

## ARTICLE

# Social proof of schooling among young people from public schools: work and sociable interactivity in the outskirts of Porto Alegre

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### ABSTRACT

This research was conducted in three peripheral neighborhoods of Porto Alegre/RS between 2017 and 2019. We seek to understand how youths confront the social proof of schooling in public facilities. Contributions by Danilo Martuccelli are our main references; data were collected via questionnaires, discussion groups, and narrative interviews. The interlocutions evinced a relationship between sociable and institutional practices and interactive modes of presence, which were showed through different levels of education. Schooling was experienced in articulation with the working imperative and under the challenge of producing meaning to their current situation in the institution. Therefore, we argue that the social proof of schooling fosters individuation by mobilizing metonymic tactics and singularizing interactions.

### KEYWORDS

schooling; youngsters; sociability; work; peripheries.

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## ***A PROVA SOCIAL DA ESCOLARIZAÇÃO ENTRE JOVENS DE ESCOLAS PÚBLICAS: TRABALHO E INTERATIVIDADE SOCIÁVEL NAS PERIFERIAS DE PORTO ALEGRE***

### **RESUMO**

Nossas problematizações partem de resultados de pesquisa em localidades de periferia, destacando informações produzidas entre 2017 e 2019, em três bairros de Porto Alegre/RS. Buscamos compreender como os jovens confrontam a prova social da escolarização em estabelecimentos públicos sediados em tais contextos. Contribuições de Danilo Martuccelli são as referências teórico-metodológicas centrais, sendo que, em campo, dedicamo-nos à aplicação de questionários e à realização de grupos de discussão e entrevistas narrativas. As interlocuções assinalaram uma implicação mútua entre práticas sociáveis e institucionais, de forma que modos de presença interativa percorriam diferentes níveis de ensino. A escolarização era experienciada em associação ao imperativo do trabalho e, também, sob o desafio da produção de sentidos ao presente na instituição. Nesse cenário, aventamos que a prova social da escolarização concorre às individuações mobilizando táticas metonímicas e interações singularizantes.

### **PALAVRAS-CHAVE**

escolarização; juventudes; sociabilidades; trabalho; periferias.

## ***LA PRUEBA SOCIAL DE LA ESCOLARIZACIÓN ENTRE JÓVENES DE ESCUELAS PÚBLICAS: TRABAJO E INTERACTIVIDAD SOCIABLE EN LAS PERIFERIAS DE PORTO ALEGRE***

### **RESUMEN**

Las problematizaciones del presente artículo parten de resultados de investigación producida entre 2017 y 2019 en la periferia urbana de la ciudad de Porto Alegre, estado de Rio Grande do Sul. Tratamos de comprender cómo los jóvenes se enfrentan a la prueba social de la escolarización en establecimientos públicos de estos contextos. Las contribuciones de Danilo Martuccelli son los referentes teórico-metodológicos centrales. En campo, se realizó la aplicación de cuestionarios y la realización de grupos de discusión y entrevistas narrativas. Las interlocuciones señalaron una implicación mutua entre prácticas sociables e institucionales, de manera que los modos de presencia interactiva atravesaban los diferentes niveles de enseñanza. La escolarización se experimentaba en asociación con el imperativo del trabajo y bajo el reto de producir sentidos referidos al presente en la institución. Así, planteamos que la prueba social de la escolarización concurre a las individuações, movilizand o táticas metonímicas e interacciones singularistas.

### **PALABRAS-CLAVE**

escolarización; juventudes; sociabilidad; trabajo; periferias.

## INTRODUCTION

For those who regularly frequent the socially underprivileged areas of the cities and talk with the people, it is not uncommon to know personal stories built around basic needs and/or the interposition of material and cultural precarity. Testimonies on the difficulties to continue and succeed at school are among them, often pointing toward a certain regret for the effort supposedly not made or, sometimes, only silenced by embarrassment.

However, in the last decades, we have noticed a certain inflection toward the increase on the years of the study, the graduation on basic education, and the postponing to enter the work market (Sposito, Souza and Silva, 2018). A relevant fact, that questions the extended permanence at school, especially among youngsters-teenagers, and its possible repercussions on the everyday life of poor families. Nonetheless, dropout rates are still high, especially in high school, and there are many disrupted school trajectories amidst the precarization of life condition and the measures to correct school flow focused on students' permanence, even if at risk of consternation and stigmatization (Julião and Ferreira, 2016). This scenario is worsened by the current retraction of governmental investments in social areas<sup>1</sup>.

This context of unstable conquests, with the permanence in school of excluded societal segments, is also crossed by the diversification of symbolic references and the access to information (Dubet and Martuccelli, 1998). On the one hand, the use of information and communication technologies (ICT) is increasing, mainly among youth segments (Kubota, 2016). On the other, since the early 2000s, studies have indicated the importance given to peer sociability in the different cultural practices produced by young people (Dayrell and Carrano, 2014), perpassing school routine. This panorama has instigated researchers in the field of sociology of youth to consider the itineraries and experiences produced by individuals, as participants of their socialization and individuation processes.

Faced by this scenario, the article questions how young people perceive the social proof of schooling in public schools located in the outskirts of the city of Porto Alegre, capital of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil. We use the notion of "proof" as proposed by Martuccelli (2007, 2018), articulating it with the processes of individuation. We have applied questionnaires, held discussion groups, and conducted interviews. Thus, we had a global reading of the practices and preferences of the subjects in school, and, later, moving on to their thoughts about it and associations with their biographical narratives.

The data presented here systematize some of our inferences, in order to discuss them from the perspective of what we have called "ways to be present" at school, to debate on the commonalities and differences on the schooling ex-

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1 A short relevant analysis of the current scenario of youth access to school can be found in Zan and Krawczyk (2020).

periences researched. Furthermore, this is a way to consider the tactical agencies operated by young students and to present a preliminary analysis of a specific social proof and its inter-relation with the individuations under way.

Thus, we present our research references and a summarized characterization of the data collected. After, we examine the data and present what we, in this moment of the research, consider significant to understand what affects and mobilizes young people during their school period, when in outskirt areas.

## CONTEXT AND REFERENCES

As aforementioned, we aim to understand schooling experiences in urban outskirt areas using the ideas of Martuccelli (2007, 2010, 2018) and, more specifically, the notion of “social proof”. We will then further detail our theoretical-methodological reference. The “social proof” category is presented as an heuristic artifice, articulating personal experiences and social processes in contexts in which individuation dynamics, from macro-structural markers, need to be problematized, considering what the author characterizes as an increasing singularization of life pathways in contemporary times.

In this sense, Martuccelli (2018) considers it is also necessary for the research to focus on the “work of the individuals” rather than only on socio-institutional prescriptions, as done by the individuation theories. The author seeks the experiences built in the social interactions, to broaden the understanding of the movements done by the subjects, but also keeping in mind the usual macro analysis categories.

Martuccelli (2007) establishes the four main characteristics of “social proofs”. First, they have a narrative dimension from which the subjects understand their pathways and show constituent challenges, as inheritors of a properly modern adventure. Second, they bring references to the abilities of individuals to face the proofs, generally considered as personal tasks. They also refer to processes of social evaluation, from which one can observe the different answers and the resources effectively mobilized. Finally, they are articulated in a set of compulsory and significant structural challenges in a certain society, institutionalized or related to the creation of social bonds and variables depending on the historical moment.

That said, the complementary issue is guided toward the bases that hold the existence of individuals, in order to reach what the author calls “supports”. Martuccelli (2007) tries do delimitate the set of resources and supports that constitutes the experiences of actors, as an existential ecology of appropriate elements in the process of individuation. The author emphasizes that it is not an inventory of conditions and capitals available depending on the social position, but the recognition of what is inscribed into a net of effective interdependence of individual stories, supporting individuals.

The appropriation of these notions allows looking at individuals as a point of sociological intelligibility: a certain inductive look that complements and/or undoes structural markers. Here, the issue is the identification of “social states”

that characterize contexts and production ways of the processes of individuation by the actors, crossing already known social positions; and, at the same time, the nuance of these “states” according to positional and temporal types of logic (Martuccelli, 2018). Such exercise was used, for example, in the inferences of Araújo and Martuccelli (2011) about the “positional inconsistencies” experienced by Chilean citizens, as a mobilizer of extensive working hours and a significant component of individuation in that society.

## RESEARCH FIELD

We developed the research in the neighborhoods of Cruzeiro, Lomba do Pinheiro, and Restinga. All of them had an expressive population growth in the 1960-70s, due to migration from the countryside to the state capital or displacements within the city. These phenomena are associated, in Brazil, to governmental measures that provoked an intense rural exodus to metropolitan regions and the dynamics of real-estate market that tend to push poor communities to the outskirts of the city (Moura, 1996). Considering statistical series published by the Observatório da Cidade de Porto Alegre (ObservaPoa, 2017), a comparative analysis shows that those places were among the most economically and culturally vulnerable.

Our research assumes schooling as a structural proof, be it due to its recurrent association with social mobility through the articulation with the job market, as indicated by the literature<sup>2</sup>. Be it due to our ethnographic incursions and interviews in outskirt contexts, since 2011, from which we have regularly observed individual and/or family efforts of investment in school, aiming to improve their living conditions. Despite the tensions for staying at school in vulnerable contexts, the relation with the institution has been shown to be mobilizing and a reference when narrating individuals’ failures and successes.

We have designed the research field through the interlocution with young people who are students in different educational levels, in public schools located in the aforementioned neighborhoods<sup>3</sup>. First, the investigation was based on the application of questionnaires about cultural consumptions and school use. Until the writing of this work, we had reached 583 observations (146 in Cruzeiro; 180 in Lomba do Pinheiro; and 257 in Restinga). It was a random non-probabilistic sample. The access to the students would depend on the agreement of the educational institutions, which had to be public schools (municipal, state, or

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2 Social positions in Brazil, and other capitalist countries, are also regulated by the comparative educational level, historically produced. Data from Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE) has shown the relation between schooling and income level. The analysis of Jessé Souza (2009) has also assumed cultural capital as one of the marks of mobility and social inequality in Brazil. On the expectations of underprivileged groups regarding school trajectories and their relationship with work, see, for example, Zago (2012).

3 To contrast, we have applied questionnaires on the streets of these neighborhoods. We will not deepen the discussion on this data.

federal) and attend an expressive presence of young students. This type of sample does not allow statistic extrapolations, but can lead to a significant analysis, particularly when used together with other techniques (Field, 2009)<sup>4</sup>. In this sense, the instrument used was a structured, self-applied, multiple-choice questionnaire, applied mainly between April 2017 and June 2019.

The questionnaire population was distributed among the categories: young-teenager (52%), young people between 18 and 24 years of age (29%), young people between 25 and 29 years of age (13%), and adults (6%). Females represented 58% of the observations. 47.6% declared themselves white and 52.4% black (black and mixed race). About family income (393 questionnaires), 62.5% indicated an income of up to 2 minimum wages (MW), 28% between 2 and 5 MW, and 9.5% more than 5 MW. It is worth highlighting that there was a significant correlation between schooling and income in the sample.

The distribution on institutions and educational levels is presented on the Table 1.

**Table 1 – Distribution of questionnaires by institutions.**

Educational level	Institutions					Total
	Municipal schools-ES/YAE	State High schools	Federal insitutue-YAE	Federal Institute-Undergraduate	Street	
Elementary school	173				12	185
High school		211	58		10	279
Higher education				115	4	119
TOTAL	173	211	58	115	26	583

ES: Elementary school; YAE: young and adult education.

Regarding the answers to the questionnaires, we will discuss aspects related to work, schooling of respondents and their families, their common sources of information and online surfing, and how they prefer to spend their time at the educational establishment. About this last topic, we have worked with the options provided in the questionnaire, previously categorized based on the literature of sociology of education and of youth. The practices were divided into “institutional”, “sociable-institutional”, “sociable”, and “divergent”, though, as we will discuss, the analysis shows different articulations in the field.

<sup>4</sup> We considered the coefficient of significance (*alpha*) of 0.05.

We held discussion groups in 5 state schools, 1 municipal one, and one federal institute<sup>5</sup>, where we had also applied the questionnaires. Each discussion group had around 10 participants. We choose the institutions aiming to raise a dialogue with the students, considering different educational levels. This procedure is commonly used to know about the social experience of subjects and their relation with their contexts. It is normally held with people with common experiences or similarities, and even among people that know each other (Weller, 2006).

Finally, we selected students for narrative interviews (Jovchelovitch, 2002). Based on the references and methods we have used, the different pathways narrated aimed to understand common experiences. This last part of the interlocution, in our case, was guided toward themed questions that would support us to deepen the narratives on the individuals' work when facing the social proof of schooling.

We have selected five interviewees among the participants of the discussion groups who seemed interested to continue the dialogue. We tried to reach different levels of education and, furthermore, consider elements highlighted during the previous phase, especially the relation of the subjects with school performance and the "forms of presence" identified in the questionnaire.

## YOUNG PEOPLE AND SCHOOL

Particularly among young people between 15 and 17 years of age, PNAD data indicate an expansion of schooling and permanence at school. For historically excluded societal segments, the increase on school attendance was higher between 2004 and 2014 (2.5% in general against 10.6% among young people from families in the first income quintile). This does not alter the recurrence of nonlinear schooling trajectories, with retentions, dropouts, and/or participation in programs to redress student flow. For this same period, the percentage of students still attending elementary school was significant (slightly over 30%) (Freitas, 2016; Sposito, Souza and Silva, 2018). We should also consider that the School Census indicated a decrease in the number of high school enrollments between 2016 and 2017 (NuPE/UFPR, 2018).

The effects of the increasing rates of unemployment and work informality in the last years in Brazil normally have a more severe impact among young people (IBGE, 2018), which can contribute to school dropout. However, considering that we maintain a historical scenario of school access and experiences among young people, we should discuss how some schooling experiences are produced, as suggested by Sposito, Souza and Silva (2018).

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5 We opted to focus on High School for the discussion group. First for the massive presence of young people in this level. Furthermore, the segment of youngsters-teenagers is the one with the most significant increase of time at school, according to the comparative analysis of the data from Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra Domicílio (PNAD) (Sposito, Souza and Silva, 2018), thus, it was an important group to understand schooling as social proof.

According to Freitas (2016), if the connection with the job market continues to be predominant, there are modulations in the expectations depending on the level of education achieved. The evaluations regarding schooling practices tend to be more positive among students than among non-students: the wish to reach higher education statistically increases with each phase of basic education, so, those between 15-17 years old are three times more likely to wish to go to college than those between 25-29 years of age. On the other hand, among individuals with a low level of schooling (often from poor and black populations), the appreciation of sociability produced in the school environment is most common. Generally, however, there are frequent manifestations of dissatisfaction toward the pertinence of school content and the value of school in the professional world and understanding of reality.

Dayrell and Jesus (2016) highlight that, for the youngsters excluded from the school and their families, the investment in schooling practices is crossed by the sense given to the institutional promises. The classic modern appeal associating school with future would act, establishing a tension among students, school routine, and structural conditions of survival. In the testimonies analyzed, the authors highlight how the positive values on education are guided by the future, so school routine is either not mentioned or discussed in terms of the difficulties to associate school content with reality. Thus, dropout is more commonly justified by “lack of interest” than by “need to work”.

If the sense associated with the institutional practice is fractured by the unviability of the possibilities, leading to dismay, we could consider a tension on the socializing experience in school, as the institution abridges not only coexistence rules but also a set of significant experiences. In this sense, Dayrell and Jesus (2016) also discuss the importance of the interaction with the teacher. The way teachers act and talk with young students is seen as a way to mobilize interest toward classes and knowledge, making us question on the need to revise the ways of fruition at school.

## SCHOOL AND FIELD RESEARCH: EVIDENCES OF AN IMPERATIVE

Youth unemployment is a global issue (IBGE, 2018). In Brazil, when considering the work conditions of young people, we see a higher rate of unemployment and informality when compared to the average of the population (Corseuil, 2016). So, as highlighted by Corrochano (2016), if we consider the establishment of a labor imperative as a way to “earn a living” and the perception of work as a need among low-income youngsters, we could think about the poignancy associated to work expectations in socially vulnerable contexts. In this sense, Zago (2011) discussed the inter-relations between work possibilities and schooling expectations in underprivileged groups, sometimes pointing to family wishes of social climbing, other times tensioning school obligation.

*My mom always established discipline, you know? I say I didn't have a childhood because I was never someone who would go outside and play with friends, you know? This type of things, I was always at home, I was always a homebody.*

*I would arrange my things, my dolls, you know. I'd organize and play with them, and then it was already time for other things [...]*

*Like, I've always learned to be strong, you know? Like, with all the losses I've suffered, of course, we are never mature enough for anything, but I've learned to be strong. This year I am feeling very down, you know, but I'm working. Thank God, I'm earning a lot!*

*My mom has had a restaurant for the past seven years, so since the beginning, I've helped her, something here and there. But now I really work [...] Now I've built my house, it's in the backyard of my mother's house, but it's mine. My house and my two pets. (Camile<sup>6</sup>, 16 years old, High School junior, night shift, July 2019)*

Our interlocutors indicated that, according to their family material conditions, the work imperative could increase and/or join the demands for autonomy. However, this call for work, an urgency to work, due to necessity or to the fruition of consuming seems to be common, in the researched outskirts. This is broadly articulated with a moral imperative for independence and responsibility to face adversities. When commenting on the efforts and “overcomes”, the narratives portrayed a position-taking code when facing the key social proof, established in the individual tasks, and modern heritage, of producing their own existence, of creating the conditions for their achievements in the world.

However, when considering specifically young students, there is an inflection to observe. In most cases, we have subjects who expanded their schooling and permanence at school when compared to their ascendants, as shown by PNAD data. Around 60% of them were not working at the time they answered the questionnaires and 33% had never worked, focusing mainly on school attendance.

Here we have a relatively complex situation to analyze. On the one hand, the interviews indicate that young people in most vulnerable conditions had informal work activities, supported by parental and friendship networks, but, as a rule, they were short-duration jobs. On the other hand, there are those with no work experiences. In this case, the testimonies show that their permanence at school was due to collective family efforts that started (or could start) to prioritize children's schooling. In these arrangements, we could see that younger children tended to be more privileged, as the older ones would more often work in the household chores or outside to help support the family.

*I come from a humble family of 8 siblings. I think my childhood was nice. Surprisingly we didn't grow up with many difficulties, you know? Also because my siblings have always been very independent, so, it wasn't that bad for me, thank God! [...] My oldest brother worked in a carwash he had with his friend. The second oldest was a house cleaner. The other two, one played soccer and even had a manager, the other worked in a bus company. And they helped [...]*

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6 The names used in this text are fictitious.

*My mother has always encouraged us to study, because she studied little, just as far as the third grade. My father also just finished elementary school and got to the junior year of high school. My other siblings didn't graduate either, so she wanted to invest a lot on the studies of the young ones.*

*I'm not currently working. During the day I help my mom with the household chores, then I talk a bit with my girlfriend on the phone, in the afternoon I help my stepfather build the house. I wanna work to have my house. I wanna live alone. (Samuel, 17 years old, High School Senior, night shift, June 2019)*

The establishment of a protection network for children and teenagers, and the governmental programs in the years 1990s and 2000s, focusing more on the youth, have been competing for the social production of the times of children and youngsters, despite its insufficiency and precariousness to attend underprivileged groups (Sposito, 2008). According to them, our interlocutors had family arrangements that preserved their childhood and schooling (even if intermittent), though they had some domestic responsibility in many cases. Then, youth is established by the demand to work, but privileging the graduation on basic education.

In other words, using the analysis of Lahire (1997), there is a type of family mobilization at play. We observe the continuation of the alluded moral imperative; though the socialization through work is postponed, a certain disposition toward the “duty” seems to be established in the family demands, associated to the counterpart of the support previously received and the need for independence faced by possible adversities. On that space the responsabilization for domestic chores and the concern on their own schooling seem to be not only a sign to improve life conditions but a share of youngsters' daily efforts. Work and school, which can compete for the daily priorities, are axiologically close when narrating the challenges they face.

However, on the other hand, the increase of school permanence and, therefore, peer interaction establishes disputes on the processes of youth individuation. School has been part of the social moratorium intended for youth and forming youth (Margulis and Urresti, 1996). We understand that youth experiences is potentialized in this space, in the fruition of reflexive and non-work time, in the sociable exchanges between classmates, and the possibility of sharing cultural interests.

If we cannot talk here about the cultural condition of class, the tendency of the “dawn of duty”, as affirmed by Martín-Barbero (2017) when evoking the analysis of Gilles Lipovestisky on contemporary capitalism, we need to also be aware of the specific dynamics established in the relation of youth and periphery schools, as has been indicated by the sociology of youth (Dayrell and Carrano, 2014; Pereira, 2016).

## AT SCHOOL, REFLECTIONS ON THE WAYS TO BE PRESENT

Though the institutional promises appear with importance and school is seen within a future perspective in the biographical trajectories, literature points

out the many senses of school among underprivileged groups. Even if work plays a great role in family expectations, the associations of school with security-protection or with moral-socializing ideas are also a part of the relationship established with this institution (Zago, 2012). Furthermore, studies on youth have highlighted the importance of cultural (artistic and sport) practices and the relations of sociability in the everyday life and in the construction of youth identities (Dayrell, 2007; Dayrell and Carrano, 2014), affecting school routine. Dubet and Martuccelli (1998) have shown that among young people the role of the teacher as a reference diminishes when students start to build their experiences, articulating the youth cultural universe and peer interaction.

In this sense, Pereira (2016) tries to problematize the imbrication between youth and student experiences, using an ethnographic approach in public schools on the outskirts of São Paulo, Brazil. The author observes that the youngsters interpose different rhythms to school discipline and to the control of time and space connected to it. The fruition of time among peers, in cultural consumption, in the interactions through social networks, or in talking and “joking around” compete in the school space and create dissonances with the adult world. Pereira (2016) seems to question not about a “fractured” reality, but about an interface between dissonant rhythms, not considering however the possible interpenetrations between rhythms and practice which are in dispute for the school time/space.

Following this perspective, we suggest that school reality can be understood from its articulation to produce youth cultures. In such tense and complex relations, we problematize the “ways to be present” produced in the everyday life, which rearticulate connections with the school space or, in other words, consider the “work of individuals” in the school space and in the relation with what they deal with in the experiences created in that *locus*.

## TO START WITH...

Initially, we have to observe the conditions in which the relationships with school take place, connecting them with some consolidated inferences in the literature. First, the information we summed up through the questionnaire indicate an association between the respondents’ schooling and that of their “mothers” and “father”, as seen in the classic thesis of cultural inheritance (Bourdieu, 1999).

We could see that young people with longer school trajectories had parents with a higher level of education, especially the mothers. However, the trajectories of the children were normally longer when compared to the previous generation. The guardians of those in elementary education during the research had left school before graduating this level, while the same happened with those in high school, though less frequently. Besides this, the schooling of uncles/aunts also had a significant positive association. However, this did not happen when analyzing the grandparents’ educational status, which was unknown for most elementary students (37.3% total against 56.3% for the referred group, considering maternal grandmother as an example).

This information seem to refer to the historical increase in school access in Brazil (Brasil, 2000; IBGE, 2018), but can also lead us to consider that the relation with schooling is articulated to a network of interdependencies present in family dynamics, as suggested by Lahire (1997). The recurrent reference to the mothers' educational level<sup>7</sup>, together with the correlation with the uncles/aunts condition, may be a sign of what we have suggested. The fact that the grandparents' school life is unknown makes us believe that, if on the one hand the mastery of cultural capital preconized by school objectively and comparatively operates in favor of school carrier, the senses of the institution are understood in the forms of a family inheritance depending on the success of the subjects and their close relatives in the educational system.

Considering this hypothesis on the symbolic value of school, we reflect on an approximation with a scenario of increasing expectation toward the school success of the younger members of low-income families, as highlighted by Cabanes (2006)<sup>8</sup> when discussing the reality of São Paulo, as an effect of the agencies that foment school access since the beginning of institutional democratization. A context that makes us question the place of the aforementioned tensions and dissonances in the interaction with the search for meanings and the conditions of coproducing the time spent at school.

#### INTERNET, SCHOOL, AND INTERACTIVITY

Up to this point, the problematization has invited us to jointly consider the historical increase of school access (especially basic education), the unequal conditions of origin, and the uneven schooling experiences, and, besides this, the senses built in the framework of modern social virtuality, mainly the expectations of work, social mobility, and independence. When we focus on the everyday life of school, the present time spent in that *locus*, there are aspects to observe that, regarding such scenario, can lead us to interpretation nuances.

For our analysis, we would like to focus on a certain interactive tendency on the everyday uses of social media indicated by the data produced in the field research. When asked to indicate the means through which they search for information, respondents mainly answered "Internet" (90%) and "TV" (61%). On the Internet, the most accessed ones are "social networks" (79%),

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7 Among the respondents, 7.8% declared not knowing their mothers' educational level and 16.1% the fathers'. This indicates differences on the references that this young people have. Dayrell and Jesus's (2016) research shows a similar data also indicating a diverse family reality, whose arrangements tend to rely on the presence of the mother but can be composed only by grandparents or have other relatives to support. We also observe the absence of the fathers.

8 The need to discuss the interdependence networks and family expectations as dispositions related to the symbolic mobilization towards school success (besides the access increase due to public policies) are also related to other data. The association indicated between the educational level of guardians and respondents does not have the same proportion among the undergraduate students, in which many parents have complete or incomplete elementary school.

“music” (42.4%), “films” (35%), “study content” (34.2%), followed by “series” (24.3%), and “online newspapers” (23.9%). There seems to be a prominence of interaction and entertainment purposes, with some consumption of school content or news. On TV, the most recurrent were “films” (58%), “news” (51%), “soap operas” (39%), “series” (37%), and “sports programs” (25%). Once more, entertainment stands out.

For those who regularly go to schools, or even through the observation of general everyday routine, it is possible to empirically deduce the broad uses of Internet and social networks (specially via cellphone). Kubota (2016) also indicated an increasing appropriation of these technologies as we descend to the younger strata (16 to 24 years old, especially), mainly for interaction and entertainment (social networks, films, music, games, etc.). The search for jobs or educational alternatives gain prominence, as they get older. Similarly, the access to the internet, social networks, and cellphones for such uses are higher among young people as their income and schooling increase.

When we analyze in our sample the “time dedicated to school” and “Internet access frequency”, we perceive that among the non-students (normally adults), Internet access is distributed between the time dedicated to the activity (for instance, 30.8% “stay connected” and 23.1% “do not access”), while those who had a regular time at school were concentrated in the option “stay connected”. By correlating respondents’ answers to “Internet access frequency” and “schooling”, we perceive an increase of 19 percentage points from ES to Higher Education (HE). The “access to the internet” also progressively increases with the “years of study” accumulated (26.3% to “4 to 7 years” and 68.2% to “15 years or more”). Given that the item “years of study”, in our case, indicates the duration in school during the trajectory (and not the progression associated with educational level) (IBGE, 2017), this information leads to an important reflection: possibly, not only the progress in schooling would influence Internet use, but also the permanence in school, making us reflect on the possible effects of peer interaction.

Another significant data, if “Internet” and “TV” are the main sources of information, the question “time searching for information” has many “do not apply” answers. Thus, we can imagine that both sources are mainly used for interaction and/or entertainment. Furthermore, we can think that the enlargement of the uses of the Internet together with schooling would not necessarily be associated to an informational-educational use, but with an interactive and socializing one<sup>9</sup>.

However, during the discussion groups, the testimonies mentioned the intersection of school practices and media use. They told us that when they

9 The similar predominance of interactive and entertainment options even among the researched undergraduate students reinforce this argument. For example 83.9% of elementary students and 82.1% of undergraduates cited “social networks”.

had time left in class, they would access social networks or listen to music<sup>10</sup>. They would also use their cellphones as a distraction when the classes were boring. Furthermore, if media fruition was part of the school routine, they also supported students' activities, as there were many online groups and communities to inform on activities and tests, including some cunning strategies as the sharing of "cheat sheets" for the exams.

Therefore, though we can see dissonances or even ruptures of the institutional time, we believe it would be pertinent not to consider the tactics used by young students as an indication of a rift between youth and student role. Beyond reminding us on the articulation between the social-historic production of youth and the related social moratorium, in a way a consequence of the establishment of a social time at school (Margulis and Urresti, 1996), we approach the results of Souza and Leão's research (2016), which indicate a tense and mutual relation between being young and being a student in online interactions. In the words of the authors:

Another element that called our attention was that students simultaneously reflect the role of student in the classroom and reproduced it in online spaces [...] this reinforcement or reproduction of students' work online has called our attention to other elements that crossed such work and that are typical of youngster-students, nowadays mediatic: the nonlinear time of school work, a more collective practice of school work, the intensification of learning exchange, the diversification of the ways to access school content. (Souza and Leão, 2016, p. 299)

## CHOICES IN SCHOOL ROUTINE

When asked about the elements they liked better in their experiences at school, students' answers to the questionnaires point to peer sociability<sup>11</sup>. When crossing the information on "educational level" and "elements liked in school" (see Table 2), we see a predominance of "moments with classmates" in all levels.

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10 We understand that music, in particular, is not only a distraction. On the contrary, it relates to the organization of the experience, acting on the temporality built by young people. An excerpt of Martín-Barbero (2008) can help us with that: "Youth has found a way to organize, or rather, to shape the shapeless time of idleness/non-work, rhythmically unfolding themselves to eradicate its intrinsic boredom. And nothing is better than music to establish a cadence, as it is an abstract organization of time and the deepest revelation of the specificity of the aesthetic: music is the technology that allows abstract drawing of experimental time" (Martín-Barbero, 2008, p. 16).

11 To contextualize our understanding on "sociability", Simmel's (2006) contributions are key. According to him, sociability is defined as a "ludic way of association" (Simmel, 2006, p. 65). On its pure form, it accentuates the inter-relation among individuals and we would designate those situations in which interactions have a meaning on themselves, in the relationship games between individuals and the act of "entertaining each other". The content of sociable conversations must be meaningful and captivating, articulating other dimensions of life, but not submitted to them in the moment of fruition. In sociability, the "player" is attracted by the dynamic and the relative randomness of the results.

**Table 2 – Distribution of elements students like in school according to the level of education/schooling underway: multiple choice.**

Alternatives	ES (%)	HS (%)	HE (%)
Moments with classmates	70	57.1	72.2
Breaktime	33.3	29.9	26.9
Joking around with classmates	23.3	23.4	18.5
Outings organized by the school	23.3	33.8	23.1
Classes with some teachers	56.7	51.9	67.6
Time in the computer lab	10	7.8	14.8
Content of some subjects	30	33.8	50
Time in the library	16.7	5.2	11.1
Talk with teachers	16.7	26	27.8

ES: Elementary school; HS: High school; HE: Higher education.

The option “classes with some teachers” is the second most cited. When considering the answers of higher education students (technologists), we observe a slight tendency toward “content of some subjects”, in addition to the fact that “talking with teachers” surpasses “breaktime”.

We can perceive the maintenance of the socializing interaction in the different educational levels, with a gradual approximation to elements that indicate the traditional role of educational institutions during higher education. Though there is a redimensioning of the proportion dedicated to items associated to sociability, as they progress in schooling and age, with possible institutionalization toward the search for cultural capital, the item “moments with classmates” remains even when observing different educational establishments.

If we analyze the distribution of “elements liked at school” per place of questionnaire application, the item “moment with classmates” is the most cited one, maintaining the same percentage (around 66%). However, there are some nuances: in the state schools, where we applied the questionnaires with high school students, the items “breaktime”, “joking around with classmates”, and “outings organized by the school” have a similar percentage (around 43%) and are in the second position. In the municipal schools, with Youth and Adult Education elementary school students, the second most common option was “classes with some teachers” (56.3%), followed by “breaktime” (34.4%), and “content of some subjects” (31.3%). In the Federal Institute, with YAE and higher education students, “classes with some teachers” was the second choice (63.5%, very close to “moments with classmates”), followed by “content of some subjects” (47.1%). We can discuss some findings. The preference for items related to the institutional educational dynamic increases with initiatives connected to professionalization, though maintaining the importance of peer interaction and the relationship with the knowledge mediated by the teacher. Municipal and state schools researched seem to show signs of tension in their relationship with students, so that their

preferences are guided toward items indicating a personal interlocution and/or a rupture of school rhythms. For students of ES/YAE, teachers' mediation seem to be particularly meaningful. Finally, the higher education admission exams segregate, from the start, those with cultural capital, therefore we find, among these students, those who live in richer areas of the city or even other cities.

Thus, we can think that the nuances to approximate the institutional educational dynamic vary depending on the educational establishment. More specifically, depending on the precarization of the infrastructure, on teachers' work conditions<sup>12</sup>, the on admission process, and their possible association with the job market. The literature commonly cites the latter (Dayrell and Jesus, 2016; Freitas, 2016). Furthermore, for the most vulnerable groups, in our case mainly ES/YAE students, their presence at school is strongly marked by sociability (with classmates and teachers).

Going to the end of our discussion on the topic, we will deal with the articulation perceived between the "elements liked at school", so as to categorize the "ways to be present" in school associated to what we have presented here (as shown in the Table 3). Those who chose "breaktime", tended to opt for "moments with

**Table 3 – Grouping of elements liked in the school.**

Alternatives	Moments with classmates	Breaktime	Joking around	Outings	Class teachers	Computer lab	Content subjects	Library	Dialogue with teachers
Moments with classmates	100%	71.6%	77.6%	65.2%	59.9%	60%	51.9%	56%	49.2%
Breaktime	33.3%	100%	44.9%	33.3%	17.6%	16%	14.8%	28%	9.5%
Joking around	23.9%	29.7%	100%	24.2%	14.8%	16%	3.7%	4%	6.3%
Outings	27%	29.7%	32.7%	100%	20.4%	36%	14.8%	24.0%	7.9%
Class teachers	53.5%	33.8%	42.9%	43.9%	100%	56%	63%	72%	66.7%
Computer lab	9.4%	5.4%	8.2%	13.6%	9.9%	100%	9.3%	8.0%	7.9%
Content subjects	35.2%	21.6%	8.2%	24.2%	47.9%	40%	100%	44%	52.4%
Library	8.8%	9.5%	2%	9.1%	12.7%	8%	10.2%	100%	7.9%
Talk with teachers	19.5%	8.1%	8.2%	7.6%	29.6%	20%	30.6%	20%	100%

<sup>12</sup> Here we present an observation registered in the field notes. During the visits to the schools to apply the questionnaires, we could easily see the qualitative differences of infrastructure. The state schools having the worst condition followed by the municipal ones. The same can be said about teachers' work conditions. The state system has severe conditions of precarization, teachers earn smaller salaries (when compared to the municipal and federal systems) and, in the past years, their salaries are even paid in installments.

classmates” (71.6%) and, with less emphasis, “classes with some teachers” (33.8%). However, in this case, we should highlight that this is closed followed by “joking around with classmates” and “outings” (both with 29.7%). From this, we point out to the first, which we named *sociable-convergent*.

The choice of “joking with friends” is reinforced by “moments with classmates” (77.6%) and “breaktime” (44.9%). It is interesting to see that, even in this case, the item “classes with some teachers” is significantly present (42.9%). Those who selected “classes with some teachers” (a constant item, together with “moments with classmates”) commonly chose “moments with classmates” (59.9%), “content of some subjects” (47.9%), and further down “talk with teachers” (29.6%). Here, two ways of presence are drawn: the first, we called *sociable-tensioner*; the second, we defined as *sociable-institutional*, given its approximation to elements of the school dynamic, but still mindfull of interaction and sociability. The establishment of the latter form seems to be reinforced by the choices associated to “content of some subjects”, “time in the library”, and “talk with teachers”.

Certainly, the classification above is not meant to be exhaustive or extrapolated. We only draw some lines for future studies. Despite the limits, we understand that an important aspect refers to the articulation between institutional and sociable elements in the groups. We believe that, probably, the ways to be present, though indicating modulable ways of acting in the schoolin process, are organized tense relationships rather than ruptures. Or, in other words, youth sociable dynamics and virtual interactions compose the ways of school fruition, though under variations according to the objective conditions of access to the institution.

*I was at school for the social [aspect]. I joked around, hanged on the back of the classroom. But...I don't know, the teachers noticed that I also respected them. You know, I'd misbehave and had to go to the principal's office, then I'd talk to the teachers, and it was all fine. I got along with the teachers; I liked to talk with them too [...]*

*Then, later, I tried to study Law, but I gave up. I didn't like it. It was not for me. Then, I left it and didn't study for a long time. I worked, traveled...I tried Law again after a while, but couldn't. My mind had changed. Then I decided to take the course I'm in now. I had to get prepare and studied by myself. I used many YouTube videos; there are many good things on YouTube. (Ênio, 29 years old, third semester higher education, Sep. 2019)*

Some aspects brought up in discussion groups can help us understand the power of sociable and interactive dynamics in the experience of schooling and/or the articulation between youth and student practices. According to what they have told us, the preference for the breaktime is associated to the possibility of circulating and the many conversations established. We need to use Simmel (2006) at this point to observe “sociable conversation” from the perspective of the

games established. Conversations do not dispense protagonism and lead subjects toward the excitement of unexpected subtleties, at the same time, they need to guarantee that the integration between the interlocutors is kept. It is a ludic game of exchanges in which the presence of the other and its singularity need to be considered in the balance of the interactions<sup>13</sup>.

As we observed, such narrative and sociable performance extends to the interactions in social networks. Strategies to express emotions simulating facial features (such as *emoticons*) and creative appropriations tensioning the textual format (for instance, abbreviations and use of images) translate the dynamic of sociability, loaded with a tone of oral language.

So, on the institutional practices themselves, the young-students pointed out that the quality of the classes they attended were under evaluation, considering the level of teachers' implication with the students' experiences, so that, without denying the supposed "duty" to learn the contents or school success, they asked for these contents to be delivered in an interactive way. In a discussion group, a student said: "if all teachers were like Andre, who turns his back to us and fills the blackboard, school would be over. They have to talk to us, give examples".

Their narratives often indicated that the school time, the rational and sequential relation with knowledge was tensed by fragmentation and connectivity, interposing online interaction or musical fruition during teachers' breaks. However, we understand that, together with this, there is a contradictory preference regarding the types of knowledge that cross the different forms of presence. Below, we present some interview excerpts of students who participated in the research.

*My mom, she is like "honey, you did well, this is great, but you can do even better!" [...] When I was 6 I started to study music. It was not my first access to culture but it was the first time I started to study there; you know? So, I started to play the flute and soon the transverse flute and I also played piano [...]*

*I like reading, but I mainly like to listen, so I listen and try to see what I've learned and I try to teach someone what I've learned. Then I see that I need to pass on what I've learned, though it is never exactly [...] I do this with the people on the student council; they are my lab rats [laughs]. [...] I learn much better with this strategy of talking with people than when I study alone. When the school asks something and*

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13 We present here one example. We were at the courtyard of a school, close to us some young people talking about their deeds on soccer games. They talked about dribbles and performances (normally, successful). Then, one of the boys talked about the many goals he scored in a certain game. He boasted that he was "wasting goals", indicating his good results. His narrative performance aimed to praise his feat and ability, carrying metonymic signs. In a given moment, he even stands up to reenact his movement, when he nutmegged his opponent. He explained: "he came towards me and I just did this (moving the legs). Then he closed them and 'bye', I was far away (waving hands)".

*I don't have the will to learn that thing, I memorize it. And sometimes you need it, you know, because there is always a little trick [signs to the sleeve of the shirt as if hiding a small cheat sheet]. (Marja, 17 years old, Senior High School student, day shift, Jun. 2019)*

The excerpt above is from an interlocution with a student, member of the student council. Her daily life is marked by intense activities in the school and at the student movement. She had good results on institutional activities and, besides that, showed a relatively critical knowledge on the school routine during her interview, with categories commonly used by teachers during explanations. Despite her cultural capital, built with family support and her political immersion, she used compensatory devices, which go against institutional prescriptions. Thus, subscribing to interactive and interlocutive ways to relate with knowledge. Here are two more examples:

*Then, at school, like, I don't make much effort, unless it is a test or something like it, but I don't really read outside the school, first because I don't have much time, and, second, because I get sleepy, you know? That is why I pay a lot of attention in class, mainly on the examples, like, the examples the teachers give get stuck in my mind. I like questions and answers, like, the exercises they give, you know. When they don't, it's hard, because reading...I can't remember well [...] I like teachers that explain! Explain and give many examples. Those who compare, I don't know, a duck with Physics, I don't know, I memorize that. (Camile, 16 years old, High School Junior, night shift, July 2019)*

*I just have a look on what'll be on the test. If the teacher gave that subject, I'll have it in the notebook, then I just skim it and go do the test, it normally works out. It isn't a problem, like, as if I had to sit down for 3 hours to study and get a good grade. (Gilson, 27 years old, T5 – Elementary education – YAE, night shift, June 2019)*

The two cases narrate situations of intense and simultaneous involvement with work during schooling. The second interviewee described an itinerary crossed by material precariousness and episodes of violence, having an intermittent school trajectory. They differ in their most recurrent ways of presence during schooling, sociable-convergent and sociable-tensioner, respectively, though Gilson tried to prioritize his graduation on elementary school when we talked. However, we could see common aspects regarding the relation with the knowledge privileged by teachers. On the one hand, both showed they had built a certain familiarity with school routine and teachers' prescriptions and evaluations, so they have tried to find a way to adequately prepare for a established obligation. On the other, an announced preference, similar to Marja, toward teachers who relied on orality, interlocution, and examples to have good results.

If we can think about an association to the different domains of cultural capital in the cases above, we can also consider the effects of inhabiting the institution, in the experience of its prescriptions and expectations, articulating other

references and resources as supports. The ways to be present can then signalize a position taking in the co-production of schooling.

## CONTINUING... IMPERATIVE, AESTHETIC, AND INDIVIDUATIONS IN SCHOOL

The actions of young-students with whom we have talked show an implication with the school challenge, narrated in the ways they face the obligations imposed by the institution. The imperative of duty raised on family dynamics of responsabilization are enunciated, though the ways to express it significantly change in the everyday life. The presence in school has this imperative, but modulated by the mastery of cultural capital and/or the longevity in school, by the senses built in the professional formation, and by the conditions of the educational establishment they attend to.

In addition, the “ways to be present” we have drawn, despite their limitations and need for future deepening, seem to indicate ways of acting that vary depending on the activities interposed, given that decision-making can vary throughout the career and the situation (for instance, depending on the subject or the teacher). The challenge we give ourselves is to not substantialize the ways of acting; to recognize the conditioning to think the agencies of individuals in their experiences.

However, there is an aspect that perspasses school presence, as previously announced, which needs to be problematized. The inclination toward sociability and interactivity (supported by social media), already explored on the literature about youth, seem to be a key element when considering the production of schooling. In this sense, we use Martín-Barbero (2017) referencing the notion of *sensorium* by Walter Benjamin, to understand the overlays at play: “technology today refers, much more than the novelty of some devices, to new ways of perception and of language, new sensibilities and writings” (Martín-Barbero, 2017, p. 25).

We suggest that the young-students with whom we dialogued show a sociable interactive sensibility and, in this sense, build a relation with knowledge from interactive affections, preferably through interlocutions and network exchanges, bringing the informality of orality to the written text or, in another way, using moving images as a secondary orality (Martín-Barbero, 2017).

The “ways of being together” emphasized by young people today would be, among other things, a possibility of bursting the anonymity of increasingly commercial cities, disarticulated, and guided toward traffic and circulation. In the words of the author, these are “new ways of perceiving, feeling, and establish a relationship with time and space, new ways of recognizing each other and gathering, that adults tend to devalue as a “fleeting fad” (Martín-Barbero, 2017, p. 31). In this sense, social networks and electronic connectivity would play a relational and socializing role (no less paradoxical) against the isolation of the cities.

Thus, young people tended to express a diverse sensibility, a virtual counterpoint to the rationality and verticalization of school contents and approaches, which are congruent to modern temporality and depended on the promises of progress. Our incursions indicate a tense coproduction between what is typical of young people and what is typical of students, so youngsters are in a daily dispute: they appropriate themselves of school based on their confrontations with the imperative of duty and their aesthetic dispositions.

When using the term “ways to be present”, we also allude to the “present” in the time of youngsters-students. Resuming Martuccelli (2007, 2018), we understand our interlocutors’ social proof of schooling as something established from the imperative that surpasses their existence since a cultural condition of class. However, we think that this is imbricated with the challenges to produce meanings to the school everyday life, surpassing presences and educational levels (and the social-cultural groups related to them) in the shape of a “social state” institutionally circumscribed. Thus, such challenge involves the construction of interactivity and sociable performances between peers and between students and teachers, using media and locutory acts as supports.

Regarding the processes of individuation, the inferences produced so far suggest that schooling includes the configuration of “metonymic actors”. This is one of the figures of the hyper-actor tributed to Latin America by Martuccelli (2010), considering the tactic work of individuals when facing the tasks that seem to be pragmatically taken, as well as the diversification of senses built when the expectations indicated by the institutional system do not necessarily carry any guarantees. At this point, we could avest the hypothesis of an articulation between modalities of individuation. The energy guided toward the fruition of the school space in the present responds metonymically to the institution, also appropriating the supports that empower interactive and sociable dynamics of the recognition of singularities.

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