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A BIG FRIENDLY GIANT IN BRAZIL?

CHILDREN AND THE CLOSED STREET… INTERPLAYING WITH A

GOOD-ENOUGH URBAN POLICY

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Children and the closed street… Interplaying with a good-enough urban policy

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Para Roberto, Davi e Miguel

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'But I didn't know you could mix one dream with another' Sophie said. 'Dreams like being mixed,' the BFG answered. 'They is getting very lonesome all by themselves in those glassy bottles' (The BFG, Roald Dahl, 1982).

Abstract

This study examines children's space production within urban mobility policies. It draws attention to yet neglected experiences in urban development policy debates and concentrates on children's interplay with public spaces affected by urban mobility policy. The research question is: how does children's space production in closed streets reflect their right to the city? Children's perspectives registered in letters on a 'child-friendly' city are 'reflected' in concrete places, a 'closed street'. Policy that emphasizes thrown-togetherness and the use of public space enhances conditions of situated multiplicity that suggest a shifting of the urban when compared to how we experience it on a daily basis. The temporal displacement elicited by closed streets seems to match a spatial disruption inasmuch as car-centered facets of urban life are temporarily 'suspended' in favor of experiences that seem to embrace children's presence in public space and recognize the right to the city. Their experiences in the closed street contest the prevailing order from within a car-free urban space, as a regulated time-space is appropriated in a manner that challenges its surrounding environment. The closed street, as an 'effectively enacted utopia', opens up possibilities. We approach children's 'right to the city' considering the provision of a safe space that is not previously conceived as a 'child's space' and, in that sense, does not suggest any necessary linkage to children's singular rights in the way it is generally conveyed within rights-based agendas. In the big city's closed street, children negotiate this space with guidance from parents, caregivers or other adults. Relationality, affect and inter-dependence are highlighted, aspects not always accounted for by policy. Views on child-adult boundaries - a trait of child-centered policy - tend to be contested as we examine children's space production. This offers a re-thinking of the conventional emphasis on agenda setting and policy-making processes related to children in urban policy initiatives. The provision of a protected space speaks to a general concern about safety and children in public space. The closed street is policed and lightly regulated, and this conveys to an acceptance of that space as a 'good' environment. Risk and imperfections are not foreclosed, and relations of power are not erased. We are invited to re-think the idea that all spaces require previous 'fixing' or 'designation as child-spaces' in order to be enjoyed by children. The 'open-endedness' of a 'closed streets policy' resonates the right to the city. It is 'good-enough' as it embraces hope and works as an affective starting point towards re-thinking relations and habits in the city.

Key-words: Policy. Children. Urban Space. Closed street. Right to the city.

Resumo

Este estudo examina a produção espacial de crianças no contexto de políticas de mobilidade urbana. Chama-se atenção para experiências ainda negligenciadas em debates em políticas de desenvolvimento urbano e se volta à interação crianças-espaços públicos afetados por políticas de mobilidade urbana. Pergunta-se: como a produção espacial de crianças em ruas fechadas reflete seu direito à cidade? As perspectivas de crianças registradas em cartas sobre uma cidade 'amiga da criança' são 'refletidas' em lugares concretos, a 'rua fechada'. Políticas que enfatizam o estar-lançados-juntos e o uso do espaço público potencializam condições de multiplicidade situada que sugerem uma mudança do urbano quando comparado com a forma como nós o experimentamos diariamente. O deslocamento temporal da rua fechada sugere uma ruptura espacial na medida em que facetas da vida urbana centradas no carro são temporariamente 'suspensas' em favor de experiências que parecem abraçar a presença das crianças no espaço público e reconhecer o direito à cidade. Suas experiências numa rua fechada contestam a ordem vigente a partir de um espaço livre de carros, e um espaço-tempo regulado é apropriado de uma forma que desafia o entorno. A rua fechada, enquanto uma 'utopia efetivamente realizada', abre possibilidades. Discute-se o direito das crianças à cidade considerando a provisão de um espaço seguro que não é previamente concebido como um 'espaço para a criança' e, nesse sentido, não sugere uma ligação restrita a direitos singulares da criança na forma como é transmitida nas agendas de direitos. Na rua fechada da cidade grande, as crianças negociam este espaço com a orientação de pais, cuidadores ou outros adultos. Relações, afeto e interdependência são destacados, algo não diretamente contemplado pela política urbana. Visões acerca de separações entre crianças e adultos - um traço da política centrada na criança - tendem a ser contestados quando examinamos a produção espacial das crianças. Isso favorece repensar a ênfase na definição de agendas e nos processos de formulação de políticas relacionados a crianças em iniciativas de políticas urbanas. A provisão de um espaço protegido remete a uma preocupação sobre segurança e crianças no espaço público. A rua fechada é policiada e levemente regulada, o que eleva a aceitação desse espaço como um 'bom' ambiente. Riscos e imperfeições não são excluídos e relações de poder não são apagadas. Repensamos a ideia de que todos os espaços exigem 'conserto' ou a 'designação específica de espaço-para-crianças' para serem apreciados e usados por crianças. O caráter 'aberto' de uma política de ruas fechadas ressoa o direito à cidade. Ela é 'suficientemente boa' pois abriga esperança e funciona como ponto de partida afetivo para repensar relações e hábitos na cidade.

Palavras-chave: Políticas. Crianças. Espaço urbano. Rua fechada. Direito à cidade.

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1. OPENING THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This study intersects policy, children and urban public space, aiming to examine children's social production of space in the realm of urban mobility policies. It comprises research efforts to build knowledge that draws attention to yet neglected urban experiences, that of children in Brazil, so it can be better understood in urban development policy debates.

Albeit I portray how children use and negotiate spaces and highlight aspects of policy enactment, this study does is not a basic description of what goes on in specific spaces, or of what children do there. Foremost, it concentrates on children's interplay with public spaces affected by policy linked to urban mobility, envisaging possibilities for enabling public spaces that can be more strongly appreciated and enjoyed by children *and* adults.

The following section contextualizes the study and delineates the research problem. Section 1.3 then presents the research question that guides this study and clarifies the academic followed. In Section 1.4 I present some potential contributions of this study, that attempted to embrace interdisciplinary efforts to help connect our field of policy to more up-to-date and critical understandings of children in urban realities. In Section 1.5, I point out how this research experience relates to some efforts in crossing boundaries. In Section 1.6 I present the thesis textual structure and how I outlined its chapters.

1.2 Contextualization(s)

There is growing political attention towards cities, urban policies and initiatives in urban spaces. The right to the city as a social practice and an argument directed to rights of appropriation and use of urban spaces reverberates in the policy sphere as the city seems to be depicted as a 'stage' where different groups of actors claim the center of the debate. New urban agendas present a global vision of 'cities for all' and Nation-States commit to the promotion of a 'safe, healthy, inclusive and secure environment (…) for all to live, work, and participate in

urban life without fear of violence and intimidation'[1] (UN, 2016). In many Southern countries, however, the constraints of poverty, social inequality, environmental deterioration, bad urban mobility conditions, increasing urban violence, housing deficits, spatial segregation and unequal distribution of urban infrastructure increase the complexity of governing public space.

Over the last thirty years, public spaces have become increasingly commercialized, disturbed by heavy traffic and high crime rates. Public space design and management components highlight a significant growth of gated communities, sealed off by walls and security installations in nearly all Latin American cities (HABITAT III, 2015). At the same time, cities convert into strategic arenas in which a variety of liberal initiatives is articulated for promoting attractive and competitive cities (BRENNER; THEODORE, 2002; CALDEIRA, 2010).

Whereas children's centrality to global spatial-economic restructuring and cultural transformation is a sound argument in geographic literature (AITKEN, 2014), in the academic field of Policy efforts to approach children and the city still launches us to the margins or, 'at best', in the direction of adult-oriented and prescriptive models of action. Global norms about who children are, and what childhood should be, circulate through international law, media, non-governmental organizations, and connect to national law and local initiatives and proposals, with wider social effects (WELLS, 2015). An allegedly 'logical alignment of childhood with futurity' has created an 'affective logic of hope' that functions on an almost global scale and appears, for example, in global policy making and statements of charities that work on behalf of children (KRAFTL, 2008). Different discourses frame children by suggesting or determining the spaces they can attend and establishing the principles and concepts to guide their growth and education (MAUAD, 2010).

However, global norms are about more than just promoting children's safety or acting in their best interests (WELLS, 2015). There are wide gaps between policy and practice that highlight a need for us to interrogate the production of urban space and how it affects children's lives, without neglecting embeddedness. In that sense, we should be concerned with how universalistic (or mostly Northern) criteria for urban spaces, as in utopian ideas of the urban (*e.g.*, the idea of a 'child-friendly' city), shape children's interplay with public spaces and our understandings of children's experiences in Brazilian urban realities.

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[1] In 2011, for example, at the 23rd Session of the Governing Council of UN-Habitat, member states mandated UNHabitat to consolidate agency-wide work on public space, to develop and promote public space policy, coordination, disseminate knowledge and directly assist cities in public space initiatives (HABITAT III, 2015).

Besides, although 'problems' are often used to refer to pre-existing external conditions that 'await' to be solved, we must understand problems as being produced as problems of 'particular kinds' within policies and policy proposals (BACCHI, 2016). There are probably many 'urban problems' (*e.g.*, heavy traffic, violence, inequality, stranger-danger etc.) that policy might be expected to deal with today. But being clear just at what stage or why any of these become an object of policy is complex. Any consideration of urban policy makes it necessary for us to begin exploring problematizations (COCHRANE, 2007).

In the realm of power relations that involve the production and regulation of urban spaces, 'mobility' arises as crucially important in the formation of thought concerning the governing of children. Indeed, in an increasingly mobile world different forms of mobility play a central role in how we organize, rationalize, and inhabit worlds (PACKER, 2003), especially as it relates to the construction of governable subjects via construction of governable spaces (MERRY, 2001). Scholarship acknowledges a strengthening link between children's mobility practices and a general perception of public space as being a harmful place where traffic-danger and stranger-danger threaten children.

Foremost, in contexts where urban infrastructure is not favorable, the idea of 'safety' presents itself as a key feature inasmuch as the ways in which safety is problematized are crucial to processes that impact the governing of childhood. As pointed out by Packer (2003), it seems impossible to live and not feel the effects of a safety discourse in many facets of our lives. Mobility, thus, is problematized according to the dangers it poses, and the idea of safety serves, foremost in the field of policy, as the main solution.

Expert knowledges produce normative standards to support policy for insuring the general wellbeing and security of populations whereas multiple State and non-State apparatuses take part in legitimating and disseminating safety as social good and personal orientation (PACKER, 2003). At the 2nd Global High-Level Conference on Road Safety 'Time of Results' in Brasília-Brazil more than 130 countries of UN member states approved the Brasília Declaration on Road Safety (2015), with its many premises and objectives presenting 'traffic' as "a major development issue, a public health problem and a major cause of death and injury worldwide, as it kills more than 1.25 million people and injures up to 50 million people every year, and that more than 90% of the victims are from developing countries". It recognizes 'human suffering' and 'global costs' that make "reduction of deaths and traffic injuries an urgent priority for development", and "investment in traffic safety has positive impacts on public health and the economy" (*idem*). In the context of that conference, and conveying to the Declaration, the #SaveKidsLives global campaign collected over a million signatures for

legitimating a Children's Declaration for Road Safety (UN, 2015). This overall effort includes a call for international cooperation and local action.

Nevertheless, varied logics of intervention and/ or regulation are accompanied by technical expert knowledges, popular truths and different assumptions about the value of the lives of different populations (PACKER, 2003). In different hierarchies of power, mobility conditions affect means and possibilities of children moving through the city and accessing urban public spaces and what they have to offer, especially in Latin America's cities that portray a reality of inequity, so much that it makes it plausible to associate in an urban agenda the idea of mobility to that of a 'right to the city'.

Besides, manifestations since 2010 including Arab Spring, European mobilizations, Occupy Wall Street and, in Brazil, *Jornadas de Junho* (often cited as June Journeys) emerged as critical events contributing to expose the centrality of the city as a political arena, and sparking reflections about logics of space production. In Brazil, it was the demand for circulation with free bus fares – presented by the *Movimento Passe Livre* (MPL) in June 2013 –the kick-off of what came to be Brazil's largest street manifestations since the 1992 protests against former President Fernando Collor de Mello. That theme of mobility returned in the beginning of 2014 with the *rolezinhos* - gatherings of youths from impoverished urban peripheries - in shopping malls in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. For Pedro Erber (2016), the *rolezinhos* converted the act of strolling into a potentially subversive practice.

In the context of recent urban development policies, 'closed streets' refer to an initiative where local State action blocks the use of motorized vehicles in specific streets in order to enhance the use of that space by people on Sundays and holidays. Considering public spaces and their use by children, I suggest in this study that we may approach the 'closed street' as a site of 'joint experience' in which children are (possibly) subject to restrictive regulations and policies and/or can embrace relations, rights and affects. Although closed streets are 'locatable', their use is not necessarily prescribed, tending to differ from the logics of spatial experiences in parks, for instance. This can offer some different insights on children's interface with public space.

Yet, neglected urban experiences hide the need for different genealogies of knowledge production, as well as the need to access contexts that help us understand specific urban dynamics (PARNELL; OLDFIELD, 2014; ROBINSON, 2006). In that sense, considering scenarios that may reflect upon one another, in this study children (from Recife[2], Brazil) share

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[2] The Metropolitan Region of Recife (15 municipalities) is the 5th most populous region in Brazil, with 3.690.485 inhabitants and 1.247.497 households. 42.6% of the metropolitan population lives in Recife, the metropolis hub

their views on space and ideas on a city that is 'friendly' to children, envisaging an 'ideal' setting and its distinct features. The ideas on this 'placeless place' counter-act with concrete places as I approach a closed street (Paulista Avenue, in the city of São Paulo[3], Brazil) to observe children's space production related to policy that highlights possibilities for a better understanding of the issues posed by this study.

Paulista Avenue, a symbol of economic prosperity in São Paulo, has its history marked by the delimitation of social frontiers in which spatial appropriation is mostly segregated, reflecting inequalities in power relations in the city (OLIVEIRA, 1998). Since 2014, several actors had demanded the creation of a space for leisure and encounter on Paulista Avenue and mobilized public opinion to support the idea of 'opening' streets for people and 'closing' it for cars (PAULISTA ABERTA, 2016).

The initiative for closing Paulista Avenue on Sundays and holidays was integrated, during Mayor Fernando Haddad's administration (2012-2016), within the *Programa Ruas Abertas* ('Open Streets Program') and functions since October 2015. The decision to open the Paulista to pedestrians and cyclists (the initiative called *Paulista Aberta*) and to restrict motor vehicles' access, was debated throughout 25 public hearings (Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2015) and initially criticized by different actors, mostly by local inhabitants and merchants, but also by the city's Public Prosecutors Office.

A year after the opening, the Decree nº 57.086 (06/24/2016) officially instituted the *Programa Ruas Abertas* in the scope of Brazil's *Política Nacional de Mobilidade Urbana* (National Policy on Urban Mobility), based on Federal Law nº 12.587 (01/03/2012). When the program becomes 'public policy' it is presented by the local government as a strategy to "promote urban sustainable development, in the socioeconomic and environmental dimensions, and ensure equity in the use of the public space of circulation in public streets and public places" (Decree nº 57.086). After six years of Law nº 12.587, from the 3.342 Brazilian municipalities that fit it, only 195 completed their urban mobility plans; São Paulo is among these 6% (Ministry of Cities, 2018).

Although recognizing the need for a political-institutional machinery capable of supporting the implementation of public policies, this study focuses on children's interplay with

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(BITOUN *et al.*, 2010). The neighborhoods of Madalena, Torre and Jaqueira, where the children who participated mostly live in, are located on the banks of the Capibaribe River. There are approximately 42.576 inhabitants occupying an area of 3.268km² and close to 16% aged up to 14 years old (IBGE, 2010).

[3] The Metropolitan Region of São Paulo (39 municipalities) is a rather small territory, comprising 7.950km², or 0,1% of the national territory. At the same time, it hosts 21 million inhabitants, an equivalent to 10% of the national population, a population that together produces 18% of the national GDP (ITDP, 2018).

public spaces affected by policy linked to urban mobility. Thus, albeit children's spatial experiences have policy components that must be considered, policy's discursive practices do not tell the full story, suggesting the need for us to consider lines of inquiry that can advance in our understandings.

Thus, looking at the possible duality and contradictions of some urban ideals and concrete places, or what in this study I refer to as utopia and heterotopia (FOUCAULT, 1986 [1967]), seems relevant since we may inquire how, both as utopia (a depiction of an unreal place such as an 'ideal', 'just' or 'friendly' city) and heterotopia (a concrete place), specific public spaces reflect a web of relations of prevailing urban conditions in Southern countries. To discuss children's space production in its interplay with urban policy that provides such spaces can contribute to question, and inform, policy enactment and relations regarding children, space and im/mobility.

1.3 Research question

As pointed out, the overall aim of this study is to examine, in the context of policies linked to urban mobility (in particular, closed streets initiatives), children's social production of space. The research question that guides the study is:

How does children's space production in closed streets reflect their right to the city?

The idea of space production highlighted is that of space as being bound up with social reality, that is, as a process of social production of thought, action, and experience (LEFEBVRE, 1991). Policy that emphasizes the shared use of public space seems to enhance conditions of situated multiplicity (AMIN, 2008) that suggest a sort of shifting of the urban when compared to how we, children and adults, experience it on a daily basis (*i.e.*, during the week). In that sense, the closed street comprises various empirical practices that act, in this study, as a sort of grid of analysis.

The kind of temporal displacement elicited by closed streets seems to match a spatial disruption as car-centered facets of urban life are temporarily 'suspended' in favor of spatial experiences that, at least apparently, seem to embrace children's presence in public space and recognize rights to the city. At the same time, however, the different relational features of these spaces include relations of power that are spatialized in specific forms. A time-space conception that comprises such ambiguities and ambivalence seems potentially useful for studying policy enactment in its interface with children's experiences in Brazil's big cities.

In that direction, it is important to inquire: how do children view specific spaces, such as their neighborhood or their borough? How do they represent the idea of a city which is

friendly to children? How do these ideas reflect concrete spaces in Brazilian cities? And how does policy interplay with these logics of children's space production?

This study is guided by a main assumption that politics emerges not in the individual but within relations and in that sense it is entangled in how public space is used by children. Children's presence in urban public space is political, and their invisibility, too, is political. Albeit the problematization of mobility and safety reverberates through the governing of children, I avoid nostalgic tendencies that could maybe present a previous childhood as a 'happier' or a 'better' one, and that would interrogate the field of policy about how we could retrieve lost 'time-spaces' in which children moved around or played 'freely' in the streets.

Although empirical aspects related to this study highlight specific places, I also refrain from presenting sites as 'references' or 'cases of success' towards urban problems, as if we were to unravel those scenarios to identify features and mechanisms that could be replicated elsewhere by policy. Rather, by intersecting policy and children's perspectives on spaces and their experiences, this can provide affective contexts for interrogating the production of space in a manner that differs from the main positivist-rationalist contours of policy studies.

This study articulates, within the field of policy, ideas, concepts and frameworks from Human Geography, Sociology, and other constructions identified in social theory. It is an approach that can be understood as post-structural if we consider post-structural theorizing as a means for surpassing humanistic biases and for recognizing social relations' contingency and historical character (HOWARTH, 2013; WILLIAMS, 2012). It also addresses 'agency' in its broader mobilization, networking and experimentation, instead of reducing it to a self-present individual consciousness (OSWELL, 2013). This has implications for reflections on power, space and social relations.

This can be understood as a critical study if by critical we consider that it is not aimed at pointing out what is 'wrong', but rather in resisting certain mechanisms of power by showing that things are not as obvious as we might assume them to be. This resembles Foucault's distinction between critique as judgement or denunciation and critique as inseparable from transformation and as its condition of possibility (TAZZIOLI, 2007).

I consider that enhancing children's use of public spaces has a potential for promoting changes inasmuch as it helps to strengthen a normative bias of reciprocity and inter-dependence. Albeit policy enactment in its links with potential spaces (AITKEN, 2018) does not predetermine the way we experience the city, it may contribute to the production of space in a different manner, possibly improving relations within urban space.

1.4 Potential Contributions

This study addresses an urgent demand for research approaches that guide us towards an interrogation of policies that affect children's lives in Brazilian cities. I highlight this approach as being 'problem-driven' inasmuch as it's starting point relates to pressing issues and puzzles that confront subjects in the present, thus stimulating theoretical reflection and practical engagement (HOWARTH, 2013). Although recognizing the challenge of how to give rise to a knowledge of space that can envisage policy implications, this study is not 'future-oriented' in the sense of looking for a desirable setting for policy work that would be depicted from the identification of specific variables or requirements for management. To interrogate how children are governed *vis-à-vis*[4] public space in the context of experiences that are in some way politically experimental drives us towards highlighting potentials rather than advocating any kind of 'sufficiency' or 'conclusive' answers.

I recognize that policies and practices are connected to global processes and structures, with distinct effects on urban public space. While complexity and contradictions are historically intrinsic to urban settings, it is still relevant that research efforts try to acknowledge critical gaps between policy and practice. This poses challenges to 'problem-solving' paradigms associated with evidence-based policy. I understand that spatial interventions via policy will not automatically solve (complex) urban problems. Thus, no single policy must be considered entirely 'suitable' or 'applicable' to and for all situations. Still, analysis of specific experiences related to policy enactment can be potentially productive to inform debates on how research might serve public interest.

I agree with Cochrane (2007) when he considers that simply looking out for 'what works' is unlikely to be helpful in understanding what actually happens, in interpreting the policies that are developed or assessing the initiatives that are launched throughout cities. It would leave us, he argues, with a fragmented set of understandings to match the fragmented policy process. But if the ways in which issues are problematized are central to governing processes, then making problematizations our starting point can help us understand complex and intersecting dynamics, and this can potentially inform future changes in the policy field.

This study attempts to 'open up' space for children missing in official data, policy debates, and academic accounts in the Policy academic field. It considers that it is necessary to broaden the analysis beyond the political arenas that give children a political role that is distant

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[4] I use this expression, *vis-à-vis* inasmuch as it comprises the idea of children in urban public space as well as in relation to public space (that is, not overtly present in public space).

from that one typical of the spaces of their daily life (KALLIO; HÄKLI, 2010). This might contribute to prepare ground for children's space production in a different manner within policy.

1.5 Knowledge and Boundaries

Dydia DeLyser (2009, p. 341) pointed out that "writing is not only our most important means of communicating our research, it is itself a way of thinking, and a way of thinking through our research (…) All writing is written from somewhere, by someone, and no writing can ever be purely objective." Indeed, as she points out, thinking and writing actively shape both our lives and our research.

'Translating' also shapes lives and research. Thinking, translating, writing. Writing a Thesis in English should not be taken for granted in Academy and is not only about the purpose of disseminating ideas for a potentially wider audience. It also relates to a recognition of gaps in studies that comprise children's experiences in Brazilian cities. Foremost, Southern realities are still timidly addressed, which suggests a yet subaltern position of knowledge and interpretations of the world related to hierarchical relations (MENESES, 2008).

Besides, disciplinary boundaries have restricted and limited endeavors for understanding how policy interplays with space and children. Seeking interdisciplinary paths through this study does indeed present challenges, but it can open up possibilities that would not have been anticipated if I were to remain in one knowledge scope. Besides, it highlights possibilities related to different configurations for presenting data and narrative strategies that may contribute to widen interpretations and dialogue.

In any knowledge construction process related to 'approaching' or 'understanding' children's perspectives on urban space and their experiences in an interplay with policy involves problematic borders. This entails not only ethical considerations in research with children, but constantly acknowledging my positionality and affects, especially in fieldwork.

Yet, in the context of this study not only do theoretical frameworks surpass national boundaries, but academic conversation also goes beyond geographic frontiers and enhances possibilities and connections. Participation in seminars in different settings (São Paulo - Brazil, Ghent - Belgium, San Diego – United States, Brasília – Brazil) throughout the period of these Doctoral studies, and the chances of interaction and sharing with scholars of different disciplinary backgrounds were crucial and fruitful. International scientific collaboration between scholars and Post-graduate Programs allows partnerships and insights as well as rare opportunities for Brazilian doctoral students. The 6-month period as a visiting student in the

Department of Geography of San Diego State University was an experience that meaningfully influenced the ideas articulated in this study and its direction.

1.6 Outline of the Chapters

This Thesis consists of eight chapters (Figure 01). After introducing the study (Chapter 1), in the second chapter I consider and review theoretical frameworks related to debates on urban policy and space, clarifying the form of spatial understanding that guides this study, and working out concepts and ideas whilst considering how some connections may have implications for research in the policy field.

Figure 01. Outline of chapters of the Thesis
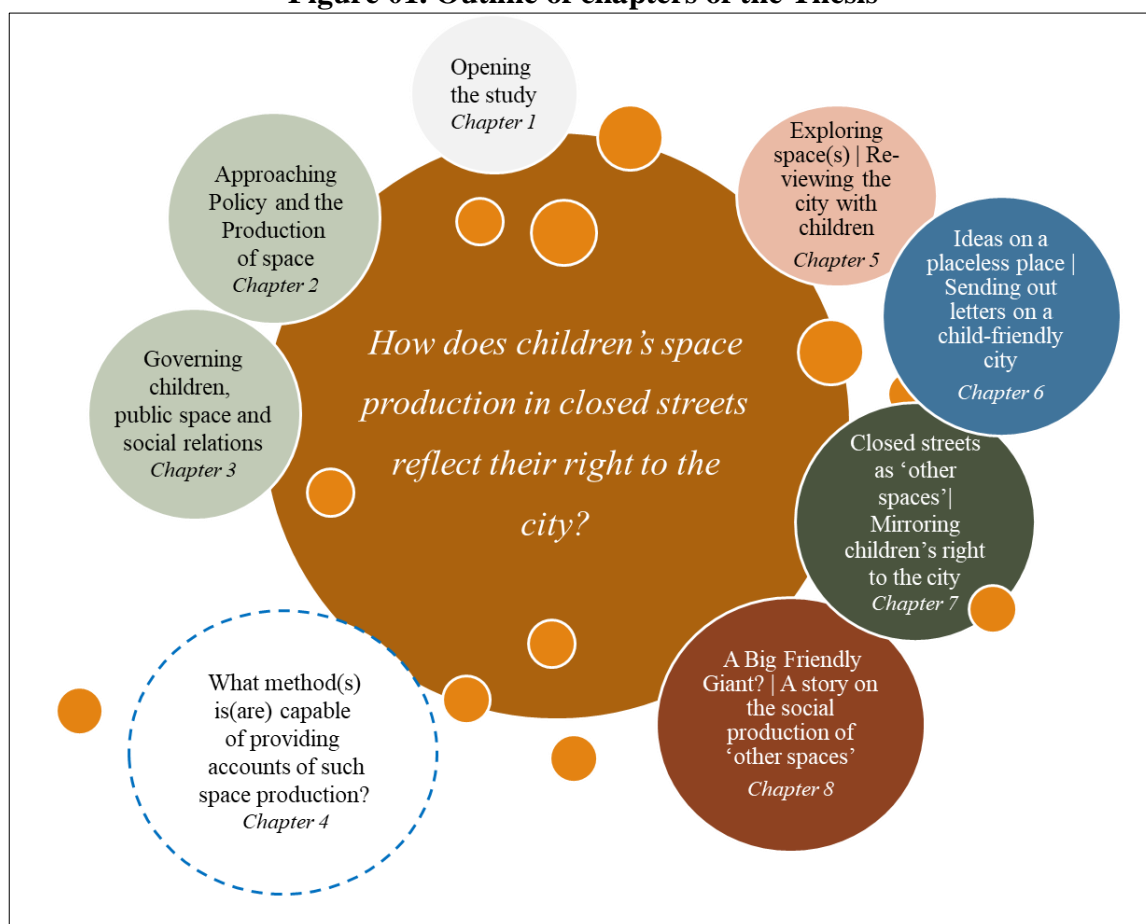
Source: the author (2018)

In Chapter 3, I advance in this effort, but connecting discussions on governing, children and social relations considering urban public space. I also attempt to highlight links between concepts and ideas to suggest opening lines of inquiry that can help advance our understanding of governing and children *vis-à-vis* public space.

In Chapter 4, the methodological aspects and approaches related to this study are presented, discussed and justified. This includes, besides ethical considerations implied in

research with children, my considerations on positionality and self-reflexivity, description of the exploratory efforts of the research and its contexts, the different methods used, aspects of fieldwork and analysis, including analytical frameworks and use of NVivo software, as well as acknowledging some of the study's limitations and gaps.

Chapter 5 addresses inquiries on how children view urban environments, in special their neighborhood and their borough, in an exploratory research effort with 9-year-old children in two schools in Recife, Brazil. Chapter 6 directs attention to how children represent, in letters, ideas of a city which is friendly to children. We ask 11-year-old children in Recife to write these letters in the context of this study as I focus on environmental child-friendliness as well as other aspects that guide subsequent research efforts. Thus, in Chapter 7 I discuss how these ideas reflect concrete spaces in Brazilian cities, directing attention to the closed street as a sort of grid of analysis, and in the context of Paulista Avenue.

In the beginning of each chapter of this Thesis I present quotes from the storybook *The BFG* (1982) written by English author Roald Dahl[5]. This will lead to a discussion, in the last chapter, that juxta-poses the study's findings with Sophie's and the BFG's experiences aiming to enhance a debate within policy that recognizes affect. Thus, the last chapter approaches, through a dialogue with that storybook, how policy interplays with children's space production in the context of closed streets. In this chapter I also present (non-)concluding remarks related to the study as I re-visit its research question. This is followed by a References section and Appendices. In the next chapter, I discuss this study's theoretical frameworks.

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[5] Roald Dahl dedicated *The BFG* (The Big Friendly Giant) to his late daughter Olivia who passed away at the age of seven. The book enhances word experimentation through the playful way the BFG speaks. He was a novelist, poet and screen writer for both children and adults. Some of Roald Dahl's books include: Matilda, Charlie and the Chocolate Factory, The Twits, The Witches.

2. APPROACHING POLICY AND THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE

'The human beans is making rules to suit themselves,' the BFG went on. 'But the rules they is making do not suit the little piggy-wiggies. Am I right or left?'

'Right,' Sophie said.

'Giants is also making rules. Their rules is not suiting the human beans. Everybody is making his own rules to suit himself' (DAHL, 1982)[6].

2.1 Introduction

After Isaac Newton, and from the nineteenth century along with advances in fields such as Psychology, Sociology and Anthropology, our experience of space extrapolated a commonsense notion and gained the status of an object of study. Experienced space appears in forms and typologies that are increasingly varied and in relationships between space and place in which places are inseparable from the context of experience (SANTAELLA, 2007).

This chapter clarifies the form of spatial understanding that guides this study, working out concepts and ideas whilst considering how some connections may have implications for research in the policy field. After this introduction, the second part of the chapter acknowledges how an emphasis on historical imagination, in modern social theory, has often obstructed a needed sensitivity towards the spatiality of social life. Demands for spatial thinking are especially associated with an increasing relevance of 'urban space' as an object of study. Different theorists have portrayed space or raised ideas that elicit important reflections about spatialization. In that part of the text I highlight discussions in post-structural thinking from Doreen Massey, Michel Foucault and Ernesto Laclau as far as their ideas resonate a relational and open perspective of space, a vision of space as a product of interrelationships and continuous construction.

In the third part of the chapter, I consider how the urban and the phenomenon of urbanization have been discussed by different authors, also pointing out connections with globalization, impacts on space-time patterns and uneven power relations, and inquiring how this affects our view on how urban policy should be approached. Henri Lefebvre's theoretical constructions on the 'production of space' are highlighted as it addresses our need to assess

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[6] See Appendix C.

how specific spatial practices are constituted or discouraged by policy enactment. Lefebvre's work also demystifies the idea of urban policy as being separate from the administrative and social processes of producing space.

In the fourth part of the chapter, a key concept presented is that of the 'right to the city', emphasizing its disputes, but also its openness and undecidability as potentially positive features for theoretical thinking related to the study of children's interface with public space and policy enactment. In the last part of the chapter I present some remarks from which I sort out a clearer connection to the overall aim of this Thesis.

2.2 Demands for Spatial Thinking

Despite the broad recognition that our spatial experiences are part and bases of signification, the spatialization of thought and experience has struggled to overcome an essentially historical epistemology that dominates modern social theory. Many present a demand for spatial and geographical imagination in theoretical work (*e.g.*, FOUCAULT, 1980; SOJA, 2000; MASSEY, 2008).

Indeed, space suffered a certain loss of priority when compared to time, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century, a loss influenced by assumptions such as those proposed by Henri Bergson (MASSEY, 2008), who's critique of the conception of 'memory as a drawer' privileges time over space, as well as an idea of space as being abstract and quantitative (URRY, 2000). For Edward Soja (2000), this contempt is linked to a simplistic interpretation of modernity as a rupture with traditions, when we ought to recognize it as a complex reorganization of temporal and spatial relations. There is a privileged place granted to historical imagination in this interpretation, obstructing critical sensitivity towards the spatiality of social life.

The problem is, according to Doreen Massey (2008), bigger than a simple matter of priority. By associating space with representation, the first was deprived of dynamism and radically opposed to time. Massey criticizes a strict association of spatialization with representation that implies subjugating space to the textual and conceptual. She draws a parallel between Ernesto Laclau's (1990) notion of 'openness of the social' linked to dislocation events with the conceptualization of space. In this perspective, not just history, but space too is open.

Laclau (1990) refers to dislocation as the process by which the contingency and precariousness of discursive structures are made visible. Events of dislocation threaten identities but are also the basis on which new identities are constituted. Therefore, new possibilities of action are related to the articulation of new discourses, and dislocation is a *sine*

qua non condition for political articulation. The logics of openness of the social, that is, of contingency and precariousness, refers to one of space's basic characteristics that constitutes it as one of the crucial moments in the production of the dislocation necessary for the existence of politics (MASSEY, 2008).

Another and yet a relevant counterpoint to what might seem a reversal of priorities is Michel Foucault's portrayal of the importance of space, one that does not appear in his books, but in lectures, radio-talks and interviews, functioning as an imperative link to connect space, knowledge and power in his work (FOUCAULT, 1980; WRIGHT; RABINOW, 1982). We must highlight a movement in Foucault's early spatial thinking of discourse to his emphasis on how space integrates processes of power. A 'shift' in Foucault's thought can be traced from an abstract notion of space or spatial discourse (*i.e.*, discourses described with the help of spatial metaphors) to a complex and real-world notion of space as a crucial element in practices of power and contestation (*i.e.*, discursive spaces, in which discourses about space interact with physical space in its architectural, urban, institutional forms) (WEST-PAVLOV, 2009, p. 112).

In Foucault's writing on literature throughout the 1960s, remarks on the spatiality of language already begin to shape the concept of epistemological space that he will work with later. After *Les Mots et les choses*, published in 1966, Foucault directs his attention away from literature and textualist theories, towards a wider interest in the social space as a site for contestation, watching out for practices, power relations, interactions of institutions and material spatial environments. Russel West-Pavlov points out that this shift from the literary site, as the center of attention of spatiality, to social space in general as a site of contestation is heralded by the notion of 'heterotopia'[7]. This idea was introduced in *Les Mots et les choses* as places of epistemological and representational disorder on the margins of a society's order of representation but was revisited in *Des espaces autres*[8] (Of Other Spaces), a late publication of a lecture Foucault gave to a group of architects in 1967 (*cf.* FOUCAULT, 1986 [1967]). The notion of heterotopia slides, through his work, from a literary concept to one situated in concrete social sites at specific moments in history (WEST-PAVLOV, 2009).

Foucault outlined his notion of heterotopias as the heterogeneous and relational spaces characteristic of the modern world, those 'other spaces' that society reserves for individuals who are (for society) in a state of crisis or have a deviant behavior. He moved away from the

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[7] The literal medical definition of heterotopia describes the displacement of organs, deriving from the Greek *topos* (place) and *heteros* (otherness) (HETHERINGTON, 1997, p. 8)

[8] This text was not reviewed for publication by Foucault and is not part of his official *corpus* of work, but it was released in 1984 into the public domain for an exhibition in Berlin (FOUCAULT, 1986).

inner space of Bachelard's poetics to focus on another spatiality of social life, an 'outer space', the properly lived (and socially produced) space and the relations between them. Soja (1989) considers this space linked to what Lefebvre describes as *l'espace vécu*, the spatiality lived and socially produced, concrete and abstract at the same time (this will be better addressed in Section 3.5, Chapter 3).

Thus, not just history, but also space is open (MASSEY, 2008). To reject de idea of space as a closed system, and to imagine it as always in construction brings this study closer to a post-structuralist perspective[9] for social analysis inasmuch as it emphasizes approaches towards theorizing that deal with relations between social structure, human subjectivity and power. Massey (2008) states that the stasis of a closed system, dear to a structuralist conception of structure, obstructs relational construction as closure steals from space one of its potentially disruptive characteristics: its juxtaposition of previously disconnected narratives/temporalities. It would be this feature of the spatial what constitutes it as a crucial moment in the production of the dislocations (*cf.* LACLAU, 1990) necessary for politics' existence. For Massey, multiplicity and space are co-constitutive, space being the sphere of possibility of the existence of multiplicity, that is, in which multiple trajectories coexist.

Thus, the genuine experiencing of the city is not an essentialist one – such as one of a single city - but the experience of an interrelation of many cities and trajectories. In his description of a movement that extrapolates a cartesian space-time characterization of the city, Jean-François Lyotard remarks that a merely rational sketch is always related to experiences and visions that it excludes. In the city, the "visible configuration of streets and districts contains another configuration from a century ago, and yet another. Each one is linked to the others through urban planning sometimes visible, sometimes hidden" (LYOTARD, 2011, p. 179). Each part of the city is fragmented from different perspectives and according to its disruptive interrelationship. The singular, essentialist vision of the city based on an external ordinator principle is rejected, and a critical reorientation of our daily experience of the city (as well as urban planning) is encouraged (WILLIAMS, 2012).

Spatial thinking guided by a reformulated conception of structure, subjectivity and agency, recognizes social relations' contingency and historicity, as well as agency in a broader experimentation that avoids reducing it to a self-present consciousness. Furthermore, "affects, passions, feelings, images, rhythms, corporeal dispositions, and even the multiple connections

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[9] Poststructuralism consists of a philosophical response to structuralism in a critique of its optimistic and scientific bias and its claim to become a mega paradigm for social sciences (PETERS, 2000).

between different regions of the brain contest exclusively rationalist and intellectualist orientations" in social theory (HOWARTH, 2013, p. 178), and are significant for addressing omissions and imperfections of early poststructuralist thinking.

2.3 Urban Policy and the Production of Space

Major transformations in terms of territorial organization of economic activity, as well as of political-economic forces, underline geographies of power associated with globalization (SASSEN, 1996). Deep changes have boosted the emergence of an interconnected capitalist economy, society and global culture, with significant impact on urban landscapes.

Graham and Marvin (2001) outline the collapse of the capitalist boom of the 1950s up to the 1970s and of the Keynesian welfare state, this one centered on the modern ideal of 'the nation', and which went through constant fiscal and legitimacy crises. A global neoliberal agenda pursues progressive reduction of state control while advocating liberalization and privatization of infrastructure. Assumptions on the superiority of individual choice, market efficiency and models of competitiveness acquire supremacy status, with significant influence over urban policy. Urban policy's attention continually changes in ways that reflect dominant views and discourses of public policy (COCHRANE, 2007). However, emphasis on urban policy will vary in different contexts, since 'actually existing neoliberalism' integrates existing institutional and historical settings, re-signifying engagements albeit in a non-deterministic manner (BRENNER; THEODORE, 2002).

Thus, although uneven power relations are blatant, and large numbers of lower-income population crowd together in urban spaces that lack the kind of infrastructure, urban services, equipment, and public amenities found in many global Northern cities (MARICATO, 2010), it is worth acknowledging that Southern countries do not simply 'suffer the effect' of global processes but are also co-responsible for producing such a system. Understanding urban policy and its effects requires an engagement with their stories and geographies (WILLIAMS; METH; WILLIS, 2009).

Neither in Brazil nor in any other country can policy be reduced to a simple representation summarized in a set of documents or the responsibilities of a government department. It is a dynamic process being produced at different levels of the state and involving a range of nonstate actors, as well as the private sector. Urban policy is both an expression of contemporary understandings of the urban, of what makes cities what they are, and itself helps to shape those understandings (as well as the cities themselves) (COCHRANE, 2007, p. 13).

In Academy, the role of place in political and social processes has undergone an important reassessment by Geography, since the 1980s and 1990s, towards overcoming an immobile vision of place and enunciating the dynamic and fluid scenario of social and economic interactions (BRINGEL; ECHART, 2008; BRINGEL, 2007). This is a broader conception of spatiality related to a 'spatial turn' that sheds light on categories such as 'space' beyond Geography's disciplinary boundaries, due to a recognition of the interconnection between urbanization and globalization (SCHMID, 2008), with significant repercussions on other areas of study, including the field of policy.

Particularly, in the Marxist domain the phenomenon of urbanization has been problematized from a capital accumulation/ reproduction perspective. Among scholars related to this line of thinking, Henri Lefebvre (1974), in his Political Economy critique, sought to amend a sub-theorization of 'space' in Marxist tradition, towards processes and strategies of space production, which are also historical. The Lefebvrian theory of space production signals a paradigmatic shift in the sociological conception of space-time linked to a (capitalist) tendency of totalizing urbanization, and Lefebvre's work 'The Production of Space' (1991 [1974]) has recently received great attention (KIPFER, 2008).

Combined processes of urbanization and globalization, and the new space-time configurations this entails, reinforce the importance of a conceptualization of space that can integrate "the categories of *city* and *space* in a single, comprehensive social theory, enabling the understanding and analysis of spatial processes at different levels (SCHMID, 2008, p. 27-28). Lefebvre's formulation rejects the idea of space as an independent material reality that exists 'in itself'; thus, space can never be an epistemological starting position. Since space is produced, that is, bound up with social reality, the 'production of space' is a relational concept of space (*i.e.*, simultaneity, the synchronic order of social reality) and time (*i.e.*, the diachronic order, the historic process of social production), which are not purely material factors, but are social products inasmuch as they are understood as integral aspects of social practice (*idem*).

To grasp how social space is produced, Lefebvre (1991) considers three dimensions dialectically interconnected as moments of the production of space: spatial practice, representations of space, and spaces of representation. Schmid (2008) explains that the meaning of the three dimensions becomes clear only in the context of Lefebvre's evolving theoretical work. In this triadic version of the dialectic, each moment can be understood as a thesis and each one refers to the other two and would remain a mere abstraction without the others. It links three moments that are left distinct from each other, without reconciling them in a synthesis— three moments that exist in interaction, in conflict or in alliance with each other (p. 33). Thus,

the production of space would be grounded in this three-dimensionality that is identifiable in every social process; space emerges only in the interplay of all three dimensions.

From this perspective, (social) space can be analyzed in relation to those three dimensions. In the first, social space appears in the dimension of spatial practice as an interlinking chain or network of activities or interactions which on their part rest upon a determinate material basis (morphology, built environment), for example, the daily connection of residence and workplace. In the second, this spatial practice can be linguistically defined and demarcated as space and then constitutes a representation of space, comprising forms such as descriptions, definitions, and scientific theories of space. Lefebvre also counts maps and plans, information in pictures, and signs among representations of space. This representation serves as an organizing *schema* or a frame of reference for communication, which permits a (spatial) orientation and thus co-determines activity at the same time. In the third, the material "order" that emerges on the ground can itself become the vehicle conveying meaning. In this way a (spatial) symbolism develops that expresses and evokes social norms, values, and experiences (SCHMID, 2008, p. 36-37).

Schmid (2008) points out that Lefebvre's epistemological emphasis is not properly on the subject that thinks, acts, and experiences, but on the process of social production of thought, action, and experience. Thus, the subject of his theory is not space 'in itself', but space is to be understood in an active sense as an intricate web of relationships that is continuously produced and reproduced. The object of the analysis is, thus, the active processes of production that take place in time (p. 41). Zingale *et al*. (2014) consider yet Lefebvre's notion of 'trial by space' as fruitful for approaching sites at a particular time, suggesting that by analyzing spatial representations of a specific site over time, a mix of values can be articulated at a local level. Whereas Lefebvre uses trial by space to describe the unfolding of history as spatial and accompanied by 'trials' (and then either remains static or, frequently, is reconstituted), the authors use it to 'freeze' ongoing changes in urban space for the purposes of analysis and discussion (p. 1046).

David Harvey strives to build a Marxist-based theory upon the relationship between society and space, efforts addressed in books that include 'Social Justice and the City' (1973) and 'The Geography of Capitalist Accumulation' (1975). He recognizes capital accumulation as occurring in a geographical context, and creating types of geographic structures, hence the theory of accumulation is related to the understanding of spatial structure, and with a particular form of location analysis (HARVEY, 1975). Manuel Castells, in turn, seeks in 'The Urban

Question' (1972) a theoretical framework to understand urbanization based on Althusser's Marxist theory, and breaks with empiricism towards a sociological analysis of urban policies.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the crisis of the Taylorist-Fordist accumulation pattern emerges as an expression of a structural capital crisis that extends to the present day. Urban studies directed greater attention to 'spatiality' in concrete historical and geographical formations, elucidating the reconstruction of an epistemological shift from the 'industrial' to the 'urban'. The Taylorist-Fordist binomial, a dominant feature of the productive system and its working process, prevailed in large industries throughout virtually the entire twentieth century. In the course of modernization, industrial principles of time-space organization in the workplace extrapolate the "industrial triad of the factory/ village/ slum of the workers" that determines the city, to level the class structure of the *bourgeois* city, divided into urban and proletarian spheres (PRIGGE, 2008, p. 55). New methods of architecture, management and urban planning combine with the ways of life of the metropolitan masses, to which these methods have become a constant habit in their professional life. In planning and controlling the economy of time that determines daily life's *modus operandi*, the 'enterprise' as a regulating idea of the urban finds its symbol in the industrial machine, the engine and the automobile (Fordism) (*idem*).

Transformations in the working sphere, such as management flexibility, individualization and diversification of labor relations, decentralization of enterprises and their organization in networks (CASTELLS, 1997) have been an expression of capital reorganization, to achieve again its level of accumulation and domination. In its advanced stages, the capital deflagrates transformations in the productive process, through forms of flexible (post-Fordist) accumulation, new managerial technologies, technological advances and alternative models to the Taylorism-Fordism binomial, like Toyotism (ANTUNES, 2002).

Post-Fordism implies flexible and qualitative modes of regulating social and political-economic relations that are restructured within the capitalist framework of space - cities, regions and nations. In advanced capitalism, the 'industrial' principle, that until then underlined corresponding power structures and social topologies, makes way for 'urbanity' as a basis for regulating space (PRIGGE, 2008). Not merely the 'industrial' (and its disciplines' attention on capital and labor, classes and reproduction) constitute the *episteme*, but the 'urban' (and its emphasis on everyday life and consumption, planning and spectacle) (DEBORD, 1992), assume relevant influence on social development throughout the second half of the twentieth century.

In the twenty-first century, the 'cyborg city' is occupied and complemented by telematic networks and its technologies (Internet, Wi-Fi, smartphones, satellites, drones etc.), along with transport, energy, sanitation, lighting and communication networks. Informational territories, which expand and allow informational mobility coupled with mobility through urban space, represent new forms of control and surveillance that comprise areas of control of digital information flow in a zone of intersection between cyberspace and urban space (LEMOS, 2007, 2009). Technological spaces of robotization and computerization overlap working and living conditions; genetic engineering advances in its achievements of biological corporeality; semiological image spaces impact the hermeneutic culture of the written world; and artificial intelligence apparatuses produce hyperspace experience (PRIGGE, 2008). Such phenomena produce an immaterial spatiality that cannot be symbolized by conventional representations.

Considering that the domain of spatial practices is constantly changing and rejects a fixed definition of the urban as a spatial domain (HARVEY, 1993), the political condition of the city must be interrogated in face of a new urbanity that has redesigned the broader and more globalizing spatiotemporal coordinates that involve the city (SWYNGEDOUW, 2010). Indeed, when we consider all the aspects discussed, and the challenges they entail, it stands out that the nature of the urban 'problem' should be re-interpreted.

Instead of presenting an immediate 'catalog of decline', with which urban policy would engage to change, in some expressions cities become potential (and actual) sources of growth and development considering the right policies are adopted. Not only has there been a broad shift from the state as regulator of the market to the state as an agent of the market –, but today's explicit focus of policy is on capitalist production (COCHRANE, 2007, p. 13). Indeed, thinking about urban space in a particular way may disrupt the way some political issues are formulated, and contribute to some political arguments under construction, such as the 'right to the city' claimed by different social groups (MASSEY, 2008).

Mark Purcell (2002, p. 101) outlines main concerns of scholars who identify an undergoing shift from local government to local governance. In its effort to compete for increasingly mobile investment capital, the local state (government) has transferred many of its powers and duties to complex networks of new state, *quasi*-state, and non-state institutions (governance). Scholars worry that the new governance *ethos* is driven particularly by the imperative of capitalist accumulation. It can eschew democratic deliberation as inefficient and inappropriate for present economic circumstances. The fear, in short, is that new institutions and their new policy imperatives generate exclusion. Main worries refer to the

disenfranchisement of inhabitants with respect to participation in decisions that shape the city (ROLNIK, 2013; 2014).

2.4 The Right to the City

"[A]s a transformed and renewed right to urban life" (LEFEBVRE, 1996 [1968], p. 158), the 'right to the city' derives from Lefebvre's writings as an intriguing concept that implies a critique and an appeal (ATTOH, 2011; PURCELL; 2002). In the context of the 1960s and 1970s movements, in France, this critique was directed towards functionalist and technocratic urbanization processes and their negative potential for eradicating urbanity and depriving urban dwellers of places of social encounter by excessive rational ordering of urban space. For Lefebvre, when the city's exchange value is prioritized over its use value, an appeal must be directed to the need to (re)claim the right to the city (DIKEÇ, 2001). This implies the recognition of urban space as (re)producer of relations of power, and the right to participate in it (GILBERT; DIKEÇ, 2008).

The logics of critical spatial thought embedded in those movements have been influential in many disciplines (SOJA, 2009). Besides influencing renewal in theoretical thought, the Lefebvrian concept of the right to the city is often highlighted in discussions on contemporary urban struggles as well as in urban planning and management (SOUZA, 2010). As Raquel Rolnik (2014) states:

> From the Taksim Square in Istanbul to the protests of June in Brazil, from the anti-eviction struggles in the context of megaevents in Cape Town, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo to the social movements that fight against gentrification in cities of the South as well as of the North - urban struggles are on the rise. The last century Lefebvrian concept of the 'right to the city' is definitely alive - and on the streets (ROLNIK, 2014, p. 298).

The right to the city, for Lefebvre, involves the right to participation and to appropriation. While the right to participation sustains that urban dwellers should play a central role in decisions related to the production of urban space, appropriation (and not domination) includes the right of inhabitants to physically access, occupy, and fully use urban space, as well as produce this space so that it meets their needs in daily life (PURCELL, 2002).

For Lefebvre, the city "is the work of a history, that is, of clearly defined people and groups who accomplish this *oeuvre*" (LEFEBVRE, 1996, p. 101). In his conceptualization, the use value of urban space is posed as the primary aspect in decision making. Purcell (2003) explains that the right to the city would operationalize the right to appropriation through the

right to participation; inhabitants would pursue appropriation by participating in the decisions that produce urban space.

For Lefebvre (1991), dominated space is identified with exchange value and is constituted in terms of specific capital markets and property interests. Appropriated space, in turn, is identified with use and is oriented toward modes of relating that create life-affirming possibilities. A space need not be designed with this in mind; the patterns of use may construct appropriated space. Zingale and Liggett (2014) clarify that although Lefebvre is critical of the increased assertion of dominated space, he does not pose these two categories of space – dominated and appropriated – as discrete, dichotomic static categories. He is discussing modes of activity; thus, the two modes of relating can be combined and "ideally, at least, they ought to be combined" (LEFEBVRE, 1991, p. 166).

Furthermore, the right to the city does not only entail a right to participate in urban social life, to access what's already there, nor does it consist merely of a right that can be 'distributed' to individuals through top-down mechanisms (DIKEÇ, 2001). Users of space not only inhabit what has already been produced, but also have the ability to use space in ways that differ from the original intent as formulated by urban policy makers, for instance (LEFEBVRE, 1991).

Harvey (2008, p. 23) refers to it as a right to change the city "after our heart's desire". He points out that the question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire. Thus, a right to the city presents itself as a collective right, with the aim being the democratic management over the surpluses upon which cities arise. This would entail an approach dependent on the exercise of collective power, in relating to the city's political life, for reshaping urbanization processes.

Peter Marcuse (2012) adds that, when we address concrete problems in a historical context, the notion of the right to the city needs content. What right? For whom? What city? In comparison to 1968, where the emergence of that notion of right to the city is situated by scholarship, there is now a crisis that entails the need for comprehension and proper differentiation.

Post-1970 global restructuring has involved important changes in the way cities are governed; with governance being rescaled while sub- and supranational institutions are engaged in urban policy processes, policy being reoriented toward competition and away from redistribution, and state functions being transferred to nonstate or quasi-state bodies (PURCELL, 2002). Those changes are related to the emergence of a neoliberal urban paradigm of competitive cities and entrepreneurial states (HARVEY, 1989; BRENNER; THEODORE,

2002), drawing concerns towards the disenfranchisement of inhabitants with respect to participation in decisions that shape the city (ROLNIK, 2013; 2014).

Yet, 'rights' within the literature on the right to the city seems to resemble a 'black box' (ATTOH, 2001). It can include: a right to political space alongside rights of national citizenship (*e.g*., FERNANDES, 2007); a right to occupy, design and define what public space is (*e.g*., SOUZA, 2001); a right to autonomy in the face of state urban policy as well as a right against police brutality, surveillance, and state overreach (*e.g*., ROLNIK, 2011). Multiplicity emerges as a strong feature as the right to the city can constitute different kinds of rights and can belong to individuals and groups with apparently distinct struggles. The differences in the kinds of rights and how they are deployed in different geopolitical scenarios shape the nature of political conflict as well as the publics and cities that are created (STAEHELI; MITCHELL, 2008). Whereas the right to the city appears as a socioeconomic right, a right to housing, to transportation and to natural resources, or a right to a communal good, like aesthetics or community, 'rights' are far from a static or fixed concept.

If, on one hand, the commitment of social theory must be to contribute to the implementation of the 'right to the city' - exposing, proposing and politicizing -, on the other hand we should recognize that the right to the city is a complex theoretical formulation (MARCUSE, 2012). Attoh (2001) considers that, within its radical openness, we will find rights that not only collide but can be incommensurable. Recent gentrifying efforts in global cities, for example, seem to expose some paradoxical aspects of a right to the city (*e.g*., ZUKIN, 2009).

Purcell (2002) reminds us that although Lefebvre envisages a democratic challenge to marginalization and oppression, he does not offer a completed and self-contained alternative to current urban enfranchisement structures. Instead, he imagines and advocates a new urban politics which is contingent, that is, we cannot know *a priori* what kind of a city it will produce. What are the consequences of empowering urban inhabitants? Dikeç (2001) reminds us that if the right to the city implies not only a spatial change, but also societal change, therefore society itself and its political culture are implicated in a contingent manner. In other words, the exercise of the right to the city would vary depending on the society in question.

The openness of the concept of the right to the city is not necessarily a disappointing feature. Mitchell and Heynen (2009) affirm that its value is precisely its 'capaciousness' and openness as an idea: "The fact that it can signify not only a right to *habitat* (as the UN conferences have largely interpreted it) or *La Fête* (the ability to participate in the spectacle and shape it to new ends, a primary concern of Lefebvre), but also a right to the *oeuvre* (the ability

to participate in the work and the making of the city) and the right to urban life (which is to say the right to be part of the city—to be present, to be)" (p.616).

Besides, we should point out that in this conceptualization urban citizenship is not restricted to a legal status, such as the one implicated in national citizenship, but to a form of identification with the city, to a political identity (DIKEÇ, 2001). The right to the city "gathers the interests (…) of the whole society and firstly of all those who *inhabit*" (LEFEBVRE, 1996, p. 158), therefore it is those who inhabit the city who can claim the right to the city. Purcell (2002) problematizes that if we maintain Lefebvre's direct association between the 'inhabitant' and the category 'working class' as the only "agent, the social carrier or support of this realization" (*idem*, p. 158), this would reduce the political agenda to anti-capitalist resistance, weakening the analytical and political power of Lefebvre's idea of inhabitance.

Furthermore, Edésio Fernandes (2007) points out that in Lefebvre's contribution to urban politics, the right to the city can be understood not only as a value, but also as a legal right. That is, when understood from a combined philosophical and political perspective, the concept can give substance to the formulation of both a general discourse of rights and social justice, and a more specific rights-based approach towards urban development. Indeed, the struggle for rights produces space, and the rules for how public space is created, used, and transformed within cities are, in part, rules of law, rules of right (MITCHELL, 2003, p. 5).

Brazil's City Statute (2001)[10], for instance, solidifies a trajectory that has sought to confer the right to the city to its population, historically marked by income distribution inequalities and social exclusion. It is the result of important struggles of urban social movements organized around the flag of urban reform since the 1970s (ROLNIK, 2013). The sphere of Brazilian urban policy can provide, in this sense, insights related to a Lefebvrian inspired conceptualization of the right to the city. Its formulations and procedures seem fruitful sites to investigate efficacies of participatory citizenship in the development of new institutions, values and practices of democratic government (CALDEIRA; HOLSTON, 2015). What flows from this, however, is not that spatial interventions will automatically solve social problems

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[10] It exceeds the scope of this text to detail this background, but Brazil has several achievements in law and policy, including - 1988: chapters 182 and 183 on urban politics in the Brazilian Constitution, which for the first time deals with the social function of the city and private property; 2001: City Statute; 2003: creation of the Ministry of Cities and the holding of the 1st National Conference of Cities; 2004: creation of the National Council of Cities, advisory body of the Ministry of Cities; 2005: Public Consortia Law and approval of federal laws that establish the regulatory framework for Environmental Sanitation and the National Fund for Housing and Social Interest; 2012: National Policy on Urban Mobility (Law nº 12.587 / 2012). After this process of consolidating of several rights derived from social struggles in the 1980s and 1990s, Brazil became a reference in urban politics, mainly because it inserted the right to the city, gradually, in international urban forums (MARGUTI *et al.*, 2016).

and spatial injustice in the city. No single set of legal provisions can alone solve structural problems of historically unequal societies (ROLNIK, 2014).

Besides, the right to the city is dependent upon public space, albeit "just what public space is - and 'who' has the right to it - is rarely clear, and certainly cannot be established in the abstract" (MITCHELL, 2003, p. 5). Lynn Staeheli and Don Mitchell (2007) acknowledge that the meaning of 'public space' has become increasingly complex in recent years. They argue that if it was once 'unproblematic' to equate public space with open or accessible space, this is no longer the case, as several issues about what makes a space 'public' have appeared. In this study I emphasize, among the ideas discussed by Staeheli and Mitchell, the notion of 'public' as associated with the idea of polity, community, and citizenship, as an idea that highlights sociability.

Considering yet debates on the transformation of public space in the last decades, Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter (2008) point out how they have been marked by a lament over a 'loss' of public space. The general worry about "the loss of public space is often mingled with a nostalgia for a vision of public space that perhaps never truly existed: public streets have always been, or included, a porous zone between public and private; and the idyllic public spaces of the *agora* – the town square – were often *not* freely accessible to members of society who were not deemed citizens" (KERN, 2008, p. 112-113), including children.

2.5 Discussion

In this chapter, I approach the field of policy by underpinning a spatial understanding that highlights, besides the importance of space as an object of study, the notion of urban space as relational and always under construction. In a relational and open perspective, the vision of space as a product of interrelationships and being always under construction is part of approaches that consider the world being creatively located not only in historical making, but also in the construction of human geographies (MASSEY, 2008), in the social production of space (LEFEBVRE, 1974) and in the continuous (re)formulation of urban landscapes (DURING, 1993).

To investigate how assumptions about desirable urban spaces, such as templates of 'just cities' or 'child-friendly cities' for example, are enacted through policy involves the call for theoretical frameworks that can work out ideas related to the production of space. Foucault's ideas are relevant inasmuch as we acknowledge his emphasis on how space integrates processes of power and social relations, and how the idea of 'other spaces' (or heterotopias) plays a linking role in that shift (see Section 3.4). Also, assessing space through a reformulated conception of

agency helps to disavow its reduction to a self-present consciousness of, for instance, the unitary 'child' (OSWELL, 2013) and welcomes discussions that also recognize the importance of non-human and immaterial aspects in accounts on urban space.

Lefebvre's (1968; 1991) approach, as I pointed out, refutes the idea of urban policy as something detached from administrative and social processes of space production. He argues against the tendency to see policy, planning, and administration as 'laid over' space, or being 'about' space. Instead, representations of space and the systems of value they contain are inseparable from the constitution of space.

Although Lefebvre neglects the spaces of children in his theorizing, limiting their possibilities to the 'private realm' (AITKEN, 2014, p. 13), he is nevertheless critical of historical evolution in which abstract space comes to dominate and in which practices that enhance the capacity to be human are unrecognized and have less space in which to operate (ZINGALE *et al*. 2014, p. 1052). We can highlight the idea of publicity, as approached by Staeheli and Mitchell (2007), as being associated with spaces – such as public streets - that are open, struggled over and in, and that are sites for identity formation, community building, and social cohesion.

In that sense, the concept of the 'right to the city' is fruitful as it contributes to expose uneven power relations. This suggests not only recognizing the interconnection of urbanization with globalization processes, but understanding Southern as well as Northern contexts as co-constituting, in different ways, power relations with diverse effects on children's lives in cities (CORDEIRO; AITKEN, MELLO, 2019). In the next chapter I present a theoretical discussion related to governing and children *vis-à-vis* public space.

3. GOVERNING CHILDREN, PUBLIC SPACE AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

''P… please don't eat me,' Sophie stammered.
The giant let out a bellow of laughter. 'Just because I is a giant, you think I is a man-gobbling cannybull!' he shouted. 'You is about right! Giants is all cannybully and murderful! And they does gobble up human beans! We is in Giant Country now! Giants is everywhere around! Out there us has the famous Bonecrunching Giant! Bonecrunching Giant crunches up two wopsey whiffling human beans for supper every night! (…)
What sort of humans do you eat? She asked, trembling.
'Me!' shouted the Giant, his mighty voice making the glass jars rattle on their shelves. 'Me gobbling up human beans! This I never! The others, yes! All the others is gobbling them up every night, but not me! I is a freaky Giant! I is a nice and jumbly Giant! I is the only nice and jumbly Giant in Giant Country! I is THE BIG FRIENDLY GIANT! I is the BFG. What is your name?'.
'My name is Sophie,' Sophie said, hardly daring to believe the good news she had just heard (DAHL, 1982).

3.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights theoretical debates on politics, governing and children *vis-à-vis* public space. Section 3.2 discusses how conceptions on childhood and children's wellbeing have evolved to ensure children greater attention in politics and influence on specific agendas. It also points out, in a critical perspective, how the political potential related to childhood – such as issues on children's agency - has been influenced by the consolidation of children's rights since the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in 1989, and by subsequent efforts in Brazil and other contexts. I consider contributions that readdress the idea of the 'experience of childhood' as being something universal.

In the third part of the text I discuss spatial governmentality considering concerns and efforts to guarantee children's right to live and play in a safe, clean and healthy environment, albeit recognizing that public space is adult-oriented. Thus, to consider a current 'safety' discourse is crucial to understanding how children's mobility in and use of public space is linked to governing in contemporary societies.

In the fourth part of the chapter, I present and discuss the notion of 'other spaces' of joint experience through the Foucauldian idea of heterotopia, as well as contemplate its possible convergence with public spaces. Heterotopia's open-endedness is discussed through its potentialities for being a path for investigating particular time-spaces. I attempt to underline that this conceptualization presents a useful groundwork for unfolding interdisciplinary

understandings of some features of today's urban spaces, as well as the interplay of policy with children's use of urban public space.

In the fifth part of the text, I give attention to issues that involve children and public spaces through affective lenses. The purpose of this section is not only to acknowledge the issue of fears about children at risk and as a cause of trouble in public spaces, but also to enable our approach of specific places – such as public streets - as a space where relational processes and production of space meet in conjunctural events (MASSEY, 2008). In that sense, children's presence in and use of public space can assume a sort of groundbreaking potential (KATZ, 2011; AITKEN, 2014).

In the last part of the chapter I present remarks considering the theoretical frameworks emphasized in this study and possible connections we can seek for this research, before moving on to the chapter on Methodology.

3.2 Politics of Childhood

To think about childhood as a separate stage of life and as a specific social group is a construction - a social, political, economic and moral construction linked to different historical, cultural and geographic particularities (AITKEN, 2001a). In light of the history of childhood, scholarship has emphasized different aspects[11], sometimes clarifying, other times widening gaps or contesting concepts. However, the value of childhood and children's well-being is generally pointed out as a conception that emerged with the Industrial Revolution and was secured during the class struggles, environmental changes, and demographic shifts triggered by modernization (GLEESON; SIPE, 2006).

The history of modern childhood is portrayed, at large, by a perspective that refers to the 'discovery' of children's vulnerabilities in Europe's troubled industrializing cities in the eighteenth century. Considering children's nefarious life and work conditions, government actions included gradual reforms to protect children's moral and physical health and welfare, a movement that led the way towards the recognition of children as rights bearers in the twentieth century (WELLS, 2011).

In Brazil, the precarious conditions in which children and adolescents from families of immigrants lived, workers in São Paulo at the beginning of the twentieth century, are described

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[11] In the well-known work 'Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life', for example, Philippe Ariès (1978) describes childhood scenarios since the twelfth century and several ways in which women and children were devalued. He illustrates Medieval art, that didn't seem to recognize childhood, and that duration of 'childhood' was reduced by insertion into the adult world as soon as the child presented physical independence. Ideas about children differed a lot from those of more recent times.

by Esmeralda Moura (2007, p. 263-264). Factories and workshops, as well as dwellings appeared without criteria. Children and young people were employed as apprentices in factories and workshops, to complement the family budget, often performing dangerous and/or unhealthy functions (*e.g.*, typographer, shoemaker, plumber, carpenter etc.). In 1890, according to the State Statistics and Archives Division, at least 15% of all the labor force absorbed in São Paulo's industrial establishments were of children and adolescents. Their presence in industrial work became, in Brazil, a reference of the poverty that characterized the lives of many immigrants, whose survival depended largely on the work of their own children.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the demands of the working class were already gaining the pages of São Paulo's Press, which would be particularly sensitive to the condition of childhood and adolescence. The Press used the analogy between the inhuman conditions of factory labor and the daily lives of the captive slaves in the slave system which had recently been superseded (MOURA, 2007, p. 279). In other Brazilian states, such as Pernambuco, Paraná and Rio de Janeiro, the daily life of children and adolescents was also largely conditioned by labor. In fact, child-labor became a source of inspiration for the working-class movement.

This kind of political and social emphasis on children's health and well-being is connected to a broader constitution of childhood as an object of governing. In nineteenth century Europe and North America a concern for child welfare framed in terms of saving children, often by separating them from their parents, shaped policy and practice as the state expanded its surveillance and regulation over families (WELLS, 2015). It seems that "children were the first 'poor creatures'" that the Victorian reform movements set out to rescue from the drastic effects of industrialism (GLEESON; SIPE, 2006, p. 3).

Concerning their well-being, there was a kind of consensus among reformers in health, work, and housing segments who were willing to assess the course of a capitalism that was bending to collapse. Morality was an issue of concern for reformers at this stage, especially the housing conditions and moral effects associated with the single-room system (SIPE *et al.*, 2006). Victorian reformers in the United Kingdom seemed to understand that by redeeming the 'vulnerable' from the 'clutches' of industrial capital, the reform project would also be rescuing capitalism from its growing tendency to self-destruction and advancing towards the construction of the welfare state of the twentieth century (GLEESON; SIPE, 2006).

A modernizing project was built on increasing productivity albeit in parallel to the palliative care towards the working class and vulnerable groups in the city. Children were included in this social group, and their demographic importance, especially in the post-World

War II, provisionally ensured them greater attention, with an agenda more closely related to issues of child labor exploitation (GLEESON; SIPE, 2006). Wells (2015) points out that Europe's most influential child charities were launched in the late 1800s, and in the same period in the United States reform energy was also concentrated on children.

Since its Colonial epoch, from 1500 to 1822, care for children in Brazil mainly followed precepts and norms from Europe, albeit with sharp differences in care for white and black children, traits of inequality that will mark Brazil's historic attention towards children. In the nineteenth century, the world faced significant changes, especially in the economic and social domains. In the same period, Brazil underwent important political and social changes from the arrival of the Royal Family in Brazil in 1808. The abolition of slavery in Brazil, in 1888, did not correspond to the removal of children from child labor; this remained an instrument of social control and social reproduction of classes. A large number of children lived on the street, which stimulated the perception of the child's issue as being a social problem (GUIMARÃES, 2017).

Between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, social problems intensify, such as infant mortality rates, whereas there is a more representative role of governmental actions related to children. The 'hygienist movement' aimed at educating the population by teaching new habits, and was motivated by an understanding that people's lack of education and health would cause Brazil to lag behind Europe (GUIMARÃES, 2017, p. 98). We observe initiatives in Education being intertwined with the goals of social assistance and control of a social group that, together with the growth and reordering of cities and the constitution of a national State, is increasingly represented as 'dangerous'. From the second half of the nineteenth century, the large juridical category of 'minors' (from the pauperized classes) assumed an eminently social and political character. They became the specific target of the formation / reforming intervention of the State and of other sectors of society, such as religious and philanthropic institutions (RIZZINI; RIZZINI, 2004, p. 22). The distinction of the categories 'minor' and 'child' marked childhood during the twentieth century, and was undone with the promulgation of the Brazilian Constitution in 1988 (GUIMARÃES, 2017).

In the twentieth century a 'child-saving' discourse of was gradually inflected with a competing 'child rights' discourse (WELLS, 2015). Enlightenment, in the late eighteenth century, is often pointed as the background of a change of attitude towards children, which would begin to embody an ideal of progress and future suggestive of their separation from adult society in order to better prepare for a role they should play when older (VISSCHER, 2015). Children's rights discourse resonates ideas about human rights that consolidate in the European

Enlightenment and which have constituted the major basis upon which national jurisdictions are formed (OSWELL, 2013; TISDALL, 2015).

As pointed out, the political potential related to childhood was fueled by the legitimation of children's specific rights during the UNCRC in 1989 and by subsequent efforts of accountability by nation states concerning the guarantee of children's right to live and play in a safe, clean and healthy environment. Increasingly, since the adoption of the UNCRC into international law from 1990 onwards, action on behalf of children is spoken of within a paradigm of child rights, in which children are invested with rights and capacity to exercise those rights (WELLS, 2015).

Brazil, following the Convention, established on July 13th of 1990 the Statute of the Child and Adolescent[12], best known as ECA, advancing on the construction of a notion of the child as a subject of rights. The ECA is considered a landmark in Brazil. The principles in the Statute are in tune with a broad international movement that has transformed conceptions about children and adolescents, as well as their place in the contemporary world. Brazil was one of the first nations to enact a legal framework in line with the UNCRC. It is estimated that the ECA has inspired at least 15 Latin American legislations, coinciding also with the period of confrontation of authoritarian governments in the region. It is also pointed out to have innovated in the region's socio-legal tradition, highlighting that the capacity to produce laws is of social competence and not just a prerogative of parliaments (Secretaria de Direitos Humanos, 2010).

The recent *Marco Legal da Primeira Infância*[13] (2016), a legal framework for early childhood in Brazil calls on the State to "organize and stimulate the creation of play spaces that promote well-being, play and the exercise of creativity in public and private places where children move around, as well as the enjoyment of free and safe environments in their communities" (Article 17).

The link between the UN principles for sustainable development and children's rights set foundations for UNICEF's (United Nations Children's Fund) Child-Friendly Cities Initiative (CFCI), engaged since 1996 on building a global network of resources to promote a resolution adopted at the 2nd UN Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat II), which aimed to transform cities into places inhabitable by all. The conference

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[12] Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente (ECA), Law nº 8.069, 13 july 1990.
[13] Law nº 13.257, 08/08/2016. [12] The document 'notes' the efforts of some national and local governments to enshrine this vision, referred to as right to the city, in their legislations, political declarations and charters (UN, 2016, p.2). Marguti *et al*. (2016) explain that the pre-conference discussions indicated that the insertion of the right to the city would be a 'quasiexclusive' demand of Latin American countries and that the consolidation of the concept would not support the creation of a 'new right'.

stated that children's well-being should be the main indicator of a healthy habitat, a democratic society and good governance (UNICEF, 2004). Recently, in the context of conferences that take place every twenty years, UN Habitat III (2016) launched the New Urban Agenda to reaffirm the commitment of nations towards a sustainable urban development, emphasizing the vision of "cities for all, referring to the equal use and enjoyment of cities and human settlements"[12] (UN, 2016, p. 2).

The UNCRC can be portrayed as part of globalization processes, presenting an image, proclaimed as universal, of the child as a social actor (KJØRHOLT, 2007). NGOs, and their mobilization and action at the level of civil society, have been crucial for the increased visibility of children's rights (OSWELL, 2013; WELLS, 2015). The growing discourse about children's rights and the significance of the UNCRC in defining what have come to be termed children's 'participation rights'[14] is pointed out as one of the central reasons why children's participation has become increasingly relevant (JAMES; JAMES, 2008).

Since UNCRC's ratification, many countries have implemented children's parliaments and other (mostly local) participatory opportunities for young people (MILLEI, 2014), including Brazilian initiatives of Participatory Budgeting for children and adolescents and participatory Master planning that can involve young people in the context of practical mechanisms provided by Brazil's City Statute (2001).

Indeed, the last three decades have witnessed increasing interest in children's agency (KJØRHOLT, 2007). Children's right to participation has been recognized as a discursive shift not only in the field of human rights, but in policy making and public administration (SKELTON, 2010). Besides influencing initiatives in the development of new practices for involving children in participatory processes, there is an impressive body of research on methods and practices for children's participation in planning practice, research, local politics and social policy (CELE; van der BURGT, 2015).

A shift towards participatory management role models, in a trend that favors the 'child's voice' as a legitimate basis for decision-making and implementation of public policies, tends to suggest that children's participation is always of value (KALLIO; HÄKLI, 2010), which raises

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[14] Article 12 of the Convention states that: (1) States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child; (2) For this purpose, the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law (UNCRC, 1990).

timely and critical questions and problems related to children's agency and positioning in their political-geographical realities (KALLIO; HÄKLI, 2013).

Participation becomes a contested concept when addressing children's involvement with policy-making arenas. Cele and van der Burgt (2015) problematize that participation has become a rhetorical tool that in reality means anything from 'proper participation' to just thinking of including a child's perspective into the planning[15] (p. 15).

Millei (2014, p. 139) considers that "adult-created opportunities mirror the political culture of society with its hegemonic relations, and are mostly foreign in children's everyday lives, including only a limited political sphere, such as civic activism, urban planning or policymaking in schools". James and James (2008) point out that some of the problems are a direct consequence of the impact of Developmental Psychology on adult thinking about the age at which children become 'competent' to make decisions. Since children's 'competence' is determined by adults, meaningful participation would be easily denied to children by deploying developmentally based criteria (p. 92-93). David Oswell (2013) asserts that the question of children's (in)competency with regard to their rights and political participation has a long history. Historically, emphasis has been given to a conceptualization of the political as logocentric (or overly rational), to the exclusion of women, children and others, and to the exclusion of 'childish', 'non-rational', and 'physical', non-logocentric forms of expression and organization.

Alderson (2008) argues that although the UNCRC is often respected in local ways, it is based on broad principles which affect all children, and that it should be applicable to all children regardless of perceptions of immaturity or incapacity. But it frames children's expression in the context of their (im)maturity and as such their 'voice' is not taken at face value. Babies, for example, occupy a marginal condition in debates on agency issues. The question of political competency inasmuch as it has been defined in terms of organized speech raises the problem of those denied membership of a political community on the basis of their 'incapacity'. Besides the hegemonic status of speech as the medium of rights and politics, the UNCRC continues with a developmental notion of children and a notion of development which is supported through family, schooling and a protective welfare state (OSWELL, 2013).

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[15] Roger Hart's 'ladder of participation' is often cited by scholarship and aims to define distinct modes of participation that range from manipulation on the first step of the ladder (in which adults consciously use children's voices to carry their own messages) to child-initiated participation at the top of the ladder. Here children and young people have the ideas, set up the project, and invite adults to join with them in making decisions (JAMES; JAMES, 2008).

In light of troubled ideas on children's agency Oswell (2013, p. 271) argues that to talk about children as rights bearers implies the insistence of children's rights as a problem, that is, as a field of problematization in the Foucauldian sense of a field of power, knowledge and subjectivity. Oswell considers yet how the capacity for modern rights and political participation is distributed unevenly across the globe and discusses this in the context of the universalization of children's rights. He points out that UNCRC's practical implications are uneven and attenuated, that is, there are important gaps between applicability of the articles to children in particular circumstances; and between the instruments' status as an international agreement and its translation in national jurisdictions. It has still been 'accused of promoting a particular view of childhood that emphasizes children as vulnerable, dependent, belonging within their families and lacking capacity'.

As Gill Valentine (2004) underlines, the experience of childhood has never been universal. What it means to be a particular age intersects with other aspects, so experiences of poverty, disability, ill health, homelessness, being taken into care, or having to look after a sick parent contest the main image of 'innocence and dependence' which is the basic image of 'universal' childhood. This has several consequences for children who do not fit that view, such as children with caring responsibilities, children working outside the home or those who are 'street children' (TISDALL, 2015; WELLS, 2015). Many children have to demonstrate responsibilities at an early age, for example children who act as interpreters for their parents (*e.g*., BOSCO; AITKEN; HERMAN, 2011), which raises crucial reflections about 'unchildlike behavior' that challenge the idea of a homogeneous or universal childhood (AITKEN, 2001b).

The individuality of children's rights, and particularly their participation rights, is said to undermine more collective cultures. UNCRC's stated provisions are accused of being overly vague (*e.g*., how to define children's best interests) (…) The UNCRC's coverage is arguably inadequate (*e.g*., child marriage is not explicitly addressed) and it may not be capable of addressing emerging issues, such as digital media" (TISDALL, 2015, p. 810-811).

Issues on justice for children, Stuart Aitken (2001b) discusses, are generally related to their rights and freedoms, and not necessarily to their daily needs or experiences. Aitken explains that this kind of emphasis seems to underlie an Anglo-American tradition based on individual autonomy, rationality, and self-interest. Kohan, Olsson and Aitken (2015) understand that the UNCRC's emphasis on child participation has directed disciplinary fields (*e.g*., Sociology of Childhood) to emphasize the child as a "being" instead of a "becoming adult" in an open future; children and childhood are highlighted as a political category. But the authors question a normative paradigm linked to that universal declaration as it seems to

politically reinforce an attempt at prediction, supervision, control, and evaluation according to predetermined standards. For them, positioning the child in a very specific way - as an agent, social actor, empowered individual etc. - can be problematic as it converges a neoliberal, monadic and autonomous subject logic, and ignores the relational aspect of agency in childhood.

3.3 Spatial Governmentality and Children

When we address children in an 'adult-oriented' public space (AITKEN; LUND; KJØRHOLT, 2007), we perceive that this relationship is usually approached through a social or cultural fashion, to the detriment of the political, that is, of the power that regulates daily spaces of human relations (KALLIO; HÄKLI, 2010). It is worth recalling, from the previous section, that throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, children's lives were defined in terms of their conduct with others and their internal state of growth and development.

Karen Wells (2011), based on Foucault's ideas, points out the gradual expansion of rationalities of government that claim to know the 'truth' about children. Securing knowledge (about children's psyches, bodies and intellects through psychology, health and pedagogy) is directed to ensure a child's transformation to a fully mature, healthy, civilized adult. Children were identified as a specific problem of government and childhood produced through new rationalities and techniques of government. This occurs at a time discussed by Foucault in terms of the emergence and development of modes of 'governmentality' concerned with the life of individuals and populations.

The complex network of political, economic, ethical, religious, and controlling articulations within the Modern state, and its functioning, was contemplated in the neologism *gouvernamentalité* by Foucault (1991) to emphasize the interdependence between the exercise of governing (practices) and the mental models that justify such practices. Governmentality refers to the arts and rationalities of governing, where the conduct of conduct is the key activity. It is an attempt to reformulate the governor-governed relationship, one that does not make the relation dependent upon administrative machines, juridical institutions, or other apparatuses that usually get grouped under the rubric of the State (BRATICH; PACKER; McCARTHY, 2003, p. 103). The emergence of the Modern state was followed by rational practices of governing, via statistical controls, police and surveillance. With new governmental logics, power relations become more governable through the assimilation of attitudes and values by individuals, thus minimizing the need of force repression (FOUCAULT, 2008; BÆRENHOLDT, 2013).

Ruling is no longer directly associated with the task of simply retaining sovereignty, rather it became about emphasizing the employment of tactics that would benefit the population as well as the State (PACKER, 2003). State's role is more of coordination, one that gathers together different technologies of governing inhabiting many sites (BRATICH; PACKER; McCARTHY, 2003, p. 103). The shift in governance from sovereignty to bio-power, or biopolitics (politics of life) describes a shift from government as a limited relationship between the sovereign and the populace to government in the wider sense of all those mechanisms and institutions, including school, police, hospitals and prisons, that constitute a field of power (WELLS, 2011).

Thus, governing is not restricted to state institutions, but involves multiple agencies and groups (*e.g.*, academics, activists, professionals, specialists, parents, teachers etc.) that contribute to the organization of society - the calculated direction of human conduct - through the power/knowledge they produce.

Besides, "many forms of governmentality have a spatial component" (MERRY, 2001, p. 19). Governmental objectives focused on increasing health and welfare are clearly relevant to the modern governing of childhood. Throughout the twentieth century we observe the expansion of forms of government not only based within institutions such as the school, clinic, prison or the family, but more broadly across the population (OSWELL, 2013; WELLS, 2011; 2015). The idea of spatial governmentality stresses, as discussed by Sally Merry (2001) the conduct of governable subjects as the construction of governable spaces. Spatial governmentality is typically portrayed as a recent technology of governance, but the use of 'spatial separation' as a form of governance is ancient (*idem*, p. 17). Foucault, for instance, recognized a critical role for spatial ordering in his analysis of systems of discipline in the nineteenth century, but he saw its role largely as a frame for ordering and confining bodies and as a structure for surveillance (1979). Merry (2001) explains that in contemporary cities, spatialized forms of ordering are connected to the recent intensification of consumption along with neoliberal approaches to government, and that there is increasing focus on managing spaces people occupy rather than directly managing people themselves. Spatial governmentality works not by containing disruptive populations, but by excluding them from places.

Jeremy Packer (2003) highlights from Foucault's (1991) metaphor of the ship[16] that it can advance in pointing out the importance of 'mobility' in the formation of thought concerning

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[16] Foucault (1986 [1967]) states that "[t]he ship is the heterotopia *par excellence*. In civilizations without boats, dreams dry up, espionage takes the place of adventure, and the police take the place of pirates" (p. 27). The notion of heterotopia will be addressed in Section 3.4.

governing. In an increasingly mobile world, different forms of mobility play a crucial role in how we organize, rationalize, and inhabit worlds. Scholarship has described, through varied approaches, how the expansion of car driving, for instance, has boosted urban infrastructure since the twentieth century, covering features such as those related to streets' physical layout and conditions that include sidewalks, signs, ramps, curb, signaling, potential shelter, to their relationship with different body capacities of individuals (*e.g.*, URRY, 2000; CRESSWELL, 2013; JACOBS, 2011 [1961]).

The reconfiguration of our cities, with their increasing detachment of activities, stimulates a growing reliance on transportation systems as the distances between activities become too long for walking (FREEMAN, 2006). The social structure of postindustrial nations in the twentieth century was drastically altered by the car. "Machines, designers, stylists, advertisers, politicians, bureaucrats, academics, and engineers, both social and scientific, all work together in a tightly orchestrated fashion in order to expand and perpetuate a network that is absolutely integral to the neoliberal capitalist state" (PACKER, 2003, p. 138).

In the past, although some modes of travel were slower than today, both the ability and the expectation of being able to move were firmly embedded in everyday social, economic, and cultural life. In the twenty-first century, although transportation has become faster, it has lost resilience, with a key aspect being the shift of emphasis from public transport to private transport. The 'universal' access to the car has allowed many people to gain a level of privacy that was only accessible to the elite of the nineteenth century (POOLEY, 2013). When the car emerged, it had the potential for being a positive tool for the city and, at the same time, replace horses and wagons that jammed the streets (JACOBS, 2011, p. 389).

Nowadays, the idea of 'safety' presents itself as a crucial feature to investigate how personal mobility is linked to governing in contemporary societies. 'Being safe' comes to construct thought and ultimately self-reflection about mobility (PACKER, 2003). The ways in which safety is problematized, that is, how it is produced or constituted as a 'problem', is crucial to governing processes (*cf.* FOUCAULT, 1991). Indeed, it seems impossible to live and not feel the effects of the safety discourse in many facets of our lives (PACKER, 2003), inasmuch as safety as a discourse produces "truths" (FOUCAULT, 1980) that affect various spheres, including children's relations with and in public space.

Many of the 'rules' associated with mobility in public space are linked to issues involving body safety, which are important to various social groups and their intent or desire for walking in different environments. With today's heavy traffic, "failures in concentration, impulses, distractions – things typically associated with children - might be punished with

death" (HILLMAN *et al*., 1990). At a certain age the child is considered 'capable' of moving independently in the city, either on foot, by bicycle, skate-boards or scooters, or by bus. Studies highlight that the age for gaining this 'license' or 'trust' has increased in recent years, leading to a reduction in independent travel (SKELTON; GOUGH, 2013; HILLMAN *et al*., 1990).

Researchers tend to link recent changes in children's mobility practices (SKELTON; GOUGH, 2013) to various aspects, including the perception of parents and guardians of public space as a hostile and dangerous place, where children in their 'vulnerable' condition would be harmed by vehicles or other adults (JACOBS, 2011; LANG *et al*., 2011; HOLLOWAY; VALENTINE, 2000).

Statistics inform us of increasing numbers in car accidents, for instance, albeit with uneven effects in different contexts. Mobility is problematized according to the dangers it poses, and the idea of safety serves as the solution, as it provides a normative orientation for mobility. Packer (2003) explains that "once this orientation solidifies, it disperses into a vast array of normative contexts, thereby legitimating forms of governance and self-governance that have little relation to any specific problematization" (p. 136). Multiple State and non-State apparatuses take a part in legitimating and disseminating safety as social good and personal orientation. Disciplined mobility may be then as a specific machine of power aimed at particular populations for (re)organizing individuals' mobility.

Scholarship points out many aspects that influence children's mobility in public space. Among those that influence their daily journey to school, traffic danger is generally highlighted as a more serious reason for parents and guardians to take them to school, usually in vehicles. There is also the social construction of children as dependent, vulnerable, and in need of constant guidance and supervision, especially in a context in which urban infrastructure is not favorable.

Different studies (SABBAG *et al*., 2015; POJANI; BOUSSAUW, 2014; FAULKNER *et al*., 2010; FUSCO *et al*., 2012; FOTEL; THOMSEN, 2004) point out: social security as another reason; the increase in the number of cars available to families, which tends to encourage the use of the car, and is reinforced by the accelerated lifestyle as a result of the reality of double income for many families; the organized schedule of extra-curricular activities that tend to reduce independent travel time for children; the reduction in the number of children *per* household, which also interferes with the chances of acquiring mobility skills; socioeconomic variables such as age and gender, residence location, family's socioeconomic status, and increasing use of personal electronics such as tablets, smartphones and video games at home.

Packer (2003) recognizes that, although discipline cannot be reduced to panopticism, the latter is a key element of disciplined mobility as it presents itself as a free-floating mechanism with many applications. It inscribes within individuals the gaze of power, so that one becomes both the object and the subject of constraint. "The link between panopticism and the internalization of the gaze depends, at least in this instance, upon the internalization of a particular discourse, safety. (...) Safety and its other, risk, are not simply natural states, as argued by the police; rather, they too are produced discursively" (*idem*, p. 149).

Acting, for example, as a *chauffeur* for children to promote greater vigilance of their mobility, as well as supervising children playing outdoors (KARSTEN; VLIET, 2006), emerge as practices now increasingly associated with 'care' and 'protection', and the opposite practices associated with 'neglect' (POJANI; BOUSSAUW, 2014; FOTEL; THOMSEN, 2004).

Children's daily mobility and play in public space are monitored by parents and guardians (KARSTEN; VLIET, 2006), school or hotel staff, and through traffic regulation (FOTEL; THOMSEN, 2004). In some contexts, this monitoring is extended to school-van drivers and assistants (CORDEIRO; MELLO, 2018a).

Kearns and Collins (2003) developed a study in Auckland (New Zealand), where several schools, in partnership with local authorities, implemented walking school buses (WSBs). They noted that the WSBs offer children an ambivalent form of empowerment and spatial freedom as they are subordinated to adult vigilance and varying forms of disciplinary power. The authors question whether this type of initiative challenges car driving supremacy and allows a walking experience such as today's adults used to experience when they were young. Karsten (2003), in turn, studies discursive practices that represent children as vulnerable, to the detriment of the resilient child, highlighting the frequent presence of parents as supervisors of outdoor play.

Alongside the rapid growth in the number of institutions for child care, including schools, kindergartens and youth groups, many of children's daily activities are structured in a pedagogical sense, that is, by providing children with controlled development opportunities, preparing them for a 'future role' in society (VISSCHER; BOUVERNE-DE-BIE, 2008). Indeed, the lifestyle of many middle and upper-class children of big cities is embedded by a network of structured activities (extra class, leisure, etc.), which also suggests a specific orchestration of their mobility (KARSTEN; VLIET, 2006). Penn (2005) remarks that the ideas of children's 'confinement' or 'regulation' by adults are increasingly associated to the 'escape hatch' offered to children by the products of consumer culture. Consumer culture creates for children a hyper-reality with which they engage. She points out it is a 'flip-side' of children's

'disappearance' from public spaces inasmuch children are not merely being protected, confined or contained, but they are also offered alternatives and distractions.

Different levels of mobility still relate to different hierarchies and geographies of power and control, such as the types of access to physical spaces, networks, cultural spaces, languages, etc. (MASSEY, 1997). In that sense, mobility conditions of low-income children in Latin America's cities portray a reality of inequity in access to public transport services, a deprivation that reduces opportunities as it obstructs or prevents these children from accessing tools and services offered by the city (*e.g.*, schools, hospitals, leisure, employment, etc.) that are often restricted to their daily walking capacity. Spatial segregation is then reinforced and excludes children who live far from city centers and don't have good mobility conditions. Travelling for leisure and visits to relatives and friends are also impaired by this setting (GOMIDE, 2006).

Safety (or risk) is apprehended, thus, through different lenses. Acceptable limits are constructed to (in)validate different activities, and limits are variable through different time-space settings and activities, with different justifications used to validate light or heavy regulation. These varying logics are accompanied by technical expert knowledges, popular truths, and differing assumptions about the value of the lives of different populations (PACKER, 2003).

Among the effects of reducing children's spatial mobility, specialized knowledge points to the loss of skills and benefits linked to independent mobility, such as the development of autonomy and decision-making capacity. These skills would include judging what is safe, managing time, developing social responsibility, and caring for others, especially the younger and more vulnerable in the group (a sibling or a younger friend). Society is also impacted as the sense of responsibility for children is affected among adults and the community (FREEMAN, 2006).

Spatial governance related to children tends to be characterized by a dichotomy between the status of children in urban public space and the status of this environment in the socialization of children. On the one hand, the relationship between children and the city is defined as being problematic when emphasizing the need to protect children from urban perils, strangers and heavy traffic. With this approach, the city appears as a threat to the child's development and an undesirable socializing context, unless it is adapted to their needs. Keeping children away from the streets would 'serve' their individual development, safety, and well-being. On the other hand, the learning opportunities that are created for children by the urban environment are also shown as a positive trait. To exploit these learning opportunities, children would need to appropriate public space (VISSCHER; BOUVERNE-DE-BIE, 2008).

Packer (2003) acknowledges the formation of expert knowledges that produce normative standards to support policy enactment that could insure the general wellbeing or security of populations in liberal societies. He considers that these accounts tend to prioritize expert knowledge over popular knowledge as most of their concern is with the element of governing. However, Packer highlights that the production of mobile subjects and their implication in self-governing is often more attentive to popular knowledge than expert knowledge. He goes on to exemplify how safety campaigns have often begun with NGOs and special interest groups, which respond to and depend upon popular sentiments of fear and stereotyping, and the popular culture that transmits them. Thus, popular truth (knowledge) should not be dismissed in a critical account on governance.

Furthermore, "changes in forms of governance are agentic and contested parts of the political and social process" (MERRY, 2001, p. 19). What is 'safe' for children *vis-à-vis* urban public space? It seems, as pointed out by Packer (2003, p. 152), that "the space for public debate about nearly any topic is limited not by what is the just, the good, or the democratic, but rather by what is safe (…). The safety discourse, for instance, due in large part to its appearance of objectivity, colonizes discussions concerning how to manage things properly and reduces all other issues to epiphenomena. Furthermore, safety concerns can be brought in as justification for any specific social policy in such a fashion that it hides more nefarious means, desires, and ends".

It is pertinent to highlight that Foucault's theoretical work raises insights that can be productive in efforts to study the governing of children *vis-à-vis* public space. In the next section I explore his concept of 'heterotopia', from which Foucault envisages ways of approaching space, power and social relations.

3.4 'Other Spaces' of Joint Experience

Previously I highlighted (in Section 2.2) the movement in Foucault's early spatial thinking of discourse to his emphasis on how space integrates processes of power and social relations, remarking that his idea of 'heterotopia' plays a linking role in that shift. As pointed out, 'heterotopia' was introduced as an idea in *Les Mots et les choses* and revisited in *Des espaces autres* (Of Other Spaces), a late publication of a lecture Foucault gave to a group of architects in 1967, where the concept slides from a literary focus to one situated in concrete social sites at specific moments in history (WEST-PAVLOV, 2009).

Scholars from various fields - arts, literature, cinema, sociology, geography, architecture and urban studies - responded to Foucault's text with different perspectives. The

idea of heterotopia has been at length interpreted, applied, but also subjected to several strands of criticism, as I point out in this section. Nevertheless, as Hilde Heynen (2008) acknowledges, different positions can be taken in this seeming controversy, reinforcing tensions or agreements in research efforts. I attempt to underline that Foucault's conceptualization of heterotopia does present a useful groundwork for unfolding interdisciplinary understandings of complex features of today's urban spaces (*cf.* SUDRADJAT, 2012; JOHNSON, 2006; 2013; VALVERDE, 2007; DEHAENEM; DE CAUTER, 2008), as well as approaching a link between policy and children's use of urban public space.

Although questioning the idea of heterotopia, for its allegedly small possibilities of being 'converted' in a tool for politics, Harvey (2000) recognizes that it has the virtue of providing a better understanding of the heterogeneity of space. Foremost, this notion of heterogeneity puts aside the idea that we live in a homogeneous space. As Foucault highlights, "… we do not live in a kind of void, inside of which we could place individuals and things. We do not live inside a void that could be colored with diverse shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another" (FOUCAULT, 1986 [1967], p. 23). The idea of homogeneous space does not describe the complexity of different spaces embedded within each other as they are experienced, for example, by children playing in streets of a big city.

The idea of space taking for us the form of relations among sites stresses an important detachment from a space of binary oppositions and brings in a third term to situations where strict dichotomies (*e.g.*, public/private; urban/rural or local/global) no longer seem to provide us productive frameworks for analysis (HEYNEN, 2008, p. 312).

We can, as suggested by Iwan Sudradjat (2012), analyze space considering Foucault's notion of the site and its positioning in a web of divergent spaces. Foucault directs his attention to those sites or emplacements "that have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect. These spaces, as it were, which are linked with all the others, which however contradict all the other sites, are of two main types" (FOUCAULT, 1986 [1967], p. 24). Utopias and heterotopias.

Utopia, a concept I will come back to, is considered by Foucault as a theoretical counterpart to heterotopia. Whereas utopias are unreal, fantastic, and perfected spaces, heterotopias are real places that exist like 'counter-sites', simultaneously representing, contesting, and inverting other conventional sites (SUDRADJAT, 2012, p. 29). Utopias are sites with no real place, but they do have a relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real

space of society since they present society in a perfected form (or turned upside down). Heterotopias, on the other hand, are places that do exist, a kind of effectively 'enacted utopia' in which other real sites are at the same time represented, contested or inverted (FOUCAULT, 1986 [1967]).

The term 'heterotopia' was presented by Foucault to portray various institutions and places that interrupt the apparent continuity and normality of ordinary everyday space. He called these sites heterotopias or 'other spaces' because they inject alterity into the sameness, the commonplace, the topicality of everyday society. When one considers all the examples he mentioned – the school, military service, the honeymoon, old people's homes, psychiatric institutions, prisons, cemeteries, theatres and cinemas, libraries and museums, fairs and carnivals, holiday camps, Moslems *hammams*, Scandinavian saunas, motels, brothels, the Jesuit colonies and the ship – one gets an idea of the vastness of the concept (DEHAENE; DE CAUTER, 2008, p. 4). But, as of now, we can highlight that heterotopia assumes a set of aspects (social, political, spatial) that surpass the more restricted literary or discursive parameters of Foucault's earlier thinking. Attention shifts to the complex bundles of discourses, institutions, bodily practices, architectural monuments which help overcome his earlier idea of spatial discourse (WEST-PAVLOV, 2009).

Since heterotopia presents a juxtapositional, relational space, a site that represents incompatible spaces and reveals paradoxes (SUDRADJAT, 2012), a key aspect we should consider is Foucault's allusion to this "sort of mixed, joint experience" between utopias and these other sites, the heterotopias (FOUCAULT, 1986 [1967], p. 24). To refer to this combination or 'joint experience' he considered the mirror:

> The mirror is, after all, a utopia, since it is a placeless place. In the mirror, I see myself there where I am not, in an unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives my own visibility to myself, that enables me to see myself there where I am absent: such is the utopia of the mirror. But it is also a heterotopia in so far as the mirror does exist in reality, where it exerts a sort of counteraction on the position that I occupy. From the standpoint of the mirror I discover my absence from the place where I am since I see myself over there. Starting from this gaze that is, as it were, directed toward me, from the ground of this virtual space that is on the other side of the glass, I come back toward myself; I begin again to direct my eyes toward myself and to reconstitute myself there where I am. The mirror functions as a heterotopia in this respect: it makes this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there (FOUCAULT, 1986 [1967], p. 24).

The mirror is a metaphor for utopia because in this 'placeless place' the gazer sees its reflection in a virtual space (ERSÖZ KOÇ, 2015); but it is also a heterotopia because the mirror is a real object that shapes the way we relate to our own image (SUDRADJAT, 2012). This emphasis on the duality and contradictions of utopia and heterotopia is crucial inasmuch we can inquire how, both as utopia and heterotopia, specific public spaces, for instance, can serve as a 'mirror' forming a web of relations with prevailing urban conditions. Anyhow, I must further problematize the possibilities and constraints of heterotopia as a framework for thinking and analyzing urban spaces.

For Foucault, six principles govern the existence of heterotopias, principles he described for a 'heterotopology', which would have for object of study these 'other spaces': (1) their universality among world cultures albeit without a universal heterotopias norm; (2) their transforming functions throughout historical periods, emphasizing how society can make these other spaces function in different ways, altering their use over time; (3) their ability to overlap various incompatible sites in one real place; (4) their links to 'heterochronies', what Foucault refers to as spaces that offer temporal breaks; (5) their system of opening and closing which allows them to become isolated and penetrable; and (6) their function in relation to spaces that remain outside them (FOUCAULT, 1986).

The first principle considers that all cultures constitute heterotopias; but there is not a universal heterotopias norm. The two types defined by Foucault include heterotopias of 'crisis' and those of 'deviation'. The first are privileged, sacred or forbidden places reserved for individuals who are (for society) in a state of crisis (*e.g.*, modern societies suggest this role would be played by honeymoon hotels, boarding schools, military service for young men, old age homes). The latter, heterotopias of deviation represent sites for people whose actions deviate from the norms in some way, and thus would need to be spatially isolated (*e.g.,* Foucault's examples include rest homes, clinics, psychiatric hospitals, prisons). Age, for example, can be a crisis, but also a deviation in a society where youth or idleness is posed as such (FOUCAULT, 1986, [1967]).

A second principle emphasizes how society can make heterotopias function in different ways, altering their use over time, while maintaining their overarching functionality of being places where incompatible or contradictory kinds of space converge. A third principle holds heterotopia as capable of overlapping in one real place several different spaces that are incompatible. The theater and the cinema, for example, where several places strange to each other converge on the stage or the screen, would represent a heterotopia of many spaces combined in one. A fourth principle considers how heterotopias are often linked to 'slices in

time'; 'heterochronies' would be these spaces that welcome such temporal breaks. This intersection and phasing of space and time allows the heterotopia to 'function at full capacity' based on an ability to arrive at an 'absolute break' with traditional experiences of time and temporality (FOUCAULT, 1986 [1967]). Foucault highlights some of these sites in the modern world, such as museums and libraries, as heterotopias of indefinitely accumulating time that attempt to generate an archive, or festivals or fairgrounds as fleeting, transitory, precarious spaces of time. A fifth principle highlights that heterotopias presuppose some sort of opening and closing system which allows them to become isolated and penetrable. Foucault emphasizes that heterotopias are entered either by compulsory means (*e.g.*, barracks, prisons) or through ritual purification ceremonies or hygienic cleansing (*e.g.*, Moslems *hammans*, Scandinavian saunas).

Considering the latter principle, heterotopias would have a function unfolded between two poles in relation to those spaces that remain outside them. The function of heterotopia of 'illusion' is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space as still more illusory, and the function of heterotopia of 'compensation' is to create a space that is other, another real space as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged since ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled (FOUCAULT, 1986, p.27). In this sense, heterotopias enable us to both confront our illusions and to create new illusions of the utopias we cannot have.

As suggested by Foucault, although the mirror is like a utopia, it is also a concrete site that disrupts our spatial position, that is, the space occupied is at the same time real and unreal, forming a dislocation of place[17]. This disruption provides a rich imaginary space, a provocation (JOHNSON, 2006). But would heterotopias, as implied by Sudradjat (2012), be necessarily different from what is usually conceived of as more freely accessible public space? The classic heterotopias highlighted by Foucault were spaces quite different and 'set apart' from the common world most people inhabited, including hospitals, mental institutions, prisons. Streets, on the other hand, are part of everyday life (KERN, 2008). Considering debates on the transformation of public space, Dehaene and De Cauter (2008), in *Heterotopia and the City*, point out the focus on a lament over a 'loss' of public space. This lament relates to a public–private dichotomy that has, in their view, worn out its analytical force. Although there are no means towards an easy description of today's urban reality, they understand Foucault's notion of heterotopia can shed some light.

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[17] Johnson (2006) refers here to a third English translation of the talk Foucault gave to architectural students in 1967: Foucault, M. (1998) [1967] 'Different Spaces', trans. R. Hurley, in J. D. Faubion (ed.), *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology*: Essential Works of Foucault Volume 2, London: Penguin, 175-185.

On the other hand, if the concept of heterotopia is to be made consistent, not everything can be considered a heterotopia (DEHAENE; DE CAUTER, 2008). We must recognize that there is a very broad *spectrum* of illustrations and interpretations of the idea. Despite, or perhaps because of, the fragmentary and evasive features related to this concept, it continues to engender conflicting interpretations and research (JOHNSON, 2013, p. 790). As it stands, heterotopia's supposed theoretical shortcomings have been left for others to resolve (GALLAN, 2013).

Indeed, this 'open-endedness' of the idea has resulted in a vast range of scholarly interpretations (JOHNSON, 2006). However, its possibilities for unfolding urban policy conceived as politically open in this sense - an 'openness' that can lend itself for approaching children's experiences, for instance - suggests we persist further with Foucault's idea.

Before Foucault's well-known lecture in 1967, in a brief radio talk he reflected on the possibility of studying - via heterotopology - these spaces that challenge or contest the spaces we live in (FOUCAULT, 1966). He opened his talk illustrating these 'other spaces':

> These counter-spaces, these localized utopias, the children know them perfectly. Of course, it is the bottom of the garden, of course, it is the attic, or better yet the tent of Indians set up in the middle of the attic, or, it is - on Thursday afternoon - the parents' big bed. It is on this large bed that we discover the ocean, since we can swim between the covers; and then this great bed is also the sky, since one can leap on the springs; it is the forest, since one hides there; it is night, since there is a ghost between the sheets; it's the pleasure finally, since, as the parents return, we will be punished. These counter-spaces, to tell the truth, it is not only the invention of the children (…). The adult society has organized, and well before children, their own counter-spaces, their localized utopias, these real places out of all places. For example, there are gardens, cemeteries, there are asylums, there are brothels, there are prisons, there are the *Club Méditerranée* villages, and many others (FOUCAULT, 1966, p. 1-2)[18].

In Foucault's work, remarks on children's games disappear, but other illustrations follow and expand those pointed out in this initial radio broadcast. The examples are extremely diverse, but they all refer in some way or another to a relational disruption in time and space (JOHNSON, 2006). De Cauter and Dehaene (2008) try to advance an understanding of the

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[18] "Ces contre-espaces, ces utopies localisées, les enfants les connaissent parfaitement. Bien sûr, c'est le fond du jardin, bien sûr, c'est le grenier, ou mieux encore la tente d'Indiens dressée au milieu du grenier, ou encore, c'est – le jeudi après-midi – le grand lit des parents. Et bien c'est sur ce grand lit qu'on découvre l'océan, puisqu'on peut y nager entre les couvertures; et puis ce grand lit, c'est aussi le ciel, puisqu'on peut bondir sur les ressorts; c'est la forêt, puisqu'on s'y cache; c'est la nuit, puisqu'on y devient fantôme entre les draps; c'est le plaisir, enfin, puis que, à la rentrée des parents, on va être puni. Ces contre-espaces, à vrai dire, ce n'est pas la seule invention des enfants (…). La société adulte a organisé elle-même, et bien avant les enfants, ses propres contre-espaces, ses utopies situées, ces lieux réels hors de tous les lieux. Par exemple, il y a les jardins, les cimetières, il y a les asiles, il y a les maisons closes, il y a les prisons, il y a les villages du Club Méditerranéen, et bien d'autres" (FOUCAULT, 1966, p. 1-2).

activity proper to heterotopias - the 'other spaces' - as *play*. They explain how a 'third space', the sacred space from Hippodamus' division of the city (*i.e.*, the public, the political and the sacred) is the 'other' of the political and economic, coming closest to the space of religion, arts, sports and leisure. The authors sustain that "by remembering this third sphere" - between the private space of the hidden and the public space of appearance -, the 'space of hidden appearance', "we can understand and articulate the relevance of heterotopia today" (p. 91). The spaces of the *polis* that belong to this third category do not abide by binary oppositions; a triadic conception 'public, private and other spaces' points to a way out of a private-public dualism. They understand heterotopia as more easily identified by a time-space. In this view, heterotopia interrupts everyday experience, opening protected spaces, spaces of rest, refuge and play (*idem*).

Peter Johnson (2006) reminds us that there is a political and economic base to heterotopias, but nevertheless, the spaces make room for something anti-economical and politically experimental. They are spaces of and for the imagination. "These localized utopias … well recognized by children" (FOUCAULT, 1966b, p. 1) are emplacements for inventing dream-like spaces that are firmly connected to and mirror the outside world, enhancing an imaginative quality in experimental terrains (JOHNSON, 2013). Johnson (2013) refers to Foucault's fascination with the work of the experimental writer Raymond Roussel since for him Roussel's literature springs from something akin to children's games, exploring to another level the 'core of childlike imagination'. He clarifies that heterotopic sites are not enclosures where 'normality is suspended'; they do not sit in isolation as reservoirs of freedom, emancipation or resistance; they coexist, combine and connect.

A great variety of spaces have been explored with the idea of heterotopia, including: Largo da Carioca, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (VALVERDE, 2007); the pub The Oxford Tavern, in Wollongong, Australia (GALLAN, 2013); Ibirapuera Park, in São Paulo, Brazil (CHAVES; AQUINO, 2016); the fictional city *Pleasantville* (ERSÖZ KOÇ, 2015); the 'streetscaped' mall (KERN, 2008); Gated communities in South African security parks (HOOK; VRDOLJAK, 2002); The Citadel LA – the civic center of Los Angeles (SOJA, 1995), computer and videogames used by children (McNAMEE, 2000), and many others. I present further observations on these studies in Chapter 4 as well as ways through which seeking connections between understandings of children's use of public space with heterotopia's theoretical framework can envisage implications for policy.

Heynen (2008) explains that heterotopias can "be presented as marginal spaces where social experimentations are going on, aiming at the empowerment and emancipation of

oppressed and minority groups"; but can also "be presented as instruments that support existing mechanisms of exclusion and domination, thus helping to foreclose any real possibility for change" (p. 322). Therefore, an important elucidation is that heterotopias are not necessarily sites of resistance. Indeed, as suggested by Johnson (2006), we should complain about a tendency (*e.g.*, VALVERDE, 2007) to directly associate heterotopias to sites of resistance and transgression; this link is not substantiated. As sites of an alternate ordering, heterotopia can be a site of resistance, but it can, too, be a site of order.

Johnson (2006) contrasts heterotopia with the notion of 'utopia' presented by Lefebvre. At first sight, a lefebvrian description of utopic spaces seems to resemble Foucault's notion of heterotopia, since for Lefebvre the utopic is a non-place and a real place, 'half-fictional and half-real', present and absent. For Lefevre, utopian urban dimension emerges dialectically by 'uniting difference'. But Johnson argues that Lefebvre's notion of the utopic, and similar forms of utopianism, do not convey with Foucault's concept of heterotopia. Although Foucault describes heterotopia as 'actually existing utopia', the conception is not tied to a space that necessarily promotes promises, hope or forms of resistance or liberation. In describing the space in which we live, Foucault refers to that which 'draws us out of ourselves' in peculiar ways by challenging the space we are acquainted with. Lefebvre's brief ideas capture this but with Foucault there is no inevitable relationship with spaces of hope. It is about conceiving space outside, or against, utopian frameworks (JOHNSON, 2006, p. 84).

A specific way of conceiving this distinction is to note the difference between the utopian Panopticon and real prisons. Most remarks and analyses of heterotopia avoid prisons and asylums as examples. These coercive places do not seem to 'fit' into most interpretations and are frequently ignored, but unlike Bentham's Panopticon, prisons exist. In this sense, heterotopias unstitch, undermine and transform utopias; these different spaces, which contest forms of anticipatory utopianism, hold no promise or space of liberation (*idem*, p. 85).

Some critics contend that Foucault's spatial thinking neglects much of the dynamics of texture of social experience, that is, the lived textuality of spatial experience (WEST-PAVLOV, 2009). Nigel Thrift (2007), in particular, points out what he sees as some 'politically disabling' blind spots in Foucault's work. One particular 'blind spot' refers to Foucault's "seeming aversion to discussing affect explicitly" (p. 54). Thrift points out that nearly every practice Foucault is drawn to comes charged with affect, sometimes even involve bodily violence or death, but there is still a gap. One possibility considered by Thrift is Foucault's concentration on power, instead of desire, a main distinction between Foucauldian and Deleuzian perspectives.

Another aspect could be, in Thrift's view, Foucault's attachment to discourse, although his "notion of discourse could hardly be more corporeal" (p. 54). Thrift recognizes Foucault's 'spatial sensibility' but complains it would a be a sensibility that he did not do much with:

> It seems to me that (…) Foucault tended to think of space in terms of orders, and I think that this tendency made him both alive to space as a medium through which change could be effected and, at the same time, blind to a good part of space's aliveness. Thus, when he wanted to signal this spatial quality he often found other not-categories for it, like heterotopia. (…) [I]t has been left largely to other authors to construct a Foucauldian spatiality (THRIFT, 2007, p. 55).

Marco Cenzatti (2008), for instance, attempts to advance a connection with Lefebvre's notion of the production of space, specially the idea of 'spaces of representation' as an aspect that overlaps with Foucault's 'space of relations' and which is relevant for the production of 'other spaces.' Cenzatti points out how the ability of space to "change, vanish and re-form" picks up importance when we try to understand heterotopias (p. 80). Lefebvre sees spaces as composed of three 'moments' that coexist, interact and are produced in relation to one another - spatial practice, representations of space, and spaces of representation (see Section 2.3), the latter as the spaces that are directly lived, occupied and transformed by inhabiting them, an aspect that overlaps with Foucault's 'spaces of relations.' In this view, heterotopias, as spaces of representation, would be produced by the presence of a set of specific social relations and their space. As soon as the social relations and the appropriation of physical space end, both space of representation and heterotopia disappear. Foucault's principle regarding the 'mechanisms of opening and closing' are temporal systems, responding to the presence-absence of lived space. Heterotopia is not, however, just another name for 'space of representation' because it advances in making explicit how fragmented, mobile and changing the production of space is (*idem*, p. 81).

The notion of heterotopia and its 'undecidability' (HEYNEN, 2008) suggests that exploring this idea can be productive for investigating particular time-spaces. Moreover, Foucault's thoughts on 'other spaces' (heterotopias), although marginal, "highlight how our world is full of spaces that fragment, punctuate, transform, split and govern. (…), these sites are particularly productive because they illuminate how they reflect or gather in other spaces and yet unsettle them at the same time; they provide rich pictures" (JOHNSON, 2013, p. 796). In this sense, heterotopia tends to be presented as a quality of lived space, thus spatial forms would not be in themselves 'heterotopic', but rather could accommodate heterotopia's

temporalities (HEYNEN, 2008). Yet, there are gaps to be considered, as pointed out, aspects I attempt to address in the next section of the text.

3.5 Children and Affective Public Spaces

From the classical Greek philosophers to urban modernity theorists such as Walter Benjamin, Georg Simmel, Lewis Mumford, Henri Lefebvre and Jane Jacobs, as well as contemporary urban visionaries, all elicit some sort of connection between urban public space and civic virtue and citizenship. Encouraging coexistence and interaction in well-run public spaces is often associated with enhancing tolerance, pleasure in urban experience, respect for the common good and an interest in political and civic life. The history of urban planning gives special attention to logics of occupation and use of public space that considers the dynamics of aggregation and circulation through streets, squares, parks, libraries, cultural and leisure centers and the impacts of this dynamics on relations involving consumer cultures, negotiation practices and social response to strangers in urban space (AMIN, 2008).

The experience of public space is believed to be one of sociability, interaction and acceptance of civic codes of conduct and benefits of access to collective public resources (BRAY, 1993). However, in debates on urban public space as part of children's socialization, albeit closely linked to urban development, there is no direct or immediate association. Public spaces tend to extrapolate adult control and can be seen as a problematic influence on children's socialization. Besides, contemporary logics of spatial segregation that characterize lives of many children reinforce this view; in general, their time is distributed between delimited spaces such as home, school and recreational delimited spaces or institutions (VISSCHER; BOUVERNE-DE-BIE, 2008).

The negative perception of the affects of public space on children has stimulated the provision of segregated spaces for outdoor play, 'adapted' to children's needs. In the beginning of the twentieth century, supervised playgrounds were instituted across Europe and United States as a means of drawing children off the streets and into a corrective environment (AITKEN, 2001b, p. 121). The development of the playground movement reflected yet a desire on behalf of the middle classes to gain control over children and stop them running wild (VALENTINE, 2004).

The emphasis on outdoor play in programmed spaces goes back as part of the development of modern ideas about childhood. In addition to the garden walls, the fenced playground symbolized one of the earliest forms of spatial segregation of children's play. Other ideas about playgrounds emerged during the twentieth century, like the adventure playground,

as a response to criticisms that pre-structured traditional playgrounds failed to contemplate children's creative abilities. The bias of policy that stimulates outdoor play, one more characteristic of the second half of the twentieth century, comes from a positive pedagogical perception of children's perspective on the value of playing on the street and other public spaces (VISSCHER; BOUVERNE-DE-BIE, 2008).

Visscher (2015) explains that children's participation in public sphere is still necessary to ensure opportunities for learning and development. Discursive practices on child protection and participation, including pedagogical and developmental psychology, reflect modern ideas about childhood. Protection and participation would be two complementary strategies for the realization of the modern pedagogical agenda aimed at developing the child as a future competent citizen.

However, the ways in which child/ adult boundaries have been designated seem problematic inasmuch as focus on children as an 'exclusive' or 'separated' category of existence results in the creation of spaces designed to regulate behavior by offering interpretations, prohibitions and examples of adults (AITKEN, 2001b, p. 123). As depicted by Oswell (2013):

> even if we take the simple example of preschool children's play in a sandpit in a local playground, we may refer to this as a space of childhood. But what do we mean? Do we mean that this is a space within which adults have been excluded? Of course not. This is a space which is built by adults (i.e., those who design the playground and build the sandpit alongside the swings and climbing frames and so on), but it is also built by children (i.e., through their building of sandcastles and roads and other things in the pit itself). The small children, who play in this sandpit, act as attractors and are accompanied by adults (whether parents, guardians, grandparents, siblings or others). Do we mean, then, that it is a childhood space because it is intended for children? Yes, but the 'intention' relies on the work of both adults and children in the making of this. Children's agency is not defined in terms of children or adult spaces, but rather through highly entangled social relations. (…) Local interactions between two children in a school playground are intersected, for example, with playground designs, teacherly interventions, government policy regarding school formations and the importance of play, the history of developmental psychology and the regulations of class and motherhood. These constitute different elements with different histories and spatial forms and which come together in conditions of complexity (OSWELL, 2013, p. 267-268).

Several efforts have pointed out how children negotiate their use of public space within a framework of what is 'accepted' by the adult community. Kallio and Häkli (2011, p. 63) remark that young people's politics regarding the "struggle over urban space" is not based on voice, but on voicelessness, although this does not mean it would be non-participatory. Indeed,

in the problematization of young people's use of public spaces, as Matthews *et al*. (2000) argue, the visible presence of children and youth there may be seen as 'uncomfortable' or 'inappropriate'.

Valentine (2004) conducted a study of parental concerns about children's use of public space. She emphasized how the moral landscape of childhood has debated for a long time a binary conceptualization of children as both vulnerable and in need of protection, yet also menacing and dangerous.

We must acknowledge that open accessible spaces are increasingly privatized, policed and regulated (CRESSWELL, 2013), proliferating security havens such as gated communities, shopping centers and private leisure spaces in large urban centers (GRAHAM; MARVIN, 2001). Aitken (2015) discusses that as time goes by fewer children play on the streets and in parks, and a niche market, 'kid corrals' (KATZ, 2004) or 'sandboxes', have become a global phenomenon. These types of commercially programmed spaces began in the United States with large companies (*e.g*., The Discovery Zone, Chuck & Cheese's), followed by commercial restaurants (*e.g*., McDonald's, Burger King), and allowed middle-classed children to play as parents relaxed, providing security and surveillance through internal television circuit systems. Aitken points out that in low-income working-class neighborhoods there is also surveillance, via police patrols and camera circuits, not for the safety of children, but to maintain control over the youth so adults feel secure in relation to them.

In the context of spatial relations of im/mobility (SKELTON, 2013) that reflect different geographies of power (MASSEY, 1997), children walking or playing in the city, for example, can even be disturbing, possibly assuming at times a status of contestation in an urban order increasingly complex. Aitken (2001b, p. 124-125) asserts that the surveillance and incarceration of minority youth in Europe and American cities is paralleled by similar and often worse treatment of street children in Southern countries. Qualities admired in adults such as independence, savvy and wariness are frowned upon and sometimes dealt with severely when they are learnt by children on the street. Children transgress, in this sense, social constructions of childhood (*e.g*., innocence and dependence) contributing to highlight a 'disillusion of the private-public nexus' related specially with child/ adult boundaries.

In this sense, children's appropriation and use of public space is political both in how they use spaces and in how they are perceived by others while doing so (CELE, 2013). Children 'playing' in public space, for instance, can take on a sort of groundbreaking potential when considering Cindi Katz's (2011) use of Walter Benjamin's idea of the mimetic quality of play. She explains that children's play is mimetic not only in the sense of copying something, but

also as a flash of inspiration and innovation, and that playing is building an identity and constructing the world. During play, children learn with the meanings and practices of their social worlds, but it is also the space-time where meanings and relations received can be rejected or reformulated.

> An eleven-year-old skateboarder looked out on the Los Angeles landscape with wonder and excitement, and claimed its marginal, moribund and abandoned spaces. That young person was not isolated or monadic, she was not on her own but connected to the non-material vastness of urban space that called out to her as an active part of her imagination and being and, in a moment, that space started to become something different and so did she. (…) How do we create a world of potential and play for young people? (AITKEN, 2018, p. 210).

This relates to how Aitken (2014b) envisages play as a transitional space similar to Donald Winnicott's[19] 'space of becoming'. Referring to Winnicott's understanding of the therapeutic importance of play and the way it projects emotions into the world, Aitken highlights the notion of transitional space as potentially transformative (*i.e.*, potential spaces) inasmuch as it opens up the political (p. 5). In an earlier work, Aitken and Herman (1997) bring Winnicott's transitional spaces closer to the ideas which surround Lefebvre's trial by space (Section 2.3) by arguing that children and adults are unable to constitute themselves or recognize one another as 'subjects' unless they generate or produce space (p. 80). Within the notion of transitional space, reality is moldable, and meanings can be reestablished. Thus, interaction of children with a larger society is important since it allows children to make use of the knowledge obtained by others and gives them a chance to try out their ideas, role play and generally take part in social behavior. This extrapolates the idea of play as a mere synonym of exercise or distraction (*idem*, p. 77). Children's play in public space can, in this sense, be part of a spacetime disruption if it is seen as a space of becoming (AITKEN, 2014b).

In this sense, place could be approached as a space where relational processes meet in conjunctural events (MASSEY, 2008) with broader effects on children's lives and relations, as well as on other inhabitants. Massey explains that the condition of 'situated multiplicity', or 'thrown-togetherness' in a shared physical space indicates the idea of a context that embodies different forms of people living the city and of practicing it, as they always constitute space-place, and points to an overlapping and mix of global diversity in urban life. The condition of thrown-togetherness considers the chance that urban space can place us close to our neighbor, the stranger.

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[19] Paediatrician and Psychoanalyst, Donald Woods Winnicott (1896 – 1971) was a student of Melaine Klein (18821960), an important Austrian children's Psychoanalyst.

Ash Amin (2008, p. 8) asserts this condition of situated multiplicity or throwntogetherness to trace the "virtues of urban surplus to public spaces that are open, crowded, diverse, incomplete, improvised and lightly regulated" and "the mingling of bodies, human and non-human in close physical proximity, regulated by the rhythms of invention, order and control generated by multiplicity" (*idem*, p. 11). Different kinds of intervention (*i.e.*, via urban policy enactment) in public space are basically drawn from this trust in the urban commons. Paulos and Goodman (2004) explain that in public spaces that are relatively safe, open to all, and lightly regulated, there seems to be an *ethos* of shared trust in the situation. The negotiation of space and bodies in this kind of environment seems guided by mechanisms that make the strange familiar (as people do not feel threatened in the presence of strangers) and the unfamiliar strange (as intimacy and very private aspects are avoided).

These temporary constellations of trajectories, these events that are places, require negotiation (MASSEY, 2008, p. 153). Besides, the collective 'promise' of public space does not seem, as Amin (2008) suggests, reducible to the dynamics of interpersonal interaction, but traced by human and nonhuman dynamics of a public place. The politics of place that address rights of presence builds on the idea that citizenship should be examined in terms of interdependent relations rather than only in terms of autonomous rights. It also emphasizes that the political is inseparable from urban life, and that children are an inseparable part of that life (AITKEN, 2014b). This helps to enhance ideas of reciprocity and inter-dependence as an alternative normative basis that might re-signify 'boundaries' with adults, so often posed as separated or antagonistic in the political arena (CASTRO, 2016).

3.6 Discussion

Foremost, besides a need to recognize a plurality of childhoods in terms of age, gender, socioeconomic class, family form etc. (VALENTINE, 2004), the idea of child/adult boundaries as being plural, permeable and infused with contested meanings (AITKEN, 2001b, p. 126) is an argument that needs to be underlined. Considering children and urban public space, I understand it is reasonable to point out that this interface is affected by spatial reordering in its associations with policy. However, although children's spatial experience has policy components that must be considered, policy's discursive practices do not tell the full story.

An emphasis on the duality and contradictions of urban models and concrete places, that is, of utopia and heterotopia still seems relevant, since we may inquire how, both as utopia (*e.g.*, a depiction of an unreal place such as an 'ideal', 'just' or 'friendly' city for children) and

heterotopia (a concrete place), specific public spaces can serve as a 'mirror' forming a web of relations with prevailing urban conditions in Southern countries.

We may inquire, for instance, how do specific public spaces – such as 'closed streets' - and their use by children contribute to 'suspect, neutralize or invert' sets of relations? These relations may be those regarding spatial segregation or im/mobility. What would be possible 'heterotopic' qualities of such spaces? If this experience resembles a 'joint experience' , in a Foucaudian sense, what does it question or challenge when we consider space production?

Closed streets, if they can be portrayed as 'other spaces' of 'joint experience', can mirror a recognition of children's right to the city - possibly a 'friendly' city where children play safely in the street and participate in family, community and social and cultural life. Yet, a simulated utopia of a 'good urban setting' represents, at the same time the real world. This implies acknowledging different relational features of these spaces, including relations of power that are spatialized in specific forms.

In that sense, there are ambiguities and ambivalent aspects embraced by such a conception of time-space, one that may be useful for approaching policy enactment in its interface with children's spatial experiences in Brazil's big cities.

We must recognize, however, that an important gap remains. The idea of thrown-togetherness and the shared use of public space suggest that we consider the importance of relations and affect. Children's presence in public space, in its' association with policy enactment and urban life, resonate relational and affective components that I aim to address in this study.

4. SITUATING METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS

> 'Words,' he said, 'is oh such a twitch-tickling problem to me all my life. So you must simply try to be patient and stop squibbling. As I am telling you before, I know exactly what words I am wanting to say, but somehow or other they is always getting squiff-squifddled around.'
> 'That happens to everyone,' Sophie said.
> 'Not like it happens to me,' the BFG said. 'I is speaking the most terrible wigglish.'
> 'I think you speak beautifully,' Sophie said.
> 'You do?' cried the BFG, suddenly brightening. 'You really do?'
> 'Simply beautifully', Sophie repeated.
> 'Well, that is the nicest present anybody is ever giving me in my whole life!' cried the BFG. 'Are you sure you is not twiddling my leg?'
> 'Of course not,' Sophie said. 'I just love the way you talk' (DAHL, 1982).

4.1 Introduction

The theme of children and childhood has not always been under the spotlight of the Social Sciences (KOSMINSKY, 2000), and there are gaps in the field of studies dedicated do children and childhood inasmuch as it is mainly shaped within the histories, social contexts, economies and governmentalities of Europe and North America. Latin America, India, China, Africa are still marginal presences in the literature (OSWELL, 2013).

The methodological sphere related to empirical research involving children, however, calls on strategies that reflect quite a productive methodological pluralism. This chapter is dedicated to highlighting some of those methodological matters as well as discussing how this study is configured.

Initially, I situate the methodological question of this study considering the field of research dedicated to children and childhood. I then make considerations about my positionality as a researcher, and discuss ethical issues implied in research with children, highlighting aspects that connect fieldwork and ethical considerations.

A multiple methods approach is then acknowledged in the context of qualitative methods. That section is followed by an overall description of the exploratory research conducted, its contexts, as well as considerations on the different methods connected with fieldwork. After presenting the configurations of data comprised in this study, I discuss how analysis was conducted, illustrating the analytical frameworks considered, and then I draw some comments on the use of *NVivo* software. The last part of the chapter presents brief remarks about the overall research experience as well as additional possibilities regarding narrative strategies.

4.2 Situating a Methodological Question

Although initially concentrating on descriptions of indignation against scenarios of poverty and deprivation, rather than on proper efforts to understand children as complex citizens, there have been important movements towards understanding conditions and experiences of children in urban environments, especially contributions that relate urban environment and health, autonomy and well-being of children as social actors (SIPE *et al.*, 2006).

In the twentieth century, there are clear attempts from social theorists in investigating and collecting material on the welfare of the child in the city. Neil Sipe and co-authors (2006) point out the Chicago (United States) exhibition in 1911 that resulted in the handbook 'The Child in The City'. Using photographs, models and schemes to illustrate the condition of 640,000 children living in Chicago, this research was directed to playgrounds, emphasizing the creation of healthier environments, and concerned with psychological and social dimensions related to playing.

Sociology devoted more attention to urban children from the 1930s onwards, focusing on the acquisition of social skills and influence of socioeconomic aspects (SIPE *et al.*, 2006). The sociological approach contributed to improvements in research in the area as it looked at children's perspective in its relation to the lived environment, and in terms of meanings, values and bonds developed (FRISCH *et al.*, 2012).

In the field of Sociology of Childhood, Lisandra Gomes (2011) acknowledges the importance of understanding children in migratory processes and the various components of this course: language; economic, political and legal organization; geography; morality and customs; arts; work; school; family, religion, media, modes of recreation, personal relationships, among others. Fernando Bosco (2010) investigated children's everyday activities in Latino immigrant families along the US/Mexico border highlighting how children often connect their families to politics at a variety of scales. More recently, highlighting the refugee crisis in Europe, Frosso Motti-Stefanidi (2016) approached the issue of young migrants in an interface with the challenges of promoting their integration and the conception of non-segregated environments.

Methodological advances in the 1950s and 60s in studies that explored children's environment with investigations about childhood memories in the city can also be highlighted. In the 1960s, the creation of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHHD) in the United States is an example of one of the first interdisciplinary efforts to

understand the psychological and social well-being of children in urban settings (SIPE *et al*., 2006).

In the 1970s, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) proposed the 10-year program 'Growing Up in Cities' (LYNCH, 1977), focusing on finding people-centered solutions to environmental problems. It contributed to greater attention towards the theme of children in the city; Kevin Lynch led this effort that involved social researchers, natural scientists, architects, urban planners and other practitioners. The initial emphasis was on understanding how adolescents used and valued their social space. In contrast to conventional approaches focused on planned spaces such as parks, playgrounds, or gardens, Lynch was interested in the use of non-programmed spaces (such as streets and stairways) where young people play informal games. He also tried to observe children's free time and the obstacles they face when moving around in the city. Part of the research involved asking children to draw maps of their paths and neighborhood. These efforts inspired other studies, such as Colin Ward's *The Child in The City* (1978), which seeks pathways towards a more child-friendly relationship with the city.

In traditional studies, addressing children's perspectives and spatial experiences generally began with the recognition of differences in scale or intensity in their sensory experience (taste, smell, color, noise) compared to that of adults. Rooms built by Paul Ritter and his students in Nottingham (England) in 1959 (Figure 02), two and a half times larger than regular size, illustrate this type of approach (WARD, 1978).

Figure 02. Adult-child differences of scale

Source: Ward (1978).

The main experimental insights we have about child perception of built environment comes from the Environmental Psychology area and from the study of environmental

perceptions, usually under two traditions: cognitive mappers (*e.g.*, Kevin Lynch) and developmentalists (*e.g.*, Jean Piaget). A child's spatial conception by Piaget would be qualitatively different to those of adults, consisting of phases of development: sensorimotor (birth to 2 years), pre-operational (2 to 6 years), concretely operational (7 to 11 years), and formally operational (over 11 years). Children would evolve from a stage where they can negotiate sequences and routes of objects and situations, but cannot reverse them (*e.g.*, would not be able to return from school in an alternative way), to a stage where they understand projective space and gain an ability to negotiate routes (*e.g.,* already at school conceiving alternative routes before the return journey home), culminating in a stage in which they understand Euclidean space and are able to conceive spatial relations in an abstract general scheme (WARD, 1978).

In turn, Lynch (1960) in *The Image of The City* explains that we structure a personal concept of the city around specific elements: paths, borders, districts, nodes and landscapes. Maps, aerial photographs and maps schematized by children (in accordance with the principles established by Lynch) have become tools for analyzing the development of spatial perception and aspects related to spatial cognition among children. These resources helped to establish variations in environmental knowledge among children, contributing to question Piaget's hypotheses about child developmental stages as well as adult-centered interpretations of spatial representations of children (FRISCH *et al*., 2012). Mapping exercises have characterized many efforts in the field of children's geographies, which has for 30 years or so studied social and family contexts, gender issues and cultural variation, home, school, playgrounds and other spaces of play, neighborhood, streets, city, nation, migration, politics and citizenship, consumer landscapes, cyberspace, and various environmental aspects that favor or obstruct children's spatial experiences (McKENDRICK, 2000).

The 1980s expanded research contexts and explored sophisticated statistical approaches for the definition of environmental quality indicators, also with a greater commitment to incorporating ideas from children into policy (SIPE *et al*., 2006). In Brazil, a study conducted by Arno Vogel and Marco Antonio Mello (1981) questioned assumptions from urban development theory that contributed to the depreciation of the Catumbi district (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil), condemned as anachronistic, inefficient, and dysfunctional. For eight months multiple research procedures in ethnography and urbanism were combined; interviews were conducted with inhabitants and users of that space; maps, photographs and drawings, as well as an audiovisual record, a sum of research procedures uncommon at that time in urban studies.

The research inspired, in 1983, the UNICEF-funded study *Como as Crianças veem a Cidade* (How Children see the City) (VOGEL *et al.*, 1995). This study outlined a methodology for informing urban planning. It was one of the first efforts of vocalization of children's and adolescents' points of view from Rio de Janeiro about their city and society. The students were asked to express themselves, through letters, on different subjects related to life in the metropolis.

We should also point out the increasing number of scientific journals dedicated to children and the urban environment (*e.g*., Children's Geographies; Children, Youth and Environments; Childhood etc.). Issues on mobility take on increasing attention from the 1990s to the present (*e.g*., CUZZOCREA; MANDICH, 2015), with emphasis on physical health of urban children and problems related to sedentarism and childhood obesity. There are still significant gaps in mobility studies regarding the role of children in a mobile world, and the status of theoretical reflection on mobility hardly mentions childhood (SKELTON, 2013).

Concerning children's participation in knowledge production, Renata Prado (2014) observed in the Brazilian context that an emphasis on children's perspectives has been given more attention in the fields of Psychology and, to a lesser extent, in the field of Education. Having analyzed 179 studies in Brazil from anthropology, education, psychology and sociology with the involvement of children, published between 2000 and 2012, she points to gaps related to the voices of children from the country's Northeast, North and Central West regions, as well as from small children and from non-urban areas. The need to strengthen the link between academic production and influence on public policy agendas is stressed in Prado's work.

The efforts of researchers and research groups in Latin America have contributed to highlight and discuss socioeconomic inequalities and discrepancies in comparison to development indicators of other nations of the globe (RIZZINI, 2002). In Brazil, several research questions have been contemplated in its association with childhood, such as gender issues (*e.g.,* CECHIN; SILVA, 2015,), religion (*e.g.,* PIRES, 2007), mobility (*e.g.,* SABBAG *et al.*, 2015), agency (*e.g.,* RIZZINI *et al*., 2007; SALGADO; MÜLLER, 2015), children-city relationship (*e.g.,* ASSAD, 2016; MÜLLER, 2012), and others.

Also, different sites are investigated in this interface with children, including school, media and family (GOMES, 2008). Market strategies are also contemplated, as in the study by Silveira-Netto *et al.* (2010) about childhood representations in marketing actions, and which points out in children's clothing campaigns a kind of 'adultification' of children as a form of socializing them within consumer markets.

As pointed out, empirical research involving children reveal methodological pluralism. Flávia Pires (2007) explores various methods and techniques of research with children, including participant observation, drawings, essays, filming, journals, photographs, letters, interviews with children, and radio programs. Marta Salgado and Fernanda Müller (2015) explore, in studying children's agency, sensory ethnography emphasizing the connection between technology and research with children, and Rhaisa Farias and Fernanda Müller (2017) use visual methods including map-like model and photo-elicitation to better understand girls' and boys' urban mobility experiences in Brasília (Brazil).

Studies on children and childhood have, thus, expanded in the last decades with theoretical and academic contributions from various disciplinary fields, such as Sociology, Anthropology, Geography, Education and Psychology, although in Latin America this production has yet to intensify. Different conceptions of childhood permeate these fields of knowledge (*e.g*., DORNELLES; MARQUES, 2015), as well as the settings they portray enhance the notion of a plurality of childhoods.

In light of what was exposed and considering the aims of this study, our methodological question should consider what method/s is/are capable of providing accounts on forms of space production by children in the context of policy enactment. Yet, if we are looking at the production of specific public spaces (closed streets) by children, the methodological endeavor should not involve developing a simple description of 'what is there in space' or 'what children do there'. As I pointed out in Chapter 1, we are inquiring how, both as utopia (a depiction of an unreal place such as a 'child-friendly' city) and heterotopia (a concrete place), specific public spaces reflect a web of relations of prevailing urban conditions in Southern countries.

If this study emphasizes connections between urban ideals and concrete places, then how to 'carve' a method capable of analyzing connections between different spaces that overlap experiences? The idea of approaching a joint experience in this manner suggests that no 'ideal setting' or method should be solely considered; rather, the various accesses to contexts should provide contents for addressing the question of how the production of space by children in closed streets reflect their right to the city.

4.3 Researcher's Positionality

During the 1980s, on what came to be known as the 'crisis of representation', scholars in the social sciences engaged with what it meant to write about others and examined the power relations involved in such endeavors. To critically examine who we are, where we come from, and how that informs our representations of others and ourselves (DELYSER, 2009, p. 347)

comprises a practice of self-reflexivity, or what Carol Bacchi (2015) refers to as an exercise of self-problematization signaling the recognition that as researchers we are located subjects, immersed in particular ways of seeing the world. She points out that researchers are called upon to contest Policy field's emphasis on 'problem-solving' and to subject their own proposals to scrutiny. This involves the extent to which policy recommendations or suggestions derived from research efforts can either reproduce or disrupt modes of governing that install forms of marginalization and domination (BACCHI, 2015).

Aitken (2009) highlights that this representational crisis not only pointed out the problems of qualitative attempts directed to 'capture' lived experience, but it was also a legitimation crisis whereby several axioms of science – validity, generalizability, reliability – were called into question (p. 57). He discusses how representation of others is problematic and may suggest asymmetrical power relations (as well as institutional biases) which directly question the possibility of representing others in a value-free way. He questions "is it sufficient to 'simply rework', through qualitative methods, 'other people's experiences through my experiences and writing?' (p. 47). This challenges research and writing to be more reflexive, self-reflexive and emotive inasmuch as qualitative research is not objective or devoid of feelings (*idem*).

Indeed, qualitative methodology is not reduced to choosing method or carrying out these methods; it is much more about questioning how we are going to configure the world, and how we question in practice to what extent we are able to configure different worlds (DEWSBURY, 2009). In a 'more than' representational effort, that also contributes to destabilize somehow the 'know-and-tell' politics that prevails in social research, we can admit that "the representational is not the enemy" (p. 322) as we acknowledge ourselves as situated subjects and consider that no representation is value-free.

Yet, emotions are rarely accommodated by academics (AITKEN, 2009). If this is true in social studies, in the Policy field in particular it is blatant. Embracing affect as constitutive of research is about, as Dewsbury (2009) suggests, an *ethos* of keeping researchers alive to change and chance and preventing us from forging any 'safe' methodological territory.

Besides reflexivity, that is, the researcher's constant questioning of the interpretation of the data, especially in relation to how the empirical evidences are appreciated in light of theory (PAIVA *et al.*, 2011), I consider self-reflexivity by trying to recognize in this study my positionality and its affects. Throughout the research process, when I talked to children in different phases of fieldwork, and they would share with me some of their ideas or tell me about their doings, I would catch myself saying "my son really enjoys playing ball too!", or when

commenting with a mother "I understand how you feel" when she said of her fears about violence, I was not only there as a researcher, I was also relating as a mother and truly empathizing with her fears because I feel them too. When Samuel (9y) told me, while he showed me his drawing, that he can't go outside in the street because the pavements are not fit for his wheelchair, besides strong emotions I also realized the political aspects entangled with a research endeavor. The letters children wrote for this study are not only 'data'. Besides, there is not only a political, but an affective push related to identity, ideas, dreams, emotions.

During my first visit to Paulista Avenue, I was with my children, and I related to that time-space not only as a researcher. What was shared in that visiting and those encounters between my two sons and other children, as well as conversations with adults, were crucial for insights for subsequent research efforts. The six months, during this Doctorate program, as a family living in the United States and experiencing different urban public spaces and relations, also enhanced my awareness on otherness, embeddedness and policy.

Fernando Bosco (2007) approaches the idea of an ethics of care from the ways in which responsibility is enacted and how caring about others is negotiated and mediated across space. In this view, people are seen as interdependent and emotions and affects should not be ignored. Emotions and affects are, thus, a constitutive part of qualitative research processes. I was encouraged to recognize this positionality and exercise self-reflexivity too in writing.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

As I pointed out previously, within the broad sphere of methodological paths there are important political aspects in research approaches with children that are related to asymmetrical power relations between adults and children. Alldred and Burman (2004) highlight that in social sciences there is a general idea of "children's deviation from the category of reliable informants", (…) "but children's 'voices' cannot be heard outside of, or free from, cultural understandings of childhood and the cultural meanings assigned to their communication" (p. 177-178).

I approach children's participation in this study from their informed consent in a process of dialogue and information sharing, which considers each child as, too, a subject of knowledge (NASCIMENTO, 2009). Also, the research efforts that involve children in this study follow ethical considerations and norms that include: children's assent to participate in the research, even after parents' authorization for the drawing workshops; letters of agreement from schools involved; informed consent signed by the children's parents/guardians. Ethical norms were guided by the National Research Ethics Council (CONEP), through Resolution 466/12, which

guides human research, and was submitted to and approved by CONEP, linked to UFPE (Federal University of Pernambuco) via CAAE (Certificate of Presentation for Ethical Appraisal) nº 57508216.8.0000.5208.

The different phases of this study highlight different challenges related to investigation processes with children. Foremost, in research with children, adult-child relations can be problematic considering they comprise clear asymmetries of power.

In the drawing workshops, as teachers presented me as 'a student from the University doing research', several children would say "Wow!", and I would sense some of those asymmetries. I asked again in the workshops (the written authorization by the children's parents had already been sent to the schools) if they would like to participate. I was glad to encounter their enthusiasm to take part. As they reaffirmed their will to participate, this also helped to reduce some of the uneasiness I was feeling for entering their classroom as an 'adult stranger'.

With drawings, Cele (2006) alerts that one of the first impressions an adult gets, and some of the first judgements she forms, is in terms of how skilled the child is at using different drawing techniques and how 'true' or 'similar' the *motif* is to how an adult would reproduce the physical environment of a certain place. Children produce drawings that adults find 'cute' or 'amusing' in one way or another. But this can be problematic since it is a social act among adults to find children amusing. The children's drawings are loaded with meaning and individuality and this must always be taken seriously. We may believe that we are and we may try, but the exercise of power exists in the glance of an eye and in the hidden smile just as strongly as in oppressive acts (p. 173).

There are not only moral, but ethical issues related to communicating with children in different spaces. From the fieldwork in Paulista Avenue, where I took many photographs, I became aware of the risk of creating a 'spectacle' of the images in the writing process. Thus, although I present (in further chapters) many of these images, in future publications the images will be treated in order to prevent the identification of children's faces.

Interaction with children in public spaces, in the context of fieldwork, presents specific challenges too. In the visits to Paulista Avenue, I was engaged in participant observation and did not approach children without adult consent; thus, I talked to some parents and, as they ensured me it was alright to interact with their children, I did so. But there are encounters with children that I could not predict. I transcribe a passage from my field notes to illustrate this idea:

> While I was waiting for the Paulista (Avenue) to close for cars, two children approach me. A girl, about 12 or 13y, and probably her brother (they look alike), who must be about 8 or 9y. They were asking me to buy *jujuba* (candy) or dishcloths to help pay their rent. They ask me for 2 *Reais* for each candy.

As I search in my bag, I ask if they live nearby, and the girl tells me that they live in the *Luz* (a low-income neighborhood in São Paulo) and that their mother is there across the street (is she worried I might represent a problem of some kind?). She tells me they come several times to help get money for the rent. As soon as I buy sweets from them, they walk away (maybe they think it is not safe to talk to a stranger there) and then join another girl and walk together with her. I don't see their mother (Field notes, September 2nd 2018).

Albeit recognizing that any childhood is raced, classed and gendered, I try not to frame children in my writing from this kind of categorization. As for children's letters, they were written in the classroom and associated with the school's activities on those days. Influence from peers as well as from pedagogical biases reinforce power relations associated to specific educational environments. Only in one school the teacher asked us to lead the process and remain in the classroom while the children were writing their letters. I understand this had an influence on expectations, and one of the girls asked if we would deliver those letters. I answered that I said I was not allowed to do that yet, but that in someway I would try to 'deliver the message' of these letters. Although I realize how troublesome it is to 'speak for them', taking up this responsibility through writing in this study convinces me that it is not just about reporting research results.

4.5 Multiple Methods Approach

Methodology comprises a systematization of practices in the solution of research problems, albeit in the theoretical-empirical construction of research objects, research conditions are rethought along the way (MATTOS, 2005). As discussed in previous chapters, this study enhances empirical outlines related to the social production of space by children and considers multiple qualitative methods. There is also an attempt to develop interdisciplinary efforts throughout research practices.

I combine distinct approaches for collecting data, trying to distance this study from a mainly researcher-directed approach and aiming to involve children in distinct phases of fieldwork. In this section, I discuss the main approaches related to visual, observational and textual lines of inquiry in the context of qualitative methods, whereas in section 4.7 I describe specific aspects related to the fieldwork stemming from these methodological outlines.

4.5.1 Drawings

By an engagement with visuality I consider, as suggested by Mike Crang (2009), the 'visual' as being used for more than just creating 'data' to be brought into accounts. In the scope of visual methods, the construction of drawings in social research in general has been used to

stimulate the manifestation of emotional and affective dimensions not privileged by strictly 'rational' techniques. The notion of 'visual data' can involve various objects obtained by means of graphs, maps, drawings, diagrams, photographs, among other images (VERGARA, 2006).

The work of Philippe Ariès (1978) used, for instance, paintings and engravings as a support to show how children in pre-industrial Europe were dressed in the same types of clothing as adults, as they were represented without the innocence that often is attributed to them today, and how they took part in adult entertainment (LOIZOS, 2002).

Methods that involve creative and artistic elements are beneficial to use with children since there are no strict frames to narrow children's imaginations and experiences. Artistic and creative methods do not just allow a child to document her experiences and thoughts, but the creative aspect also encourages the child to dig deeper into her experiences (CELE, 2006).

Spencer and Lloyd (1974) used a variety of techniques to capture the visual perspectives children had of their city, including collecting maps children (ages 9 and 10) drew of their home-school routes. In the drawings there was great attention given to people, animals, birds, vegetation and natural phenomena; the buildings, streets, and urban equipment were perceived in relation to human activities. Maps, aerial photographs and maps schematized by children have become tools for analyzing the development of spatial perception and aspects related to children's spatial cognition. These resources influenced the establishing of variations in environmental knowledge according to children's age and gender (FRISCH *et al.*, 2012).

Drawings are also used in anthropological studies. In a study conducted by Flávia Pires (2007) on children and religion, she used drawings as a significant research material to complement her participant observation. When drawing on a proposed theme, children tend to put on paper what is most evident to them, although it must be acknowledged that sometimes the child can copy the drawing of a friend or be directly influenced by adults and pedagogical aspects, as in the case when the drawings are made in the classroom. Pires clarifies that, unlike psychologists, anthropologists are not trained to infer any conclusion based on a drawing. Thus, in the direction of an analysis of the material, the researcher can begin by classifying elements identified in a drawing from the description that each child makes of her drawing.

A difficulty related to drawings, and highlighted by Cele (2006), is that since a creative process is a product of a certain time, place and stage of the child's life, the researcher cannot return to the children after a period of time and ask them about their drawings, because they will not be able to answer. For a short period after the creative process is completed, they are able to remember what made them draw in a certain way or what their drawings mean to them. Later, they only have their memories of what they did and they do not recall the actual meanings

of the objects and places they included. Since the children themselves have developed and moved on, their priorities and their intellects might have changed. In that sense, the part of the interpretation that is dependent on the participation of the children is momentary (p. 176).

4.5.2 Letters

Philo and Smith (2003) once discussed experiences and the potential of children and young people to influence political settings considering an empirical vignette based on letters they wrote to Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of Franklin D. Roosevelt (President of the United States), during the Great Depression (1930s into 1940). The authors consider that these letters were, in general, 'implicitly' political, and that it wouldn't seem appropriate to raise too much the status of these texts to that of political documents.

Yet, empirical outlines such as these reveal concerns, problems and diverse realities of children; the letters tell a lot about the circumstances, spaces and places children had to cope with daily during the historical period of the American Depression. Thus, besides pointing out local geographical aspects, such as home-school distance or neighborhood issues, the letters also express a kind of political geography considering political status of communication between citizens and the First Lady as seen as part of the state *apparatus* (PHILO; SMITH, 2003, p. 101).

Other situations suggest a different kind of political bias related to letter writing. In 2013, for example, the government released some handwritten letters from children sent to Barack Obama, President of the US, about their feelings and ideas on gun control. Eleven-year-old Julia wrote "[m]y opinion is it should be very hard for people to buy guns. […] I have 4 brothers and sisters and I know I would not be able to bear the thought of losing any of them" (CONDON, 2013). Children's views on the global refugee crisis recently gained exposure on Leaders Summit on Refugees as President Obama shared the letter written by a six-year-old boy from New York, Alex, who saw on TV the image of a Syrian boy called Omran sitting in an ambulance after an air strike on Aleppo, covered in blood and dust. Alex wrote to the President: "[c]an you please go get him and bring him to my home? […] We'll be waiting for you guys with flags, flowers, and balloons. We will give him a family and he will be our brother" (WHITEHOUSE.ORG, 2016).

Kallio and Häkli (2011) recognize that both conceptual tools for analysis and practical methods for gathering empirical data on children's politics haven't developed extensively, since there are many difficulties for children expressing or playing out their politics in forms familiar to adults. Children have particular ways of encountering changing environments, and children's

letters exceed contents on experiential dimensions of their everyday lives, to include historical aspects and possible political issues.

Setyowati and Widiyanto (2009) describe their research approach to enable vulnerable children in Indonesia, including children in the commercial sex trade and victims of violence in schools, to share their own experiences. They invited children in Aceh and Nias (northern Sumatra) to write 'letters from the heart' to their teachers. The teachers didn't see the letters, but the researchers considered the method enabled better comprehension about children's difficulties as well as a different manner for children to express desires, complaints and suggestions: "[p]lease Miss Teacher, don't hit me. It hurts my cheek when you strike me. I am ashamed in front of my friends. Miss, I won't do anything bad again. Please forgive me. I feel disappointed if you hit the pupils without explaining why you are hitting children who haven't done anything wrong (*idem*, p. 483).

Besides enhancing sensitivity of researchers towards specific issues involved in research with children (SETYOWATI; WIDIYANTO, 2009), there is still the possibility of making recommendations based on a closer knowledge of the situation in the field.

In Brazil, Vogel and collaborator's (1995) study How Children see the City implemented in 1983 by the Center for Studies and Urban Research of the Brazilian Institute of Municipal Administration (IBAM), emphasized the conception of a method for informing urban planning. It was one of the first attempts to give voice to the point of view of Rio de Janeiro's children and adolescents about their city and society. Students from public and private schools were asked to write letters to express their ideas on different topics related to city life: housing, pollution, leisure and entertainment, landscape, violence and security in the neighborhood and in the city center, government and neighborhood association, activities and work. More than 3.000 letters and drawings, in 24 schools, were gathered, and IBAM incorporated the routine of consultation of school children and adolescents for formulation of local urban plans.

Letters can embody a child's message, allowing she or he to identify the one to whom it is to be addressed and convey a more practical sense to the communication, as each one addresses the letter to whom she or he judges is responsible for the city. Besides writing, children can also draw in a free manner; no restrictions are specified on calligraphy, spelling or modes of treatment (VOGEL *et al.*, 1995). I consider the potential opportunities from letters as a research effort, as I describe in Section 4.9, that can contribute to a better understanding on children's ideas and embeddedness.

4.5.3 Observation

Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) argue that all social research is a form of participant observation, since the social world cannot be studied without us becoming part of it. In that sense, participant observation is not a particular technique of data collection, but a way of being in the social world characteristic of the researchers. The issue of our 'unavoidable interference' as an observer tends to be elicited in literature in social research by the fact that we can represent an outsider. Haguette (1990), for instance, distinguishes roles of the observer considering the level of participation and interaction of the researcher with those people and phenomenon observed, with impacts on data quality.

In Pires' (2007) study, pointed out in the previous section, drawings complemented her participant observation. She did systematic and regular observation of masses, cults and spiritism meetings, especially religious services aimed for children. Funerals, services, *novenas* of the month of Mary (May), processions, the patron saint's celebration and the Missionary Childhood charity were also observed.

In the context of observation and research, there are approaches connected to the production of what Mike Crang (2009) calls 'visual' ethnographies, and I highlight in that context the use of photography in social research. There are common critics to this kind of visual approach that include assumptions of detachment and objectivity of knower leading to objectification of the known. In fact, Crang points out, "when we take a look at all the criticism surrounding the issue, we might seem discouraged to use visual methods at all" (p. 209). As representational knowledge is challenged, the 'visual' seems inescapably bound to the representational.

But we can, he argues, re-approach the way we think of seeing as 'representing' towards considering it as a 'medium of connecting and making present'. As a method, it will thus ask about how we might show what is not seen, when it cannot be pictured, and how we might think about vision not as the antithesis of touch but through a haptic register (p. 209). Besides stating that any vision portrayed is historically contingent, and advising a sensitive use of visual methods, Crang (2009) highlights the importance of a 'looking' that reflects on itself and comes close to a subject without however seizing or claiming it.

The implication then, he suggests, is not that visual methods and techniques should be abandoned but that we should think of them in new ways, with new senses of vision that avoid some of the problems related to the representational. I will address and detail in Section 4.7 aspects of fieldwork and observation related to this study highlighting fieldwork conducted in Paulista Avenue.

4.5.4 Documents

This study recognizes the importance of discursive contexts related to policy enactment and its affects on space production, understanding that in a more than representational approach discourses and discursive practices should not be neglected as a means for analyzing social and symbolic systems (*e.g.*, school, fashion, park, street, classroom, etc.).

In Kjørholt's study (2007), for instance, she investigates the hegemonic character of discourses on children as participants in policy making in Norway, and how the signifiers 'child' and 'participation' represent privileged discursive points filled with specific meanings in that context. Indeed, children's use of urban public space dwells in a field of discursive disputes; social practices too articulate and challenge discourses and highlight the contingency of social structures.

News, magazines, policy proposals, statements, debates, and others, at the textual level, uncover modes of representation related to certain geographies and practices, but textual analyses should not be disconnected from any discursive context (DITTMER, 2009). There is always the need to question, when considering the use of texts as data, why is it that we are considering it. Like any method, it should flow from a project's theoretical assumptions as well as from the object of analysis. As for policy related texts, such as coverage on policy enactment, I consider them as relevant for this study's purpose. Thus, albeit careful to not solely engage in a strictly textually-oriented analysis, this study acknowledges discursive practices related with policy enactment.

4.6 Exploratory Efforts

This section describes the initial research effort of exploring children's relations with spaces in Recife, Pernambuco (Brazil). As a first step, drawing workshops (see Section 4.7.1) included drawings made by the children, adapting an approach outlined by Frisch *et al.* (2012), who regard children's drawings and reports from the Batignolles district in Paris (France) to understand children's relationship with their neighborhood, and how differences influenced their perceptions of the place their parents chose to live in, and what uses they make of this space and the city in which they live.

Initial field research was based on interaction with children from two schools in Recife - PE. In the first school, a private school in the Torre neighborhood, I requested school and parents' authorization for 9 and 10-year-old children to participate in a 'Drawing my Neighborhood' workshop. 14 children (3 girls and 11 boys) were allowed by their parents to participate. In the second school, in the Madalena neighborhood, 21 girls and 26 boys took part

in the workshop. There are some differences on approaches to each school, as I will point out further.

4.6.1 A 'Drawing my neighborhood' workshop

The Metropolitan Region of Recife is the 5th most populous region in Brazil, with 3.690.485 inhabitants in 1.247.497 households. 42.6% of the metropolitan population lives in Recife, the metropolis hub (BITOUN *et al*., 2010). The Torre neighborhood (red area in Figure 03) is on the banks of the Capibaribe River and is part of the 4th Political-Administrative Region (RPA-4, formed by 12 neighborhoods). In 2010 it had 17.903 inhabitants occupying an area of 117 hectares, with 21,44% of the population at the age of 17 or less (IBGE, 2010).

Figure 03. Torre neighborhood in Recife, Pernambuco (Brazil)
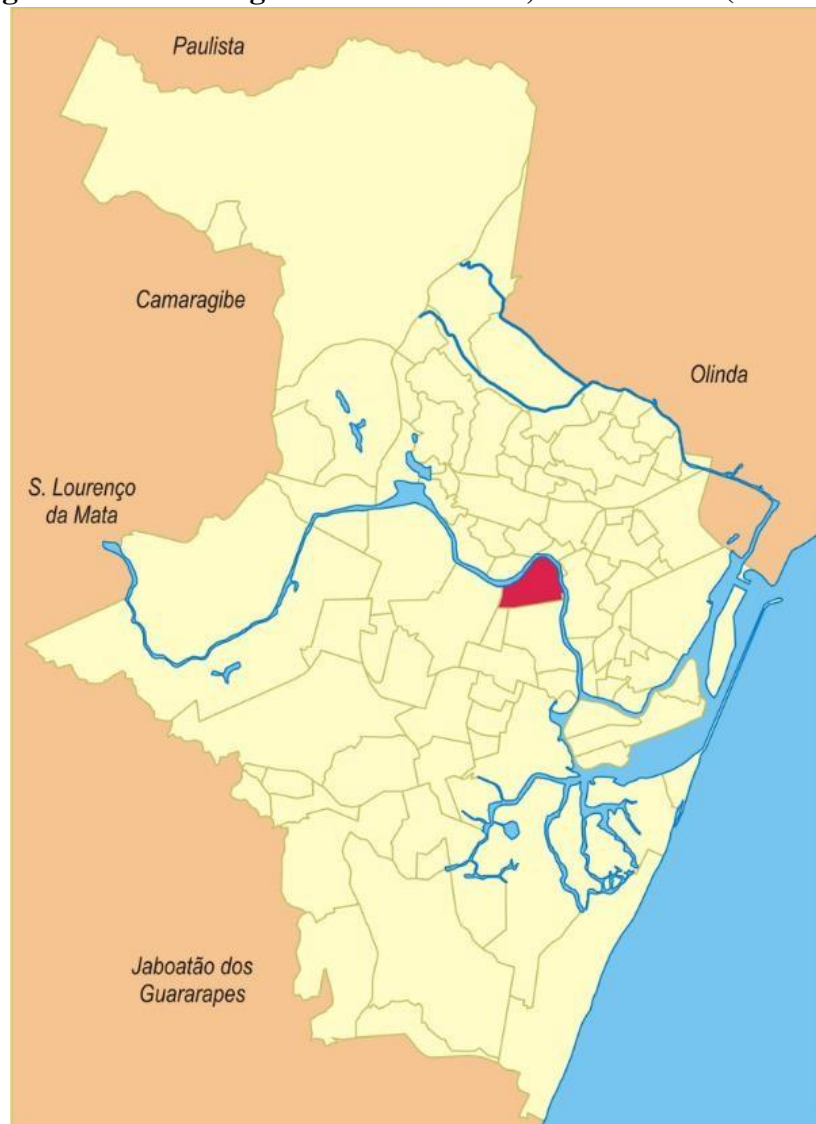
Source: Drayton (2018).

In the first workshop, I presented myself to the children in their classroom, explaining about my research activity and seeking if they were willing (the children that had already been authorized by their parents) to take part in the activity. The children reaffirmed their willingness to take part in the activities. Each child received a sheet of A4 paper, a crayon box (with 12 colors) and a graphite pencil. One girl asked me if they could keep the crayons, and I said 'yes, sure'. I noticed their enthusiasm with their new crayons. I then asked the children to draw their neighborhood in the graphic form of their preference.

In brief interviews, I would talk to each child and they would share with me their drawings. During that moment, I presented each of them with five photos (Figure 04) - one of down town, one of the bus-stop, one of a child on a bike with an adult, another one of a well-known city park, and one of the mall.

My intention was not to analyze perception issues of space or cognition features among children, but to explore some aspects related to their recognition of places, issues of sociability, bonding and mobility aspects related to their use of space. I also made brief interviews with the class teacher and with the coordinator for complementary information.

Figure 04. Images for photo-elicitation in interviews
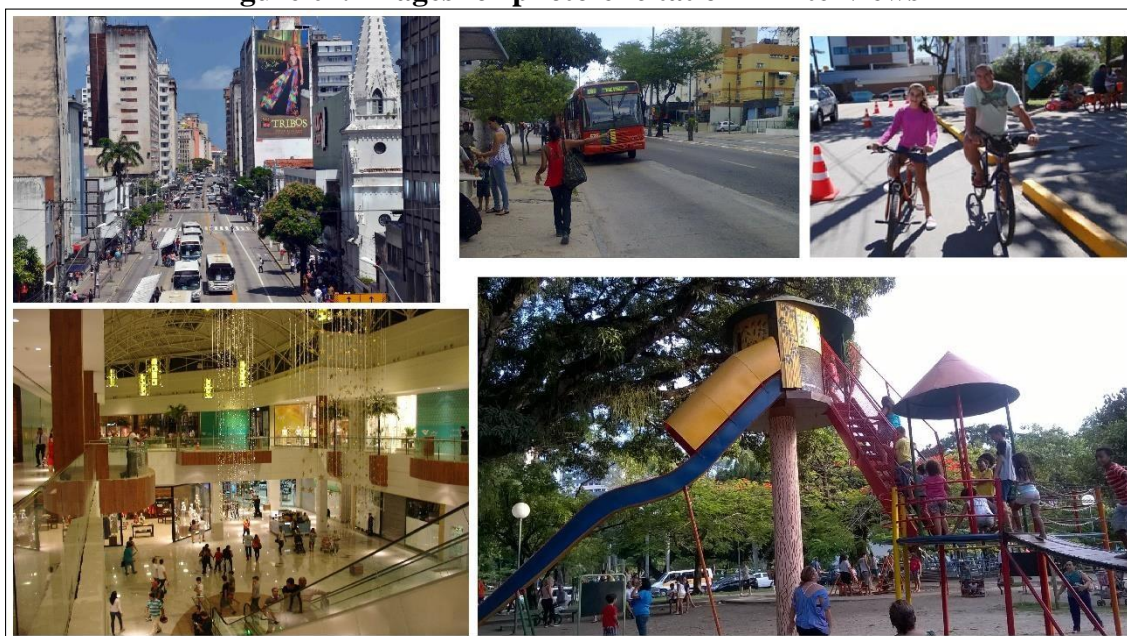
Source: Google images (2015).

This is a group of children that live in different neighborhoods. Half the children participating live in the RPA-4 neighborhoods, while the others live in Casa Forte, Tamarineira, Bongi and Aflitos. One of them does not even live in Recife, but due to the location of his mother's work, he was enrolled in this school. Unlike cities where student's enrollment is based

on geographical proximity, school choice in private education is not sectorized. As for the income profile of the children's families, it is markedly middle-class and middle-high.

To understand the drawings, the descriptions and interpretations children shared with me were crucial. But I did consider analytical outlines suggested by Béneker *et al*. (2010) which include:

a) to observe the drawing in a holistic way to identify central themes of the drawings;

b) an appreciation of each drawing separately (for each theme identified, observe how children deal with it graphically);

c) the short individual interview is considered to observe proximities and distances between themes elucidated by the children and those initially identified by the researcher;

d) the graphical and discursive representations of children are associated with other information from the teacher or coordinator.

Children's drawings provided significant visual contents, but it was the narratives children shared with me in their interpretation of the drawings that contributed to better understand their experience, "words about pictures" (VEALE, 2004, p. 265).

4.6.2 A 'Drawing my borough' workshop

The second workshop was conducted in a school in the Madalena neighborhood (red area in Figure 05), which is located on the banks of the Capibaribe River and is also part of Recife's 4th RPA (as is the Torre borough). In 2010 it had 23.082 inhabitants occupying an area of 183 hectares, and 21.27% of the population at the age of 17 or less (IBGE, 2010).

At this workshop, 47 (21 girls and 26 boys) children from 13 different boroughs took part in the workshop, which was conducted in two moments, with two classes, also of 9 and 10year-old children. Considering time restrictions, I could not use the photo-elicitation as I did in the first workshop. Other changes included the emphasis of the workshop, from their 'neighborhood' (*vizinhança*) to their 'borough' (*bairro*), which is a term commonly used in Brazil. The children were excited to draw and contribute, exploring the use of colors, and asking me for "more time" to dedicate to their drawings.

Sensitive to text length and analytical emphasis, I tend to focus reflections associated to the drawings of the children who lived in the Madalena neighborhood at the time of the workshop. Of these 9-year-old children (only one was 10 y), 12 have been living in the

neighborhood for at least 3 years. They all have siblings. About the income profile of the children's families, it is mostly middle-class and middle-high. The drawings reflect different levels of detail, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Figure 05. Madalena neighborhood in Recife, Pernambuco (Brazil)

Source: Drayton (2018).

The importance of this exercise does not lie in any intention for generalizing the narratives of these children, rather it acknowledges the value of these perspectives to reflect on children's relationship with urban space. Children's drawings and their sharing on their drawings act as crucial for critical reflection and never as an attempt to reach a conclusive 'profile' of the Recife-child. The discussion on these exploratory efforts is developed in Chapter 5.

4.7 Fieldwork Stages

This study comprised different methods that entailed outlines and activities in fieldwork. Figure 06 illustrates this research as a constructive process, with interrelated moments. In the exploratory phase, two private schools in Recife were accessed.

At the time, March 2016, our request for accessing public schools for the same workshop still had not been authorized by the City Hall. In the first school, 14 children (3 girls and 11 boys) participated in the activity, whereas in the second school 21 girls and 26 boys took part in the workshop.

Figure 06. Fieldwork overview
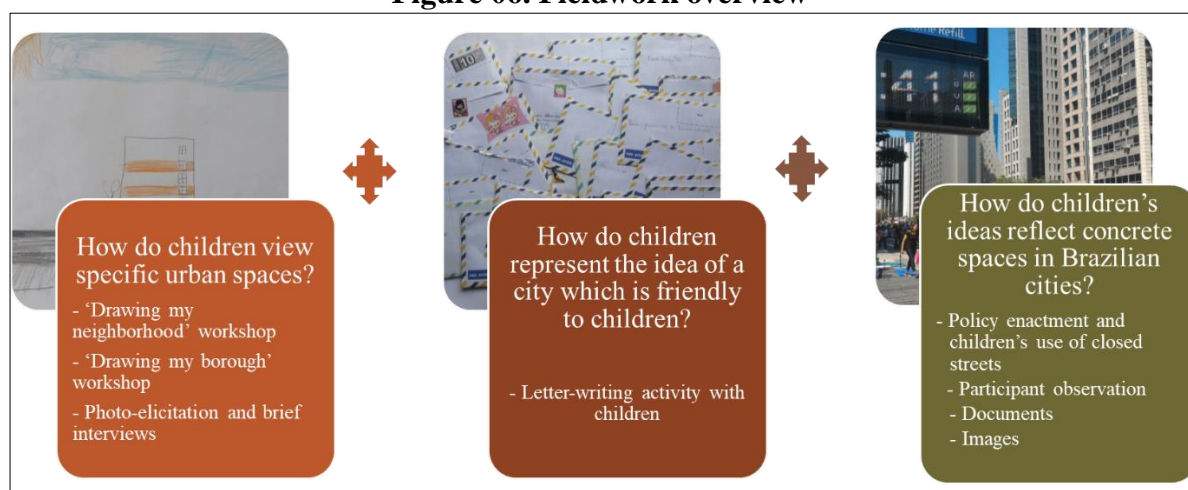
Source: the author (2018).

In the letter-writing activity, after instructions, the teacher would explain the activity for the children and conduct it in the classroom, handing out a sheet of paper and an envelope to each one. The instructions on each paper read: 'Please write what you think should be a city that is child-friendly. When you finish, place your letter in the envelope, writing on the envelope whom you consider is responsible for the city'.

Parents authorized the use of the letters for research (Appendix A). As pointed out, Recife's Metropolitan Region is the 5th most populous in Brazil, and 42.6% of the metropolitan population lives in Recife, an area of 210 km^2 that corresponds to 0.2% of Pernambuco's territorial extension (IBGE, 2010). The city of Recife comprises 94 boroughs and is divided in 06 political-administrative regions (Figure 07).

77 letters from schoolchildren where authorized by their parents (15 children participating were 10 y at the time, but to become 11 in a few weeks) to write a letter on 'What is a city like which is friendly to children?'. Children in three local schools took part (two private schools and one public school). Each yellow dot in Figure 07 represents a letter and is located in the borough where each child participant lives (see Appendix B).

Figure 07. Recife's boroughs and children's letters

1 Recife	49 Apipucos
2 Santo Amaro	50 Sítio dos Pintos
3 Boa Vista	51 Dois Irmãos
4 Soledade	52 Córrego do Jenipapo
5 Santo Antônio	53 Nova Descoberta
6 Paissandu	54 Brejo do Beberibe
7 Ilha do Leite	55 Brejo da Guabiraba
8 Coelhos	56 Passarinho
9 Ilha Joana Bezerra	57 Guabiraba
10 São José	58 Pau Ferro
11 Cabanga	59 Ilha do Retiro
12 Torreão	60 Madalena
13 Encruzilhada	61 Prado
14 Rosarinho	62 Zumbi
15 Ponto de Parada	63 Torre
16 Hipódromo	64 Cordeiro
17 Campo Grande	65 Torrões
18 Peixinhos	66 Engenho do Meio
19 Campina do Barreto	67 Cidade Universitária
20 Arruda	68 Iputinga
21 Bomba do Hemetério	69 Caxangá
22 Alto Santa Terezinha	70 Várzea
23 Água Fria	
24 Fundão	71 Curado
25 Cajueiro	72 San Martim
26 Porto da Madeira	73 Bongi
27 Beberibe	74 Mustardinha
28 Linha do Tiro	75 Mangueira
29 Dois Unidos	76 Afogados
30 Derby	77 Jiquiá
31 Graças	78 Estância
32 Espinheiro	79 Jardim São Paulo
33 Aflitos	80 Sancho
34 Jaqueira	81 Totó
35 Tamarineira	82 Coqueiral
36 Parnamirim	83 Tejipió
37 Santana	84 Barro
38 Casa Forte	85 Areias
39 Poço da Panela	86 Caçote
40 Monteiro	87 Cohab
41 Alto do Mandu	88 Jordão
42 Casa Amarela	89 Ibura
43 Mangabeira	90 Ipsep
44 Alto José do Pinho	91 Boa Viagem
45 Morro da Conceição	92 Imbiribeira
46 Alto José Bonifácio	93 Pina
47 Vasco da Gama	94 Brasília Teimosa
48 Macaxeira	

Source: adapted from Recife City Hall site (2018).

Only two children did not specify where they live. One boy mentioned he divides his week with his mom and dad in two boroughs. Children, at the time of fieldwork, lived at: Torre (16); Madalena (15); Casa Forte (06); Cordeiro (05); Rosarinho (05); Casa Amarela (03); Iputinga (03); Parnamirim (03); Vila Santa Luzia (03); Boa Viagem (02); Boa Vista (02); Várzea (02); Afogados (01); Águas Compridas (01); Bomba do Hemetério (01); Espinheiro (01); Graças (01); Ilha do Leite (01); Ilha do Retiro (01); Imbiribeira (01); Mangabeira (01); Santo Amaro (01); and Tamarineira (01).

Most of the children that participated live in the 3rd and 4th regions, as detailed in Figure 08.

Figure 08. Children's letters and where they live

Source: the author (2018).

In the first two phases of fieldwork, 138 children took part (Table 01). The low number of letters from the public-school children (21) is due to the low number of parents' authorizations

Table 01: Number of children participating in different phases of fieldwork

	Girls	Boys	Total
Total number of participants	51	77	138
1st workshop 'Drawing my neighborhood'	03	11	14
2nd workshop 'Drawing my borough'	21	26	47
Letter writing activity School 1 (public)	12	11	23
Letter writing activity School 2 (private)	11	11	22
Letter writing activity School 3 (private)	14	18	32

Source: the author (2018).

The fieldwork related to policy enactment and children's use of public space comprised of 04 day-long visits to Paulista Avenue, in September 2016 and in September 2018, photography and field diary from participant observation. This phase also comprised following media coverage on *Paulista Aberta* ranging materials from 28th June 2015 to 26th June 2018 (Appendix D). The archive, that is, the set of data further used for discourse analysis related to the enactment of this specific policy, was constructed considering the day of the first test held by City Hall closing the Paulista Avenue for cars (June 28, 2015). This date allowed me to focus on arguments surrounding ideas on appropriation and use of that street. Thus, archive comprises of 68 documents (written texts, mostly News articles) and statements from people who visited or uses the Paulista Avenue on Sundays (Table 02).

Table 02: Archive description

	Description
Observations	Field notes and photographs I made from participant observation at four day-long visits to Avenida Paulista
Testimonials and brief interviews	Testimonials and brief interviews from Paulista visitors and regular users, collected from participant observation as well as from textual material and two web-documentaries on the *Paulista Aberta*, a 2015 edition and a 2016 edition.
Documents	Written Texts from the most representative journalistic sites in São Paulo. We also consider documents from the website of the City Hall of São Paulo and decrees.
Images	Photographs took from participant observation at four day-long visits to Avenida Paulista (videos were made, but not included for analysis).

Source: the author (2018).

I considered statements and comments from two web-documentaries, a 2015 edition (15 minutes, focused on the opening of the Paulista) and a 2016 edition (25 minutes, focused on an evaluation of one year of the closing of that street for cars), totaling 40 minutes. In the News, documentaries and field notes there are testimonials of adults and children, who use or visited the Paulista open. Government and media positions are also considered.

DeLyser (2009) points out that fieldwork and writing are not separated – writing, as a way of thinking and a part of the research process, cannot be fully separated from the research we do in the field. Engaging writing as an active, embodied process leads not just to the reporting of research results, but to new understandings of what it is the research reveals, understandings gleaned while we write (p. 344).

Besides, the sets of data considered for analysis in this study do not consist of homogeneous materials; thus, they are not immediately equated with the idea of a *corpus* as a collection of natural texts that 'characterize' a state or variety of discourses (*cf*. SINCLAIR, 1991). Rather, I consider discourses as frameworks of meaning produced in language, that not only reflect the world but serve to construct it (ALLDRED; BURMAN, 2005), emphasizing practices as a construction, and not as isolated social facts that could be 'gathered up' in order to saturate a particular understanding.

4.8 Data Description

This study follows assumptions that consider analysis as being informed by 'data' generated in a wider range of ways. Although analyses in the academic field of Policy are often based on transcribed accounts of interview-based research, we understand it is possible to appreciate different types of verbal or visual text. The term 'text' here is considered in a broad sense to include non-verbal data (Figure 09).

Figure 09. Data structure overview
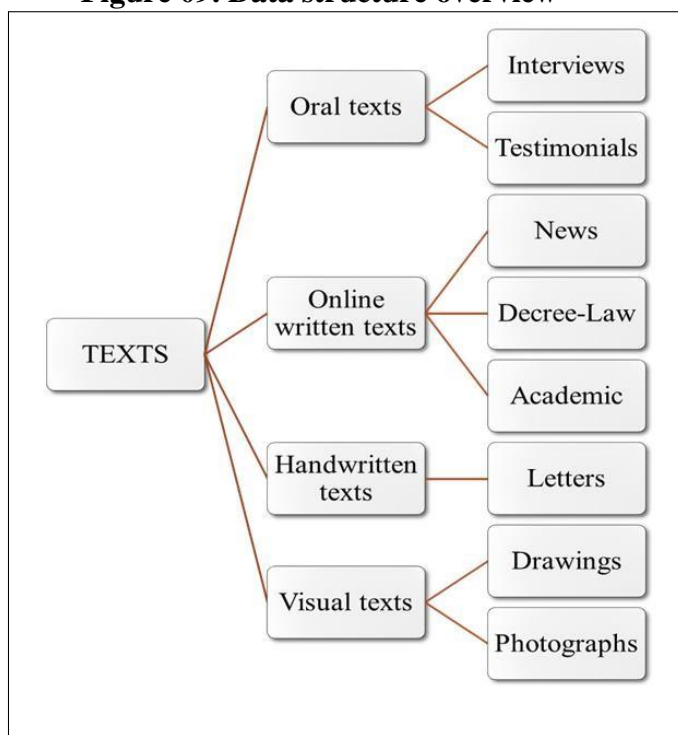
Source: the author (2018).

The 'data structure' related to this study comprises drawings (61), photographs (257), web-videos (02), hand-written letters (77), written texts including legislation, news from government websites; press (68), and interviews. We note that within these texts, specific testimonials and comments in online news or videos from Youtube are considered for analysis.

The researchers' role is recognized not only in producing analysis, but also the text, that is, the researcher is also "in the picture" and not "merely looking at it" (ALLDRED; BURMAN, 2004, p. 183). This relates to what Crang (2009) suggests as a new way of thinking about visual knowledge, for instance. In that sense, we should think about the visual as connective and performative rather than merely as 'detaching' or 'enframing'.

4.9 Analytical Frameworks

In this section I outline the main frameworks considered for analysis in this study. Besides the theoretical grounds that guide the whole process, I wish to highlight two approaches that I consider for specific purposes. The following sub-section depicts a framework on environmental child-friendliness and how I initially read children's letters considering Liisa Horelli's (2007) environmental child-friendliness (ECF) dimensions. This approach reflects concerns with the ways in which universalistic criteria related to the conception of a 'child friendly city'- as in a utopian ideal of political imaginaries of urban space

(CELE, 2015) - influence children's perspectives about the city as well as knowledge construction processes for understanding children and urban space.

Section 4.9.2 then describes how I attempt to approach, analytically, possible dualities and contradictions between urban ideals (through perspectives children highlighted in their letters) and concrete places, that is, of utopia and heterotopia. I aim to inquire how, both as utopia (*e.g.*, a depiction of a 'friendly' city for children) and heterotopia (a concrete place), the closed street can mirror children's right to the city. In that sense, I discuss the possibilities (and constraints) of heterotopia as a framework for thinking and analyzing urban spaces.

4.9.1 Environmental child-friendliness

Inspired in studies by Arno Vogel and collaborators (1995) in Brazil and Maria Nordström (2010) in Sweden, we asked 11-year-old children from three schools in Recife to write letters to express what they consider to be a child-friendly city: 'What is a city like which is friendly to children?'. I then reflect on the content of the letters considering Liisa Horelli's (2007) environmental child-friendliness (ECF) dimensions (*cf.* NORDSTRÖM, 2010).

Table 03: Normative dimensions of a child-friendly environment

Normative dimensions	Abstract definitions
Housing and dwelling	- Flexible and secure housing alternatives; Processes that transform the dwelling into a home
Basic services (health, education and transport)	- Basic (public and private) services nearby that facilitate the everyday life of children
Participation	- Opportunities to participate in planning and development
Safety and security	- The guaranteeing of physical and psychological safety by the state and the municipalities: child welfare and the prevention of violence; an environment which is tolerant and pluralistic; safe transport systems and public places in general
Family, kin, peers and community	- Opportunities for close social relationships with family, kin and friends
Urban and environmental qualities	- High standards in the physical elements of the local environment; Provision of a variety of interesting opportunities and arenas for activities
Resource provision and distribution; poverty reduction	- The provision of financial resources and work opportunities to young people who have a role to play in the local economies
Ecology	- The protection of nature and the application of the principles of sustainable development in the construction of the built environment and the society
Sense of belonging and continuity	- A sense of cultural continuity and a sense of belonging to a certain place at a certain time
Good governance	- A flexible local governance that takes into account young people's opinions in the decision-making; - The provision of participatory structures, such as youth councils and various participatory projects

Source: HORELLI (2007, p.271).

Environmental child-friendliness is pointed out by Horelli (1998, p. 225) as "a community product developed from local structures beyond the individual level. It comprises a network of places with meaningful activities, where young and old can experience a sense of belonging whether individually or collectively". Her framework describes ten normative dimensions of a child-friendly environment (Table 03) and was first developed and applied in a study with Finnish youth 13–18 years old, and later in Finnish–Italian studies.

Horelli's (2007) description of children's 'ideal environments' emerged from a comparative study conducted on children's participation initiatives in Finland, Switzerland and France, and was initially motivated by gaps in planning theories that deal with environmental quality as well as a lack of approaches considering the issue from children's views.

These dimensions would apply to issues in community and regional planning and their abstract definitions describe overall areas of intervention. Nordström (2010) explored how the dimensions in Horelli's (2007) theoretical framework for environmental child-friendliness applied to responses about child-friendly environments from 12-year-old children in Sweden. She recognizes that, in analyzing children's evaluations of what they find to be a child-friendly city according to these dimensions, a way is suggested for linking children's views to areas of urban planning. The discussion on children's letters considering this approach is developed in Chapter 6.

4.9.2 Heterotopia

Exploring urban space with children directs greater attention to safety, traffic and public space. In the context of urban development policies, I consider the 'closed street' a study site for advancing reflections on connections between children's ideas and concrete places. The closed streets initiative refers to local State action restricting the use of motorized vehicles in specific streets in order to enhance the use of that space by people on Sundays and holidays. Although there is a discursive emphasis on leisure, the use of space in closed streets is not prescribed *a priori*.

I look into São Paulo's *Programa Ruas Abertas* (or Open Streets Program)[20]. Initially criticized and contested, the City of São Paulo instituted, officially through Decree, the program

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[20] Initially, I considered the *Projeto Lazer na Rua* in Recife (or Project Leisure in the Street) as a possible study site. The *Projeto Lazer na Rua* began in October 2013 and according to Recife's City Hall it includes approximately 40 streets. But when we visit those streets today, most of them are no longer engaged in the project, and presence in Boa Viagem Avenue (a main avenue in Recife) is timid and limited to a very small part of the street. In the city of Porto Alegre, in the Rio Grande do Sul state, I considered a similar initiative called *Programa Ruas de Convivência* (or Streets of Conviviality Program). The project that created this program was rejected by the City Council in 2015, and councilors understood the project could possibly cause 'traffic problems' in the city.

to "promote the sustainable development of the City in its socioeconomic and environmental dimensions and ensure equity in the use of public places" (Decree No. 57.086/ 2016). 'Equity in use of public space' suggests a problematization that highlights mobility as a problem related to the use of public space. The program is legitimated in Brazil's National Policy on Urban Mobility (BRASIL, 2012). In that context, Paulista Avenue is selected as an empirical setting for this study. The decision to open the Paulista to pedestrians and cyclists – an initiative called *Paulista Aberta* , and to restrict motor vehicles' access on Sundays and public holidays, was debated throughout 25 public hearings (Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2015). It was criticized and challenged by different actors; political expressions of spatial disputes shape this avenue's history.

I highlight hereinafter studies that illustrate analytical work dedicated to urban spatialities that favor heterotopia as a thought-provoking concept. A heterotopology can, in this sense, be an exercise for providing new accounts for understudied aspects of our urban policy's interplay with children's production of space in the context of closed streets.

A great variety of spaces have been explored through the idea of heterotopia, including: Largo da Carioca, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (VALVERDE, 2007); the pub The Oxford Tavern, in Wollongong, Australia (GALLAN, 2013); Ibirapuera Park, in São Paulo, Brazil (CHAVES; AQUINO, 2016); the fictional city *Pleasantville* (KOÇ, 2015); the 'streetscaped' mall (KERN, 2008); Gated communities in South African security parks (HOOK; VRDOLJAK, 2002); The Citadel LA – the civic center of Los Angeles (SOJA, 1995), computer and videogames used by children (McNAMEE, 2000), and many others.

From these studies, I wish to highlight some aspects. Rodrigo Valverde (2007) depicted three examples that reveal a 'tendency' towards heterotopia in the Largo da Carioca, central region of Rio de Janeiro: the creation of public policies for that space; different uses of that urban equipment; and the organization of social actors in the appropriation of that place. He endorses a disassociation from a discourse of the crisis of public spaces and assumes heterotopia as an alternative *via* for studying public spaces, suggesting that the association of the idea with the notion of public space is capable of offering a good analytical tool in which we can reflect on multiple conflicting socio-spatial representations within a same spatial setting.

Ben Gallan (2013) envisaged interpreting the temporalities of heterotopia, one of the principles depicted by Foucault, by studying a sub-cultural music scene located in a drinking space, a pub called The Oxford Tavern, in Australia. He tries to understand youth transitions through spaces of night-time cultural infrastructure and discusses how live music venues are valued as spaces of the urban night even as generations pass and effective participation in them

shifts. Gallan's study exposes how youth transitions are poorly understood in policy debates, as well as reinforces the idea that seeking a connection between understandings of youth transitions in such spaces with heterotopia's theoretical framework has practical implications for cultural policy.

Ana Paula Chaves and Julio Aquino (2016), in turn, studied the Ibirapuera Park, the most important park in the city of São Paulo, which offers innumerous leisure activities; they considered three main aspects for analysis: the functional variation of the Park's buildings linked to the installation of municipal public offices; the polyphony in manifestations of protest and conflicting spatialities; and social 'cleansing' through gender and gentrification. The narrative produced exposes traits of an 'urban heterotopia'. Even though the municipality invoked a modulation of spaces and spatial behaviors, the heterotopic daily life of Ibirapuera Park provoked an escape, induced juxtaposition, and created its own rhythms. Heterotopia's relational space not only communes there with prescriptions instituted by State power or market logics, but also with the interests of its regular users, their goals and desires. A daily counter-conduct seems to 'keep alive' the production of new spaces by inciting different uses and modes of circulation and appropriation, stimulating other spatial experiences (CHAVES; AQUINO, 2016).

Sara McNamee's (2000) work discusses how childhood is subject to increasing boundaries, such as spatial and gendered boundaries, and how 'other spaces' created through everyday leisure activities – for instance videogames and reading - are used by them as strategies of escape from and resistance to control. Derek Hook and Michele Vrdoljak (2002), in turn, attempt to advance an analysis of Dainfern Estate (a South African security-park), depicted as a paradigmatic example of a 'gated community', as heterotopia. Interestingly, here an emblematic example contributes by providing a connection between references to more global 'gating' phenomena and the specifics of the South African situation (by references directed to Dainfern Estate).

Soja (1996) applies Foucault's ideas to explore the Citadel LA and an exhibition held there in 1989 as part of a multi-year celebration of the bicentennial of the French Revolution. Soja explores Foucault's idea of a heterotopology to advance an approach for 'reading' specific sites related to Soja's conception of 'thirdspace'.

Kathleen Kern's (2008) study is about lifestyle centers, which have been conceived to supply urbane 'experiences' for sophisticated wealthy shoppers, but in a hermetically 'safe' 'public space'. She problematizes "the way in which the heterotopian logic of exclusion characteristic of shopping malls and theme parks has also come to dominate the makeover and

governance of public commercial streets, as the managerial techniques constructed within the confines of the mall increasingly provide the model for the organization and management of public spaces" (KERN, 2008, p. 105).

Evrim Koç (2015) explores how heterotopian principles provide a lens to negotiate forms of control and resistance. He analyses *Pleasantville*, a film that presents the experience of David and Jennifer, teenage twins who are transported to a 1950's TV soap opera via TV remote control. A clash of cultures provokes social unrest as the residents of this 'perfected town' become aware that the order is an outcome of submission, and challenge roles assigned to them. This sort of interplay, in heterotopian spaces, between normative disciplining and liberating transgression is often underlined.

For Foucault, six principles, detailed in Chapter 7, govern the existence of heterotopias, principles he described for a 'heterotopology'[21]: their universality among world cultures; their transforming functions throughout historical periods; their ability to overlap various incompatible sites in one real place; their links to 'heterochronies'; their system of opening and closing; and their function in relation to spaces that remain outside them.

4.10 Using NVivo Software

In this study, I use NVivo (Pro, versions 11 and 12), a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software in specific phases. When thinking about qualitative analysis, as well as on communicating research to a wider audience, I understand the use of NVivo Software can be productive. NVivo projects follow a process which comprises the gathering of data, the creation of a NVivo project, the import of textual and visual materials to the software, and from there the content can be explored and analyzed in diverse ways.

NVivo's central element is the 'project', which holds and organizes all the relevant data for a particular study (interview transcripts, memos, images, documents, newspaper articles etc.). Any part of a document can be coded at any number of nodes. Nodes can represent any categories, including concepts, people, abstract ideas, places and anything else that is important to the project. They are stored as free nodes or are organized hierarchically. Both documents and nodes have attributes whose values represent any of their properties and can be used in searches (AITKEN; KWAN, 2009, p. 294).

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[21] "Well! I dream of a science - I mean a science - which would have for object these different spaces, these other places, these mythical and real challenges of the space where we live. This science would not study utopias, since that name must be reserved for what really has no place, but heterotopias, absolutely different spaces; and inevitably, the science in question would be called, it will be called, it is already called 'heterotopology'" (FOUCAULT, 1966, p. 1-2).

In this study, I use NVivo for analyzing children's letters, and the stages included transcribing children's letters (77) to Word program, translating each letter, digitalizing the drawings some children made on their letters and linking each image to the corresponding document. When letters indicated specific places in the city, Google Maps images were aggregated in NVivo's Cases folder, including the child's letter, drawing and associated images. I approach qualitative data analysis as a constructive process, and not as something 'straightforward'; NVivo Software, thus, is used only as a tool of support and for assisting the communication of data and specific ideas.

I code children's letters considering the ECF dimensions as conceptual nodes, and throughout analysis free nodes emerge, as will be detailed in Chapter 6. Auto-coding was used for identifying addressees, neighborhoods where children live and the schools each child attended in order to allow searching and shaping in NVivo. I also run text search queries, word frequency queries, and illustrate some ideas with the aid of word frequency clouds, word trees or tree maps.

To complement data from fieldwork in Paulista Avenue, I direct other analytical efforts towards policy enactment through the discursive representation of space production in media coverage on the *Paulista Aberta*, that is, looking into arguments about the experience of occupation and use of Paulista Avenue. This phase comprises importing to NVivo 66 documents (written texts, mostly News articles from the most representative journalistic sites in São Paulo) and statements from Documentaries from people who visited or uses the Paulista Avenue on Sundays.

Finally, NVivo also assists analysis by linking, that is, allowing me to link images (photographs I took during fieldwork) and notes from fieldwork in Paulista Avenue, São Paulo.

4.11 Discussion

I attempt to situate this study's methodological question considering a background of efforts that have already been well developed in different fields of inquiry related to children and childhood. In that scope, I consider paths and methods for providing accounts on forms of space production by children in the context of policy enactment.

The choices related to this study reflect a multiple methods approach that tries to engage children in visual methods and letter-writing and takes on participant observation and analysis of texts. Exploratory efforts with children in this study direct my attention towards safety, traffic and public space. In that sense, in the context of urban development policies the 'closed street'

is pointed out as a study site for advancing reflections on connections between children's ideas and concrete places.

Phases of fieldwork are described alongside a presentation of data structure and considerations about the main analytical frameworks, which comprise in a first moment dimensions on environmental child-friendliness, followed by an approach towards heterotopia as a framework for thinking and analyzing urban spaces. NVivo assists different phases of analysis. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Aitken and Kwan (2009), the use of software for textual analyses can become disconnected from surrounding discursive contexts, even other related texts, and I try to acknowledge this and deal with possible shortcomings related to that.

Children and their families enter dynamic and creative spaces different from their 'external' daily world. Accessing a Brazilian case in a specific type of urban policy can advance in exploring children's space production, but I understand this study still leaves gaps related to race and gendering aspects of spatial relations, as well as leaves out potential contributions from adolescents. These limitations suggest the need for and relevance of future efforts in research in order to advance critical reflections. Besides, the closed street comprises experiences that surpass a focus on urban mobility, suggesting a terrain of many possibilities for future research efforts.

I guided fieldwork considering different methods and directly involved children in some of its phases. Drawing workshops, letter-writing activities, participant observation of children's use of public space and interaction with children and parents were integrated with a textual-discursive line of inquiry related to policy enactment, all within qualitative methods. This led me towards multiple and heterogeneous forms of data.

Counter to the general 'scientific search for meanings' are attempts that tend to question the humanist underpinning of the celebrated notion of 'voice' in social scientific or human sciences research – especially in relation to 'voices of children' (RAUTIO; JOKINEN, 2016, p. 6). Experiments with different configurations for presenting and discussing data can direct greater attention to what *matters* to children, rather than to a sole focus on what they *mean*. In that sense, I attempt to re-consider narrative strategies for data and analysis as they may open up wider scopes of interpretive responses (MILLEI *et al*., 2019) and, thus, enhance debate.

Reflecting on children's space production in the realm of urban mobility policies suggested an approximation with the concept of environmental child-friendliness and the ways it is articulated within urban planning and policy. I understand that the notion of urban child-friendliness highlights not only spatial, but also a potential to consider relational aspects

possibly implicated in children's space production. The ideas of urban space and friendliness can elicit, yet, spatial and relational metaphors.

A metaphor, as a process of using analogies to understand our experiences, is worthwhile in policy studies for providing more than just a literal discussion of concepts or settings. Thus, a dialogue with storybooks may be productive towards that purpose. Inspired in Millei's *et al*. (2019) approach, I attempt to guide this study towards a dialogue with the storybook *The BFG* (1982) written by British author Roald Dahl's. I believe that this form of discussion that juxta-poses the study's findings with Sophie's and the BFG's experiences can enhance a debate within policy that recognizes affect.

5. EXPLORING SPACE(S) | RE-VIEWING THE CITY WITH CHILDREN

'If you is really wanting to know what I am doing in your village,' the BFG said, 'I is blowing a dream into the bedroom of those children.'
'Blowing a dream?' Sophie said. 'What do you mean?'
'I is a dream-blowing giant,' the BFG said. 'When all the other giants is galloping off every what way and which to swollop human beans, I is scudding away to other places to blow dreams into the bedrooms of sleeping children. Nice dreams. Lovely golden dreams. Dreams that is giving the dreamers a happy time.'
'Now hang on a minute,' Sophie said. 'Where do you get these dreams?'
'I collect them,' the BFG said, waving an arm towards all the rows and rows of bottles on the shelves. 'I has a billion of them.' (DAHL, 1982).

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to children's drawings. As a research approach, by engaging with visuality the 'visual' here is more than just 'data' to be brought into accounts, rather it is an attempt to share a glimpse of how children view specific environments, such as their neighborhood or their borough. I do not try to infer any conclusion from children's drawings. Their drawings invite me to redirect my view on urban space without restricting thoughts to macro scale processes but to consider the importance of specific spaces and the ways this seems to influence children's approaches towards the city.

As outlined in the previous chapter, I conducted two workshops in an exploratory effort as well as an attempt to make children's perspectives a starting point of this study. The goal is not to narrow the discussion to perceptions of space, psychological traits or cognitive aspects, but to approach issues of sociability, places, bonds, mobility, aspects related to children's spatial experiences with the city. The importance of this exercise does not lie in any intent for generalization from the visual narratives of these children, but rather in the value of their perspectives to reflect on children's relationship with urban space.

Thus, children's drawings and their interpretations as well as my interaction with them or their teachers act as an 'input' for reflection, and not as a view about any 'profile' of the urban child in Recife. Besides, the children that took part are mainly from middle-class and high-class households. This is a limitation of this phase of the study as it excludes public schools and their children; at the time of fieldwork I still did not have clearance from City Hall to access them. Sensitive to text-length, in this chapter I tend to emphasize a link in the discussion to drawings from children who were living in the Madalena neighborhood at the time of the workshop, but I also discuss other children's drawings and perspectives. As I approach the

pictures, I try to identify central themes; for each theme identified, I observe how each child deals with it graphically, and consider children's interpretations of their drawing, and possibly complementary information (BÉNEKER *et al.*, 2010).

Some guiding questions include: which design elements constitute the setting? Are any natural features shown? If there are people in the drawing, what are they doing, and what are they using for these activities? How is the built environment portrayed? Does that drawing explicitly depict positive or negative aspects related to urban space? Thus, I consider Cele's (2006) guidelines on drawings as a research method. She discusses how drawing is creative, but as a method it does not include interaction between the child and the place or researcher. The drawing that results will be a child's subjective representation of place, one the researcher does not have direct access to, albeit in casual interviews with the child I try to approach that, but power relations may be perceived by the child in ways that can distance more personal accounts of her life and relations in and with the city.

Besides, as I explained in the previous chapter, the method was not used in the same way in the two schools. In the first school there were fewer children and it was possible for me to use photo-elicitation and interview each child; however, in the second school there were many children who wanted to take part but not enough time to use photo-elicitation or interviews, rather there were brief talks about their drawings. The children's names have been changed here in accordance to the Ethics Committee's requirements for children's protection and avoidance of conflict.

5.2 On Spatial Abilities and Graphical Representations

Annie and Lillian are sisters, twins. They are 9 years old and have lived in an upper-class borough in Recife for the last 5 years. Although they live next-door to a school, they study in another one, 2.6 miles (or 4.2 km) distant from their home, to where they go to and from by car. Annie hands me the drawing she made of her borough (Figure 10), indicating to me the building where she lives, it is a frontal view, and she uses soft colors. She erases in her drawing the distance between the buildings, giving me the impression of a dense neighborhood. I can't help but later compare her drawing to her sister's, who studies in the classroom next door.

Annie's twin sister, Lillian, depicts a different angle of their neighborhood (Figure 11), a semi-aerial picture with stronger lines and colors, where I can get a glimpse of their building's hall, neatly organized, as well as the gate-keeper who guards the entrance to the building, the cars that belong to the neighbors, the street, a big beautiful tree, the school, and animals close by. Annie also draws their building's hall, its' gate-keeper, the street, school and the pretty tree.

Figure 10. Annie's drawing of her borough

Source: field research (2016)

Figure 11. Lillian's drawing of her borough

Source: field research (2016)

Like many children of their age and economic conditions, Annie's and Lillian's week is occupied with several after-class activities that include English, Karate and Choir lessons. Whereas Annie learns to play the guitar, Lillian learns the violin. I look into Google Maps at Annie and Lillian's street view (Figure 12) and, as I do so, I observe the high-rise building they live at, the pretty tree both of them choose to draw, as well as the school nearby. The drawings the two girls produce reflect different levels of detail. Both of them are informative and relate their borough to specific places and objects.

Nevertheless, Cele (2006) points out that a drawing is not merely a visual observation or reproduction; rather, the drawing is a representation, one that has emotional and imaginative meanings. In that sense, it allows the child to draw what is important to her and may provide a description of her everyday life and thoughts (p. 173). In that sense, for instance, if one takes a closer look at the twins' pictures, we can notice that the gatekeeper is smiling in both drawings. He can be considered, by the girls, a nice person, or simply that smiling face can indicate that that place is loaded with positive meaning.

Figure 12. Street view of Annie and Lillian's building

Source: Google Maps image (2018)

One of the more obvious problems with using drawings refers to how adults can understand children's drawings. Children relate differently to drawing than adults do. At least for younger children, it is a natural means of expression, free from demands of skill and presentation. For them drawing is something that is carried out as an ordinary activity, as something to fill up the time with and socialize over. Most children consider themselves and other children competent and it is a common cultural practice among children to draw (CELE, 2006, p. 173).

Only two children chose not to color their drawings. Renato did not color because he dedicated more time to draw each of the thirty windows of the buildings as well as all the lines, in their correct layout, of a sports court nearby. There are no people or natural features. Marília is careful with details in her neighborhood (Figure 13), which she chooses to represent through an aerial perspective; she uses a ruler and creativity to portray objects (bushes, stroller, car, the lid of a manhole, apples, a parking sign) as well as animal and people in several activities in the street. Her neighborhood seems 'lively'.

Figure 13. Marilia's neighborhood
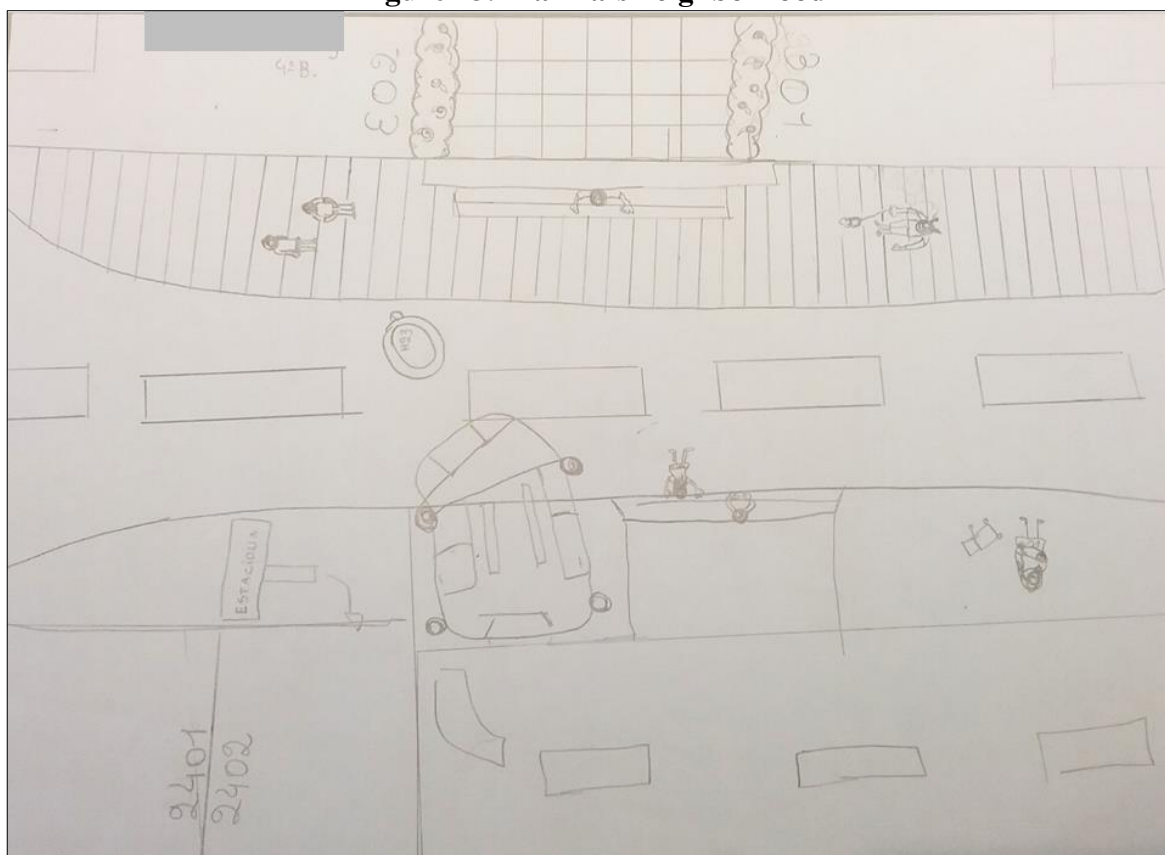
Source: field research (2016)

Albeit Renato goes to school by car and Marília goes to school walking, I can suspect, but not know exactly how these two different patterns of their mobility influence their perspectives on their neighborhood. Luana chose to draw a pictorial map (Figure 14) whereas almost all children preferred drawings and privileged a frontal view of their neighborhoods. In her drawing, Luana, who lives in the Prado neighborhood, draws a line in the middle of the paper; on one side she presents a pictorial plan where she draws in five levels the streets near her house, with several commercial functions / services (restaurant, car wash, gas-station, etc.). Luana explores the use of colors, highlights the flowers in the school building next to her house (which is not the school she studies at), paints the sky blue, draws trees. She circulates a segment

of the drawing and traces an arrow to indicate in the other space of the paper a front view of her building located between a residential building and a clinical laboratory. It is her room. Luana tells me what she likes to play with during the week. She says her room on the 15th floor is quite small, so she spends most of her time on her tablet.

Figure 14. Luana's pictorial map of her neighborhood

Source: field research (2016)

When analyzing drawings, Cele (2006) reminds us that it is necessary to understand the main *motif* of the drawing but there are also other aspects to consider, including the overall atmosphere of the drawing, as created by the lines (thick or thin, straight or curved), the colors (vibrant, weak, strong, many or few) and the details could be lacking or extensive and loaded with meaning and message, such as smiling or angry faces.

Archetypes like the sun remind us of Recife's hot climate, and when it appears in the drawings it is painted in yellow (sometimes adding orange) in the upper corner of the paper. Most children did not reproduce architectural details of houses or buildings. Frisch *et al.* (2012) point out that the drawing exercise also highlights the issue of children's ability to mentally visualize at a given moment all the elements that she or he deems significant, but which are absent at that moment. In addition, there are individuals who have more accurate visual memory, and there are also aspects related to fatigue and distraction that can influence the degree of detail of a drawing.

Some children actively chose to not draw their own homes, but instead houses they appreciate or relate with in some way. Children can even draw houses in which they would like to live rather than the ones in which they actually do live. The conversations in which the children describe their drawings are central for understanding what they want to communicate. They also provide information regarding children's everyday lives and how they think about place use and experience (CELE, 2006).

Arthur, for example, draws a house (Figure 15) with a square for the main part, a triangle for the roof, small squares for the windows, a larger rectangle for the door, and smoke coming out of a type chimney that is basically not used in Recife. Children's drawings are not about getting information 'right' or providing a reproduction of a 'real' physical space. Only when I talk to Arthur can I know that this is a representation of his grandmother's house, where he spends most of his time during the week, an affective space that he portrays as 'his neighborhood'.

Figure 15. 'My neighborhood', Arthur's drawing
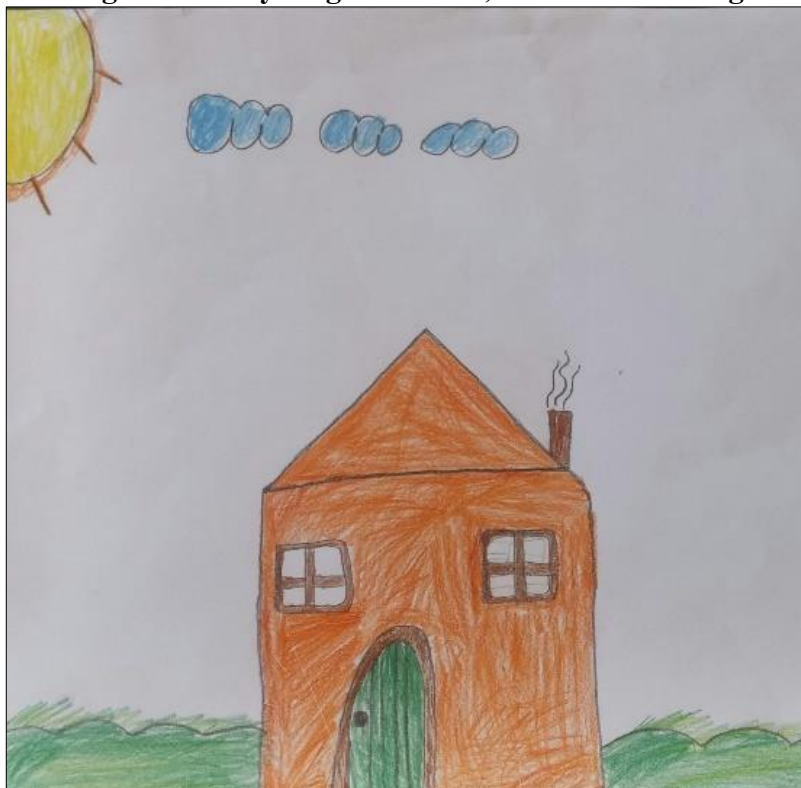
Source: field research (2016)

He destabilizes our grown-up ways of looking at the neighborhood by highlighting the affective memory related to his grandmother's house reflected in how he wanted to represent his neighborhood. As Arthur draws his neighborhood by portraying his grandmother's house, he reveals more about himself than about that specific object or place.

Another issue concerns which neighborhood will be represented by each child. Of the children participating, five of them live in houses, instead of buildings. Bernardo, for example, recently moved to a condominium in the same neighborhood (Cordeiro), but preferred to draw his previous neighborhood, highlighting his house and that of his neighbor, who also moved. Arthur, as I have pointed out, preferred to draw his grandmother's house. There are also children who live in distinct neighborhoods because their parents are divorced, as is the case of Gabriel, who lives in Torre and in Casa Forte.

5.3 High-rise Housing and Children, a Vertical City

High-rise housing, or the 'building' or 'condominium' in children's speech, is a space that stands out in drawings and conversations. The drawings produced by children illustrate a density that can refer to different aspects. In Mary's drawing (Figure 16), for instance, she takes full advantage of the space of the paper, and the only person portrayed is on the balcony of the building, which she tells me belongs to her grandmother, a place where she usually spends a lot of time during the week. Probably emphasizing the strength of her bond with her grandmother, her grandmother's building is drawn 'attached' to her house, an affective but not concrete proximity, in the neighborhood of Engenho do Meio, where she lives with her parents, sister and two dogs. There is no representation of other people or green areas, only the nearby market, where she usually goes with her nanny.

Figure 16. Mary's neighborhood

Source: field research (2016)

Karsten (2015) highlights that along with urban transformations, middle-class families have changed considerably. Families have become smaller and the participation of mothers in the labour market has grown significantly. Working motherhood has made the outsourcing or delegation of child care a necessity, and dual-income families have resulted in higher household incomes that can be spent on fewer children (p. 556).

In the field of urban childhood there is a tendency, as pointed out by Karsten, to focus on the outdoors, but housing is generally one of the main aspects that determine if a family stays or leaves the city. Karsten discusses that children spend a great deal of time at home and "worldwide we see a strong process of densification in cities, which results in a sharp increase of high-rise housing. How can we accommodate children's lives in a high rise? That is an important question for the future and we haven't done much research in this field yet".

The 'urban density' depicted in Gabriel's drawing (Figure 17), who lives in the Torre borough, and uses eight colors in stronger tones to illustrate his neighborhood, relates to this reflection. Gabriel tells me that his building is much taller, but that it would not fit the paper, so he drew fewer floors.

Figure 17. Gabriel's building

Source: field research (2016)

The reality of urban densification is not exclusive to Recife, it is a large phenomenon, but in the last 15 years there has been a significant real estate expansion. Verticalization is progressing in a trend of moving real estate projects to less traditional areas, including Torre and Madalena, reflecting the migration of building projects according to the Law of the Twelve Neighborhoods (Law nº 16.719 / 2001), but also by the need of the real estate market to create new consumption spaces.

Urban densification has replaced houses with vertical buildings, with significant changes in the neighborhoods' landscape. Still, low-income communities (who occupied parts of the Capibaribe margin in *palafitas*, or stilt houses) have been displaced and transferred to other areas of the city, and services such as colleges, bars and restaurants are growing in neighborhoods now more valued (SILVA, 2008).

In children's drawings of their neighborhood or borough, the vertical building is one of the main *motifs*, an archetype of the city. Among the children who live in the Madalena borough, the *Beira Rio* Avenue, constructed in the 1990s was made for minimizing the traffic. and is represented in many drawings.

I highlight Mari, Manu and Joana's drawings of the avenue (Figure 18). In Joana's picture, yet, it is possible to see a sign indicating the *Rio Capibaribe*.

The Beira Rio Avenue stimulated a revaluation of the Capibaribe river. Silva (2008) explains that the construction of the avenue allowed the interconnection of arterial axes with greater accessibility and speed, making the neighborhood attractive for real estate speculation.

Figure 18. Mari, Manu and Joana. A vertical borough
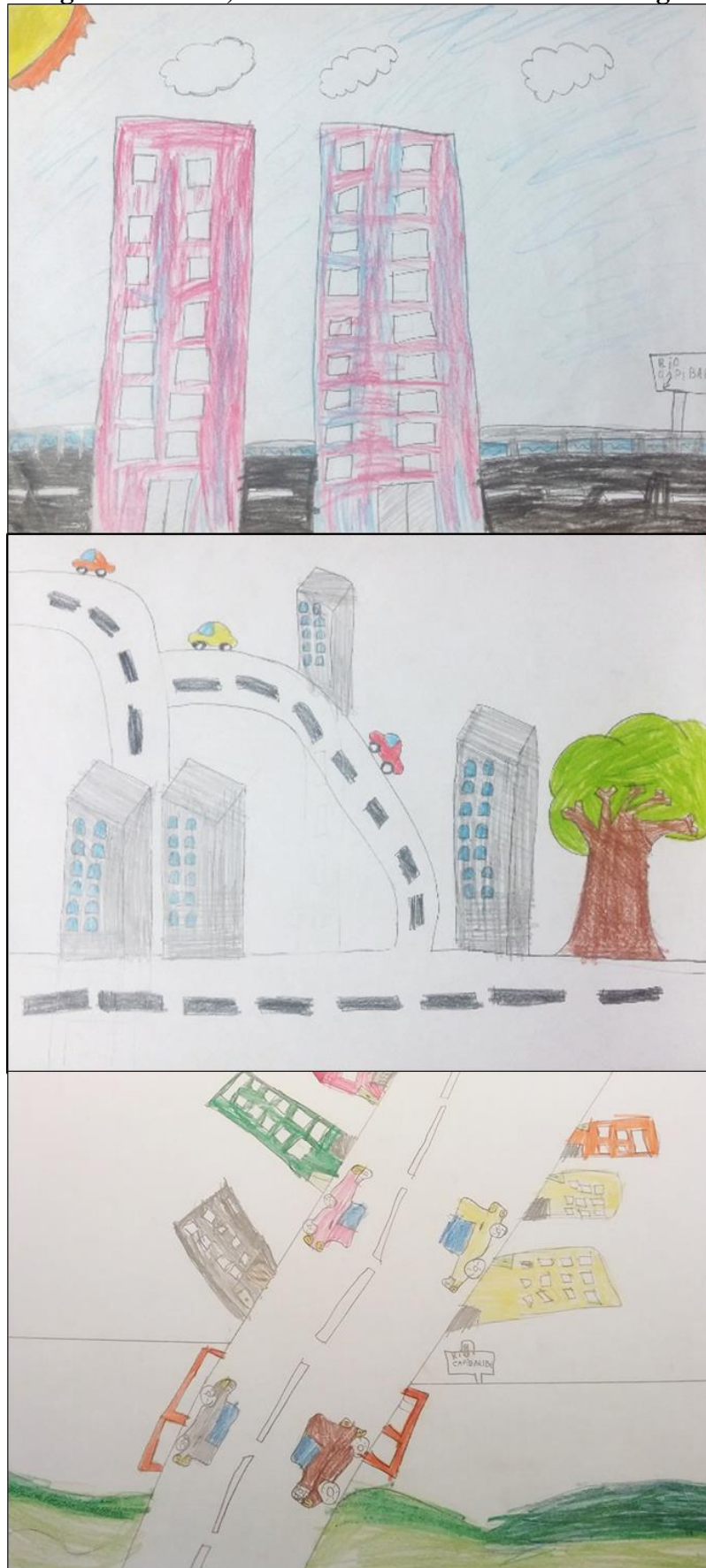
Source: field research (2016)

The densification and emphasis on high-rise housing is not exclusive to the Madalena neighborhood. It is highlighted by children from other boroughs. For example, Alice and Victor (Figure 19) live in distinct boroughs, Espinheiro and Casa Forte respectively, and portray this aspect. In Casa Forte, in Victor's picture, it is possible to see several houses, an aspect that I, in my 'grown-up' way of thinking relate to the Law of the Twelve Neighborhoods (Casa Forte is included in those twelve).

Figure 19. Alice and Victor. Antennas, connectivity
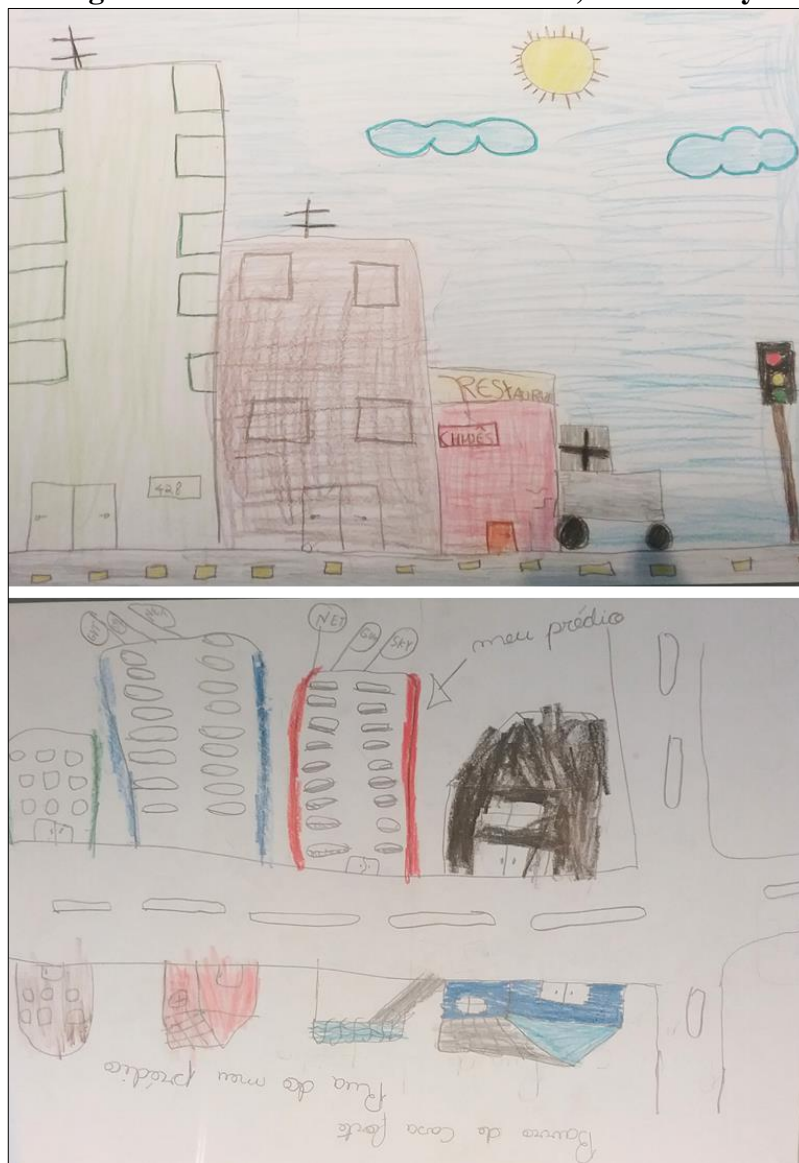
Source: field research (2016)

Their drawings also exhibit TV antennas and internet infrastructure, an aspect related to children's daily lives and symbolizing 'connectivity'. Children can choose to draw objects that are important to them in their everyday lives, but they do not necessarily have to exhibit positive-negative aspects, nor moral judgement, in their pictures.

5.4 Neighborhood as Built Space, Neighborhood as Social Interaction

Danilo's drawing (Figure 20) calls my attention since it uses only a small portion of the paper available. He lives in the Torre neighborhood and chooses to represent in three colors the vision he has when he gets out of his building's elevator. To the right, the door of his apartment on the 6th floor with a carpet where we read 'Welcome' and just above the apartment number, next to the fire hose, and in the left his neighbor's front door. In a shy manner, Danilo tells me he lives with his mom and dad, he has no siblings. His father drops him at school by car, and he returns home in the school van. Danilo plays basketball at school and the rest of the time he likes to stay at home and watch TV because in his condominium "there aren't a lot of people to play with". When I show him images of places in the city, he immediately recognizes the Park and the mall, but says he prefers to go to the mall.

Figure 20. Danilo's front door
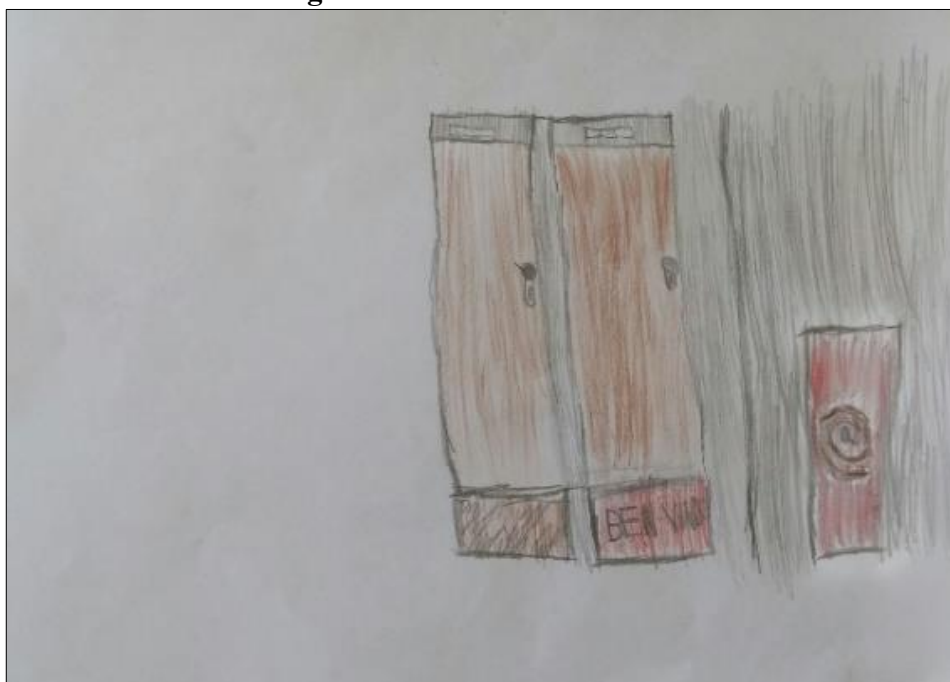
Source: field research (2016)

Danilo's picture raises some questions related to possibilities and constraints in research using drawing as a method, related to the distinction between narratives of place that children express through their drawings. For one thing, this could have some connection to how 'experienced' the child is in communicating through creative methods but cannot be reduced to 'more' or 'less' experience with drawing. Besides, it may seem that children in the second school have more experience with drawing, but it is worth considering that they were given more time to develop their drawings. Whereas both workshops were conducted in school hours, in the first workshop the activity was done right before recess time, and I consider this

influenced their dedication to the activity since they wanted to go out to play. I talked to them about their drawings when they returned from recess. In turn, in the second school the activity was done after recess and they had more time to do so, and asked for more time to dedicate to the activity.

The drawing comprises a subjective interpretation of a concrete experience of place combined with abstract processes. Cele (2006) explains that the abstract aspects of a child's drawing can be difficult for an adult to understand. If abstract features in a drawing are interpreted as meaningless acts from the child's imagination, then it may be difficult to correctly interpret and understand the concrete aspects that refer to the child's actual use and views of different places. The abstract features should not be seen as undermining the credibility of the concrete, but rather as additional dimensions of their relationships to place (p. 192). In that sense, for instance, some children are inventive about the way to portray their neighborhood, such as Mike and Ruben who drew *Pokémons* in their pictures (Figure 21). In Mike's picture, someone wants to capture the *Pokémon Charmander* with a *pokéball*, which would initially suggest to me (a grown-up) that *Charmander* is a 'negative' feature. However, *Pokémons* are not necessarily bad or good, that depends on its coach's intentions. In Ruben's picture, we see a happy face of someone trying to capture the *Pokémon Pichu* with a *pokéball*. The building as a *motif* appears in both drawings, which mix concrete and abstract aspects in what seems a ludic relation with urban space.

Figure 21. *Pokémons* in the neighborhood
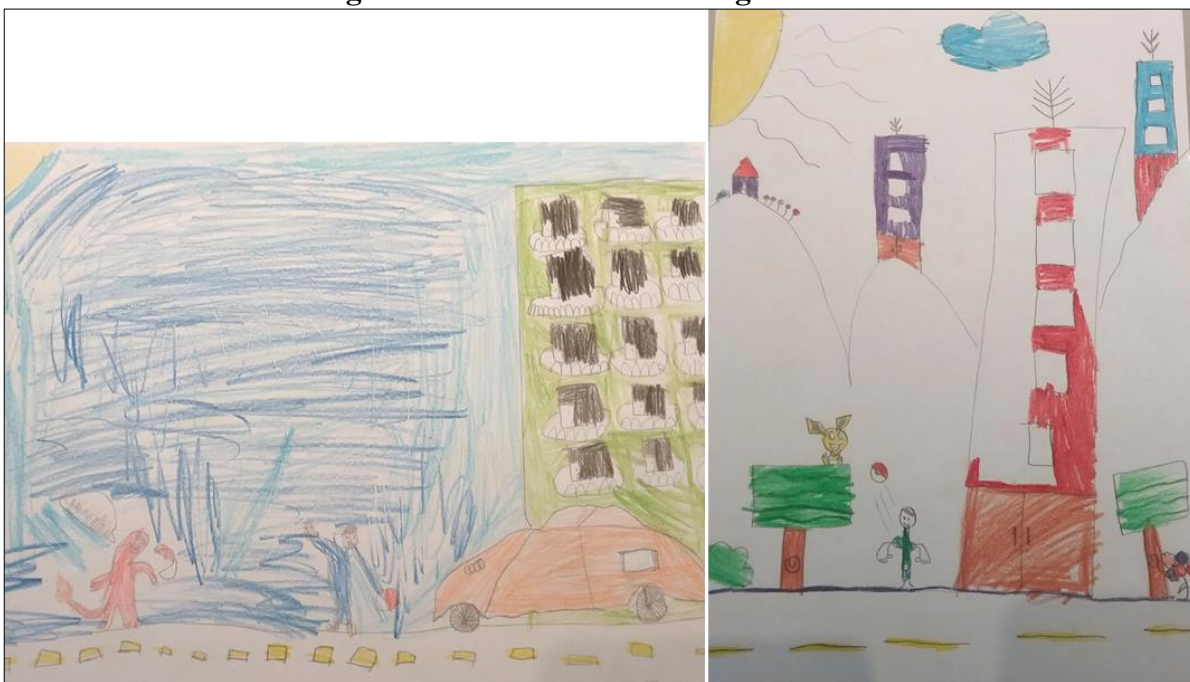
Source: field research (2016)

Thus, a drawing can include more than just the experience of concrete places. Besides, imaginary aspects of the process of drawing can become more important than the expressions of experience of place. It is impossible for a researcher to judge when a drawing includes more fantasy than 'real experience.' Albeit some drawings may seem more 'suitable' to use for gaining knowledge about specific places, other drawings may be too personal, abstract or imaginary for an adult to understand and interpret (CELE, 2006).

In the sunny landscape of Rogério's drawing (Figure 22), blue sky and few clouds, we see only his building in the Madalena neighborhood, an illuminated pole, and the asphalt with its dotted strip. Rogério plays indoor soccer as an after-class activity, extra classes in Portuguese and Math, and an English as a second language course. He tells me he likes to play video games and play ball, but because his week days are full of activities, he doesn't have much time to play ball during the week. He is not worried in drawing the exact number of floors of his building.

Figure 22. Rogério's drawing

Source: field research (2016)

Rafael (Figure 23), who lives in Casa Forte, plays basketball after school, has swimming classes, judo and English too. A known taxi driver drops him off and picks him up throughout his week's activities. It stands out that drawings represent the neighborhood with an emphasis on built space to the detriment of the space of activities or social interaction and nature.

Rafael's drawing (Figure 23) is one of the few pictures that portray social interaction. He represents his condominium, where he lives on the 17th floor, using all the paper's space. He uses a ruler. In a window there is a TV and a person waving from the apartment window, while children play downstairs; he explores the use of soft colors, highlights his balcony, beyond the tree house, and condominium parking. Sometimes he "plays downstairs" at the building's playground, he likes basketball and a ball game we call '*Queimado*'; he says he's not a soccer fan, preferring 'strategy games', and enjoys using the tablet and video game.

Figure 23. Rafael's drawing
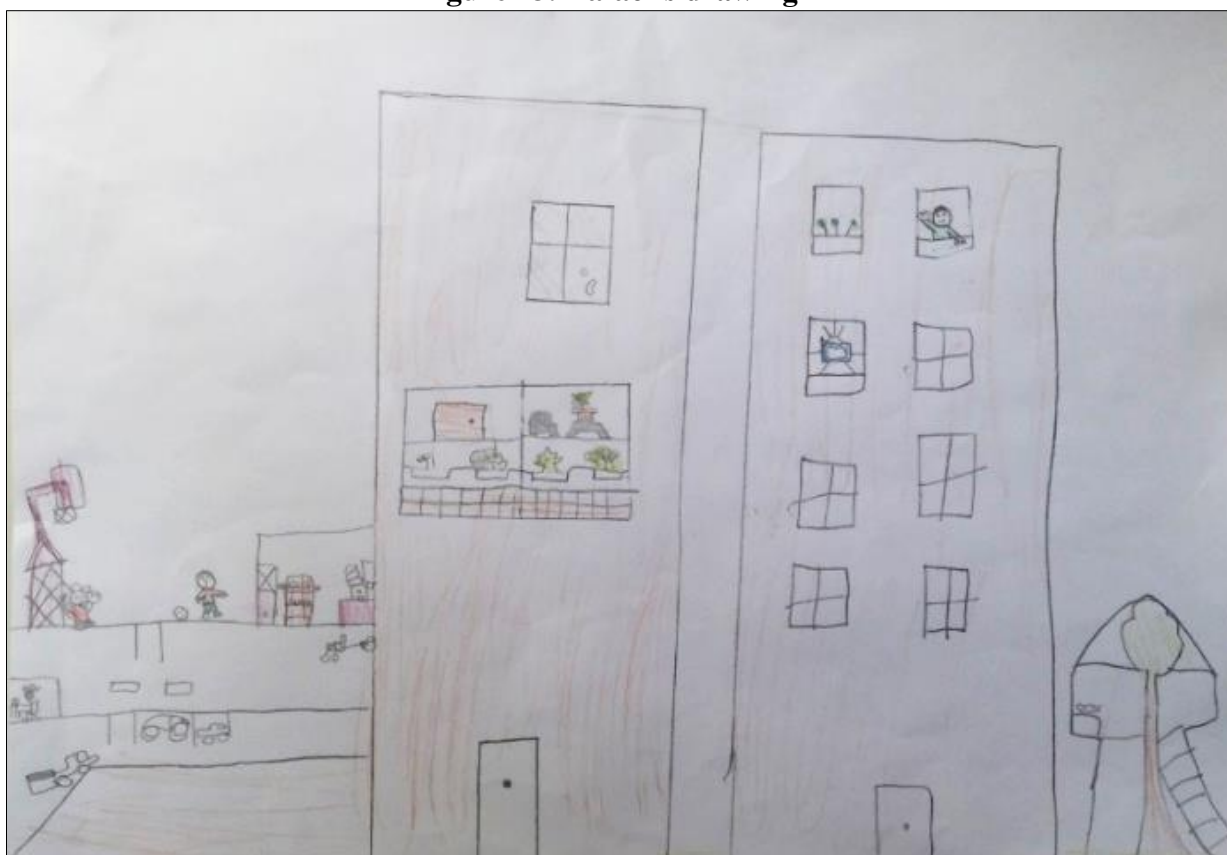
Source: field research (2016)

Built space can also emphasize other types of construction and meaning. Three boys, for instance, who live in distinct boroughs point out churches in their pictures. Whereas two of these drawings portray the church close to other constructions and features that include their homes, Richard's drawing is of a well-known church in the Torre neighborhood. Children can choose to draw objects and places that are important to them or their families' everyday lives.

Figure 24. The church in the neighborhood

Source: field research (2016)

As I talk to the children, I perceive that social interaction tends to be concentrated in the high-rise 'building', a place that offers them options that can include the court, skateboard lane, playgrounds, swimming pool (where some have their swimming lessons with personal trainers), and friends' apartments.

Roberta (Figure 25, I erase Roberta's real name, for ethical clearance) draws an aerial perspective of her neighborhood, she calls her drawing '*Rosarinho em miniatura*', or Miniature Rosarinho. She goes on to show me where each place is – a park where there is a statue of Holy Mary, a restaurant, her building (where she points out her apartment number), a bakery, a grocery store, and a sign indicating two places that reads 'I don't know' ('*não sei*').

Figure 25. Roberta's pictorial plan of her borough

Source: field research (2016)

We can see only the built space in her representation of her neighborhood. However, as I talk to Roberta, I can sense how enthusiastic she is about her friendships in the building where she lives. She tells me how they organize doll parties and games, often drawing posters that they attach to the mural or elevator encouraging other children to join. Her building is clearly an affective space of her everyday life, and this cannot be immediately perceived by only appreciating her drawing.

5.5 Urban Space, Accessibility and Mobility

Albeit recognizing the economic conditions of the children who take part in the workshops, I understand that the use of public transportation (highlighted in the image of the bus I showed to some children) is quite restricted. One of the boys, Filipe, says that he only used the bus twice before, when he went out with his aunt "because she doesn't drive". In the interviews with children from the first school, the image of a child on a bike in the company of

an adult soon refers, in children's speech, to the use of the bike lanes on Sundays (*Ciclofaixa Móvel de Turismo e Lazer*, which has operated in Recife on Sundays and holidays since 2013).

Although the children have bicycles, they rarely use it during the week, and when they do, it is in their buildings, because their parents do not let them use the bike in the street. Only João, who lives in a house in the Bongi neighborhood, pedals at a street in the side of his house, because it is where "there are less cars".

Samuel's drawing (Figure 19) points me to a highly neglected demand in many Brazilian cities, that of accessibility in urban space. His drawing highlights his building and the street, painted in black, on a sunny day. Only Samuel is in the drawing, out of scale, in his wheelchair. He seems to lean against the building. There is no concern here about a need to picture things the right way, but rather to make sure central elements appear in the drawing, whether they are or not in the 'right' scale, position or angle. Does his drawing contain any moral judgement? Not at a first sight, albeit we might ask ourselves why he is leaning on his building instead of being out in the street. In Samuel's drawn narrative, the *motif* accessibility is highlighted in his interpretation of his picture, as he tells me that he drew himself outside in the wheelchair, but that he does not go out because of the city's inadequate sidewalks.

Figure 26. Samuel and the street

Source: field research (2016)

During the week, he does not have much "time to play" because he goes out a lot (for psychologist, physiotherapy etc.). When I present Samuel the image of the local Park, he

recognizes it immediately, and points out that very close to the slide in the photo (he refers to one that does not appear in the image) there are toys for wheelchair users, but which are rarely respected. In an emphatic tone, he complains that "there are a lot of people who go there, and who know that it's for wheelchair users, and even so they still use it (the toys)". Drawing is a subjective interpretation of children's experience of place combined with wishes, moods and relationships with people and places. None of the children interviewed in the first school walk to school or their home. Their daily mobility is monitored by parents and guardians, and in some cases the school van's driver or a known taxi driver. Fotel and Thomsen (2004) discuss the insertion of many middle and upper classes children's lifestyle in a network of structured activities which suggests a specific orchestration of their mobility.

Igor, who has 2 siblings, although he resided for about only 6 months in the Madalena (at the time of the second workshop), makes his home-school route on foot, and illustrates in a concise sequence his building, a local restaurant, the pharmacy and, on the opposite side, a well-known bakery. He makes a representation of himself, with a smiling face, in this space marked by a sequence of buildings along one of the main avenues of the neighborhood (Figure 27).

Figure 27. The main avenue and Igor's borough
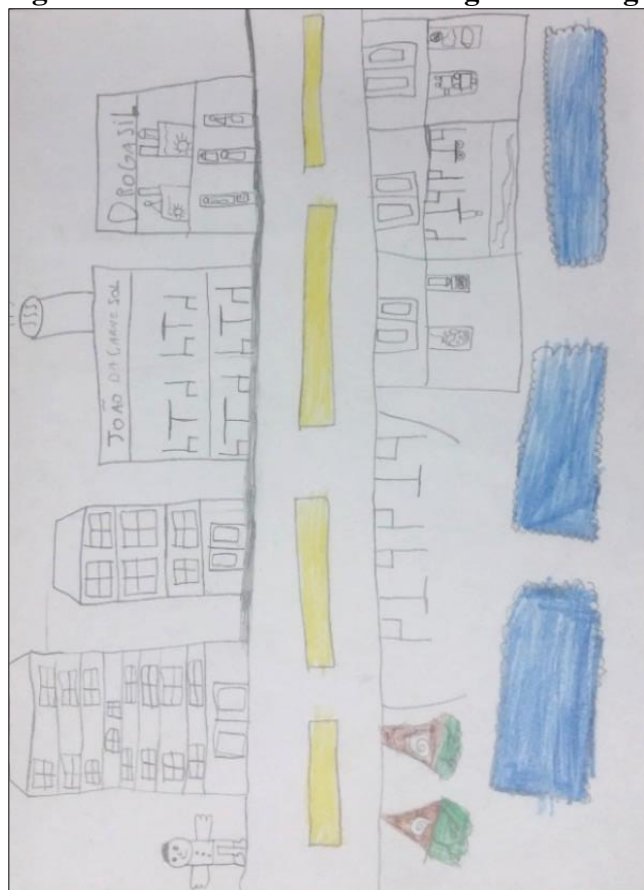
Source: field research (2016)

In the second school, eight children walk every day to school. The others, who also walk, are sometimes driven to school by car. No bicycles. Six children alternate the use of car or walking in their home-school route. The school van is used by six children. Only one child goes to school by bus (and back home by car), Mark, who lives in Casa Amarela (Figure 28).

Figure 28. Waiting for the bus
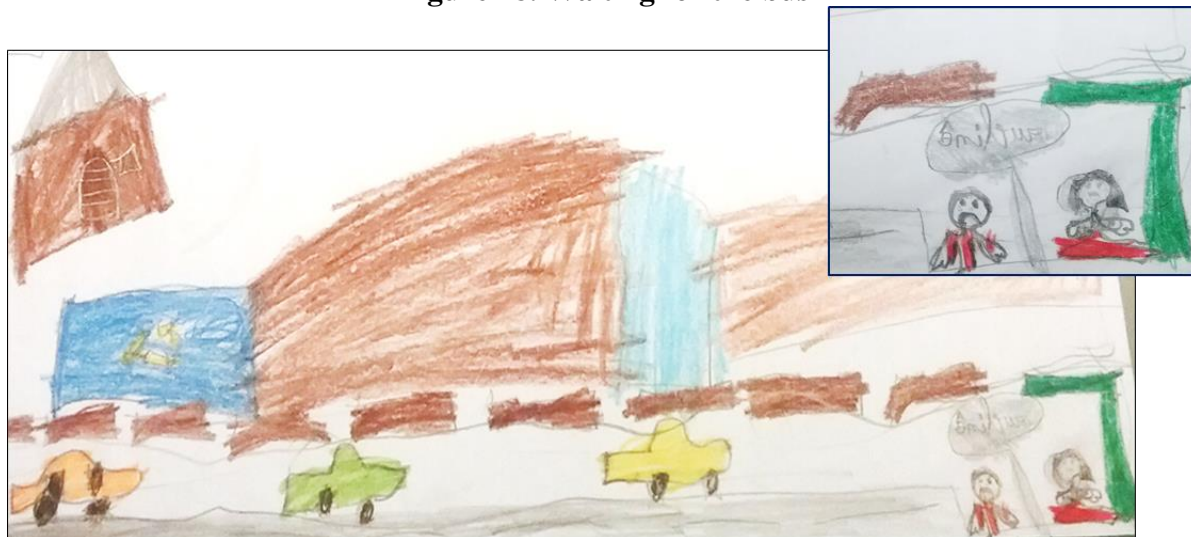
Source: field research (2016)

His picture's *motif* refers to urban mobility. I highlight a part of his drawing where we see a representation of him waiting for the bus. He has a sad face. It seems that his experience with the bus is loaded with a negative meaning. Considering everyday traffic, and school hours, it is plausible to infer that the bus he picks up to go to school can be crowded and uncomfortable, and this may contribute to this particular experience.

5.6 Spaces for Play, Cars and Fear

In children's words and drawings, the domestic space is pointed out as their main space for play during the week. Francisco uses two colors to represent the condominium where he lives, in Casa Forte. He really likes to "go downstairs to play with his friends" in the building. He tells me that once his parents needed to go downtown, and Francisco was really upset because he didn't want to go, he wanted to stay to play with his friends in the building.

All the children acknowledge danger in traffic and car space. The only child who does not live in the city of Recife, Breno, is the one who tells me that sometimes he likes to play hide and seek in the street with his friends and cousins. The other children clearly express their 'fear' of the car or their parents fear of the car. Francisco says his parents are afraid a car will run over him. Only two children from Recife, Roberto and João, have their parents' 'license' to play a short while in the street.

When I ask Gabriel what he likes to do during the week, he replies "I don't play", "I can't go out and play ball, otherwise a car will come and run over me". When asked if his building has leisure options, he tells me that there is a playground, but that it is bad because "it's baby-ish", but there is a space near the garage where cars don't pass by: "there you can play". He points out that "people used to play on the street, but now there's a lot of cars, a lot of cars ... At least it's good for the car because it can go from one place to another". He also thinks it's "bad" when someone (like a thief) has a "gun", "then it's bad running around" on the street.

Roberto, who lives in a house in the Cordeiro neighborhood with his parents (his older brother has already left home) draws two combined houses, without representing the street or surroundings, people nor natural elements natural; it emphasizes details on the doors, windows (blue), gate and stair rail. Roberto tells me he has an imaginary friend called Rodolfo: "Sometimes I play with him, sometimes I watch television, or sometimes I play with my toys, or I make a sleeping cabin". Although his mother lets him play on the street, he says he finds the street disturbing and just likes to play in the street when they travel to their beach house.

There is low affinity of the children (in the first school) with downtown; few recognize it and when I ask them what they think of this place, they point out its commercial function, as a place "where we can buy things" (Francisco) and as a space of flows, since "there are many buses going by". The mall and the park are pointed out in the children's reports as some of the city's archetypes. While the park tends to be emphasized as a "cool" and an "entertaining" space (although they don't attend it much), children also have great affinity with the mall and the cinema. Danilo, for example, prefers the mall to the park "because there are more different things going on there".

Mary, despite not having after class activities, and living in a house, does not play in the street because she says there was an assault there, "they got a woman". She was scared, but at her house "there are cameras, so one can see (what happens)". She loves to skip rope. Mary has no affinity with the images of the city that I show her, not recognizing the downtown or the mall and, despite recognizing the park, and claiming that she went there, does not go often because she plays more at home. Mary's drawing refers to a theme that deserves amplitude in urban studies, the gendering aspects of children's uses of space (POJANI; BOUSSAUW, 2014), in a context marked by complex social transformations.

In children's drawings, not all objects or places are loaded with positive or negative meaning. Rather, they are important just because they exist at a particular place or time in the child's life. Some objects do not even have to be important or useful to the children in any

specific way (CELE, 2006). Others may have an affective push and be drawn out of context, as in Rafaela's picture of her neighborhood where we see a slide and a swing, highlighting what she says she likes to play with (Figure 29).

Figure 29 – Rafaela's slide and swing

Source: field research (2016)

Objects are important in different ways. As Cele points out, objects or a part of an environment, by their very existence, seem to contribute to children's sense of place. Cars, for instance, do not necessarily have a good or bad meaning. The 'family car' is something that exists in most of the children's everyday lives and is important to many children as it is part of their identity in the same way the family house is. It belongs to the family and is therefore important. Besides, cars are within the most commonly drawn objects in children's pictures.

Figure 30. The family car in Breno's house
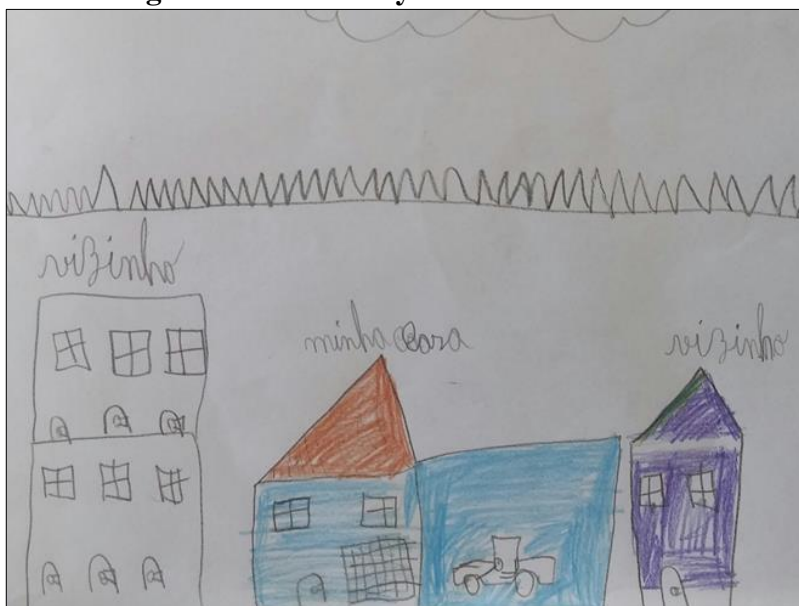
Source: field research (2016)

Children can try to communicate specific messages through their drawing by, for example, using expressions on people's faces. The local bakery is portrayed in Julia and Marcela's drawings (Figure 31), and it is loaded with positive meaning, as a positive feature of their neighborhood. In Julia's drawing we see her happy face while she's at the bakery, corroborated by the way she describes to me her drawing. Marcela says she likes to go to the bakery too, albeit she does not draw herself in the picture.

Figure 31. Happy faces and the bakery

Source: field research (2016)

Children show in their drawings an appreciation for commercial functions and services in their borough. Roberta (who's drawing is Figure 25) remarks: "the good thing about my borough is that everything is close ... the bakery, the market, the square ...". João's drawing also exemplifies this idea (Figure 32), where we see the local market and someone in the car driving by as he listens to music. The sports club of his soccer team is also portrayed in his picture, with a slide and swing. Close to the market is a representation of his school (I erased the school's name he drew), as well as the building he lives in. João draws the main places of his everyday life all together without worries about mapping them 'correctly'.

Figure 32. Places in João's everyday life

Source: field research (2016)

There is no clear connection between the presence of commercial options or services in the borough and the children's independent exploration of these spaces-places. They don't walk alone in the street. Yet, it is possible to point out, among children who walk every day to school, some evidence of differentiated levels of detail in their drawings. Besides Igor's representation of the main avenue in his borough (Figure 27), I point out Leila and Aurélio's drawings (Figures 33 and 34). Leila, who has lived in the neighborhood for 2 years and has 4 siblings, highlights her building and those of two school friends, as well as a beauty saloon, and her school. The way she organizes such elements in her drawing and explains to me how to get to each place suggest a look at her neighborhood not only as a built space, but as social space too.

Figure 33. Leila's borough

Source: field research (2016)

Aurélio makes his home-school route by foot, and highlights in his drawing an aesthetic appreciation of the river. As pointed out, the banks of the Capibaribe river have been increasingly characterized by high-rise housing. Public investments, including the construction of recreational areas and the city's public gym came as effects of increasing value of this area.

Figure 34. The river in Aurélio's drawing

Source: field research (2016)

Luciano is the only child to portray a low-income community that is located next to the second school. The image of 'school' is represented in four drawings and the few natural elements that appear emphasize the river and the green areas of its banks, and trees. The children's descriptions and stories repudiate city pollution and the "garbage on the street", for example illustrated in Tatiana's drawing (Figure 35), where we see garbage thrown into the street of a dense urban space.

Figure 35. The litter as a negative aspect

Source: field research (2016)

Most drawings emphasize the borough as a built space, as I pointed out. People rarely appear in the pictures, nor activities. Walls, doors and windows are frequent in the landscapes portrayed. When I ask children about play during the week, several children say they have "no time to play". Of the 47 children of the second workshop, for instance, only three don't have after class activities. 31 children have at least two activities, while 13 children perform three or more after class activities.

5.7 Discussion

As I explored urban space along with children's perspectives on their neighborhoods or boroughs, this effort drew attention to issues that highlight safety, traffic and public space. Children who took part in the drawing workshops convey in their opinions about street danger

and traffic danger. Caldeira (1996) helps me understand that in cities fragmented by high-rise buildings (such as Recife, and so many others in Brazil), it is difficult to maintain principles of openness and free circulation in urban space. And many of these buildings come to function as 'fortified enclaves', with important effects on public space and on children's participation in public life (*idem*).

From children's drawn narratives, indeed, streets are not emphasized as spaces of sociability, and play space is mainly the building, that is, the domestic space. However, what may seem a certain type of 'spatial segregation' by children's retreat to the domestic sphere of the building is not portrayed by them as something necessarily 'negative' since this is also a space of relations in their lives, an affective space.

I understand there are limitations to this use of drawings as a research method. Besides it being my first experience with this approach, contact with the children was made through schools. This is an approach that is relatively common in studies with children but is also an approach that can be problematic. As Cele (2006) and Lemos (2007) point out, in school the children are used to being led and dominated by adults and there may be a risk that they perceive their participation in the research as another school task in which their answers will in some way be judged. It is, therefore, a problem that the children may try to produce answers that they believe the researcher wants to hear and not describe what they really want.

I tried to deal with this by keeping conversations casual, but I cannot fully know how it impacted each child I spoke to. Albeit I felt at ease with talking to children in both schools, I sensed that two boys from the first school were shy. They may have chosen to hold back information since they didn't really know me, especially if this information does not conform to what their teachers or parents would pose (*cf.* CELE, 2006). Furthermore, although the gendering aspects of children's experiences with urban space are crucial, I did not engage in this discussion by comparing drawings from boys and girls on, for example, whether some are more informative or not than others.

Indeed, as some children include more objects, places, activities or elements, some drawings are more informative than others, and this helps me to better understand some aspects. However, I would catch myself, as children were drawing, observing the car as an negative aspect, or nature (trees, river, bushes etc.) as a positive aspect, but children do not necessarily input a moral judgement in their pictures. Their interpretations of their drawings and conversations with them are crucial since the focus is not merely on picture analysis, but on how children relate to urban space and choose to represent experiences and spaces. In that sense, the river can be 'smelly' and 'dirty', and the car can be 'comfortable' or 'dangerous'. Their

description of places can still tell us what the child notices on her walk to school, for example, when they can connect specific objects or places to their experience.

Children's drawn narratives highlighted for me verticalization, urban densification, wall-door-windows, accelerated time, retreat to the domestic space, play, play in programmed spaces, difficulties of accessibility, monitored mobility, urban violence, car space, minimal use of public transport, affective bonds with school, desire to play, appreciation for the city of Recife, as important aspects of urban space. In the next chapter, I advance reflections considering children's ideas on how a 'friendly' urban space is like.

6. IDEAS ON A 'PLACELESS PLACE' | SENDING OUT LETTERS ON A CHILD-FRIENDLY CITY

> 'I is hating those other giants more than ever now,' the BFG said. 'You know what I should like?'
> 'What?' Sophie said.
> 'I should like to find a way of disappearing them, every single one'.
> 'I'd be glad to help you,' Sophie said. 'Let me see if I can't think up a way of doing that.'(DAHL, 1982).

6.1 Introduction

'What is a city like which is friendly to children?' (*Como é uma cidade que é amiga da criança?*) was the opening question for the letters written by children. The purpose of seeking their ideas on environmental child-friendliness and how a city can ideally portray these aspects guides the research activity proposed to 11-year-old children of three schools in Recife[22].

To ask children to depict an 'ideal' urban environment such as a 'child-friendly city' leads us to the notion of a perfected or unreal space. Yet, although considering utopias as sites with no real place, they nevertheless have a relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of society inasmuch as they tend to present society in a perfected form (FOUCAULT, 1986 [1967]). Thus, any simulated utopia of a good urban setting represents, at the same time, the real world and invites us to visit spaces and places of children's lives.

Besides, children do not live their lives sheltered from the politicized world of adults (CELE, 2015). As I examine in this chapter, children's letters highlight the complexity of experiences in big cities and specificities of contemporary childhood in Brazil. Not only themselves, but parents, friends, governors and other adults and institutions are implicated in children's concerns about the city. In their letters, they complain of violence, wickedness, corruption, inflation, bedtime, prejudice, pollution, traffic, implicating different actors as well as assuming responsibilities for several issues. Many demand health, ice cream, candy, parks, housing, protection, quality education, as well as honesty, love and care.

The fieldwork for this letter-writing was undertaken during a phase of strong political instability in Brazil, in the context of disputes regarding President Dilma Roussef's impeachment, a time-space that should not be ignored. The schools were visited in March, May

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[22] The methodological aspects related to this activity are detailed in Chapter 4. Appendix B presents basic information on children participants and letters.

and August 2016. Several protests directed at Dilma Rousseff's government took place in Brazil, defending a battle against corruption, or outcries in defense of the President. Some popular manifestations occurred a week before the activity in one of the schools. A teacher shared with me that one of her 11-year-old students had organized a protest in the school, against Dilma's impeachment, and that other students antagonized with his position. The Michel Temer government began in May 2016, after the temporary removal of President Dilma Rousseff, and several letters from children of the second school were then addressed to him. In August, children from the last school (when I obtained clearance from City Hall to conduct research activity in the public school) asked us "after all, who's Brazil's President now?". The impeachment process was completed in August 2016, voiding Dilma's mandate.

Although I embrace at this moment a representational view of the city as I immerse myself in those seventy-seven letters, at the same time I recognize the affective push about letter-writing that tends to enhance the sharing not only of children's ideas, but also fragments of experiences and emotions. One of the first letters I read from the public school (in the Jaqueira neighborhood) was Sammy's. In her letter to the Mayor, Sammy shares that she has great plans and dreams, and that every day she asks God to fulfill her dream that is to be an actress. She writes "I cry every night, so my desire is to be an actress". My son asked me 'why does she cry every night?', but I have no answer for that. The limitations imposed here on the possibilities of relating with children's daily lives from this representational perspective are many. Nevertheless, the aspects elicited in their texts are not only on ideas about what a city friendly to children is like, but are also about feelings, hopes, concerns and embeddedness.

There was a need for a conceptual framework to approach the letters, and I consider Liisa Horelli's (2007) environmental child-friendliness (ECF) dimensions. Her description of children's 'ideal environments' was first developed and applied in a study with Finnish youth, and later in Finnish–Italian studies, and was motivated by gaps in planning theories that deal with environmental quality as well as the lack of approaches considering the issue from children's views. I consider these dimensions as broad concepts for guiding analysis rather than as rigorous categories.

In this chapter, children's ideas on environmental child-friendliness and on how a city can ideally portray these aspects are described from ten ECF dimensions. I then discuss how the localized character of what a child-friendly city means to children needs to approach their socio-cultural context together with the critical aspects they elicit for forging an ideal city. In that sense, the chapter then aims to develop discussions considering children's ideas on: resource provision and distribution, basic services and perspectives on inequalities; their views

on participation, rights and governance; the street as an archetype of public space and how mobility plays its role in that context; urban and environmental qualities, as well as the intrinsic role of technology in today's childhood; and how relationality sustains their views, including specific ties and intergenerational relations. The last section presents complementary remarks.

6.2 Environmental Child-friendliness and the City

Environmental child-friendliness, albeit a complex concept, has guided several efforts in planning and policy making and is gaining interest in the field of governance. Attentive to this, Horelli (2007) points out a problem in focusing solely on children's immediate near environment without considering social, political or historical factors, as well as the risk of approaching the issue without considering children's perspectives.

Horelli's ECF dimensions include: housing and dwelling; basic services (health, education and transport); participation; safety and security; family, kin, peers and community; urban and environmental qualities; resource provision and distribution/ poverty reduction; and ecology. These dimensions emerged from a content analysis conducted on a bibliography and a set of definitions and indicators on child friendly cities that UNICEF had gathered in 2002 from both developing and industrialized countries. The dimensions can be regarded as fields or qualities that roughly tap a desirable environment, and the form and details of the dimensions are shaped by the socio-cultural context. The environment refers here to the living environment in its complexity, that is, it is not restricted to the natural environment or built surroundings, but to the whole physical, psychological, economic, political, and cultural environment (p. 270).

An overview on how ECF dimensions emerge in children's letters allows us, with the aid of NVivo, different possibilities of description. We may consider, at first, a word frequency query after the documents (letters) are coded from ECF dimensions as conceptual nodes. For an initial word frequency query I consider stemmed words (words with the same roots, such as 'want', 'wanting' and 'wanted') excluding from the query the terms 'city', 'child' and 'children' since they were the most frequent because of the proposed activity, as well as children's names, addressees, boroughs, prepositions and articles. NVivo allows the creation of a 'Stop words' list for that need.

The software provides, then, a summary that indicates the frequency of specific (stemmed) words in the letters; it will inform, for example, that 'street, streets' appears with the highest frequency (*f.* 54). It will also present this word frequency in other formats. The word cloud indicates frequency through to the size of the word as it appears in the cloud; the bigger the word, the more frequent it is in children's letters (Figure 36).

Figure 36. Word cloud for ECF dimensions in children's letters

Source: the author (2018).

Another way of visualizing data in a descriptive manner is through a Tree Map (Figure 37). Here, the larger the box that contains the stemmed word, the more times it is mentioned in children's letters; it provides some level of 'visual hierarchy' considering frequency.

Figure 37. Tree map for ECF dimensions in children's letters

Source: the author (2018).

This level of analysis still ignores socio-cultural context and other critical aspects related to children's ideas and concerns. Indeed, the use of software for textual analyses can become disconnected from surrounding discursive contexts, even other related texts (AITKEN; KWAN, 2009).

Acknowledging this, I coded the contents considering a broader discursive scope referred to a specific node, rather that restricting analysis to words. Table 04 presents examples of ECF dimensions considering children's letters and a broader scope.

Table 04: Normative dimensions of a child-friendly environment and children's ideas (Recife, Brazil)

Normative dimensions (*f*)	Excerpts and ideas
Safety and security (*f.* 76)	"A CFC is the one where there's no wickedness, where children can play and have fun without worries or fear" (Marina, 11) "a CFC isn't a perfect city, like others think. It's not an ice-cream city, but a city that doesn't commit crimes" (Elis, 11) "I wanted Recife to change. No thieves, no kids who steal people who walk on the street with their cell-phone in hand, and children who smell glue on the streets, there are people that rape children who want to study" (Kai, 12)
Basic services (health, education and transport) (*f.* 27)	Diverse emphasis children provided on: Good schools for all kids; Health for everyone; Food and shelter; Good doctors; Good teachers; Good quality water and basic sanitation for all; Public services just as good as private services.
Ecology (*f.* 26)	"It's not just our President's fault that our streets are dirty, it's our fault too because if each one of us did our part, and didn't litter the street and didn't break public things, there wouldn't be so much pollution" (Tatiana, 11) "A city that is child-friendly is very beautiful, just like those countries. Forests are not being destroyed, rivers are clean and it's not dirty, but that's because of the car industry" (Joshua, 10)
Urban and environmental qualities (*f.* 24)	"A city where there are many parks, toys, ice cream shops, cinemas, soccer fields, volley, basketball, bikes, snack bars, book shops and many friends. (...) And specially where our parents don't get stressed about work and have fun" (Marina). "a CFC is that city that you go in a park and the toys aren't broken" (Gabriel, 12) "no cars, so children could play in the street instead of just playing on the computer or cell-phone" (Theo, 11)
Family, kin, peers and community (*f.* 23)	"a CFC is a city that needs people like you (nice, polite, respectful and loving). We need to launch a campaign 'More Lucy in the city'. Then maybe this might help our Recife become a CFC!" (Vinny, 12, letter to his mother) Happiness, kindness, friendship, family, sharing, respect, love, home, protection, care
Resource provision and distribution; poverty reduction (*f.* 21)	"social inequality is very strong in Brazil..." (Elis, 11) "There should be a better distribution of wealth for the poorest, and more jobs" (Guilherme, 11) "there are many people in need of buying food" (Eduarda, 11)
Housing and dwelling (*f.* 10)	"If it rains you have a home thank you for hearing that raindrops hitting the floor. And those children who have no home? They have to run, to a dry place. And they can get wet, cold and worse yet without family" (João, 11)
Sense of belonging and continuity (*f.* 9)	"The city that is a child's friend is the city that cares for her, gives affection, love, good education, food, the city that treats her as a child, with no violence, it makes the child feel welcomed by the city's population" (Fefa, 11) "I think a CFC is when the child likes the city where he or she lives. And that's not what I feel" (Mateus, 10)
Good governance (*f.* 8)	"We are experiencing a crisis in Brazil. While shameless politicians steal money, a number of hardworking and honest people are covered in debts. Then I ask myself, 'Why doesn't the government, with so much money, help at least a little?'" (Franklin, 11) "The city is not something for someone to own, you know, Grandma? It is something to take care of, and (while) being cared for, the city would be my friend and everyone's (friend) too" (Julie, 11)
Participation (*f.* 2)	"so stop talking about other people and take care of doing your share, and others will do their share" (Tatiana, letter to the whole world) "and all of this can only be achieved starting by us!" (Rafael, letter to his friends)

Source: the author (2018).

Although children can refer to 'ecology', for example, in a very brief manner, such as through the idea of 'no pollution' as one way to qualify a friendly environment for children, nevertheless other dimensions can be depicted in order to justify its importance or the way in

which it affects lives. Kevin, for example, presents in his letter to the Government his desire for more CCTV cameras (closed-circuit television cameras) and police cars to ride by his neighborhood, in Mangabeira, "because there are lots of assaults, a lot of rapes and a lot of smugglers smoking and sniffing what they feel is good for them". He then writes that he wants the Government to "build more parks in the neighborhood".

The localized character of what a child-friendly city means to Kevin seems to be pointed out in his emphasis on a safe environment for living and playing, but it is also related to social and political aspects that deserve our scrutiny in the direction of a knowledge of space that can envision repercussions in Policy.

6.3 Spaces and Places of Children's Lives in a Fragmented City

Brazil's population, and Recife endorses this pattern, is marked by social and economic inequalities that do not necessarily follow center-periphery logics, albeit urban landscape reflects several of these imbalances. Developing fieldwork in three schools allows access to different socioeconomic realities.

The choice of private school in Brazil depends largely upon the parents' income, but in the case of public schools other aspects can be considered. For instance, in the public school we accessed in the Jaqueira, a borough that has the highest *per capita* income in the city, children that attend that school do not live in that neighborhood, but many of their parents (mainly their mothers) work in Jaqueira in upper-class households nearby. More than half of all the children that wrote the letters do not live in their school's neighborhood, although many (31) live in the Torre and the Madalena boroughs.

In the Madalena borough, where we find 15 of our senders, there are more than 7.600 households, many of which are middle- and high-middle class, and the average monthly income of households according to the demographic *census* (IBGE, 2010) was R$ 5.521,52[23], whereas boroughs such as Casa Forte revealed an average income of R$11.318,97. From Rafael's (11y) street (Figure 38) in a low-income community called *Mangueira*, in the Madalena borough, we can see high-rise buildings where other children live, such as David, Sophie and João.

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[23] Approximately 1.453 dollars if we consider $1 being equivalent to R$3,80.

Figure 38. Rafael's street view
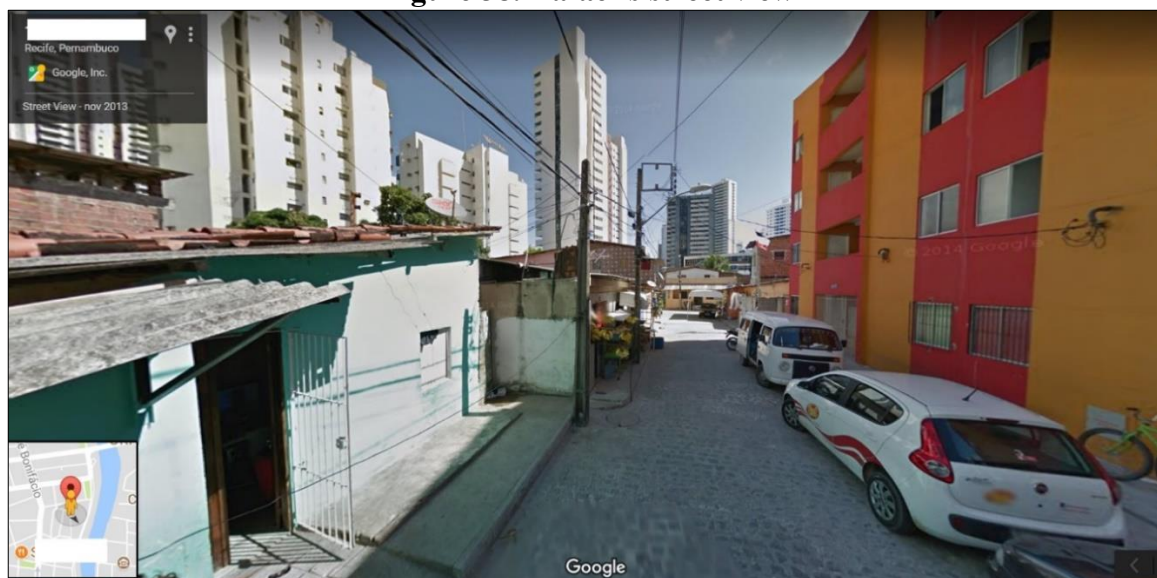
Source: Google Maps (2018).

The study *Cenário da Infância e Adolescência – 2017* (Childhood and Adolescence Scenario – 2017) points out that 17.3 million children (aged 0-14y), equivalent to 40.2% of the Brazilian population in this age group, live in low-income households (IBGE, 2015). Whereas social inequalities tend to be translated into disparities between the presence and quality of urban features and equipment, it is not possible to speak of the relationship between children as a single social group and public space, even if they do live in the same neighborhood. We must speak instead of multiple groups of children who experience and relate in different ways to the spaces of a fragmented city (GÜLGÖNEN; CORONA, 2015).

The reality of urban densification is not an exclusive feature of Recife, rather it is a global phenomenon. In the last 15 years, however, there has been significant real estate expansion, and verticalization is progressing in a trend of moving real estate projects to less traditional areas, such as Madalena and Torre in Recife, reflecting the migration of building projects related to the Law of the Twelve Neighborhoods (Law nº 16.719/ 2001), but also by the need of the real estate market to create new consumption spaces.

Densification has replaced houses with vertical buildings, with significant changes in the urban landscape. Low-income communities who occupied parts of the Capibaribe River margin in *palafitas*, or stilt houses, have been displaced and transferred to other areas of the city by the municipality, and services such as colleges, bars and restaurants are growing in neighborhoods (SILVA, 2008).

Other communities, however, stay put and are marked by City Hall as special zones of social interest due to the social and economic vulnerability of their dwellers. In the Torre

neighborhood, where the average monthly income of households is R$4.827,09[24] (IBGE, 2010), one of such communities is *Vila Santa Luzia*, located at the margins of the Capibaribe River near the Cordeiro borough. It is where Vitor, Karine and Helen live. The three of them study in the same school.

A fire struck the *Santa Luzia Vila* in February 2016, and around two hundred families were left homeless; there were no casualties, but families lost everything. At the time, donations were raised for the families (Diário de Pernambuco, 2016). In December of the same year, the community suffered a second fire (Figure 34). The space occupied by these families will be converted in an urbanistic project, the Capibaribe Park, and City Hall studies what kind of intervention is to be done with the local population (Jornal do Commercio, 2016).

Figure 39. Fire destroyed several residences in the community Vila Santa Luzia, Torre

Source: Photo by Carol Sá Leitão/ Diário de Pernambuco (2016).

Helen, who lives at *Santa Luzia Vila*, addressed her letter to Barack Obama (who was President of United States in 2016) and represents what she wants 'more of' and what she wants 'less of' when she thinks about a child-friendly city. She also depicts the social change she envisions for the homeless:

> "I wanted the world to be more joyful, polite, more good things and no violence, rudeness or drugs, and (where) children had more dreams, imagination and that people who live on the streets and have nothing to eat have a house to live in and food on their table every day, and that the world had less bad language and less prejudice. The End" (Helen, 10).

Although I cannot know exactly why Hellen decided to send her letter to Obama, I understand that the critical aspects elicited in her letter - that integrate safety, housing, resource

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[24] Approximately 1.270 dollars if we consider $1 being equivalent to R$3,80.

provision and poverty reduction as environmental child-friendliness dimensions - are not detached from the quality of social and affective relations that shape her daily life in *Santa Luzia Vila*. Vitor, who also lives in the community, asks in his letter to the Government to improve safety for children and to take them out of adult-work and out of drug dealing. The localized character of what a child-friendly city means to children is highlighted in several letters and with different emphases.

In Lucas' letter to the Government, for example, he writes: "I want the government to put a sidewalk in *Apiaba* Street in the Torre neighborhood, and settle the sewers in the street". The demand he presents for improving physical infrastructure in his street (Figure 40) conveys with his classmate Rafael's desire for a sports court near his street (Figure 38). Their wants enhance the need for policy to be context-sensitive.

Figure 40. Lucas' street

Source: Google Maps (2018).

When we take into account local resources, economic structures, culture, history and physical infrastructure, this can contribute to a more critical appreciation of global standards on child-friendly cities and the way they seem to be proposed through a single approach (VLIET; KARSTEN, 2015) by initiatives across the globe.

On the other side of the Capibaribe River, the landscape of the Jaqueira borough exhibits luxurious apartments and flats, inhabited predominantly by middle- and upper-class families. The overall outlook exposes urban spaces of exclusion of great part of the low-income population and spaces of auto-segregation of middle and upper classes in high-rise buildings or gated communities, increasingly common features of Latin American cities, an issue that relates to children's concerns about social conditions and inequality.

6.4 Recognizing Transitional Conditions and Long-Lasting Inequalities

Letters expose circumstances and conditions experienced by children and their families. In Eduarda's letter, she does not scrutinize the biggest economic crisis in Brazil's post-industrial period, rather she underlines how it affects people. Eduarda, who lives in a low-income household, writes to the Mayor: "I wish there were no thieves, and there are many people in need of buying food. Beans are expensive and the *Guaraná* costs R\$4, R\$5 or R\$7, please help Brazil. Too many sick people can't get access to the hospital, please".

In 2010, Brazil had experienced the highest growth of its GDP in 20 years, whilst in 2016 the economy plunged into a deep recession. With the rise in unemployment and inflation, a large part of the population that had improved consumption levels lost opportunities and resources. With revenues decreasing, the States found it difficult to honor commitments, a situation that reflected in delays in paying salaries and in providing basic services, such as health and safety. In Brazil, 'beans', as observed by Eduarda, are a basic feature of our daily meals, and *Guaraná* an appreciated soft drink. The economic environment influences Eduarda's perception on what needs to change in order to consider friendliness and the city.

During that year, the evolution of a microcephaly pattern in newborn babies related to the *Zika* virus was verified and confirmed by the Ministry of Health, interconnecting municipalities, the medical class and families in a great concern towards an epidemic of microcephaly. Pernambuco was the State with more cases in the country. By the time Cece, whose mother is a physician, wrote her letter to the Mayor Geraldo Julio (May of 2016) there were already 1.912 notifications and 339 confirmed cases in Pernambuco (G1, 2016). Cece relates her ideas about a child friendly city to these circumstances, as we observe in a passage of her letter:

> I think a child-friendly city would be one that welcomes, cares, respects the child, especially those who are sick, especially at this time we are experiencing *Dengue*, *Zika* and especially Microcephaly outbreaks that have been attacking several babies lately. I think they should give priority attention at the hospitals (Cece, 11).

Ana, Cece's classmate, is also concerned about the provision of health care for those who are in special need. She expresses this in a letter to her mother (who is a nurse), as she depicts a child-friendly city as one where "the *SUS* [Public Health System] queue works and cares for the sick, (…) more doctors for hospitals, cure for Microcephaly and Cancer".

Circumstances in public health and the economic sphere highlighted in the letters coexist with a political crisis in Brazil. Franklin, who goes to school in the Madalena borough

and whose parents are *entrepreneurs*, implicates the government in the crisis and exposes links between economy, politics and corruption as he writes to the Mayor:

> To me, a child-friendly city is where there is no violence of adults beating up children, children still dying and babies because they have no money to buy medicine. And what does the government do? NOTHING! We are experiencing a crisis in Brazil. While shameless politicians steal money, a number of hardworking and honest people are covered in debts. Then I ask myself, 'Why doesn't the government, with so much money, help at least a little?' In short, I think my city needs to get better about money and violence! (Franklin, 11).

While Franklin portrays Brazil, Mateus (10y), whose mother is a teacher and father works with computers, acknowledges this link in a smaller scale, as he depicts Recife in his letter to Dilma Roussef:

> Recife is full of holes, unemployed people, shops are closing, the number of people on the streets is increasing, and you politicians think you're the best, but be sure that you're not what you think you are (Mateus, 10).

Disavowal of corrupt practices and logics of resource distribution in Brazil are also mentioned by Fernando, who studies in the Torre neighborhood, and in his letter to his father talks of a child-friendly city that "has no poverty or corruption". Fernando's class mate, Mariana, explains to the Mayor that "for the city to be friends with children we have to try to improve the lifestyle of everyone, not only for children, like improving public squares, streets, reducing inflation, the crisis, so children can buy more candy, so that everyone can be happy". This idea of a good urban setting does not emphasize any separation between children and adults, rather it embraces a desirable scenario for 'everyone'.

The drawing Nataly made on the verse of her letter is a notable image of how inequality in the provision of basic services – health, education and transport - presents itself in Brazil. From her drawing (Figure 41) we can translate: 'Private school, private hospital' on the left, and 'Public school, public hospital', on the right. At the bottom of the drawing she writes: 'See, same for everyone'. Nataly understands that a city that is friendly to children is "where no one lives on the street, where private schools aren't better than public schools, no pollution and, last but not less important, that all have the right to good health".

The idea of improving the city by providing equality in private and public services also appears in letters from Nataly's class mates. Anne Marie, for instance, suggests a "city where all children go to well-structured schools to learn". Rodrigo points out that "a city that is child friendly is one that gives quality education to children (poor or not poor)", whereas Fabio asserts that "education must be quality education in all schools". Fred highlights that in a child-friendly

city "children would still have to go to school, and learn, but on weekends we could go out safely because there would be no crime, no prejudice or poverty, no superior or inferior, no hunger and no greed. Education must be quality education in all schools". These ideas on a city grounded on the principle of equality may reflect not only children's views, but also influence from peers and from what children learn at school.

Figure 41. Nataly's drawing
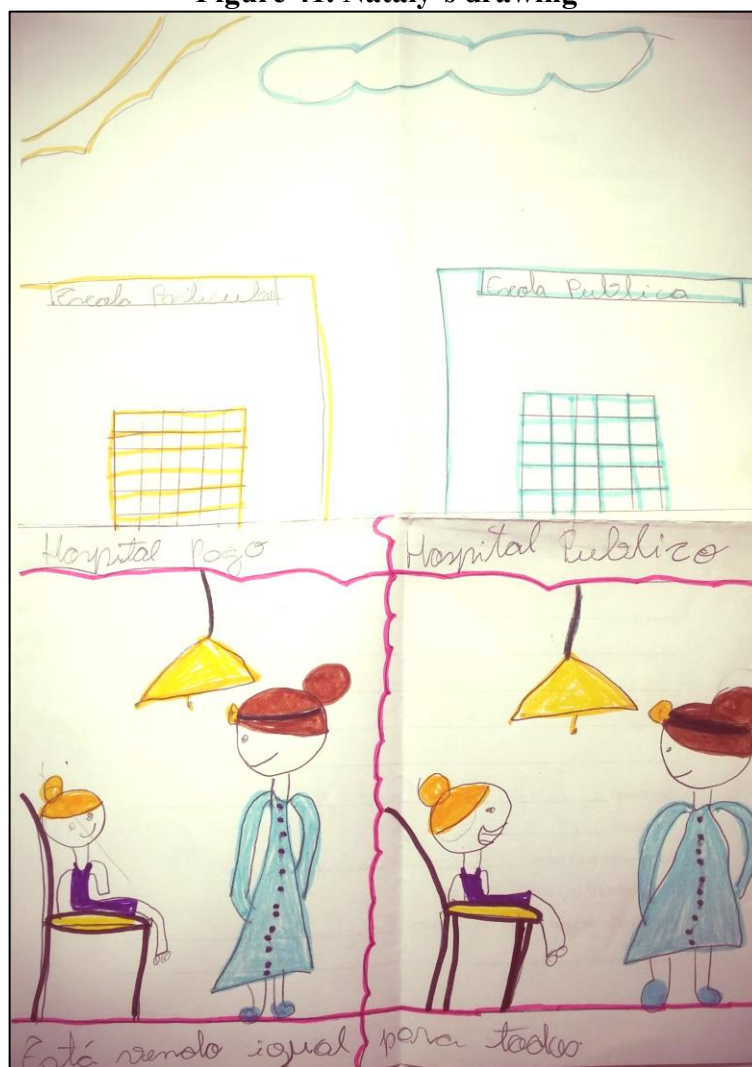
Source: Field research (2016)

Taking into account the kinds of knowledge children share among themselves and the diverse relationships they have with schooling suggests that, besides family education, institutional education plays a role in children's perspectives about environmental child-friendliness. In Cindi Katz' (2004) study in a Sudanese village, she focuses on children's environmental knowledge in the household, peer group, and school, the different kinds of knowledge associated with each setting, and the fluid relationship between abstraction, knowledge and practice in children's daily lives. She indicates that there can be problems but also possibilities related to the kinds of knowledge the children acquire across settings (p. 110).

In their school in the Madalena borough, young student's lessons, and formal *curricula*, are complemented by their participation in social projects with a low-income community located near the school. More than a hundred children and adolescents from the community participate weekly in sports and pedagogical activities mediated by groups of students, *alumni* and volunteer teachers. Although I cannot know if Nataly, Anne Marie, Rodrigo, Fabio, Fred, or their siblings, are engaged in these projects, it is plausible to point out that their school's environment and pedagogic work can influence their perspectives on what a city friendly to children should be like.

In that sense, the centrality of school in children's lives can impact their relationship with the urban environment. Andrew's letter elucidates this understanding as he writes to the Mayor: "I think a city that is child-friendly is that city that still shows what the child learned in school, how not to litter the street, something people start to do when they get older". Carlos' view of a child-friendly city also conveys with that idea, as he wants "[a] better city with no pollution, a more educated city". The bonds between schooling, urban space and environmental child-friendliness deserve special concern.

Previously (Section 6.2), I presented a word cloud to illustrate children's perspectives on environmental child-friendliness through the frequency of words in their letters. If we indicate word frequency related to ECF dimensions considering a distinction between school environments accessed in this study, we are presented with contrasting settings (Figure 42).

Figure 42. Word clouds on ECF dimensions for Schools 1 (Jaqueira, public), 2 (Torre, private) and 3 (Madalena, private)
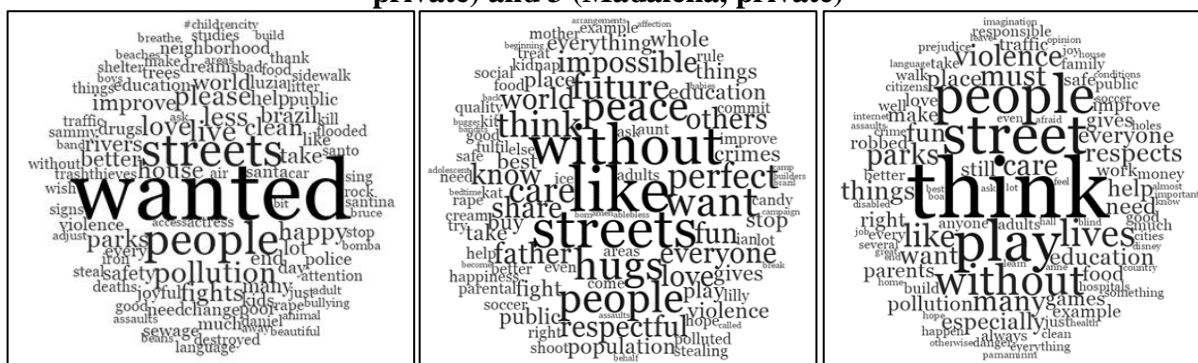
Source: the author (2018).

The first word cloud indicates that 'wants' are mentioned more frequently in children's letters from the public school, whereas the third word cloud alludes to an emphasis on children's opinions on what they think a child-friendly city should be like. Although I am cautious not to jump to conclusions regarding a narrow relationship between children's socio-economic conditions and their views on environmental child-friendliness, the importance of such conditions must be acknowledged, as they affect how children appropriate urban spaces. It is

still important, as suggested by Katz (2004), to account for possible differences between knowledge that is abstracted from practice and knowledge that is embedded in practice in children's daily lives.

As I read Vic's letter to the Mayor, a passage calls my attention as he shares that "[m]y parents always tell me one thing: 'studying is your only obligation, the other things you do because you want to'. I think this sentence is true because school is very important". Luiz goes on to suggest that the need to invest in children's education comprises "teaching languages so the child will not be limited to her country's language", an aspect that connects children to a globalized context. Indeed, several children legitimate the importance of school, many times referring to their future. Nevertheless, we can glimpse a plurality of childhoods. Whereas Jose, for instance, asks for "more public schools, more teachers in the classroom", and Maria for "quality school", I note that Vitor's claim is for improving the quality of studies and meals in schools. In public schools, children have their main meals (or *merenda*) and many families rely on the provision by the municipality of theses meals for their children.

Moreover, quality education is associated to the withdrawal of children from labor. Brazil had in 2016 at least 2.7 million children and adolescents (between 5 and 17 y) in activities prohibited by law[25] (PNAD, 2015). Vitor asks in his letter "to take children out of adult-work", Ana desires the "end of child labor" and Rodrigo, whose father owns a grocery store, depicts a child-friendly city as a "city that does not allow children to work". Work opportunities for young people who have a role to play in local economies are not pursued as a desirable dimension inasmuch as heavier economic activities, and for long periods, at a young age are associated to the decline of school performance, school dropout and possible harms to children's health. João's letter highlights this perceived opposition between children who study and who work as he writes an S.O.S. to all citizens in the world and exclaims: "Education! While you study, thousands of children work to earn a living and still have no hope of a good future for them". In Brazil, 72.3% of the young people (5 to 17 y) who are engaged in economic activities also work in production for their own consumption, take care of people and/ or are engaged in household chores[26] (PNAD, 2016).

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[25] Brazil's Federal Constitution (1988) allows work from the age of 16y, except in cases of night work, and dangerous or unhealthy work, in which the minimum age is 18y. Child labor in Brazil is considered that which is performed by children below the of 16, although the Constitution admits the work from the age of 14 in the status of apprentice.

[26] Approximately 20.1 million young people in Brazil dedicate an average of 8.4 hours a week to household chores and taking care of relatives (PNAD, 2016).

Among poor children, begging is a common activity they perform and relates to family's needs for sustenance in big cities. A passage from Sara's letter, where we read "I want a city where I don't see children begging", speaks to Brazil's Federal Constitution, article 227, that refers to the duty of the family, society and State to ensure the child and adolescent with absolute priority the right to life, health, food, education, leisure, professionalization, culture, dignity, respect, freedom and family and community coexistence, besides safeguarding them from all forms of neglect, discrimination, exploitation, violence, cruelty and oppression.

Children's ideas on ECF dimensions that include basic services, resource provision and poverty reduction encompass a wide range of gaps in policy, and function in their letters not only as wants, but also as complaints. Sewage treatment is a concern for Kelly, Eduarda and Lucas, all of whom live in low-income neighborhoods. Accessibility is addressed by Rosie and James. Whereas Rosie understands that "City Hall of Recife could cover the holes, leave the sidewalks passable, build more schools, hospitals and ramps for the disabled", James complains that there is no proper infrastructure for people with special needs.

Besides complaints, we also encounter hope. Joshua, who lives in Águas Compridas, a low-income borough in Recife, notes that "there are many people without a home, but someday those people who don't have a house will have their own house".

A plurality of childhoods is highlighted in children's letters and their ideas on a child-friendly environment seem to traverse strict categorizations, rather they convey to a common opposition to inequality.

6.5 Taking Care of the City

A relevant perspective on urban citizenship, one that avoids reducing it to a legal status, refers to Lefebvre's (1996) emphasis on *inhabitance*, that is, it is those who inhabit the city who can claim the right to the city. Rosie presents this idea in a clear-cut way, as she writes to City Hall: "I think we should all take care of the city, because it's where we live. I think Recife's City Hall could repair the holes, make the sidewalks passable, build more schools, hospitals and ramps for the disabled and I think we could leave the city a better place, because the city is our responsibility". Rosie brings local governance into the matter of what kind of city she wants, although without detailing whether she considers if City Hall takes into account her opinions.

Albeit environmental child-friendliness and its dimensions are partially based on notions of human rights and democracy, the implementation of which is linked to good governance, the normativeness of the ECF concept derives from discourses concerning citizenship and participation. In that sense, a child-friendly environment would stimulate

children to become active citizens involved in the construction of good environments, which in turn would potentialize the increase of quality of life (HORELLI, 2007, p. 270).

Thus, approaching the notion of environmental child-friendliness suggests we look into children's ideas on who they understand is 'responsible for the city', as well as how they portray agency in their ideas on urban space.

As children address their letters to 'whom they think is responsible for the city' (as requested in the letter-writing activity proposed), their ideas on authorities such as the Mayor, the Governor, the President, parents and other people shed some light on how duties and responsibilities are perceived in their environmental relationships and how children position themselves and others (Table 05). Most of their letters are addressed to the Mayor Geraldo Julio; some children would spell his name, while others would simply refer to him as 'Mayor'.

Table 05: Who's responsible for the city?

Addressee	Emphasis of the child's message	*f.*
The Mayor...	"This city can improve, and it's you, reading this, who can make this happen!" (Victoria)	33
Parent (Mother or Father)	"a CFC is a city that needs people like you (nice, polite, respectful and loving) (Vinny)	8
The President...	"... if you read this, I really hope you make it come true" (Guga);	7
The Government…	I want the government to put a sidewalk in *Apiaba* street in the Torre neighborhood and put the sewers in the street (Lucas).	8
The whole city...	"I think we could leave the city a better place because the city is our responsibility" (Rosie).	5
The whole world...	"We shouldn't blame anyone if we're not reviewing what we're doing to achieve this CFC. We should always help children in need. This is João sending an S.O.S. to the world" (João)	4
A friend...	"Carlos, (…) we have to fight for children's rights" (Marcos);	4
The School supervisor...	"you may not be perfect, but you have the power to promote a better future, where we can be what we want to be" (Nicole)	1
Other children...	"and all of this can only be done beginning with us!" (Fernando)	1
Others (locals, celebrities)	"I would love a city with clean rivers and without so much litter" (Ricardo).	6

Source: field research (2016).

I have stressed that the notion of child-friendly environments has been influenced by UNICEF and its Child-Friendly Cities Initiative (CFCI), which was launched in 1996 with its secretariat at UNICEF's Innocenti Research Center, in Italy. Boosted by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989) and its subsequent ratification by almost all nations[27], a rights-

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[27] Only two countries, Somalia and the United States, have not ratified the CRC. Somalia is currently unable to proceed to ratification as it has no recognized government. By signing the Convention, the United States has signaled its intention to ratify, but has not done so yet (UNICEF.ORG, 2018).

based approach to creating child-friendly cities gained ascendancy in global frameworks and strategies that suggest 'building blocks' towards the consolidation of child-friendly cities (CFC) worldwide, as outlined in Table 06.

Table 06: UNICEF's 'building blocks' for a CFC – structures and activities of government

Building blocks	Activities and structures
Children's participation	- Promoting children's active involvement in issues that affect them; listening to their views and taking them into consideration in decision-making processes
A child friendly legal framework	- Ensuring legislation, regulatory frameworks and procedures which consistently promote and protect the rights of all children
A city-wide Children's Rights Strategy	- Developing a detailed, comprehensive strategy or agenda for building a Child Friendly City, based on the Convention
A Children's Rights Unit	- Developing permanent structures in local government to ensure priority consideration of children's perspective
Child impact assessment and evaluation	- Ensuring that there is a systematic process to assess the impact of law, policy and practice on children – in advance, during and after implementation
A children's budget	- Ensuring adequate resource commitment and budget analysis for children
A regular State of the City's Children Report	ensuring sufficient monitoring and data collection on the state of children and their rights
Making children's rights known	- Ensuring awareness of children's rights among adults and children
Independent advocacy for children	- Supporting non-governmental organizations and developing independent human rights institutions – children's *ombudspeople* or commissioners for children – to promote children's rights

Source: UNICEF (2004, p. 4).

In addition to those indicators and building blocks, UNICEF describes yet features of a child-friendly city considering children's rights in this 'ideal' urban environment (Table 07). I will take into account, throughout this section, some of these aspects.

Table 07: UNICEF's conception of child-friendly cities

Children's rights in a CFC	Characteristics of a child- friendly city
Influence decisions about their city	- Good access for all children to affordable, quality basic health services, clean water, adequate sanitation and solid waste removal;
Express their opinion on the city they want	- Local authorities to ensure that policies, resources allocations and governance actions are made in a manner that is in the best interests of the children and their constituencies;
Participate in family, community and social life	- Safe environments and conditions that nurture the development of children of all ages with opportunities for recreation, learning, social interaction, psychological development and cultural expression;
Receive basic services such as health care and education	
Drink safe water and have access to proper sanitation	- A sustainable future under equitable social and economic conditions, and protection from the effects of environmental hazards and natural disasters;
Be protected from exploitation, violence and abuse	- That children have the right to participate in making decisions that affect their lives and are offered opportunities to express their opinions;
Walk safely in the streets on their own	
Meet friends and play	
Have green spaces for plants and animals	- That special attention is given to disadvantaged children, such as those who are living or working on the streets, sexually exploited, living with disabilities or without adequate family support;
Live in an unpolluted environment	
Participate in cultural and social events;	- Non-discrimination based on gender, ethnic background or social or economic status.
Be an equal citizen of their city with access to every service, regardless of ethnicity, religion, income, gender, disability	

Source: UNICEF (2004).

I have discussed elsewhere (Section 3.2) how children's rights discourse resonates ideas about human rights, and how Brazil's ECA (*Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente*) advanced, following the CRC, the construction of the child as a subject of rights. Nevertheless, a 'child friendly legal framework' and a legitimate endeavor towards making children's rights known have not implied here the promotion of children's active involvement in issues that affect them in urban life. Although efforts can be identified throughout our history, including children's involvement in participatory budgeting or planning revision processes, they have been sparse and have not represented an impact on political culture.

That said, children's letters approach agency from a different perspective than, for instance, UNICEF's elements on structures and activities of government towards child-friendly cities. Also, if I consider Horelli's ECF dimension of Participation, I observe that no child refers directly to formal opportunities for participating in planning or development in the ways outlined by such global frameworks. Rather, Sophie and Pedro, for instance, emphasize that a child-friendly city "should be a city that respects children in all aspects: opinion, the situation she's in, choices, etc." (Sophie, 11), "that respects our opinions and everything" (Pedro, 11).

Children's rights, or yet a broad notion of rights, are highlighted. Marcus remarks in his letter to his classmate, Ian, that "we have to fight for children's rights, they even created an organization called ECA (Child and Adolescent Institute)". Besides the importance "that all have the right to good health", as observed by Nataly, Sophie understands a child-friendly city to be one that "respects children and adolescents' rights", whereas Eduardo portrays "a city where everyone is aware of what is right and what is wrong (…) A city where we could live 'well' and with the same rights".

Agency is not pointed out as something merely autonomous. Parents, friends, themselves and other adults and institutions are implicated in their concerns about urban life. Furthermore, it seems that common forms of activism, urban planning or policy making do not cover these children's political sphere; rather, their notion of agency tends to be drawn closer to their daily lives and social relations. Julie's letter to her Grandma drives our attention towards the need to avoid reducing agency to 'adult-created opportunities' (MILLEI, 2014). Julie also speaks to a common priority given to urban space's exchange value in detriment of its use value, the *leit-motif* for a need to reclaim the right to the city (DIKEÇ, 2001).

> Dear Grandma,
> I don't think anyone owns the city (even though most people think that way) and if everyone could see what I see, it would help! The city is not something for someone to own, you know, Grandma? It is something to take care of, and (while) being cared for, the city would be my friend and everyone's (friend) too. Julie.

Beyond 'adult-ish' forms of civic activism, *care* as an agentic dimension of environmental child-friendliness and urban life is highlighted. Care functions in a relational perspective, one that Joanne illustrates well in her letter to her mother: "I know you take good care of the city, so I write to you. To me, a child-friendly city is a clean, pleasant city with good examples, because we are [the children] the future of this world and as one of those builders of the future, I only ask you to continue this way and to stimulate others to be like that too!".

Rita highlights the dimension of care as one that conceptualizes a child-friendly city, "a city that is child-friendly, to me it is the child's caring attitude towards the city!". I will re-approach her letter further in this chapter. Pedro imagines "It would be really cool, because the city would help us not to do wrong things, such as discriminating people etc.".

Albeit participatory structures are not provided by City Hall, formal engagement in decision making is not a request these children present in their letters. So how to discuss good governance as an ECF dimension? I consider João's letter for insights inasmuch as he interrogates us, and all other citizens, on this seemingly utopic idea of a 'child-friendly city'.

> From João, to all citizens of the world,
> Subject: an S.O.S. to the world
> Child friendly city
> I don't know if that would be possible! How could so much chaos in a simple city be controlled? To begin with, danger. Every time your parents put the car in the street they always have to say, "let's go, hurry" or "fast", scared at the mere possibility of being assaulted.
> Education! As you study, thousands of children work to earn a living and still have no hope of a good future for them.
> Dwelling and family! If it rains, and you have a home, be thankful for hearing raindrops hitting the floor. And (what about) those children who have no home? They have to run to a dry place. And they can get wet, cold and worse yet without family.
> Food. Have you ever stopped to think that with every bite you have, millions of children go hungry, while you chew your lunch thousands of children starve.
> To have a "child-friendly" city is not possible with this still happening. We shouldn't blame anyone if we're not reviewing what we're doing to achieve this child-friendly city. We should always help children in need.
> This is João sending an S.O.S. to the world.

Agency comprises in João's letter a basic condition of possibility of a child-friendly city, and the notion of justice is drawn closer to children's daily lives rather than referred to a legal framework of children's rights. Children's local political realities do not quite fit that view that confers to them an autonomous or central role in decision making in the production of urban space. A right to appropriate space should then include their right, as inhabitants, to physically access, occupy, and fully use urban space, as well as produce this space so that it

meets their needs in daily life (PURCELL, 2002). In the following section I attempt to address a discussion on their space production considering in their letters 'streets' as an archetypical public space.

6.6 The Street as an Archetypical Space

Observations on Safety and Security are markedly high, and there are 76 passages in 46 letters referring to this dimension. Children portray an ideal urban environment in a multifaceted manner, but they seem to agree on one thing: it is 'safe'. Safety is depicted, for example, as Nataly writes of a city where "... people don't drive drunk and don't get out of control when their team loses (a soccer game)" or as David points out a city where "your parents can let you walk peacefully on the streets", or yet for Victoria somewhere "we can play without being afraid of being robbed, without getting runover, without traffic, being a calmer city".

As an ECF dimension, 'safety and security' comprises the guaranteeing of physical and psychological safety by the state and the municipalities and refers to child welfare and the prevention of violence, an environment which is tolerant and pluralistic, and safe transport systems and public places in general (HORELLI, 2007).

The ways in which safety is problematized nowadays constitutes a major aspect of governing processes. In this section, I focus on how children constitute safety as a 'problem'. Albeit word frequency is not my main concern in this analysis, it provides, nevertheless, a starting point as I consider the most frequently used words in children's letters related to the node 'Safety and Security' (Figure 43).

Figure 43. Word cloud for the node 'Safety and Security'

Source: the author (2018).

Whereas the most cited word in the letters is 'street' (or 'streets'), this encouraged me to inquire content a bit further. I can explore the use of a word by running a text search query in NVivo, and as a starting point I am interested in exploring how children use the word 'street'. By running a query on this (stemmed) word (*i.e.*, street or streets), I access the letters (documents) and passages (references) that refer to this space.

By generating a Word tree, which groups together the words that appear frequently before and after 'street', I am presented with several branches (Figure 44). We can view, for example, Lucas' claim for "the government to put a sidewalk in Apiaba Street" and Theo's remark on safety "so children could play in the street and not just stay on the computer…". The word tree seems to present us a notion that streets are not only for walking by, but also for play. I develop this idea throughout this chapter.

Figure 44. Word tree for 'Street' in all ECF dimensions
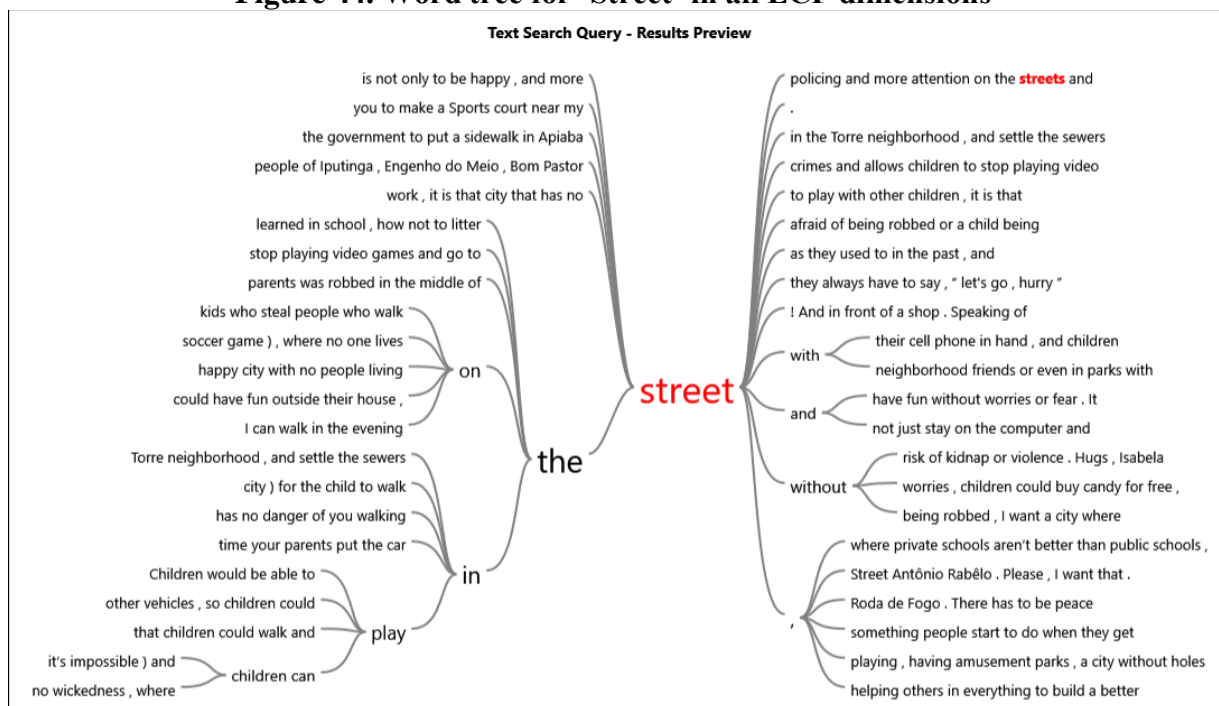
Source: the author (2018).

I can still explore in NVivo children's use of the word 'street' looking at how they associate streets to the concept of 'Safety and Security' (Figure 45). Thus, in those letters that refer to Safety and Security as a feature of a child-friendly city, children tend to portray streets as a dangerous or hostile place, but at the same time as a space they desire to use and appropriate. Ideas on different possibilities for using the street are proposed in a direction towards a child-friendly environment, albeit there are negative aspects that in children's evaluations generate constraints.

Figure 45. Word tree for 'Street' in the node 'Safety and Security'

Text Search Query - Results Preview

only to be happy , and more
is that city that has no
Iputinga , Engenho do Meio , Bom Pastor
video games and go to
robbed in the middle of
walk in the evening
steal people who walk — on
fun outside their house ,
the child to walk
danger of you walking
parents put the car
could walk and
be able to
so children could — play
where
and — children can

the

in

street

as they used to in the
afraid of being robbed or a
policing and more attention on the
crimes and allows children to stop
to play with other children , it
they always have to say , " let's
! And in front of a shop .

, — playing , having amusement parks , a city
Roda de Fogo . There has to

with — their cell phone in hand ,
neighborhood friends or even in

and — have fun without worries or
not just stay on the

without — being robbed , I want a
worries , children could buy candy
risk of kidnap or violence .

Source: the author (2018).

'Being safe' comes to construct ideas about streets and public space. João's letter to all citizens of the world, previously cited (Section 6.5), begins by pointing out 'danger': "Every time your parents put the car in the street, they always have to say "Let's go, hurry" or "Fast", scared of the mere possibility of being assaulted". This passage of João's letter speaks to parents' fears and perceptions of public space as being hostile or dangerous. In 2016, 62.000 homicides were registered in Brazil, 71% of which were caused by firearms, and about 50.000 rapes. In recent years, criminal factions proliferated, and formerly quiet regions became a frequent site of violence displayed by the media; between 2000 and 2016, for example, the homicide rate in the North and Northeast of the country doubled, while in the Southeast it decreased. This undermined people's feelings of safety. In September 2018, safety was already pointed out by 20% of respondents of a *Datafolha* survey as the biggest problem in the country. It ranked first, alongside with health (BBC, 2018).

Children's construction of 'safety' as a problem is affected by parents' feelings towards public space, shaping the ways in which children inhabit their neighborhood or city. Besides, children's desire for walking or playing in the streets can be influenced by their parent's childhood and a sense of nostalgia. Rosie, for instance, remarks that "a city that is child-friendly should be calm, with no pollution, joyful, non-violent, and that children could walk and play in the street as they used to in the past", sending us to a time-space of a reduced vehicle fleet in

cities[28]. In that sense, effects of a safety discourse are often linked to children's mobility practices. Besides pointing out, in several letters – such as Eduardo, Victoria, Rosie and Gabriel's - problems related to traffic, bus fares, inadequate sidewalks, low accessibility or risk of accidents, the idea of safety can also be linked to children's own experiences, as described by Anne in her letter to the Mayor:

> Dear Geraldo Julio,
> A city that is child-friendly must be safe! Recife has safety, but we need more, especially in traffic and in public places. Almost a month ago a friend of my parents was robbed in the middle of the street! And in front of a shop. Speaking of traffic, I was almost mugged because it was at a crossroads and there wasn't a police-man, and this happens frequently. Anne

Anne speaks to a recognition of the need for safety in traffic and public spaces, but she also describes experiences and illustrates, on the verse of her letter, two situations and outcomes (Figure 46). In the first situation (upper image 1) we see two vehicles - adult and child both wear their seatbelts. There seems to be someone guiding the drivers, possibility enabling (lower image 1) a child and someone who seems to be her mother holding hands to cross the road; the Police is there, and someone seems moody.

Figure 46. Anne's drawing
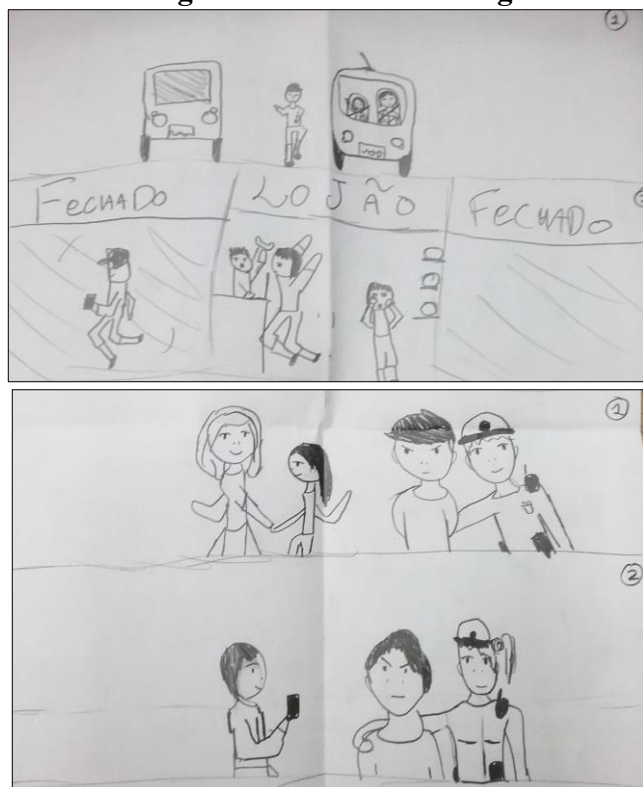
Source: field research (2016).

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[28] The study *Cenário Econômico 2050* shows that the Brazilian vehicle fleet, that increased from 29 million to 64.817 million of vehicles registered in 2010 (an expansion of 119%) can triple by 2050, that is, to almost 130 million vehicles.

In a second situation (upper image 2), we see a thief running away with someone's wallet. I imagine, from Anne's letter, that she drew her parent's friend in front of the shop; there is a child that witnesses this scene and seems scared as she raises both hands to her face. In the last image below (lower image 2), it looks like the thief is escorted by a policewoman and someone recovered the stolen wallet. This is a very brief description of what I see in Anne's illustrations. I will never know the ways or intensity with which these experiences affected Anne's feelings of safety. Nevertheless, I cannot ignore that this is what she chose to share in her letter.

Laurie's letter also speaks to people's feelings of fear in the city. She is attentive to this issue, and the affective push she associates to children is permeated by a sensitive understanding of a need for change. Love ("a lot of" it) is for Laurie necessary for a city's sustenance, as she writes to the Mayor:

> Dear Geraldo Júlio,
> A child-friendly city has to be special because the child is special, it has to be a city of peace, love, joy, fun, with no violence, conflict or robbery. Sometimes, I stop and think how such a beautiful city can have so much violence. There are people who don't even leave their house, afraid. And the city needs a lot of love, because otherwise it will end in a while. Laurie.

Laurie exposes violence as a critical constraint and fear as something that can obstruct urban life, that is, the right to be part of the city, to be present (MITCHELL; HEYNEN, 2009). But what do children mean by 'violence'? I go back again to an overall look at children's letters and observe that their notion of violence is related to assaults, fights, kidnaps, drugs, rape, bandits or thieves, adults beating up children, crimes, prejudice, bullying, child-abuse, rage, conflict, murder, bad language (Figure 47).

Figure 47. Word tree for the word 'Violence' in all ECF dimensions
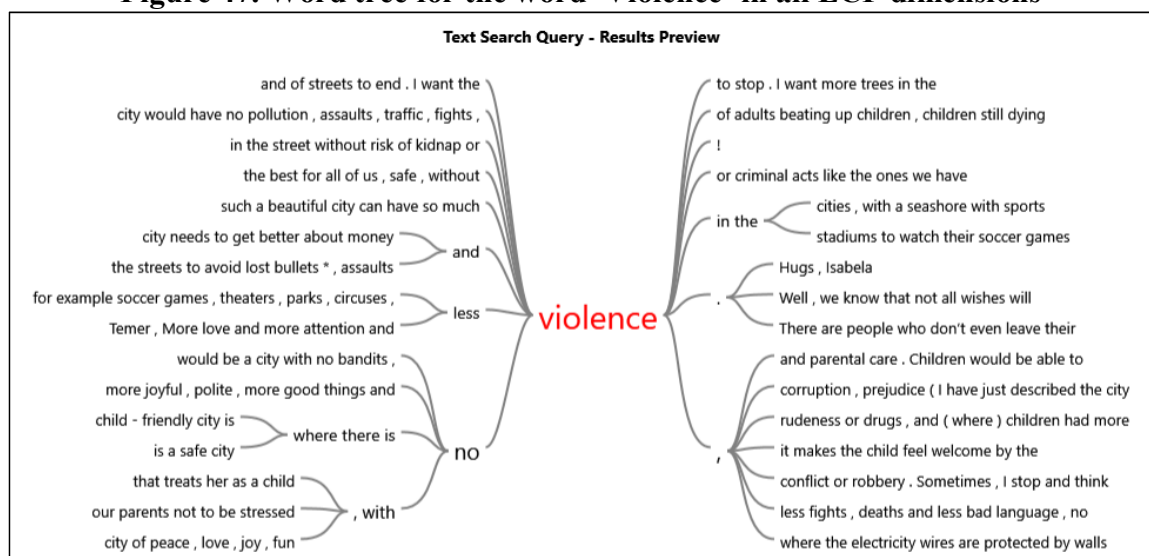
Source: the author (2018).

An understanding that children are not shielded from the city's problems or by adults' best intentions of protection is reinforced as we immerse ourselves in their letters, such as Elis', whose clear-sighted vision of a 'perfect' city depicted to former President Dilma Roussef, contests in a somewhat striking way a social construction of childhood as a mere synonym of innocence. She writes:

> Dear Dilma,
> To me a "perfect" city is a little impossible, but they say nothing is impossible, so I will say a perfect city would have an honest population, that does not commit many crimes like robbery, murder, kidnapping or rape. I can be judged because I am a child and I wrote 'rape', but I know it happens, it's reality. No one can hide it from me; but back to the subject, to me a perfect city is not like others think. It's not an ice-cream city, but a city that does not commit crimes. But this is impossible since social inequality is very strong in Brazil. Concluding, I want a city without crimes. Elis.

As well as Elis, Kai 'knows' that "there are people that rape children who want to study" and, although recognizing constraints, they appeal for change, maybe because – as Elis puts it - 'they say nothing is impossible'. As Gabriel portrays "that city that poses no danger of you walking in the street afraid of being robbed or a child being runover", and admits: "cities like these are hard to find". His classmate Tony confesses: "a friendly city, I think I've never seen one. All I see are thieves robbing, people hurting each other and thinking that the city is a garbage dump". At the same time, however, he admits "But I always thought of a friendly city, without corruption and nothing I portrayed".

Although I cannot know exactly how children's ideas on violence relate to their personal experiences, it is plausible to highlight that the discourse of fear compounded by the media can affect the increase of domestic responses to the perceived fears around us (KATZ, 2006, p. 18). Sara refers to the this as she says to the Mayor that "[w]hat I most see in the News are deaths and more deaths. Soon the city of Recife will have very few inhabitants".

Besides exposure to media, we can expand the idea of safety to consider how the internalization of a discourse of safety can be linked to other relations of power. Disciplined mobility, for instance, may function as a specific machine of power (PACKER, 2003). More police in the streets, traffic patrol guards, more traffic signs are requests, from Andrea and Jose who both live in lower income neighborhoods – and Jose goes on to demand more *Detran* headquarters (*i.e.*, our State apparatus for traffic surveillance) -, that suggest that, although discipline cannot be reduced to panopticism, nevertheless panopticons are an important element of disciplined mobility, and are linked to the discourse of safety in public space. Furthermore, children tend to emphasize 'walking' within urban mobility practices, in detriment of motorized

transport. Albeit children mention the importance of improving quality in public health and education, they make no remarks on public transport (except for Eduarda's plea for the authorities to pay attention to the bus fare). This may relate to a shift of emphasis from public to private transport in big cities, but may tell us something about how children (wish to) inhabit their neighborhoods and city and foresee changes in those living spaces.

The possibility of "a city where your parents can let you walk peacefully on the streets", as David explains, is associated to the idea of safety in a city "where there is no violence or criminal acts like the ones we have so much". Fabio, too, acknowledges in his 6-item list of requirements for a child-friendly city the need "1st, to have a low crime rate for children to play safe (…) 3rd, the city must make several searches for people who abuse or treat children badly, so that no child is sad". Several children can associate the dimension of safety and security to the broader presence of CCTV cameras and police cars in neighborhoods, such as Kevin, more policemen in the streets, such as Ana, Andrea, Jose, Kevin and Anne, or even more prisons, as pointed out by Patricia. David's drawing illustrates this emphasis (Figure 48).

Figure 48. David's drawing: Policeman shouts 'Freeze!'
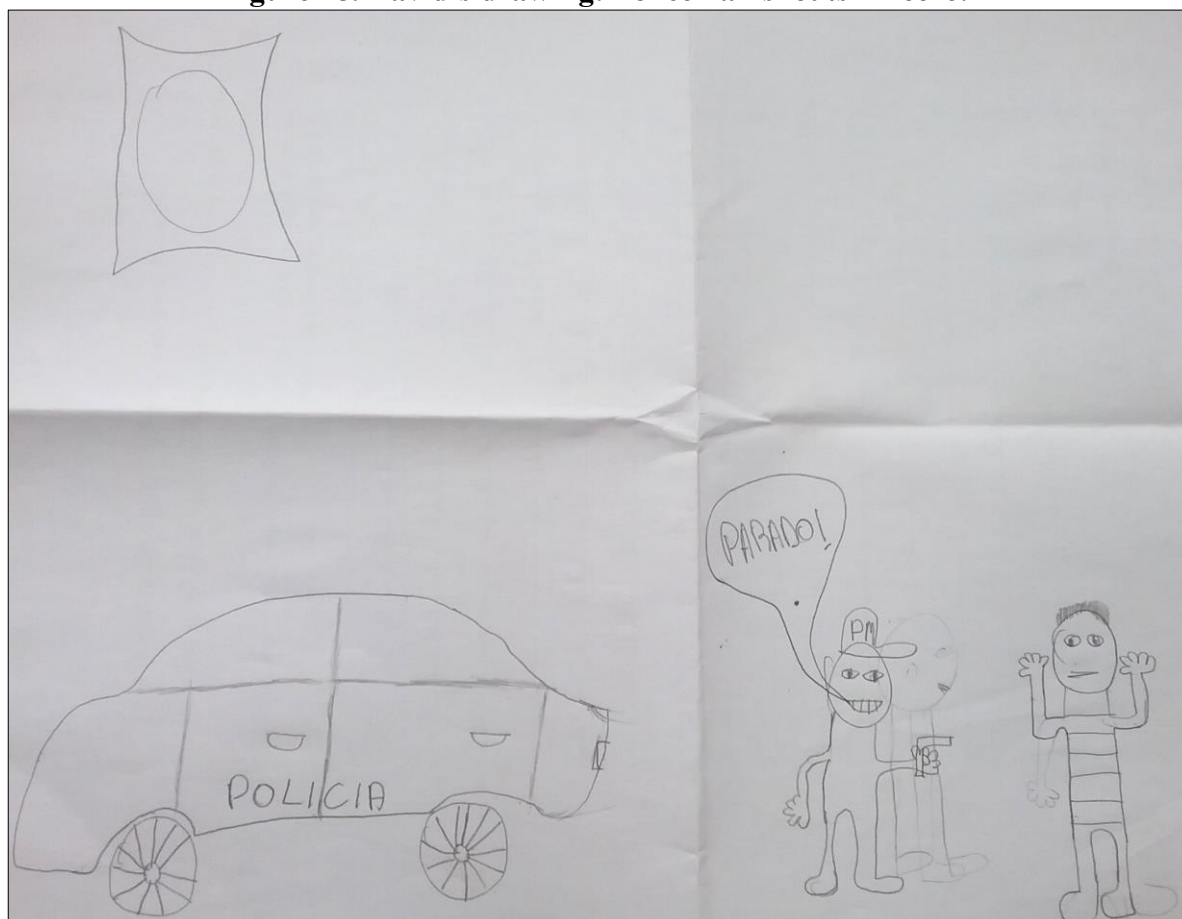
Source: field research (2016).

Although relevant, the provision of physical and psychological safety is not reduced to an increase in police action or repression by the state and municipalities. Safety and security, as a normative dimension of environmental child-friendliness, also comprises a space which is tolerant and pluralistic, and children legitimate the importance of associating a "safe place to have fun", as Maria puts it, to the affective scopes of respect, solidarity, love, peace, compassion, harmony, hope, attention, joy, sharing, friendship and care.

I will approach, in a future section, this affective push; meanwhile I highlight the dimension of care associated to tolerance and no prejudice in the direction of the provision of safety children require in a city. Fefa and Isabela's letters present us with resounding definitions of such a space.

> Dear Geraldo Julio,
> The city that is a child's friend is the city that cares for her, gives affection, love, good education, food, the city that treats her as a child, with no violence, it makes the child feel welcome by the city's population, to me a city that is a child's friend is the city that has respect for any child.
> Fefa

> Dear Mom,
> How is a child-friendly city like? I think that a children's city is one that is cared for with the greatest affection (being prevented from rubbish scattered throughout the streets ...) and that its inhabitants independent of sexual orientation, race or social class, do not suffer prejudice (being verbally and/or physically harassed). An ideal city is where adults don't fight, and everyone loves each other (I know it's impossible) and children can play in the street without risk of kidnap or violence.
> Isabela

An emphasis on tolerance in social relations is presented as a means for safety in urban space, and connects to children's wants for "the violence to stop (…) (for) more compassion, solidarity, peace and love" (Kelly), for "the city to be friendly and respected, and with no fights" (Daniel), and for "there to be more love" and "the fighting in the city of Recife to stop" (Paula). Besides an emphasis on streets and on outdoor play, the experience of public space highlighted by children is one in the direction of harmonic co-existence and respect for the common good.

Whereas the street can be outlined as an archetypical public space in children's letters, I consider worthwhile to pull together their discussions on 'streets' to further investigate what they are writing about that space. Are they using positive-negative perspectives? Or associating it to particular experiences, or yet presenting suggestions for change? By creating a node ('Street') to gather all remarks related to 'street/s', I tried to avoid that NVivo would merely 'count' the word 'street' as it appears in the letters (thus I widen the context linked to 'street' and re-run the query).

In Figure 49 I present the word cloud for the node 'Street', it allows me to identify that children tend to refer to streets by highlighting the notion of 'play', that is, they avoid reducing the use of streets to the idea of walking or as just a space for cars.

Figure 49. Word cloud for the node 'Street'

Source: the author (2018).

In the context of a safety discourse, however, and its' links to parental fears, media exposure, crime rates, risks and traffic danger, the idea of playing outdoor seems problematic and enhances children's need for negotiating their use of public space. I approach this discussion in the next section.

6.7 Enhancing Children's Presence in Public Space

What are children talking about when they refer to the idea of 'play'? I turn again to NVivo to begin to explore their ideas and begin by looking into how they refer to 'play' in their letters (Figure 50). Albeit the centrality of 'play' in children's remarks is assertive, if this discussion should aim to connect play with environmental child-friendliness, I should approach children's local environment to consider, as pointed out by Horelli (2007), in what ways they deem it provides (or can provide) interesting opportunities and arenas for activities.

Figure 50. Word tree for the word Play in ECF dimensions
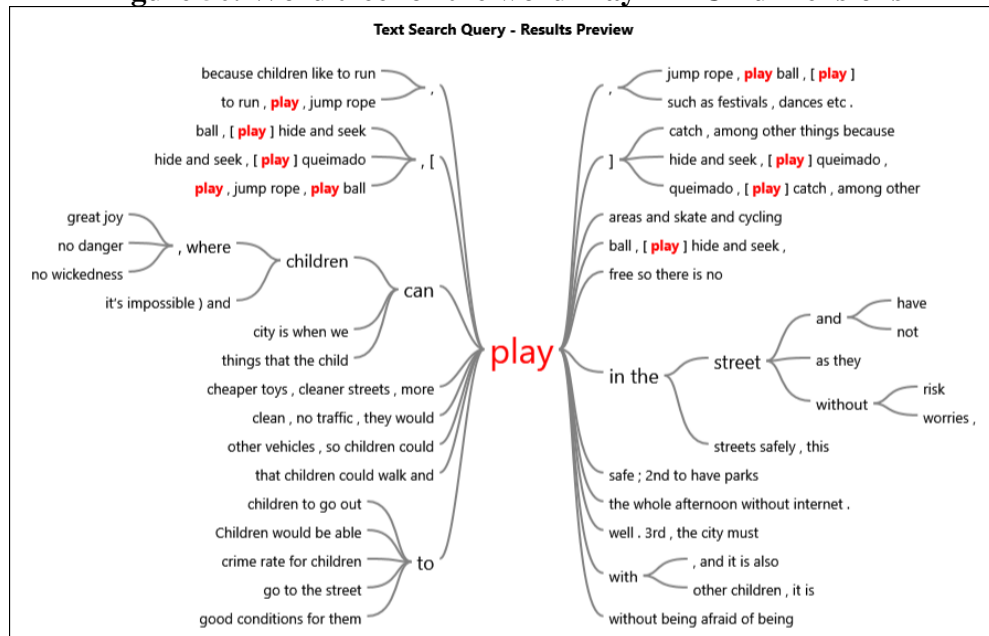
Source: the author (2018).

However, if I consider, for instance, the Torre and Madalena boroughs, where most of our young senders live, "public spaces meant for children", as Maria puts it, tend to be restricted to very small public squares and some areas by the Capibaribe River bank. Policy for leisure and play in the city is incipient, and the Jaqueira Park, famous leisure area on the opposite side of the river, and second biggest park in Recife, is hardly accessible for the other children on a daily basis. When I run a text query in NVivo to identify word frequency related to the concept of Urban and environmental qualities, children's requests for 'parks' are highlighted and contribute to expose gaps in current urban space (Figure 51).

Figure 51. Word cloud for Urban and environmental qualities

Source: the author (2018).

I go back to Fabio's 6-item list of requirements for a child-friendly city, and identify his 2nd rule: "to have parks and public squares in good conditions for them [children] to play well", whereas his 4th rule poses "movements for the children to go out to play, such as festivals, dances etc.". The dimension 'Urban and environmental qualities' applies to children's ideas in a connection with safety *and* relationality. In fact, safety is Fabio's 1st requirement, and in his list he claims a 5th rule that "people should be kind to children and not hurt their innocence or naivety". Advancing on such connections, Marina's ideas are remarkably pertinent; as she explains to the Mayor that:

> A child-friendly city is the one where there's no wickedness, where children can play in the street and have fun without worries or fear. It is one that has many parks; toys; ice-cream shops; movie theaters; soccer fields; volleyball; basketball; bicycles, snack bars, bookstores and many friends. It's the one where there's a popsicle stall at every corner. And most importantly, it is the one where our parents don't get stressed about work and have fun.

This enjoyable multiplicity of activities and opportunities for urban pleasure and fun connects with safety. Furthermore, Marina is not the only child to refer to a place where children "can" play in the street. It seems subtle, but this is worthy of attention inasmuch as it leads to how children need to negotiate their use of outdoor space within the boundaries of what adults consider acceptable. Not only can adults' perceptions and feelings towards public space influence children's ideas but also shape the ways they appropriate public space.

Oswell (2013) questions if we ought to consider preschool children's play in a sandpit of a playground as a 'childhood space' simply because it is 'intended' for children. Do children reduce their agency to specific forms of spatial segregation of play? I turn to Rita's letter for insights. She portrays a child-friendly city as "the child's caring attitude towards the city". Rita translates this attitude by spatial practices that include: "she [the child] does not throw rubbish in the streets, she respects the city's historical heritage, plays in the right place, throws trash in the right place and encourages others to do the same".

Rita extends that attitude to everyone; indeed, she spells out "It can be anyone - aunt, friend, teacher, father, mother, anyone. From that moment on, they become friends, the city as a child's friend and the child as the city's friend" and presents, in her letter to city dwellers, four pictures (Figures 52, 53, 54 and 55).

In the first image, an adult-figure (I infer this from her second image) happily throwing out rubbish in a trash can. On the second image we see the same person saying to the child "We can't play there, let's play somewhere else". On the bottom right of that image we see pretty flowers and a sign that reads 'Please do not enter'.

Figure 52. Rita's first picture
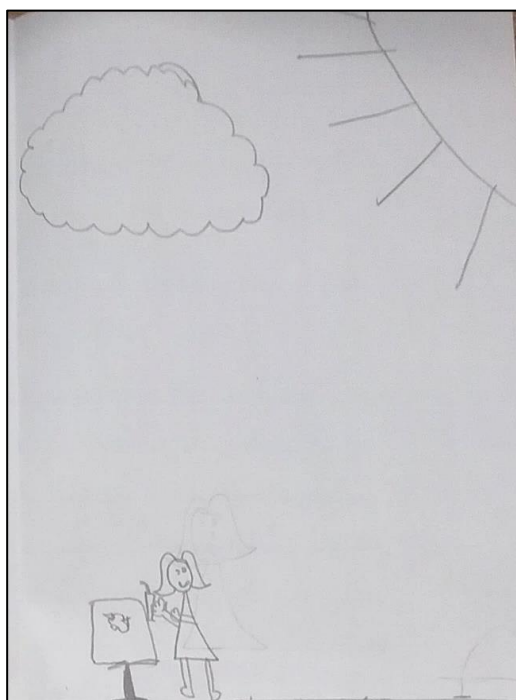
Source: field research (2016)

Figure 53. Rita's second picture
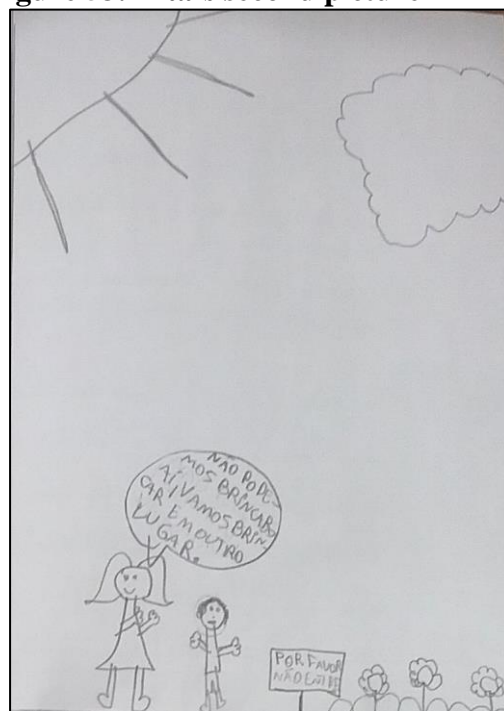
Source: field research (2016)

Figure 54. Rita's third picture
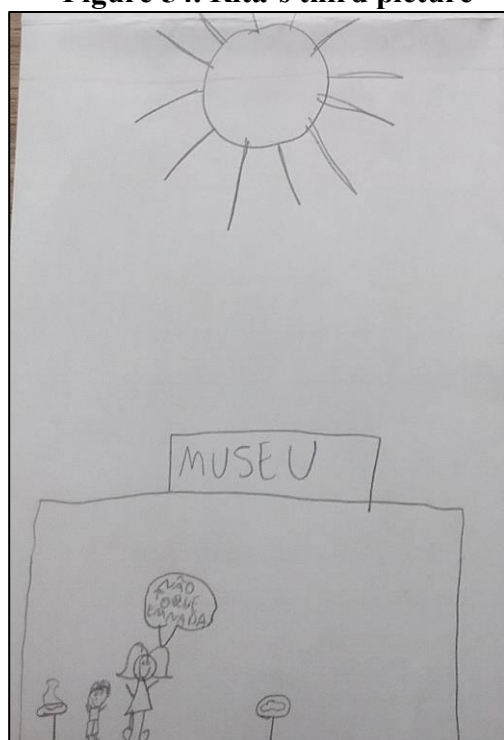
Source: field research (2016)

Figure 55. Rita's fourth picture
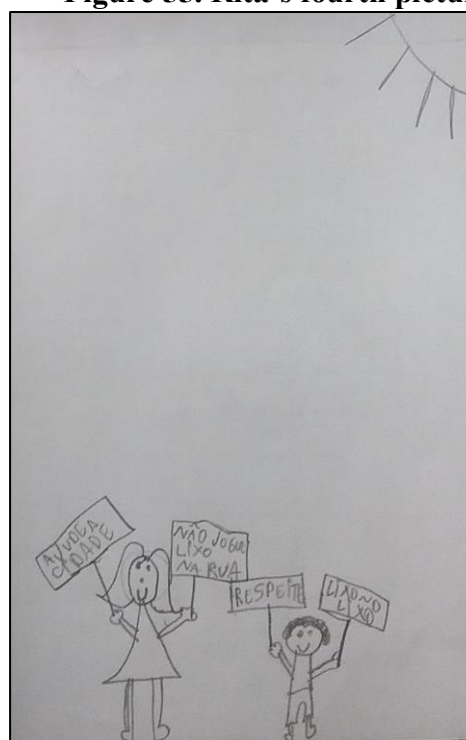
Source: field research (2016)

Rita's third drawing is in a Museum. An adult says to a child: "Don't touch anything" and in the last picture adult and child raise two signs each where we read 'Help the city', 'Don't litter the street', 'Respect', and 'Rubbish in the trash can'. This depiction of children's space

production in its mediation with adults, although related to opportunities for learning, nevertheless does not lead us to refer to 'parks' or 'museums' or yet other spaces as 'adult spaces' *or* 'children spaces'. Rather, as Oswell (2013) recalls, children and adults make space through entangled social relations that characterize children in public space.

Furthermore, Ana, Theo and Amanda associate technology with urban and environmental qualities, contributing to the recognition of non-human dynamics related to children's space production. Whereas Ana requests, in her depiction of a child-friendly city, Internet just like Japan's, unlimited Wi-Fi and lower prices in PC games, Theo presents safety as a condition for outdoor play - no "burglars, rapists, or cars and other vehicles" – "so children could play in the street and not just stay on the computer and cell-phone". He goes on to acknowledge that "there should be more green areas for leisure, no pollution so that no one dies of diseases, and every person that has a dog should clean after their dogs" (Theo). Amanda (Figure 56), on the other hand, recognizes how technology is interlocked in contemporary childhood and reflects on this, in her letter to all citizens of Recife:

> A city that is friendly to children? It would be easier to ask my grandparents. They always told me that in the old days the city was clean, no traffic, they would play the whole afternoon without Internet.
> Today I can't imagine my life without Internet because from a young age technology enters our lives. But a child-friendly city is not the one with the best Wi-Fi or 3G; it is one where there is no social difference or prejudice, it does not have to be the same as in the movies, but we must try because above the government are the citizens who make the city a friend for everyone.

Figure 56. Amanda's drawing: 'Free Wi-Fi zone. No prejudice. Respect and enjoy'

Source: field research (2016).

Amanda goes on to illustrate her ideas of this child-friendly environment as one that incorporates technology, albeit without neglecting social ties. In her drawing, besides the manifestations of social interaction and affect, we observe four signs, that read: 'Free WiFi', 'Life', 'No prejudice', 'Respect and enjoy' (Figure 56).

I turn to children's perspectives for positive and negative indicators they relate to urban environment[29]. That affective push, mentioned previously, reappears in their emphasis on love as an indicator of a child-friendly environment, be it parks or streets (Figure 57).

Figure 57. Positive indicators

Source: the author (2018).

Negative indicators (Figure 58) may obstruct forms of living and practicing the city. James, for instance, refers to children with special needs and reports an insufficiency of the city's current infrastructure for meeting their needs.

Figure 58. Negative indicators

Source: the author (2018).

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[29] Driskell (2002) under the GUIC pointed out positive indicators in a child-friendly environment, including: social integration, variety of interesting arrangements, security and freedom of movement, places for meetings with peers, cohesive community identity, and green areas. Negative indicators included: stigma and social exclusion, boredom, fear of abuse and crime, ethnic or racial tension, heavy traffic, uncollected garbage, lack of basic services, and sense of helplessness (FREEMAN, 2006).

The centrality of agency regarding the urban environment is recognized, and whereas Gabriel notes that "a friendly city is that city where you go in a park and the toys aren't broken", Tatiana summons us to realize that "It is not only our President's fault that our streets are dirty, it is ours too because if each one would do their share, that is to not litter, to not break public things, there wouldn't be so much pollution".

Children are very clear about the relevance of protecting nature and seeking sustainable actions towards the environment. A child-friendly city, in their perspective, is clean and 'pollution' is emphasized as a main concern. Albeit school reinforces sustainable development as a priority in *curricula* and pedagogic actions, thus influencing children's ideas, local aspects are not ignored in their letters as they remark on Ecology as a normative dimension.

In that sense, the beach, the canals and the rivers are frequently cited inasmuch as they characterize Recife's landscape. For example, Kelly wants to "improve the canals because there is a lot of trash", Daniel wants "the beaches to change to take away the rubbish", Ricardo "would love a city with clean rivers and without so much litter" and Jose asks authorities to "take the litter out of the Capibaribe river and the Beberibe river". Activities appreciated by children are linked to a clean environment. Eduardo, for example, "really wanted it to be a city where all the kids really could have fun outside their house, on the street with neighborhood friends or even in parks with no pollution". Cities must consider, thus, higher access to nature.

Figure 59. Eduardo's football in the park

Source: field research (2016)

Joshua's letter invites us to redirect our attention, from local environment, to elsewhere, across borders. In his letter to his mother, Santina, he portrays: "a city that is child-friendly is

very beautiful, just like those countries. Forests are not being destroyed, rivers are clean and it's not dirty, but that's because of the car industry". What can Joshua's, as well as the other children's ideas and opinions tell us about Brazilian urban development? I endorse Nördstrom's (2009, p. 524) understanding that children's environmental evaluations can help us to learn not only about *their* environmental relationships, but also about our environmental situation and the development of our societies.

6.8 Playing Together and Negotiating Space

Children's play, as a transitional space (Section 3.5), enables the (re)shaping of reality as well as a reestablishment of meanings. Children's interaction with society is relevant inasmuch as it allows them to make use of diverse sources of knowledge and gives them a chance to try out ideas, role play and take part in social behavior. In that sense, play is not reduced to a mere notion of exercise or distraction (AITKEN; HERMAN, 1997).

Harvey (2008) reminds us yet that the question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from what kind of social ties we desire. Family, peers, and community in general must be acknowledged. I approached children's letters considering this environmental child-friendliness dimension, outlined by Horelli as one that comprises the opportunities for close social relationships with family, kin and friends.

Word frequency related to this concept illustrates emphasis on love, care, adults, wants and fights (Figure 60), aspects I aim to address throughout this section. Love, adults and care relates, in a first linkage, to ways of children portraying the importance of relationship with their parents. Looking into these relations invites us to reflect upon urban space and protection.

Figure 60. Word cloud for the node 'Family, kin, peers and community'

Source: the author (2018).

An important aspect of children's play in contemporary experience must be highlighted. Guilherme's ideas on a "just city", with better income distribution for the poorest, refer to safety - a place "where children can play in the streets safely" and he illustrates 'The child and parents playing!' (Figure 61).

Figure 61. Guilherme's drawing: The child and parents playing!

Source: field research (2016)

Besides children's daily mobility, play tends to be increasingly monitored by parents and guardians, notably the supervision of outdoor play (KARSTEN; VLIET, 2006) which can suggest a greater dependence of children on their parents' free time so they can play outside (KARSTEN, 2003), thus, a need for children to negotiate this space. Anthony refers to the importance of a city where "our parents don't get stressed".

Learning opportunities associated to social interaction and family relations are approached by Rodrigo. He describes a child-friendly city as one that "allows children to stop playing video games and go to the street to play with other children, it is that city that when the child does something wrong parents don't hit her, they should call the child and talk to her showing that what she did is wrong. This is what a child-friendly city is". The idea of seeking or following 'good examples' from parents and other adults' actions is well acknowledged in children's letters. Arthur, for example, considers that "children don't have the responsibility that adults have, it would be a happy city with no people living on the street, helping others in

everything to build a better city, and especially the example that children need because if adults do this, children will mimic and maybe improve".

Affect is basic in children's perspectives, and in a 'child-friendly' city "there are no children suffering from lack of food, water or especially lack of love from their family" (Anne Marie, 11). Vinny's letter to his mother Lucy is an remarkable portrait of the affective dimension involved with family ties and its potential interface with urban space.

> Dear Lucy,
> A child-friendly city is a city that needs people like you (nice, polite, respectful and loving). We need to launch the campaign "More Lucy in this city". So this can help our Recife to become a child-friendly city. Vinny.

Environmental child-friendliness comprises, yet, a network of places with meaningful activities where young *and* old can experience a sense of belonging (HORELLI, 1998, p. 225). Child-friendly cities would be, in this sense, intergenerational. Andrew portrays this environment as "that city that still has the inner child taking over at least half of the soul, and so respects it and respects anyone and understands it". His illustration speaks to a significative notion of inter-generationality.

Figure 62. Andrew's drawing. Intergenerationality
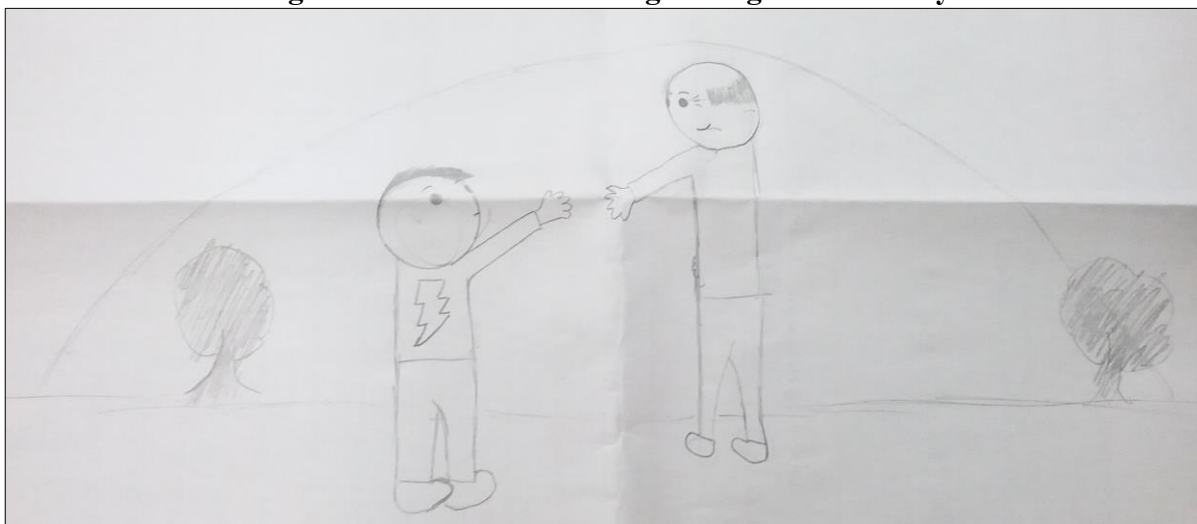
Source: field research (2016).

Vliet and Karsten (2015) point out that the same factors that have led to the segregation of children into spaces and programs specifically designed and designated for them, have also contributed to the segregation of elders (p. 10), obstructing potential and mutual benefits of intergenerational environments. Other relations are acknowledged, including the recognition of special needs. James presents in his letter to the Mayor a sequence of problematic encounters and situations that can involve a blind person in the city. On his first sketch, someone points to a blind man and calls him a 'sucker' (Figure 63).

Figure 63. James' drawing Part 1

Source: field research (2016)

In James' second sketch, someone tries to assault the blind person with a gun – 'Hey, blind guy, give me your money' (Figure 63, lower part of the image). And in the third sketch, the blind person asks for help to get the elevator 'Can someone help me, please' (Figure 64).

Figure 64. James' drawing Part 2
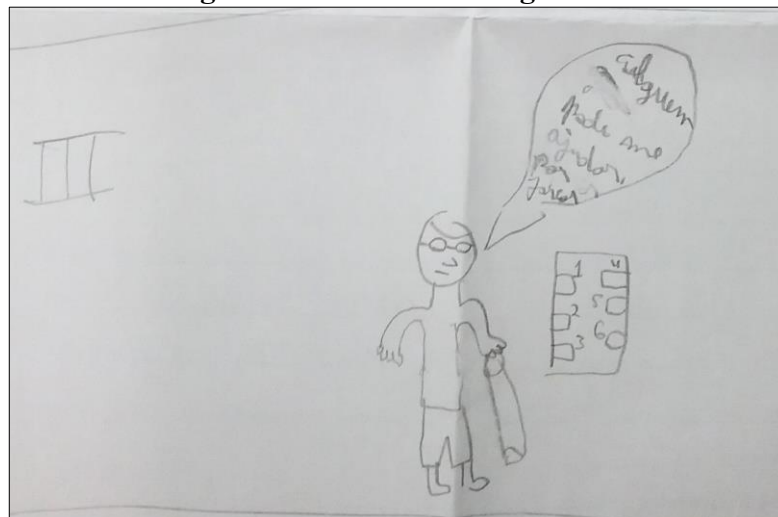
Source: field research (2016)

James explains that a city that is child-friendly must have 'structure', and that in Recife there are several children with disabilities, such as the blind and wheelchair users and James hardly sees, for example, *Braille* being used, and that considering the great number of people who have special needs, the city does not offer a proper 'infrastructure to serve them'.

Besides, how do children express a sense of belonging to their city? I read in Mateus' letter "I think a child-friendly city is when the child likes the city where he or she lives. And that's not what I feel", then I turn to Julie's letter as she disagrees with her Grandma - "when I

was younger and was in your house, you said that 'The way Recife is going, it's helpless'. I don't think so". Although I must refer to this dimension that comprises a sense of belonging to a certain place at a certain time, and a sense of cultural continuity, this is clearly a difficult aspect to approach in children's environmental evaluations since it is not expressed overtly by many children in their letters.

Besides, I focus on ECF dimensions from an individual perspective, rather than a group perspective; these two should be complementary. This importance is recognized by Horelli (2007), although the methodological option of this phase of the study did not contemplate a group perspective.

6.9 Discussion

In this section I return to the opening question of the chapter: what is a city like which is friendly to children? Children's perspectives, in the ways they are presented in their letters, have no intention here of providing theoretical responses to the 'perplexities' of contemporaneity nor do they propose solutions for urban problems in Southern countries. Rather, they invite us to think about what is going on, and to reconsider urban life from an angle that highlights children's new experiences and recent fears.

I described children's ideas on environmental child-friendliness focusing on ten overall ECF dimensions, and how they consider a city might ideally reveal these aspects. A representational approach does present several limitations. Indeed, children's communication of space is not the same as their experiences. Nevertheless, I attempt to focus on the issues they elicit as well as on their environmental evaluations without neglecting the affective push embedded in their views. To children the dimension 'Safety and security' matters in a conceptualization of a child-friendly environment. Still, this 'child-friendly' environment is not conceived segregationally; it is a friendly environment for all. Albeit I approach different children who experience and relate in different ways to the city, they envisage a safe environment for living and playing. Is this surprising? I don't consider so. But I must question in what ways this has something to do with policy.

For one thing, agency seems to be enhanced, in this discussion, in a rather distinct manner if we consider common lines of the 'individual social actor' as it tends to be presented in policy agendas. Besides, if children's political sphere does not quite always 'fit' common ideas about activism, urban planning or policy making, what does this tell us about children's space production? How do children (re)claim their right to the city? An immersion in these letters suggest I turn to children's lives and social relations to look into space production.

In the context of a safety discourse, and its' connections to parental fears, media exposure, crime rates, risks and traffic danger, the idea of playing outdoor and appropriating public space seems problematic. Furthermore, the ways in which safety is problematized from contemporary experience in big cities of Southern countries relates to governing processes and has important connections with policy.

In children's construction of 'safety' as a problem, one that affects urban life and their right to be part of the city, to be present, there is a sensitive understanding of a need for change, albeit it is not necessarily associated with hope for or a promise of an 'ideal' urban setting. In children's perspectives, an emphasis on respect in social relations is somehow related to safety, and the experience of public space one of harmonic co-existence and esteem for nature and the common good. The next chapter aims to construct a link between these ideas on a 'placeless place' with concrete places in Brazilian cities.

7. CLOSED STREETS AS A 'JOINT EXPERIENCE' | MIRRORING CHILDREN'S RIGHT TO THE CITY

> She noticed immediately that they were now in an altogether paler country. The sun had disappeared above a film of vapor. The air was becoming cooler every minute. The land was flat and treeless and there seemed to be no color in it at all. Every minute, the mist became thicker. The air became colder still and everything became paler and paler until soon there was nothing but grey and white all around them. They were in a country of swirling mists and ghostly vapors. There was some sort of grass underfoot but it was not green. It was ashy grey. There was no sign of a living creature and no sound at all except for the soft thud of the BFG's footsteps as he hurtled on through the fog. Suddenly he stopped. 'We is here at last!' he announced. He bent down and lifted Sophie from his pocket and put her on the ground. (…). She shivered and stared around her at the swirling mists and ghostly vapors.
> 'Where are we?' she asked.
> 'We is in Dream Country,' the BFG said. (DAHL, 1982)

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I move on to 'other spaces', or heterotopia, in a connection with utopia, its counter-part. How do children's ideas on a 'child-friendly' city reflect concrete spaces in Brazilian cities? How, both as utopia in its urban 'friendliness', and heterotopia as concrete places, can specific public spaces mirror children's right to the city? Picking up on Johnson's (2013, p. 798) links with Foucault's thoughts, I inquire the street as a site for 'inventing dream-like spaces that are connected to and mirror the outside world'. In that sense, considering children's 'localized utopias', the street can become an experiment with the boundaries of space. This suggests a look in the direction of policies that seem open in that sense. The closed street comprises several empirical practices that function here as a kind of grid of analysis.

Foucault's principles for outlining the existence of heterotopias include, as pointed out in Chapters 3 and 4, their universality among world cultures, their transforming functions throughout historical periods, their ability to overlap various incompatible sites in one real place, their links to *heterochronias*, their system of opening and closing and their function in relation to spaces that remain outside them. I consider specific principles considering their productivity for advancing understandings on children's space production *vis-à-vis* policy enactment.

However, simply asserting if certain spaces - closed streets, for instance - are or not heterotopic is unlikely, as pointed out by Gallan (2013), to shift how they are imagined, accommodated or provisioned by policy *vis-à-vis* urban space. Rather, understanding the

processes through which that space is being lived and experienced as different from other spaces is more relevant inasmuch it brings the discussion closer to implications for policy and practice.

I begin by making a brief account on the emergence of the *Paulista Aberta*, emphasizing its potential contributions for providing, through its emblematic example of a 'closed street', a connection between ideas on environmental child-friendliness and children's space production in Brazil. Thereinafter, visual and discursive narratives (from fieldwork cited in footnotes; see Chapter 4) guide the text. I consider heterotopia's principle of temporality, exploring the notion of a 'break in time' in the context of the closed street. Heterotopia's logics of opening and closing is approached considering car space counteracting with children's appropriation of a 'protected space' linked to the closed street. This chapter also attempts to draw reflections on the closed street's function considering spaces that remain outside this time-space, possibly compensating or providing new illusions of the utopias we do not have.

7.2 Brief Account of a Closed Sstreet

On June 28, 2015, at the opening of the first stretch of Paulista Avenue's bike lane, the avenue was submitted to a "controversial test, (...) the entire street was closed for cars and became a leisure spot for a few hours" (R7, 2015). The test was implemented by São Paulo City Hall, but it acted as a critical moment of a mobilization coming from civil society[30]. Since 2014 several actors had demanded from the state the creation of a space for leisure and encounter on Paulista Avenue and sensitized public opinion to support the idea of 'opening streets for people' (PAULISTA ABERTA, 2016).

Throughout its more than 127-year history, interrupting traffic in Paulista Avenue, that is, 'closing it', isn't new. Manifestations, protests, events, as well as dedicating some holidays for leisure are part of this avenue's history, portrayed as a symbol of economic prosperity (OLIVEIRA, 1998). During the management of Mayor Marta Suplicy (2001-2005), the *Domingo na Paulista* Project ('Sunday at the Paulista') used to transformed it into a leisure area, but was interrupted at the beginning of José Serra's management (2005-2006) (Nossa São Paulo, 2015). The recent initiative for closing Paulista Avenue on Sundays and holidays was integrated, during Mayor Fernando Haddad's administration (2012-2016), within the *Programa*

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[30] Civil society organizations SampaPé and Minha Sampa started a campaign on Minha Sampa's online platform *Panela de Pressão*, in August 2014. Also, for some Sundays they enacted on the sidewalk of Paulista Avenue play activities to promote the idea of open streets for people. Other collectives and urban movements - including Bike Anjo, Cidade Ativa, Mobilize, Virada Sustentável, Banco com Encosto, Acupuntura Urbana, Conexão Cultural, Bike Café, Ping Point, among others - also contributed by drawing media attention and claiming debates and audiences to the municipal government. After discussions, the then Mayor Fernando Haddad agreed to promote test events (T41, see Appendix D).

Ruas Abertas ('Open Streets Program'). This program covers over 20 other streets in the city (iG São Paulo, 2015; BAND, 2016) and has functioned since October 2015.

In São Paulo, social inequality is obvious, and processes of spatial segregation are also particularly visible. Caldeira (1996) suggests that São Paulo's 'exaggerated' forms of inequality and spatial segregation is like looking at a caricature. With its high walls and fences, armed guards, technologies of surveillance, and contrasts of ostentatious wealth and extreme poverty, contemporary São Paulo reveals with clarity a pattern of segregation which is widespread in cities throughout the world, although generally in less severe and explicit forms (p. 304). Paulista Avenue's history has been marked by the delimitation of social frontiers in which spatial appropriation is mostly segregated, reflecting the city's inequality of power relations (OLIVEIRA, 1998).

The decision to open the Paulista to pedestrians and cyclists – an initiative called *Paulista Aberta* -, and to restrict motor vehicles' access on Sundays and public holidays, was debated throughout 25 public hearings (Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2015). It was criticized and challenged by different actors, mostly by local inhabitants and merchants, but also by the city's Public Prosecutors Office. Political expressions of spatial disputes shape this avenue's history.

However, a year after the opening, the Decree nº. 57.086 (06/24/2016) officially instituted the *Programa Ruas Abertas* in the scope of Brazil's *Política Nacional de Mobilidade Urbana* (National Policy on Urban Mobility), based on Article 23, item I, of Federal Law nº 12.587 (BRASIL, 2012). When the program is legitimated as a 'public policy' it is presented by the local government as a strategy to "promote urban sustainable development, in the socioeconomic and environmental dimensions, and ensure equity in the use of the public space of circulation in public streets and public places" (Decree nº 57.086).

This is not unprecedented. In 1974 in Colombia the *Ciclovías* project also determined exclusive streets for cyclists at specific dates and times, and in 1997 the idea was expanded to adjust those lanes for pedestrians, and renamed as *Recreovía*. This is where we will find the largest number of leisure streets in the world. Together, these routes have more than 340 km (Portal do Aprendiz, 2014).

In São Paulo, for example, the lack of open areas for leisure stimulated the *Ruas de Lazer* project (or Leisure Streets) in 1976. It was implemented by the Sports Department of the Municipality, in which selected streets were closed on Sundays (Figure 65). "19 streets closed, where children can learn the traditional games for their age, games forgotten in the rush and lack of free spaces in the city" (Estadão, 1976); those selected streets were "invaded by children with roller carts, skateboards, bikes, balls and a huge disposition for playing, mostly contained

by the hours spent in front of the TV, or simply in the house" (*idem*). The *Ruas de Lazer* was a fun option for many inhabitants, but it was worn out. ITDP (*Instituto de Políticas de Transporte & Desenvolvimento*) manager recognizes that *Paulista Aberta* is not something unprecedented; "what is happening now is that we have this on a large scale" (PAULISTA ABERTA, 2015).

Figure 65. Project Streets for Leisure (1976-1979), streets closing on Sundays in São Paulo
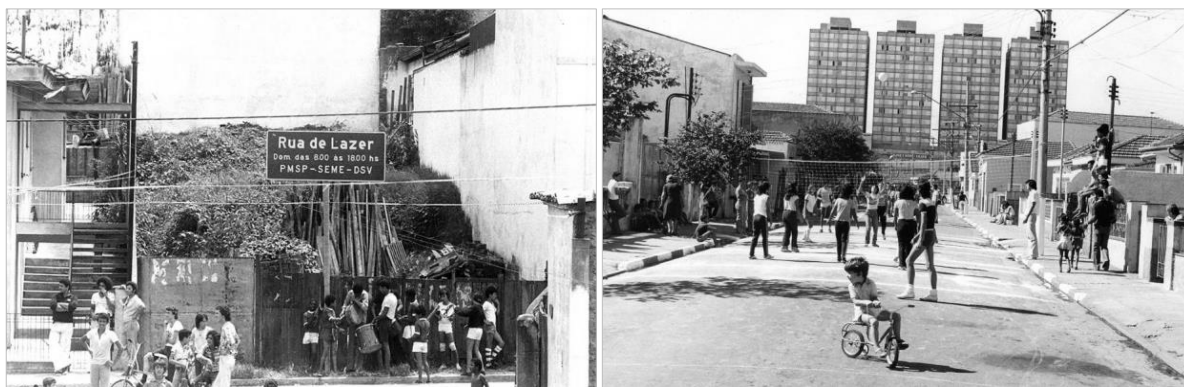
Source: Estadão (08/03/1977)

Initially debated and criticized, the initiative to interdict Paulista for cars gained strength and support from those who use that space. The experience of using the avenue on Sundays and holidays seems to help legitimizing it as a 'leisure area' in the city (Estadão, 2016a). Surveys from February 2016 already indicated that 61% of the local inhabitants defended the initiative, far more than the 45% of approval verified in October 2015 (Folha de São Paulo, 2016a). Also, at least half of the shopkeepers already approve the initiative. Hotels and hospitals, which initially feared the negative effects, have also adapted and report that there are no more problems (Estadão, 2016b).

Whoever visits Paulista Avenue on a Sunday or holiday will be surprised by the multiplicity of activities that take place there. It is in some sense overwhelming. The big number of videos posted on Youtube or blogs by those who visit the place and share their experience is impressive, as well as the media content related to it.

The subsequent Mayor, João Dória (PSDB), recognized it as a "good initiative" and affirmed he would maintain the project, and expand it by adding artistic and cultural activities; he wants to "give the private sector the maintenance of cycle lanes and paths" to "minimize public costs, (...) (when) you put the private sector, you usually put more efficiency and speed without unemployment" (BAND, 2016).

Paulista Aberta blends with interconnected and accelerated trends and processes of urbanization and globalization, and the pressure for the insertion of cities in a globalized context. The Arch Daily site, specialized in architecture and urban innovations, pointed out the

Paulista Aberta in its "inspiring urban project" category (Arch Daily, 2015) and stated that "if the largest city in Latin America still can't be considered one of the most developed globally, we can certainly conclude that São Paulo has made great strides towards this goal" (*idem*). Cities worldwide pointed out for their 'high' urban quality of life indicators emphasize similar actions towards sustainable urban planning.

7.3 A 'Break' in Time

During the week, at the peak of mornings - between 8.45 and 9.45 - approximately three-thousand vehicles cross Paulista Avenue in its almost 3 km extension. The apparent continuity and normality of this ordinary everyday space of a busy metropolis is interrupted from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. on Sundays and holidays. The street is blocked for vehicles and receives up to 30 thousand people throughout the day[31].

Figure 66. Play, generations

Source: Fieldwork (2016; 2018)

Children do a lot of physical activities during their week, be it playing ball or going to clubs, at home or at school, or even in the structured activities that characterize many children's

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[31] Data from CET – Companhia de Engenharia de Tráfego (2017).

schedules. However, in the closed street their parents join them in a space that is not designated *a priori* as a 'space for children', nor has a prescribed use for it. It is not 'child-centered'. Parent's memories of hula hoops are 're-lived' as circus street artists invite the family to challenge each other, joke and laugh in a playful encounter[32]. Besides exercise and distraction, play embraces different temporalities, as well as a relational trait not always highlighted in everyday constraints of school, work and production logics.

As we pull away from the fixed needs of weekly work discipline and production towards a more flexible urban time-space, social and emotional aspects of 'inter-generationality' can be enhanced (BIGGS; CARR, 2015). Let's consider the idea of playing games in the street "like our grandparents used to", when they would play on the street the whole day – hopscotch, spin hula hoops, jump rope, and many other games. To 'rescue' those games might be, to some, a meritorious act, and a mother can be grateful for someone teaching her son how to play table soccer (*futebol de botão*), an activity that today's young generations seem unaware of[33].

The so called 'purpose-lessness' of childhood and old age can be seen as play, albeit it appears to those without empathy as meaningless, rather than being a form of creative drift, freed from bonds of forced direction. Recognizing 'drift' as a meaningful activity beyond the constraints of work and production, enhances possibilities for generationally constituted space and empathic engagement between generational groups (BIGGS; CARR, 2015, p. 107).

Besides, such temporalities suggest a connection with rhythms and tunes that get mixed up in the multiplicity that characterizes the closed street of a big city.

Antiques fair. Chess. Somewhere a music group performs Beatles songs while a forty-year-old father who loves Beatles enjoys *Ticket to Ride* and *Here Comes the Sun* with his wife and 2-year-old daughter[34]. People dance and sing along. A puppet of a famous Brazilian rock star of the 70s and 80s, Raul Seixas, performs songs and attracts the attention of a boy who passes by and probably was not yet familiar with those songs. Mr. Albino dances and sings happily with a sound box hanging from his neck. For a year and a half already he has dubbed hits from the *Jovem Guarda* (a 1960s rock and roll movement in Brazil) at Paulista Avenue. A lady sings along with him while her daughter and grand-daughter watch.

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[32] E02, see Appendix D.

[33] The group *Não só o gato* teaches in the Paulista children how to play games from the times of their grandparents childhood; parents recognize this action as meritorious (T36, see Appendix D).

[34] T31, see Appendix D.

Figure 67. Temporalities, rhythms

Source: Fieldwork (2016; 2018)

A 'break in time' might even suggest that it can 'stand still' as street artists pose for hours as statues. Living statues were a common feature of medieval and Renaissance festivities, such as royal entries by rulers into cities, and in the contemporary closed street they are appreciated by passersby, who feel invited for a pause, for contemplation and entertainment.

Figure 68. Living statues

Source: Fieldwork (2016; 2018)

The 'slice in time' related to closed streets resembles Foucault's notion of *heterochronias* as those spaces that welcome temporal breaks. This intersection and phasing of space and time allows heterotopia to 'function at full capacity' based on an ability to arrive at a 'break' with traditional experiences of time and temporality (FOUCAULT, 1986 [1967]). Foucault highlighted some of these sites in the modern world, such as museums and libraries, as heterotopias of indefinitely accumulating time that attempt to generate an archive, or festivals and fairgrounds as fleeting, transitory, precarious spaces of time.

As the closed street interrupts everyday experience, it opens onto a protected space within a temporal discontinuity, a space of rest, refuge or play in the sense highlighted by De Cauter and Dehaene (2008). There is an imaginative quality related to play in this experimental terrain enacted by policy that seems to accommodate heterotopias' temporalities...

7.4 Opening and Closing Systems… Cars and Children

As one arrives at Paulista Avenue on a Sunday, it is possible to see many traffic cones and artefacts indicating the cycle tracks that begin to function at 7 a.m. Pedestrians occupy the sidewalk and fiscals and policemen make the round. The street will soon be closed for cars, at 10 a.m. Merchants arrive and organize their materials, stalls and crafts for the closing. Street vendors have clearance from City Hall to sell their products on Sundays and holidays. However, informal vendors - the *camelôs* – do not convey to this closing system, occupying that space on Sundays and holidays whenever surveillance (inspectors) is not around.

It is 10 a.m. The changeover is interesting. People rush to the street, suddenly a new landscape is revealed. No cars. For me, it resembles a beach on a sunny day. For habitual users, it might be taken for granted. For visitors, occupying what was 'car space' just a few moments ago makes me look back once in a while to get rid of some concern about being runover. Logics of closed streets resemble Foucault's reference to an opening-closing system which allows them to become isolated and penetrable. Porosity. Streets are not heterotopic in themselves. Rather, closing-opening mechanisms allow the accommodation of heterotopia's temporalities.

Opening-closing mechanisms are not, of course, uncontroversial. They inhabit power relations and spatial disputes regarding the use of public spaces. Closing off Paulista Avenue for cars on Sundays, for instance, was a target of debate and criticism by different actors. The idea that this would obstruct one of the most important streets in the city is a central concern. Taxi and Uber drivers share with me their views on the difficulties in circulating on Sundays in the proximities of that region, albeit they have not visited yet as pedestrians. The idea that

"parties are good, but they cannot be done at other people's doorsteps"[35] relates to concerns about difficulties of dwellers accessing their residences, and an 'annoyance' provoked by the noise on Sundays as well as the excess of litter left over in the street after the 'event'.

Indeed, there are inevitable negotiations presented by politics on the terms of 'openness and closure'. Cars are allowed, if they belong to residents and are identified by City Hall; they must also pass by with their lights on and slowly in the avenue's last lane. This might happen during one of the many gym lessons that take place on Sundays, where the crowd will make way for the car to pass and applaud the driver as she lowers her window and greets people.

Figure 69. Making way

Source: Fieldwork (2018)

Thus, heterotopias can be entered either by compulsory means (*e.g.*, barracks, prisons) or through ritual purification ceremonies or hygienic cleansing (*e.g.*, Moslems *hammans*, Scandinavian saunas) (FOUCAULT, 1986 [1967]). The closed street does not entail any 'obvious' ritual or cleansing. However, as it appeals to leisure and urban life, some might feel the need to 'get rid of' tensions accumulated throughout the week, to fully appreciate the space-event, although this is by no means mandatory.

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[35] Opinion of Célia Marcondes, lawyer and president of the Residents' Association of Cerqueira César (T40 and T42, see Appendix D.

Figure 70. Getting rid of tensions
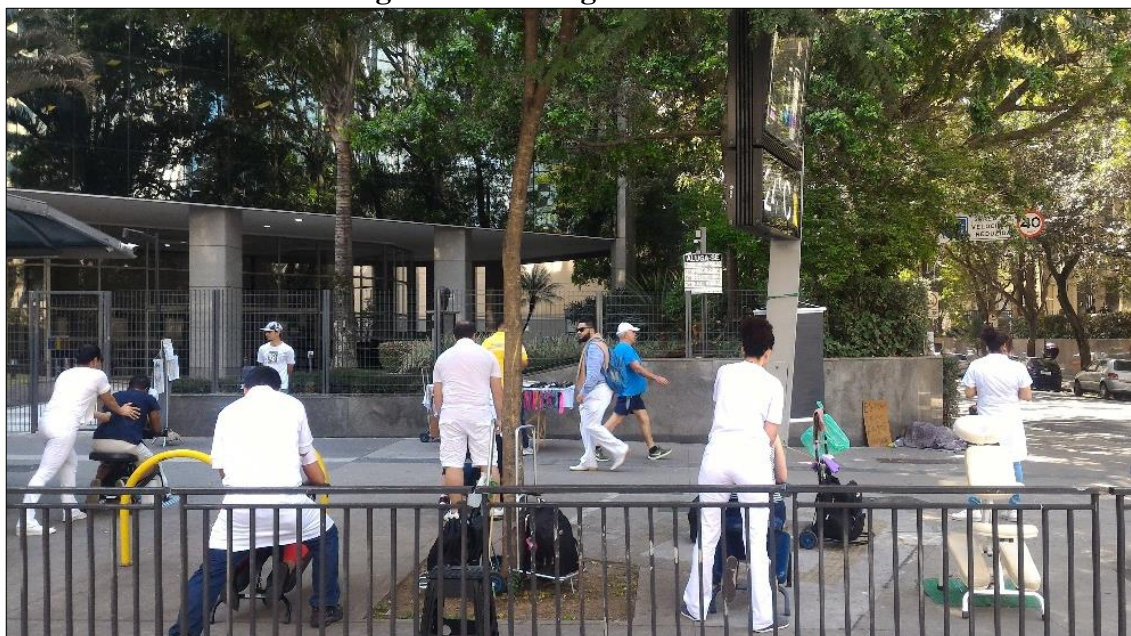
Source: Fieldwork (2018)

There is a discourse on the importance of leisure and enjoyment of outdoor spaces. In big cities, the use of bikes or roller blades by children or other types of outdoor play is often associated to stranger danger or traffic as difficulties for accessing spaces such as parks. A father conveys the opinion that the greatest benefit of using closed streets for leisure, such as the Paulista, is for his children, aged 10 and 14. His family used to go on a bike lane close to where they live, but they consider the place dangerous for children[36]. Another family appreciates the asphalt for riding the unicycle, and the safety offered by the closed street on Sundays[37].

It is a quick walk to the *Prefeito Mário Covas* park, a small and rare green area in the middle of the high-rise buildings and asphalt. There is a busy tourist information kiosk that guides whoever wishes to get to know the city. In that same park, a young man sets up a volleyball net; it is the *Jogadeira*, a sports incentive program. He is from the Institute of Education and Sport, an NGO, but that project is promoted by the multinational enterprise *Nestlé* and has functioned since 2016 in Paulista Avenue and other 06 streets in São Paulo on Sundays[38].

As one walks along, it is possible to see a table-tennis match going on. Two instructors encourage passers-by to play. Children get excited and join in. A mother tells me it is the first

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[36] M. Amazonas, 46y, in interview to the newspaper Estado de S. Paulo (T42, see Appendix D).

[37] Santos, in interview to Estado de S. Paulo; they go habitually since the street closed off cars on Sundays (T30, see Appendix D).

[38] Field diary. 2nd September 2018.

time she sees the table there, she considers it is to encourage that sports modality. I cannot help but notice that the match takes place in front of a *Decatlhon* store, a well-known French sports store installed recently, in June 2018, picking up on the huge success of that closed street. The instructors are employees at *Decathlon* (they don't use the Decathlon uniform). The store guides customers towards suitable equipment and offers services such as a bicycle workshop - with overhaul, tire replacement, and brake pads. This can be useful for using the cycle lanes sponsored by the *Bradesco* bank outside. Bottles, scooters, active-wear, skates, helmets, roller blades, and many other different leisure and sports materials too. Market mechanisms, in its association with leisure practices, and materials, are a feature of contemporary closed streets.

Figure 71. Activity, in between modes
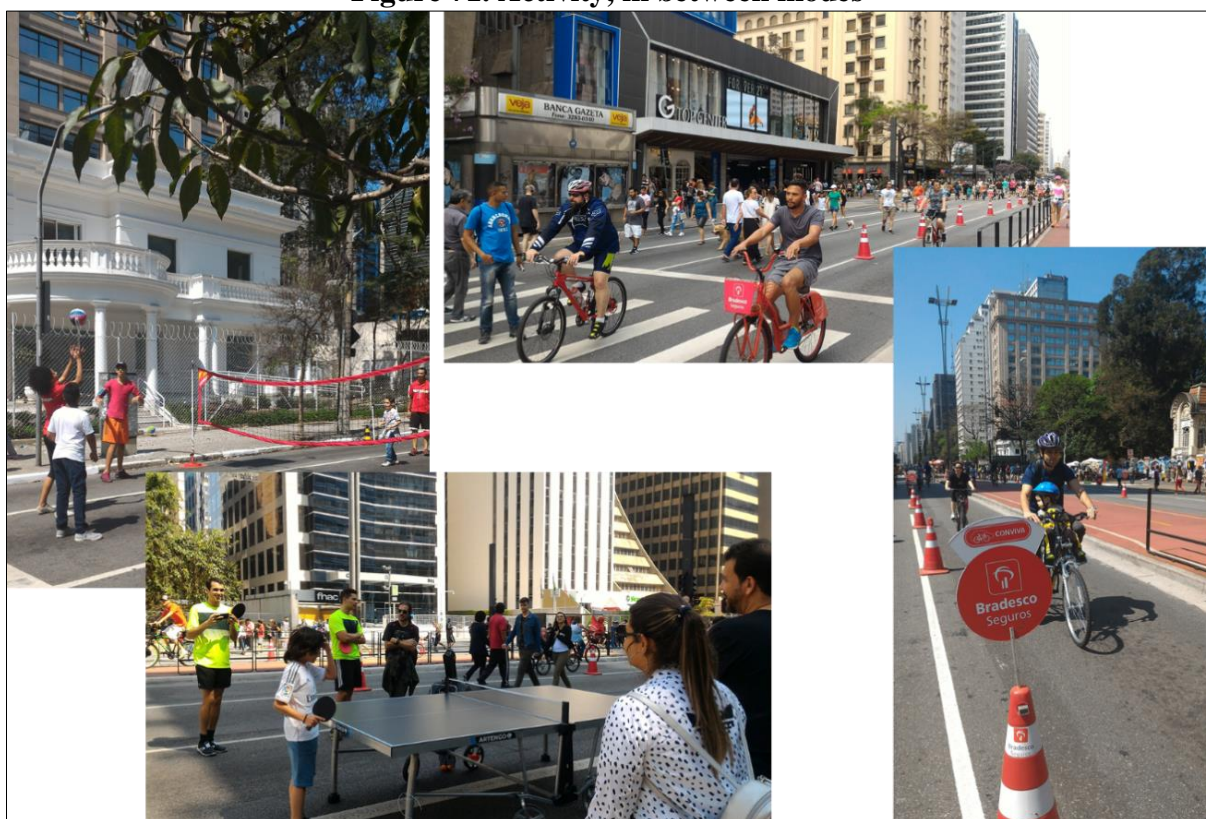
Source: Fieldwork (2016; 2018)

Albeit Lefebvre (1991) identifies dominated space with exchange value and its constitution in terms of markets and property interests, he recognizes it is not in a clear opposition to appropriated space. These spaces, or modes of activity, combine. Furthermore, strict dichotomies such as a 'public-private' dualism are insufficient for analyzing the sort of urban experience encountered in the closed street.

The proper activity of this space of 'hidden appearance', in the sense highlighted by De Cauter and Dehaene (2008), seems closer to that of 'play'. Away from dualist lenses, although acknowledging a political and economic base to heterotopias, such spaces make room for

something anti-economical and politically experimental (JOHNSON, 2006), possibly 'dream-like spaces' (JOHNSON, 2013) that are lived and experienced by children and adults in different ways.

Figure 72. Stirring juice with a bike. Magic. *Parkour*. Aerial silk dance

Source: Fieldwork (2016; 2018)

Moreover, Foucault's principle regarding mechanisms of opening and closing are temporal systems corresponding to the presence-absence of lived space (CENZATTI, 2008). It is plausible to point out how the social production of the closed street can refer to the presence of a set of social relations and their space. The closed street seems to 'suspect' daily spatial relations inasmuch this time-space embraces children's, and adults', presence and their appropriation and use of public space.

The right to physically access, occupy and use urban space as well as to produce this space so it meets needs (LEFEBVRE, 1991; PURCELL, 2002) refers to urban life, to rights of presence. However, as soon as the opening-closing mechanisms of that Sunday re-appear, and car space is recovered, these relations and the appropriation of physical space will end, as Cenzatti (2008) reminds us, and both space of representation and heterotopia will disappear. Soon it will be 6 p.m.

7.5 Encountering 'Other Spaces'

The ways closed streets are used on Sundays and holidays reflect a multiplicity that can refer to a different kind of urban experience, similar to a time-space 'disruption'. Shared public space is not only about a set of people using a same physical space; rather, it encompasses the different ways people practice this space in coexistence. The concept of heterotopia is productive in making explicit the heterogeneity of public space, as well as the complexity of the different spaces embedded within each other as they are experienced in the closed street.

Diversity shapes spatial experiences in closed streets of a global city. Shared public space seem to promote a harmonic coexistence among strangers, in the idea of 'shared trust around the situation' (AMIN, 2008), and with potential effects on social wellbeing. Media conveys that closed streets such as Paulista Avenue on Sundays can, for instance, favor safety by encouraging the coexistence of pedestrians and cyclists[39]. Giovana's (11y) parents consider, yet, that the fact that the Paulista is close to the subway can promote wider participation of people of different ages, different social classes, different ethnicities and beliefs and different styles, making it very worthwhile. "Nobody notices no one, anything goes, and this is very interesting"[40]. Rhythms invite a multisensorial experience. Music plays throughout the day. One can see a mother join the dance as her daughter watches her. Soon they are dancing together and enjoying that time-space together with peers and with strangers[41].

Figure 73. Dancing

Source: Fieldwork (2018)

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[39] Media discourse (T12, see Appendix D).
[40] E02, see Appendix D.
[41] Field diary, 2nd September 2018.

Before strolling or dancing, however, some may do some stretching to prep the muscles.

Figure 74. Stretching

Source: Fieldwork (2018)

Groups schedule to meet in this 'slice in time' for gym or running. Passers-by are welcome. This time-space is also about strengthening social ties; it is not only about health.

Figure 75. Exercising
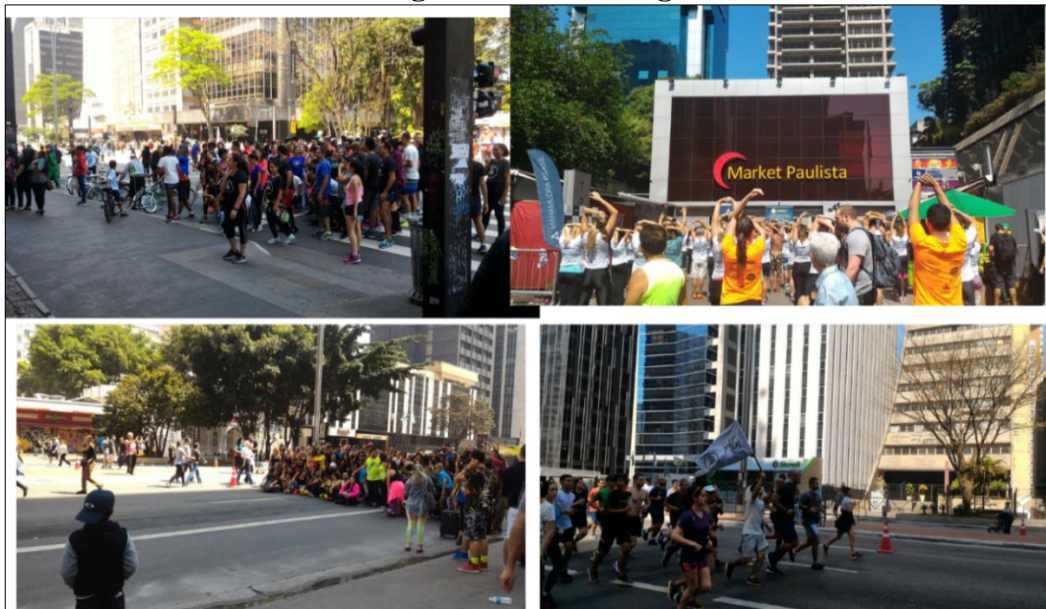
Source: Fieldwork (2018)

One can encounter many forms of artistic expression. Paulista Avenue has staged many beginner artists. It is September 2016, a year since the street closed: a vocalist thanks those who enjoy his band that day: "guys, thanks so much, this is where it all began, we're so grateful". Pop-rock, *Rock pauleira*, Reggae, Forró, Axé, Ópera, Samba, many other rhythms.

Figure 76. Artistic manifestation
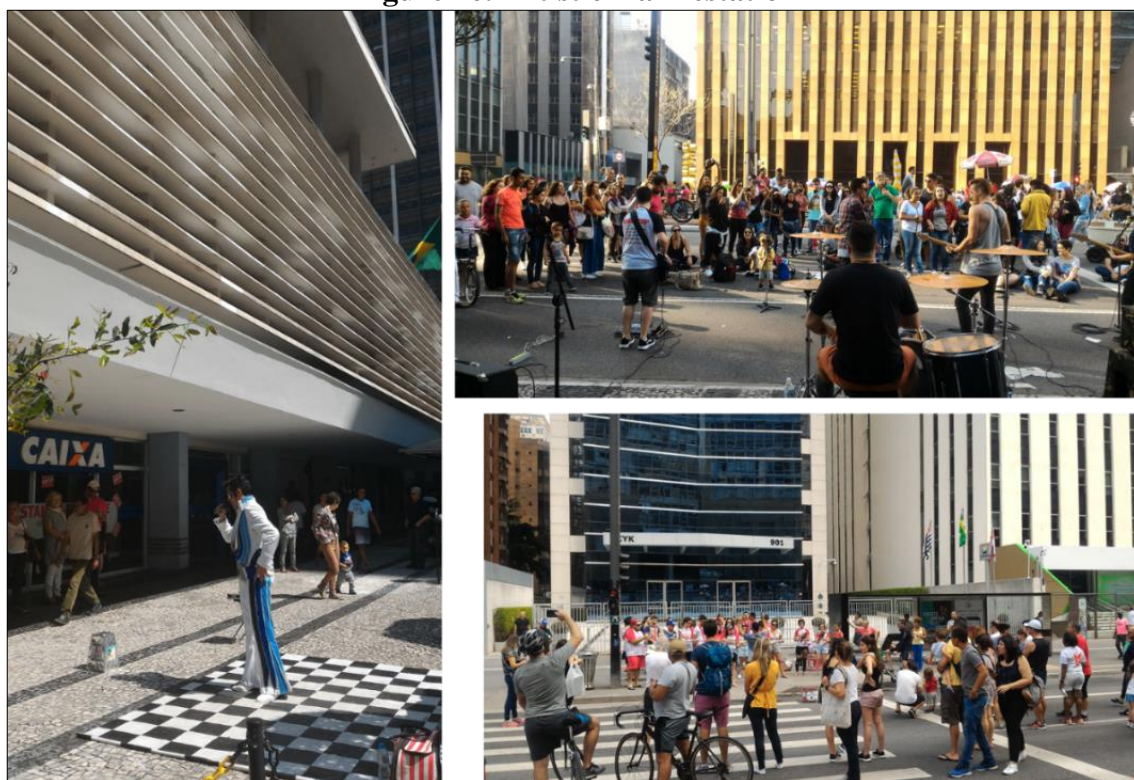
Source: Fieldwork (2016; 2018)

It can be surprising to hear the voice of a child singing here. Yes, a girl sings and dances, entertaining passersby. Isa. Her mother smiles and takes pictures of her daughter's performance. Isa is 9 years old and, according to her mom, loves to sing and dance to the sound of Ivete Sangalo, a famous Brazilian singer from Bahia. Isa asked her mother to perform at Paulista, it is her first time there. She seems pleased. Her mother hands out some flyers with Isa's image and social media information.

Figure 77. Young artist

Source: Fieldwork (2018)

About 50 meters from where she performs, another band plays and gathers rock enthusiasts. The vocalist grabs his microphone and shouts out: "People start to say, man, hey what's happening at the Paulista?!... How about the Paulista (Avenue), huh? ... Who would have thought that the Paulista of the coffee barons would look like this one day...". He clearly refers to a different kind of spatial logics, one that contrasts with this street's elitist bias[42].

A group of artists prepares a presentation. It is the *Circo Rodado*, from Curitiba (Paraná, Brazil). Children and adults form a circle and sit down as they wait for the show to begin. As the presentation begins, a little girl goes on to pick up a hat that falls from the clown's head at the beginning of his performance. She hesitates, the show is paused while all observe her. She tries to retreat, but her father encourages her to get the hat and hand it to the clown. She does so and is applauded by all, including the clowns. She laughs and has fun.

There's another hat on the floor next to the three clowns, with coins and ballots. The little girl heads out again, this time with a ballot of 2 *Reais* to give the clowns, who willingly bring her the hat for her to drop her financial support. Applause and thanks from the artists! Another boy approaches and does the same. The clown exclaims: "Look, follow the children's example, they are the future of tomorrow!". Many show their support. The presentation goes on, and another family arrives; as a recently arrived girl looks at the hat, by that time filled with money, she asks: "Mom, look, do we have to pay to see the show?". The mother replies that it is not necessary. Diverse cultural attractions, and accessible to the public.

Figure 78. Circus

Source: Fieldwork (2018)

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[42] Field diary, September 2018.

As the circus artists perform, a 4-year-old girl is in her father's arms. He attempts to show her the 'interesting' presentation. She takes a look, but soon she begins to hear the '*batuque*' (this is a term used here to refer to the beat and sound of drums and percussion). It is the *Cásper Líbero* group just across the street. They rehearse every Sunday there. She exclaims: "Daddy, the *batuque*, the *batuque*, let's see the *batuque*!". Her father is reluctant: "but look, the clown will blow the balloons over there, don't you want to see it?". And she says: "No, I want to see the *batuque*". They cross the street to appreciate the drums and percussion.

Is the *batuque* more or less 'interesting' than the circus to that girl? I cannot know, but the *batuque* matters to her now. At that same spot, albeit two years earlier, the Cásper group was performing and a boy, about 13 years old, was visibly bored. His mother, enjoying that great beat, was saying that she had never come to the Paulista Avenue on a Sunday, despite living nearby. The boy did not go cycling, he doesn't know how to ride a bike yet. Is he enjoying the '*batuque*'? He says he would rather be at home playing with his videogame[43].

Albeit some children may prefer to stay at home with their videogames, communication, mobility, space and place are not dissociated and, as Lemos (2009, p. 30) points out, the "new virtual nomads create territorializations amid movements in the urban space".

Figure 79. Catching *Pokémons*

Source: Fieldwork (2016)

Mobility's interface with physical space and cyberspace allows the observation of new, flexible, practices of urban space, features of a cyborg city, which are based on the use of digital

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[43] Field diary, September 2016 and 2018. The *Circo Rodado* is a group of artists from Curitiba, Paraná (Brazil). In, 2016, I talked to mother and son watching the Cásper group.

technologies and new forms of wireless connection (*idem*). Children's space production helps to highlight the dimensions of play and locality in its interface with technology and global culture, albeit catching *Pokémons*[44] in a closed street is just one of many possible activities.

Human and non-human dynamics of a public space must be acknowledged in their interconnections. Take architecture. 11-year-old Manuela is impressed by the skyscrapers and points out the houses at Paulista Avenue that go way back to the old coffee barons of São Paulo's nineteenth century. She's with her family and, although she is enjoying it, she thinks cyclists should stick to cycle lanes. For her, the closed street is "very good because there are no cars, and when there are no cars it is better for people to use that place"[45]. Buildings. Cars.

As a father remarks about infrastructure and the qualities offered by the Paulista for his children to ride the bike, his daughter promptly interrupts him to say that what she most likes about the Paulista are the dogs. At this moment, next to us a couple challenges each other to carry their (huge) dog. The guy picks up the dog, who seems to struggle; they continue to stroll.

Figure 80. Dogs

Source: Fieldwork (2016; 2018)

Encounters with dogs and between dogs are a (cute) feature of the closed street. Many are photographed and even appear on social media. Some have gadgets at their disposal, and others are carried in bike-dogs or prams. More habitual visitors, and their pets, feel at ease to

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[44] *Pokémon Go* is an augmented reality (AR) mobile game developed by Niantic for iOS and Android devices. It was released in July 2016 and spread to other countries. The game is free to play and uses the mobile device GPS to locate, capture, battle, and train virtual creatures called Pokémons, which appear as if they are in the player's real location. It invites users to 'travel between the real world and the virtual world of Pokémon' as well as 'get connected with real-life friends and interact with them in a variety of ways' through smartphones (Pokemon.com)

[45] Field diary. Brief interview with a mother and father, and J.P. (7y) and M. (11y), 7th September 2018.

drop the dog collar and let them play. A pet-owner used to take her dog to the park on weekends, but considers the closed street different and nicer. She likes to use her skate there, and her dog has some 'pals' there[46].

During a gym class, three children join in and rehearse some of the instructor's movements. They continue strolling and see a large white dog without a collar, playing ball with his owner, who offers one of these boys the ball, so he can throw it for the dog to fetch. The boy seems reluctant, but the man encourages him and he throws the ball for the dog. The boys continue strolling, jumping and playing around, then meet two girls, who join them[47]. They encounter Mr. Albino, that day wearing green trousers and a checkered red and white shirt. They enjoy his enthusiasm and mimic him, while Mr. Albino smiles to them and dances.

Figure 81. Exercising. Playing with the dog
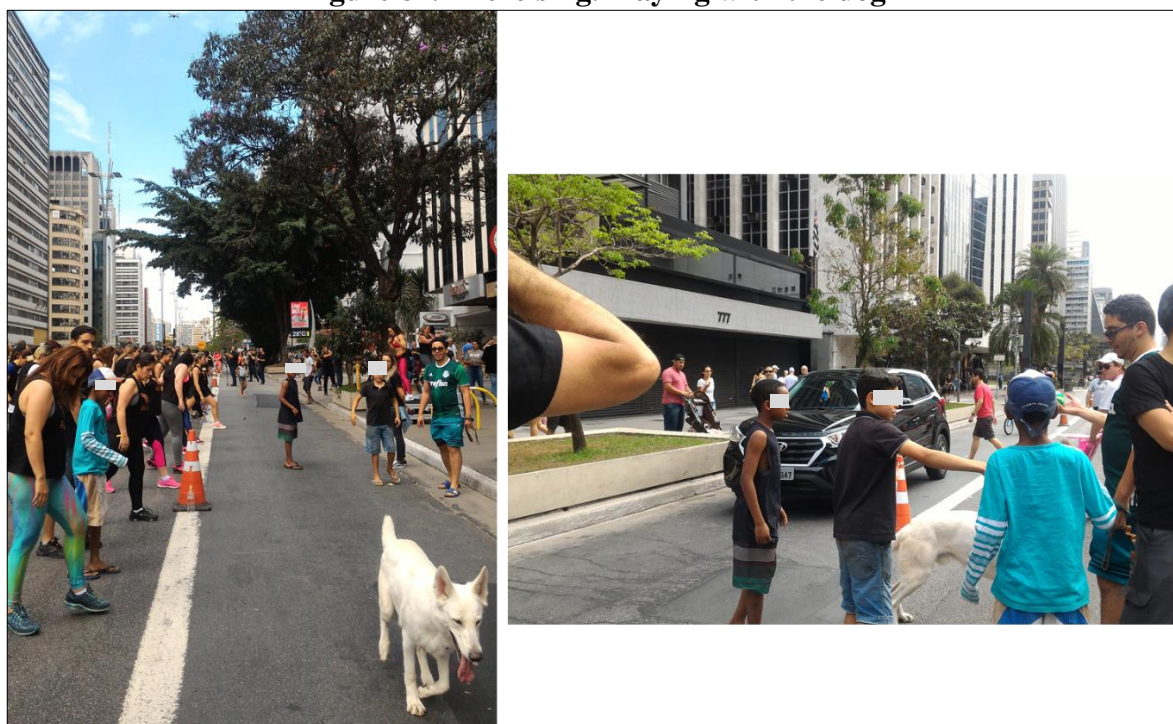
Source: Fieldwork (2018)

As a street vendor who sells drinks lets the boys get some ice to cool off the heat, and they play in front of a mall, close by one can see two women guiding six dogs with ropes as collars. One of the women has a sign hanging from her neck that reads 'Free dog for a good family'[48]. Dogs can reveal a protective trait as they accompany homeless people. About 20 thousand people live in the streets in São Paulo, many at Paulista Avenue or nearby. One family, with two small children, has two dogs that sit by them as they ask passersby for food or donations. Some dogs are well-known by habitual users of the closed street. Duquesa (or

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[46] Érica Andrade, advertiser in testimonial to E02, see Appendix D.
[47] Field Diary, 2nd September 2018.
[48] Field diary, 7th September 2018.

'Duchess'), for instance, belongs to a man that lives on the streets nearby. He carries Duquesa in an old grocery shopping cart with a sign that says 'Duquesa needs your support'. People pass by him, greet the dog and give them financial support.

There is a growing knowledge on the interconnections between the human and the non-human, as acknowledged by Grosz and Stirner (2016), who understand the need to think beyond the human, recognizing that people are contextualized not only by human constructs, that is, by linguistic and cultural environments, but also by natural and animal geographies and temporalities (p. 19). In that sense, post humanist theories highlight the agency of nonhumans such as animals, environments, things and other materials, contrasting to an anthropocentric view of only humans as agents.

7.6 In Between Illusion and Compensation

The rules that organize urban space, albeit varying culturally and historically, are basically patterns of social differentiation and separation. Both social and spatial segregation are an important feature of cities and, in São Paulo, its organizing instrument is what Caldeira calls 'fortified enclaves' (1996; 2010). The main rhetoric to sustain and legitimate these enclaves is the fear of crime. Superimposed on the center-periphery distance pattern, the city's transformations since the 1980s, and of other Brazilian cities I would add, have forged cities in which different social groups are closer again in the urban space, but they are separated by walls and technologies of security, and tend not to circulate or interact in common areas. This model of segregation is based on the notion of security (*idem*, 2010, p. 55):

> Felt to be more dangerous, broken up by deserted areas and enclaves, broken in its old alignments, privatized and fortified in various ways (chains closing streets, security posts, walled parks, streets full of dogs and armed guards), it is increasingly abandoned to those who do not have the chance to live, work, and shop in the new private, internalized and fortified enclaves. As the spaces for the rich face inwards, the outside space is left for those who cannot afford to go in (*idem*, p. 64).

In big cities fragmented by the 'fortified enclaves' depicted by Caldeira, such as São Paulo and many other cities worldwide, public streets have been considered spaces for elite's circulation by car and for poor people's circulation by foot or public transportation. To walk on the street has been a sign of class in many Brazilian cities, an activity progressively abandoned by the elite.

In that 'slice of time', however, middle-class and wealthy young people stroll in groups, gazing at those passing by, looking at store windows, possibly shopping at any one of the malls or fairs of that closed street, or just hanging out.

The use of streets as spaces of sociability by young people gets entangled with the act of strolling. One can think of the *flaneur* at the Madeleine or the *rolezeiro* of Vila da Penha who both, as suggests Erber (2016), share in their preference for the covered arcade or shopping mall a fascination with the charms of capitalist consumerism (p. 6). But in *heterochronias* of a closed street the young people from the high-rise buildings that characterize the city's wealthy landscape are neither militants, nor mere consumerists. One can wonder about their 'politics of strolling' to use Erber's terms, as young people exit their fortified enclaves and head down to the closed street enabling a connection with urban life.

Figure 82. Strolling
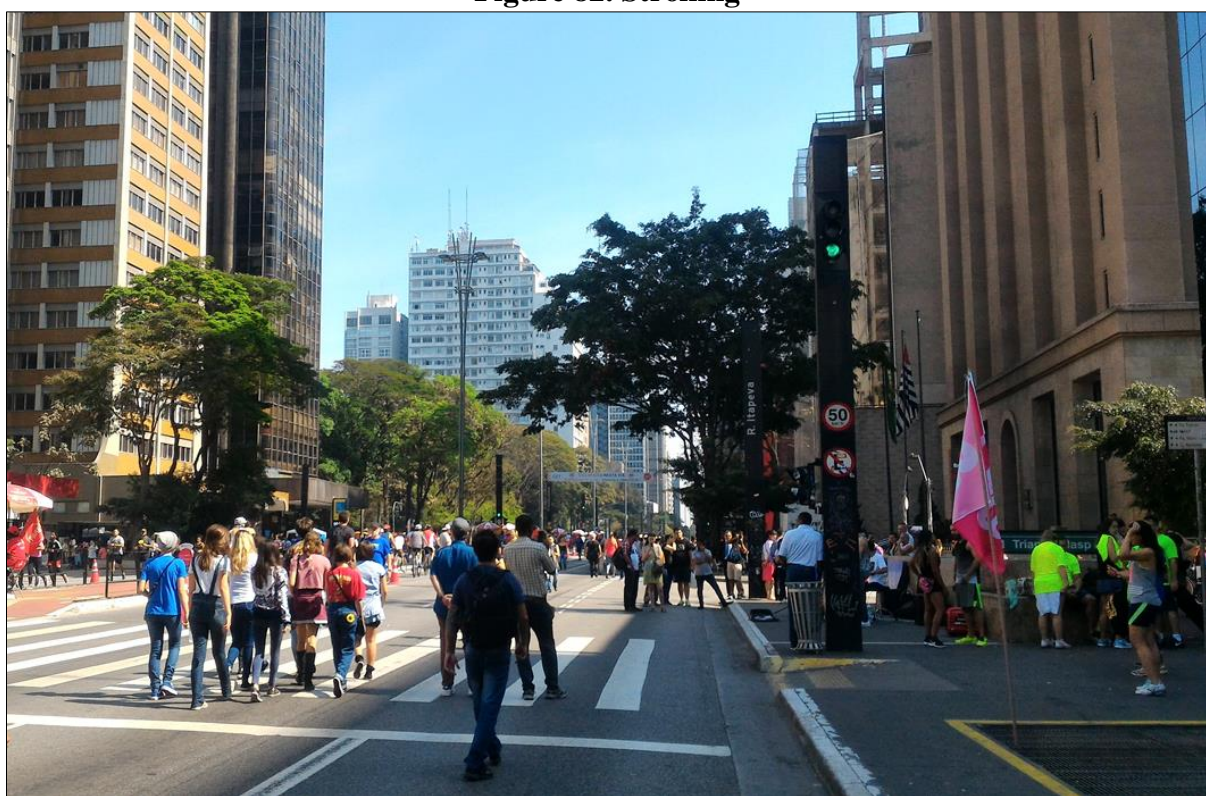
Source: Fieldwork (2018)

Albeit the closed street can be depicted as a space of encounter, or even surprise, this does not ignore that its closing mechanisms provide a connection with safety and security. Viviane, a 30-year-old mother who lives in Santo André (a 20-km distance), for instance, visits for the first time with her 4-year-old son, Miguel. She wants to check out the street before inviting friends for a picnic, and is concerned about the infrastructure of restrooms, food for the children and safety:

> I liked it a lot, everything is well structured, I just wish there were some chemical toilets along the avenue and more signs at intersections where cars may pass[49].

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[49] T42, see Appendix D.

The closed street is policed and lightly regulated, and this conveys to a wider acceptance, within the adult community, of that shared public space as a 'good' environment for children and young people and thus for adults too. In that sense, the idea of the closed street as a protected space is highlighted. Nevertheless, it cannot be compared to a 'bubble'.

Figure 83. Police

Source: Fieldwork (2016; 2018)

Albeit a relatively safe space, the closed street is not hermetic. Its' porosity is its main feature. Even for some, the closed street should have security reinforced. Criminal rates have increased on Sundays, according to Security department data, mostly related to the theft of smartphones, along with increasing complaints about the *camelôs* who are unauthorized to be there trading[50], or complaints about excessive litter[51]. Some specialists consider that there is not enough police force on Sundays, such as a political scientist, and specialist in Public Security, who states that:

> The PM [Military Police] is not doing everything they should. There's not enough police on Sundays. Part of this policing could be done by the City Hall too. If you put municipal guards walking down the avenue, this already suppresses something[52].

There seems to be, however, an *ethos* of shared trust (PAULOS; GOODMAN, 2004) in the closed street as a space-event and, thus, insecurity might refer to a 'distracted' crowd as an

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[50] This relates to street traders' claims for space and legal access for urban work.
[51] T29, see Appendix D.
[52] Statement given by Guaracy Mingardi to the Estado de S. Paulo, T53, see Appendix D.

attractive 'bait' for thieves[53]. Furthermore, relational processes meet in this conjunctural event (MASSEY, 2008) that challenges the space children are acquainted with, stimulates their interaction with wider society without foreclosing risk, and enables the practice of spaces of possibilities. Giant bubbles, for instance.

Figure 84. Giant bubbles

Source: Fieldwork (2016; 2018)

All the more, whoever uses that space not only inhabits what has already been produced, but also has the ability to use it in ways that differ from policy makers' original intents (LEFEBVRE, 1991). This relates to the conception of space outside utopian frameworks and suggests considering its proximity with the notion of heterotopia.

Heterotopias have a function, unfolded between two poles, in relation to those spaces that remain outside them. The function of heterotopia of 'illusion' is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space as still more illusory, whereas the function of heterotopia of 'compensation' is to create a space that is other, another real space as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged since ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled (FOUCAULT, 1986, p.27). Thus, heterotopias enable us to both confront our illusions and to create new illusions of the utopias we cannot have. Foucault points out, for example, the oriental gardens as heterotopias of illusion, and the Jesuit villages of Paraguay as extreme examples of heterotopias of compensation, a 'realized utopia' (SUDRADJAT, 2012). It refers to a relational function of heterotopias that both represent and contest the dominant order to which they respond.

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[53] *Idem.*

The idea of the closed street as a space of 'compensation' for the gaps between urban policy and practice of urban space, or compensating for an 'unfriendly' city encountered during the week, can be explored in diverse ways. For one thing, the multiplicity of activities and *stimuli* on Sundays is associated with a closed streets policy and the idea of the street as a leisure option in a city that lacks open public spaces. Indeed, closing off a street such as Paulista Avenue conveys to "a big demand not yet fully attended for open spaces, which should be served by a much larger network of properly cared for parks, such as the Ibirapuera"[54], as can point out an urbanist-architect. But this *vacuum* is not an exclusive feature of São Paulo, rather it refers to the reality of other Southern big cities. The media enforces that understanding inasmuch:

> Initiatives of this sort deserve support, especially in a city that is almost always hostile to the pedestrian and suffers from the scarcity of green areas and parks[55].

Some prefer to avoid the scarce and crowed green areas of the city's parks, especially on holidays, and decide to come to the Paulista to avoid difficulties in accessing the Ibirapuera, because of the leisure options encountered at the closed street, that seem to please everyone[56]. Caroline B., for example, would face traffic on Sundays and 'dispute' a parking spot at the Ibirapuera park so that her 3-year-old daughter, Valentina, could ride her bike and play in open space. She states that her 'stress' came to an end when they began to use Paulista Avenue. Now, on Sundays they stop at the bakery on their stroll to the Paulista and then enjoy their day there[57].

In her first visit to the Paulista Avenue, Cely arrives early with her sister, son and her 9-year-old daughter, who learns to ride the bike. She says they avoid the Ibirapuera park because her daughter has ADHD (attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, in Brazil known as *TDAH*) and does not feel comfortable in crowded parks. But the cycle lane on the Paulista can become crowded and disputed throughout the day, and can receive up to 40 thousand cyclists. For Cely's daughter, who is a beginner, after mid-day it is hard to negotiate that space. Not always the speed encountered at the cycle lanes meets everyone's needs[58]. Instead, she rides her bike outside the cycle lane.

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[54] T40, see Appendix D.

[55] T48, see Appendix D.

[56] This refers to a statement made by Giovana, mother of Lara and Davi (1y and 3y), and her brother who preferred to avoid the Ibirapuera Park on a holiday because it was crowded and there was nowhere to park. They heard this from friends and decided to go to the Paulista, recognizing it as a good leisure spot with many options for all (T42, see Appendix D).

[57] *Idem*.

[58] Field diary. Brief interview with Cely, who was with her sister, 9-year-old daughter and 3-year-old son. 7th September 2018.

The idea of compensation may yet reveal a contrast with children's weekly activities. Sophie's (8y) mother, Pamela, explains that the closed street is very good because of all that multiplicity that they don't encounter or have access to during their busy week. She highlights the easy access to museums, for instance, as a positive aspect of the Paulista. Her daughter wears helmet, elbow protectors and knee protectors as she learns to use roller blades. She thinks the Ibirapuera park is dangerous for Sophie because there are so many 'professional' skaters already there. They prefer the Paulista. Sophie's mom understands this closed street as a 'space for all'[59].

This relates to other experiences. Grace's family lives nearby and, if it weren't for the Paulista, they would go to the Ibirapuera park because they find their building is old and not offering leisure equipment or outdoor spaces for their daughter or son to play. Enthusiastic about the closed street, for Grace it is not only about 'play'. There, they have the chance to interact with different people, something she considers very positive[60]. To think of the closed street as a space of compensation in the context of urban densification and spatial segregation calls for a consideration on how children's lives have been accommodated in high-rise housing and how open public spaces counter-interact with those spaces.

Social constructions of childhood must be considered. For the poorest inhabitants, the closed street can be a source of income or supply, for instance. In its interface with logics of compensation, the closed street can be appropriated in terms of the need to supplement family income. Many children accompany their parents at work.

While some of the traders' children stick around in strollers, or use the tablet while their parents work, others want cotton-candy. Hector's mother and sister come on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. On a particular holiday they bring Hector, who plays near the posters his mother is selling. Suddenly he runs off exclaiming "I want that! I want that!". He was rushing towards the cotton-candy man close by. His teenage sister rushes off after him, she is annoyed but agrees to buy the cotton-candy he wants. His mother prefers to bring him only on holidays because "he is a handful of work, he always wants to run around"[61].

Other children are not accompanied by adults. Let's recall those three boys who checked out the gym and the dog, strolling at the Paulista by themselves with savvy, sustaining their day from contributions of passersby, and attracting looks probably related to the contrasts with main social constructions of childhood in the city. Or the sister and brother selling candy and

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[59] Field diary. Brief interview with Pamela and her daughter. 2nd September 2018.
[60] Field diary. Brief interview with Grace and her 6-year-old daughter. 2nd September 2018.
[61] Field diary, 7th September 2018.

dishcloths to help their mother pay the rent[62]. Or yet the 2 year-old girl that is close to her mother while she begs for donations from people enjoying that space.

Figure 85. Work. Baby stroller. Tablet. Cotton-candy

Source: Fieldwork (2016; 2018)

Thus, the closed street can also be thought of as a space of 'illusion', not only because it mirrors a 'child-friendly' city through the shared trust in that time-space, but also because it presents a distorted image of it. Indeed, heterotopia presents a juxtapositional, relational space, a site that represents incompatible spaces and reveals paradoxes (SUDRADJAT, 2012). The closed street is not necessarily a reservoir of freedom, emancipation or resistance. This is coherent with Johnson's (2013) critic on a tendency to reduce the notion of heterotopia to the idea of 'resistance'. Rather, *heterochronias* relate to other sites – by coexisting, combining or connecting - and remind us, for instance, of im/mobility, spatial segregation and unequal social relations that characterize the city.

The closed street, albeit experienced in different ways in other cultural and geographical settings, relates to wider processes of spatial segregation, im/mobility and disputes encountered in many cities. Closing off cars in Paulista Avenue, and other streets as part of an 'Open Streets' program, is not an isolated measure, nor unprecedented. Tourists' accounts, for instance, highlight how local dimensions connect to global processes of urban restructuring. As Daniel C. (68y) takes three French colleagues to visit the Paulista, one of them remarks: "in Paris, we

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[62] Field diary, September 2nd 2018.

have a lot of closed streets on weekends, for me it is not strange, on the contrary, it's awesome"[63]. For the Colombian student, Sneyder R., in his first visit to the Paulista he comments that "back in Colombia there's a very similar place, called *Carrera Sétima* Avenue, where there are also cultural events and manifestations"[64].

Urban policy enables this (albeit temporary) use of the street and, besides it being a tourist attraction, the closed street reinforces the image of São Paulo, and other cities that join, of a 'global city'. Furthermore, while policy tolerates a temporary occupation of public space, this makes the closed street a place of 'effectively enacted utopia' (*cf*. FOUCAULT, 1986, [1967]) in which children's right to the city is simultaneously represented, contested and inverted (*idem*, 1986, p. 24).

Promoting closed streets as public policy is not something straightforward. Rather, it comprises a contested process that reflects demands from society and the negotiation of space in its interface with institutional and political spheres. Technical studies related to impact on traffic and flow guide decisions and contribute to policy makers' willingness for 'testing out' the idea. Policy and its legal frameworks are necessary for enabling this sort of regulated and car-free public space. However, as one of the locals remark, as she refers to the closed street: "now you can't take it away anymore, no way! People are enjoying it a lot!"[65]. This appropriation of space is highlighted in several perceptions that cannot be reduced to legal aspects.

> It humanizes São Paulo, right? I think it's one of the best things that has happened lately. We needed a linear space where everyone could meet, talk, walk, breathe. I think that closing off cars on Sundays gave back a little of love to the population of São Paulo (WebDoc Paulista Aberta, 2015).
> Attending the car-free avenue on Sundays is the creation of a new habit for the city (Guilherme Y., 24, Folha de S. Paulo, 18/10/2015).
> This is our beach, but only now we began to think of the Paulista in this way (Andreza G., 29, Folha de S. Paulo, 18/10/2015).
> Over the weekend I feel as if I were in another country because it really changed the looks of the Paulista (WebDoc Paulista Aberta, 2016)

Yet, spatial disputes emphasize the different levels of mobility that express different power relations in the city, such as children's access to streets and physical spaces. There are different conceptions about who should be 'favored' in their 'right to the city'. The notorious expansion of traffic in São Paulo, above all, has boosted for decades an urban infrastructure that gives priority to car space, in detriment of pedestrians or cyclists, be them children or adults.

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[63] T15, see Appendix D.
[64] E02, see Appendix D.
[65] Field diary, 2nd September 2018.

The experience of the closed street contests that order, and from within. In that sense, as suggested by Roux *et al*. (2017), a space can be used tactically to contest a dominant order from inside, on its own territory, with heterotopia referring to that place temporarily appropriated by a tactical use of regulated space so as to challenge its surrounding environment.

The closed street as a place of illusion and of compensation works, thus, in the context of children's and adults' social and spatial relations. It comprises, for instance, rules associated to mobility and the need to negotiate space - skates, feet, wheelchairs, monocycles, bikes, roller blades, handcarts. It is a car-free space. It also provides a safe space related to a shared trust in that situation as well as a break in time where pleasure in urban life and relationality are enhanced is several ways. The closed street both reflects and challenges the dominant urban order as a friendly and car-free time-space. Roux *et al.* (2017) endorse this kind of inclusive approach of heterotopias as spaces of illusion *and* compensation, a configuration that Foucault presented as mutually exclusive.

7.7 Discussion

At the same time the closed street presents a mirror and inverted image of the city. The mirror exerts a sort of counteraction on the position that we occupy (FOUCAULT, 1986 [1967]). As the closed street counteracts a hostile and dangerous urban space, it cannot, however, be reduced to the sole idea of a space of resistance. The closed street is, nevertheless, political and the openness of this time-space reflects children's right to the city.

But how does children's space production in closed streets reflect their right to the city? For one thing, Foucault's notion of heterotopia is productive in highlighting the heterogeneity of contemporary space, as pointed out in this chapter, as well as specific mechanisms to account for how the meaning of places may be shifted (ROUX *et al*., 2017). Furthermore, Caldeira's analysis of the pattern of social and spatial segregation that characterizes the contemporary city, its public space, and I would add many children's lives, is helpful for supporting this discussion. I point out her idea of logics of segregation based on the notion of safety and security, and thus the current experience of public space is no longer one related to modern ideals of 'commonality' or 'universality'. The public order created by private enclaves in big cities of Southern countries has inequalities, isolation and fragmentation as its main features (CALDEIRA, 2010).

However, once observing visual and discursive narratives of the closed street, I can't help but wonder that it seems to 'retrieve' in some sense what has been commonly portrayed in urban planning as the 'modern experience of public life'. I recall how Zygmunt Bauman

recently spoke of *retrotopia*, a 'utopia of the past' to refer to the loss of hope of achieving happiness in some idealized place of the future, thus leading to a 'glorification' of practices and projects of the past. This past 'modern experience of public space' portrays aspects such as: the primacy of streets and their openness; the free circulation of crowds; impersonal and anonymous encounters of the pedestrian; unprogrammed public enjoyment and congregation in streets and squares; and the presence of people from different social backgrounds strolling and gazing at those passing by, looking at store windows, shopping, and sitting in *cafes*, joining political demonstrations or using spaces designed for the entertainment of the masses (CALDEIRA, 1996).

The policy makers' intent in closing off cars at the Paulista Avenue to offer population a leisure area was yet based on a premise that São Paulo did not have "*boulevards* and public squares as meeting places like the ones in Europe", as stated by the Mayor: "if the tourist arrived in São Paulo and wanted to enjoy Sunday to walk, to stroll, where would he go? There would be no option. Today, there are 19 open streets in the city"[66] on Sundays.

The closed street also conveys to a demand from society to reclaim public space, and does not consist in an isolated action of policy makers, nor a private or innovative event. The idea of legitimating Paulista Avenue as a leisure area and space of encounter appears in discursive practices that call for the municipality's responsibility for provision and light regulation of that space, including expansion of infrastructure that can increase its attractiveness and safety, that is, the provision of these safe spaces.

Besides, the closed street, in its heterotopic features, is not necessarily a bubble of freedom. Caldeira, too, recognizes that:

> At the core of the conception of urban public life embedded in modern Paris are notions that city space is open to be used and enjoyed by anyone, and that the consumption society it houses may become accessible to all. Of course, this has never been entirely the case, neither in Paris nor anywhere else, for modern cities have always remained marked by social inequalities and spatial segregation, and are appropriated in quite different ways by diverse social groups, depending on their social position and power. In spite of these inequalities, however, modern western cities have always maintained various signs of openness related especially to circulation and consumption, which contributed to sustaining the positive value attached to the idea of an open public space accessible to all (CALDEIRA, 1996, p. 315).

If the modern experience of public space has vanished, and the 'old modern model loses its explanatory value', are we to say that meta-narratives of urban friendliness or children's right to the city have completely vanished? The mirror is a concrete site that disrupts our spatial

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[66] Interview from the Mayor Fernando Haddad in 2016 to the news Folha de São Paulo (T37, see Appendix D).

position, forming a dislocation of place, a disruption that provides a rich imaginary space, a provocation (JOHNSON, 2006). If in private enclaves social inequality and spatial segregation obstruct children from an experience of public life, the closed street seems to provide a time-space of compensation that opens up possibilities, albeit it does not propose a clear political agenda about what city it will forge from children's space production. Nevertheless, the closed street challenges the urban order and shows it as illusory.

For one thing, space production is fragmented, mobile and changing (CENZATTI, 2008), and there are shifting meanings associated to a closed street, including that of movement, encounter, play, affect, negotiation, relationality, inter-generationality, fun and otherness. In that sense, *heterochronias* help to clarify spatial and temporal dimensions of environmental child-friendliness, albeit associated to an ambivalent, heterogeneous and contingent public space.

8. A BIG FRIENDLY GIANT? A STORY ON THE SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF 'OTHER SPACES'

> 'Look in the jar carefully and I think you will be seeing this dream'.
> (…) 'It's moving!' Sophie cried. 'It's alive!'
> 'Of course it's alive'.
> 'What will you feed it on?' Sophie asked.
> 'It is not needing any food', the BFG told her.
> 'That's cruel', Sophie said. 'Everything alive needs food of some sort. Even trees and plants.'
> 'The north wind is alive,' the BFG said. 'It is moving. It touches you on the cheek and on the hands. But nobody is feeding it'.
> Sophie was silent. This extraordinary giant was disturbing her ideas. He seemed to be leading her towards mysteries that were beyond her understanding.
> 'A dream is not needing anything,' the BFG went on. 'If it is a good one, it is waiting peaceably forever until it is released and allowed to do its job. If it is a bad one, it is always fighting to get out.'(DAHL, 1982).

8.1 Foreword

This chapter focuses on discussing how policy interplays with children's space production encountered in closed streets. This highlights urban policy inasmuch it addresses in rights of presence and use of public space. This chapter is built through a dialogue between the study's findings, approached in previous chapters, and ideas emerged within a dialogue with a storybook. This narrative strategy seems productive for providing insights and directing us back to the research question that has guided this study, enhancing a dialogue within the field of policy.

This approach might invite, as suggested in Millei *et al.* (2019), a range of interpretive responses, create open-ended and evocative connections, evoke emotional dimensions of participants' and researchers' experiences, and effect readers' emotions and intellect (p. 51). Millei *et al.* (2019) follow, for instance, an (I-)poem method with the purpose of switching the position of a researcher in the analysis process from reading the data into listening to them. It relates to ethnopoetry as it may provide a parsimonious rendering of the emotions that exceed the text and push the words to reveal the emotional power of a conversation, a meeting, a visual rendering (AITKEN, 2014, p. 21). Their creating of skate and ski poems is about foregrounding the non-human participants of *skates and skis* and downplaying the role of meaning making by children.

In a similar path, as another strategy to promote multiple interpretations and avoid pressing rigid meaning into the data is the dialogue with stories. Inspired in Millei's *et al.* (2019)

approach, I place quotes from British author Roald Dahl's storybook *The BFG* (1982) – about Sophie's and the BFG's experiences - into dialogue with the ideas prompted from this study's data, previously presented and discussed. I avoid repeating content from letters or field diary, although they are the guide for my discussion. It is not possible to put everything in 'words', but this form of discussion that juxta-poses the study's findings, and new ideas, with Sophie's and the BFG's experiences may contribute to enhance a debate within policy that recognizes affect. It also suggests the importance of metaphorical thinking.

The ways metaphors can be interpreted by someone is not predictable. One's scope of knowledge, experiences and affects suggest multiple possibilities related to the interpretation of metaphors. As Urry (2000) points out, metaphors vary in their productivity, both for everyday life and for scientific practice. As a metaphor can be conceived as a process of using analogies to understand our experiences, as children and adults experience the world they grasp to integrate their new experiences into concepts they already understand (ASH, 2012). Thus, the use of metaphors can be potentially worthwhile in policy studies for providing more than just a literal discussion of concepts or settings related to policy, children or urban space. It can also bring policy closer to children and/ or children closer to policy.

In this study, as I pointed out, to consider children's space production in the realm of urban mobility policies suggested my initial approximation with the concept of environmental child-friendliness and the ways it has been articulated within urban planning and policy. The idea of urban child-friendliness highlights not only spatial, but seems to advance towards considering relational aspects that can be implicated in children's space production, through the idea of 'friendliness'.

I consider the storybook *The BFG* written by English author Roald Dahl in 1982 (and illustrated by Quentin Blake). The choice of this book is not aleatory. I read and enjoyed this book when I was about nine years old, during the time I lived in Canterbury, England. As it was recently 're-discovered' and converted into a movie (directed by Steven Spielberg in 2016, albeit the movie adapts parts of the original story) it sparked memories and affects. The book was translated to Portuguese as *O BGA – O Bom Gigante Amigo* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 1st ed. 1999; 4th ed. 2016). I purposely placed quotes heading the previous chapters, and the plot will be unraveled in the following section. I then re-visit, in the last section of this chapter, this study's research question and present (non-)concluding remarks.

8.2 Sophie and the BFG… Dreams and Dream-catching

It is the 'witching hour', around 3 a.m. Eight-year-old Sophie looks out from the window of the orphanage and sees a huge shadow. She doesn't know what it is, but she know it's not human. She is terrified and rushes back to her bed to hide beneath her blanket. But the giant quickly notices and snatches her to Giant Country with him.

Sophie's life at the orphanage is tough, and she doesn't like that place. Her daily life in some way speaks to the (yet needed) recognition of a plurality of childhoods. After all, children experience space, places and relations in different ways. It also calls attention towards social constructions of childhood and geographic realities not always underlined by global frameworks or urban agendas.

As for Sophie, she is terrified. A giant's scale can be scary even for adults, let alone for children as small as her. If we think, for instance, of big cities' panoramic scale it may be overwhelming and even de-prioritize the human dimension. At the same time, however, there are other scales that interconnect, and the experience of the city is not an essentialist one, rather it is multifaceted. Besides, this giant pushes Sophie towards experiences she could not have anticipated if she had remained lying in her bed.

Although giants seem scary at first, there are different kinds of giants. Sophie soon discovers that this particular giant does not plan to 'swollop' her. He doesn't eat human beings and calls himself a 'big friendly giant', the *BFG*. But the other nine giants do… They are rude, bigger, smelly and aggressive… horrifying. As Sophie learns their names - the Fleshlumpeater, the Bonecruncher, the Manhugger, the Childchewer, the Meatdripper, the Gizzardgulper, the Maidmasher, the Bloodbottler, the Butcher Boy[67] – we can get a better picture of many of children's (and adults') fears regarding urban space, such as assaults, fights, bad language, kidnap, drugs, rape, prejudice, bullying, child-abuse, rage, murder. Take the Gizzardgulping giant, for instance.

> 'The Gizzardgulping Giant is a city lover', the BFG went on. 'The Gizzardgulper is lying high up between the roofs of houses in the big cities. He is lying there snuggy as a sniggler and watching the human beans walking on the street below, and when he sees one that he looks like it has a whoppsy-good flavor, he grabs it. He is simply reaching down and snitching it off the street like a monkey taking a nut; he says it is nice to be able to pick and choose what you is having for your supper. He says it is like choosing from a menu'.(The BFG, Roald Dahl, 1982).

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[67] In Portuguese: o Comecarnecrua, o Esmagamão, o Estripapai, o Mascamenino, o Amassamãe, o Engolenguia, o Matamoças, o Agarramigo e o Açougueiro (O Bom Gigante Amigo, Roald Dahl, 1999; 2017).

But the BFG only eats *snozzcumbers*, a disgusting type of vegetable, and frobscottle, a a nice drink with soft bubbles that go upside down. Sophie even begins to feel at ease as she continually interacts with this giant. Urban space, too, in its environmental child-friendliness suggests not only spatial but also relational traits. As well as Sophie, we might too begin to envisage possibilities and good surprises.

Sophie is quite curious to know just what the BFG was doing during the time she was looking through her window at the orphanage.

> 'If you is really wanting to know what I am doing in your village,' the BFG said, 'I is blowing a dream into the bedroom of those children.'
> 'Blowing a dream?' Sophie said. 'What do you mean?'
> 'I is a dream-blowing giant,' the BFG said. 'When all the other giants is galloping off every what way and which to swollop human beans, I is scudding away to other places to blow dreams into the bedrooms of sleeping children. Nice dreams. Lovely golden dreams. Dreams that is giving the dreamers a happy time.'
> 'Now hang on a minute,' Sophie said. 'Where do you get these dreams?'
> 'I collect them,' the BFG said, waving an arm towards all the rows and rows of bottles on the shelves. 'I has a billion of them.' (…) The BFG settled himself comfortably in his chair and crossed his leg. 'Dream,' he said, 'is very mysterious things. They is floating around in the air like little wispy-misty bubbles. And all the time they is searching for sleeping people.'
> 'Can you see them?' Sophie asked.
> 'Never at first.'
> 'Then how can you catch them if you can't see them?' Sophie asked.
> 'Ah-ha,' said the BFG. 'Now we is getting on the dark and dusty secrets.'
> 'I won't tell a soul' Sophie said.
> 'I is trusting you,' the BFG said. He closed his eyes and sat quite still for a moment, while Sophie waited.
> 'A dream,' he said, 'as it goes whiffling through the night air, is making a tiny little buzzing-humming noise. But this little buzzy-hum is so silvery soft, it is impossible for a human bean to be hearing it.'
> 'Can you hear it?' Sophie asked.
> The BFG pointed to his enormous truck-wheel ears which he now began to move in and out. He performed this exercise proudly, with a little proud smile on his face. 'Is you seeing these?' he asked.
> 'How could I miss them?' Sophie asked.
> (…) 'They is allowing me to hear absolutely every single twiddly little thing.'
> (The BFG, Roald Dahl, 1982).

Although hard to define, dreams suggest multiple and multisensorial experiences. One is asleep, but what she or he lives and practices is 'real' in that slice of time and it is lived fully, and many times enjoyed with great pleasure. Playing games, having an ice cream, playing soccer or volley, or basketball, skating, eating snacks, reading a good book, having fun, enjoying friends and family are all desirable dreams. Besides, dreams are relational. The dreams Sophie shares with the BFG and the dreams that involve other children in the story are not experienced alone, but with friends, family, teachers and other actors, as well as with things.

When we consider policy, however, we are faced with a recurrent emphasis on what Aitken (2018) refers to as the idea of the child as a monadic self, a bias that relates to UNCRC and universal rights. Albeit recognizing difficulties in reconciling the independent child and his or her agency with coherent ideas of dependency, Aitken asserts the need for re-embedding children in a multiplicity of relations (*idem*).

Besides an individualistic bias, policy is largely meaning-centered. 'Dreams', on the other hand, relate to a needed focus pointed out by Rautio and Jokinen (2016) on *what matters* to children rather than only on what they *mean*. Due to a prevailing developmental approach to children's lives, their *doings* are often subjected to meanings ascribed by the ones who are beyond the developmental phases children are viewed as representing: parents, educators, and fellow adult citizens. In that approach, if something does not seem to have a meaning, or the meaning cannot be expressed linguistically for some reason, it seems in danger of being deemed trivial or irrelevant (p. 4-5). But activities, as they *matter* to children, do not necessarily have to fully *mean* something to adults.

In that sense, besides challenging exclusively rationalist orientations in policy, or even in social theory, as the BFG takes Sophie to Dream Country he sparks her (and our) sensitivity towards the spatiality of social life. The space where they encounter dreams mobilizes affects and sharply contrasts with Sophie's and others' daily lives.

In a similar fashion, the 'closed street' in a big and busy city seems to provoke a displacement of time matching a disruption of space. The 'car-centered' features of urban life are temporarily 'suspended' in favor of other experiences that, albeit just for a slice of time, embrace children's presence in public space and recognize their right to the city. Laclau's idea of 'dislocation' (LACLAU, 1990) comes to mind as it seems productive for emphasizing these time-spaces that lay bare the contingency of current urban frames and open up political possibilities. As 'other spaces' or a site of 'joint experience' in a Foucauldian sense, the closed street mirrors a recognition of children's right to the city, possibly a 'friendly' urban space where children play safely in the street and participate in family, community and social and cultural life. But the closed street does not entail fixity nor the necessarily prescribed promise of an ideal future. It is more about living the moment.

Children claim spaces and places by living and practicing that space in the ongoing present, forming relations and connections across signs, objects and bodies in often unexpected ways (RAUTIO; JOKINEN, 2016, p. 10). Albeit *Dream Country* and its' dreams are for Sophie a space altogether 'different' from the ones she is acquainted with, this space is not romanticized as we might expect from fairy tales or prevailing constructions of childhood. Besides, the notion

of space implicated here is not equated to that of 'place'. The idea of urban child-friendliness is not restricted in that sense. For example, a park on a sunny day can be seen as 'friendly' whereas in the dark of night it can give us an impression of danger. Besides, we could still be speaking of another city, for example São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, or Recife. Actually, Dream Country has a curious property of being in relation with many other sites, in a juxtapositional sense, which can lead to different linkages and outcomes.

> 'Oh, bash my eyebones!' he cried, waving the jar in the air. 'I come all this way to get lovely golden dream and what is I catching?'
> 'What are you catching?' Sophie said.
> 'I is catching a frightsome trogglehumper!' he cried. 'This is a bad bad dream! It is worse than a bad dream! It is a nightmare!'
> 'Oh dear', Sophie said. 'What will you do with that?'
> 'I is never never letting it go!' the BFG cried. 'If I do. Then some poor little tottler will be having the most curdbloodling time! This is a real kicksy bogthumper! I is exploding it as soon as I get home!'
> 'Nightmares are horrible,' Sophie said. 'I had one once and I woke up sweating all over'.(The BFG, Roald Dahl, 1982).

There are dreams… and there can be *trogglehumpers*. Although Dream Country is a spotlight for dreams, what may seem 'utopia', it can also host nightmares, bad and unromantic dreams. It mirrors the 'real' world. In urban space, negative indicators too are identified alongside positive indicators and this assemblage suggests smaller or bigger disparities in, for example, the presence and quality of urban features and equipment.

Moreover, Dream Country also entails processes of power. For one thing, Sophie's journey to Dream Country depends on surpassing huge obstacles – the nine bad giants – as well as the huge distance that she cannot manage to deal with on her own. She was taken there by the BFG.

Sophie's journey to Dream Country speaks to issues on children's mobility. In the closed street, children's spatial experiences can enhance their mobility within its boundaries and in regard to other time-spaces as they negotiate feet, skates, wheelchairs, monocycles, lanes, bikes, roller blades, handcarts… But Dream Country also tells us something about transport infrastructure and conditions that can enhance or limit children's access to different public places, including the closed street. Although things can change, and dreaming is by no means 'reduced' to visiting Dream Country, not all children have been there yet. Access seems difficult and mobility is increasingly linked to the right to the city.

Furthermore, the dynamics of being 'thrown together' (AMIN, 2008) in a closed street of a big city has no predictable outcomes. This disturbs urban policy and planning. Rather, the shared use of public space enacted by policy is ambivalent and resonates an openness linked to

the right to the city. In that sense, being thrown-together in public space does not predetermine the way childhoods are experienced in the city. It only opens possibilities. We must acknowledge, for instance, that taking children to the closed street can resonate developmental discourses that highlight the several benefits, for children's development, associated to this kind of experience.

Nonetheless, within an urban agenda the closed street policy seems to promote spaces that boost child-adult relations in a manner that moves away from the prevailing 'child-centered universalism' and the 'idea of the child as the monadic self-detached from the family' (AITKEN, 2018). Besides, dreams do like being mixed. The possibility of 'mixing dreams' dialogues with children's play *vis-à-vis* the situated multiplicity of the closed street in a big city, reinforcing the perspective of space production as a relational concept of space and time.

I pointed out elsewhere how Aitken (2014) envisages play as a transitional space similar to Winnicott's 'space of becoming' and children's play in public space as part of a spacetime disruption if it is seen as a space of becoming. This influences his view on young people as 'becoming-other' and the importance of giving up to them space for becoming something different (AITKEN, 2018). Aitken's (2018) conceptualization is productive for this discussion and this study's purpose as he advances with specific ideas from Winnicott to suggest its elaboration on the level of the State.

As Winnicott depicts the notion of potential or transitional spaces as those through which mother and child (once biologically connected) each get to appreciate the separateness *and* imperfections of the other, Aitken interrogates what happens when the mother tries to 'erase' the child. In a 'good enough mother/environment', the good enough mother adapts to an infant's needs at first and then gives the infant a gradual sense of separation rather than the sense of being abandoned, dropped or, worse, erased (annihilated). Considering thus the notion of a 'good-enough State', Aitken puts forward the idea that: "[l]ike the good-enough mother, the good-enough State affords a safe space through which citizens can simultaneously play with relations, accommodate difference, exercise creativity, and engage in just practices" (2018, p. 174).

I will get to the State shortly. In that direction, meanwhile I refer to Sophie and the BFG's experiences to note that in order to 'collect dreams' the BFG has a huge net, jars, bottles, suitcase… all of which enable him to catch dreams. We should not ignore all the processes and instruments entailed in this 'dream-catching'. Nevertheless, there is an affective engagement – and the BFG's 'marvelous ears' are crucial in that sense -, which is not clear to us since we tend

to be highly focused on the concrete aspects of places and our doings. Sophie also shares this difficulty:

> 'The Big Friendly Giant was seated at the great table in his cave and he was doing his homework.
> Sophie sat cross-legged on the table-top nearby, watching him at work. The glass jar containing the one and only good dream they had caught that day stood between them.
> The BFG, with great care and patience, was printing something on a piece of paper with an enormous pencil.
> 'What are you writing?' Sophie asked him.
> 'Every dream is having its special label on the bottle,' the BFG said.
> 'How else could I be finding the one I am wanting in a hurry?'
> 'But can you really and truly tell what sort of a dream it's going to be simply by listening to it?' Sophie asked.
> 'I can,' the BFG said, not looking up.
> 'But how? Is it by the way it hums and buzzes?'
> 'You is less or more right', the BFG said. 'Every dream in the world is making a different sort of buzzy-hum music. And these grand swashboggling ears of mine is able to read that music'.
> 'By music, do you mean tunes?'
> 'I is not meaning tunes.'
> 'Then what do you mean?'
> 'Human beans is having their own music, right or left?'
> 'Right,' Sophie said. 'Lots of music'.
> 'And sometimes human beans is very overcome when they is hearing wonderous music. They is getting shivers down their spindels. Right or left?'
> 'Right', Sophie said.
> 'So the music is saying something to them. It is sending a message. I do not think the human beans is knowing what that message is, but they is loving it just the same'.
> 'That's about right,' Sophie said.(The BFG, Roald Dahl, 1982)

The BFG and Sophie help us pay attention to *affect* as intrinsic to children's *and* adult's space production, including play in public space. If we consider the closed street of a big city, children negotiate this space with guidance from parents, caregivers or other adults and with different levels of experience, but their 'functional navigation' does not require or prompt a previous 'understanding' of these spaces they are using. They nevertheless can enjoy that present moment.

Pleasure in urban life in that sense suggests possibilities for an alternative understanding on children's *and* adult's place in the world, and their rights, through the lens of affectionate, caring interdependences that ideally characterize caregiver-youth relationships (AITKEN, 2018, p. 75). I understand that if it is possible to restrict or facilitate the social production of 'other spaces' – for instance, closed streets - as opportunities for enabling or boosting presence in and use of public space, then a 'good-enough' urban policy has a role in providing 'safe' or 'protected' spaces for children *and* adults. In that effort, it resonates the right to the city.

However, dream-catching is not easy nor straightforward. Other giants are always ready to interfere and cause problems. Let's consider, for instance, policy making involved in contesting power relations in the context of urban mobility. How about the idea of promoting a car-free space in specific temporal breaks for a shared use of public space that enhances non-motorized mobility and leisure? A wide range of actors will contest and oppose to such idea, and in some places the initiative may not even be experimented (as was the case of the city of Porto Alegre, for example, in 2015).

> 'I hope you will forgive me,' he [the BFG] said, 'if I tell you that human beans is thinking they is very clever, but they is not. They is nearly all of them notmuchers and squeakpips'.
> 'I beg your pardon', Sophie said.
> 'The matter with human beans,' the BFG went on, 'is that they is absolutely refusing to believe in anything unless they is actually seeing it right in front of their own schnozzles.'(The BFG, Roald Dahl, 1982)

As pointed out, the processes and instruments entailed in 'dream-catching' should not be ignored. Indeed, as Lefebvre (1996; 1991) pointed out, urban policy is not detached from administrative, institutional or legal processes. But that is not the full story. There is still the need no advance a discussion on children's 'right to the city' considering the provision of a safe space that is not previously conceived as a 'child's space' and, in that sense, does not suggest a necessary linkage to children's *singular* rights in the way it is generally conveyed in rights-based agendas.

Sophie is upset and angry with the other giants who continue to 'swollop human beans'. She encourages the BFG to engage in a plan to get rid of these giants. Sophie suggests they tell the Queen of England, through a dream the BFG will fabricate, just *how* the giants are snatching and eating people. The dream will also tell her about the BFG and how he can help her capture the giants. Finally, the dream will reveal Sophie sitting on the windowsill of the Queen's room and once she wakes up, she finds Sophie and knows the dream is true. The plan works out and the Queen supports the BFG and Sophie. She makes arrangements and calls leaders from other nations to confirm that, like England, other countries also encounter this problem of humans simply disappearing all around. The Queen sends her military with nine helicopters to follow Sophie and the BFG. The sleeping giants are found, tied up and carried by helicopter back to England, where a huge hole is dug up for arresting them. Children, giant *and* adults win the day.

The Queen takes me back to a discussion on the level of State action. The provision of a protected space speaks to a general concern about safety and children in public space. As

pointed out elsewhere, the closed street is policed and regulated, albeit lightly, and this conveys to a wider acceptance of that space as a 'good' environment.

Even in a good-enough environment, however, imperfections are not foreclosed. Even in England, three silly men climbed over the high fence and fell into the human-eating giants' hole. This was followed by a crunching of bones and yells of delight from the giants. A big notice was then put on the fence to avoid future disasters: 'It is forbidden to feed the giants' (The BFG, Roald Dahl, 1982) although we never know exactly what can happen.

Albeit childhoods are experienced in multiple time-spaces, relations and ways, and we should not portray any site as a privileged locus for political action nor a privileged public space, nonetheless a closed streets policy informs something about children's space production and their right to the city. As a 'good-enough' urban policy provides a protected space for shared use and appropriation, a timely car-free public space, it in some way addresses rights of presence and enjoyment of urban life.

8.3 A 'Non-conclusive' Closing

How does children's space production in closed streets reflect their right to the city? In this study, in an effort towards critically reflecting children's perspectives and concrete places in Brazilian cities, the closed street is depicted as a site of joint experience for approaching children's 'interplay' with urban policy.

As an affective public space, the 'closed street' operates as a site that mirrors and contests the space in which children live. Albeit this 'slice in time' embraces hope, it holds no promise of an ideal future nor does it erase relations of power that are spatialized in specific forms in children's *and* adult's daily lives.

Nonetheless, this 'effectively enacted utopia' opens up possibilities. Prevailing views on child-adult boundaries, for instance - a predominant trait of child-centered policy - tend to be contested as we examine children's space production. Such a perspective can offer a significant re-thinking of the conventional emphasis on agenda setting and policy-making processes related to children in urban policy initiatives.

This study asserts care and interdependence as agentic dimensions of environmental child-friendliness. These aspects should be acknowledged by urban policy. Children *and* adults make space through entangled social relations. In that sense, children's politics emerge not *in* 'the child' but *within* relations that should not be ignored by policy makers.

A closed streets policy can be unsettling because it introduces ambivalence into established understandings within the field of policy, in particular considering its main planning

practices. Besides, policy's common emphasis on 'what works?' tends to ignore the plurality of practices and relations that affect the governing of children *vis-à-vis* public space. As we examine the ways in which children and policy enactment combine to shape possibilities towards safe public spaces, we are invited to re-think the idea that all spaces require previous 'fixing' or 'designation as child-spaces' in order to be enjoyed by children.

Does a closed streets policy overtly challenge or re-shape car space, spatial segregation or other power relations linked to children's im/mobility in the city? It is not future-oriented in that sense. Nonetheless, it is open-ended and resonates the right to the city. Thus, it is 'good-enough' as it embraces hope and works as an affective starting point towards re-thinking relations and habits in the city.

We dream, we wake up. It's 6 p.m. and the street is now 're-open' for cars…

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APPENDIX A - CONSENT FORMS

<div style="border:1px solid">

<u>MODELO DE CARTA DE ANUÊNCIA</u>

Autorizamos Adriana Tenório Cordeiro, Doutoranda da Universidade Federal de Pernambuco (UFPE/PROPAD), a desenvolver trabalho de pesquisa intitulado 'Desenhando Novas Ideias para a Agenda Urbana: Contribuições da Perspectiva das Crianças'. Ciente dos objetivos e metodologia da pesquisa acima citada, e que nos são assegurados os requisitos abaixo:

- O cumprimento das determinações éticas da Resolução 466/2012 CNS/MS,
- A garantia de solicitar e receber esclarecimentos antes, durante e depois do desenvolvimento da pesquisa,
- Não haverá nenhuma despesa para esta instituição que seja decorrente da participação dessa pesquisa,
- No caso do não cumprimento dos itens acima, a liberdade de retirar nossa anuência a qualquer momento da pesquisa sem penalização alguma,

Concordamos em fornecer todos os subsídios para seu desenvolvimento.

Recife, Data: _____ / _____/ 2016

_____

Assinatura e carimbo do responsável pela instituição

</div>

MODELO 1 DE AUTORIZAÇÃ PARA PAIS E/OU RESPONSÁVEIS

Senhores Pais e/ou responsáveis,

Sou Adriana Cordeiro, Doutoranda em Administração da Universidade Federal e Pernambuco (UFPE). Estou realizando uma pesquisa intitulada 'Desenhando Novas Ideias para a Agenda Urbana: Contribuições da Perspectiva das Crianças em torno do Direito à Cidade', e gostaria de poder contar com a participação do 4º Ano da Educação Fundamental nesse trabalho!

Nesta pesquisa, pretendemos contribuir no preenchimento de lacunas que ainda existem no debate em torno da relação entre a criança e a cidade, e destacar o potencial das crianças de contribuir para o planejamento urbano. Esta é uma pesquisa exploratória e usamos uma abordagem metodológica lúdica e diversificada, para oferecer às crianças meios apropriados para darem conta de suas ideias sobre a cidade. Assim, cada criança será convidada a fazer um desenho durante a aula e, em seguida, nos contar um pouco sobre o seu desenho e suas ideias sobre a cidade, bem como suas ideias sobre diferentes imagens da cidade.

Considerando que a pesquisa traz uma metodologia lúdica, e protege a identidade da criança, não prevemos nenhum tipo de desconforto ou risco à participação da mesma. Quando pedirmos às crianças que falem sobre seus desenhos e respondam a perguntas sobre a cidade, apenas aquelas que se sentirem à vontade para respondê-las assim o farão. Posteriormente, na fase de publicação dos resultados da pesquisa, é possível incluir alguns dos desenhos e relatos trazidos pelas crianças de forma ilustrativa.

Entre os benefícios associados à participação da criança na pesquisa está a possibilidade dela contribuir para o debate acadêmico em torno da participação da criança como ator social, bem como contribuir na construção de conhecimento para o campo das políticas públicas de planejamento urbano. São direitos da criança participante: a garantia de esclarecimento e resposta a qualquer pergunta; a liberdade de abandonar a atividade a qualquer momento sem prejuízo para si; a garantia de privacidade à sua identidade; a garantia de sigilo de suas informações se assim o desejar; e a garantia de que não haverá de nenhum ônus financeiro a sua participação na pesquisa.

O _____ (Colégio), reconhecendo a importância de se estimular a incorporação da perspectiva das crianças para o campo das políticas públicas, apoia nosso esforço acadêmico-científico nesta direção. Gostaria de poder contar com seu imenso apoio à realização deste belo trabalho! Em caso de dúvidas, por favor entre em contato com Adriana Cordeiro (pesquisadora responsável), pelo telefone (XX) X.XXXX.XXXX ou pelo e-mail adriana.cordeiro@xxx.br Favor enviar autorização preenchida abaixo, até o dia _____.

Muito obrigada!
Adriana Cordeiro

Eu, _____, responsável pelo/a aluno/a _____, da Turma _____, tendo recebido todos os esclarecimentos acima, e ciente dos direitos citados, autorizo a participar da pesquisa 'Desenhando Novas Ideias para a Agenda Urbana', bem como autorizo a publicação em periódicos, revistas bem como apresentação em congressos, workshop e demais eventos de caráter científico.

Recife, data _____/_____/_____

_____
Assinatura do responsável

MODELO 2 DE AUTORIZAÇÃ PARA PAIS E/OU RESPONSÁVEIS

Senhores pais e/ou responsáveis,

Sou Adriana Cordeiro, Doutoranda em Administração da Universidade Federal e Pernambuco (UFPE). Estou realizando uma pesquisa acadêmica intitulada 'Desenhando Novas Ideias para a Agenda Urbana: Contribuições da Perspectiva das Crianças', e gostaria de poder contar com a participação de crianças do 6º Ano da Educação Fundamental nesse trabalho!

Nesta pesquisa, pretendemos contribuir no preenchimento de lacunas que ainda existem no debate em torno da relação entre a criança e a cidade, e destacar o potencial das crianças de contribuir para o planejamento urbano. Esta é uma pesquisa exploratória e usamos uma abordagem metodológica lúdica e diversificada, para oferecer às crianças meios apropriados para darem conta de suas ideias sobre a cidade, onde cada criança redige uma carta sobre suas ideias para uma cidade amiga da criança.

Considerando que a pesquisa traz uma metodologia lúdica, e protege a identidade da criança, não prevemos nenhum tipo de desconforto ou risco à participação da mesma. Posteriormente, na fase de publicação dos resultados da pesquisa, é possível incluir algumas das ideias trazidas pelas crianças de forma ilustrativa, mas com sigilo à identidade das mesmas. Entre os benefícios associados à participação da criança na pesquisa está a possibilidade dela contribuir para o debate em torno da participação da criança como ator social, bem como contribuir na construção de conhecimento para o campo das políticas públicas de planejamento urbano.

São direitos da criança participante: a garantia de esclarecimento e resposta a qualquer pergunta; a liberdade de abandonar a atividade a qualquer momento sem prejuízo para si; a garantia de privacidade à sua identidade; a garantia de sigilo de suas informações se assim o desejar; e a garantia de que não haverá de nenhum ônus financeiro a sua participação na pesquisa.

O _____(Colégio), reconhecendo a importância de se estimular a incorporação da perspectiva das crianças para o campo das políticas públicas, apoia nosso esforço acadêmico-científico nesta direção. Gostaria de poder contar com seu imenso apoio à realização deste belo trabalho! Em caso de dúvidas, por favor entre em contato com Adriana Cordeiro (pesquisadora responsável), pelo telefone (XX) X.XXXX.XXXX ou pelo e-mail adriana.cordeiro@xxx.br. Favor enviar esta autorização preenchida até o dia _____. Muito obrigada!

Adriana Cordeiro

Eu, _____, responsável pelo/a aluno/a _____, da Turma/Ano _____, tendo recebido todos os esclarecimentos acima, e ciente dos direitos citados, (   ) autorizo (   ) não autorizo sua participação na pesquisa 'Desenhando Novas Ideias para a Agenda Urbana', bem como autorizo a publicação em periódicos, revistas bem como apresentação em congressos, workshop e demais eventos de caráter científico.

Recife, Data _____/_____/_____

_____
Assinatura do responsável

APPENDIX B - INFORMATION ON CHILDREN'S LETTERS

N.	Pseudonym	Age	M/F	School	Sib-lings (Y/N)	Residence	Addressee	Draw-ing (Y/N)
L01	Sammy	10	F	Public	Y	Torre	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L02	Vivi	10	F	Public	N	Madalena	Government of Pernambuco	N
L03	Kai	12	M	Public	Y	Cordeiro	Government	N
L04	Vitor	10	M	Public	Y	Vila Santa Luzia	Government	N
L05	Lucas	10	M	Public	Y	Torre	Government	N
L06	Rafa	11	M	Public	Y	R. Antônio Rabêlo	Geraldo Júlio	N
L07	Silvia	11	F	Public	Y	Casa Amarela	Bruce - Iron Maiden	N
L08	Joshua	10	M	Public	Y	Águas Compridas	Mother Santina	N
L09	Ricardo	10	M	Public	Y	R. do Carradeiro	Silvio Santos	Y
L10	Roberta	11	F	Public	Y	Santo Amaro	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L11	Kelly	10	F	Public	Y	Bomba do Hemetério	Geraldo Júlio	N
L12	Daniel	10	M	Public	Y	Madalena	Mayor	N
L13	José	11	M	Public	Y	Torre	Geraldo Júlio	N
L14	Carlos	10	M	Public	Y	Torre	Mayor of Torre neighborhood	Y
L15	Eduarda	10	F	Public	Y	Casa Forte	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L16	Patricia	11	F	Public	Y	Torre	Government	Y
L17	Paula	10	F	Public	Y	Torre	Recife	N
L18	Karine	10	F	Public	Y	Vila Santa Luzia	Michel Temer	N
L19	Helen	10	F	Public	Y	Vila Santa Luzia	Obama	N
L20	Kevin	10	M	Public	Y	Mangabeira	Government	N
L21	Andrea	10	F	Public	Y	UR-7 Várzea	Paulo Câmara	N
L22	Guga	11	M	Private	Y	Torre	Dilma Roussef	N
L23	Mariana	10	F	Private	Y	Cordeiro	Mayor	N
L24	Maria	11	F	Private	N	Torre	Mayor Geraldo Júlio	N
L25	Joaquim	11	M	Private	Y	Torre	Dilma	N
L26	Luke	11	M	Private	Y	Iputinga	Paulo Henrique (friend)	N
L27	Marcus	11	M	Private	Y	Torre	Ian (friend, classmate)	N
L28	Elis	11	F	Private	Y	Afogados	Dilma Roussef	N
L29	Nicole	11	F	Private	N	Várzea	Lilly (School supervisor)	N
L30	Miguel	12	M	Private	Y	Iputinga	Aunt Angela	N
L31	Fernando	11	M	Private	Y	Cordeiro	Pai	N

L32	Fabiana	11	F	Private	Y	Tamarineira	Fabiana (herself)	N
L33	Gabriela	10	F	Private	N	Boa Vista	Paula	N
L34	Gustavo	11	M	Private	Y	Imbiribeira	Dilma	N
L35	Pedro	11	M	Private	Y	Madalena	Dilma Roussef	N
L36	Levi	12	M	Private	Y	Casa Forte e Madalena	Pai	N
L37	Vinny	12	M	Private	Y	?	Mom (Lucy)	N
L38	Joane	11	F	Private	N	Cordeiro	Danielle	N
L39	Bruno	11	M	Private	Y	Torre	The whole city	N
L40	Isabela	11	F	Private	Y	Iputinga	Mother	N
L41	Tatiana	11	F	Private	Y	Torre	The whole world	N
L42	David	11	M	Private	Y	Madalena	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L43	Sophie	11	F	Private	Y	Madalena	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L44	Sara	11	F	Private	Y	Casa Forte	Mayor Geraldo Júlio	N
L45	Rita	11	F	Private	Y	Boa Viagem	The city dwellers	Y
L46	João	11	M	Private	Y	Madalena	To all the citizens in the world	N
L47	Anne Marie	11	F	Private	Y	Madalena	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L48	Eduardo	11	M	Private	N	Rosarinho	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L49	Victoria	12	F	Private	Y	Rosarinho	Governor of Recife	N
L50	Theo	11	M	Private	N	Madalena	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L51	Rosie	11	F	Private	Y	Casa Forte	City Hall	N
L52	Nataly	11	F	Private	Y	Casa Forte	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L53	Anthony	11	M	Private	Y	Rosarinho	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L54	Luiz	11	M	Private	N	Torre	Geraldo Júlio (Mayor) and to all the citizens of our country	N
L55	Andrew	11	M	Private	Y	Boa Viagem	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L56	Cece	11	F	Private	Y	Torre	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L57	Laurie	10	F	Private	Y	Madalena	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L58	Marina	11	F	Private	Y	Boa Vista	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L59	Rodrigo	11	M	Private	N	Casa Forte	Geraldo Júlio	N
L60	Arhtur	11	M	Private	Y	Casa Amarela	J. Agripino	Y
L61	Fabio	11	M	Private	Y	Espinheiro	To all people	N
L62	Franklin	11	M	Private	Y	Parnamirim	Geraldo Júlio	N
L63	Fred	11	M	Private	Y	Madalena	City Hall	Y
L64	Lucia	11	F	Private	Y	Graças	The person responsible for the city is the one who lives in it	N
L65	Julie	11	F	Private	Y	Cordeiro	M. C. (Granny)	N
L66	Claire	11	F	Private	Y	Madalena	Walt Disney	N

L67	Vic	11	M	Private	Y	Rosarinho	Geraldo Júlio	N
L68	Guilherme	11	M	Private	Y	Parnamirim	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L69	Gabriel	12	M	Private	Y	Madalena	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L70	Fefa	11	F	Private	Y	Rosarinho	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L71	Tony	10	M	Private	Y	Torre	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L72	Matias	12	M	Private	Y	Ilha do Retiro	To my Grandma, who lives in a very small red and White building	Y
L73	Ana	11	F	Private	Y	Ilha do Leite	Mother	N
L74	Anne	11	F	Private	N	Casa Amarela	Geraldo Júlio	Y
L75	Amanda	11	F	Private	Y	Torre	To all the citizens of Recife	Y
L76	Mateus	10	M	Private	N	Parnamirim	Dilma	Y
L77	James	11	M	Private	Y	Madalena	Geraldo Júlio	Y

APPENDIX C - BRIEF DICTIONARY

An informal description of some of the BFG's words quoted throughout the chapters.

The BFG's words	A plausible description
Curdbloodling time	An awful experience
Filthsome	Disgusting
Frightsome	Very Frightening
Frobscottle	A nice green drink with soft bubbles
Gobble up	Swallow up
Human beans	Human beings
Jumbly	Mixed up
Kicksy bogthumper	A terrible dream
Lonesome	Lonely
Man-gobbling cannybull	A cannibal
Majester	The Queen
Notmuchers and squeakpips	Those who are silly and arrogant
Peaceably	Peacefully
Piggy-wiggies	Flowers
Ringbeller	The opposite of a Trogglehumper, a really good dream
Schnozzles	Eyes
Scudding away	Running away
Snitching	Stealing
Snozzcumber	A disgusting vegetable
Snuggy	Cozy
Sniggler	Burglar, thief
Spindels	Spine
Squibbling	Interrupting someone
Squiff-squifddled	All confused
Swashboggling ears	Marvelous ears
Swollop	To demolish
Tottler	Toddler
Trogglehumper	An absolutely frightful dream
Twiddling my leg	Making fun of me
Twitch-tickling	A nuisance, a disturbance
Whoppsy-good	Very good
Wigglish	English
Wispy-misty	Mysterious
Wonderous	Wonderful

APPENDIX D - INFORMATION ON TEXTS

Online texts

Text number	Source	News (Original title)	Publication date
T01	O Estado de S.Paulo	Prefeitura abre ciclovia da Paulista e testa veto a carros aos domingos	28 jun 2015
T02	Folha de São Paulo	Haddad deve discutir com promotores o fechamento da Paulista no domingo	29 jun 2015
T03	Carta Capital	Uso da Paulista para manifestações ou lazer não é problema, dizem hospitais	14 jul 2015
T04	Site TV Gazeta	Assista ao especial "Paulista Aberta" neste domingo!	28 aug 2015
T05	O Estado de S.Paulo	Grupos favoráveis à abertura da Paulista prometem ocupar avenida neste domingo	28 aug 2015
T06	O Estado de S.Paulo	50% de comerciantes são a favor de fechar a Paulista para carros, mostra pesquisa	02 sept 2015
T07	O Estado de S.Paulo	Ruas de Lazer: brincadeira era na rua e aos domingos	17 sept 2015
T08	R7 Notícias São Paulo	Pobres apoiam mais a redução da velocidade do que os ricos em SP	22 sept 2015
T09	R7 Notícias São Paulo	Número de paulistanos que usam carro diariamente cai de 56% para 45%	22 sept 2015
T10	O Estado de S.Paulo	Com sol e calor, parques têm filas no feriado em São Paulo	12 oct 2016
T11	ArchDaily	Avenida Paulista será aberta para lazer todos os domingos	15 oct 2015
T12	Folha de São Paulo	Haddad ignora Promotoria e vai fechar av. Paulista para carros aos domingos	15 oct 2015
T13	Globo.com (G1)	Avenida Paulista será fechada para carros todos os domingos	15 oct 2015
T14	O Estado de S.Paulo	No frio, ciclistas e pedestres passeiam na Avenida Paulista fechada para carros	18 oct 2015
T15	Folha de São Paulo	Fechada para carros, avenida Paulista atrai piqueniques e shows de música	18 oct 2015
T16	Globo.com (G1)	Avenida Paulista fecha para veículos e abre para lazer neste domingo	18 oct 2015
T17	R7 Notícias São Paulo	Paulista inaugura neste domingo abertura de vias para lazer em São Paulo	18 oct 2015
T18	Portal Terra Notícias	Milhares curtem o 1º dia oficial de Avenida Paulista fechada	18 oct 2015
T19	O Estado de S.Paulo	Demagogia na Paulista	20 oct 2015
T20	Folha de São Paulo	Sem carros, avenida Paulista recebe desfile de pedestres	30 oct 2015
T21	Globo.com (G1)	Avenida Paulista e outras cinco ruas abrem para lazer neste domingo	01 nov 2015
T22	Folha de São Paulo	Fechamento da Paulista e redução de velocidade dividem paulistanos	02 nov 2015
T23	iG São Paulo	Além da Paulista, outras 331 ruas de SP são abertas para lazer aos domingos	07 nov 2015

T24	Folha de São Paulo	Tribos da Paulista: Veja figuras que podem ser vistas na avenida fechada	08 nov 2015
T25	iG São Paulo	José Serra critica fechamento da Avenida Paulista e causa revolta na internet	30 nov 2015
T26	Agência Estado	Prefeitura de SP diz 'estranhar' ação do MPE contra fundo criado em 2007	01 dec 2015
T27	O Estado de S.Paulo	Paulista vira camelódromo com artesãos	20 dec 2015
T28	Catracalivre	Site de arquitetura aponta abertura da Paulista como "projeto inspirador"	22 dec 2015
T29	O Estado de S.Paulo	A degradação da Paulista	06 jan 2016
T30	O Estado de S.Paulo	Monociclo elétrico dá o tom na Paulista fechada	11 jan 2016
T31	O Estado de S.Paulo	Avenida Paulista vira 'parquinho'	26 jan 2016
T32	O Estado de S.Paulo	Dez regiões e locais que estão dando uma nova cara a SP	11 fev 2016
T33	O Estado de S.Paulo	Fiesp e Sesi não entenderam o espírito da avenida sem carros	18 fev 2016
T34	Folha de São Paulo	Polêmico, fechamento da Paulista para carros conquista apoio de moradores	21 fev 2016
T35	Folha de São Paulo	Fechamento da Paulista aumenta fluxo de visitantes em centros culturais	21 fev 2016
T36	Folha de São Paulo	Coletivo promove brincadeiras de crianças 'das antigas' na Paulista	21 fev 2016
T37	Folha de São Paulo	'Centro financeiro da cidade agora é ponto de encontro', diz Haddad	21 fev 2016
T38	Folha de São Paulo	Vias abertas	28 fev 2016
T39	O Estado de S.Paulo	Haddad defende fechar Minhocão por até um ano como teste	16 mar 2016
T40	O Estado de S.Paulo	Fechamento da Paulista aos domingos torna-se definitivo	25 jun 2016
T41	Minha Sampa	PAULISTA ABERTA AGORA É OFICIAL!	25 jun 2016
T42	O Estado de S.Paulo	Após 1 ano, avenida Paulista se consolida como área de lazer em São Paulo	27 jun 2016
T43	Catracalivre	Paulista Aberta completa um ano e quem ganha são os paulistanos	28 jun 2016
T44	El País Brasil	Vinte e cinco promessas que Doria já fez para a cidade de São Paulo	10 jul 2016
T45	Folha de São Paulo	Desalento paulistano	16 jul 2016
T46	Folha de São Paulo	Confira dez curiosidades que a pesquisa Datafolha traz sobre assuntos polêmicos da capital paulista	18 jul 2016
T47	Folha de São Paulo	Avenida Paulista tem pico de roubo e furto aos domingos e à tarde em SP	18 sept 2016
T48	Folha de São Paulo	Lazer urbano ameaçado	21 sept 2016
T49	Catracalivre	Deixe o clichê de lado e aproveite a nova praia do paulista	27 sept 2016
T50	O Estado de S.Paulo	Aberta aos pedestres, Avenida Paulista tem shows de chorinho e Maria Gadú neste domingo	12 nov 2016

T51	Folha de São Paulo	Avenida Paulista fica aberta por mais tempo a partir deste domingo	13 nov 2016
T52	Catracalivre	Programa 'Ruas Abertas' de Haddad ganha prêmio em urbanidade	05 dec 2016
T53	O Estado de S.Paulo	Roubo a celular na Paulista dobra aos domingos	12 dec 2016
T54	O Estado de S.Paulo	Entidades cobram mais segurança na Paulista aos domingos	16 dec 2016
T55	Folha de São Paulo	Três 'gigantes' consagram a Paulista como principal eixo cultural de SP	19 dec 2016
T56	O Estado de S.Paulo	Paulista aberta é considerada 'projeto inspirador' por site	21 dec 2015
T57	VEJA São Paulo	Avenida Paulista aos domingos vira calçadão democrático	17 mar 2017
T58	Globo.com (G1)	Doria nega fim de programa Ruas Abertas e diz que vias seguirão fechadas para carros aos domingos	12 may 2017
T59	Folha de São Paulo	Doria esvazia programa de Haddad que veta carro em ruas aos domingos	12 may 2017
T60	Catracalivre	Doria enfraquece programa que abre ruas à população aos domingos	12 may 2017
T61	Rede Brasil Atual	Organizações criticam Doria por desmonte do programa Ruas Abertas	15 may 2017
T62	VEJA São Paulo	Avenida Paulista, o novo paraíso dos camelôs	01 jun 2017
T63	VEJA São Paulo	Prefeitura quer limitar número de músicos na Avenida Paulista	26 jun 2018
T64	VEJA São Paulo	Dobra número de usuários de drogas na região da Avenida Paulista	17 nov 2017
T65	VEJA São Paulo	Avenida Paulista completa 126 anos	01 dec 2017
T66	VEJA São Paulo	Domingo na rua: espaços abertos transformam São Paulo	20 dec 2017

Official documents

N.	Decree	Description (original)	Date
D01	DECRETO Nº 57.086, DE 24 DE JUNHO DE 2016	Institui o Programa Ruas Abertas, nos termos da Lei Federal nº 12.587, de 3 de janeiro de 2012 - Política Nacional de Mobilidade Urbana.	24 jun 2016
D02	LEI Nº 16.607 DE 29 DE DEZEMBRO DE 2016	Institui o Programa Ruas Abertas e altera a Lei nº 12.879, de 13 de julho de 1999, revoga a Lei nº 12.273, de 19 de dezembro de 1996, e dá outras providências.	29 dec 2016

Documentaries

N.	Video	Description (original)	Post	Post date	Duration
E01	Documentário Paulista Aberta 2015	Ocupar, agregar, humanizar. Em meio à imensidão de torres de concreto, à insegurança e ao individualismo da maior metrópole do Brasil, o paulistano encontra a possibilidade de viver a cidade e fazer	Kelviane Lima	12 dec 2015	16:22

| | | dela o seu espaço. Mas será que um carro pode ou deve valer mais que as relações humanas, a coletividade e até mesmo o prazer de se divertir?
Ficha técnica:
Direção e roteiro: Kelviane Lima
Fotografia e som: Kelviane Lima
Produção: Kelviane Lima
Edição e finalização: Kelviane lima
Trilha sonora: (Todas as músicas contidas nesse documentário foram utilizadas de acordo com os termos de licenciamento Creative Commons)
PAULISTA ABERTA por KELVIANE LIMA está licenciado sob a Atribuição-CompartilhaIgual 4.0 Internacional (Para saber mais: creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/) | | | |
| E02 | Especial Paulista Aberta ago 2016 | O #PaulistaAberta é um especial sobre o 1º ano de Avenida Paulista aberta para o público aos domingos. | TV Gazeta | 29 aug 2016 | 25:52 |