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'PRACTICES' AND THE BODY BEYOND PHYSICAL EDUCATION: the educational proposal of CIEPs (1983/1987-1991/1994)

As 'práticas' e o corpo para além da educação física:
a proposta educacional dos CIEPs (1983/1987-1991/1994)

Las 'prácticas' y el cuerpo más allá de la educación física:
la propuesta educativa de los CIEPs (1983/1987-1991/1994)

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Abstract: The present study aimed to analyze how systematic bodily practices were incorporated into the curricular and architectural programs of Centro Integrado de Educação Pública (CIEPs). To do so, we selected the prescriptive curricular programs developed by the management team during the two administrations of Leonel Brizola, which are available in the physical collection of the Fundação Darcy Ribeiro. We observed that the discourse was centered around the triad of Education, Culture, and Health, and the documents reveal that all competencies should have been addressed for civic education. However, this does not mean that these ideals were materialized as a pedagogical tradition or practice at the time in the implemented curriculum.

Keywords: bodily practices; curricular program; school architecture.

Resumo: O presente estudo buscou analisar como as práticas corporais sistematizadas foram contempladas no programa curricular e arquitetônico dos Centros Integrados de Educação Pública (CIEPs). Para tal, foram selecionados os programas curriculares prescritivos da equipe gestora nos dois governos de Leonel Brizola, disponíveis no acervo físico da Fundação Darcy Ribeiro. Observamos que o discurso centrava-se na tríade Educação, Cultura e Saúde e os documentos revelam que todas as competências deveriam ser trabalhadas para formação cidadã, mas isso não significa que, no currículo praticado, tais ideais se materializaram como uma tradição pedagógica ou prática na época.

Palavras-chave: práticas corporais; programa curricular; arquitetura escolar.

Resumen: El presente estudio buscó analizar cómo se contemplaron las prácticas corporales sistematizadas en el programa curricular y arquitectónico de los Centros Integrados de Educação Pública (CIEPs). Para ello, seleccionamos los programas curriculares prescriptivos del equipo de gestión durante las dos administraciones de Leonel Brizola, disponibles en el acervo físico de la Fundação Darcy Ribeiro. Observamos que el discurso se centraba en la tríada de Educación, Cultura y Salud, y los documentos revelan que todas las competencias debían ser abordadas para la formación ciudadana. Sin embargo, esto no significa que, en el currículo practicado, tales ideales se materializaran como una tradición pedagógica o práctica en ese momento.

Palabras clave: prácticas corporales; programa curricular; arquitectura escolar.

INTRODUCTION

This article seeks to elucidate how bodily 'practices'¹ were included in the documents produced by the management team of the *Centros Integrados de Educação Pública*² (CIEPs) and how they were part of the strategies to expand the school period. The CIEPs, popularly known as *Brizolões*, were developed in the *Programas Especiais de Educação*³ (I PEE and II PEE), during the governments of Leonel Brizola in Rio de Janeiro, in 1983/1987 and 1991/1994. The development and implementation of these programs were based on increasing the length of time students and teachers spent at school, offering cultural, sporting, artistic and physical education activities to serve, mainly, children from the lower classes.

The CIEPs' pedagogical proposal was based on the assumption that school inequalities could only be reduced with a quality education, with longer periods inside the classroom and different training experiences. Darcy Ribeiro⁴ mentions that middle or upper class children had school as one of several educational opportunities offered by the family. On the other hand, for the child of the working classes, school was the only possibility of acquiring experiences and cultural capital that could mitigate social inequalities. The main task of the CIEPs program, according to Darcy Ribeiro's terms, was: "[...] to introduce the child to the domain of the cultured code, but valuing the experience and background of each one of them. The school [should] serve as a bridge between the knowledge already acquired by the student and the formal knowledge required by literate society"⁵ (Ribeiro, 1986, p. 48). In this sense, the role of the school could not be restricted to just teaching the popular classes to read and write, as, first of all, it should provide experiences, tools, knowledge and codes of sociability that would allow the children of the popular classes to enter society as citizens with rights (Ribeiro, 1986).

¹ The term 'practices', in this study, is used in the sense of Certeau (2011), in which they follow criteria and are classified according to categories that aim at different objectives, as they reveal a formality. Therefore, one of the historian's tasks would be to measure the distances, or relationships, between the formalities of practices and representations. This operation makes it possible to analyze what is designed and planned through practices and, at the same time, observe how they can achieve new meanings by different subjects in a cultural dynamic.

² NT: *Integrated Public Education Centers*, freely translated.

³ *Special Educational Programs*, freely translated.

⁴ Darcy Ribeiro (1922-1997) was a renowned Brazilian anthropologist, writer, politician and educator. He stood out for his contributions in the area of education, being one of the main creators of the University of Brasília (UnB) and the project of the Integrated Public Education Centers (CIEPs) in Rio de Janeiro. He was also vice-governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro during the administration of Leonel Brizola. As Minister of Education and Culture, his policies also sought to strengthen public higher education and value the country's cultural diversity.

⁵ TN: "[...] introduzir a criança no domínio do código culto, mas valorizando a vivência e bagagem de cada uma delas. A escola [deveria] servir de ponte entre os conhecimentos já adquiridos pelo aluno e o conhecimento formal exigido pela sociedade letrada" (Ribeiro, 1986, p. 48). (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

It was not just an instruction program for the popular classes, it was, above all, an educational proposal that had a civilizing and emancipatory perspective aimed at enabling students to fight for a dignified and civic life, being, therefore, a project 'from the Age of Enlightenment' aimed at the emancipation of these subjects (Bomeny, 2001). Through education, the creators of CIEPs intended to train critical and autonomous individuals, capable of understanding their rights and duties and acting in favor of the common good. Thus, education, in the vision of its creators, would become a tool for social transformation, capable of promoting justice and equality for all.

The arts, leisure, initiation into work, all of this should fit into the space allocated to the school for modern metropolitan life (Bomeny, 2001), where linguistic learning, recognition of one's own culture and the formation of attitudes and habits would be recognized. Darcy Ribeiro considered the learning of standard language, of attitudes and basic information about the functioning of society as guiding points to be worked on in primary education at CIEPs.

We start from the hypothesis that the agent body, with health care and physical practices⁶ in the school space, was central in the construction of the CIEPs curricula in a full-time school. Sociological studies that take the body as an object, understand it as a place where subjectivation processes are inscribed in society, so that cultural and social interventions are decisive in the acquisition of habits, gestures and the construction of collective and individual identities. Le Breton (2007) indicates that the formation of children born in the Amazon Rainforest or in Tokyo will be determined by the social group that will develop their dispositions during the course of the long educational process in their respective societies. The body in the school context is not understood here as an organism or as a mere mechanism, but rather as an expression of the subject and the entire cultural process of subjectivation to which they were subjected.

The body metaphorized the social and the social metaphorized the body. Within the body, social and cultural possibilities develop. Different representations and values are attributed to the organs and functions of the human body from one society to another. Sometimes, within the same society, they also differ according to the social classes present (Le Breton, 2007, p. 70)⁷.

⁶ The notion of physical practices and activities concerns all types of activities, experiences and prescriptions aimed at students' movements within the school space, for the practice of physical and recreational exercises, sporting activities, popular or folkloric dances, performing arts, leisure etc.

⁷ TN: O corpo metaforiza o social e o social metaforiza o corpo. No interior do corpo são as possibilidades sociais e culturais que se desenvolvem. Aos órgãos e às funções do corpo humano são atribuídas representações e valores diferentes de uma sociedade para outra. Algumas vezes, no interior de uma mesma sociedade, diferem também conforme as classes sociais em presença (Le Breton, 2007, p. 70). (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

Bodies are, in addition to schooling, managed by other social institutions (family, army, sports clubs, cultural centers, church, etc.) which also shape, naturalize and legitimize values, habits and sensibilities. Educating the body, therefore, represents a sociological notion understood as a set of devices used in interventions and agencies carried out in and through individuals' bodies, intentionally or naturalized in social life. Mauss (2003) argues that body techniques are forms of social action that manifest themselves through the body. They are learned, transmitted and incorporated by individuals in a specific society, influencing their way of moving, expressing themselves and relating to others. In fact, the Maussian project created an inflection, by taking 'body techniques' as an object of investigation to observe and denaturalize how different cultures shape bodies. Such techniques are socialized so that individuals know how to use their bodies in different spaces and environments and in the social functions determined in each society (Elias, 1994; Mauss, 2003). The education of young people is closely associated with 'practices' centered on the body, such as dances, rhythms, sports (Brown, 2019), which is why such practices highlight the normative dimension of curricular documents that prescribe experiences of enjoyment, discipline and self corporal control, thus constituting a certain type of morality.

The school environment also builds bodily agencies to form dispositions in students that relate to functionality, morality, aesthetics and values advocated both in that space and in society. The school produces direct interventions on the body through school rules, internal regulations, scheduled timetables, architecture and the offer of the most varied disciplines, including, among these, those focused on expression, control, discipline and mastery of systematized body techniques.

The specialized literature has used the term institutionalized 'body practices' to refer to an articulated set of knowledge and body practices that constitute sport, physical education, gymnastics, dance and various types of entertainment (Melo, 2014); or even as 'physical education practices' (Góis Júnior & Soares, 2018). However, these concepts give centrality, mainly, to the historical institutionalization of the Physical Education curricular component. In order to outline a broader concept that would speak of bodily practices beyond the traditional discipline responsible for physical education, Gurgel (2018) conceptualizes 'systematized bodily practices' as disciplines, activities or content with the aim of teaching specific 'body techniques' and values, disseminated in different times and spaces in the school curriculum: dance, performing arts, sports, games, health care, among others that occur in different curricular spaces and times.

CIEPs were designed to offer comprehensive student training, and, to this end, 'systematized bodily practices' would be one of the strategies for thinking about education in a broad and diversified way, seeking a certain civility or discipline that would be functional both to the emancipation of popular layers regarding school management. Advancing this argument, the formulators of this education project were clear that, for a child or adolescent to remain at school for the entire day, they

must be offered bodily activities and new experiences not common to standardized curricula; activities that give new meaning to school in the lives of students. School, for Darcy Ribeiro, should be about happy and encouraging new experiences. We will see that the curricular organization of the CIEPs considered 'bodily practices' in detail, not limiting them to the Physical Education subject.

Allied to the 'practices', certain spaces were marked by a specific school architecture, because, between flesh and stone, the "[...] school in its different embodiments is a product of each time, and its constructive forms are, in addition to the supports of collective and cultural memory, the symbolic expression of dominant values in different eras"⁸ (Viñao Frago & Escolano Benito, 2001, p. 47). Likewise, Faria Filho (1998) understands school spaces as discourses that highlight a system of values. For Ermel and Bencostta (2019, p. 22), "[...] some gaps need to be better investigated, both from the point of view of time frames and new thematic perspectives [...]"⁹, hence the study of different educational projects and their respective architectures, which is fundamental to build dialogues and comparisons between different times and spaces in the history of Brazilian education. In fact, the architectural design of the CIEPs enhanced the agency of bodies, in addition to other educational dimensions.

The focus of this article was to analyze how 'systematized bodily practices' were prescribed in the CIEPs' curricular and architectural program, which means that we observed the possibilities offered for the agency of bodies in this full-time school project. Our sources were the programs and disciplines explained in the curricular documents, as well as the prescriptions on the use of school equipment that informed the possibilities of enjoyment and corporal discipline in CIEPs.

THE PATHWAY OF THIS RESEARCH

We observed CIEPs as an educational policy in the state of Rio de Janeiro during the governments of Leonel Brizola in 1983-1987 and 1991-1994, since, between these two terms, there was the Moreira Franco government (1987-1991). We did not carry out a comparative analysis between these two periods of policy implementation in the Brizola governments, although we recognize that there were differences in pedagogical management and human resources in the two mandates. As already announced, we explored 'the systematized bodily practices' described in the documents produced by the curriculum management team. This is due to the fact that

⁸ TN: "[...] escola em suas diferentes concretizações é um produto de cada tempo, e suas formas construtivas são, além dos suportes de memória coletiva e cultural, a expressão simbólica dos valores dominantes nas diferentes épocas" (Viñao Frago & Escolano Benito, 2001, p. 47) (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

⁹ TN: "[...] algumas lacunas necessitam ser melhor investigadas, tanto do ponto de vista dos recortes temporais como de novas prospecções temáticas [...]" (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

the transition between programs resulted in changes in the management team, which brought new work approaches, experiences and strategies. Furthermore, each phase of the program had distinct characteristics. While the first program focused on the elaboration and formulation of the CIEPs' guiding bases, the second program was marked by adjustments and reformulations.

We analyzed the administrative documents related to the Special Secretariat of Education, available at the Darcy Ribeiro Memorial, from the Darcy Ribeiro Foundation (FUNDAR), in Brasília. This stage consisted of surveying the main primary sources on the *Programa Especial de Educação* (PEE) and the CIEPs policy. The set of documents includes books from the first and second PEE, namely: general and administrative reports, interviews, internal regulations, human resources, various photos, personal files and pedagogical material produced by teams of specialists and by Darcy Ribeiro; in short, everything linked to the educational proposal of CIEPs. Finally, we organized an analysis model that considered the following dimensions: i) spaces and equipment intended for body 'practices', observing the number of floors, rooms appropriate for music, theater, performing arts, physical education classes, hygiene facilities, in addition to furniture; ii) time related to the allocation and distribution of the daily and weekly schedule for bodily 'practices'; iii) curricular structuring of proposals, activities and subjects treated, systematically and didactically, as bodily 'practices'.

SPACE, TIME AND REQUIREMENTS IN THE CIEPS

The CIEPs project was launched as a possibility to offer a public, secular and quality education in a full-time period school, whose objective was to overcome social and cultural deficiencies of students from the lower classes. The extended school time and school architecture formed two articulated devices that were intended to bring about changes in 'school culture' (Julia, 2001). Such changes necessarily involved discipline and the possibilities of enjoying the body during school time and space.

Thus, the architecture of the CIEPs aimed to materialize a certain 'school culture', in which the educational project fostered certain behaviors and habits that go beyond disciplinary learning (Faria Filho, Vidal, & Paulilo, 2004). Therefore, it is necessary to understand the plurality of 'school culture', better said, 'school cultures', as, depending on the object of study, multiple experiences of teaching, learning, coexistence, socialization, regulation and subversion must be considered (Vidal, 2007). The study of these 'cultures' takes into account the ways in which subjects relate to 'practices', as school is a place of constant negotiation between what is imposed and what is practiced (Vidal, 2005).

There are several studies in the specialized literature that have approached the education of bodies as a research topic in the History of Education (Soares, 2021; Taborda de Oliveira & Vaz, 2004). Quitzau and Moreno (2021, p. 4) state that “[...] numerous authors have dedicated themselves to thinking about these issues, and the variety of publications that address the numerous practices and representations about the body are an indication of the consolidation of this theme in the historiographical scope”¹⁰. The authors rightly describe a growing movement of interest in relation to the body in the historiography of education (Quitzeau & Moreno, 2021). When observing the recent publication of the dossier ‘Body and history: the multiple processes of body education’ in the journal *Educação em Revista* (Quitzeau & Moreno, 2021), we noticed a tendency to problematize the theme through two aspects: one focusing on the discipline Physical Education, and another problematizing the education of bodies outside the school context. Both initiatives are important, however, our study aims at another perspective in which the problematization of the education of bodies is closely linked to ‘school cultures’, without, however, being restricted to the Physical Education discipline. It would be a perspective similar to that of Taborda de Oliveira and Linhares (2011, p. 404), in which a possible history of the body seeks to “[...] understand permanencies and ruptures that marked the relationship between schooling and the body of education”¹¹. Therefore, the originality of this study lies in the analysis of an unprecedented corpus of documents about CIEP, based on a problematization that gives centrality to the education of bodies within the framework of ‘school’ cultures.

It is possible to identify some of these devices in the education of bodies during periods reserved for it, for instance, for body hygiene ‘practices’ (bathing time, oral hygiene and lectures on hygiene), in the infrastructure dedicated to various activities, in training lectures/ training of school agents, the institution of medical and dental staff and the meals offered four times a day, breakfast, lunch, snack, dinner and daily bath (Moreira, 2015). CIEPs were designed to be a school with “[...] an adequate and dignified environment, conducive [...] [to] physical and cultural growth [...]”^{12,13} of students, as highlighted in the guiding documents.

In addition to teaching literacy, mathematical operations and socializing the norms of the cultured language, the objective of this school model was also to allow bodily experiences and socialize knowledge and habits so that children from the lower classes

¹⁰ TN: “[...] numerosos autores vêm se dedicando a pensar estas questões, e a variedade de publicações que abordam as numerosas práticas e representações sobre o corpo são um indício da consolidação desta temática no âmbito historiográfico”. (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

¹¹ TN: “[...] compreender permanências e rupturas que marcaram a relação entre escolarização e educação do corpo”. (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

¹² TN: “[...] ambiente adequado e digno, propício [...] [ao] crescimento físico e cultural [...]” (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

¹³ Excerpt taken from the Darcy Ribeiro Memorial Physical Archive. Reference: DR.GBII/pee. 1994.00.00 – Folder 5.

could insert themselves and act in a Brazil that was redemocratizing. According to the documents produced by the program's management team, the linguistic-cultural experience would be associated with the learning of the Portuguese language as an integrating link between all disciplines; sociopolitics would refer to the construction of the student's personality and attitudes; and, finally, the guideline linked to content would highlight the main guiding points of the respective subject areas¹⁴.

The pedagogical and civilizing model, designed by Darcy e al. (Bomeny, 2009), brought in their discourse respect and recognition of the popular classes as social groups endowed with knowledge and cultures. In the discursive field, Darcy thought of a universalist, secular and republican education and, in an ad hoc way, valued the knowledge and culture brought by students. This meant considering the community's culture not in a way that reproduced it uncritically, nor did it reject it as something lesser.

In general, the act of educating is based on the assumption that the student's culture has nothing to do with school. Ignoring the culture they bring, it is assumed that all children, when they enter school, are the same. But society presents inequalities and schools end up favoring children who have greater access to electronic means of communication (such as TV, video), who more frequently handle history books and newspapers and who, in their own family environment, are exposed to subjects related to those who will enter the school¹⁵.

As the knowledge taught at school has been appropriated by the dominant sectors of society, children belonging to the lower classes have a cultural background that is far from what is taught at school. On the other hand, these children have a series of knowledge and skills built in the fight for survival, within their social relationships that, in general, are ignored by teachers from the middle sectors of the population (Ribeiro, 1986, p. 98)¹⁶.

¹⁴ Excerpt taken from the Darcy Ribeiro Memorial Physical Archive. Reference: DR.GBII/pee.1994.00.00 Folder IV.

¹⁵ TN: De modo geral, o ato de educar parte do pressuposto de que a cultura do aluno nada tem a ver com a escola. Ignorando a cultura que ele traz, supõe-se que todas as crianças, ao entrarem na escola, sejam iguais. Mas a sociedade apresenta desigualdades e a escola termina privilegiando as crianças que têm maior acesso aos meios eletrônicos de comunicação (como TV, vídeo), que manuseiam com maior frequência livros de história, jornais e que, no próprio ambiente familiar, estão expostas a assuntos relacionados aos que vão entrar na escola. (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

¹⁶ TN: Como o conhecimento trabalhado pela escola tem sido apropriado pelos setores dominantes da sociedade, a criança pertencente às camadas populares tem uma bagagem cultural distante do que é ensinado na escola. Por outro lado, esta criança tem uma série de conhecimentos e habilidades construídos na luta pela sobrevivência, no seio de suas relações sociais que, de modo geral, são ignoradas pelos professores oriundos dos setores médios da população (Ribeiro, 1986, p. 98). (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

This is an interesting rhetorical argument in the pedagogical field, when the perspective is to reconcile irreconcilable traditions: a) the civilizational dimension, which hierarchizes spirit/intellect and body, developed, underdeveloped and primitive peoples as well as refined and grotesque sensibilities; b) the romantic dimension, which considers its development based on the terms of culture, identities and popular knowledge (Lovisolo, 1990).

This reconciliation follows two paths that are difficult to implement in the school field: one would be to recognize cultural and class differences in order to value and/or empower the popular classes at school, making their knowledge legitimate by the same institution that delegitimizes them; and the other would be to consider the knowledge of the popular classes, what their children bring to school, as a methodological strategy, that is, as a starting point for the logic and knowledge they possess to introduce the so-called 'legitimate knowledge', which becomes an instrument of struggle in liberal and capitalist societies. The difficult reconciliation ends up giving popular knowledge and local identities a notion that is also fluid in pedagogical discourse, a peripheral place in the curriculum. Festivals, folk dances, popular music and cultural expressions inscribed in corporeality assume, in many cases, the marks of popular culture in school curricula. An indication of this is that the prescriptive documents of the CIEPs offered pedagogical mechanisms for teachers to act, valuing local knowledge and culture.

At school, children will learn how to speak the teacher's way, but to do so, it won't be convenient to correct them all the time, until they end up convincing themselves that they do not know how to speak. This was one of the types of pedagogical prescriptions for that new school that was emerging. These children would need to learn the rules of what the school considered as legitimate, since they are important conventions in our society, but not as absolute truths and values (Ribeiro, 1986). As a result, the CIEPs program dominated the perspective of socializing the civilizing values of discipline, self-discipline, cooperation and prospecting, essential values to academic success and integration into capitalist society (Souza, 2021). Monteiro (2009, p. 41) states that CIEPs followed a "[...] complex cultural operation, [a] process of cultural exchanges between different subjects – students, parents, community members, teachers and cultural animators – [which] implied disputes, resistance and differentiated appropriations"¹⁷. Thus, it is by observing the formality of 'practices' (Certeau, 2011) that we can interpret how educational project representations were received by teachers and students.

Time and space are two central categories for thinking about the fundamental elements in structuring the CIEPs program, as their objectives define priorities in the

¹⁷ TN: "[...] operação cultural complexa, [um] processo de trocas culturais entre diferentes sujeitos – alunos, pais, membros das comunidades, professores e animadores culturais – [o que] implicou disputas, resistências e apropriações diferenciadas". (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

curriculum. The organization, the division of time, the content of the subjects and the spaces offered were, as we will demonstrate, decisive for incorporating functional body techniques into 'school cultures'. We have to keep in mind that the CIEPs represented, at some level, a break with the school that previously existed in the education network in the state of Rio de Janeiro, which was part-time. Darcy wanted to put an end to the three-shift school, but he radicalized it by implementing the single-shift school, which, according to him, was common in other countries. This was, in fact, the first of the basic goals of the government's educational programming: "To end the third shift, in order to guarantee each child a minimum of five hours per day at school"¹⁸ (Ribeiro, 1986, p. 35).

The CIEPs were architecturally prepared and with programs and activities to keep students at school for more than eight hours a day. As Moreira (2015, p. 96, author's emphasis) argues, "[...] this new conception of education designed for CIEPs also required the construction of a 'school culture' distinct from the traditional school"¹⁹. The varied activities and the possibility of staying at school for longer could be decisive in boosting the formation of new subjectivities in that school model, which meant that this 'school culture', specifically, went through a type of socialization that had in its body a privileged place for inscribing new habits, disciplines and experiences.

It is necessary to spend time at school so that children with socio-cultural or other needs have equal educational conditions compared to middle-class children who have, in different spaces and throughout the day, access to different languages and circumstances. It takes time to acquire habits, values, and knowledge to exercise the rights and duties of a citizen in a complex society like Brazil in the 21st century. No one acquires hygiene habits without practicing it: it takes time to brush teeth; it takes time to critically read the images broadcast on television; time is needed to practice democratic values, in physical education, at meal times, in classroom discussions. And the need for time brings as a consequence the need for space. Adequate facilities are needed so that all students can brush their teeth and take a shower; an

¹⁸ TN: "Acabar com o terceiro turno, de modo a garantir a cada criança um mínimo de cinco horas diárias de permanência na escola" (Ribeiro, 1986, p. 35). (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

¹⁹ The concept of 'traditional school', referred to by Moreira (2015) and indicated by documents produced by the Brizola government, is associated with the public schools that were in operation at that time. These so-called traditional schools were characterized by partial shifts.

²⁰ TN: "[...] essa nova concepção de educação pensada para os CIEPs exigiu também a construção de uma 'cultura escolar' distinta da escola tradicional". (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

adequate cafeteria is necessary so that everyone can eat healthily (Maurício, 2007, p. 10)²¹.

In addition to classic subjects, such as Mathematics, Geography and Portuguese Language, the curriculum highlighted activities, classes and projects that allocated significant time for the students' body training in Physical Education, Cultural Entertainment, Health Education and Artistic Education.

The proposition of a 'school culture' specific to CIEPs was something thought of by the Brizola governments, as we can see in the 1994 Human Resources document, when recommending agencies and disciplines of bodies in that space:

[...] to create codes of behavior within the students themselves, making them establish the norms of coexistence; you can create sound or visual signals in which children identify permitted and prohibited attitudes; you can create an Ethics Council, with your class, to evaluate each person's attitudes; promote campaigns for purposes such as garbage collection, room cleaning, etc.²²²³

The construction of a new 'school culture' was based on the condition of a longer stay and exposure of students to school experiences. As a result, prescriptions such as the one mentioned above made it possible to guide interventions that sought to socialize norms, attitudes and procedures considered civilized in the use of that collective space. The objective was, according to the documents, to encourage students to become capable of respecting the collective space at school as a value and practice for a dignified life in the community²⁴.

²¹ TN: É necessário tempo de permanência na escola para que a criança com carências sócio culturais ou outras tenha igualdade de condições educacionais se comparamos com as crianças de classe média que têm, em espaços variados e ao longo do dia inteiro, acesso a linguagens e circunstâncias diversas. É necessário tempo para adquirir hábitos, valores, conhecimentos para exercer direitos e deveres de cidadão numa sociedade complexa como a brasileira do Século XXI. Ninguém adquire hábitos de higiene sem praticar: é necessário tempo para escovar dente; é necessário tempo para fazer leitura crítica das imagens veiculadas pela televisão; é necessário tempo para praticar valores democráticos, na educação física, na hora da refeição, nas discussões em sala de aula. E a necessidade de tempo traz como consequência a necessidade de espaço. São necessárias instalações adequadas para que todos os alunos possam escovar dente e tomar banho; é necessário refeitório adequado para que todos possam comer de forma saudável (Maurício, 2007, p. 10). (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

²² Trecho retirado do Arquivo Físico do Memorial Darcy Ribeiro. Referência: DR.GBII/pee. 1994.00.00 – pasta 3.

²³ TN: [...] criar códigos de comportamentos com os próprios alunos, fazendo com que eles mesmos estabeleçam as normas de convivência, poderá criar sinais sonoros ou visuais em que as crianças identifiquem atitudes permitidas e proibidas; poderá criar um Conselho de Ética, com sua turma, para avaliar atitudes de cada um; promover campanhas com finalidades como coleta de lixo, limpeza da sala, etc. (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

²⁴ Excerpt taken from the Darcy Ribeiro Memorial Physical Archive. Reference: DR.GBII/pee. 1994.00.00 – folder 3.

In another section, the CIEPs' guiding documents reinforced the encouragement to incorporate habits for that school space: "[...] the habit of speaking quietly, the habit of walking without rushing through the corridors, of taking part in various activities in turn, to take care of the material that is common to all"²⁵²⁶. The pedagogical prescriptions dialogue with the images of a school imagined as disorganized, in which students were not educated to share that space as something collective, which is everyone's responsibility. In fact, curricular prescriptions indicated that teachers should provide models of discipline and spaces for collective participation with the student body to generate self-discipline and self-control in that space and in everyday life.

The architectural design and the qualification of the space enhanced the agency of the body in the formation of habits, as is the case with the installation of walls with low partitions between the classrooms. Darcy said that it was necessary to educate society to speak quietly, so the low walls would have to force and raise awareness in the school community to control their tone of voice and not generate noise that would disrupt the harmony of the collective space. In Moreira, Góis and Soares (2019), it was possible to verify, in Oscar Niemeyer's interview with the newspaper *O Globo*, the statement that: "[...] a class does not need to be taught shouting"²⁷. In this case, we realized that the systematic education of the body was planned for students, teachers and school agents to experience the CIEPs, confirming the thesis that architecture was integrated into the pedagogical and curricular proposal and had civilizing ideals as its guide.

The acoustics of CIEP classrooms were frequently criticized during their implementation. According to Teixeira (1995), the architecture of the buildings, characterized by large open spaces, concrete walls and high ceilings, resulted in high levels of noise and reverberation in the classrooms. This condition hampered communication between teachers and students, making it difficult to understand classes. Furthermore, the lack of adequate acoustic insulation in classrooms aggravated the situation, especially for children with learning difficulties, who faced greater challenges in following classes due to poor acoustic quality (Teixeira, 1995). These acoustic issues represented a significant challenge and contributed to the high maintenance costs of CIEPs, which required investments in materials and techniques to improve the sound quality of classrooms (Santos, 2008).

The installation of wide ramps that connected the floors was designed to provide greater freedom of movement and education of bodies in the school space. In the CIEPs' guiding documents there were indications of pedagogical interventions to avoid rushing and shouting when circulating at school (Moreira, 2015).

²⁵ Trecho retirado do Arquivo Físico do Memorial Darcy Ribeiro. Referência: DR.GBII/pee. 1994.00.00 – pasta 3.

²⁶ TN: "[...] o hábito de falar baixo, hábito de andar sem correrias pelos corredores, de participar na sua vez, das diversas atividades, de cuidar do material que é comum a todos" (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

²⁷ TN: "[...] uma aula não precisa ser ministrada aos berros". (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

The idealization of a new 'school culture' in CIEPs, based on the formation of civilized habits and behaviors, involved structuring a school with spaces and times suitable for the functioning of school devices that produced transformations in the subjectivities of the actors who shared that training space. Such 'school culture' should trigger new forms of socialization and self-control of school actors, as well as encompass norms and knowledge that should be taught and learned. Tal movimento requeria um tipo de reapropriação do espaço que rompesse com as tradições e com a cultura daquela escola que rejeitavam. This movement required a type of reappropriation of the space that broke with the traditions and culture of that school that they rejected. The policy targeted teachers and other school agents and students, so it is no surprise that the CIEPs program envisaged training teachers and school agents for the new school that it aimed to implement on a large scale in the state.

Darcy: From the existing teaching staff, we are going to get the most dedicated teachers, the best, we are going to invite them, attract them so that they can join Brizolão, but they need to act as multipliers. You don't create new teachers from nothing, so our idea is that the more experienced teachers come to help us, but they come to help us form, above all, a new teaching profession. The new teaching professionals enter on a contract that is a type of scholarship, which they enter to have a year of in-service training, only if it works out that year. That in-service training is an intensive course in which they help in the educational work, but they are also helped. So we are going to create a very careful system, to carry out a kind of preliminary competition, to select all the girls who graduated from a normal school, graduating this year²⁸²⁹.

Architecture, by itself, would not be powerful or self-inductive to give new meaning to the uses of school spaces by teachers and students who brought other school experiences with them. The process of appropriating and using school spaces takes time to re-elaborate 'school culture' and traditions. Schooling for social actors and any

²⁸ Excerpt taken from the transcription of audio 102 - Interview by Darcy Ribeiro with *TV Americana UnB – Jornal de Brasília*. Date: 11/14/1986. This form of contracting was the target of much criticism, and the government backed down.

²⁹ TN: Darcy: Do professorado existente, nós vamos pegar os professores mais dedicados, os melhores, vamos convidá-los, atrair para que eles passem para o Brizolão, mas é preciso que eles atuem como multiplicadores. Você não faz novos professores a partir de nada, então a nossa ideia é que esses professores mais experientes venham nos ajudar, mas venham nos ajudar a formar, acima de tudo, um novo magistério. O novo Magistério entra por um contrato que é uma espécie de bolsa de estudos, que ele entra para ter um ano de treinamento em serviço, só se der certo naquele ano. Aquele treinamento em serviço é um curso intensivo em que ele dá alguma ajuda no trabalho educativo, mas ele é ajudado também. Então nós vamos fazer um sistema muito cuidadoso, de fazer uma espécie de concurso prévio, de selecionar toda a meninada formada em escola normal, forma-se esse ano (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese).

change in this regard is slow, despite the agencies caused by educational policies. Here the concept of 'school culture' is understood as "[...] a set of norms that define knowledge to be taught and behaviors to be inculcated, and a set of 'practices' that allow the transmission of this knowledge and the incorporation of these behaviors"³⁰ (Julia, 2001 p. 10, emphasis added). Therefore, 'school culture' is not only produced by the normative ideal of school functioning in which any policy wants to define it, as it is always a product of the interaction of social actors in the contested space of the curriculum, based on their experiences, perceptions and traditions. It is at this moment that 'practices' (Certeau, 2011) have their own dynamics marked by their formality and, therefore, can move away from representations, projects and plans.

The school architecture of CIEPs allowed students to have access to the experiences offered in the curriculum in appropriate locations. Appropriate spaces in a given architecture are also prescriptive aspects of the school curriculum (Ermel & Bencostta, 2019). In this way, students had medical and dental assistance, a medical center installed at CIEP itself, access to the library with collections to encourage the habit of reading, spaces to hold various sporting and cultural events in the Multipurpose Hall, among many other possibilities of use. Furthermore, that school guaranteed housing for children and young people in vulnerable situations who could live with their social parents in the apartment, located above the library.

Oscar Niemeyer's project maintained a standard blueprint for all units and the size and authorship of a unique architecture that bears his signature in reinforced concrete draws our attention even more. The construction of CIEPs generally occupied an average area of 5400 m². The main building was made up of the following floors: on the first, cafeteria, kitchen, medical center; on the two upper floors, 20 classrooms, auditorium and special activity rooms (directed study, among others), administrative facilities and, on the terrace, an area reserved for leisure activities and two water reservoirs. The library/residence had an area of 320 m². The multipurpose hall building contained an area of 1080 m², which contained the women's and men's changing rooms, the 16m x 36m sports court, which could be used for soccer, volleyball, handball, gymnastics and capoeira circles or artistic and cultural presentations, in addition to the stands (see Figure 1).

³⁰ TN: "[...] um conjunto de normas que definem conhecimentos a ensinar e condutas a inculcar, e um conjunto de 'práticas' que permitem a transmissão desses conhecimentos e a incorporação desses comportamentos" (Julia, 2001 p. 10). (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese).

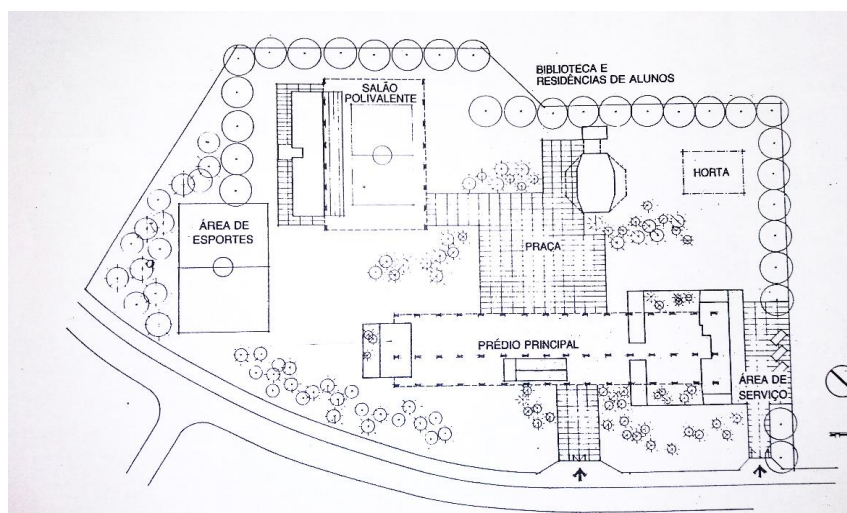


Figure 1 - CIEPs standard project.

Source: Ribeiro (1986).

Legend: Architectural plan of the CIEPs building.

Darcy Ribeiro did not think about school spaces just for students and school agents, since CIEPs could be a space intended for the entire community. Their architecture was planned to make them a public space for leisure, culture, education and health. According to Bomeny (2001), the ambition was to build a space with cultural synergy for the community to participate in experiences within the arts, leisure and work initiation.

Another relevant point in the architecture is that, on the ground floor, there were rooms to serve the entire community and, from the first floor onwards, the school facilities themselves were distributed. Ribeiro (1986) indicates that common facilities should be built on the ground floor so that everyone has access.

I will start by saying that this is a revolutionary project, from an educational point of view. Schools that not only aim – like the old ones – to instruct their students, but to provide effective support to all the children in the neighborhood. And this explains why, on the ground floor, open to them on Saturdays and Sundays, there is a gym, medical and dental office, library etc. (p. 110)³¹.

The architectural standard blueprint of the CIEPs represented the concern to provide a well-equipped school space to guarantee effectiveness in the educational proposal defended by the Brizola government. As stipulated in government

³¹ TN: Começarei dizendo se tratar de um projeto revolucionário, sob o ponto de vista educacional. Escolas que não visam apenas – como as antigas – a instruir seus alunos, mas sim dar um apoio efetivo a todas as crianças do bairro. E isto explica serem, no térreo, para elas abertas aos sábados e domingos, ginásio, gabinete médico, dentário, biblioteca etc. (p. 110). (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

documents, students, staff, teachers and the community surrounding the school should feel like they belong to that environment.

The medical center was a place designed exclusively to meet medical and dental needs, as already mentioned. It was located on the ground floor of each CIEP and had: two offices for clinical or ophthalmological examinations; clinical examination table (which could be transformed into a gynecological examination table); triage room; nursing room and bathroom. The school equipment was designed as a place to serve the community that should mark the presence of the state in those communities, which, until then, were unassisted and invisible.

The installation of the medical center contributed to the goal of the Brizolista educational program of investing in information on hygienic habits, health care, disease prevention, health education activities, nutritional, dental and medical assistance (Ribeiro, 1986). According to the documents, teaching about health should go beyond the limits of the school and, therefore, it would need to have an appropriate environment and resources to receive students and the community. One of the main objectives was to disseminate hygiene 'practices', as well as create habits and knowledge about health for communities that lived in a state of precarious health conditions.

The offer of cultural, social and bodily activities in the school curriculum was planned to be carried out in the Multipurpose Hall for systematized bodily 'practices'. This installation was used to hold physical education classes, theater shows, music shows, capoeira circles or parties organized by cultural entertainers, the community and teachers. These cultural animators were fundamental figures in the CIEPs program, as, among other functions, their mission was to bring the community closer and closer to the school, strengthening the relationship between education, community and culture. In short, they were idealized as mediators.

"[t]he integration of these activities into the school learning process would speed up the development of students, encourage the acquisition of habits and attitudes, which are essential elements for achieving harmonious and healthy growth"^{32,33}, in addition to making the school more attractive, joyful and more exciting. This was the perspective for the Brizola government to create an inflection in the public school model of the time: CIEPs should serve the population, offer community meeting spaces, allow full-time education, encourage students to acquire cultural capital and make the school as the main cultural facility in those underserved communities. CIEP's architecture represented a type of public school infrastructure that attempted to give dignity to teachers, students and the community.

³² Excerpt taken from the Darcy Ribeiro Foundation Archive. Reference: DR. GBII/pee 1994.00.00 folder I.

³³ TN: "[a] integração dessas atividades ao processo de aprendizagem escolar agilizaria o desenvolvimento dos alunos, estimularia a aquisição de hábitos e atitudes, elementos essenciais para a conquista de um crescimento harmonioso e saudável" (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

The creators of CIEPs sought to transform public education by combining an innovative curricular proposal with a functional architecture for school and cultural activities. The curriculum valued the integral development of students, integration with the community and Brazilian cultural diversity. The idea was for the school to become a point of reference in the community and a place for coexistence and learning. However, from the beginning, criticism arose about the government's genuine concern with education, raising doubts about whether the proposal was just populism, welfare, propaganda and the government's brand in the territory. Distrust and criticism of the program continued throughout the first term of the Brizola government (1983/1986).

According to Moraes (2009), there was difficulty in finding positions favorable to CIEPs, perhaps due to the political-partisan dimension involved in the project, which would have suffocated the real educational objectives of the proposal. The Brizola government's political speeches were questioned, casting doubt on its real concern with education. The partisan political dimension involved in the project suffocated educational objectives, and government propaganda would have distorted the school's main objective. Chagas (2012) states that the political framework in the 1980s and CIEP's association with a populist, paternalistic and costly policy for public accounts materialized the 'accordion effect', characterized by the discussion about full-time schools, which sometimes appeared as intense and highly referenced, sometimes it appeared as forgotten, despised and relegated to the background, associated with high costs, and only served the party's programs.

PRESCRIPTIONS OF SYSTEMATIZED BODY 'PRACTICES'

Darcy thought that it was essential for children to express their emotions through art and other activities that affect subjectivities. The records point to the appreciation of arts, such as drawing, modeling, singing or acting, arguing that such actions would stimulate expressiveness.

When children paint, draw, model, sing or act, they start from their personal experiences, which they select, discriminate and structure in a new way. They do much more than reproduce an object or a situation: they express themselves, revealing the essence of their personality and restructure themselves above all (Ribeiro, 1986, p. 51)³⁴.

³⁴ TN: Quando a criança pinta, desenha, modela, canta ou representa, parte de suas vivências e experiências pessoais, as quais ela seleciona, discrimina e estrutura de uma forma nova. Ela faz muito mais do que reproduzir um objeto ou uma situação: ela se expressa, revelando o essencial de sua personalidade e reestruturando sobretudo a si mesma (Ribeiro, 1986, p. 51) (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

The idea was to offer the greatest variety of experiences within the aim of expanding students' knowledge and creativity. Therefore, the school should be pleasurable and attract the community as a partner in the educational process, in order to become a space of cultural synergy that encompasses the diversity of experiences of an extended school day.

We identified that, weekly, there were a large number of school periods allocated to Physical Education, with five periods; Cultural Entertainment, with three periods; and Artistic Education, from four to five periods. If we add up these periods, we achieve an average of twelve periods allocated to working with 'systematized bodily practices'. This represented almost 25% of the time, if we look at the CIEPs curriculum³⁵ (See Figure 2 and Figure 3).

Grade Curricular para um Plano de Estudos Experimental										
Elementos do Plano de Estudo	Matérias	Atividades Áreas de estudo	Carga horária semanal							
			Atividades				Áreas de estudo			
			1ª	2ª	3ª	4ª	5ª	6ª	7ª	8ª
NÚCLEO COMUM CFE E ART. 7º: LEI 5692/71	COMUNICAÇÃO E EXPRESSÃO	Comunicação e Expressão	*	*	*	*				
		Comunicação em Língua Portuguesa					6	6	6	6
		Educação Artística	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4
		— Educação Musical								
		— Artes Plásticas								
		— Artes Cênicas								
		Educação Física	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
	ESTUDOS SOCIAIS	Integração Social	*	*	*	*				
		Geografia					3	3	3	3
		História					4	3	3	4
		Educação Moral e Cívica	*	*	*	*		1	1	
	CIÊNCIAS	OSP	*	*	*	*				
Iniciação à Ciência										
Ciências Físicas e Biológicas e Programas de Saúde						4	4	4	4	
PARTE DIVER-SIFICADA	Matemática					6	6	6	6	
	Ensino Religioso	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
	Língua Estrangeira**									
	Formação Especial**					2	2	2	2	
ATIVIDADES COMPLEMENTARES	Centro de Estudos:									
	Estudo diversificado, orientado por um professor	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	
	Estudo dirigido: um tempo semanal, incluído na carga horária de Língua Portuguesa, Geografia, História, Ciências, Matemática = 5 tempos semanais									
	Atividades de livre escolha oferecidas pela escola					1	1	1	1	
	Totais semanais	35	35	35	35	40	40	40	40	

* Presente no Plano de Estudos

** Oferecida pelo CIEP, segundo sua realidade

* Presente no Plano de Estudos

** Oferecida pelo CIEP, segundo sua realidade

Figure 2 - School timetable published in O Livro dos CIEPs.

Source: Ribeiro (1986).

Legend: Study plan offered by CIEP.

³⁵ According to Decree No. 69,450, of November 1, 1971, compulsory Physical Education was three times per week, and CIEPs, in this matter alone, almost doubled the time offered.

Horário da turma 203

Horário	2ª	3ª	4ª	5ª	6ª
	feira	feira	feira	feira	feira
8:00 às 8:50	Ed. M ₁ Auditório	Aula	Ed. Art. 6	Ed. Fis. 7	Ed. Art. 3
8:50 às 9:40	Ed. Fis. 2	Aula	Recreio	Ed. M ₁	Aula
9:40 às 10:30	E.D. Sala	Recreio	E.D. S/10	E.D. s/or	Ed. Fis. 1
10:30 às 11:30	Almoço	Almoço	Almoço	Almoço	Almoço
11:30 às 12:30	Aula	Aula	Aula	Aula	Aula
12:30 às 13:20	Aula	Aula	Ed. Fis. 6	Aula	Recreio
13:20 às 14:10	Recreio	Ed. Fis. 4	Aula	Recreio	E.D. sala
14:10 às 15:00	Aula	Ed. Art. 6	Aula	Aula	Aula
15:00 às 15:50	Aula	E.D. s/10	Aula	Aula	Aula
15:50 às 16:25	Jantar	Jantar	Jantar	Jantar	Jantar
16:25 às 17:00	Recreio	Recreio	Recreio	Recreio	Recreio

Figure 3 – School timetable.

Source: Arquivo Fundação Darcy Ribeiro. DR.GBI/pee. 1986.00.00.V5.

Legend: School Schedule for Class 203.

The predominance of disciplines linked to the education of bodies in movement demonstrates a less hierarchical position of knowledge and points to a tendency to value these bodily ‘practices’ systematized in the curriculum. Physical Education and other subjects focused on bodily expression and enjoyment, which could also contribute to a favorable school environment and greater student adherence to the schooling project. Darcy thought that the traditional school was boring, meaningless, and left students sitting and passive for too long. In one of the management team meetings, the Physical Education coordinator at the time, José Arruda, presented guiding aspects of Physical Education work at CIEPs.

José Arruda: And I also think in terms of philosophy, if I have made a mistake, let it be corrected, within the CIEPs philosophy of truly transforming the school into a complete school [...]. They will have to be carried out in an interesting way such as arts, other activities; they cannot stop moving or they must not stand still without moving because movement is actually an inherent condition of this age group. So they should, in my way of thinking or in our way of thinking, always have the opportunity to exercise daily, do an activity that really works their bodies, that moves their bodies in a way that is even conscious, not always unconscious. As they sometimes have recreation, they run, run, run and play just like they do at home. No, there they have to move in a controlled manner, in order to develop certain characteristics, potentialities, certain segments that will contribute to their integral formation. So, mainly, [...] CIEPs that have 1st to 4th grade, we should be very concerned because even reading and writing are very related to the child's ability to control their body and develop their work [...]; their

neuromuscular coordination or psychomotor work. They will really learn and this exists even in research carried out and books on the subject, they will be able to learn more easily, both how to read and write and certain notions of color, geometric shape, etc., if they play in the game with shapes, colors, that they have to reach, blue, yellow, red, square, rectangle etc. This interrelationship should even be a warning, since a school model is proposed, which never ceases to have interrelationships between all sectors so that the game and physical education can be taken advantage of to further develop a certain pedagogical aspect that is being sought to be developed within a given era³⁶³⁷.

The *Programa Animação Cultural* (or *Cultural Animation Program*, in English), in the same way, was seen as necessary for the consolidation of the CIEPs program, because it would provide exchange between the community and the school. Cultural animators did not necessarily need to be licensed teachers, they could be artists committed to “[...] community cultural production [...]”³⁸ in which CIEP was installed (Ribeiro, 1995, p. 255). In Darcy Ribeiro's view, animators should function as a character in charge of establishing mediation and ties with the community, being defined as: “[...] a link of integration between the school and the community, since, knowing their needs, they become a bridge between their cultural manifestations,

³⁶ Excerpt taken from the audio transcription DR 361 - Side A - Darcy in General Meeting with Teams. No date.

³⁷ TN: José Arruda: E também eu penso em termos da filosofia, se eu tiver errado, que seja corrigido, dentro da filosofia dos CIEPs de transformar a escola realmente numa escola completa [...]. Terão que ser levadas de forma interessante como artes, outras atividades; não poderá deixar de se movimentar ou não deverá estar parada, sem se movimentar porque o movimento é realmente condição inerente desta faixa etária. Então ele deverá, na minha maneira de pensar ou na nossa maneira de pensar, estar sempre com oportunidade de diariamente poder se exercitar, fazer uma atividade que realmente trabalhe o seu corpo, que ele movimenta o seu corpo de forma, inclusive, consciente, não sempre inconsciente. Como às vezes ele teve recreação, ele corre, corre, corre e brinca igual como brinca em casa. Não, ali ele tem que se locomover de forma controlada, de forma a desenvolver determinadas características, potencialidades, determinados segmentos que vão contribuir para essa formação integral dele. Então, principalmente, [...] os CIEPs que tiverem 1ª à 4ª série, nós devemos estar preocupadíssimos porque inclusive a leitura e a escrita estão muito relacionadas com a capacidade da criança de dominar o seu corpo e desenvolver o seu trabalho [...]; as suas coordenações neuromusculares ou fazer o trabalho psicomotor. Ele realmente aprenderá e isto existe inclusive em pesquisas realizadas e livros sobre o assunto, ele conseguirá aprender mais fácil, mais facilmente tanto a ler a escrever quanto determinadas noções de cor, de forma geométrica etc., se ele jogar estando em questão no jogo essas formas, essas cores, que a criança tem que alcançar, o azul, amarelo, vermelho, o quadrado, retângulo etc. Esse inter-relacionamento inclusive deveria alertar, já que se propõe um modelo de escola, que nunca deixe de haver inter-relacionamento entre todos os setores para que se aproveite o jogo, a educação física para desenvolver mais um determinado aspecto pedagógico que está se procurando desenvolver dentro de uma determinada época (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

³⁸ TN: “[...] produção cultural comunitária [...]” (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

their desires and values, articulating them with the school pedagogical process”³⁹ (Ribeiro, 1995, p. 91).

In one of the books produced by the government to publicize this, it is possible to observe the indication of spaces and activities that could be explored in this *Programa Animação Cultural*.

Court: Shows, theater, music, dance, circus, mime shows, large exhibitions, fairs, festivals, rehearsals, parties, dances, tournaments, sporting events that do not have a religious or political character.

Green Area: Gardening, medicinal or non-medicinal gardens, herbariums, worm farms, greenhouses, seedlings, organic fertilizer and actions that protect the quality of life, beauty and ecological balance.

Pilotis: Exhibitions, parties, pagode music, etc.

Library: Meeting with writers, book launch, exhibition of graphic arts, drama texts, illustration, authors, poetry, *cordel*, etc.

Auditorium: Shows, concerts, workshops, courses, seminars, debates, film club, meetings, reading of plays.

Video room: Video club, festivals, exhibitions, etc.

Terrace: Workshops.

Kitchen/Refectory: Cultural cuisine, regional cooking courses, sweets and cakes, recipe exchanges, use of leftovers, waste recycling course⁴⁰ (Ribeiro, 1995, p. 257).

³⁹ TN: “[...] elo de integração entre a escola e a comunidade, uma vez que, conhecendo as suas necessidades, transforma-se em ponte entre as suas manifestações culturais, seus anseios e valores, articulando-os com o processo pedagógico escolar” (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

⁴⁰ TN: Quadra: Shows, espetáculos teatrais, de música, de dança, de circo, de mímica, grandes exposições, feiras, festivais, ensaios, festas, bailes, torneios, eventos esportivos que não tenham caráter religioso ou político.

Área Verde: Jardinagem, hortas medicinais ou não, herbários, minhocários, estufas, mudas, adubo orgânico e ações que resguardem a qualidade de vida, a beleza e o equilíbrio ecológico.

Pilotis: Exposições, festas, pagodes, etc.

Biblioteca: Encontro com escritores, lançamento de livros, exposição de artes gráficas, de textos de dramaturgia, de ilustração, de autores, varal de poesias, de cordel, etc.

Auditório: Shows, espetáculos, oficinas, cursos, concertos, seminários, debates, cineclubes [sic], encontros, leitura de peças.

Sala de vídeo: Vídeo-clubes [sic], festivais, mostras, etc.

Terraço: Oficinas.

Cozinha/Refeitório: Cozinha cultural, cursos de culinária regional, de doces e bolos, trocas de receitas, aproveitamento de sobras, curso de reciclagem de lixo (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

The Cultural Animators, such as people linked to theater, music, poetry groups, social movements or community associations, should bring different cultural languages from the popular classes into the school. This way, they could hold: kite festival; capoeira group presentation; internal newspapers; puppet theater; Christmas car assembly; Folia de Reis meeting⁴¹; Black Culture Week; handicraft fair; samba and pagode circles; presentation of choirs, bands and orchestras; debates about art and education; seminars on women; debate on sexuality, among other events held by the different CIEPs (Ribeiro, 1986). See Figure 4 and Figure 5 for two of these events.



Figure 4 - Cultural animation activity.

Source: Arquivo Fundação Darcy Ribeiro.

Legend: Presentation of Maculelê at the sports gym (Suggested date, 1993-1994).



Figure 5 - Cultural animation activity.

Source: Arquivo Fundação Darcy Ribeiro.

Legend: Choir presentation (CIEP 150, Cabo Frio, 1994).

⁴¹ Events such as Christmas or Folia de Reis, despite being popular rites identified with Catholicism, are translated, from the perspective of Darcy's secularism, into manifestations of popular culture.

Regarding the activities that favored creativity and systematized bodily 'practices', we identified CIEPs Artistic Education as another program that made up the curriculum and provided, in part of the activities, bodily expressiveness. As identified in the *Livro dos CIEPS* (1986) (or *CIEPs Book*), different forms of bodily manifestation were valued, from the teaching of Musical Education, Plastic Arts and Performing Arts, such as singing, painting, drawing, acting, among others, so that students would have the possibility of incorporating body techniques and experiencing the artistic and cultural proposals offered at CIEPs.

For the creators of the Artistic Education program, art education would be a possibility to promote the recovery of students' cultural memory. Therefore, three guidelines were outlined for its structuring: i) understand the purposes of education; ii) perceive art as a collective expression of men about the world; and iii) understand the function of art in education (Ribeiro, 1986). The essential thing was for the child to express their emotions through art.

We can see how the Artistic Education program had a similar bias to Cultural Animation, which, in the same way, was interested in offering the student the most varied artistic-cultural-body experiences. In both prescriptive documents for these programs, it was argued that the activities would encourage understanding of the world, critical vision, development of team spirit, coordination of movements, thoughts and actions. We identified in the documents that:

[...] artistic expression activities can have a very challenging role within the educational system, helping the student to build their knowledge in a critical way, while incorporating new knowledge acquired through other sources, such as life experience and popular culture⁴² (Ribeiro, 1986, p. 81).

The relationship between body and expressiveness appeared in the 'practices' and in the very nature of the activities. The Artistic Education Program was organized by the following artistic languages: Theater, Music, Literature, Plastic/Visual Arts, Dance, Media and Circus. As an example, we highlight the suggestion provided for theater classes: the teacher could explore "[...] mime, body preparation, voice imposition, diction, street theater, making and manipulating dolls (glove, finger, puppet, shadow, black box, stick, etc.)"⁴³ (Ribeiro, 1995, p. 258).

⁴² TN: [...] as atividades de expressão artística podem ter um papel bastante contestador dentro do sistema educacional, contribuindo para que o aluno possa construir seu conhecimento de maneira crítica, enquanto incorpora novos saberes adquiridos através de outras fontes, como a experiência de vida e a cultura popular (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

⁴³ TN: "[...] mímica, preparação corporal, imitação de voz, dicção, teatro de rua, confecção e manipulação de bonecos (luva, dedo, marionete, sombra, caixa preta, vara etc.)" (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

Hygiene, health and bodily cleanliness should also be seen as a systematic education of bodies at CIEP. Government documents even recorded that health-related topics should “[...] be taught to students through activities such as dramatizations, videos, drawings, games, among others”⁴⁴ (Ribeiro, 1995, p. 245). These actions, developed by the health team, should rely on the collaboration and participation of teachers and cultural animators, proving to be yet another program that consolidated the interdisciplinary proposal. In that ‘school culture’, health became an educational issue that, unlike other schools, offered a physical structure consistent with the curriculum’s prescriptions.

The use of a school uniform was also one of the curricular prescriptions. According to Ribeiro (1995), each CIEP student, when enrolling, received a rack consisting of: jeans, two sleeved t-shirts with the PEE symbol, a pair of helanca shorts, a sleeveless t-shirt, a pair of sneakers and two pairs of white socks, and “[...] shorts and t-shirts can only be used exclusively in Physical Education classes”⁴⁵ (Ribeiro, 1995, p. 271). This and other recommendations were marks of the education of bodies in the curricular proposal, as the student should dress ritually to live in that school environment. This was a tradition not questioned by that school model.

Cleanliness should be visible with clean uniforms and personal hygiene expected in the daily body washing activities. Without an adequate and clean uniform, the guidelines indicated that those responsible should be called upon by the school management so that the problem can be solved. The white t-shirt and socks gave signs that cleanliness and hygiene should be controlled, and cleaning the uniform was the student's responsibility as part of the CIEPs educational process.

Thus, in Darcy's speech, it is possible to see that student hygiene was one of the dimensions of civilizing education prescribed in the CIEP curriculum.

An old aspiration of Governor Leonel Brizola (to create a school where children could go home after having a shower and dinner) now becomes a reality with the implementation of CIEPs throughout the State of Rio de Janeiro. In the Sports Gym's changing rooms, which are spacious and comfortable, the children take a daily shower, which is impossible at home for many of them. Consolidating the essential habits of personal hygiene that contribute to the good health of children, CIEP promotes a

⁴⁴ TN: “[...] ser trabalhados com os alunos através de atividades como dramatizações, vídeos, desenhos, jogos, entre outras” (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

⁴⁵ TN: “[...] short e a camiseta só poderão ser usados exclusivamente nas aulas de Educação Física” (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

desirable alliance between Education and Preventive Medicine⁴⁶
(Ribeiro, 1986, p. 130).

Daily bathing time was essential in CIEP's curricular proposal to address the relationship between body hygiene and health. "It is understood that in a full-time school, bathing is necessary as a hygiene measure. For this reason, a space was created during school hours to meet this need"⁴⁷ (Ribeiro, 1995, p. 269). Students were expected to incorporate habits seen as essential to staying healthy. In addition, offering a daily bath was based on the premise that many students lived in precarious housing, often with a lack of water and sewage.

The main objective of health education activities was to disseminate hygiene 'practices', create habits and share knowledge to maintain health. There was also concern about the visual acuity of the students, who were examined periodically. In the positive case of any abnormality, glasses were offered free of charge and, in more serious cases, students were referred to specialized services (Ribeiro, 1986). It was planned that students would be monitored from the moment they enrolled at the school with periodic nursing consultations to assess their health situation: "A nursing consultation must be carried out for each student per semester for this purpose, with weight and height being measured every three months"⁴⁸ (Ribeiro, 1995, p. 245).

FINAL REMARKS

We were able to observe in the documents that there were representations about a range of possible 'practices' in the most varied spaces of the CIEPs, with an architecture that allowed different forms of use and appropriations. We must bear in mind that the amount of experiences directly interfered with the education of bodies and the 'school culture'. In each activity or workshop, bodies were constrained or encouraged to adapt to the proposed pedagogical situations, carrying with them cultural marks, spatial sensations and values of the community and society in

⁴⁶ TN: Uma antiga aspiração do Governador Leonel Brizola (criar uma escola em que as crianças pudessem ir para casa depois de tomar banho e jantar) agora torna-se realidade com a implantação dos CIEPs em todo o Estado do Rio de Janeiro. Nos vestiários do Ginásio de Esportes, amplos e confortáveis, as crianças tomam um banho diário que é impossível na residência de muitas delas. Consolidando os hábitos indispensáveis de higiene pessoal que contribuem para a boa saúde das crianças, o CIEP promove uma desejável aliança entre Educação e a Medicina Preventiva (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

⁴⁷ TN: "Entende-se que uma escola de horário integral se faz necessário o banho como medida de higiene. Por esta razão foi criado um espaço no horário escolar para atender essa necessidade" (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

⁴⁸ TN: "Deverá ser realizada uma consulta de enfermagem para cada aluno por semestre com este fim e mensuração de peso e altura a cada três meses" (Freely translated from Brazilian Portuguese)

interaction with school actors (Faria Filho, 1998; Viñao Frago & Escolano Benito, 2001). The idealized times and spaces intended to construct new subjectivities of school actors and, therefore, an inflection in the 'school culture' until then disseminated in most schools. However, with all the vigor and power that CIEP's pedagogical policy had, it did not consider that cultural changes and, specifically, school cultures require long processes, clashes, disputes, advances and setbacks that only time accommodates and transforms. The CIEPs left a legacy that continues the debate on a quality public school for the popular classes to this day, but the desired effects in the construction of a new 'school culture', as its creators aimed for, have not been established. However, even today we are in a permanent struggle to build a full-time, quality public school for the popular classes, which transforms 'school cultures' and the very notion of school that we have.

One of the educational objectives of the CIEPs was to transform habits considered healthy (daily bathing, cleaning material, caring for belongings, brushing teeth, nursing consultations, bodily activities, among others) into students' daily practices and for this to extend to their families. We had a school that tried to mitigate the economic and housing needs of its students and was designed to try to generate more educational opportunities for students, although it was assumed to be powerless to attack the structural inequalities present in the state of Rio de Janeiro.

Darcy and Brizola openly said that they designed a school for the poor to have educational experiences similar to those of the children of the middle class and elites. With this, the CIEPs intended to promote a more comprehensive education, offering different intellectual, physical, cultural and health activities. The project covered, in an integrated way, the Education, Culture and Health triad. It was a guide training for citizenship, and the documents reveal that all skills should be worked towards this objective. However, this does not mean that, in the practiced curriculum, this ideal materialized as a pedagogical tradition.

The discourse propagated was that bodily activities could help the student understand the world, to develop a team spirit, respect for rules and a coordinated work of movements, thoughts and actions. Through artistic activities, physical education, sports, dance and body expression, the aim was for children to organize their thoughts, emotions and feelings. The records in the documents point to the need to encourage the child's expressiveness with various systematized bodily 'practices'.

Despite the good intentions of the CIEPs' pedagogical proposal, one of its historical legacies was demonstrating that changes in school culture and the educational field are not just due to 'political will' or good educational proposals. The CIEPs were unable to build a new 'school culture' nor a fruitful pedagogical tradition for thinking about school, despite all the feelings of nostalgia that educators have for this project. Despite the criticism it suffered at the time of its implementation, one thing remained in the memory of teachers: it was a government that prioritized education.

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