

Physical Education, body education and early childhood: interfaces and contradictions in the routine of day nurseries

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Abstract: Considering the ethnography of a day nursery, the study deals with the “place” of Physical Education in Childhood Education. This is materialized in the search of an adequate place for the classes, which longs for an environment that avoids “dispersion” and “mixing” and keep children “properly” safeguarded, among others. The results showed an institutional routine in which body practices and the care of the body are the protagonists, but also marked by moments of: punishment and threats, practices of exclusion and prejudice, violence, control of gestures and standardization of movements.

Key-words: Physical Education. Child rearing. Day nurseries. Child behavior. Cultural anthropology.

1 INTRODUCTION

This study deals with some results from a survey conducted in public childhood education centers of Florianópolis, by thirty-eight professionals who were caring, at that time, for one hundred eighty children between 0 and (5) 6 years of age.¹ That comprise the institutional routine, involves the cares, the games and the directed learning activities. The research sought to describe, analyze and understand body

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1 Gradually, Brazilian children aged six years old will be entering primary school, in accordance with Law 11.274/2006, that implements elementary education of nine years.

practices that were being used in that place, in addition to checking the presence of pedagogical devices that injure the body, noting how they operate and organize themselves in the space-time of the daycare, trying to draw an inventory for studies on body education in childhood, considering a whole set of moments that make the every-day-life of institutions and involves care, games and the directed learning activities. These moments are marked by the periods of children's entrance, hygiene, feeding, sleeping, playing, directed learning and evacuation, in addition to the physical education activities that have been integrated into the public child care institutions since 1982. The research involved extensive field observations, interviews and document analysis.

In its history, the Physical Education in Public Childhood Education centers of Florianópolis appears marked by a series of (in)definitions,² whether with regard to the presence of this subject in childhood education, its role and its action programs, or with regard to theories, concepts and guidelines adopted. These were initially anchored in the biological sciences or in development approaches, such as the psychomotor speech, to later find a historical-critic reference and then Childhood Education³ This last has led the area to face the paradoxical task of breaking with teaching methods that advocates planning the activities for periods⁴ (hour/class) that

2 Sayão (1996) studied the teaching representations, programs and influences that are inscribed in this process of insertion of Physical Education in Early Childhood Education in Florianópolis, analyzing their specificities with regard to pedagogical practices.

3 With an outlook for Children Education, it is seek to break with teaching methods in the education of young children, since the "cognitive aspect important to work with the school program, in the case of early childhood education, should not gain greater importance than other aspects involved in the process of individual-child development, and not consider education as only teaching [...] In the education of children younger than six years old in day nurseries and pre-schools, social, cultural and economic relations have an even greater importance for teaching" (ROCHA, 1999, p.63-4).

4 Sayão (2000, p.51) explains: "Childhood, as Perrotti alerts [...] is the time of playing in which the activity determines the time and not the opposite. Thus, the Physical Education organized as 'time for...', as well as other school subjects are organized, make no sense for young children who think, act and feel in complex totality. The subject as rational organisation of contents fragments not only knowledge but children." Although there are day care centers and Nucleus of Child Education (NEIs) whose professionals guide their practices from different parameters that no longer bind to the clock time, but to the playful time and where not only the teachers determine the activities, but everybody is involved on the process (the children and or the professionals who work with them), several units

fragments contents and sometimes disregards the interests and needs of children (SAYÃO, 2004).

In this study, we treat the moments of Physical Education, not putting aside the time to work with other activities of the institutional routine, considering a whole range of activities, speeches, programs, techniques, rituals and directed care, especially body care, and that seem to take the leading role in that educational environment.

In this context, we were interested in (with a focus on learning) thinking and rethinking how Physical Education is carried out in institutions that care for infants, considering its place in education in general and in childhood education, in particular. It is along the ambiguity of this space (place and non-place) that we tried to move during this work.

The first point to be observed concerns the search of the professionals for a "place" for Physical Education: an "appropriate" physical space for the classes, but also linked to the need of finding an environment that prevents children from scattering, as children walk through less conventional, less "safe", and less aseptic places, we could say. Then, we observed the places where physical education teachers (but also other people of the institution) don't seem to walk through, even if in these places there were numerous situations involving the education of the body. Both the search for a space for physical education and those not used can be seen as places and times that include a set of standards that contribute, as we shall see, in the formation of habits and sensibilities: they are places for the education of the body. In the last segment of the text, we prepared some notes aiming at asking about Physical Education in early childhood education in places such as day care centers, where the body, their practices and care stand out.

still organize their work around teaching models, i.e., in which the activities are planned based on the period hour/class—and often being disconnected from the pedagogical project of the institution.

2 PLACES FOR PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN DAY CARE CENTERS

The neighborhood where the daycare investigated is located in the north-central part of the city, approximately ten miles from downtown. It is located beside a long high way where there are administrative offices, a *shopping center*, small stores and low income housing. Given the current legislation with regard to the criteria for accreditation and operation of institutions for early childhood education, the day nursery involves a basic structure consisting of spaces for administration and educational services, kitchen with pantry, dining room, laundry, restrooms and rooms for children activities. The entrance courtyard, covered with cobblestones, with slopes and uneven sidewalks, is used by the teachers as a "space for Physical Education." Not only this space, but also the classrooms are frequently used for PE classes and, more rarely, the park and the piece of land with a garden, full of trees, fruits and insects.

The space was compared by professionals⁵ with other spaces in which they had worked before:

I've worked in many different places with bad spaces [...]I though here was paradise, but the nursery expanded. [...] It mixed⁶ children from the park with the PE children.[...]Then I came to this side [parking area].It is good because it is separated, other children don't come.[...]Sometimes I go to the garden, but that is a very open space. The children get lost [...]so it is more complicated, isn't it? The physical space was not ideal, but I believe that, compared to other schools I worked, it was pretty big.

5 The Physical Education classes are taught by three professionals: one of them is an experienced teacher and the others work temporarily in the daycare.

6 6The expression shows resistance to physical education that are not planned as hour / class and made available to a specific group of children. In these terms, also the fact that the classes are organized into groups according to age contradicts the vision of a nursery that "does not want to be a school" and which encourages the interaction between children.

There was the entry space where it was possible play with them.[...]It was not ideal[...]But it is good.(Our emphasis).

A former director of the nursery (who worked for eleven years in the institution) regrets that during her administration, she did not expressed her desire to "build a pitch" for physical education classes. Her position shows how physical education is connected to sports in the institutional imaginary, rather than other possibilities of body exercise, especially for young children. According to Soares (2003, p. 15), "[...] we are educated by the space that surrounds us, from word to architecture, from our homes, schools, buildings where we work, streets, spaces intended for bodily practices" and that many educational institutions⁷ have sports facilities and resources considered ideal for physical education, and this was, in turn, domesticated by the culture of sports training.

The idea of "adequate and/or inadequate" spaces are also in the speeches of other professionals, as explained by the teacher:

I think we have a huge space, but it is not well structured, there is lack of security.[...] There is a garden in the back, the space is big, but there is broken glass and it is not fenced. We run the risk of getting hurt. There are holes on the ground and no grass.

While we can notice the desire for an "ideal place", a sports court or a grassy field in the professionals speeches, we also note that there is a "consent" from them regarding the available spaces—such as the compliment about the size of the space available, or the teacher who says – " but that is ok" This ambiguity converges in longing for a place - the sporty

7 Not only educational environments are domesticated by the culture of sports training. According to Soares (2003, p.15), "Rectangular", "semiolimpic" pools, "poly-sports courts" and "gyms" equipped with many appliances to sculpt body and its aerobic performance are part of our urban everyday life and rural imaginary reached by television media as places for "body practices". According to the author, the high performance sport, theories and training techniques have driven many different body practices, reaching from school practices to the diets that follow the principles of "high performance, aestheticization of sacrifice, hiding pain, pleasure justification"(SOARES,2003,...).

appearing as paradigmatic - that facilitates control over their bodies, a more "isolated", less "open", i.e., a place where children do not "get lost" or where they run less "risk" - as pointed. There seems to be a "need" for railings and fencing, limits and boundaries, "lines" and demarcation, given the difficulties for organizing activities in a space that is perceived as chaotic, and is not favorable to control small children who frequently "get lost" or "mix" in that space, according to the teachers.

This can also be seen in the story of a teacher who required auxiliary aid in repeated occasions in order to "control small, very active children". According to her, when she took the children to the area outside the nursery - "There was one there in the back of the garden, others on the wall to climb a tree, others at the front gate and near me only eight or nine. Over time, they participated. There was not so much hustling and bustling". Or also in the story of another teacher who told us that she gave classes in the classroom, because in the previous class she "had done outdoor activities: planned activities with no result" due to childrens "inconvenient" or "unruly" attitudes.

Physical Education of/in daycare nurseries needs a sheltered, fenced, protected place: a sports court or any place where it is possible to better organize "dispersion", "mixture", "inability" of children and inhibit behaviors that remind any non-dominated expression either represented by childish, spontaneous, "irrational" behavior by the body and its expressions, marked by desires. In other words, if it is necessary to equip children so they can orient themselves, and this obviously goes through the processes of self-regulation and self-control, one must ask, however, to what extent these processes do not become an end themselves and self-control is not a mask for the domain of instrumental rationality, the one that does not seek the good life, but the efficiency of the means of control.

The search for appropriate architecture arises as allied to the search for hygiene, improvement of health, preservation, adapting to the rules, withdrawing children from "inconvenient" places, in order to provide small children with functional environments that assist in the formation of clean and moralized individuals, well adapted to the *modus vivendi* of the city.

These and other principles that govern the world, the bodies and the senses frequently work without being noticed during the PE classes and other moments of the institutional routine. These are the marks that are deeply registered on the body and therefore reveal to be places that need attention and action because there the body also gains prominence.

In this sense, it is up to PE teachers to move away from the traditional "hour-class" and transit through other spaces and times of the day care talking with other professionals of the institution, in order to overcome the idea that only Physical Education "works the body", since it meets only a part, certainly important, of the body techniques and body care in educational environments (VAZ, 2002).

These techniques and cares with the body, as shown, are present in every moment of the institutional daily routine, composing a set of norms, discipline processes and procedures to control children, or, in other words, being configured as places for forming habits and sensibilities. The practices that are highlighted in this context are: a) punishment and threats; b) prejudice and exclusion; c) violence and d) control of movements and standardization of gestures (among many other things that we were not allowed to address due to work limits). We will address these issues below.

3 (OTHER) PLACES FOR BODY EDUCATION IN THE NURSERY

The situations below, from our field notebook, illustrate some parts of the physical education classes taught by different professionals working in the daycare:

SITUATION1:The PE teacher explains (to small children) that there will be music in the classroom: children should dance and when the music stops, they should stand inside the hula hoop, without moving. [...]. The activity is interrupted: "I want to know why you are still" The teacher grabs children's arms and forces them to stay into the space where the activity takes place. [...]In the following activity the teacher asks them do dance with their hands on the carpet. While they perform the task, the teacher collects the hoops. When it finishes, successfully or not, a new activity is given and two boys are punished sitting in chairs next to the teacher.[...]

SITUATION 2: In the classroom [...], the PE teacher shows a doll to a child while a boy bites the teacher. A boy pulls out various strands of hair from another boy who cries. Crying is not answered until it becomes extremely loud. The PE teacher warns:"let's put the mattress back".[...] Then she invites: "Let's rest a bit there on the mattress(now arranged side by side on the floor of the room for the sleep moment)before we have lunch". The auxiliary teacher repeats the invitation: "Let's get readt for lunch. Let's rest" and she sings: "Vamos comer para ficar fortinhos, para ficar fortinhos e crescer".

SITUATION3:[...]A child comes near to the teacher and says he doesn't like playing on that field "because his runners with light get full of thorns". A boy goes beyond the fence and the teacher asks: "Do you want to go back to the classroom...?"[...] The teacher warns: "Be careful not to get dirty or the teachers in the classroom will get mad" .A boy asks the teacher to help him clim a tree. She explains: "Who does not know how to climb it up, does not know how to climb it down" and tells the boy to go to other place,

alone, to “train” [...]Eight boys scream when a strong gust of wind comes up. They say: “There was a hurricane”. And they shake the branches “helping” the wind.[...]The teacher looks at the tree and says loudly: “Hey, you should not shake the tree”. She calls the children and, when he hears the request of a boy who wants to stay there, she tells him: “Adults have watches”. Because it’s snack time.[...]The auxiliary teacher(who is coming to pick the children up) says “We are late. Now we are going to wash our hands carefully and then we will have lunch”.

a) For the control of the body in the spaces, time, children not to get dirty and for punishing inappropriate attitudes, lack of control and inhomogeneous behavior of children, some physical education classes - but not only them - are marked by threats and punishments: warnings, reprimands and punishments generally using physical restraint but also by inducement offering compensation and rewards.

The condition for participating in the playing moment in PE classes is “being seated” and during guided activities in the classroom it is common to hear: “Put the toys back and sit or I won’t tell you a story!” But in the sleeping moment what we hear is: “sleep soon or you will lose your snack time.” During the meal: “who is not sitting, won’t be getting more meat”, or may be sent to a separate table alone to “act the fool”, tells the teacher.

At the completion of activity in the classroom, we wrote in our diary: “the teacher holds a boy by the arm and says: “You ant, sit and write. You had written before, but you erased it and now you are going to write it again”. It’s no use crying, you will write it again.[...] The auxiliary teacher takes the children to the hall for a video session. The teacher tells him that he won’t see the film while holding him between her legs. The boy kicks up and denies copying the word.[...]This scene continues for six minutes until the teacher says that “next time he would have to do his work again.”

It is worth reminding the contribution of Theodor W. Adorno who said that teaching the subject using toughness causes toughness to be personified in the student, who, when identifying with the adult, eventually becomes an aggressor too: so “being tough” means, “indifference to pain in general”. In this context, the pain of another is not different from our pain and pain in general. “Those who are severe with themselves acquire the right to be severe with others, avenging the manifestations of their pain that were hidden or repressed.”(ADORNO,2000, p. 128). Recognizing this mechanism and promoting an education that does not reward the pain and the ability to support it are, for Adorno, aspects that should be seriously considered in the context of education.

As it can be seen in the descriptions above, the places and institutional time are full of practices, techniques and cares with the body. Perhaps punishment and threat that intimidate and silence the bodies and adjust and hamper movements may be in the reflections and practices of PE teachers, along with other professionals, and compose a subject of interest within the field of Physical Education.

b) Another aspect often trivialized or even forgotten concerns practices of exclusion and prejudices in the relationships between children. We found in our field records several passages that illustrate these situations: a group of girls who prohibited the entry of another girl in the place they were because she didn’t have gloss [lipstick]. “Only us”; a boy that approached a group of girls to help them sweep the house and hear from one of them: “just girls can sweep the house”.

We also observed isolated children during classes, such as the girl who had recently enrolled in the nursery – from the beginning to the end of the proposed PE activities–she remained seated on a rock because she was discriminated against by the others; or the black and obese boy who was elected by a group of boys to play the role of a wolf and to be pursued by boys with swords made of sticks while repeating: “I’m a nice wolf!”.

Arguing that prejudice is shown to be present in children since Kindergarten, Adorno (1971) draws attention to children who isolate their colleagues refusing, for instance, to play with other children who don't belong to the same ethnic group. He also draws attention to the children who exclude others (*Ausschliessenden*), which form collective groups that separate individuals with authoritarian practices and subordination. Adorno points out children who say to their colleagues: "I do not play with you", or "nobody plays with that child", unmasking our senseless idea that child's cruelty is "just typical thing of children". Children who close the door for the girl who doesn't belong to the same group or put her out of their dollhouse or who do not allow others to share the same space or a toy because he/she does not have a similar one, in their hostility toward different or not "adequate" colleagues, indicate the need for a closer look and the intervention of an adult who can not transfer authority to the tyranny of the group, what is a real risk, as Arendt so clearly pointed out (2004).

c) In an attempt to respect the "rights" of children to foster creativity or in the name of "freedom" and "spontaneity" many moments in the daily routine of a nursery favor practices of violence among small children. In circumstances where there is no adult mediation some children, unable to resolve their conflicts through dialogue, attack others taking toys, punching, kicking. Many young children are at the mercy of the strongest, of the ones who are the most skilled in the use of the body as an instrument of violence.

At the end of the day, when the children were waiting their parents to pick them up, we wrote in our diary: "two children are wearing bear costumes; the 'bears' are stimulated by a boy who shouts: 'Then the fight begins. Fight, fight!' [...] and indeed the children fight until one of them gets hurt. The boy who incentivates the fight laughs uproariously. Only when the 'bear' who was hit cries and shows his wound to the auxiliary teacher, she intervenes".

As suggested by Arendt (2002,p.230), when adults stay away and allow children to determine what to do and how, the authority is transferred to the tyranny of the group:

For the authority of a group, even a child group, is always considerably stronger and more tyrannical than the severest authority of an individual person can ever be. If one looks at it from the standpoint of the individual child, his chances to rebel or to do anything on his own hook are practically nil; he no longer finds himself in a very unequal contest with a person who has, to be sure, absolute superiority over him but in contest with whom he can nevertheless count on the solidarity of other children, that is, of his own kind; rather he is in his position, hopeless by definition, of a minority of one confronted by the absolute majority of all the others. There are very few grown people who can endure such a situation, even when it is not supported by external means of compulsion; children are simply and utterly incapable of it. Therefore by being emancipated from the authority of adults the child has not been freed but has been subjected to a much more terrifying and truly tyrannical authority, the tyranny of the majority.

Emancipated from the authority of adults and unable to resolve their conflicts children react with aggression with colleagues. Some children use their strength to hurt other children; there are moments in which they organize themselves in groups and exclude or do not allow others to use a toy or a space, as shown in our diary. Recalling Adorno, who said that as

[...]every character, even from those who will commit crimes later in life are formed in early childhood, the education is aimed at preventing the recurrence[of Auschwitz, of all acts of barbarism] especially in early childhood. (ADORNO,1995, p.121).

It seems that these facts that happens and leave marks, especially on the body, gain prominence and they deserve to be discussed, reflected and considered as issues for educational intervention. These are issues that need the intervention of authority with no violence, but a transparent authority, as pointed out by Adorno (2000,p.167), “[...]to children, i.e., if they feel safe during the activity, consequently it will be identified as such by young children.

On the other hand, if in a child education point of view, all dimensions—beyond those that are restricted to the cognitive domain—should be involved in the education of young children, so the questions related to the body should not occupy inferior position.

d) Another aspect observed in the nursery involves different methods to control movements: controlling movements through codes, silent architectural barriers, using educational material and toys, in short, through pre-established rules that address the improvement of technical gestures, maximum output, like music, dance and the choreography of PE classes, the festivities, and the videos that young children watch.

We observed a class where children watched a video in which an actress (slim, beautiful, famous, “nice” etc.) was singing and dancing choreographed songs that were played twice consecutively, so that young children could learn the movements correctly through a series of repetitions. In other occasion, three girls followed the steps of the choreography of a “band” that has been on TV in several TV programs. One of the children, when moving her arm laterally rather than raising it, was immediately corrected by other children: “if you don’t do it right, you won’t play anymore”.

The toys used in the nursery park also contribute to standardized movements and gestures. These materials do not promote dialogue for planning a common area as they are already built and furnished for children’s “convenience”.

Pedagogical toys⁸ (and also several materials used in PE classes) provide instructions for their use, perhaps hindering the possibilities of creating different ways of feeling, thinking, questioning and recreating movements.

Mimicry,⁹ that is mere reproduction, ideal models, domesticated culture of movements promoting total lack of imagination.

4 FINAL COMMENTS

The issues mentioned in this study indicate that not only in PE classes, but also in the time for hygiene, feeding, sleeping, guided activities, playing in the park—which, as mentioned before, are part of the daily work in child-care institutions—the body recognizes pleasure and pain. The daily routine in nurseries, marked by adjustment, modeling, regulation and discipline processes, are strongly defined by practices involving the body, revealing that the body, even if apparently hidden, occupies a prominent place in the institution.

As mentioned in the introduction and focusing children's formation, we are interested in thinking and rethinking how Physical Education are developed in child-care institutions, which, as disciplinary area, should consider places and topics beyond those that historically demarcated (and still demarcate) its action locus: streets, courts, fields, or, in other words, teaching sports, recreation or psychomotor practices that, in the context of early childhood education, especially in

8 These toys are all the products intended for children which are called pedagogical or "educational" toys. They are manufactured under the orientation of psychologists or developmental approaches and their use are determined according children's interests, abilities and limitations, considering their age group, with instructions and warnings.

9 The mimetic capacity is characterized as a form of learning, knowledge production, (re) cognition and approach to objects. This is not a copy or a simple imitation of something, but flourishes with the production of multiple ideas and possibilities through similarities and, when reduced to the compulsive processes of rationality (instrumental) and organized according to models that come from outside, turn perversely, as explained by Horkheimer and Adorno (1985, p.168-186), into mere reproduction, into mimesis degradation contributing to the servile behaviour towards immediacy.

the research environment, are still being practiced in weekly sessions under the control of the clock that determine, in a rather arbitrary way, the minutes for the body "things".

These issues point to the tensions that address the specificity of the Physical Education curriculum, teacher training, the legitimacy of the discipline (or not) in educational settings, the themes and contents that are covered by the discipline. This is not different in pedagogical practice, where the impacts of criticism of traditional physical education are present in different ways, uncertain and full of nuances. In the context of early childhood education, these criticisms have been remitted to principles, practices and methodologies that were "legitimizing" their presence in early childhood education, such as psychomotricity, recreation or, in the specific context of Municipal Schools of Florianópolis, competitive events¹⁰ that marked (and still mark) the trajectory of the discipline. In our point of view, for beyond those action proposals and programs that are only for PE classes (or, at most, give "a hand" to other knowledge fields) and marked "their time", this criticism should be expanded to daily activities that are not part of the planned activities, sports courts or the patio, but somehow helps body education and leave marks. These marks also correspond to pain, wounds and suffering that leave their marks during repression (not free of violence) for better controlling them, overcoming them.

On the other hand, the data reported in this research, far from exhausted, also point to the need to extend the relationship between all professionals responsible for small children education, giving attention to space and time, the gestures, words and actions considering the body at all times during the daily work in educational settings.

If, on the one hand, children provide us with images that obscure reality when they approach to objects, assigning their value in use, without necessarily demanding to have them, but

¹⁰ Refer to Sayão(1996).

rather recognizing and processing elements of cultural production, giving them numerous meanings, on the other, they also reveal their incompleteness, the need of being close to the other and to the different, to the adult who shows them the elements of culture and who also guides them through the rules of civility. This requires sacrifices and renunciations that are not ends in themselves. If not considered in these terms, education is limited to adaptation and the possibility of forming an autonomous subject becomes diluted into conformity.

As the frankfurtians remind us, the relations between adults and children and between children and their colleagues are established and expressed also by marks on the body: they produce scars that can be understood - when a possibility to remember pain or sufferings is created; or they cause hardness, coolness, empty oblivion, but that does not cease to manifest as barbarism. When considering body practices and body care in educational environments for children, these assertions provide indications to think about the issues raised in this paper suggest new or revisit old questions about the education of the body.

Anyway, there is a need for a dialogue with the elements that are part of the body in educational environments and also the habits of the contemporary world, which naturalize the spaces that determine where, how and when to move and the materials for that. Also with the punishments, threats and rewards that are established deviating from the norms, instilling fears, correcting "inappropriate" behavior: the words, gestures and facial expressions that arise as mandates, as listed orders and/or abbreviated information, focused on behavior without listening.

The knowledge generated by research in this field can provide more concrete answers which, in turn, will provide the theoretical and methodological consolidation and improve practices and training (also teachers), taking into account pain or, with resignations and sacrifices that civilization requires,

the possibility of a better relationship with the body and with the world. Finally considering the purposes for which education is intended that is the civilization of society.

Educação Física, educação do corpo e pequena infância: interfaces e contradições na rotina de uma creche

Resumo: Partindo de uma etnografia em uma creche, o trabalho trata do “lugar” da Educação Física na Educação Infantil. Este se materializa, entre outros, na busca das profissionais pela delimitação de um espaço “adequado” às aulas, o que encontra o anseio por um ambiente que evite a “dispersão”, a “mistura” e que mantenha as crianças “devidamente” resguardadas. Os resultados revelam uma rotina institucional em que práticas corporais e cuidados com o corpo são protagonistas, também se traduzindo em momentos marcados por: castigos e ameaças, práticas de exclusão e preconceito, violência, controle dos gestos e padronização de movimentos.

Palavras-chave: Educação Física. Educação infantil. Creches. Comportamento infantil. Antropologia cultural.

Educación Física, educación del cuerpo y pequeña infancia: interfaces y contradicciones en la rutina de un jardín de infantes

Resumen: Tomando en cuenta una etnografía en un jardín de infantes, este trabajo se ocupa del “lugar” de la Educación Física en la Educación Infantil. Ello se encuentra en la busca por la delimitación de un espacio “adecuado” a las clases, lo que coincide con la meta de un ambiente que evite la “dispersión”, la “mezcla”, manteniendo los niños “debidamente” resguardados. Los resultados muestran una rutina institucional en que las practicas y los cuidados corporales son protagonistas marcados por a) castigos y amenazas, b) practicas de exclusión y prejuicios, c) violencia, d) control de gestos y padrón unilateral de movimientos.

Palabras clave: Educación física. Crianza del niño. Jardines infantiles. Conducta infantil. Antropología cultural.

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O texto é resultado parcial do programa de pesquisa Teoria Crítica, Racionalidades e Educação II, financiado pelo CNPq.

Recebido em: 15.02.2009

Aprovado em: 26.06.2009