said 'Ok, I'll go after him'. I went after him, and he kind of defended himself and said 'No teacher, I went to take a note book for the*

teacher, the teacher asked me to bring a notebook to the 3rd years but it was downstairs blablabla' but it wasn't any of that.
Teacher 3: But A is cunning
Teacher 1: He was going to meet those girls in the bathroom (Conversation between teachers, 27/06/11).

282. *JS: And the teachers, teacher for me, I see as a friend, not as an enemy like all these [gestures to other students]. Whoever's doing this isn't thinking of the teacher as a friend. It the teacher wasn't there in the moment, I didn't pay attention, but it's difficult, because when I saw them as enemies...* (Student comment, 28/06/11).

283. *Teacher 3 tells the students that they can make anonymous complaints on paper, or asking the teacher they tell not to disclose their identity [...]*
G: This idea of teacher 3, of telling, is all well and good, but in the moment that you tell, the guy that did it he will go around asking who did it, who told, and then there's no way...
Student: Make an anonymous complaint!
G: But there's always someone that will tell him, it won't work. [...]
PL: Teacher, there are students who don't tell because they're afraid of being threatened, and they end up being friends because they don't tell and they end up being friends with the people that throw... (Conversation between teachers and students, 16/06/11).

284. *'A is suffering a lot from bullying, he gets beaten up every day' said one of the teachers. 'Two girls from his class have separately reported this'* (Teacher comment, 12/04/11).

285. *Teacher 3 tells the students that they can make anonymous complaints on paper, or asking the teacher they tell not to disclose their identity.*

286. *Teacher 1: But look, in the same way that most of you said that you get scared, because you feel threatened, because you can't... most of you said that you think the teacher is disrespected because he is afraid of the students. A number of you said this. That the teacher doesn't have authority, right? Because he, 'cause he, what was it? 'Ai, he doesn't note down names', right? Because he is afraid of the students. And you all also said that you are afraid of school students. That you don't tell, because you're all afraid of being beaten up, of something happening, right? So, fear, we are going to think about this thing, fear, right? Yesterday we had a meeting, and I said that we shouldn't be afraid of you all, you know why? There's no reason to be afraid. I don't feel threatened by any of my students in this school, until now. And we try to calm our colleagues, who are sometimes not coming to work, sometimes they don't come for personal reasons. I don't know if this is the reason people, I don't know how to say if it's this, ok? I don't have answers, but I think it's good for us to reflect... the students...*

ah, one question that remains, do you all agree with the attitude that you assume? Do you participate? You don't have to respond now but think about it… you all tell me that you throw paper, that you throw… I am already visualising… I would feel terrorised. Think, think me entering into a classroom like this, and the students provoking me and all this, I really think I would get scared. Now, are you participating in this? Yes or no? If you are, is it because you agree? Or is it because you go along with it. What is your motive? Right? What can you do, to revert this? Right? So that the class calms down. A number of you said that you aren't learning maths, that you don't have the conditions…

JSC: It gets in the way.
Teacher 1: Yes. It gets in the way. […]
G: This idea of teacher 3, of telling, is all well and good, but in the moment that you tell, the guy that did it he will go around asking who did it, who told, and then there's no way…
Student: Make an anonymous complaint!
G: But there's always someone that will tell him, it won't work. […]
PL: Teacher, there are students who don't tell because they're afraid of being threatened, and they end up being friends because they don't tell and they end up being friends with the people that throw…
Teacher 3: This, isn't something… it's being complicit. Do you know what it is to be complicit? Does everyone know this word?
Students: Yes
Student: Help you […]
G: But the minority [of students who mess around] grows and grows, because people say 'I think it's better not to complain' (Conversation between teachers and students, 16/06/11).

287. *JSC: One day I was going down to break time and I saw that they had taken AP's rucksack and taken out all the notebooks and thrown them in the bin. AP: And when I went to get them they were all torn. JSC: They were all trodden, they trod on them* (Student comments, 16/06/11).

288. *At the end of the night J said that she had seen a boy smoking marijuana in the school. She thought he was there trying to sell drugs. M said that he couldn't stay, because the elderly students [who study adult education at night] would be offended and leave. They wouldn't want to study here anymore. Another teacher said that he had spoken to the boy, 'because he's really a marginal, and I said to him that I don't want to see him here again, and if I see him again I'll go there to the head of the cartel and say that he's been here smoking in the school, and then he'll be fucked in the community. He got really scared'* (Conversation with teachers, 31/05/11).

289. *Teacher 1: Today the boys made a gun at break time, you know? The school director came 'ah but it's a toy'. I said to her 'It's not funny. If my son was at break and the guys did this it would terrify him'. It's not funny people, imagine*

if it were our children there. Oh, people this public school looks like hell and nobody notices. Our inspector walked around with a piece of wood in his hands this big, banging on the doors. It's horrible, it looks like a FEBEM […] which is crazy.

290. *Teacher 2: I saw a school on TV, I think it was in Goiania, and the name of the school, I don't know its official name but unofficially it was called Carandiru[79]. ALL the windows had bars, bars on the front gate, and to enter you have to ring a bell and wait from someone to come and take off the padlock to enter or leave. Teacher 1: Well, that's what the school is good for, right? But there comes a time when you HAVE to do this because we need to keep the children inside here safe, right? Because if a disgrace happens with one of them, this school will go down. You can be sure of that. If an UGLY disgrace happens in here with a student, this community will bring this school down. I don't even want to be here. I don't even want to be present on this day. Imagine these guys coming down here in the school… you understand? Asking for explanations… you know? And wanting THOSE TO BLAME and EVERYTHING ELSE!* (Teacher, 09/05/11).

291. *The door man had disappeared and I couldn't leave [the school]. A boy wanted to enter as well, so I went to look for the door man. He came with a mouthful of food. I joked with him that I had thought he had ran away, and he replied in a defensive tone that he was alone guarding the door the entire night and sometimes he needed to go to the bathroom. He unlocked the gate and I wished him goodnight. I said goodnight to the policemen outside, and walked uphill to the metro* (Field diary, 08/04/11).

292. *At the end of the night we heard shouts coming from the corridor, and when we left the classroom we saw Z and another teacher walking around the corridors looking stressed, hunting down students that were free in the corridors. The other teacher looked really stressed, and said that we should lock all the gates that give access to this floor* (Observation notes, 31/05/11).

293. *Workshop leader: Do you recognise this place here? [Showing students a photograph]*
BR: Is it that barred gate downstairs?
Teacher 1: Ah, but it could be a prison.
Workshop leader: It could be. It could be.
Teacher 1: Do you like those bars there?
G5: Yeah, those holes (Workshop observations, 31/05/11).

294. *We said goodbye to the police and the door man and walked to the car park* (Field diary, 26/04/11).

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[79] Carandiru was a famous prison in São Paulo which had a reputation for appalling living conditions and extreme violence.

295. *The teacher pulled out a huge red Alan key from her handbag, and we all laughed. 'You need one of these!' She said to the other teacher, who had been complaining about not being able to get the classroom key from the director's office* (Field Diary, 25/04/11).

296. *The gate on the stairs was locked already, and a lady opened it for me after I explained who I was* (Field diary, 24/03/11).

297. *JSC walked upstairs from the patio, and through the barred gate to the upper floors. The lady who guards the gate shouted 'JSC! WHERE ARE YOU GOING!?' he said something to her and continued up to the IT room to join the project activities* (Field notes, 17/06/11).

298. *The teachers discuss Tempo Integral and how the students at EMEF Jean Mermoz where it has already been implemented, like Tempo Integral because they get to stay at school with their friends chatting, listening to music, etc. I comment that Tempo Integral is supposed to be structured with lessons in the mornings and activities in the afternoons, and teacher 1 says 'Yes, but the activities are just for the English to see'* (Field diary, 27/06/11).

299. *The difficulty is theirs [the students], it's the students here at DCX. It's not the computer programme. You understand? People, I teach lessons bellowing, they don't understand anything that I'm saying, understand? […] AP can't type… when they go to type in their passwords they can't type the words correctly. You can tell that they don't get it… and you need to take deep breaths… it's like this, most of them can't do it. Understand? Most of them. So I put them in pairs, one week one of them will do the task and the next week the other one will do it. I said 'you will always sit in pairs, there's no other way!' There's no other way because if not it will become a Think Quest of nerves, it's no good, no good* (Teacher, 13/06/11).

300. *The teacher hasn't had time yet to sit down with the radio group and listen to a radio programme. There is the same problem with the audio visual group but she lacks time to sit down with them to watch any videos* (Conversation with teachers, 18/04/11).

301. *One boy and his friends messed around during the class, and were told off by the teacher a few times. […] Some boys stated to play around with e-mails, even though the teacher had told them not to. Some got up and started to do shadow puppets using the light from the projector against the whiteboard. Some boys near the door asked me if they could go home now, and I told them they needed to wait for the bell. They said that the bell had already rung, even though I hadn't heard it. I said they should note down their account details and wait for*

the teacher to tell them when to go. They became more agitated. They noted down their account details and one went to give them to the teacher, trying to hurry things up. Another went around his friends, asking their account details so he could invite them to chat over the internet. The teacher told the students to sign out of their accounts and go home, but the boy stayed in the corner with a friend, trying to help him accept the chat invite. They called me over to help and I said they could sign in to their accounts next lesson to do this. They became agitated. A group of girls in another corner had stayed as well, trying to do things in their e-mail accounts. The teacher told them to leave, saying that there was another class now and she needed the room (IT Lesson observations, 31/03/2011).

302.   *Teacher 1: Oh, how cruel, they did this work with MR [another teacher], the 5th years, they were really upset, they put it up on the walls, and they've already pulled it all down, already ripped it ALL up.*
Teacher 3: So, that's the advantage of subject-specific classrooms where, you remember, work that I did with them there, lasted [on the walls] (Conversation between meetings, 20/06/11).

303.   *'No', responded the IT teacher, 'I think the students do have to learn. We shouldn't forget content. But I think it's not everything'. 'And when they made the inclusive school' the art teacher added, 'they only made half of it. Yes, there are people going to school all together, we have people with disabilities, autism…' 'Yes' said the IT teacher, 'which is democratic access – everyone has the same access to school – which is more than what we had in Brazil in the past'. 'Yes' said the art teacher, 'bit it doesn't stop there. The school, I believe, will only work when it becomes a cultural centre, a health centre, you know?' 'I believe there has to be an education for the whole of society' said the IT teacher, 'If we consider that 85% of the population is educated in public school, then then whole of society should be obligated to think about education. But there are only a few people thinking about this. And other people thinking about health, and others about other things, you know? Things remain fragmented'* (Discussion between teachers, 06/05/11).

304.   *Talking about the impact of increased enrolments since the expansion (democratisation) of public education since the 1990's, the teacher said, 'Now the battle has to be to improve quality, and not to regress'* (Field notes, 02/05/11).

305.   *'We complain that life is hard, but they have a really hard life. But think that, even so, we can't go accepting any old type of behaviour in the classroom* (Teacher comment, 02/05/11).

306.	*A teacher was telling me how V is 13, and very big already. She studies in the 2nd year with the little ones because she hasn't been 'alphabetised' yet, and she can only go to EJA next year when she turns 14. She punched a teacher hard last year. She came to school for the first time when she was 11. 'It was total intellectual abandonment' said the teacher. Nobody could get close to her. 'I tried many times but it never worked' said another teacher. Only one teacher manages to speak with her, and last year that teacher walked around with V under her arm all the time. 'She is totally marginalised' said the first teacher. 'Her level of marginalisation is really high'. The teacher that is close to her said that she thinks V is prostituting herself. Another teacher said that V walks into his class 'all showing herself and gyrating' and that he says to her 'take this out of my classroom, this isn't a place for this'. One day V climbed up on top of the school wall and started calling to the men in the bar next door 'trying to sell herself to them' said the first teacher* (Discussion between teachers, 16/04/11).

307.	*The wall journal students were very agitated, and I heard the teacher lose her patience and start to shout at them. She shouted in a despairing tone. Then she came over and said 'Beth I want your help'. I went and tried to help, BN first. She was writing about the fair of solidarity. I explained that she needed to write a lead, which was missing. She wanted me to do it for her, and I said 'I'm not going to do it for you' and tried to talk her through it. The entire time she was impatient, saying things like 'Ai Beth, no Beth, but how Beth? You do it Beth'. She didn't want to sit down and think, or do it herself. In the meantime, T came and sat at the computer next to us. 'Ue, help me Beth' she called. 'What shall I do?' I asked her who she was working with, and she pointed to AP, who was just arriving, but soon left. 'With her, but she's really annoying, I'm going to work here' said T. I said 'We need to learn how to work with others', and T replied 'but she's annoying teacher, and I don't know how to write teacher'. 'So, if you don't know how to write, ask her to help you, work as a team' I suggested. 'Ai no Beth' she protested. I looked her in the eyes, feeling very stressed, and said in a low, calm voice 'have some patience'. She appeared to understand and went over to AP. BN showed me what she had done and I said 'that's much better!' 'Ok then' she said, and looking as if she couldn't care less about what she'd just written, and just wanted to finish already, she got up and went to provoke the others. I went to get her back after a minute or two, saying 'let's finish your article and leave it looking all nice for when it's printed? Did you put your name on your work?' She returned to the computer and said 'How do I do it Beth?' She didn't want to think about it herself. She wrote her name as fast as she could then got up and started walking around the room again. [...] The students from the audio visual group called me over to help them add a soundtrack. I went to help, then saw that LC was sitting at the computer with her head on the desk, with a desperate expression on her face, waiting for help. I went over to her. She had written a list of questions to interview a teacher about a piece of work that she had put on the wall in the corridor. 'I already finished' she said, 'I'm just waiting*

for someone to check it and save it, do you want to see?' 'Yes' I replied, and she read me her questions. Afterwards she commented that I had cut my hair, and we started talking about haircuts. I felt a tension 'am I wasting time and losing focus by talking about hair with her? But you have to be human too, right? And humans talk about hair' I thought to myself. Someone called me to help them and I left her. There were three teachers and me in the classroom, with less than 20 students, and it was really difficult to meet the needs of the group (Field diary, 03/05/11).

308.   *A teacher was talking about the importance of reviewing students work. They are not used to having their work personally checked by the teacher, but she tries to do it for each student because it boosts their self-esteem. 'For the teacher to review their work is already a big deal for them, they think 'wow, the teacher saw my work!'* (Observation notes, 15/06/11).

309.   *V is 13 and can't read and write, so she has been put in a 2nd year class with much smaller students. She can't start EJA yet because she has to be 14* (Field diary, 16/04/11).

310.   *The teacher was sat with JF, helping him write. JF is in the 5th year, but has a lot of difficulty with reading and writing. The teacher had to help him with each word, and after a long time he typed 'don't shout because we will get a headache'. It was time to go and JF and G5 went home. The teachers started talking about JF, about how he needed support to read and write, and how when they write an activity on the board for the class, the students say 'He doesn't know how to read teacher! He doesn't know how to write teacher!'* (Conversation with teachers, 01/05/11).

311.   *Soon there will be whole classes messing around. Because they do it and nothing happens to anyone! I argued with the school director recently, because I sent a student home to fetch his book. And the guy came back and said 'I lost the book'. I said 'Deal with it. Get your mum and take her to the bookshop to buy another one'. Is a guy who doesn't even eat going to buy a book? That's his problem, it's not my responsibility! Deal with it, buy another one, and bring it back to school! Is it not his book? The school director said that he was penalised and she went and got another book and gave it to him. What's that saying to the guy? 'Throw it in the bin because there's always someone who will give you another one'. Now the pressure in my class makes no difference. I say 'You haven't got a book? Then come here to the front, you sit here, you there, you here. You do times tables, you...' Today they sat writing a text. The entire time. Not even allowed to get up from the table. Writing a text* (Teacher, 09/05/11).

312.   *N sat with us and I asked FLP to explain to her what we were doing. 'You explain' he said, so I explained. N nodded her head, with a serious expression,*

saying nothing, fiddling with her hair, and looking behind her as if she would rather be with her friends in the wall journal group. JSU came over and he and FLP started editing the video, making final changes to the titles and credits. I said to N that she could give suggestions. She watched the boys editing, saying nothing, with a serious expression. The boys changed the colour of the text and I asked N 'What do you think?' She didn't respond. I kept prompting her for her opinion throughout the session, and each time she either didn't respond or said 'I think it's fine like that' in a monotonous tone. She appeared disinterested in the video, and kept looking around at the rest of the classroom, at all the other students (Observation notes, 03/05/11).

313.   *G said to me today that he wouldn't open his notebook, G. He didn't open the notebook. So, but, like... I think he need to wise up, because his attitude needs to be like... why not open the notebook!?* (Teacher comment, 27/06/11).

314.   *'N started to talk about how it was difficult to learn in the morning lessons and to pay attention, and blamed the teachers. She gave the example of one teacher who she thinks looks like a monk. The smaller girl agreed, and said 'he leans himself on the wall like this, and says like this [puts on a deep, slow, tired voice] 'let's...... lea.....rrrr.......nnnn......' The other girls laughed. And she continued 'he almost sleeps while he's teaching, it's really boring', and N said 'like that other teacher too, who speaks to quietly that I can't hear and she teaches the lesson sitting down, and I get sleepy'* (Observation notes, 24/03/2011).

315.   *The older sister and R were very involved in the lesson. I thought that perhaps this was because the teacher was giving his attention directly to them. He was sat in front of them, but not in front of the younger sister. The younger sister sat with her head on the table and her legs stretched out. She yawned and fidgeted, lifting her head, stretching her arms, hugging the table and slumping over it forwards. The teacher didn't appear to notice the she wasn't part of the conversation. At one point her older sister turned to her and said 'pay attention'. She appeared to wake up a little, and then started to fidget in the same way again. Heavy and tired* (Observations of a small group 'exam preparation' lesson, 24/03/2011).

316.   *I spoke to them a lot. It was Thursday in truth when I spoke to them, and I asked them to write the letters, understand? Now I don't know, that strategy of transferring some, right? We have to take others... FRM [another school] sent some here, why does DCX accept them and not send any to anyone? There's one that came into the 3rd year if I'm right, or is it 5th year? It's a new students in the 5th year, in 5A or 5D or something like that. Ah, it's 5A, because on Thursday I entered that class and he was taking the piss, and I said 'who are you?' 'Ah, I'm so and so, I'm a new student' so I said 'Nice to meet you, I'm the IT teacher and know already how I am. Where did you come from?' 'From FRM'. I mean, if FRM*

is sending some here, let's send some there too! Right? Now FRM sends them away and DCX opens its doors to everyone. And we end up with the ruffians. Send some there? Just make some transfers and it's done. They send one here, we send some there! Change the atmosphere because you know there are times when it's unworkable! (Teacher, 09/05/11*).*

317. *After the 1ˢᵗ and 5ᵗʰ years' break time there are a lot of fights. They start at break and continue into the classroom. The teachers suggested a theme for the students to cover: 'banal fights'* (Discussion with teachers, 11/04/11).

318. *I was going to explain the concept of Genre, but the teacher came and sat down with us, and I said to her 'do you want to explain'? 'Ok', she said, 'let's see… what type of films do you like to watch NR?' 'I don't know' replied NR, 'I don't have films at home'. […] 'Ok', the teacher replied, 'let's see… do you know what a video clip is? What is a clip? What do you think?' NR thought a little and said 'Music?' 'That's it', the teacher continued, 'let's see here… [Opens You Tube on the computer] what type of music do you like?' 'I don't know' said NR. 'Don't you listen to music?' asked the teacher. 'I don't know' NR repeated. 'You don't watch anything and don't know anything' concluded the teacher* (Observation notes, 11/05/11).

319. *It's a cultural problem. The parents live here and never leave, the students are born here and don't leave* (Teacher comment, 18/04/11).

320. *When we come to this discussion about language, for example, and speech, which is being discussed there, I even get hold of an article from the newspaper talking about this. And people, Latin… What Latin remains? And the purist language came from Latin didn't it? And there's NOTHING of Latin left from the purist language. Rome fell, Latin went to shit and nothing was left. What remained were the derivatives, which were derived from what? From the vulgar! I mean, what more proof do you want? That speech and written language, they are in movement. They're not static. And people don't discuss this […] But the article explains it well, it was really explicit. It focussed on Youth and Adult Education. To start with, I see this here. Our students suffer linguistic prejudice all the time, the EJA students. All the time. Understand? All the time. Last year I worked on a project 'the different ways of speaking in the writing of letters'. I teacher reported me for it. She called it absurd because I was reinforcing 'incorrect speech'. No. It was the contrary. I was giving an example to our student to show that it isn't that he speaks incorrectly, but that he has a REGIONAL speech of his own. And that WRITING is different. And why this discrepancy? Why does writing have to necessarily be different from speech? Is it written language that influences speech? If so many things that were purist language have fallen out of use? Stopped being written, stopped being used, because it was speech that went on changing things. This interaction between speech and writing! […] So, if you*

don't understand this and don't help the student to understand this, you work from the presupposition of linguistic prejudice [...] Now if you treat grammar as the be all and end all, without understanding that it is part of a historical process, that it's a synthesis of a historical process, that language is something ALIVE, is a historical process... understand? This is something that most people don't discuss. [...] How did the purist Portuguese of Brazil begin? When the economic and political power was transferred from Salvador, to the centre-south. From the northeast to the centre-south. Because until then the norm of Portuguese that was spoken was from the Northeast. It wasn't from the centre-south. Later, when the Portuguese crown came to Rio de Janeiro, and the transference of capital to Rio de Janeiro, and to the centre-south, Sao Paulo, and the transference of concentrated economic and political power, which was concentrated here in Sao Paulo and in Santa Catarina, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais... then you had the normalisation of speech FROM this reference. From the Portuguese spoken here – from Lisbon/Rio. [...] We can see that in the media that Paulista is a standard of speech. In the TV News, the Novelas, you transition between the Carioca and Paulista accents. So treating it this way, historically. Understand? Nobody treats it this way. People don't teach it this way. They don't teach the construction of language in a historical way. [...] People don't start from this, from the historical theory, they don't start from this, the economic domination of the centre-south in the country, its cultural domination, its social domination, understand? From the discrimination that there is, in relation to the northeast, from the discrimination in relation to other Brazilian states. Because when you talk about accents, and about speaking incorrectly and speaking correctly, people don't include the Paulista or Carioca accents, they include the North Eastern. [...] But the Paulistano thinks he's the only right one, because of this history, which we don't teach. So I work on this with my students, and it's interesting, when I teach this, like I was going to last year here at DCX, I was going to work with a text, but the proposal of the teachers working with this text in the classroom, they didn't embrace the idea. Much to the contrary, they boycotted it. And one day the students said they didn't want me to teach them this anymore because I was reinforcing... they said I wanted them to speak incorrectly, and they wanted to speak correctly. Understand? In other words, I wanted them to understand the origins of speech, that it's regional, from where you live, from your references, from your lived experience. [...] The idea is to help them understand what linguistic prejudice is, historically, where it comes from [...] Firstly because language is domination... from the moment that I am Roman, and I arrive and say that everyone has to speak Latin, it's domination. Understand? I'm dominating. From the moment that I'm Portuguese and I command that everyone be catechised and taught Portuguese, I'm dominating! [...] What is missing, in the teacher, in the educator, it this historicising. They don't historicise language. Why does my student have to learn grammar? For example today, I think it's absurd, why do they have to do morphological analysis, syntactical

analysis, to learn to write? To learn to speak? We spend hours and hours on this […] and today I ask myself, why? (Teacher, 23/05/11).

321.   *I say to them, 'this is not a hospice and this is not a zoo, you are not animals you are people'. I can't conceive of the idea of working in a dirty place. They lack a sense of the school belonging to them and when we don't clean the classroom with them we don't teach them this. We should be cleaning the classroom with them, not just shouting at them to do it* (Teacher comment, 15/06/11).

322.   *They invade the classroom without asking to come in or saying 'excuse me'* (Teacher comment, 15/06/11).

323.   *I think they should take responsibility for looking after their own books and bringing them on the right days. But they don't take this responsibility yet, and they write all kinds of crap in the books* (Conversation with teacher, 28/06/11).

324.   *The teacher said that she thinks the 'depositing' of children at school for 8 hours a day is very violent. She was referring to the imminent introduction of extended school days in Brazil -'Tempo Integral'. Thinking about the comments of IN and LC [two students], that coming to the project after a half-day of school was very tiring for them, she thinks it is going to be difficult for them when it changes to Tempo Integral. She thinks the idea of turning the school into a different type of space is cool [Tempo Integral will introduce extra-curricular activities into the school day], but it's never going to be 'their' [the students'] space: 'They have a right to their own space, to go home, to play in their own space […] the school will never be 'their' space'* (Conversation with teacher, 28/06/11).

325.   *The speakers for the radio have been installed. Somebody has cut the wire of one speaker already. After looking at the speakers we went up to the radio room. The teacher said that he thought it best to only have one student at a time in the radio room, accompanied always by a teacher, 'otherwise the equipment won't last longer than a week'* (Field notes, 23/05/11).

326.   *I suggested they keep all the didactic books in a cupboard so the teacher can get them out for the students when he wants to use them. 'It's like that in Fund I [the first four or five years of primary education]', said the teacher, 'but in Fund II [the second four years], I think they should take responsibility for looking after their own books and bringing them on the right days. But they don't take this responsibility yet, and they write all kinds of crap in the books, and they're not allowed to write in them. If the students don't take responsibility for their*

books, how are the parent's going to? The parents think the students have too many books to bring. If they bring all of them at once it's a lot, but if they only bring the ones they will use that day it's very little. But they don't have the organisational skills yet (Conversation with teacher, 28/06/11).

327.   *BR was very agitated. At the beginning she was sat with me, and the teacher came over and said in a 'telling off' voice, 'is it you BN that's being damned in class?'. 'No' said BR, and pointed to BN (they look very alike). BN said 'I'm BN, and it isn't me'. The teacher said 'Ah, you're BN, but anyway, both of you are damned, you're damned too, you hear BR?' BR didn't respond, and we carried on working. The rest of the time she was really agitated and lacking patience. She called for me to help her and when I came she walked away – she wouldn't sit with me to look at her work together. She wanted me to do it for her and wanted to get it over and done with. I found it really difficult to engage with her. Every few minutes she would ask a question and then not listen to my response. When I asked her questions she ignored me. […] A few times she called me over when I was helping someone else, and didn't want to wait until I was ready. Once I said 'just wait three seconds' to which she replied impatiently 'Ah Beth, three seconds are already up!'. When I arrived she didn't want to engage any more, and went to play a game on another computer. I couldn't convince her to sit with me to review her work, and I was tired and losing the will to keep pushing her, so I corrected her spelling mistakes and saved her work.* (Educom Project notes, 12/05/11).*

328.   *Talking about the parents' meeting in the car, the teachers said that many mothers didn't attend – they were the mothers of a 'damned' class, but of those who did come, some demonstrated a will to help improve their child's behaviour. A teacher had asked them 'what do you suggest?' and one mother replied 'write everything down in their exercise book and send them home'. Another said 'Phone me. If they mess about, phone me'. [The teacher said] 'What they learn at school will have repercussions at home, and vice-versa, so we have to work together, mothers and school. They are a 'damned' class, 11 and 12 year-olds, and they are still forming their characters. So we have to work together because if not their characters will already be formed soon and there will be nothing else that can be done'* (Discussion between teachers, 14/04/11).

329.   *We have a group that is really da pa virada* (Teacher, 31/05/11).

330.   *The School Director was standing by the school gate, shouting for Seu Chico [the door man] to unlock the huge solid metal gates for us to get in, but he didn't come. In the end she told JL (a student) to climb over the wall and open the gate for us. He climbed the wall and up on to a precarious tiled roof, then down the other side. 'Finally he is useful for something' commented a teacher* (Field diary, 18/06/11).

331.   And there is one from 5B, and one from 5C, that are also da pa virada! (Teacher, 09/05/11).

332.   Another teacher said that he had spoken to the boy, 'because he's really a marginal, and I said to him that I don't want to see him here again (Conversation with teachers, 31/05/11).

333.   [Talking about the girl in year two who no teacher could stand to teach] the school director said that the case is being referred to the public prosecutor 'because she is turning twelve and we don't know what to do any more, but something has to be done – her and a friend went and beat up a homeless person, she has so much rancour, she has something, you can see that she's a bad person, you know? J said that she had taught this student once, and that she had shouted at J but never attacked her, 'But she has a look…' (Discussion with teachers and school director, 12/04/11).

334.   Even, even that idiot EV, who's a scoundrel (Teacher comment, 20/06/11).

335.   They're, like… they're ALL terrible (Teacher comment, 27/06/11).

336.   At the Homeless Association fair we bumped into V (the student who the school director was talking about on Tuesday, who lives on the streets). A teacher took me aside and said 'that girl is 'The Problem' of DCX' (Notes from field trip, 16/04/11).

337.   There is a discussion about organising meetings with parents, and how the parents of kids who mess around (the teacher referred to them as 'that race') don't come to meetings (Field diary, 09/05/11).

338.   Well, but I think that B, he is MORE 'cobra criada' than A (Teacher comment, 09/05/11).

339.   The students were messing about on the patio and J (a project teacher) had shouted at them 'Project students behaving like this, don't you know how to sit down and talk?' N, who had arrived and was helping to put up the wall journal said 'this school only has Bagasse'[80] (Observation notes, 29/04/11).

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[80] The word 'Bagasse' (Bagaço in Portuguese), literally means the fibrous leftovers from pressing the juice out of sugar cane - the detritus of the sugar production process. It is used informally in Brazil to refer to people who are considered to be 'left over', 'worthless', or 'Shameless and lacking decency'.

340.   LTC received a message on Think Quest that read 'you are a real big idiot you and AP are idiots', signed by EST. EST said it wasn't her (Field notes, 09/06/11).

341.   While IN was recording, she turned and made a face at G5. 'What's up?' asked the teacher. 'He called me Burra!81' said IN (Observation notes, 26/05/11).

342.   The teachers were talking about the influence of teachers on students. J said 'A homophobic racist isn't going to teach them to be another person. We need to think about this' (Meeting with teachers, 11/04/11).

343.   At my son's school, a teacher, when she saw in the book that she had to discuss Candomble with the children, she thought it was absurd and a thing of the devil (Teacher comment, 06/05/11).

344.   Teacher 1 talks to the students about how they should never feel threatened by anyone, and how they need to develop a technique of never allowing themselves to feel threatened. Teacher 2 encourages the students to stop associating themselves with the students who lead the messing around in class, until those students become isolated (Field notes, 16/06/11).

345.   G: [to Teacher 1] There were people wanting to learn, and most of the class was provoking you.
Teacher 1: It wasn't most of the class, wasn't most of the class. This is the problem. It's not most students people! Stop thinking that it's most of them. It's a minority. This is why Teacher 2 said that you need to ISOLATE this minority. Let's do this (Conversation between teacher and students, 16/06/11).

346.   While we were at the fair, the teacher made a point of letting the students do their own thing, without her accompanying them. 'If not, they don't have autonomy' She said, 'but I get so 'grrrrrr' (she made a gesture and noise to indicate a state of anxiety) 'It's difficult, I want to leave them but it's difficult. Let's go over there and look at things, and leave them'. She got worried from time to time, wanting to know where the students were. At one point she lost sight of JS and got very anxious, looking around saying 'where is JS? If you see JS tell me' then she went walking around the fair looking for him. The other teacher said to her 'Relax, leave him', to which the first teacher replied 'I just want to know where he is' (Field diary, 16/04/11).

347.   The first teacher said that she didn't know if this [telling students to change places] was the best way to deal with it in this context, with this group, because she thinks that we are trying to foster autonomy, and it's difficult to

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81 Burra translates literally as female donkey, however it is often used as an insult to imply that somebody is stupid.

manage this. She doesn't know if she did the right thing earlier by turning on the light [when it was off while the projector was being used] and telling them to pay attention, because it was perhaps a bit of a tyrannical way to deal with it, but that she thinks it's necessary to explain to them that it's not supposed to work like this (with them being disruptive) (Field notes, 26/04/11).

348.   *Teacher 1 asked the students 'so, the jingle that you've chosen is going to be The Spotted Leopard?' They said it was and started to sing 'The spotted leopard… The spotted leopard…' dancing a little and grinning. Teacher 1 said 'and it's going to be the same music for each programme, right? When you watch the afternoon news does the jingle change?' 'No', they replied. 'And when you watch Fantastico does the jingle change?' 'No', they replied again. 'So, it's always going to be The Spotted Leopard, which is going it be our jingle, is that it?' She asked. 'Yes' they replied. Teacher 2 came and asked with a look of disgust 'is it really going to be this?' 'Yes, that's what they chose' replied teacher 1. 'For all of the programmes?' asked teacher 2. 'No, just for the little kids' break' replied teacher 1. 'Ah, ok' replied teacher 2, still with a look of disgust, to which teacher 1 replied 'I think it has to be like this, what they choose'. 'Ok' said teacher 2, still with the same expression of disgust* (Observation notes, 25/05/11).

349.   *LC asked the teacher if she could sign on to the blog yet. […] She asked for the password, and the teacher said that for now she wouldn't give it to her. LC said 'Oh but you said you would!', and the teacher wrote the password on a piece of paper for her* (Observation notes, 14/04/11).

350.   *I asked the teacher whether he thought the project was making any difference, even though the students were messing around a lot. He said he thought it was, that when they mess around like this it seems like it's not making a difference, but that for example the other day JSC said to him 'look teacher, this article doesn't have a lead'. JSC had absorbed the concept and recognised that in that text there wasn't a lead. In truth, he said, even professional journalists use leads much these days, but it's a piece of information that was good for the students to know, so they can have the autonomy to use it, or not. He said it seems difficult at times, but the students are producing work, they are doing things in the project, and that it's not always a thing that shows results that fast, that it takes time for them to realise that it's something serious. He said he thought they had given too much freedom to the students from the beginning. 'I don't make a custom of giving so much freedom at the beginning like this. The other teacher is different, she is more inclined to defend them, and the other teacher is a little stricter. I'm even stricter. I make a custom of cutting their wings right from the beginning, and then giving more and more freedom little by little. I think it's difficult to give freedom and then take it away, and this is what we did* (Conversation with teacher, 09/05/11).

351.   The teacher who told me that being authoritarian and dictatorial works for him, because it enables him to pass the information that he needs to the students, also said that passing information to the students is the lesser part of his work. What he wants is that they develop the autonomy to develop and seek out the information they need on their own. I said that I thought it was interesting the both he and the other teacher were seeking to foster autonomy in the students, but that they had such different ideas about how to do so (Conversation with teacher, 26/04/11).

352.   I looked at the text three times and I couldn't find it. And I make a point of everyone looking and afterwards we'll find it, and I couldn't find it… Then a student said 'teacher, it's there'. It was there in the text, there three times, and I didn't see the word 'slow, slow'… two times the word, in sequence! And I couldn't see it. One student saw it and we put it there. Great. I didn't feel any conflict in my life at all. I feel like a partner. We are equals. This is what's most important. Ok? (Teacher comment, 26/04/11).

353.   I think a great problem exists in teaching today, which is that the student is obligated to learn. He learns times tables, for example, repeating 2x5, 3x5, and so on, without anyone explaining why he needs this. So he learns by the whip, it's the same with Portuguese grammar, he remembers because it's going to be in the test, but he doesn't learn (Portuguese Language teacher, 30/05/11).

354.   Looking at the photos on the big screen, they started laughing and talking over the top of each other, commenting on the content of the images. 'Look, at chicken!' (Giggles)… 'Look, the teacher!' (Giggles)… Some started telling the others to be quiet. 'Less noise and more silence!' said BR. 'Ssssshhhhhhh!' said G. This cycle repeated itself until the end of the session […] After the students left the teacher turned to me and said 'I think it went well, apart from them talking over each other.' I said 'Yes, some of them were telling the others to be quiet'. 'Yes', said the teacher, 'I hate it when they do that, but oh well'. 'Why don't you like it?' I asked. 'Because I say to them that they just need to ignore the person who is talking. If he notices that nobody is listening he'll stop anyway. I always say to the 8th years when they do this, that I want to see them finish primary school, finish secondary school, and finish college before they start telling people to be quiet. I say to them 'Until then, you are the student' (Observation notes, 21/06/11).

355.   The Portuguese teacher said that sometimes he tries putting the students in pairs during his lessons, to respond to a questionnaire together, specifically to encourage them to learn to discuss and work in partnership, to share and hear the ideas of the other (Conversation with teacher, 26/04/11).

356.   *I say to them that I don't want them to say 'yes sir'. I detest it more than anything when they say 'yes sir'. I really want the student to question. If I make a mistake, and the student tells me I got it wrong – and often I make mistakes just so the students can discover that I did, and tell me that I got it wrong. The students say 'Teacher' and I go to him and he whispers 'it's wrong'. I say 'you have to say, say it loudly – 'Teacher! Teacher you made a mistake! You need to correct it!' and I make a big deal out of it and the students like the game. But a week goes by and it carries on like this [whispers] 'teacher, there's a mistake there'* (Teacher, 06/06/11).

357.   *Teacher 3: But I want to speak to you all during our time today, so see if you can think about something that we could do, because, talking… I think we are already talking [to the students about their behaviour]…*
Teacher 1: I think it's like this: Like a history teacher said at SESI, I said to her 'it's funny, the students…' there was a student that complained that they were being racially discriminated against. And the family came, the mother all indignant, and I said to her 'it's funny, I spent so much time working on this with them last year', and she said 'Yes but the thing is, you have to tell them, I have to tell them, this teacher, that teacher… if EVERYONE told them, then they would understand. But if one person tells them and the other person tells them the opposite of what you said…'
Teacher 3: When we tell them here, when they go outside… it gets a bit lost…
(Conversation with teachers, 09/05/11).

358.   *A teacher talked about how she had a headache today because of the fifth years who had all been messing around and she had shouted at them so much today, until she had got to a point where she said to them 'I'm here working, to sustain my family, my son is waiting for me at home to earn his bread, you know, daily bread'. 'I get so frustrated', she reflected, 'when I try to do something serious with them. I was trying to do this mapping of the classroom, you know?'* (Conversation with teacher, 11/04/11).

359.   *BR: Sometimes the students are harassing the teacher and the teacher runs around after the student* (Student comment, 28/06/11).

360.   *The teacher was complaining about the 5th year students today, who 'disrespected me until I felt the need to send them out the class, saying 'this is to show you all that when I say I'll send you out I was telling the truth'. I only give lessons by shouting at them – I said to them 'I only give lessons to you by shouting, this is really bad'* (Teacher comment, 13/06/11).

361.   What I will say to you is that it's dangerous here, and if one day a teacher loses their patience and hits a student to leave a mark, all the teachers' lives will be at risk down here (Teacher comment, 09/05/11).

362.   The teacher told me how she had separated a fight, and then argued with the mother of one of the students. She said she arrived at school and saw a group of small boys hitting another small boy, who had fallen to the ground. The teacher picked up the boy who was being beaten, and asked the others to go upstairs to the school director's office. They didn't go, and remained agitated. She shouted for them to go upstairs, and they did. She followed them up and passed the mother of one of the students who had been hitting the other boy. She had a small baby in her arms, and got very angry with the teacher. She shouted at the teacher 'don't you shout like this at my son, you are not an educator!' The teacher had to go up to her class and asked the mother to wait, as she would come back to speak with her. 'When I got to the classroom I was nearly crying, and I said that I shouldn't have come to work today', she told me. She had then gone back downstairs to where the mother was waiting in the School Director's office. The mother was still angry, and the teacher asked her to hear her out. 'They were hitting the boy' the teacher said to the mother, 'and he had fallen to the ground. I couldn't pass by and do nothing. Sometimes you have to shout to end the fight – there's no other way. Don't you sometimes shout at home just to end something and then talk about it afterwards?' (Conversation with teacher, 12/04/11).

363.   After the students disclosed details of teachers behaving abusively in the classroom, the teacher summarised the conversation thus:

Teacher 1: People, it's been great. I think we need to reflect on these things that we… and that the teacher, what I ask you, it's been ages since I last asked but what I always used to ask you all when I went to get you from your classes. Whether you learnt more than yesterday (Observation notes, 16/06/11).

364.   Student 1: Every time the school… I feel that the teacher arrives in the classroom and he doesn't… doesn't… for example RB he threatens each of us and these days he lost his patience.
Student 2: Is he a student?
Student 1: He's a teacher.
Teacher 1: He's a teacher. [Changes subject] And you started to say that [your behaviour is] the student's and the school's responsibility? (Student comment, 28/06/11).

365.   The Pedagogical Coordinator read out a text outlining her role. In one part she said 'and deal with the violence that comes from the… family, right? It doesn't come from the school, it comes from the family' (Pedagogical meeting, 19/05/18).

366.   I asked the teacher if he thought G [a student] had really changed. 'He really has changed', he replied. 'Because of the project, do you think?' I asked. 'Not just because of the project' he replied, 'but because of that conversation that I make a custom of having with all of them, where I say 'it's only you that is going to lose out, because I won't lose anything' and then they start to realise that that [behaviour] doesn't get them anywhere, and he starts to become a bit more conscious that he's the only one that's going to lose out' (Conversation with teacher, 09/05/11).

367.   The school director said that the teachers shouldn't take the students' aggression personally. She said she knew that a student had argued with a teacher this week, saying 'shut up I don't want to listen to you any more', and that at times the teacher is tired and loses patience, but what she had already heard – swearing at the student, threatening them, cursing, (the third year teachers have already broken the chalk box from hitting it on the table so many times to silence the class), shouting – this doesn't amount to anything. She said that the teachers should know that the student's problems are not with the teachers, but come from outside [the school]. 'You threated the boy but what does he have? Both parents in prison... there's no point saying that you're armed because he'll say he has a bigger gun'. She had already heard someone saying this to a student (Pedagogical meeting, 19/05/11).

368.   Teacher 1 blames students for disruptions without acknowledging teacher violence: What you've all said about responsibility – I see here that most of you, most of you want to learn, right people? I see that the 5th years, out of the 4 classes, I see that most of the students want to learn. And you are all letting – you and the other students too – are letting that minority that doesn't want to learn, that just wants to mess around, take control. Understand? You're doing this. This is in 5D, you're letting three, four students, take control and you go along with it. This is in 5C, 5B and 5A. You're letting three, four student people, dominate. You understand? So, you will have to think too, we will have to have this conversation with the classes too, won't we? Shall we let these people who don't want to study dominate?
Student: No (Conversation between teacher and students, 16/06/11).

369.   Today I went to tell off 5D, and I said to them 'People, I'm barely bothered by your messing around. What I'm worried about is whether you are learning something, which is what you should be doing. You only come here to cause havoc, what are you learning? The end of the year will come and you will look at yourselves and think 'what have we learnt during the whole year?' And I asked them 'Anything?' And then a student put up their hand and said 'Teacher, teacher BRN isn't coming to teach us anymore'. I said 'I want to say that teacher BRN is an excellent science teacher, and doesn't want to come here anymore. Look what you are missing'. I said 'So and so is on medical leave, look what you are all

missing'. I said 'So and so is on medical leave'. I said 'Look what you're all missing!' With your messing around'. I said 'Of course it's not all of you, but those who cause havoc…' I mean, I spoke urgently to JL, to MRT… JL has an arrogance, a petulance, and I said that I want MRT here urgently. Because, I said 'Look, we want you all, collaborating with us. And Vice-versa. Not treating us as if we were your enemies, and coming here to create havoc' (Teacher, 23/05/11).

370.   *Leaving the school with two teachers […] we passed a young man […] speaking aggressively on a mobile phone. He was telling how he had beat someone up 'And then I grabbed him and I went like this, PAH'. When we were in the car one teacher said 'Did you hear that guy talking about the beating that he gave someone?' And the other teacher commented 'I don't want to imagine what goes on inside those tenements'* (Field notes, 14/04/11).

371.   *She said that also, with students from private school, their parents spend time with them and 'educate' them at home, telling them not to drop litter, etc. In public school sometimes nobody provides this orientation to the child, and nobody tells them not to drop litter, etc. She said that in private schools the students have disagreements sometimes, but not like at DCX. 'Here the children hit each other directly, I have never seen so many children hitting each other'. She said that if a child sees people swearing all the time at home then he will also swear all the time, and this 'education' is missing for the students at DCX* (Conversation with teacher, 11/06/11).

372.   *When the students went home, the teacher told me that N had finished writing the editorial, and the last phrase was 'and teachers not turning up to work is just as harmful as cigarettes'. He said he was impressed by the concept and the connection between cigarettes being harmful to health and a lack of teachers being just as harmful* (Field notes, 02/06/11).

373.   *The workshop leader shows the students some photos he took of the local region. The Cathedral, nearby squares, etc.*
Workshop Leader: It's a series of photos of the Centre. And the centre is beautiful. Many people think it's an ugly place because it's an abandoned and exhausted place…
Student: It's not an abandoned and exhausted place, it's an exhausted and abandoned place.
Workshop leader chuckles wryly (Workshop observations, 31/05/11).

374.   *JS said 'Our environment and transport ministers never work, I've never seen them working'* (Field diary, 18/06/11).

375.   *I feel anxious because it's a place full of people, and ashamed (Student, 28/06/11).*

376.   *I don't feel comfortable, I'm scared of being teased* (Student, 28/06/11).

377.   *No, because firstly I'm shy and feel ashamed, and secondly because I don't feel comfortable in the discussion circle* (Student, 28/06/11).

378.   *No because I'm afraid of getting something wrong* (Student, 28/06/11).

379.   *No, because it's possible that I'll say something that doesn't have anything to do with what they're talking about* (Student, 28/06/11).

Appendix Three: Themes, Codes and Sub-Codes Used in Data Analysis.

Thwarted self-actualisation through lack of space to run, play, and 'blow off steam'

Experience of racism

Experience of trauma

    Experience of trauma: miscellaneous reasons

    Experience of trauma: Parental abuse/neglect

    Experience of trauma: Witnessing violence in tenements

    Experience of trauma: Sexual exploitation/abuse

Parental inability to provide sufficient care and supervision

    Low levels of parental literacy

        Results in child having difficulty engaging in school activities, and low self-esteem

    Lack of access to mainstream 'cultural products'

        Results in child having difficulty engaging with curriculum due to unfamiliarity of references

    Parents struggling to cope

    Parental poverty

    Low levels of 'education' i.e. guidance and socialisation

        Results in teachers trying to take on parenting role with students

    Child has responsibilities in the home

        Cleaning and cooking

        Childcare

    Irregular sleep patterns

        Results in poor school attendance, too tired to engage in learning

    Parental absence

        Due to work

        Due to family breakdown or death

        Due to incarceration

        Absent fathers a particular issue for many children

Awareness of underclass status

    Awareness of neighbourhood neglect

    Awareness of life chances

    Awareness of social inequality and relation between money and power

Not feeling valued by those in power

Awareness of being in 'second class' education

Low expectations of self

Low self-esteem

    Lack of confidence to express oneself

    Low self-esteem linked to low literacy

Lack of self-acceptance, difficulty accepting praise, low resiliency to cope with challenges, putting others down, unassertive (passive, aggressive, or passive-aggressive) behaviour

Learnt violent epistemology (not specifically through schooling)

    Exposure to gun/weapon violence

    Exposure to glorified violence in music

    Exposure to police violence

    Exposure to parental violence

    Exposure to violence and bribery in tenements/neighbourhood

    Exposure to hierarchies of standards related to body image

    Exposure to objectifying language

Teacher experience brought from outside of school

    Overwhelm from witnessing social neglect in local neighbourhood

    Awareness of precariousness of student life

    Fear for own safety due to threat from armed gang leaders

Systemic violence against teachers and its impact

    Low teacher pay, lack of training and professional development opportunities, lack of sufficient clinical and professional supervision, lack of clarity on boundaries of role

        Low pay = over working

            Exhaustion results in lower quality engagement with students

            Teaching in two schools leads to lateness which disrupts students and other teachers

        Feeling of being undervalued professionally

        Feeling expected to take on the role of parents but not supported to do so

    Precarious contracting = lack of stability and inability to plan effectively

    Lack of time, energy and opportunities for personal and professional

development

Lack of appropriate pre-service and in-service training

Lack of training and supervision leads to higher levels of teacher anxiety, regarding student behaviour, and perpetuation of violent/negligent forms of managing student behaviour

Lack of clinical and professional supervision

Lack of clinical supervision leads to over-spill and saturation

Lack of professional supervision leads to inconsistencies in reflexive praxis

Vicious cycle of low staffing – increased pressure = increased medical leave and attrition = low staffing

Impact of low staffing and inability to meet student needs

Increased pressure on teachers not to meet own needs for self-care

Burnout, overwhelm, compassion fatigue, vicarious traumatisation

Awareness of deprivation in the education system

Sensory overwhelm in school environment

Compassion fatigue leads to overreactions and lack of emotional stability

Burnout seen as inevitable

Aggression, depression, instability, poor health, inability to continue (withdrawal)

Impacts on teacher wellbeing, increases likelihood of medical leave and attrition, and further reduces teacher ability to meet student needs appropriately (increases teacher aggression and negligence)

Impact of further medical leave and attrition: a self-perpetuating cycle

Inability to manage an alternative

Difficulty implementing ideas for change

Lack of resources = harder to respond to challenges creatively

Resistance from management and colleagues who feel unable to invest energy and resources in implementing change

Lack of a sense of personal efficacy

Lack of mutual support and co-working

Lack of overall coherence in staff body

Lack of communication across staff body

Lack of proactivity

Lack of mutual support and co-working between teachers

Cliques, in/out groups, subsumption of majority needs by

minority needs

Lack of ability to understand motivations for actions of other teachers

Lack of mutual support and co-working

Generates frustration and disaffection

Lack of mutual support and co-working between school and parents

Lack of mutual support and co-working between school and DRE/DOT

Lack of inter-agency working

Impact on students, who mirror cliquey behaviour

Violence against students and its impact

Hierarchical and punitive system

Control of student movement, surveillance

Lack of space for students to express their own ideas

Students often told off for talking

Students asked questions in ways that expect students to give 'correct' answer, or to say what teacher expects of them

Students feel unheard

Students fear making mistakes or saying the wrong thing

Students rely on teachers to monitor and manage their behaviour

Some teachers like authoritarian approach because it 'gets things done', and don't see students as equals

Teachers expected (by students) to manage student behaviour in classroom, and students 'lose control' when teachers are absent

Students show more respect for authoritarian, and bully teachers who are not strict or 'cool'

Students rely on teachers to tell them what to do

Students being accustomed to being told what to do, impacts on their self-motivation to act autonomously

Teachers under pressure to keep students busy

Teachers expected by school to maintain authority and manage student behaviour in classroom

A lot of pressure on teachers, results in aggressive and controlling behaviour by teachers (teacher violence, shouting normalised)

Disruptive classroom relations impact on student learning

Behaviour monitoring reinforces students' self-objectifying images, i.e. self as 'bad'

Students understand 'respect' to mean obedience and pleasing the teacher

  Students blame selves and take responsibility for teacher violence

  Teachers see respect as something to be imposed

  Students mimic authoritarian style of teachers

Students see themselves as accountable to authority and not responsible for own actions

  Students curb behaviour because it's 'wrong' and 'you shouldn't do it', not because they understand the ethical implications of behaviour

  This mirror's society's reliance on the rule of law rather than experiential coherence and ethics

  Students will do anything to avoid accountability (which equals punishment by teachers or parents) and often threaten each other or use bribes and false friendships to keep each other silent about indiscretions

  Students struggle to understand where responsibility lies for their behaviour

Alienated/objectifying relations between teachers and students

  Suspicion, lack of trust

  Students see teachers as something to rebel against, not as people carrying out work

  Disciplinary/blaming/combative/disapproving/coercive/intimidating approach – not intersubjective

  Students blamed for 'messing around' but teacher violence not acknowledged in front of students. Student violence seen as coming wholly from outside school.

  School's role in student behaviour not acknowledged

  Students do not feel that the school is their space, don't hold genuine respect for school, equipment, materials, or teachers

  Student behave and relate differently with teachers outside of school environment.

Defensive system

Physical defence through locks, bars, gates, police, 'inspectors' and door wardens

Defensive interpersonal relations

  Students act out of 'self-preservation' through violence, bullying and threats

> > Staff behave defensively and use threats and weapons to intimidate

> Homogeneous system unable to respond to student need

> > Policies designed/implemented to please international development goals, not to meet the needs of students necessarily

> > > Tempo integral

> > > Think Quest

> > Not able to provide enough staff to meet complex needs of students

> > > Teachers unable to give personal attention to students most of the time

> > > Teachers unable to meet students' learning needs

> > > Teachers unable to meet students' emotional needs

> > No appropriate tuition for students with SEN

> > Space cannot be adapted to meet student need

> > Inflexible time constraints

> > Homogeneous curriculum perpetuates awareness of underclass status

> > > Norma Culta

> > > References to popular culture which students are excluded from

> > Teachers not accustomed to considering and adapting for students' needs

> > Students expected to fit in to existing system, system not adapted to meet needs of new demographic

> > > Behaviour the doesn't fit existing structure is suppressed rather than addressing its underlying causes

> > Preference to transfer students to other schools as unable to meet their needs

> > Students and teachers expected to leave dimensions of themselves outside school

> Objectifying and labelling students

> > Teachers label students

> > > Danado

> > > Da pa virada

> > > Marginal

> > > Mal

> > > Idiota

> > > Scoundrel

Terrible

That race

Students reproduce labelling

Bagaço

Idiota

Burra

Learnt violent epistemology (Likely from schooling)

Teachers practice violent epistemology

Homophobia and racism

Teachers push violence to the margins of awareness

Students mimic violent epistemology of teachers

Teacher violent epistemology interpreted by students as sanctions for physical violence

Students act out when teacher shouts

Epistemic contradictions in teacher practice

Teachers struggle over allowing students choice, freedom and responsibility

Teachers have limited understanding of autonomy

Teachers are authoritarian one moment, anti-authoritarian the next