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Balaguer Miralles, Joan Gabriel; Astor, Avi, dir. The implementation of socioemotional learning in primary school. 2024. (Grau en Sociologia)

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Faculty of Political Sciences and Sociology

Bachelor's thesis

***The implementation of
socioemotional learning in
primary school.***

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Academic year 2023-2024

Bachelor's Degree in *Sociology*



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1. Introduction

Socioemotional learning (SEL) emerged in Late Modernity. SEL encompasses a broad and evolving range of "non-cognitive" or "human-centric" skills, attributes, competencies, values, and traits considered essential for achieving "life-effectiveness" in the 21st century (Casel, 2016). Patulny and Olson (2019) use the term "Late Modernity" in reference to the present period, which has seen the emergence of a globalised world in a networked capitalist system. This period encompasses the late twentieth century to the present and is characterised by a process of de-traditionalisation and rapid change, as well as a shift in values towards new forms of autonomous reflexivity. In this terrain, emotions have become central, and simplistic dualistic approaches to reasoning and emotions as separate and hierarchical spheres have come under fire.

The potential of emotions has been recognised by various actors, including researchers in psychology and neuroscience, advocacy groups, policy institutions, industries, and schools. This interest arises in an era where significant challenges, such as climate change or social injustice, demand comprehensive and deeply rooted responses. Therefore, the opportunity to integrate socioemotional education (SEE) into the learning process for children seems more important than ever before. SEL promotes skills such as problem-solving, critical thinking, and consciousness, which are highly valued in current times.

In this dissertation, I examine how SEL emerged with the popularisation of new spiritualities in Late Modernity and how it is being implemented in public schools. I first explore the emergence of new spiritualities in Late Modernity. Subsequently, I delve into the implementation of Mindfulness/SEL (used interchangeably in its application) in public schools. Within this section, I consider the role of social class in the SEL learning process, drawing on Bourdieu's theory of social practice and class division. To investigate the practical implementation of Mindfulness in schools, I conducted a case study at Poble Sec public primary school. My findings are based on an in-depth interview with the Mindfulness teacher, a survey completed by her students, and observations of a Mindfulness lesson.

2. SEL in public schools.

In this dissertation, I concentrate on the application of Meditation or Mindfulness (these terms are used here interchangeably). Firstly, I elucidate how SEL emerged within the conditions of Late Modernity. Secondly, I introduce the concept of somatic inversion, as posited by Winchester and Pagis (2022, p. 2), which pertains to "experiences in which dimensions of human embodiment that usually remain in the tacit background of action and perception are brought to the experiential foreground of awareness". I clarify how somatic inversion, facilitated through the practice of Meditation, may carry religious connotations, though not necessarily. Subsequently, I expound on how this somatic inversion is corporeal, establishing a direct connection to emotions, and thus underscores the relevance of socioemotional education in this context. Moving forward, I delve into Bourdieu's framework to examine the influence of social class on Mindfulness practice. Initially, I reference Bourdieu's multidimensional theory of social class. I then introduce Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* to elucidate how various forms of capital establish a "logic of appropriateness," allowing room for creative adaptations.

2.1. Emergence of SEL in Late Modernity

As previously mentioned, SEL emerges in Late Modernity, encompassing the post-industrial era from the late twentieth century onwards. Science and technology have been pivotal in shaping the development of a global economy and driving processes of detraditionalization and rapid change. Additionally, significant shifts include the transformation of Western society towards secularisation and an increasing reliance on autonomous reflexivity (Patulny and Olson, 2019). This autonomous reflexivity has led to various exploratory alternatives in understanding human behaviour.

For instance, Dawson (2011) argues that contemporary societal dynamics affirm the emergence of a new reflexivity that can be utilised as a form of new religiosity or spirituality, two terms used here interchangeably. This new spirituality encompasses an "aesthetic of distinction". According to Bourdieu (1984), urban middle-class practitioners may be characterised by a counter-cultural identity, which they mobilise as a form of symbolic capital that distinguishes them from the "vulgar masses," whether they belong to mainstream religion or secular society. Symbolic capital, as Bourdieu (1996; cited by Pérez, 2016, p. 9) notes, "is nothing more than economic or cultural capital when it is known and recognized [...] in a certain social space". Dawson (2011, p. 313) highlights

how new religiosity allows for the direct conversion of economic capital into symbolic capital, associating this affirmation of new religiosity with mainstream consumer culture, which emphasises spiritual status and material well-being.

Furthermore, Dawson (2011) describes new spirituality as a form of self-consumption, where the “self” becomes a project, reflecting late-modern preoccupations (Giddens, 1991). In line with Bauman (2000, p. 184), there is a recognition of “the body's new primacy”. This “reflexive biography” (Beck, 1992, p. 135) aligns with contemporary practices such as gym routines, dietary disciplines, or Meditation, among others. Taken together, these examples illustrate how new spirituality itself emerges as an affirmation of late-modern dynamics (Dawson, 2011).

SEL/Mindfulness is often perceived as a new spirituality, prompting questions about whether it is a religious or secular practice. Brown (2019) challenges the notion that there is a clear dichotomy between religious and secular practices. In common understanding, "spirituality" is often associated with personal transcendence and is distinguished from religion, which is seen as rigid dogma or enforced rules. However, as Brown (2019, p. 12) highlights, "religion and spirituality serve overlapping functions: affirming one's place in the cosmos; offering a sense of purpose, meaning, and hope; and guiding decisions about how to live". Given that Mindfulness fosters self-consciousness and self-exploration, it appears well-suited to align with today's Western values.

With respect to this, two visions are in contention. Both prioritise self-realisation, yet they differ in nature and approach. On the one hand, some view new spiritualities as avenues to achieve material well-being, believing that "the individual has the right, if not the duty, to pursue his absolute self-realization through any available means and at any possible opportunity" (Dawson, 2016, p. 311). On the other hand, some reject the commoditised capitalist system and perceive new spiritualities as a process of re-signification, which "posits the privatized interior of the self as the preferred vale of soul-making" (Dawson, 2016, p. 312).

These contemporary conditions have, in turn, placed a spotlight on emotions. Emotional literacy, in particular, refers to the ability to transform negative feelings and thoughts into positive attitudes. It fosters attitudes of tolerance, solidarity, and empathy (Clouder, 2008).

In this context, socioemotional education emerges as fundamental, as social and emotional skills are interconnected and must therefore be addressed together. Socioemotional education is essential for understanding not only ourselves but also others, enabling us to express and regulate our emotions and build healthy relationships (Cefai and Cavioni, 2014). Ultimately, developing compassion towards others as well as ourselves is a skill that can be learned and cultivated.

In this regard, socioemotional education can benefit a wide range of people. While it has been argued that new spirituality primarily emerged within the cultural middle class, various studies now demonstrate how socioemotional education can have a significant impact across diverse social contexts. According to Villa and Thousand (2005), students at risk can better overcome their susceptibility to failure within thoughtful and caring communities. Furthermore, every student, regardless of their background, can make valuable contributions to others. In fact, mindful educational processes are not solely about acceptance but also about the promotion of differences (Langer et al., 1985). This suggests that students “can increase their social and emotional awareness through immersion in socioeconomically and ethnically diverse communities” (Davenport and Pagnini, 2016, p. 2).

For example, when students encounter similarity among their peers, it limits the range of alternatives they can imagine, whereas exposure to diverse contexts fosters creativity (Davenport and Pagnini, 2016). Overall, socioemotional education appears well-positioned to promote social cohesion in culturally diverse contexts. Consequently, emotional learning can contribute significantly to social transformation.

2.2. Emergence of New Spiritualities at schools.

Mindfulness has emerged as an educational trend in American culture. It is not only viewed as a remedy for widespread issues such as stress or lack of concentration but also as a means of promoting social and emotional learning and fostering abilities like compassion or empathy. These benefits attributed to Mindfulness are perceived as applicable across all school ages (Brown, 2019).

The attempt to present Mindfulness as universal can be challenged due to its religious origins in Buddhism. However, some school programmes strive to avoid religious

connotations or symbols to maintain a secular image. Nonetheless, this does not preclude teachers from receiving Mindfulness training from Buddhist centres. In fact, some public school teachers may be mandated to participate in personal practice or attend Buddhist retreats (Brown, 2019).

The emergence of Mindfulness practice in schools can be understood through the lens of Winchester and Pagis (2022), who focus on the transcendence of self-consciousness to better understand ourselves and the modern era. Winchester and Pagis (2022) in their work *Sensing the Sacred: Religious Experience, Somatic Inversions, and the Religious*, delve into how somatic inversions are experienced through various practices, including Meditation, and investigate whether they carry religious significance.

It is essential to acknowledge that Meditation is practiced across various cultural and religious backgrounds. In a study conducted by Pagis (2010), participants with Christian or Jewish backgrounds, rather than being born Buddhists, engaged in the practice of Vipassana Meditation in the United States and Israel between 2005 and 2010. Vipassana Meditation, rooted in awareness and Mindfulness, involves practitioners cultivating observation of "the body, bodily sensations, the mind, and objects of the mind" (Winchester and Pagis, 2022, p. 9). While contemporary Vipassana Meditation may vary outside of Asia, many aspects of Buddhist thought have been adapted to cater to Western audiences (Cadge, 2005). Nonetheless, central Buddhist elements persist in most Vipassana schools, including moral precepts and concepts such as karma and past lives. In relation to the latter, one practitioner acknowledged experiencing such phenomena through prolonged Meditation, indicating a novel sensory perception (Winchester and Pagis, 2022).

The precedent example illustrates how somatic inversion, exemplified by a novel sensory experience, can be linked to religious phenomena. While somatic inversions are not inherently religious, the diverse meanings attributed to them often stem from their transcendental nature. It is precisely this transcendental quality that characterises the experience of somatic inversion.

As suggested by Winchester and Pagis (2022), these practices frequently occur in secular institutions despite the religious connotations associated with many of them. However, this phenomenon could be viewed as the "religiofication" of secular institutions rather than the secularisation of religious traditions. "Religiofication" can be referred to the

religious reframing of secular institutions. Considering the significance attributed to context and social interaction in shaping the meanings of these practices (Winchester and Pagis, 2022), one could argue that institutions themselves undergo "religiofication".

From a sociological perspective, this process of "religiofication" is socially constructed based on various elements inherent in the practice, such as the participants, symbols, context, and the practice's origins.

Somatic inversion holds particular relevance for socioemotional education, as emotions are intricately linked to bodily experiences. Indeed, emotional processes often centre around bodily sensations.

The potency of somatic inversion as a means of experiencing self-consciousness and transcendence extends beyond merely interpreting our experiences. It also empowers us to live more consciously and consequently act more assertively. From this perspective, Winchester and Pagis (2022, p. 22) inquire, "which institutions can successfully lay claim to the 'inner worlds' of modern subjects?". In this regard, schools emerge as ideal institutions for implementing this type of learning. The question of why socioemotional education or Mindfulness has been introduced in certain schools might be answered by considering the transformative potential of somatic inversion through the practice of Meditation.

2.3. Social class in Mindfulness practice.

Another aspect of interest in this dissertation is how social class influences Mindfulness practice. I will refer to Bourdieu's theory of social practice and class division. Bourdieu argues that social class is determined not only by economic capital but also by cultural capital. The latter concept encompasses the schemes of appreciation and understanding that individuals have cultivated through socialisation. Bourdieu (1986) delineates two forms of cultural capital. Institutionalised cultural capital pertains to educational credentials, which can be inferred from parents' professions in this dissertation. Objectified cultural capital, on the other hand, refers to the possession of cultural objects and can be attributed to acquired knowledge or material cultural objects, such as books or musical instruments. Economic capital refers to the material resources and properties of an individual. For instance, family income serves as an indicator of economic capital.

The economic and cultural capitals, along with their recognition (symbolic capital), operate within a habitus. This concept refers to individuals' mode of action, heavily

influenced by their objective social position (Seid, 2018). In this manner, individuals possess dispositions to act in certain ways, which are structured by their social environment while simultaneously structuring social practice. Essentially, habitus serves as a lens through which individuals perceive and navigate the social world, reflecting the underlying social structures in which they exist. Therefore, individuals from different class backgrounds have different "habitus" and thus follow distinct lines of action.

2.4. SEL interventions' review

In the literature review concerning the implementation of socioemotional learning programmes in schools, Capsada (2016) conducts a systematic review that proves valuable in understanding what has been accomplished and how. She begins by posing the question: "Are social and emotional learning programmes effective tools to improve students' skills?" In an attempt to address this query, she provides an overview of socioemotional programmes that have been implemented, evaluated, and reviewed in the US and UK. While acknowledging the growing research and application of socioemotional learning, the US and UK are the primary countries with systematic reviews of these programmes. Despite recognising that these programmes may not be directly transferable to other societies, they can serve as guiding models in many respects (Capsada, 2016).

In Table 1, we find the social and emotional skills outlined by the institution *Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning* (CASEL), which are considered in school programmes.

Table 1. Social and emotional skills (CASEL).

Emotional skills	Definitions
Self-awareness	“The abilities to understand one’s own emotions, thoughts, and values and how they influence behavior across contexts. This includes capacities to recognize one’s strengths and limitations with a wellgrounded sense of confidence and purpose”.
Self-management	“The abilities to manage one’s emotions, thoughts, and behaviors effectively in different situations and to achieve goals and aspirations. This includes the capacities to delay gratification, manage stress, and feel motivation & agency to accomplish personal/collective goals”.
Social awareness	“The abilities to understand the perspectives of and empathize with others, including those from diverse backgrounds, cultures, & contexts. This includes the capacities to feel compassion for others, understand broader historical and social norms for behavior in different settings, and recognize family, school, and community resources and supports”.
Relationship skills	“The abilities to establish and maintain healthy and supportive relationships and to effectively navigate settings with diverse individuals and groups. This includes the capacities to communicate clearly, listen actively, cooperate, work collaboratively to problem solve and negotiate conflict constructively, navigate settings with differing social and cultural demands and opportunities, provide leadership, and seek or offer help when needed”.
Responsible decision-making	“The abilities to make caring and constructive choices about personal behavior and social interactions across diverse situations. This includes the capacities to consider ethical standards and safety concerns, and to evaluate the benefits and consequences of various actions for personal, social, and collective well-being”.

Source: CASEL (2020). Own elaboration.

Additionally, Capsada (2016) presents various typologies for identifying different school interventions that aim to promote at least one of the social and emotional skills previously outlined. Of particular interest are two typologies, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Typologies of different school interventions based on at least one of the socioemotional skills.

School typology	<i>Universal school-based programmes</i>	<i>Indicated school-based programmes</i>
Interventions	Applies to all students: conflict resolution, empathy, positive social relationships and commitment arising from classroom activities.	Students with skill deficit, behavioural problems or academic achievement.
Nature of intervention	Preventative.	Corrective. Although, in some cases, targeted at students at risk of developing unwanted behaviours.

Source: Capsada (2016). Own elaboration.

In general, the evidence presented by Capsada (2016) suggests that despite individual differences in socio-emotional skills, these can be acquired both in and outside of school. While in some cases there were no significant differences between programme participants and the control group, Capsada (2016, p. 20) notes that "in no case did participants in the program show deterioration in their social and emotional skills". Furthermore, positive outcomes were observed in terms of both reducing risk behaviours and improving academic results. Programmes where activities were explicitly focused on socio-emotional skills tended to yield better results overall.

Regarding the effectiveness of interventions over time, studies indicate that outcomes tend to be more favourable post-intervention than in the long term. In terms of implementation, programmes where students actively engage in sequential development activities tend to have better outcomes.

This systematic review suggests that further empirical studies are necessary to reach more consistent conclusions. However, these studies serve as a foundation for designing new case studies, which are likely to become increasingly sophisticated over time.

3. Methodology

This dissertation is centred on a case study conducted at a public primary school situated in the district of Poble Sec in Barcelona. The choice of this particular school was intentional, given its provision of Mindfulness lessons and its socioeconomically and ethnically diverse student body. This diversity offered an ideal setting to examine the dimension of social class within the realm of Mindfulness education. However, after

conducting the fieldwork, it became apparent that a single case study did not yield adequate information to draw comprehensive conclusions regarding the impact of social class on Mindfulness learning. Nevertheless, other dimensions such as language and place of residence emerged as relevant factors to consider.

The fieldwork for this study comprised a combination of three qualitative methods: an in-depth interview with a Mindfulness teacher, named “Agata”, a qualitative survey administered to the students, and ethnographic observation conducted during a Mindfulness lesson. This triangulation of methods allowed for a rich and nuanced exploration of the subject matter from multiple perspectives.

To commence, I crafted a semi-structured interview, which involved “an interlocution based on the logic of question-answer or incitement-answer which has the objective of getting information of qualitative character” (Verd and Lozares, 2016, p. 149). In designing the interview, my aim was to formulate open-ended questions to allow the interviewee the opportunity to express themselves fully and provide detailed information. The interview was semi-structured, meaning that while I had predetermined key questions, I remained flexible to adapt them based on the natural flow of the conversation. Following the interview and with the interviewee's consent, I recorded it and later transcribed it. Subsequently, I utilised the qualitative research software *Atlas.ti* to code the interview data. The codes were named after the main concepts of the theoretical framework, which facilitated subsequent analysis. Additionally, I constructed a network to delineate connections among the various categories and codes, which proved invaluable in organising the analysis and crafting cohesive explanations.

Subsequently, I developed a qualitative survey featuring open-ended questions tailored to the age of the students, who were in Second Grade. I adjusted the questions in accordance with their age and mental development. Prior to administering the survey, I obtained permission from the school director to conduct the study on-site. Given the young age of the students, I provided assistance to help them comprehend some of the questions.

Finally, I conducted an ethnographic observation of the Mindfulness lesson. Following the categorisation by Verd and Lozares (2016), this observation is classified as a direct observation, as I was fully immersed in the collective and the environment under study. Taking a seat in a corner of the classroom, I carefully observed and took notes. My focus

during the observation was on the class methodology employed, the participation of the students, and their adherence to the teacher's instructions.

Overall, the in-depth interview proved to be the most informative method, largely due to its extended duration (one hour) and the detailed explanations provided by the teacher. However, both the qualitative survey and observation were valuable in complementing information about the practical aspects of Mindfulness from the children's perspective and observing the implementation of Mindfulness, respectively.

4. Analysis.

In this section, I embark on analysing the introduction of Mindfulness in public schools through an in-depth interview conducted with a Mindfulness teacher at a public school in the Barcelona district of Poble Sec. Throughout this section, I will refer to the interviewee by her name, “Agata”. I aim to integrate insights gained from the interview with the theoretical framework developed in this work. Additionally, to deepen our understanding of the implementation of Mindfulness in schools, I will augment the analysis with insights gleaned from an observation I conducted during a Mindfulness lesson taught by Agata, as well as a survey administered to her students.

4.1. New spiritualities (Mindfulness) as a transcendental experience.

To commence, SEL is situated within the sociohistorical context of Late Modernity. The conditions elucidated by Patulny and Olson (2019), characterised by rapid change and the emergence of new autonomous forms of reflexivity, may engender novel needs within society. As articulated by Agata, “nowadays, anxiety is one of the biggest health issues in our society. And it’s everywhere”. While globalisation has disseminated these new conditions of Late Modernity worldwide, Agata notes that in Oriental cultures, more contemplative rhythms of life persist. She further observes that in the West, this contemplative lifestyle was eroded centuries ago with the rise of capitalism during the 19th century. This is how Agata describes it:

“It’s a human person, human being’s nature, being mindful. But we have forgotten [...] If you observe a baby or a small child, small, they are mindful. That’s Mindfulness in a little body. Yeah, they’re so attentive. They can be, they can place their attention for a long

time on just one object. Okay, this is Mindfulness. But because we live a stressed life, because we adults take them out of their, of their being mindful, Mindfulness state, and even much more now than maybe 50 or 100 or 200 years ago, because our society changed, right? So, we are born mindful”.

In this vein, new spiritualities such as Mindfulness, yoga, or Meditation do not inherently carry religious connotations. Agata herself was drawn to these practices for their transcendental significance. Whether this transcendental experience holds religious meaning is subjective. This variability is evidenced by Pagis (2010) experiment, where somatic inversion experiences led to diverse interpretations among participants. According to Winchester and Pagis (2022), two primary factors account for these variations. Firstly, the specific social context in which the practice occurs shapes practitioners' expectations. For example, in Pagis (2010) experiment, the practice occurred within communities already identified as religious (e.g., Christian or Buddhist), thus influencing participants' expectations based on certain theological interpretations. However, secondly, the practice itself allows room for practitioners to undergo different experiences and attribute diverse meanings, which may or may not be religious.

As mentioned earlier, individuals are drawn to new spiritual practices for various reasons. For Agata, her curiosity was piqued by the multitude of questions she pondered during her teenage years:

“I was reading many people who were drawn into mysticism. But I didn't find those answers for the questions I had. I remember when I started the Meditation process, I did find a bit more clarity and I found a bit more peace in myself that I was looking for since I was a teenager”.

Indeed, Agata's exploration of new spiritual practices stemmed from her quest for transcendental meaning, a pursuit she does not attribute to religion. These practices, such as yoga and Meditation, have been a constant presence in her life and have now led her to teach Mindfulness at Poble Sec's school. While she does provide conceptual teachings, especially tailored for students aged 8 years old, her primary emphasis is on the experiential dimension of the practice. As she says: *“It's more an experience. So they feel it in their bodies. That's what I want”.*

The experiential aspect of the practice is clearly evident in the students' responses, as reflected in their feedback from the survey. They frequently highlighted their enjoyment of the various breathing techniques and the resulting sense of calmness. Teaching conscious breathing is precisely Agata's primary objective: *“So the base in my sessions and the objective is that, first of all, I want them to learn deep breaths, deep breathing techniques [...] if I need two months in each session just practicing deep breathing, I don't care. It's not like I need to get somewhere. [...] and if all the kids know how to do them, I'm happy because that's for me the base”*.

Furthermore, when Agata observes that the children are relaxed and attentive, she seizes the opportunity to introduce them to conceptual teachings, helping them understand the significance of the practice: *“Then I use the opportunity and I start telling them why we do it, what is the purpose, what's the meaning behind, why it's so important. And I mostly talk about the calm space inside”*. She proceeds: *“I want the kids to know what we're doing so they can copy it at home, and they are learning why their body needs to relax, why their mind needs to relax”*.

4.2. Mindfulness as a way of living.

Ultimately, the power of self-consciousness extends beyond finding meaning in our experiences; it empowers us to live more consciously and, consequently, act more assertively. This underscores the potential benefits of practicing Mindfulness in various aspects of life. For example, Agata emphasises the tools she provides to children to navigate different situations they encounter throughout the day: *“I say we want to help others. So, if someone comes to you and hits you, don't hit back. Observe your feelings. Talk to that person. Deep breathing techniques that will calm you down”*. Indeed, it's notable how a child expressed that Mindfulness helps them when they feel angry. This highlights the practical utility of Mindfulness techniques in managing difficult emotions such as anger.

It is interesting to note that when asked about their emotions during Mindfulness practice, many children mentioned feeling happiness and calmness, but also occasionally experiencing anger. This highlights the significance of emotions in the practice of Mindfulness. The ability of children to identify and observe their emotions during

Mindfulness suggests a growing self-awareness, which aligns with the practice's objective of inward observation. As Agata suggests, Mindfulness “*is good for everything. Sadness, anger, nervousness, anxiety*”.

In this case, Mindfulness adopts a holistic approach. It doesn't merely offer tools for coping with specific situations; rather, it represents a way of life that can contribute to “*better mental health, emotional well-being, and physical health*” (Agata). Indeed, the holistic approach of Mindfulness aligns closely with the different social and emotional skills outlined by CASEL (2020): self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills, and responsible decision-making.

Regarding self-awareness, the children demonstrated in their responses that they could identify and understand their emotions when practicing Mindfulness. It is understandable that self-management may be a more advanced skill, and the children may still be too young to demonstrate this ability. As for social awareness, I observed during the lesson that all children, regardless of their background, were interacting with each other. Despite being a diverse group with children from various origins, they seemed to be very unified. This confirms Davenport and Pagnini's (2016) argument that children can enhance their social and emotional awareness in socioeconomically and ethnically diverse communities. This social cohesion is linked to relationship skills, which may be challenging to fully appreciate with just an observation in class. Lastly, it is challenging to observe responsible decision-making skills in children of this young age.

As for the different typologies regarding school interventions (Capsada, 2016), this Mindfulness intervention corresponds to a universal school-based programme that applies to all students, and the nature of the intervention is preventative. Agata herself mentions in the interview that the entire programme, called “My Inner Strength”, is preventative, providing students with tools to face daily situations. For this reason, the program includes elements to reinforce empathy, build positive social relationships, and provide tools for managing conflict resolution.

4.3. Mindfulness implementation in school.

Until now, I have explained how Mindfulness is conceived and practiced, as well as the benefits it offers. However, it is widely assumed that Mindfulness is still in its early stages of development and thus has many limitations in its implementation.

To begin with, Mindfulness is not treated as a separate subject at Poble Sec School. Instead, its inception stems from a pilot study conducted by Agata. Its success has led to the expansion of the programme to additional grades. However, the way Mindfulness is positioned within the school has implications for its implementation.

Firstly, there is a constraint on timing. Agata prefers to teach in the mornings when the students are alert, rather than after lunch, as is the case for one group. Additionally, each lesson is limited to just 30 minutes, which includes the time needed to set up the mats and prepare the children.

Secondly, Agata notes that certain children disrupt the flow of the lesson. This disruption could be minimised if the student-to-teacher ratio were lower (there are between 20 and 23 pupils). Additionally, Agata highlights that Mindfulness may not be suitable for all children, particularly those with psychological issues. She says this is *“because Mindfulness again is going inwards, placing the attention on yourself. And some kids might have much trouble, emotional trouble, and much trouble at home in their family. So, placing attention to your own body and mind, it just makes you feel those things more. So that's not a technique to be used”*.

This leads to the question of whether social class significantly influences the learning process of Mindfulness for the children. Based on the responses in the survey, it is evident that, in general, children with parents from Catalunya tend to answer all the questions, while some children from Pakistan may struggle more with writing their answers. However, there is a wide range of responses regarding their satisfaction and experience with Mindfulness practice (See Annex 7.2). This supports Agata's hypothesis, as she mentioned that she did not observe social class differences during the experimental phase of Mindfulness. She also notes that children from upper classes may also face significant emotional challenges. For instance: *“they are not spending time with their parents. This is something quite typical for some families, not all of them. [...] But this child suffers*

from being alone, from feeling rejected, from not being taken care of because this child might be picked up by a nanny every day. Those children don't see their mothers, don't see their fathers". She concludes that they might have different problems to those with less resources, but they still struggle with issues such as anxiety, which she identifies as “one of the biggest health issues in our society”.

On the contrary, she did identify social differences in conceptual learning. One significant factor she suggests is language. For instance, she notes that students from Catalunya (with parents from there too) and students from South America better understand her when she speaks in Spanish. Conversely, students from Pakistan struggle more with the conceptualisation part. She explains that this happens because they primarily speak Urdu in their community and Catalan at school, but have limited exposure to Spanish outside of school since they spend most of their time in their Pakistani communities. This highlights how the location of residence, whether in a marginalised area or not, can impact children's learning processes.

Another factor to consider regarding children's receptiveness to Mindfulness is personality. According to Agata, “*There are children for whom it's much easier to sit for a longer time, to be quiet, you know? And then there are some, they just can't*”. She mentions Bisquerra, a pioneer author on SEL, who discusses the significance of individuals' temperament and how it evolves over time.

This evolution is also influenced by children's social background, including their economic, cultural, and symbolic capital, in terms coined by Bourdieu. During observation, I could see how children differ in their public presentation. Symbolic capital plays a significant role here, as they express and present themselves partly in line with their social recognition (symbolic capital). For example, children with a greater knowledge of Spanish/Catalan tended to participate more during the lesson.

However, there is room for change within these conditions. Considering Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, children can adopt paths of action compatible with the lasting dispositions shared with their close social groups. For instance, although children from Pakistan spend most of their time outside of school in marginalised areas with their families, at school they speak Catalan and interact with children from diverse

backgrounds. Therefore, while their actions may reflect their background, they also contribute to shaping the reality they inhabit.

Indeed, Mindfulness skills, such as self-awareness and social awareness, contribute to opening children's minds to diversity. Simultaneously, the socially diverse composition of the class enhances the capacity of children to think and act in different ways, thereby fostering their creativity (Davenport and Pagnini, 2016). Overall, Mindfulness and diversity complement each other well and appear to be effective mechanisms for fostering social cohesion in diverse contexts.

5. Conclusions

Throughout this dissertation, I have analysed how socioemotional learning (SEL) has emerged as a new form of spirituality in Late Modernity and how it is being implemented in public schools.

I have argued that socioemotional learning (SEL) was introduced in Western society as a new form of spirituality or religiosity, terms used interchangeably, that could be interpreted as an affirmation of contemporary societal values. These values include new forms of autonomous reflexivity that recognise the "self" as central in life. While initially targeted towards a new "counter-cultural" middle-class, SEL has expanded to encompass a broad spectrum of individuals. Indeed, SEL/Mindfulness skills, such as self awareness and social awareness, are particularly suited to culturally diverse contexts since they foster acceptance and creativity.

Interestingly, secular institutions such as public schools have advocated for the secularisation of Mindfulness to make it appropriate for use in schools. Following Winchester and Pagis (2022), the integration of Mindfulness in public schools may be understood as an instance of the "religiofication" of secular institutions rather than the secularisation of religious traditions. Whether the practice is actually perceived as religious depends on various factors, including practitioners' backgrounds, their interpretations, and the environment.

Indeed, the case study I conducted in the public primary school in the Barcelona district of Poble Sec reflects this flexibility in the meaning of Mindfulness practice. Agata, the mindfulness teacher, explains how she engaged in spiritual practices in search of transcendental meaning, a pursuit she does not attribute to religion.

During the Mindfulness lessons, Agata prioritises the experiential aspect of the practice, with learning deep breathing techniques being the fundamental and most significant objective of the programme. By cultivating self-awareness through focused breathing, children are empowered to act more consciously and assertively. In this holistic approach, Mindfulness equips children with skills to manage their emotions and navigate various situations, thereby promoting their mental health, emotional well-being, and physical health.

Nonetheless, Mindfulness is still in its early stages and faces several limitations. These include its lack of formal recognition as a standalone subject, resulting in a scarcity of

personnel and material resources dedicated to its implementation. Additionally, Mindfulness appears to be accessible to everyone except individuals experiencing psychological issues, as the practice involves introspection which could potentially exacerbate such problems.

Regarding social class differences in the learning process of Mindfulness, we can not draw definitive conclusions due to the small size of the study. However, Agata mentions that she does observe differences not in the experimental part of the practice, but in the conceptual learning, based on language and location of residence. Despite this, through qualitative observation, I observed that almost all children interacted with each other, confirming that diversity, far from being a barrier, is an opportunity to learn from each other and enhance creativity.

Overall, socioemotional learning (SEL) and Mindfulness emerge as potential solutions to the widespread anxiety prevalent in contemporary society. As noted by the teacher, anxiety is a pervasive issue affecting everyone in our time, making Mindfulness practice beneficial for individuals across all backgrounds.

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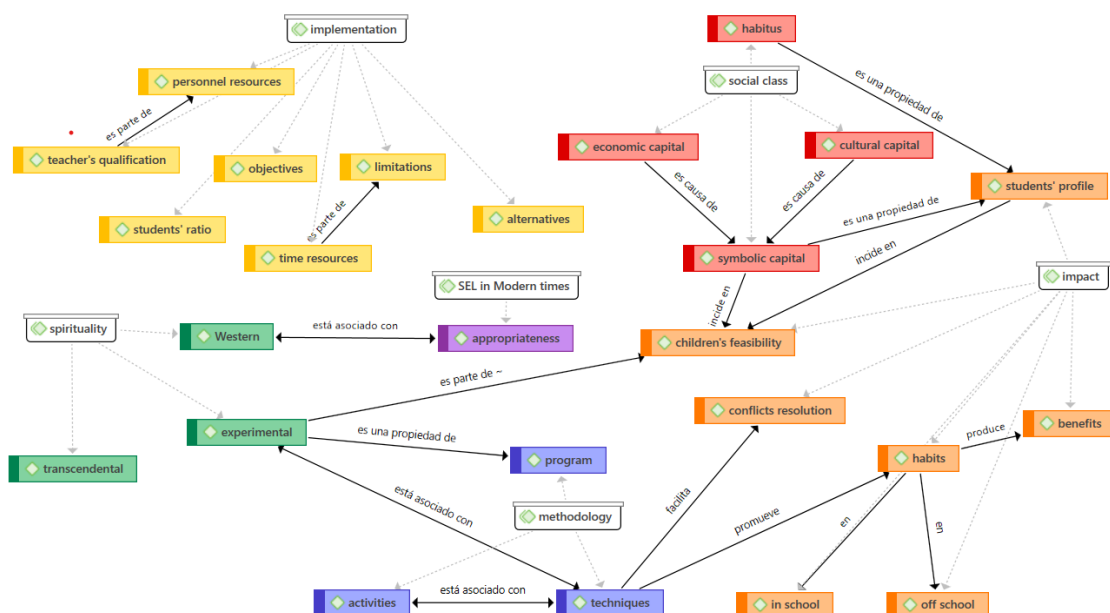
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7. Annexes

7.1. Interview's Atlas.ti network.



Source: Own elaboration with the qualitative data analysis programme *Atlas.ti*.

7.2. Survey

Alumnes	Origen	Rutina	Mindfulness percepció	Mindfulness valoració
1	<p>Catalunya, català.</p> <p>Pare de Catalunya i treballa a l'AMB de residus (estudis universitaris).</p> <p>Mare d'Argentina, treballa de periodista (no sap si estudis universitaris).</p>	<p>Juga a escacs en sortir de l'escola.</p> <p>Llegeix un llibre abans d'anar a dormir, i se'n hi va a les 21:30h.</p>	<p>És una activitat avorrida.</p> <p>Pensa que és molt avorrida quan hi pensa.</p> <p>No sap què sent quan ho practica.</p> <p>No sent emocions en practicar-ho.</p>	<p>Li agrada que hi hagi màrfeques.</p> <p>No li agrada que és molt avorrit, que cansa molt i que sempre fas el mateix.</p> <p>Valoració: 1.</p> <p>No en practica a casa.</p> <p>No li ajuda.</p>
2	<p>Pakistan, urdu.</p> <p>Pare de Pakistan, treballa de</p>	<p>Juga en sortir de l'escola.</p> <p>Menja abans d'anar a dormir.</p>	<p>És respirar.</p> <p>Pensa en respiracions.</p>	<p>Li agrada: respirar, estar tranquil, asseure's. No respon a l'espai</p>

	<p>taxista (no sap si estudis universitaris).</p> <p>Mare de Pakistan, no treballa (no sap si estudis universitaris).</p>		<p>Sent que està tranquil.</p> <p>Sent emocions: contenta.</p>	<p>del que no li agrada.</p> <p>Valoració: 10.</p> <p>No practica a casa.</p> <p>Diu que li ajuda.</p>
3	<p>Catalunya, romanès.</p> <p>Pare de Romania, treballa de taxista (estudis universitaris).</p> <p>Mare de Romania, no resposta a de què treballa (no sap si estudis universitaris).</p>	<p>En sortir de l'escola, fa futbol, rugby i bàsquet.</p> <p>Llegeix abans d'anar a dormir, i se'n hi va a les 21h (22h al cap de setmana).</p>	<p>És una cosa que el relaxa.</p> <p>Pensa en respiracions.</p> <p>Sent que està calmat.</p> <p>Sent emocions: feliç, trist, nerviós.</p>	<p>Li agrada: respirar, fer posicions, fer tot. No respon a l'espai del que no li agrada.</p> <p>Valoració: 8.</p> <p>"A la meua casa fem totes les respiracions".</p> <p>Li ajuda a respirar.</p>
4	<p>Resta d'Espanya, castellà i francès.</p> <p>Pare d'Argentina, (inintel·ligible de què treballa). Estudis universitaris.</p> <p>Mare de França, treballa de "cosa bonas de les dones" (estudis universitaris).</p>	<p>En sortir de l'escola, fa "cooco i pinsel".</p> <p>Abans d'anar a dormir "mirar la tele o llalli".</p> <p>Se'n va a dormir a les 20h.</p>	<p>És "tranquil i grec que lu faré be".</p> <p>Pensa en "tranquil·lidat que fach molt be".</p> <p>Sent "que lo fach be".</p> <p>Sent emocions: alegria.</p>	<p>3 coses que li agraden: el saludo del sol, la pose del bebè, la pose del guerrero.</p> <p>3 coses que NO li agraden: que la Puaf sempre està al costat de la profe, que hablan mucho, que el atves pot estar amb els seus amics i jo no.</p> <p>No posa puntuació.</p> <p>A casa practica "la mà".</p>

				Li ajuda a respirar.
5	<p>De Tenerife, castellà.</p> <p>Pare de Veneçuela, treballa de DJ (estudis universitaris).</p> <p>Mare de Veneçuela, no respon a què treballa (estudis universitaris).</p>	<p>En sortir de l'escola, va a l'escola d'Anglès els dimarts.</p> <p>Abans d'anar a dormir veu la televisió.</p> <p>Se'n va a dormir a les 20h de la nit.</p>	<p>És relaxar-te i tranquil·litzar el teu cos.</p> <p>Pensa amb relaxar-se.</p> <p>Sent "¡emoció-moltíssima!".</p> <p>Sent emocions: felisida molta.</p>	<p>3 coses que li agrada: "les respiracions, al bulça, al dufi"</p> <p>No esmenta coses que NO li agraden.</p> <p>Puntua amb un 10.</p> <p>A casa practica la mà i el globu.</p> <p>L'ajuda el bebè.</p>
6	<p>Resta d'Espanya, nepalí.</p> <p>Pare de Nepal, no diu si treballa (no sap si té estudis universitaris).</p> <p>Mare de Nepal, no diu si treballa (no sap si estudis universitaris).</p>	<p>En sortir de l'escola, juga a bàsquet.</p> <p>Què fa abans d'anar a dormir (inintel·ligible).</p> <p>Se'n va a dormir a les 22h.</p>	<p>Inintel·ligible</p> <p>Intueixo que pensa en tranquil·litat (força inintel·ligible).</p> <p>Se sent bé.</p> <p>Sent emocions: alegria.</p>	<p>3 coses que li agraden: 3 tècniques que practiquen (s'intueix, força inintel·ligible).</p> <p>3 coses que NO li agraden: 3 tècniques que practiquen.</p> <p>Puntua amb un 10.</p> <p>No practica a casa.</p> <p>L'ajuda "a tenir la mà".</p>
7	<p>Catalunya, català i castellà.</p> <p>Pare de Catalunya, treballa de "pel·lícules" (no sap si té estudis universitaris).</p>	<p>En sortir de l'escola, va al parc.</p> <p>Abans de dormir, llegeix.</p> <p>Se'n va a dormir a les 21:30h.</p>	<p>És "julu", intueixo que vol dir xulo.</p> <p>Pensa en què s'avorreix.</p> <p>Sent que està tranquil.</p> <p>Sent emocions: alegria.</p>	<p>3 coses que li agraden: respirar, fer les respiracions, estar tranquil.</p> <p>3 coses que NO li agraden: fer l'arc de sant martí, fer el bebè, fer la colina.</p>

	Mare de Catalunya, treballa en el teatre (estudis universitaris).			<p>Puntua amb un 8.</p> <p>Per practicar-ho, el que fa és practicar-ho.</p> <p>Li ajuda el dofi.</p>
8	<p>Catalunya, català.</p> <p>Pare de Catalunya, treballa de professor (estudis universitaris).</p> <p>Mare de Catalunya, treballa de professora (estudis universitaris).</p>	<p>En sortir de l'escola, va al parc i juga.</p> <p>Abans de dormir, tanca els ulls i respira.</p> <p>Se'n va a dormir a les 19h.</p>	<p>És respirar profund i descansar.</p> <p>Pensa en alegria i felicitat.</p> <p>Sent tranquil·litat i son.</p> <p>Sent emocions: alegria i a vegades ràbia.</p>	<p>3 coses que li agraden: les respiracions profundes, respiracions curtetes, respiracions que no són ni curtetes ni llargues.</p> <p>3 coses que NO li agraden: respiracions llargues, respiracions contínues, no li agrada la respiració del globus.</p> <p>Puntua amb un 9.</p> <p>Practica a casa: respira profundament.</p> <p>Li ajuda la respiració del dofi i de l'abella.</p> <p>Vol afegir que la seva mare ha viatjat molt.</p>
9	<p>Catalunya, punjabí.</p> <p>Pare de Pakistan, no contesta si treballa (no sap si té estudis universitaris).</p>	<p>En sortir de l'escola, juga a casa.</p> <p>Abans d'anar a dormir, mira la televisió.</p>	<p>No respon a què és el Mindfulness per ell.</p> <p>Pensa en: estar tranquil·la.</p> <p>No diu què sent.</p>	<p>3 coses que li agraden: respiracions.</p> <p>No diu coses que NO li agraden.</p> <p>Puntua amb un 10.</p>

	Mare de Pakistan, no contesta si treballa (no contesta si té estudis universitaris).	No diu a quina hora se'n va a dormir.	No diu si sent emocions.	No practica Mindfulness a casa. No creu que li ajudi.
10	Catalunya, valencià. Pare de la resta d'Espanya, treballa de matemàtic (estudis universitaris). Mare de resta d'Espanya, treballa de mestra (estudis universitaris).	En sortir de l'escola, juga a escacs. Abans d'anar a dormir, llegeix. Se'n va a dormir a les 21-21:30h.	És un avorriment. Pensa que és una merda. Sent que és una activitat. A la pregunta d'emocions, sent fàstic.	3 coses que li agraden: el guerrer, el dofi, l'abella. 3 coses que NO li agraden: l'Arc de Sant Martí, el bebè, la mà. Puntua amb un 1. No practica. No l'ajuda.
11	Pakistan, urdú. Pare de Pakistan, no diu de què treballa, tampoc diu si té estudis universitaris. Mare de Pakistan, no diu de què treballa, tampoc si té estudis universitaris.	Després de l'escola, juga al parc. Abans d'anar a dormir, llegeix. No diu l'hora que se'n va a dormir.	No diu què és el Mindfulness per ell. Pensa en la muntanya (respiració). No diu què sent. Sent emocions: contenta.	3 coses que li agraden: respiracions, escolta, abella. Puntua amb un 10. Practica respiracions. Diu que sí que li ajuda.
12	Pakistan, ulduiklis. Pare de Pakistan, no	En sortir de l'escola, juga al parc.	No respon a què és el Mindfulness per ell/a.	3 coses que li agraden: respirar, respiracions, darrera inintel·ligible.

	<p>diu de què treballa (tampoc si té estudis universitaris).</p> <p>Mare de Pakistan, no diu de què treballa (tampoc si té estudis universitaris).</p>	<p>Abans d'anar a dormir (intintel·ligible).</p> <p>Se'n va a dormir a les 22h.</p>	<p>Pensa en estar tranquil.</p> <p>No respon a què sent.</p> <p>No respon a si sent emocions.</p>	<p>3 coses que NO li agraden;; muntanya.</p> <p>Puntua amb un 3 (força inintel·ligible).</p> <p>Practica a casa, amb les respiracions.</p> <p>No respon a la pregunta de si l'ajuda.</p>
13	<p>Catalunya, català.</p> <p>Pare de Catalunya, corregeix el diari (estudis universitaris).</p> <p>Mare de Catalunya, no diu de què treballa (estudis universitaris).</p>	<p>En sortir de l'escola, fa xamfra i anglès.</p> <p>Abans d'anar a dormir, llegeix, sopa i es renta les dents.</p> <p>Se'n va a dormir entre les 22 i les 23h.</p>	<p>És una estona de tranquil·litat.</p> <p>Pensa en què s'ha de tranquil·litzar.</p> <p>Sent tranquil·litat.</p> <p>Sent emocions: contenta.</p>	<p>3 coses que li agraden: la muntanya perquè em tranquil·litza, l'abella perquè és molt xula, el guerrero perquè és molt diferent que les altres.</p> <p>No respon a les que coses que NO li agraden.</p> <p>Puntua amb un 9.</p> <p>No respon a si practica.</p> <p>No respon a si l'ajuda.</p> <p>Vol afegir que la mare és sociòlega.</p>
14	<p>Catalunya, català.</p> <p>Pare de Catalunya, de que treballa és inintel·ligible (té estudis universitaris).</p>	<p>Després de l'escola, fa natació sincronitzada.</p> <p>Abans d'anar a dormir, llegeix.</p>	<p>És una estona de tranquil·litat.</p> <p>Pensa que s'ha de tranquil·litzar.</p> <p>Sent tranquil·litat.</p>	<p>3 coses que li agraden: la postura del guerrero, la respiració de l'abella, la respiració del dofí.</p>

	Mare de França, treballa en licuats vegetals (té estudis universitaris).	Se'n va a dormir a les 22h.	Sent emocions: tranquil·litat.	3 coses que NO li agraden: el globus, la mà. Puntua amb un 9. No el practica a casa. L'ajuda, el bebè.
15	Catalunya, català i castellà. Pare de Catalunya, treballa en el Síndic de Greuges (té estudis universitaris). Mare d'Argentina, treballa al consolat (té estudis universitaris).	Després de l'escola, fa gimnàstica. Abans de dormir, llegeix. Se'n va a dormir a les 23:10h.	"És si no estàs relaxada o no estàs recta per tranquil·litzar-se i poder concentrar-se". "Em tranquil·litzo i m'enrecordo que vull portar un peluix i també m'enrecordo que per fer les respiracion has de tindre l'esquena recta". Sent relaxació i tranquil·la. Sent emocions: creativitat i tranquil·litat.	3 coses que li agraden: les respiracions, les esterilles, l'abella. 3 coses que NO li agraden: l'Arc de Sant Martí, la mà, el globus. Puntua amb un 10. Diu que ho practica, però que s'ha oblidat de què fa. Sí l'ajuda.
16	Catalunya, anglès. Pare de Nigèria, no diu de què treballa (tampoc si té estudis universitaris). Mare de la resta d'Espanya, no diu de què treballa (no sap si té	Després de l'escola, fa gimnàstica a casa. Abans d'anar a dormir, llegeix. Se'n va a dormir a les 23 o les 24h.	"És tenir un moment tu sol i relaxat i escoltar el teu cor i pensar en la persona que estimes". "Em relaxo i tinc un rato per mi sol". Sent que es relaxa. Sent emocions: felicitat i amor.	3 coses que li agraden: la panxa, l'abella, la colina. 3 coses que NO li agraden: l'arcoiris, el globo, la mà. Puntua amb un 5. A casa ho practica: "faig la panxa". L'ajuda, però és inintel·ligible.

	estudis universitaris).			
17	<p>Catalunya, català i castellà.</p> <p>Pare de Catalunya, no diu de què treballa (no té estudis universitaris).</p> <p>Mare de la resta d'Espanya, no diu de què treballa (no té estudis universitaris).</p>	<p>En sortir de l'escola, va a casa, al parc, o a casa d'algun dels seus amics.</p> <p>Abans d'anar a dormir, està al sofà i llegeix el llibre de l'agus i els monstres.</p> <p>Se'n va a dormir a les 21h i el cap de setmana a les 22h.</p>	<p>Diu que no sap què és el Mindfulness per ell/a.</p> <p>Pensa en les respiracions.</p> <p>Sent: "aprendre les respiracions".</p> <p>Sent emocions: felicitat.</p>	<p>3 coses que li agraden: que me relaxa, que hi ha una profe molt bona, les respiracions.</p> <p>3 coses que NO li agraden: el bebè respiració, la respiració de l'arocíris.</p> <p>Puntua amb un 10.</p> <p>No practica el Mindfulness a casa.</p> <p>L'ajuda quan està enfadat.</p> <p>Ha dibuixat un coret a la meva cloenda.</p>
18	<p>Veneçuela, castellà.</p> <p>Pare (no sap origen, de què treballa ni si té estudis universitaris).</p> <p>Mare de República Dominicana, no respon de què treballa, però després posa restaurant (no sap si té estudis universitaris).</p>	<p>Després d'escola, juga al parc.</p> <p>Abans d'anar a dormir, veu la tele.</p> <p>No respon l'hora que se'n va a dormir.</p>	<p>És "estira".</p> <p>No contesta a què pensa.</p> <p>Sent tranquil·litat.</p> <p>Sent emocions: contenta.</p>	<p>3 coses que li agraden: respirar, lama, la panxa.</p> <p>3 coses que NO li agraden: arcoíris.</p> <p>Puntua amb un 5.</p> <p>Practica respiracions a casa.</p> <p>Diu que l'ajuda.</p>

19	<p>Alemanya, castellà.</p> <p>Pare de Munich, no sap de què treballa (té estudis universitaris).</p> <p>Mare de la resta d'Espanya, treballa de perruquera (té estudis universitaris).</p>	<p>En sortir de l'escola, juga a futbol.</p> <p>Abans d'anar a dormir, menja.</p> <p>Se'n va a dormir a les 21h.</p>	<p>És estar tranquil·la.</p> <p>Pensa en respiracions.</p> <p>Sent tranquil·litat.</p> <p>Sent emocions: contenta.</p>	<p>3 coses que li agraden: el bebè, el salut del sol, la serp.</p> <p>3 coses que NO li agraden: la mà, l'Arc de Sant Martí.</p> <p>Puntua amb un 8.</p> <p>No practica a casa.</p> <p>L'ajuda en pensar al cor.</p> <p>Respon a Si? a la meva cloenda.</p>
20	<p>Pakistan, urdú i panjabi.</p> <p>Pare de Pakistan, no contesta a què treballa (té estudis universitaris).</p> <p>Mare de Pakistan, treballa a casa (té estudis universitaris).</p>	<p>Després d'escola, juga a casa.</p> <p>Abans d'anar a dormir, llegeix un conte, i escolta una història.</p> <p>Se'n va a dormir a les 22:30h.</p>	<p>És "tranquil".</p> <p>No contesta a què pensa.</p> <p>Inintel·ligible sobre el que sent.</p> <p>Sent emocions: "em fa contenta".</p>	<p>3 coses que li agraden: m'agraden les respiracions, segona és inintel·ligible, m'agrada la muntanya.</p> <p>3 coses que NO li agraden: "no m'agrada quan criden, quan fem mindfulness, no m'agrada el dofi".</p> <p>Puntua amb un 9.</p> <p>Practica les respiracions a casa.</p> <p>L'ajuden les respiracions.</p>
21	<p>Catalunya, una altra llengua (no especifica).</p>	<p>En sortir de l'escola, va al casal.</p> <p>Abans d'anar a dormir, llegeix.</p>	<p>És "relaxar-me".</p> <p>Pensa en "l'escolta".</p>	<p>3 coses que li agraden: l'Arc de Sant Martí, la muntanya, l'abella.</p>

	<p>Pare d'un altre país (no especifica), tampoc diu de què treballa (té estudis universitaris).</p> <p>Mare de Catalunya, no diu de què treballa (no sap si té estudis universitaris).</p>	<p>Se'n va a dormir a les 22h.</p>	<p>Sent que està contenta.</p> <p>No diu si sent emocions.</p>	<p>3 coses que NO li agraden: la mà, el globus.</p> <p>Puntua amb un 10.</p> <p>L'ajuda: "me fa alegria".</p>
22		<p>En sortir de l'escola, fa música.</p> <p>No respon a què fa abans d'anar a dormir.</p> <p>No respon a l'hora que se'n va a dormir.</p>	<p>És "les respiracions".</p> <p>Pensa en fer les respiracions tranquil.</p>	

7.3. Observation.

Etic	Emic
<p>Agata starts a lesson in Mindfulness in a room of the Poble Sec public school in Barcelona. I am sitting in a corner to be able to see how the lesson develops without interfering.</p> <p>The lights are off, there is just the natural light from the windows.</p>	
<p>The kids are putting the mats with the help of Agata (Mindfulness teacher) and Marta (their tutor), who supports Agata.</p>	
<p>The kids are chatting actively and a bit nervously with each other. They have sat</p>	<p>They are still active as they have come from the playground.</p>

around the space in a rectangular form, as a kind of circle.	
<p>Agata rings the bell. The general sound decreases just a bit. Agata rings the bell again. There is silence.</p> <p>Agata starts saying how to breathe, and how to keep a good body posture. A girl responds that she struggles with the posture. Another girl holds an object and she is playing with it.</p>	The bell serves as a signal to be silent and pay attention to Agata's instructions.
Everyone starts with the breathing technique. Now they are doing the “volcano breathing”. Everyone does the “bee breathing” in unison. While a girl is explaining a technique, the rest are moving a bit.	It is difficult to keep the concentration all the time at these early ages.
At the moment of the breathing, there is instant silence and the kids calm down. Some follow the breathing technique, others don't.	This may occur due to their personality: some kids may be more calm and others more restless.
<p>Agata asks: “How do you feel your back?”</p> <p>A kid responds: “relaxed”, another says “crunchy”. When Agata asks for the explanation of breathing techniques, some raise their hands.</p>	Every time Agata asks something, there are some that want to participate. So, participation is quite recurrent during the session.
A girl comments the rest that she realises that when you push yourself too much with the breathing, then the technique does not work at all.	This reflection suggests that this kid is well aware of her body senses. So, corporal consciousness is key here.
<p>A kid is entertained by something and disconnects.</p> <p>A girl says to another to keep a good posture.</p>	

Some kids struggle to apply the corporal posture technique.	
A lot of kids lay down and the teacher takes advantage of the situation and applies a yoga technique from the position they have already entered. There is absolute silence now.	<p>These are symptoms of tiredness.</p> <p>The teacher notices the state of the kids and adopts a technique by which reaches a generalised calmness among the kids. It seems that the corporal techniques make them relaxed.</p>
The teacher makes them go back to the neutral posture but in a very slow pathway.	The majority follow the teacher's steps.
They do another breathing technique, and they close their eyes. The technique consists of touching the belly of the kid is next to them.	Their posture with the eyes closed and their facial expression suggest some of them are deeply concentrated in what they are doing.
The teacher asks if they have noticed the belly of the kid next to them. 3 kids raise their hands.	When they intervene speaking, some of the others listen and others seem to disconnect. This suggests that the attention to the lesson is not constant at all.
A girl is a bit angry because she suggested to do the “sun salutation” and the teacher responded that they are run out of time. The lesson is almost finished.	
In general, the kids move themselves when they are not actively doing breathing techniques or corporal techniques.	
The lesson is over and the kids with the help of the teachers place the mats into the box. Some do it in a slow pathway, others are more nervous or active.	Despite that, before starting the session they looked more nervous.
The session lasted around 30 minutes.	