Chapter 3
Involvement in workshops

"There, we had a spatial problem." Marion, a caregiver, signaled to me at the end of the first month of fieldwork, calling my attention to workshop spaces in the old house. She went on:

> One Wednesday a month, we have two workshops that should be done in *L'Annexe* [a room for creative activities] at the same time. Thus last time, we found ourselves doing a Creation workshop in the dining room. It was horrible! It was not good at all: the frame… the place's resonance… well, it was not framing.
> I seized it: When you say, 'not framing', what is it exactly?
> Marion: We didn't have the material we needed. So we brought some [from L'Annexe], but this limits the expression work we asked them [teens] to do. And for them it was not a place where we usually put ourselves in our bubble and work. This is a community place [*le communautaire*], where we usually eat our meals. We have access to glasses, to coffee, and so on, and not to the material we need to be at hand. And the resonance, and the light are not the same. There is something less calm, less cocooned, that helps less to put themselves in their bubble.

The living spaces were quite good at suggesting familiar bonds, but when it came to involving teens in focused activities, except maybe for a cooking workshop, these material spaces were certainly not models of an ideal configuration. On the contrary, here a Creation workshop was made hardly possible since the spaces did not provide the right materials available at hand. And their light and resonance prevented

participants from applying themselves to what they were supposed to do. So certain conditions were needed to frame the activity in ways that enabled teenagers to 'put themselves in their bubble', to get involved in doing it. Marion's words hint at a form of attachment occurring in everyday activities, when the adolescents were caught up in a sort of connection to what they did. Her words also indicate that the possibility to create such a bubble was linked to certain conditions, among which the space played a key role in switching participants to another state. The spatial problem that Marion raised opens a path for turning to the material spaces for activities, and for tackling these questions: How does teenagers' involvement take shape, with its successes and failures, during the care work? And how do the material spaces of activities provide conditions for these involvements?

In this chapter I probe how teens' affinities took shape in workshops in relation to their spatial settings. I first portray what an 'involvement' in practice is and the role it plays for the care work. I then turn to several issues that add more layers to the picture: the 'framing' of activities, the uncertain character of such attachments, the adjustments they require when facing school tasks, their call to bodily senses, and teens' disinvolvement from a planned activity. This ensemble of stories led me to see that workshop spaces together with caregivers' techniques facilitated teenagers' passage from indifference to greater involvement into what they were proposed to do. These transitions could succeed or fail, especially since teens involvement was uncertain and unstable. However faint and ephemeral, teens' passage to and from their involvement in workshops were key daily events to the team, who could then work with each teen's personal traits, difficulties and possibilities.

Relating 'involvement'

To begin with, where, when, and how did I discern the 'involvement' of teens in activities in the care work? The team proposed a repertoire of activities that might be of interest to the teens. When newcomers arrived in the center, they were offered to choose what activity they wanted to

do on a weekly timetable (table 1). They then scheduled their choice for a two-week trial period. Presenting the timetable to them was a way to ask: what do you like? Its repertoire was designed to appeal to tastes adolescents would most likely have already developed. Not surprisingly, sports or video games were largely triumphant over knitting. The teens went to their activities each morning and afternoon. In every morning meeting, the team reported on the happenings in the previous day's workshops. Often these observations had already been partially shared at informal moments, as caregivers interacted in their shared office space.

Table 1: Timetable of a weekly program.

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>Monday</th><th>Tuesday</th><th>Wednesday</th><th>Thursday</th><th>Friday</th></tr>
<tr><td>8.30-9h</td><td colspan="5">Arrival & breakfast</td></tr>
<tr><td>9.30</td><td colspan="5">Welcome meeting</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">10h</td><td>Speaking group</td><td rowspan="2">Pedagogical workshop/ Sport / Video games</td><td rowspan="2">Cooking atelier/ Horse riding/ Sport</td><td rowspan="2">Pedagogical workshop/ Radio workshop</td><td rowspan="2">Clay atelier/ Hip-hop dance/ Climbing</td></tr>
<tr><td>'Stylistique'/ Board games/ Role-play therapy</td></tr>
<tr><td>12.30</td><td colspan="5">Lunch / informal time / appointments</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">14.15</td><td rowspan="2">Pedagogical workshop/ Mosaic/ 'Introduce me your city'</td><td rowspan="2">Creative workshop/ Music/ Writing atelier</td><td rowspan="2">Pedagogical workshop/ Cultural discoveries/ Photography</td><td>Community meeting</td><td rowspan="2">Body workshop (single gender)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>16.30</td><td colspan="5">Snack & closing</td></tr>
</table>

But I soon realized, caregivers used a plethora of verbs to tell of the teens' responses when they reported stories about recent workshop sessions. The teens "got/were involved", "engaged themselves", "participated", "invested themselves", etc. It was a bit perplexing for me to figure out, after hearing all these terms, how I would follow a single conceptual line. This became even more disquieting when I discussed the matter with Ingrid, a caregiver who wondered how each of these terms, once translated from their common use into an ethnographic text, would be burdened with connotations. An 'engagement' would point to a long-term commitment, with the requirement of making a pledge, and less to being caught up in an ongoing situation. Although teens who attended a session were called 'participants', the word 'participation' puts too strong an emphasis on their input when taking an active part. And 'to invest oneself' conjures the psychoanalytic tradition. There, it supposes an analogy between psychic operations and nervous functioning, to detect how patients invest their energetic discharges towards an object or a representation. The term 'investment' assumes that forces only come from people, whereas I'm interested in the conditions distributed within material and social environments. They, too, exert forces and reveal weaknesses. So Ingrid and I came to agree that the term 'involvement' was the best candidate for reporting the states that caregivers sought to induce in practice, and that I could describe as an ethnographer.

Indeed, such involvement was less a normative prerequisite to which teens should be able to answer, as if it relied solely on them, or as if their lack of involvement would incur the team's disapproval of their reason for being in the center.[1] The teens' involvement was everything but an individual duty. Instead it required attempts from the team to enfold them in an ongoing activity, with a diffuse power at stake when trying to lure them. In practice, the caregivers noticed how the adolescents paid attention during an activity, the things they came to use,

1 This tension is crucial among therapeutic and social workers who resist the (implicit or explicit) injunction that care receivers must involve themselves personally in order to receive support (Rafanell i Orra 2011: 159).

the gestures they made, when they expressed pleasure, emerging ideas, hesitations, or aversions, or had exchanges with other participants. The term 'involvement' (in French, *'implication'*) depicts these various ways of engaging oneself in interactions with things and others. To me, it resonates with Goffman's work. His examination of 'involvement' targets the perceivable, verbal or non-verbal responses of a participant who, in practice, "gives, or withdraws from giving, his concerted attention to some activity at hand […]", implying "a certain closeness between the individual and the object of involvement, a certain overt engrossment on the part of the one who is involved" (Goffman 1963: 43).[2] This notion, then, helps to convey those back and forth movements in interaction and attitude that showed how participants became more or less captivated by an activity, swept away indifference or returned to it, came to dedicate themselves within workshops, retreated to the margins of disinvolvement, or turned towards other involvements outside of the main activity – but without assuming that these responses came from individual teenagers. In the day center, to induce and enhance these movements, gestures, attention, concentration, or concerns of the adolescents was a daily challenge for the team.

But how exactly did teens' involvements play a role in their care work? I kept being struck by the manner in which the caregivers reported every-

2 The notion of 'involvement' reaches much further throughout Goffman's work. The sociologist first draws the contours of the concept in his doctoral thesis in 1955. He casts it as a "subtle mixture of spontaneity and calculation" needed to make an interaction succeed (Winkin (2016 [1988]): 93, my translation). In *Behavior in Public Places* (1963), Goffman underlines the normative character of the non-verbal communication and gestures used in reacting to an encounter (35). After discussing the bodily aspect of involvement, the author adds more layers to the concept: "To be engaged in an occasioned activity means to sustain some kind of cognitive and affective engrossment in it, some mobilization of one's psychobiological resources: in short, it means to be *involved* in it." (Ibid: 36, original emphasis). Goffman insists that involvement always occurs within a situation, where normativity is at stake in a group that use its own idioms of involvement. In this way, he conceptualizes a 'self' that is situational, crafted through involvements in interactions.

day stories about workshops. Their tones and gestures evoked the moments they had experienced, making the rest of the team feel as though it was happening on the spot. As with familiar bonds, the teens' involvement in activities was noticeable in very small responses and discreet interactions. Let's listen to Etienne who, during a morning team meeting, talked about a workshop he had led in the studio of a small radio station:

> There, the space is divided in two rooms: the technical room and the one with the microphones. […] One room is where we play the recordings and the other one for the live broadcast, where we [caregivers and teenagers] sometimes improvise. A small red light switches on and – Hop! It's our turn to speak! We go on air! So obviously, it is not always easy. … Karl and Dorian were in the technical room, so they played things with a big console. … Well, they were well caught up in that play, with the technical and computing things. Karl did it with this very serious position, about the technical features, a bit like in the cooking workshop, when he takes very seriously his responsibility, very assertive. He is good in that role. On the contrary, he will never come to speak into the microphones. There is no way for him. It is like in the cooking workshop, he won't go to speak to the cashier at the grocery.

Not only did caregivers report on a teen's involvement, but they also compared it between different activities, or between different parts of an activity with its respective material and technical settings. Etienne was struck by Karl's assertive involvement in technical tasks when he captained the radio console, and by his avoidance of spontaneous ones when he wouldn't dare speak in a live broadcast. Noticing this was supported by previous observations in the cooking workshop, where part of the setting, dedicated to the preparation of dinner, entailed technical tasks in the kitchen and another, like speaking to the cashier, required spontaneity in front of others. Workshops were diverse and each happened in specific settings, inside and outside the center. Teenagers responded to distinct settings in their own way. According to what they were more inclined to do, they would easily enter one state while dodging others. Caregivers noticed how it went and learned to know each youth when

recognizing similar involvements and aversions, and they shared these clues with the team.

Thus, caregivers related teens' involvement in the double senses of 'relating': while giving an account of what they had noticed, they also connected it to other observations or information that was within their reach. In doing so, caregivers tried to better see what the youth's logic and sensibilities were, and the accompanying forces and difficulties. The team did not seek the strong commitment of an adolescent in a particular workshop. Instead they compared the various ways that teens got involved with and disengaged from different situations at hand. Other caregivers also related stories, as they recognized these same clues or contested them – sometimes relating as well to occurrences that happened during informal time in the living spaces. In this manner, they built, expanded, and reinforced their informal knowledge of each teenager. Whoever attended team meetings or hung around in their office was quickly aware of that informal knowledge, and was often drawn to help build it.

It was slowly becoming clear to me that caregivers' acquaintance with each youth enabled them to notice unpredictable changes among them. Workshops were diverse and put to the test the particular inclinations and aversions of each adolescent. On an everyday basis, caregivers narrated how workshops ran into snags due to personal, often emotional and relational difficulties, such as conflicts, distresses, fatigue, refusals, and so on. But they could also be pleasantly surprised by incremental changes in youth involvement. I heard in a team meeting how Karina, who always showed a will to perform tasks perfectly, started to relax, let go, ask more questions, say things more fluidly. "It starts", a caregiver recounted: "We feel something is becoming different in workshops." Her colleagues recognized that Karina had changed in the manner she got involved. This change became a common concern that spread across the staff, all agreeing that they were better off supporting her in furthering a more relaxed involvement. I also heard about teens usually boiling over when in a group, who became more able to hold themselves back from messing things up. Caregivers commonly mentioned bodily movements or contacts in those changes. They mentioned how Nadia, a rather stiff,

inhibited youth, came to respond with laugh and smile in dance or massage workshops, or how one day girls "completely unleashed themselves" in games that demanded moving around and jumping. Caregivers also noted changes in verbal involvement, as when participants "take their places" in bringing their knowledge of a topic to the rest of the group. It seems from all this that, day after day, meeting after meeting, alongside the familiarity each adolescent wove in the center, their involvement in workshops was a vital constituent of the sociotherapeutic work. In the ongoing practice, teens' responses in activities did not merely provide the team with informal knowledge, but also reshaped it, with surprising changes that called for adjusting the care work with them.

Framing uncertain attachments

Now, when caregivers spoke about teens' involvement, their focus went beyond the persons. Their discussion touched, too, to the "frame" that Marion evoked about the Creation Workshop: the material setting that could encourage or hinder it. What does it mean, in practice, to frame participants' involvement in an activity? This question brings our attention back to the spatial conditions of workshops and leads us to discern more nuances about that form of attachment.

Workshops, as diverse as they were, worked much better – and sometimes could only work – with precise arrangements that fitted the type of activity. The move to the new building brought these requirements into sharper relief. It offered caregivers the occasion to arrange certain rooms with greater specificity. One such rearrangement occurred with a room on the first floor in the old townhouse. Due to lack of space, it served as a multipurpose room and was arranged with minimal and flexible objects, like foldable chairs, tables with wheels, a closed storage unit, a movable TV screen, and computers at the back of the room. Two of the activities that happened in this room were named *Cidébat* (in French, a mix of '*cinéma*' and '*débat*') and Writing Play. Both required caregivers to quickly arrange the room to create different settings: chairs randomly facing the screen for the first, and a big central

table where everybody could sit without being too close for the second. After having moved to the big new building, however, keeping both workshops in a single multipurpose room proved absurd after just a few sessions. Ingrid, the caregiver in charge of both activities, recounted to me how they tried to move the writing workshop from a small room in the middle of the ground floor corridor to another one, located upstairs, whose "atmosphere was more suitable .... brighter... [with] views on the garden and on tree [... and for] a youth who sometimes wants to sit alone for writing, a table at the back." This room, with its light, views, and possibilities for distance adjustments, better matched ideal conditions for writing. The activity's displacement from one room to another allowed the downstairs room to be dedicated to workshops meant to direct the teens' collective attention towards a screen, like Cidébat or video games. There, Ingrid explained, the teens' involvement was greatly improved after adding some lounge chairs, a blind for the light, a few movie and game posters, and DVDs on the shelves.

When I asked her how precisely those changes of material setting affected the running of workshops, Ingrid was quick to answer, "Then we really could 'make a group' with teens!" She underlined how these conditions for the group were inescapably entwined with specific forms of concentration. I had to attend the activities to understand what this was all about. Next Tuesday, we started the Writing Play session by sitting around the central table with Sabine, an external artist, who gave us some constraints for playing with our writing. We spread to different tables, some participants withdrawing further in corners. We spent around half an hour focusing on our own pages, every now and then letting our attention drift to the sky and the foliage beyond the windowpanes. You could have heard a fly buzz while we were concentrating on our words. We then gathered back at the main table, read our pieces aloud, and shared comments on the choices of words, rhythm, metaphors, or about a wider scope of unexpected issues raised by the texts' content. Passing through to this second moment implied a switch, as each of us departed from our paper and went back to the group.

Doing the Cidébat also implied a switch in attention, but it did so quite otherwise. The small room downstairs was far less open to a range

of suggestions. Here, walls surrounded us as we randomly placed our chairs in front of the screen. Bodies were much closer. The twilight enhanced this closeness, as well as our attention towards the movie. During the screening, Ingrid sometimes paused it and turned the light on, in the aim of launching short debates on what was going on in certain scenes. The switch between focus on the film and exchanges within the group provided occasions to encourage teenagers' reflexivity, not only about the object of appreciation but about broader issues as well.

The two rooms, each in their specific manner, framed distinctive forms of participant concentration. These differences brought into relief, too, two different ways to switch their attention from a greater absorption in the movie, towards group exchanges and relations with the other participants. The passage between these different states was at the core of teenagers' involvement.

But it must be said that framing the right conditions for participants' involvement in an activity did not always rely so heavily on the specific features of a material setting. Gaël, a caregiver, specified to me that going outside remained crucial to the care practice, for it relied on "the infrastructures available in everyday life", such as public transport, places or facilities that everyone used. Often, though, going outside led to more messiness. One of the most open-ended activities in terms of spatial organization was called "Introduce me to your city". It could happen anywhere in Brussels, but not in just any way. It relied on a basic framework: for each session, a youth chose a place in Brussels that mattered to him or her, and guided the others there. The teen received a camera to use during the outing, and some of the pictures would later be displayed in the center. So the setting encompassed no less than Brussels, its public transport, its meeting spots, public infrastructure for walking or resting, a camera, and occasionally a map. And its framework relied on the teenagers' previous attachments to a place, the group's preparation for the outing, and the guiding youth. I joined some of these trips, and heard plenty of accounts upon the return of others. These made clear that, even though the framework sounded easy, often its actual happening was not. It sometimes became embroiled, for instance, when a young guide was confused about which

way to go, or when other participants resisted or even utterly refused to visit certain areas. Despite these disruptions, caregivers related many fruitful sessions of that workshop since it often produced moments where meeting one another was possible in ways that were not with ateliers constricted to a place. Since traveling and walk was the main activity, other contacts could be established and things said that were possible only thanks to this situation of being in motion in changing surroundings.[3] In this workshop participants weren't captivated by an object, but rather drawn into place exploration, and this sowed easier chats along the way. This experience relied far less on accurate spatial conditions, and more on a thin practical framework that left a margin for unexpected events.

What becomes confusing, here, is that the porous aspect of these conditions in outside places makes you wonder whether teens' involvement, after all, could happen anywhere, whatever the material environment providing a frame for it. As the stories above witness, the importance of spatial organization depends of course on the specific kind of involvement caregivers seek to create. But the question of the 'anywhere' of activities limited caregivers' framing work. The threshold of minimal conditions for an activity to be considered therapeutic work remained under debate among them. Going to the cinema was one of the outside activities that heated that debate because, some caregivers argued, it could be merely 'occupational'. This meant that such a minimal frame would lead to simply pass time with teens, probably giving some rest to the activity leaders. But going to the cinema, other caregivers asserted, substantially contributed to the sociotherapeutic work insofar as they chose movies with teens about topics of their concern, organized the outing with them, and opened discussions about them. In short, they

3 The meditative experience of walking has spilled the ink of a fair number of writers and philosophers, although most often when practiced in solitude. Ingold and Vergunst's (2008) collection of ethnographies explores walking as a social activity, but I haven't found in it an account that addresses how walking with others would ease a chat, compared to more formal face-to-face interactions.

went to the cinema in a way that further solicited the teenagers' personal involvement and reflexivity. Caregivers' framing then built upon existing activities with material settings, such as a trailer, walking trajectory, ticket desk, screening room with its bleachers, or a nearby café. Framing the activity with this setting intensified a little bit what most of us do when going to see a movie. Their minimal framing took advantage of a mundane activity and amplified these activities to foster reflexive mindsets. By doing so, they turned that activity into therapeutic work.[4]

You won't be surprised, will you, to learn that the adolescents could resist and renegotiate a frame well. A noteworthy incident of this kind occurred during the Cidébat workshop. In the small dark room, remember, Ingrid interrupted the screening and turned the light on to switch the attention from the film to group exchange. But at some point of the session, Jimmy started to complain about these switches. He wanted to "be in the movie like as usual", he pleaded, meaning without being interrupted by pauses. Although in this workshop the movie served as an occasion for debate, to be engrossed by the plot was also necessary for his involvement, to enjoy the screening and simultaneously to make up his mind about it. Jimmy's complaint prompted all participants to revise the frame. After discussion, they decided to keep the pauses for debate after longer screening moments, long enough to be able to 'enter' into the movie again. So the framing of activity did not only help one put oneself in a bubble, as Marion pointed out. It was also about setting up the conditions to amplify any activity most of us do from time to time, like going to the movies or watching a film at home, in ways that better triggered participants' reflexivity. This reflexivity, as Jimmy reminded us, could also pertain to the frame of the activity itself.

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4 To some caregivers, a minimal frame turns the activities and their objects into 'therapeutic mediations'. This means they foster a subjective appropriation of the medium by the patient. I don't share this understanding, first because such mediations through objects seem to target patients' symbolic speech, and I observed plenty of practical interactions that came to be relevant for care as well. Second, I base my analysis on the notion of attachment that carries a different, more social and material idea of 'mediation' (Hennion 2015 [1993]); but see the note about it in the introduction).

Looking back at these articulations about the 'framing' of activities – from the switches in participants' attention with the specific arrangements of Writing Play and Cidébat, to the minimal conditions of outings, and the reflexivity all these framings were designed to trigger – teens' involvement now appears as a highly uncertain form of attachment. Indeed, I recognize in these framings the words of Hennion, Gomart and Maisonneuve (2000: 181). While regarding taste as an accomplishment in a practice in which attachments develop, they emphasize how amateurs create the right conditions to warm up a situation, and better feel if they like an object or not. Such a creation of conditions could involve the setting of a concert hall, but so would the gestures of a wine connoisseur handling their glass and smelling it before drinking. In any case, it is important to note that these meticulous assessments occur on a middle path: it is about actively making an affinity emerge, and being passively caught in it. In other words, when an attachment takes shape, it is an event that occurs *between* the taster and the thing, without locating the action in either one of them. Tasters may notice more refined differences, which intensify their feelings and perceptions, while the object deploys its qualities to them. Hennion says that these events happen in a reflexive mode (in French, '*cela se passe*') that concerns the taster ("well, this music/wine is not so bad…") as much as the object that is able to respond, interrupt, or surprise them (Hennion 2009: 63). And it is because amateurs' appreciation occurs on such a middle path that they remain uncertain during reflexive moments.

Similarly, in the day center, the framing of activities offered conditions for participants' involvement in ways that their appreciations could be tested, especially since it encouraged reflexivity. Although material spaces provide conditions for possible involvement, it happens without guarantee, because the action doesn't come from a person or a thing, instead tracing a middle path between them. Of course, beyond the material and practical frame with which participants engage in the moment, many other mediators cultivate one's appreciation before and during an activity. In Hennion's theory of attachment, too, the creation of conditions does not only belong to the isolated moment of tasting, to the interactions between tasters and things, but it also relies on an extended flow

of attachments (to previous experiences; to a body having been trained over time; to collectives, their judgments, and controversies; to other objects and places, etc.). This was clear as well in the case of the workshop "Introduce me to your city". Its framework was largely dependent on the teenagers' previous attachments to a place. So the team also considered the appreciations, and sometimes the passions, that teenagers had already developed before arriving. Nevertheless, what caregivers mostly did was to frame teens' possible involvement in the moment, on the uncertain pathways towards accomplishing an activity. They experienced it together with them on the spot and related it to their colleagues thereafter.

This is not a classroom

Knowing these uncertain paths, it turned out that workshops in the care practice did not aim at achieving impressive performances. The day center was a transitional place where the caregivers aimed at helping the teenagers regain stability in their lives. For most of them, this meant going back to school or engaging in professional projects. This was not a ready-made path. On the contrary, most of the teens had gone to many different schools and repeated years several times. All of them had dropped out of school for a while. A small group of caregivers, along with some teachers and artists, set up *La Porte Bleue*, a pedagogical workshop that attempted to reinitiate the learning of skills. Most of these were academic skills, which the adolescents anticipated negatively. For that specific workshop, the team mingled psychotherapeutic and pedagogic practices in order to try to reinvigorate teens' interest and rebuild their self-confidence, before tackling cognitive skills. Retrieving pleasure in learning was central for enabling the teens to dare to try it. Next to schoolwork, the team offered projects based on the production of artifacts of all kinds. This way, they hoped to pique the adolescents' interest and to drive their willingness to acquire new knowledge.

Teens' involvement in sessions at La Porte Bleue were thus granted a special status, for they might extend great promise but also deep dis-

appointments. Kevin's story remains a striking one. He was only twelve, but had already spent years living in residential institutions for teens, or on the streets – where he happened to return some nights. Most of the time, he was unable to sit still. Yet for several months, his involvement in certain workshops suggested that he could find a sustainable project. As his interest in these activities solidified, he nearly did. One of the things he liked to do was to make models. So the team of La Porte Bleue started with that. Then model making became a vehicle for learning school subjects such as mathematics and history. During a staff meeting, Maud, the caregiver in charge of this workshop, related that it had worked quite well, but that it was not sufficient:

> When he works on the model, I just give him a bit admiring attention, but without intervention. Then he's in his bubble and he can slow down. Because, he always wants to hurry. … But then we should not only offer him these bubbles. Which work to do with him now, for a long-term perspective?

The team reviewed several possible institutions and schools and concluded that an internship would be a better track for him. Maud found a place that would have been great: a center for rehabilitating birds located two houses from the day center. Kevin was delighted by this idea. He loved having contact with animals. Other caregivers had noticed him becoming quieter, watchful, and responsive when caring for horses. And the director of the bird rehabilitation center had agreed on the internship. And then, quite suddenly, Kevin disappeared. He somehow returned to street life for longer. For more than a month he didn't come back to the center, nor did he return to his residential institution. Caregivers were worried about the risks he ran in his homeless lifestyle. They sometimes met him in the neighborhood, where he came to give some news. But after having been reported to the police as a runaway for more than three weeks, Kevin wasn't legally allowed to continue his stay in the center or to start the internship. The term 'disenchanted' does not begin to describe how caregivers felt about this acute disappointment. They were daunted. Even though Kevin's involvement with models and animals opened a track for him, other forces made him drop out of it.

His story leaves little doubt about the vulnerable aspect of teens' involvement in the pedagogical workshop, which creates possible life projects for them. The care work was to keep trying to create a path without any guarantee of success. This was also the case for most of the other teenagers I eventually saw going back to school or to an internship. Those paths never appeared without pitfalls.

The space of La Porte Bleue thus was to enable teaching, training and raising interest among participants while dealing with the fragile aspects of resuming schoolwork and setting up a long-term project. In doing so, it could not in any way be designed as a standard classroom. Rather, it was a protected space, set a bit apart from the group's daily movements. No one could come there when sessions were occurring. No trainee, no ethnographer. It was only after having heard about that mysterious place for months that I went there with Maud, who gave me a guided tour. We walked to another large townhouse, two streets from the old building. She took me up to two rooms on the first floor, whose windows gave a view on gardens, yet without exposing the viewer to gazes from outside. While Maud told me how sessions happened there, I identified different ways in which the spaces provided conditions for trying to involve teens in learning, while tending to their apprehensions.

A first way related to the awakening of curiosity. Lots of objects were displayed all over both rooms. Collages, brushes, maps, files, a guitar, pictures, little notes, sculptures, a sewing machine, drawings, pinned sketches and framed paintings, and so forth, filled the spaces. All these things witnessed what had been made, or what was in the middle of being achieved. They were disposed with that sort of inevitable slight messiness that belongs to artworks in process. Though one room was devoted to schoolwork and the other to artistic activities, both looked more like art studios. They gave few clues about learning spaces, such as a blackboard painted on a wall, or a world map. The displayed objects were not left there because of a lack of storage space elsewhere. They played a role in practice, as Maud told me, especially when a youth discovered them:

> I always do a first interview with a new youth in these rooms, because I want them to see it, to feel it. Even if it's messy, at least something would speak to them. It is a good indication when one says: 'hey, what's that?' And when nothing special catches their attention, you think: 'ouch, it is still complicated'. But where I'm sure to draw attention, it's when we pass to the artistic activities room. I show them the three paintings placed under glass [figure 11]. These surely interest them, without doubt, because they are beautiful, they're well done. And because it's something within their reach: a drawing, it is easier to do than study electricity, algebra or French. … There, you can feel how you will start to work with a youth, by being attentive to the way they take up the space: what do they look at, what are they are going to touch.

Maud described a technique that I understood as a 'curiosity trial'. The exhibition of these objects was not explicit. They were subtly left here and there within the mess. Their valorization was moderated, without great means, without glorification. These objects didn't seem to be meant for display. They were however beautiful and well done, or at least they could 'speak to' teenagers. To an anthropologist's ears, Maud's description of what these artworks did recalls Gell's theory about the agency of art (1998). To him, it is the technical virtuosity of the object that triggers a personal relationship with its observer, who in turn may be fascinated by it and in this way enter into relation with the artist. The beautiful and well-done objects displayed in the workshop room held potential for such fascination in its light form. They might seduce observers by arousing their curiosity, by intriguing them with a light surplus of wonder. They might even make them want to touch. Maud noticed these initial clues of a teenager's budding affinities, and she oriented her work thanks to them. The diversity of scattered objects increased the chances for these connections. And those 'well achieved' but still attainable items were better candidates for curiosity trials. I saw in these trials a singular technique which attempted to arouse curiosity through specific arrangements of objects and engagements with them. These material dispositions amplified their capacity to intrigue.

Figure 11: The three paintings: two in the corner and one above the fireplace.

The curiosity trials carved a middle path in a specific manner. They incorporated modest valorization of artworks and other objects; the acts of pointing to them; sparks of attention from a teenager; and the caregiver's refined abilities to notice the advent of a participant's involvement at the slightest degree. In the case of clowning in dementia care, Hendricks calls this ability to notice the emergence of someone else's curiosity thanks to material things and bodily attitudes the "tackling of indifference" (2012: 459). As I recognized in Maud's technique, this ability was enabled through refined capacities "to distinguish with increasing subtlety between differences in how the other person relates to the world, attentively, physically, and sensorily" (ibid: 469).

Next, Maud told me about a second way to support teens' involvement in the session, by "walking the path". Since La Porte Bleue was set apart from the center, its team went to pick up the teens in the living room. They then walked for five minutes to the other building with them.

"This walk is essential", insisted Maud, "because it allows us to feel the dynamic, what's going on, who has difficulty, who is overloaded, and, maybe, why". With this feeling of that momentary dynamic, she could adjust the start of the session, as she described when pointing to a sentence on a blackboard: "For instance, when I wrote this note 'What do we do with all we have in our heads?', it was because I felt on the path that the teens were parasitized with 30.000 questions". Adjusting the session would then equate to finding a better way of involving the teens using their dynamic at that moment. But when moving to the new building, La Porte Bleue was relocated inside it, on the first floor. The team often spoke about the loss of this possibility to "walk the path together". Even though it was a much shorter route, the teachers and caregivers kept coming to join teenagers in the living room. Sometimes they sat on the sofas for a quick chat together before going upstairs. This moment for feeling out the dynamic before entering the proper space of the workshop remained important for adjusting the mood at the start of the session.

Then, once in the rooms, their arrangement should allow one to avoid confrontation within proximity. When everybody came in, Maud told me, they would all come sit around a big central table, with pieces of paper and colored markers available on it. While sitting together, adults included, each participant wrote or drew a 'mood note'. "This is done very quickly", specified Maud, "but it gives an attitude to arriving teens… That we wouldn't be around the table, in a face-to-face confrontation, with nothing to do". From these first moments onwards, the material spaces mattered for organizing each person's presence within the group, thanks to the same layout in both rooms. They presented chairs around a central table, and one or two smaller tables in corners, again, suggested to adjust one's comfortable distance (figure 12). After having gathered around the central table, participants split in one or two rooms depending on whether they were working on schoolwork or a creative project. The rooms were not big. Many displayed objects or storage cabinets closely surrounding the tables. Maud underlined how much, "the space was used everywhere", meaning that it was better to avoid vast open spaces. Proximity safeguarded caregivers against

addressing the adolescents in a confrontational way, Maud detailed, just as did their bodily placement towards them: "We should not be too intrusive, so I avoid the face-to-face position. … I try to position us side-by-side, but not too close either. I place myself a bit angled, like this". In a swift move, she stepped her chair back from mine and turned it a bit aslant (figure 13). "Sometimes, we should come nearer because we put our attention on the mediating object, not on the person. But still, the gaze should not be too threatening".

Gathering to write quick notes before spreading, or spacing ones' body aslant within proximity; these two tricks worked with a spatial organization of presences. This spatial organization enabled participants to elude the face-to-face confrontations that risked hindering their involvement in a learning task. This organization manifested a strong contrast with the layout of traditional classrooms, where each person sits behind a single table, facing the board and teacher at a relative distance. It became plain, with the move to the new building, that this contrast was in no way modifiable. While the architects had first designed La Porte Bleue as a small classroom with an annex, caregivers made clear that this setting was not an option at all. So the two adjacent rooms went back to being conceived as small workshop spaces, with storage furniture, central tables, and others in corners (figures 14a-b).

Figure 12: Map of La Porte Bleue before the move, in the separate house.

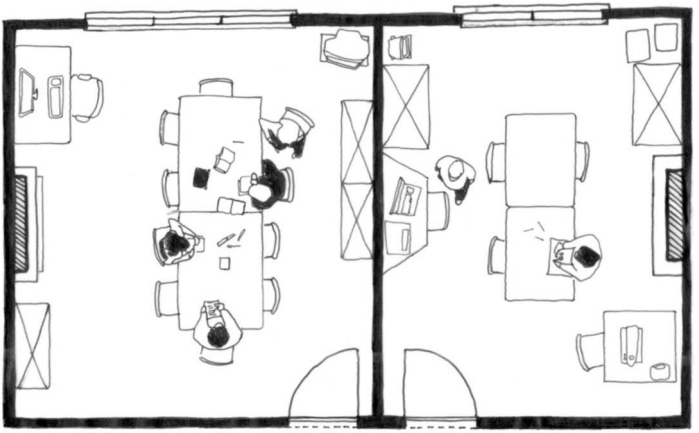


Figure 13: The caregiver's body placement in proximity, avoiding a confrontational position.

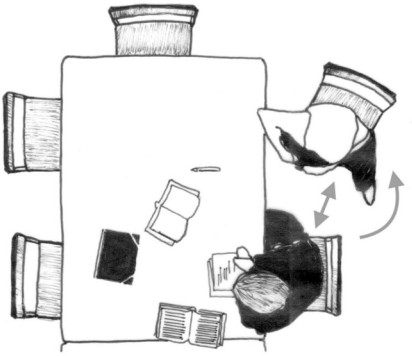


Figure 14a: Architects' plan of La Porte Bleue (14/10/13), firstly designed as a small classroom. Courtesy of Pierre Lenders & Antoinette Defay.

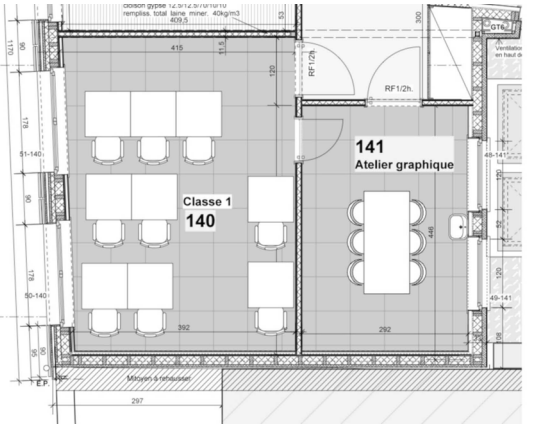
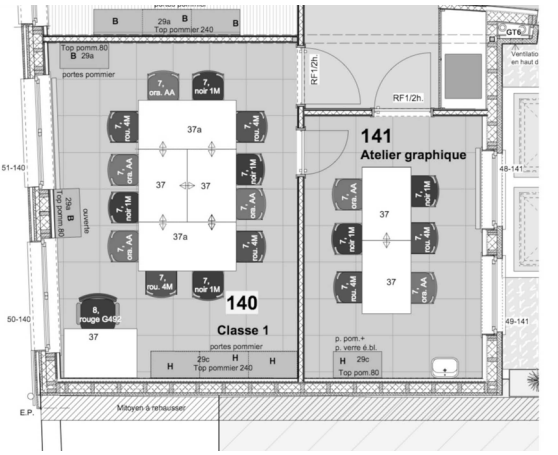


Figure 14b: Architects' plan as built (09/04/14), now designed as two workshop rooms with storage furniture. Courtesy of Pierre Lenders & Antoinette Defay.



A last spatial trait that I denoted in Maud's account was her singular usage of the two rooms. In both the former house and the new building, artistic activities were separated from individual schoolwork in an adjacent room. Maud "juggled" with both rooms, she said abruptly. Before I could interrupt her with a question, she went on:

> That's an extremely important hook, the plastic art, for all the young people who are in need of learning, because we can juggle. For example, when schoolwork turns difficult, one can take a break and go there to make a small basket. We use plastic art because it is so rewarding to make and finalize projects. … Here [in the schoolwork room], it doesn't work anymore?! Ok, let's go next door! The art workshop brings a slight diversion of things and it supports [participants]. It helps to return to the project with a crooked path, with self-satisfaction, with a finished product that one is proud of and comes to show back here. Because, at the end of each session, we all return to the central table [to tell what they've done].
>
> I interjected: And how do you that, juggling?
>
> She replied: Well, I avoid any reaction like 'ah no, that's not good any longer!' And sometimes you want to do it, to say 'Hey, come on, that's enough!' But I try not to let it get until that point of tension. So I'm very quick to pay attention to what's not working well … We should stay in a serene environment as most as possible for that. It doesn't mean that we erase all the problems, but that we're going to be as close as possible to what's actually happening… So that things don't come to damage youth's relationship to learning as well as our goals.

Juggling the rooms required an acute attentiveness for noticing very quickly when a blockage occurred with a youth. It required reacting before the school difficulty bogged them down, and before tensions needed to be addressed in an educational way. Teenagers' involvement in their learning activity was sustained with this particular adjustment of quick noticing within a close space and juggling different rooms, with different purposes.

Along the interview with Maud I better perceived how the spaces, together with caregivers' use of them, facilitated teens' involvement. They

displayed objects in an attempt to raise curiosity. They walked paths together to better feel a momentary dynamic. Caregivers also spaced their body within proximate interactions. Or they juggled with rooms as soon as a blockage peeped out. Caregivers' adjustments thanks to these spatial arrangements were core to further enabling the teens' involvement in learning tasks. Importantly, the team of La Porte Bleue insisted, these adjustments would hardly be possible with the setting of a school and its classrooms. Classrooms are traditionally embedded with the themes of order and discipline (Markus 1993: 41–94). The details of their equipment are designed for framing the conditions in which pupils are supposed to learn. When allocated to their seats in rows, pupils' bodies are static. Their gazes are turned towards a raised platform, from which the teacher addresses all of them simultaneously. This strongly framed setting keeps out, in recreation areas and corridors, possibilities to venture into unexpected encounters among many different movements. The spaces of the pedagogical workshop diverged from that traditional, but still very common setting of the classroom. This was due to the slight messiness of things, the path to be walked together in random motions, the organization of presences, non-confrontational ways of addressing, and the adjacent creative room. I'm not saying that such crammed and more loosely structured rooms were better than classrooms in general. But their contrasts, and maybe also other ones, were essential for aiding unsettled teenagers to get involved again in learning. Mingling pedagogic and care practices requires such an alternative frame and the tactful adjustments it enables.

Sensing a specific world

Except for the pedagogic workshop, activities existed neither for the purpose of learning skills, nor were teenagers supposed to continue these activities after their stay. They were not expected to become experts in making mosaics or writing poetry. It was their involvement in the moment that mattered, however inelegantly it happened. During my first few months, it also became clear that providing material conditions to

catch on participants in the moment could hardly happen without appealing to their bodily senses. And this, for each workshop, was set up in a highly specific manner.

The episode with Sandro was particularly telling on this point. One morning, while seven teens were leaving for the clay workshop, Sandro did not move at all. I had gotten to know Sandro two days earlier at the painting workshop, where I had confronted him about his sexual jokes towards a younger girl. We had enjoyed a chat, too, about painted ceramic tilework called *azulejos*. Sandro knew them well due to his Portuguese origin. I sat next to him. He did not want to go to the clay workshop because, he muttered to me, due to the little sleep he had had last night, he knew that he would easily be carried away by the group agitation, and things would go awry. I asked him if he had already gone to the clay workshop. "No". "Me neither", I replied, and added that I'd been told about the studio several times due to its very special atmosphere, outside the center. The external and particular location intrigued him a bit. So I went on giving him an idea of what modeling clay was like. I tried to awaken his curiosity with concrete evocations and links between the craftwork of clay and tiles. He agreed to try it out. We then walked out of the building, passed a few houses, and turned onto the path of one of them. We crossed a longish, leafy garden, and headed towards a small brick house at the rear (figure 15). Sandro was surprised to discover this environment, quite distinct from the center.

Entering the small house brought more discoveries. Its interior spatial layout interlaced different areas, with a central table and several side tables in nooks and crannies. More than a corner suggesting distance adjustments, this whole convoluted organization of compartments, caregivers commented later, was arranged to avoid the ordering typical of factories. Indeed, the spatial organization of the atelier circumvented the factory logic of parceling out spaces and people into hierarchical leadership, functional tasks, and interchangeable workers (Bouchy 1981). The compartments eluded the technical and depersonalized organization of spaces that work with a division of tasks and gestures in stiffened chronometric cadences. When we entered, Alix, a ceramist, greeted us with aprons and asked where we wanted to sit. Many teens

were already at the central table. Remembering Sandro's expectation of getting involved in the bustle of the group due to his lack of sleep, I proposed to him that we sit at a table off to the side. Convolution enables such flexibility for irregular placements and, as we'll see, unexpected moves along the way.

Figure 15: Walking to the clay atelier, with the small brick house at the back.

Another prominent trait of the clay atelier was intriguing. Compartments held arrays of objects that gave clues about the process of crafting: here, long shelves with dozens of clay sculptures, there, others with pots full of colored pigments, or still manual tools in wood or metal, artworks in the making, an oven, and a pallet full of clay packets in another corner (figure 16). As with the displayed objects in La Porte Bleue, these unusual things were good candidates for tickling curiosity. But here, the coherence between these objects added something else. As much as the

small brick house and its location at the back of a garden, the collection of these specific objects featured the clay atelier as a small world apart from the center. Indeed, like the compact discs that music lovers used to amass on shelves, valuing appreciations in practice also leans on material arrangements as they organize specific worlds, with their own tools, aesthetic styles and (temporary) boundaries, offering ways to contemplate or handle these objects (Hennion, Gomart & Maisonneuve 2000: 218–219).

Figure 16: The objects and compartments of the atelier.

While Sandro and I settled with the things we'd need, we passed by sculptures of elephants displayed on a window ledge, and started to model pieces off that inspiration. Touching and manipulating the clay increasingly infused the material with more specificity. Sculpting the design involved working the clay until it softened in the heat of our

hands. It involved soft pushes on the dough with our fingertips, flattening it a bit more here, creating a depression there, holding the piece at different angles. We formed different shapes, trying to homogenize their surfaces as best as we could. With the help of tools way sharper than our fingers, we dug, removed, and displaced mass. We curved corners until we rounded their edges. Though the body-object contact mostly passed by the hands, it was also moderated by our aprons which hoarded traces of dirt. Manipulating the clay brought us into intimate contact with it.[5] Where spatial convolution enabled irregular seating, the craftwork with its tactile sensibility invited personal interactions with the clay and tools.[6] And so we kept smoothing out here, and smoothing out there, until, before the end of the session, Sandro got visibly tired and could not focus anymore. We then passed by the shelves and had a closer look at the many sculptures. Other care centers belonging to this institution also used the atelier, and the collection of artworks was impressive. The numerous handicrafts displayed a diversity of figures and textures. Like our pieces, every sculpture was infused with the unique specificity of a personal creation. The specificity of the clay atelier did not only belong to the type of activity in itself. That atelier also gained singularity when the accumulation of artworks reshaped its specific features.

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5 These manipulations echo Sennett's (2008) study about craft culture. He argues that objects become interesting through the development of a "material consciousness" (120). That is, not a consciousness independent from things, but the particular forms of awareness that come throughout the work done with and to a thing we can change (ibid: 119–146).

6 In her history of tactile sensations, Classen (2012: 167–197) recounts how modern institutions set up from the 19th century, like schools, prisons or armies, trained inmates to socially conform through the standardization of movements, leaving few margins for personal touches or idiosyncratic behavior. In schools (although a few students always kept displaying eccentric manners) these uniform bodies were intended to increase the efficiency and productivity of future laborers. Here it seems that what is sought is the opposite of routine discipline: the craftwork fosters an expansion of personal traits, within a setting that exhibits these singular artworks, and draws participants in compelling manipulations without imposing gestural patterns.

The clay atelier made tangible how much each workshop setting, even those that did not involve the creation of artifacts, featured a specific world that appealed to bodily senses in its own way. Touch might not always be the most prominent one, although it was often solicited, whether in gardening, cooking, or assembling mosaics. Watching a movie or playing music obviously emphasized visual and auditory attention, whereas walking through the city or dancing was very much about bodily movements. Each of these corporal practices implied specific sensory richness, and each of their material framing organized a world that called to those senses.

Side slippages

Then, of course, it also happened that teens' involvement in a workshop failed. When activities took place outside, especially, their conditions were more friable, more porous to unexpected temptations. Hearing caregivers' accounts of outside activities, it stood out how much a group departure or traveling defied stability not only in the moment, but at the venue thereafter. The teens' involvement was easily sidetracked, sometimes precipitating a complete collapse of the activity, and hence put a strain on the care relationship.

Sport fields tended to make the activity drift, maybe because the energetic games worked with rigorous directional cues and stirred the players' excitement. One Friday, we took a tram to reach an indoor football field. Benches for supporters stood along the field, a few meters from the pitch. Like in most sports venues, the fields were coupled with side layouts either for spectators or for the players to rest. Joachim, a fifteen-year-old, did not take part in the game. As I was not taking part either, we both sat on these benches, where he quickly started a chat. He told me about video games, his favorite occupation to which he devotes most of his time, before asking what I do with my spare time. My answer plunged us into a one-hour conversation. We completely forgot about the match, barely arching an eyebrow at occasional interpersonal clashes. Joachim seemed to enjoy it. And so did I. The

next Monday morning, in the team meeting, Baptiste reported on how the sport outing had gone, and turned towards me: "Joachim and you stayed on the side. I didn't come closer to you both, because I felt that something was happening. Would you like to say something about it?" To my surprise, this sideline, informal, and unexpected chat was worth being related to the team. Apparently, such side involvements next to the planned activity were as important for the care work. It required me to immediately sort out what I would relate to the team or not, in order to respect the privacy of the chat I had with Joachim. The football field with its lines on the floor and goals regulated and qualified how teens should move or throw the ball to each other. But these lines also delimited side spaces that offered opportunities for other involvements. Hence crafting other bubbles, like an informal conversation, was part of the whole activity that fed caregivers' exchanges. The teens might want to follow another track, and these deviations gave more possibilities for caregivers to know them and work with them.

Well, this was the case insofar this other track did not threaten the main activity. Venturing outside more likely risked unexpected disturbances, and these disinvolvements could turn the activity upside down. The following week, Baptiste related an outing dedicated to badminton. According to him, it completely failed, starting with the challenge of the departure:

> It was such a complicated session. Already when leaving, Emil was glad to have the whole panoply of his sportswear, but then he had forgotten his shorts at home. On the traveling: no problem. But once we arrived on the spot, the hall was busy with a group of young ladies. So David and Aymane started to observe them. We told them ten or so times that we would stay in the cloakroom until everybody was ready and the girls had finished. But it was extremely complicated. Aymane went out all the time, so we had to go to find him. After, on the field, compared to last week, when we had a possibility to play with teens, where we could really be into a sort of exchange between us, this time it was not possible. I think we couldn't end any match. And I also think it's now three times that they have gone there and they are starting to

> be fed up with it. So it was extremely hard. Eduardo then followed and did at least thirty times his joke, when he taps someone's shoulder and then hides. And he really did it *thir-ty-times* [he emphasized]. Thus, I had to tell him thirty times that it was not the right time and place to do that. […] So when we came back here, we gathered them again in the resting room. […] It was odd because some of them seemed to say they had a great afternoon: Lucien, Aymane, and Eduardo—he has his good reasons. They said the bad atmosphere was due to us [Baptiste and the other caregiver] because we didn't stop reminding everyone of the framework. But then, it was extremely tiresome. I told them that in these conditions, it was difficult to go outside with them.

Baptiste reported the failed activity as a cascading effect: the derailed departure, then the girls were a distraction, and this mess drove Eduardo in his diversion with his above-average sense of humor. To the caregivers, the activity failed not only because it was not possible to play. It especially failed because they simply could not share the activity with the adolescents. While doing activities together, caregivers were always reluctant to formalize their relationship with them. Recalling the framework of the activity turned their relationship into an educational one. However, to the teens, the afternoon had been great. They had had a lot of fun running after girls and making jokes. Again, their disinvolvement was part of the care work. It led Baptiste to discuss it with them afterwards in the resting room. And the teens' responses made him wonder if they were 'fed up' with that activity, impelling him to propose another one to better sustain their interest over time (I explore this issue in the next chapter). Even though outings opened up more opportunities to slippages away from the main activity, venturing outside remained central to continuing to work with the adolescents and their unexpected responses to activities. Whether a single teen 'misses the boat' and stays away, or several of them completely ruin a session, these disinvolvements did matter for care work. They could carve new relational tracks (as with Joachim), risk turning caregivers' relationship to teenagers into a corrective one, or provoke the team's interrogation of teens' interests.

Passages

The involvement of adolescents took many forms along the workshops I attended or heard about, day after day. Perhaps you feel slightly dizzy at this point, after having been given a taste of these various venues, each evoking a different set of specificities. To be precise, each workshop showed yet another way through which their spatial arrangements were to provide conditions for luring participants into a particular activity. Reaching a state of concentration was set up very differently when watching a movie or writing, as well as when switching from these respective forms of attention towards group exchanges. Other activities, like going to the cinema, demanded a minimal framing. They relied more on a practical framework than on a material setting, simply encouraging teens' reflexivity on what they were doing. Overall, the spatial conditions of workshops weren't suggestive like the ambiguous possibilities of the living spaces. What is supposed to be done in an atelier or on a sport field is unequivocal, even if their disposition often leaves margins for each participant to respond in the way they tend to. Think of Karl who, both in the radio and cooking workshops, threw himself into technical tasks but ignored opportunities for spontaneous interaction. Or remember the clay atelier that involved us personally in tactile sensations, inspired by singular handicrafts on shelves, while its layout enabled flexibility for irregular placements.

If each workshop venue and its practical framework are a set of specificities, then I can draw few common traits among them. Except, perhaps, that they are all about easing the passage from one state to another. Law and Moser (1999) argue that being or not being able to do something is, in practice, a matter of good or bad passages between different sets of specificities. A passage can be understood in a material sense, like when the woman in a wheelchair they interview can't board a train because there's no hoist that connects it to the platform. The movement between specific settings, they write, is a set of specificities as well. A passage isn't only material, but also transformative: thanks to a setting, like a hoist, one becomes able to do something that wasn't pos-

sible without it. When achieving or falling short of personal goals, the authors continue, all of us make and are made by good or bad passages.

What else were workshop spaces and caregivers doing than creating such passages? I mean, not only material passages (although walks were sometimes included), but transformative passages: the transitions that increased the chances to drive teens into their relational affinities.[7] A transformative passage would occur, for instance, when they engrossed or switched their attention, became more curious about something, or experienced, felt, tested bodily movements and senses. I say "increased the chances", because teens' involvement remained an uncertain and unstable form of attachment. They were uncertain because they always happened on a middle path, between a person, things, and other possible mediators. And they were unstable because at any moment they could fade out due to fatigue, conflicts, or distractions on the spot, to name only a few potential roadblocks. These passages show that teens involvement is a form of attachment that comes into existence while remaining on the verge of fading.

Some passages that seem easy in fact prove difficult, like when Jimmy reflected on the duration of screening and called for a revision of the framework. And some passages that initially seem difficult are eventually made easier, for instance, thanks to specific sensory appeals. When facing schoolwork, the curiosity trials and Maud's other adjustments with the spaces of the pedagogical workshop facilitated the teens' passage from apprehension to learning activities. A passage that fails can have good or bad consequences for the care work, or both. Teens'

7 More dimensions are at stake in such a passage than simply shifting from one state to another. Hennion, Gomart and Maisonneuve (2000: 188–204) identify that a passionate state emerges through different forms of passage: swaying between bodily feelings and mind intentions; successful meetings between individual actions and socio-technical apparatuses; shifts from active preparation to being passively caught by a sensation; and passages from technical commands to uncontrollable occurrences. Though the passages I emphasize here mean the transformation of someone' state rather than their traveling, they are significantly different from the 'rites of passage', dear to anthropologists, whose ceremony marks a milestone or major change in someone's life.

disinvolvement on the sport field opened up the team's reflection on their loss of interest, but also compelled the purely educational relationship from which caregivers wanted to escape as much as possible. In any case, these passages from one state to another, in and out of involvement, oscillating between indifference and a more intense contact, never merely occupied the teens' days. Not a single day flew by without the caregivers reiterating the importance of these passages as they related them. In doing so, they kept deepening their knowledge of each teens' motivations, sensibilities, current difficulties and abilities. And so they kept adjusting their care work according to that informal knowledge, shaped and reshaped by the responses from the adolescents.