

The city starts where you live! Relations between memory, identity and territory in neighborhoods that have CEUs¹ headquarters

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Abstract

The project *My neighborhood, my city: you are also part of this story*, which resulted in the CEUs' first phase inaugural exhibits between 2003 and 2004, was conceived by the city of São Paulo's Department of Education as a memory project for the outskirts of the city. Developed in the celebration of São Paulo's 450th anniversary (1554-2004), the project fulfilled a twofold objective: to highlight the connections between the city's local history and "the wide history of the city". The project aimed to include local memories in the city of São Paulo's school curriculum and favored the positive appropriation of the new school space by the population around it, recognized as a building agent of the city. To emphasize these objectives, we inverted the history's narrative from downtown to the outskirts, according to the premise "the city begins where you live". The narrative was based on the residents' statement, which address the connections between memory, identity and territory, as well as the definition of memory referential, from a different perspective from those of the policies guiding heritage processes.

Keywords: Memory project for the outskirts. CEUs. São Paulo's capital city

1. This article is based on the reflections that I developed in my M.A. dissertation, called *My neighborhood, my city: the CEUs' inaugural exhibitions and the São Paulo outskirts' urban representations* in 2017 at the University of São Paulo's Museology Interunit Graduate Program, under the supervision of Prof. Paulo César Garcez Marins.

Relations between memory, identity and territory in the neighborhoods that have CEUs headquarters

My children know the local history. Everything that we have today, the street light, it has been about three years that we went there and fought for all of this [...] To give you a clearer idea, for us to have water, here in the neighborhood, it happened the same thing, we had to face the governor, deputy who called themselves owners of the area... [...]. People, sometimes, think: “not everything comes from heaven...” [...] Around 1994, a person showed up here named Salim... He was the one who started to sell land to the people. [...] Here there were only dirt roads, shacks, and a total poverty. In 1996, we received an ownership repossession to the former owners, the true owners. [...] When we got here, there were about 80 families [...] we were treated like thieves, as we were the worst thing in the world. (Antônio, CEU Paz, 2004)

The excerpt is the report of one of the residents from the neighborhood Jardim Paraná, in the outskirts of the neighborhood Vila Brasilândia, located in the São Paulo’s north area. In this neighborhood, the 19th CEU was built and

inaugurated in April 2004. This report is part of the interviews’ transcripts, conducted by the project *My Neighborhood, My City*: You are also part of this story. The project was conceived by the city of São Paulo’s Department of Education and developed by the company Expomus, between 2003 and 2004, as the inaugural action of the first 21 CEUs.

The project has gathered and reflected on neighborhood memories and led to the inaugural CEU’s exhibitions. The beginning of the project was marked by a field research with oral history records and collection of documents and iconographic material from residents and local entities. The Project took place during the 450th anniversary of São Paulo (1554-2004) and was structured to gather and reflect on neighborhood memories, and the problem of the city’s construction guided researchers who sought to connect local histories and official historiography,

to understand the dynamics of each territory and the way the outskirts of the city converse with the downtown.

The objective of the article is to address the content of these oral history records to highlight the relations between memory, identity and territory in the narratives of the residents interviewed. The residents' narrative will be converted into expository discourse, organized according to the premise: "the city begins where you live", which marks the inversion from the downtown to the outskirts.

The exhibitions fulfilled the goal of the CEUs inauguration, the implementation of these new facilities is also observed, integrated to an intervention plan in the city territory, which involved as much actions in the downtown areas as in the outskirts. Finally, the pedagogical dimension of the project is highlighted, according to the proposal of inclusion of local memories in the school curriculum, as a strategy of production of knowledge about the city, and in the perspective of the school as a memory center of the territory.

Narratives of life as values to be passed on to other generations

Data obtained through interviews with the residents, between 2003 and 2004, during

the development of the field research of *My neighborhood, my city* were transcribed and organized in 21 notebooks, one for each CEU, totaling 1,105 pages (EXPOMUS, 2004b). In this process, the inaugural exhibitions project gathered an important collection about the constitution of the neighborhoods in the project with residents' narratives, documentation, and images collected in the field

The analysis of the interviews' transcripts with the residents shows the narratives about the space appropriation and its transformation into a city. These reports mix the public and private spheres. The elderly resident's speech are marked by the "pioneering" of the space appropriation, through expressions such as "this was all bush", followed by "today is a city". The residents' pride with the development of the place they helped built is evident.

Such narratives highlight the process of urban transformation as the result of successive struggles, from land ownership, actions for infrastructure improvements to the conquest of public facilities, showing the transformation of that space: the first bus line, the construction of a bridge, flood containment works. These include pharmacies, banking facilities, supermarkets, chain stores, bars, soccer fields, churches, party venues, and neighborhood associations. All of

that is understood as the result of collaborative and daily struggles, which are configured as material references of local memories.

It is important to remember that the references are very different from those traditionally recognized as memories or government protection heritage. The concepts of landmarking these places are traditionally based on the concepts of antique and do not apply here. These places are seen as recent, “commonplace” and ever changing. For the residents, however, the logic of cultural value is in the relationship of places with work, their social relevance associated with the improvement of material conditions and capable of supporting social relations.

Social relations, in this case, are understood as intangible references of memory, because they give meaning to daily life, as the basis of survival in the outskirts neighborhoods, through which the feeling of belonging to a social group is constituted. According to Magnani (2004, p. 34), it is about recognizing the outskirts’ resident in the context of their social practices and the existence of sociability networks as “forms of self-preservation, of association - without which social life, in its multiple dimensions, would have long been impossible in the megalopolis scenario.”

The report by João Vitalino, a resident of the neighborhood Jardim Três Corações / Grajaú, in São Paulo’s south area, where CEU Três Lagos (2003) was built, emphasizes the importance of the social networks that Magnani talks about. His narrative also discusses the existence of a “colony of relatives” that supported him when he arrived in São Paulo, as well as friendship and configuration of the “community” that struggles to solve common problems, where he became a local leader:

From the Northeast, everyone migrates to São Paulo. When one comes, everyone does the same. And we stayed here, and here we are [...] my story... [...]. I came by a flat bed truck², when the road from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro was still unpaved. [...] I came to *Cidade Ademar* neighborhood because I had relatives in the south area. And where there are relatives, you know, we form a “relative colony.” That is where there is support, because strangers don’t welcome us very well.

[...] Then I came to *Jardim Três Corações* neighborhood and bought a bar. It has been 32 years. [...] We had a house and nothing else. The rest were only plantation. The streets were unpaved, there were only bushes, constructing sites, a few buses, just nothing. The rest was only plantation.

Of course I wanted to come here, this was the right place. It did not have anything, so I could make money and grow my business. I knew here was going to flourish, and it did.

2. The flat bed truck has very uncomfortable wooden seats and a canvas covering.

If I like it here? I really love it. If you say to me move out, I will not. I started a family here, this is everything I know, I don't have any problems living here.

[...] Everyone gets along so well here. How could I ask for more? Money does not bring people's happiness. With what I make, we can live, what is good is to have this tranquility.

[...] We are 740 thousand residents, counting the neighborhoods of *Parelheiros*, *Cocaia* and *Varginha*. There are many people, we are a community living together, seeing and listening.

I take part of the participatory budgeting. I am very engaged with the subprefecture, which is a department in the city hall, showing all the local problems. If we have any problem, I will point it out and solve it. (João Vitalino, 2003)

In addition to the role of social networks as an element of personal support and territory organization, João Vitalino's report also shows a common fact, which is the experience of transition between rural and urban especially among older residents and older neighborhoods. In neighborhoods already consolidated at the time of the construction of the CEUs, the urbanization process took place from the subdivision of old rural properties, or around the housing complexes and working-class districts located on the edge of the urban area, characterized by economic and social integration. In view of this, urban development was institutionalized, but precarious.

However, in the newer neighborhoods, which were still in the process of being built when the CEUs were introduced, the narratives still dealt with the struggle for land tenure, the acquisition of housing and basic infrastructure. Such was the case of the neighborhood *Jardim Paraná* (CEU, 2004), an occupation of an environmental protection area in the mountain range *Serra da Cantareira*, in 1993, by homeless people living in slums located in the neighborhood *Vila Brasilândia*. This case explains the recurrent eviction of the population to increasingly extreme areas of the city. These evictions make it difficult for residents to organize and to establish leadership, as well as stable links with the territory, as residents often live in temporary housing.

In older neighborhoods, the organization of residents and leadership took place between the 1970s and 1980s in the field of social movements, with the support of churches, unions, and political parties. Such groups were able to achieve significant improvements for these currently well-structured neighborhoods. In such cases, reports of a past of struggle, but also of prosperity, are common, and some of these narrators are recognized local leaders, making evident the identity constructions linked to the territory and the pride they show in describing the place they helped to build.

An example of these constructions is the report of Antônio Ermírio, resident of the neighborhood *Jardim Três Corações/ Grajaú*, which reveals a territorial domain and a discourse of power, and he describes himself as a benefactor of the neighborhood, together with the public power.

When I arrived, there were only 10 residents living here. I have been a resident since 1962 and an owner since 1966. I came from the neighborhood of *Santo Amaro* to live here, that is the love I have for the neighborhood *Três Corações*.

We arranged a committee to pave the street. Then we brought social service to the local population. Social work is about to look for improvements for everything in the neighborhood, along the city hall and the state.

The greatest pleasure that I have is to please the people. I will only leave this place to go to the cemetery, I saw this place grow, and now it is a city. I still look for improvements, the people are very humble, but it is not a needy population. There are some poor areas; it is true, but not all the city. While I am still alive, I will fight for this place. (Antônio Ermírio, 2003)

After talking about the residents' commission to achieve improvements for the neighborhood, Antonio Ermírio introduced himself as a member of a group of residents and showed how he stood out in this group. In addition, he quoted his participation in a group of local leaders and eventually took on the protector role of that area.

This construction represents three distinct times: the past and the configuration of the community; an intermediate time where he excelled as leader along with other group members; and the present time, in which his leadership condition is consolidated. Invested in this position of leader and presenting himself as a local protector, Antonio Ermírio is the head of his area. As Font & Rufi (2006, p. 38) observe, "the place provides the fundamental means by which we give meaning to the world and through which we act," thus, "when we 'live' places, we create identities. To speak of place, therefore, is to speak about identity".

Thus, we can identify a common element to the narratives. As an example, the claim of a social and political space of action linked to the construction of the territory where these social agents are inserted as participants of social, individual and collective representations. In contrast, when adopted as the basis of the expository discourse of *My neighborhood, my city*, they assume a communicative character of the values shared by the group.

To build the expository discourse, the affective link with the place and the inclusion of the neighborhood as part of the city were defined as the values to be evidenced in the composition of the panels. Thus, the team responsible for organizing the exhibition used the identification of these same values as a criterion to select the

interviews. The purpose was that younger people could perceive the older residents especially the leaders, as role models to be followed. In this perspective, the current problems of the neighborhood were “challenges to be overcome” by the group, which now included the youngsters in the continuous exercise of struggles and achievements.

Likewise, as the inaugural action of the CEUs, *My neighborhood, my city* placed residents into the CEU’s space and set the new equipment in the landscape, imposing it as a civic landmark, especially when defining the school as a center of local memories. Finally, it placed the neighborhood into the larger space of the city.

My neighborhood, my city as the inaugural action of the CEUs.

Constituted from a dialogue between professionals from the field of education, museology and anthropology brought together by Expomus, the project *My neighborhood, my city* approaches the relations between memory, identity and the constitution of the territories in which the CEUs were located. It was necessary to understand the insertion of the new equipment in the daily life of the neighborhoods and to build up conditions for it to be positively appropriated by the local population. CEUs should also be included in the

local reference index, and recognized as an effort by that management to provide quality public facilities to the outskirts of the city.

Therefore, it is indispensable to relate the project of the inaugural exhibitions to the implementation of the CEUs, above all, as part of a strategic plan of urban development and intervention in the city’s territory. Such plan involved simultaneous actions in the central and outskirts neighborhoods, added by the critical recognition of the city as a fragmented territory, marked by socio-spatial segregation and defined by the center-working-class suburbs semantic opposition.

According to the former mayor of São Paulo Marta Suplicy’s city administration (2001-2004), the outskirts was defined as a territory of exclusion, constituted in the absence of public power and neglected by previous administrations. The implementation of the CEUs must be understood in the context of a political discourse supported by affirmative actions of social, citizenship inclusion and as an act of urban planning. In this sense, the option of building the CEUs with a centralizing monumental architecture with a great impact on the local landscape was able to mark the presence of the city public power in the outskirts as a turning point of urban policies, representing the symbolic insertion of the outskirts in the metropolis’ political territory.

The implementation of the CEUs was formalized through an Urban Operation and constituted as an action coordinated by the city's Department of Education in collaboration with the Department of Culture and the Department of Sport and Leisure, which involved all government's social sectors. In addition to their functions as multifunctional equipment for education, culture, sport and leisure, the CEUs fulfilled the objective of acting as centers of convergence of government social policies and vectors of development of the territories in which they were inserted. In the field of culture, the CEUs should act as an attraction to local manifestations, while inserted in the cultural circuit of the city.

Despite the symbolic pretensions of the architectural design of the CEUs, its monumental character, of great impact on the local landscape, also caused strangeness and distrust on the part of the surrounding population. In order to achieve an urban intervention policy, the new equipment had to be favorably appropriated. On the other hand, the realization of the CEUs as a local development center was conditioned to the understanding of the dynamics of the territories where this equipment was inserted and which the public power intended to act. It was, therefore, a double appropriation.

The conception of an inaugural action founded on a neighborhood memory project was conceived,

with the objective of embracing such internal dynamics within the territory and, during the celebration of the city's 450th anniversary, to understand how the neighborhoods converse with the downtown. The expectation of the city administration was that the participation of the residents, as previously discussed, could favor such positive appropriation.

The choice to promote the field research through the exhibitions was based on the ambition that residents would feel portrayed and honored by the government. On the other hand, it was intended that they would be able to perceive the concrete and symbolic links between the city's history and the dynamics of the constitution of the CEUs' headquarters, then recognized as building agents of the city that celebrated 450 years of its foundation.

Within the political-pedagogical project (SME * P5.1 / 60A), this initiative gained a broader dimension, since the contents produced for the exhibition should be absorbed and developed in actions in the classroom. The theme of local memories would be integrated into the curriculum of the city's school system, making each student a researcher in their territory and a producer of knowledge about the city. The inaugural exhibitions should be replaced by others developed in each CEU.

The inversion of the narrative axis: “the city begins where you live”

The text presented in the opening panel of each of the CEU exhibitions corresponds to an inversion of the construction of the city. As can be seen in the following transcript, after presenting the official version of the city, founded in 1554 by Jesuit priests, the school *Pátio do Colégio* as its landmark in the downtown; it states, “the city begins where you live”.

On January 25th, the city of São Paulo will celebrate its anniversary. It has 450 years of history, since Fathers Manuel da Nóbrega and José de Anchieta built the small Jesuit school on the *Piratininga* River plateau, where the city began. Today São Paulo has more than 10 million inhabitants. The city is so large that in order to manage it, it was necessary to build 31 subprefectures in different regions of the city.

This is the map of Sao Paulo. For you, a citizen of São Paulo, the city starts where you live. This is your neighborhood. You are also part of its story. (EXPOMUS, 2004b, p. 1)

Through this symbolic operation, the outskirts was highlighted and integrated into the city’s territory. From this point on, the expository discourse, constituted by the past-present-future articulation, proceeded with the narrative of the history of neighborhood formation as the result of collective struggles in the achievement of

space and for better living conditions. Along the same lines, urban problems were presented as “challenges to be overcome”. The same narrative also highlighted local leadership as “people who make a difference” and then invited younger people to pursue these achievements.

The construction of this new image for the neighborhoods and the city itself, through the recognition of their territorial diversity, implied the recognition of the contribution of multiple social subjects involved in the construction of the capital city, from the concentration of knowledge and cultures brought by migrants and immigrants from all over Brazil and the world. In this sense, the construction of these new looks on the city found the materialization of the discourses of social inclusion in the CEUs and the expression of affirmative and identity policies linked to the territory in their inaugural exhibitions.

This inversion of the narrative axis of the city, from the downtown to the outskirts, was complemented and detailed by the proposal to include the theme of local memories in the school curriculum of the city school system. Such inclusion, understood as the pedagogical dimension of the inaugural exhibitions, defined the school as a privileged space for the production of knowledge about the city, based on the dynamics of the territory.

The pedagogical dimension: school as a center of local memories

The inclusion of the theme of local memories in the school curriculum, proposed an inversion of the axis also, in the production of knowledge about the city. The pedagogical dimension of *My neighborhood, my city* conceived as an element for reflection and detailing of the exhibitions was through its own instructional material, composed of two different books for students and teachers. In this sense, the purpose of the activities was to enable students to reproduce the methodology employed in the field research that gave rise to the exhibitions. According to the report produced by Expomus, the workbook allowed students both to learn the process of organizing exhibitions and developing elements related to identity and a sense of belonging to the place:

By coming into contact with the contents that the workbook introduces and being invited to participate as characters of this story, the young reader becomes not only co-authors of the small books they are composing, but also can recognize themselves as agents of their own story. Using writing, drawing and collage to express the perception of their own reality, as well as their worldview and their search for future paths, these young readers can express perceptions, sensations and emotions, sharing values, ideas, projects, and dreams. (EXPOMUS, 2004a, p. 4)

The instructional material made possible the production of narratives based on different supports and media, according to the age group, ability and preference of each student. Due to budgetary limitations, a single workbook was produced to cover an age group corresponding to elementary and middle school, which, ranges from six to fourteen years old. The teacher's book was designed to circumvent the problems of an instructional material produced in these circumstances, with suggestions of activities for different age groups and from the perspective of different school subjects.

Given the complexity the project's symbolic purposes, the effective development of the pedagogical dimension of *My neighborhood, my city* depended much more on the continuing education of teachers and other professionals involved in the teaching/learning process. Yet, this did not occur in any phase of the process. Education specialists followed up the project design and development, but schoolteachers were not called upon to participate.

As a result, the pedagogical dimension of the project, though understood as its main condition and as the most emblematic aspect of *My neighborhood, my city* was overshadowed. From 2005, the project was discontinued after the end of Mayor Martha Suplicy's term.

Still, the inclusion of local memories in the school curriculum is linked to the principles of integral education and it guided the conception of the CEUs and its inaugural exhibitions. In view of this, the experience of *My neighborhood, my city* has not been lost at all. Since 2017, the city's Department of Education has developed a new project by the Coordination of CEUs and Integral Education (COCEU), called *CEU, memories and action*.

The new project is based on teacher education and other professionals involved in the teaching-learning process in the current 46 units of CEUs. Such project adopts *My neighborhood, my city* as one of its references, along with other relevant projects in the schools. The current project is different from the centralizing nature of the inaugural exhibitions project as it encourages the development of activities defined in each unit of the CEUs because of internal negotiations within the territories.

The text of this new project stresses CEUs' character (SME/COCEU, 2017, p. 1) as "integrating and integrated spaces" and defines their objectives as "to build, to rescue and to organize the memories of the equipment and their surroundings". Therefore, the text explains, "it will be necessary the articulation and integration of employees, residents, students, and regular visitors". In this context, the CEUs are understood

as "privileged spaces for reflection on the city's surroundings and the places where they are located" and then define them as "reference centers of memory of territories".

Later, it stresses that is the responsibility of all individuals the "engagement with their stories", as well as the "need to make the user an author and protagonist". Thus, the purpose of the project is to foster "links of meaning and meanings of local tangible and intangible collections", to contribute to the "São Paulo's population history".

Thus, the current project is the desired insight of *My neighborhood, my city* expanding its reach as proposed by its pedagogical dimension without its centralizing character.

Final considerations

In the context of heritage policies, the project *My neighborhood, my city*, is one of the most important cultural initiatives by the city public sphere, especially for its unprecedented nature of recording memories of outskirt neighborhoods. Throughout its course, between 2003 and 2004, the project gathered a rich collection of oral history record, textual documents and iconographic material about the surveyed neighborhoods. Despite its ambiguities and weaknesses, the exhibitions produced a narrative that broke the hegemonic discourse of the city that emphasized

the protagonism of its elites, The exhibition promoted the inclusion of new builders in the discourse about the city.

The inversion of the narrative axis – from downtown to the outskirts – the definition of memory references are equally emblematic of this museum project. Such disruptions and interpretative inversions are important elements for the reflections on the city, understood by Ulpiano Toledo Bezerra de Meneses (2003, p. 258), as “an object of broader and more complex knowledge than any collection or document that can refer to it”.

The neighborhood memory project in the inaugural CEU exhibitions is still innovative because it defines the school space as the site of a museum action, greatly expanding the possibilities for interaction between the museum experience and the school are places for the production of knowledge and the circulation of values. The museum-like action and education were understood as part of a public policy of urban memory that pointed to a new way of acting in the territory, recognizing and promoting social transformations.

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