PIONEIRISMO EM PESQUISA SOCIOLÓGICA SOBRE JUVENTUDE: ENTREVISTA COM MARIA DA GLÓRIA GOHN[1]

PIONEERING SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON YOUTH: AN INTERVIEW WITH MARIA DA GLÓRIA GOHN

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Context of the Interview

This interview was conducted online on June 6, 2024, by Olivia Cristina Perez and Daniel Vazquez.

Introduction of the Interviewee

Maria da Glória Gohn, the interviewee, was selected for her pioneering role and expertise in political participation studies. Her most recent research focuses specifically on youth, though this social group is central to much of her extensive body of work. Through this interview, we can trace how the concept of youth has developed in tandem with her reflections on social movements.

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Olivia Perez: Could you share some insights about the field of youth studies you have followed in Brazil?

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Maria da Glória Gohn: I approach the field of youth studies I have followed from two perspectives: first, in literature, and second, in practice. In literature, I follow the approach that considers youth a social construct—that is, it is not a natural phenomenon but a category constructed by different societies. From this perspective of a constructed category, perhaps due to my decades of work in a faculty of education and my involvement in a fertile period of educational experiences during the 1970s and part of the 1980s, influenced by a more Freirean perspective on direct participation, I conducted extensive readings, including Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi on the education of young people.

However, my primary influences in framing and approaching the subject were historians like Philippe Ariès and Eric Hobsbawm. Seen as a social category, youth emerged with modernity, a period marked by the rise of the bourgeoisie, the development of capitalism, and significant social changes.

In the social sciences, the subject of youth dates back to what could be termed the prehistory of these sciences, spanning the late 18th century and early 19th century. During this time, studies focused predominantly on juvenile delinquency as a negative byproduct of industrialization and urbanization. This period, coinciding with modernity and the emergence of the concept of youth, associated the latter with characteristics perceived as modern, different, innovative, or rebellious, these were the images, representations, and narratives that were being constructed over time.

Ariès consistently links the emergence of youth as a concept to social dynamics brought about by capitalism. He noted that from the 16th to the 18th centuries, perceptions of life stages, as seen in European profane iconography, were increasingly popular, representing not biological ages but rather social roles.

From this sociological perspective, the roles of rebels and revolutionaries were significant. According to Ariès, schooling began to play an essential role in the socialization of individuals from more bourgeois and aristocratic classes, as their entry into productive life was delayed, and they received school-based preparation for occupations and roles. This process of forming individuals between childhood and adulthood began to shape the notion of this life stage that we call "youth," according to Ariès' studies.

Hobsbawm influenced me in another regard. According to him, youth culture in the 20th century brought changes in three main aspects: first, youth was no longer seen as merely an interval between childhood and adulthood but rather as the peak of human development—a notion that gained reinforcement in the realm of sports. The idea of youth as life's pinnacle conflicted with other factors, such as increasing wealth, power, influence, and old age in a post-war world governed by a gerontocracy. The second aspect Hobsbawm highlights is that youth came to dominate developed market economies, as young people mastered emerging technologies—something critically relevant to the present. Even then, in the 20th

century, when he wrote about it, this was seen as a significant advantage. Most computer programs were designed by young people in their twenties, reversing traditional roles, as parents now had much to learn from their children, who grew up familiar with technology and, moreover, represented a consumer demographic with substantial purchasing power at that time. Also under this second aspect, Hobsbawm called attention to a dimension of culture shaped by young people. I have always considered this perspective on culture to be crucial, not only regarding economic, political, or social issues.

The third aspect Hobsbawm points to is the great capacity of urban youth culture to internationalize itself, particularly through rock music and blue jeans. Here, an essential aspect emerges: the popularization of music by American and British rock bands, contributing to the hegemony of a youth-oriented popular culture and lifestyle—though some youth cultural groups also adopted musical styles from the Caribbean, Latin America, and Africa. I emphasize the importance of Hobsbawm's insights, which focus much more on youth culture than on other political or socio-political proposals and show how this drives the wheel of social and societal change.

In sociology, since the interwar period, youth studies have been dominated by education, with a focus on educational aspects and pedagogy. Youth has gained greater social visibility and is increasingly seen as a distinct social group due to youth movements.

In the realm of international influence and authors**,** it is also essential to consider two other aspects beyond the category of youth itself: the ideas of generation and youth condition. The first is fundamental for understanding generational conflicts, current youth compared with the youth of a few decades ago or with that of their parents. Meanwhile, the concept of youth condition is a more recent construct, stemming from the 19th and 20th centuries, which suggested the need to extend schooling years to foster individuals' moral and ethical development before their entry into adult life. However, issues related to class, gender, ethnicity, and so forth were either absent or poorly addressed within this framework of youth condition.

In Brazil, I also recall the studies by Minayo, Sposito, Dayrell, Abramo, Scalon, Carrano, Groppo, Novaes, and other authors who research youth in the field of education. Marialice Foracchi was one of the first to study this topic back in the 1960s.

Beyond the theories and categories that I have read, which influence and guide my analytical perspective, I also emphasize my personal experience. At the age of eighteen, in 1968, I participated in demonstrations and street protests because I studied near Maria Antônia Street, at the School of Sociology and Politics (FESP) in São Paulo, and I would go to the city center for the marches. The political issue was certainly present, manifesting through protest movements. However, at that time, research focused on examining student movements and organizations, including

secondary school students, university students, Catholic university youth, as well as student movements in Córdoba, Argentina, the United States, and Europe, especially in France. At that time, Touraine published one of his first books on the student movement, which greatly influenced me.

Another significant aspect that remains vivid in my memory of participation and engagement is the impact of music through Brazilian popular music festivals and external influences from The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, and all the heirs of 1950s rock and roll. This was another source of information that I mentally registered, how youth was practically constructed. In 1968, I lived in Higienópolis, São Paulo, which was very close to *Consolação* Street, home to theaters, television stations, and music festivals, where youth expressed themselves through music as well.

Another group that characterized that period was the alternative and countercultural movements. Some studies from that time cover this aspect. Within this counterculture, there was a strong focus on behaviors and customs, Zen communities, Eastern philosophies, and drug experimentation. Some of this connected directly to music at major festivals, such as Woodstock and similar festivals in Brazil, which expressed a rejection of capitalist models and, especially, traditional family structures like the standard model of father, mother, and daughter.

Olivia Perez: How does youth appear in studies on social movements and political participation?

Maria da Glória Gohn: In Brazil, during the 1970s, when the restructuring of postgraduate courses began and ANPOCS (National Association of Graduate Studies and Research in Social Sciences) was established, a study group on social movements was formed within it (SBS – Brazilian Society of Sociology was already well-established but became increasingly influential in this area in the 1980s).

During that period, social movements came to the forefront, as Eder Sader noted. From 1975 onwards, with the intensification of embryonic forms of resistance against the military regime, the focus of my research was on the Amnesty Movement, labor movements in the ABC region, and the southern periphery of São Paulo, where I conducted my master's research on neighborhood associations and community groups in São Paulo. Later, I also studied the movement for the creation of daycare centers.

At that time, structural analyses predominated, which looked at the broader picture and were highly significant, such as a book by Jordi Borja on urban social movements and another by Manuel Castells addressing urban contradictions and contradictions within the capitalist accumulation model. However, there was no specific focus on youth, in my opinion; youth, as such, was not a central focus, just as women's issues were not specifically addressed.

In my doctoral research, which I defended in 1983, I examined the struggle for daycare centers in São Paulo. The study was positioned within the realm of public policies, analyzing the demands, negotiations, how the municipal government responded, and how movements were able to achieve their objectives, among other aspects. I did not specifically address the gender issue in this struggle, which women primarily led. During a conversation with Eder Sader at an ANPOCS event in Águas de São Pedro, he pointed this out to me, saying: "Well, you should have specifically examined women, their way of life, etc. Why didn't you do that?" At the time, I thought, "Oh no, to go back to the field and redo all that research?" But he was right because, for example, studies on women were being conducted by a specific research group focused on middle-class women, especially those in the workforce. The Ford Foundation supported these studies through numerous grants and competitions focused on the theme of women. So, it wasn't just youth, or age-related issues like those of the elderly and children, that were not specifically addressed. For example, Vera Telles, Ilse Scherer, José Álvaro Moisés, and Pedro Jacobi, in the field of social movements, all focused on movements such as those for transportation, housing, healthcare, etc. Several studies on the healthcare movement also did not specifically focus on the individuals involved, but rather on the movements' demands.

From the perspective of political participation in relation to the state itself, I supervised a master's thesis at UFABC (Federal University of ABC) on Brazilian youth and public policies. It was very interesting because it highlighted some municipal initiatives in which young people were not seen as subjects of democratic rights through their demands. Instead, they were addressed by policies aimed at various age groups.

Only in the late 1990s did Brazil begin, at federal, state, and municipal levels, to establish various partnerships with civil society organizations aimed specifically at youth. In 2004, the federal government and certain sectors linked to social movements initiated a dialogue regarding the need to develop a national policy for Brazilian youth. Consequently, an interministerial group connected to the General Secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic was formed, involving nineteen ministries to survey the issues facing Brazilian youth. This initiative identified nine key areas: 1) expanding access to education; 2) generating employment and income; 3) preparing youth for the job market; 4) promoting healthy lifestyles; 5) democratizing access to sports, leisure, culture, and other technologies; 6) promoting human rights and affirmative policies; 7) encouraging citizenship; 8) fostering social participation; and 9) improving the quality of life in rural areas and traditional communities. By this time, rural movements, particularly those led by the MST (Landless Workers' Movement), had gained prominence, showing that youth issues were not limited to urban areas but were also present within traditional communities.

The field of youth public policies was also marked by the shift away from viewing young people primarily as "at-risk". Youth began to be recognized as claimants of social rights, consolidating the concept of youth as rights-bearing individuals, with the State as a co-responsible agent in constructing public policies for this demographic. This concept of youth as rights-holders brought forth the action of social and youth movements and social organizations and impacted the governmental sphere. Notable initiatives included the creation of the National Youth Secretariat, the subsequent establishment of CONJUVE – the National Youth Council, programs like *ProJovem* under the Lula administration, and the first National Youth Conference in 2008. Concurrently, youth councils at the municipal level expanded, gradually building an institutional structure that contributed to the legitimization of youth as claimants of social rights, ultimately paving the way for the Youth Statute, signed into law by former President Dilma Rousseff in August 2013.

This statute sought to address the events of June 2013, when youth took to the streets, telling politicians, "We do not recognize you; we do not want you; we have no representatives." Many young leaders from the *Movimento Passe Livre* (MPL) and other organizations were invited to meetings in Brasília but declined, as they did not identify with these roles. Their perspective did not reject the State itself but called for a different State that organized youth policies in a new way. Thus, as a response to the June 2013 protests, the government established a statute affirming youth as full holders of specific rights and responsibilities. However, this policy came somewhat belatedly, as the Child and Adolescent Statute (ECA) had been established in the early 1990s.

Finally, under the administration of Michel Temer, the National Youth System (*Sistema Nacional de Juventude*, or SINAJUVE) was instituted, mandating that the federal, state, and municipal governments share responsibility for implementing the National Youth Policy. This measure was also enacted amid nationwide youth protests, this time spurred by the assassination of Marielle Franco. The National Youth System and the "Brazil More Youth" program were thus formalized in 2018.

Daniel Vazquez: What changes has the focus on youth undergone throughout your studies?

Maria da Glória Gohn: I began to focus on youth issues from the second half of the 1990s and early 2000s, particularly during the youth gatherings, the World Social Forum, and the commemorations of the 30th anniversary of May 1968. This period drew my attention to young people from that era who had taken to the streets against the dictatorship and were now emerging as political leaders, occupying government positions, such as José Dirceu and José Serra, who were student leaders in the 1960s, among others.

Examining trajectories is fascinating because researchers often focus solely on unionists, but if you trace the paths of other politicians, you'll find that their youth involved significant participation in movements. My more specific writings on youth began in the 2000s when I started to analyze the "fare-dodging" movements, which eventually gave rise to the MPL – Free Fare Movement, both in Florianópolis and later in Bahia, which led me to view youth from a broader perspective. Beyond their role as students, I became interested in their political culture, examining their demands, their rejections, and the lessons they were learning.

My research has always focused on three key areas: (1) the nature of participation in social movements themselves; (2) participation in relation to the State; and (3) education, specifically non-formal education, as I have never concentrated much on formal schooling per se, but rather on informal learning. This is why I have always viewed social movements as valuable sources and spaces for learning.

Observing a clear distinction when discussing socio-educational programs for youth is intriguing. In Brazil, for instance, we recall the issues tied to FEBEM (the State Foundation for the Welfare of Minors) and the harrowing experiences of youth at risk, whereas in Europe, such issues have long been addressed as a matter of public policy. The European Commission has set forth four goals to guide common actions on youth issues. First, participation through active citizenship; second, communication, via the dissemination of quality information; third, volunteerism, which is not deeply ingrained in Brazilian culture. However, we have recently witnessed a surge in volunteerism, especially in response to climate disasters in Rio Grande do Sul, reflecting a different aspect—solidarity. Such institutionalized policies have existed in Europe for some time, with the goal of fostering youth awareness through responsible citizenship. This approach has a dual purpose: a human dimension but also a preventative one, integrating youth before they become a "problem".

Finally, the fourth focus area is youth self-awareness, helping young people develop in various aspects, such as body awareness. Through the European Commission's program, I became familiar with ERASMUS and transversal initiatives. In Europe, youth and public policy are closely tied to education, with an emphasis on a competencies-based pedagogy, focusing on social and civic competencies, initiative, and entrepreneurship. In these programs, young people participated voluntarily and earned points while learning, with the argument being that this fostered creative critical thinking, global citizenship, and cooperative problem-solving, hallmarks of these European experiences.

Here in Brazil**,** in the field of education, particularly within ANPED (National Association for Graduate Studies and Research in Education), there have been various approaches, studies, and critiques of these European programs that arrived here, often presented as if the same problems existed in our context. We have

observed several conflicts between advocates of competency-based pedagogy and constructivist theories. The latter is significantly different, incorporating elements focused on the student, using a distinct pedagogy, and employing active methods. I have not been deeply involved in the competency-based pedagogy debate, but I have supervised two projects on social initiatives involving youth, which primarily aimed to promote integration processes. To analyze these, one must examine the entire history of those who developed these projects, asking whether they were participatory NGOs, those that fought against hunger alongside figures like Betinho, as part of citizenship initiatives, or other NGOs created with a different focus, especially concerning racial and ethnic issues. Numerous projects emerged, and there was a kind of glorification in the media, as though these projects alone were solving the issues. I believe there is certainly great merit in this, but on the other hand, it also reflects an individualistic perspective, as it places much responsibility on the individual. The narrative becomes: you participate in the project, you train, you learn, and then you are equipped to be a protagonist, to succeed in life, and that is all. Such an approach ultimately denies politics itself, as we understand that politics is not limited to this. These Taylorist and Fordist organizational and work management practices, which are skill-based and do not require formal pedagogical work, are not only found in factories and production line transformations, or in the weakening of union systems, but also in public schools, with a focus on productivity, and even in universities, where we are constantly evaluated.

Olivia Perez: What new culture of participation are young people promoting, in reference to your article *Jovens na política na atualidade* (Young People in Politics Today)?

Maria da Glória Gohn: In this article, the focus is on observing youth issues because, starting in 2013, some analysts viewed young people as a solution, while others saw them as undermining democracy and laying the groundwork for the rise of the right. From this point, I began to focus on young people. In my current CNPq research project, where I am a level 1A grantee, I focus on youth within collectives, which were already present in 2013.

At first glance, observing the name and the very movement that triggered the 2013 events, the MPL (Free Fare Movement), although labeled a "movement," it was composed of numerous internal collectives. Thus, I began to look at young people not just as students, but as individuals organized in various social roles: they may be students, art producers, informal groups gathering in particular locations, bloggers, social media users—highlighting the role of collectives within social movements, parallel to them, or even rejecting them.

The globalized world experienced a new cycle of protests in the 2010s, with different themes, forms of mobilization, political and economic contexts, and

impacts, as seen in the 1960s, the 1984 *Diretas Já*[2] movement, or the 1992 *Fora Collor*[3] movement. The internet enabled an entirely new system of communication. In early 20th-century protests, there were "repeaters," individuals who climbed posts and called out chants for others to repeat; then came microphones, and finally the digital age. I recall, for instance, when community radio stations emerged in the favelas, broadcasting everything from religious festivities to protests. Each era had its unique communication form. It wasn't only the internet, though it revolutionized communication; there was also the selection, focus, and coding of information—done not by isolated individuals but by a plurality of actors and agents competing to interpret the meanings of events and data. This brings us to the power of social movements in shaping public opinion, a concept often associated with the 1960s, functionalists, and electoral processes. The importance of public opinion is clear, as it sometimes only manifests itself at the ballot box.

The collective action of young people since June 2013 prompts us to observe these multiple processes of subjectivation in the formation of active subjects; that is, it is not merely a behavioral aspect, nor solely about how these young people dress, which can be captured in photos and performances, but rather how these elements are absorbed and then reworked. Those studies, once considered somewhat outdated within social psychology, particularly on emotions, have been revisited and are now being reflected upon for their contributions across different fields. They reveal how events, in the heat of the moment, provoke reactions and generate new avenues for collective action, and how individuals process these developments. The composition of these actions is complex and diverse, involving multiple actors, proposals, and conceptions about politics, society, and government. In this context, the emotions of individuals and collectives become prominent in the protests, an aspect that had previously been overlooked.

Regarding sharing networks, there is much discussion today about fake news, yet beyond that, it is essential to understand these networks of shared beliefs and belonging, formed through informal interactions, collective identities that are constructed, and the political-cultural conflicts of the protesters. Concerning young people, many, especially some traditional leftist leaders who hold key positions, often perceive today's youth through the same lens as the youth of the 1960s or those who opposed the military dictatorship and later took to the streets in green and yellow to demand Collor's resignation. This is where generational issues come into play: these young people think differently; they are not mere repetitions of past generations.

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[2] During the Brazilian military dictatorship, *Diretas Já* was a popular political movement that aimed to resume direct elections for the position of President of the Republic in Brazil.

[3] The *'Fora Collor'* movement was a series of demonstrations that resulted in the resignation of President Fernando Collor in 1992, driven by accusations of corruption.

The political-cultural conflicts among young protesters today must be analyzed with different analytical tools than those used for the so-called new social movements. Many researchers continue to rely on scholars who studied social movements of the 20th century and the early 21st century, such as Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly. These analyses were highly effective for studying institutionalized public policies, due to the many insights these approaches offer. It is not about discarding those approaches but about constructing a third path, one that rethinks identities built through past struggles, their interactions with the state, and the new political cultures created by young people. I am seeking to follow this path.

I am not entirely certain, but I am almost convinced that the socio-political, economic, cultural, and environmental context, as well as the forms of participation and cultural values of today's youth, have shifted. The rapidity of events, environmental changes, and other factors indicate a new era; the river has changed, the waters are different, and yet we still find ourselves attempting to navigate it with the vessels of the past. We need new ships, new tools to steer these waters.

To conclude, today's youth movements are heirs to the anti-globalization movement of the 1990s and 2000s. However, their roots may extend even further back. I believe there is a lack of historical perspective on this topic. I have written about it, revisiting utopian socialism, anarchist ideas, and other frameworks. However, I believe that young people today have reinvented these traditions. They are no longer merely rejecting the state, politics, and religion as overarching structures. Although they inherit a sense of discontent, a desire for a different society free from certain controls and regulations, this leads us to discuss autonomy in a new was, a kind of autonomy that does not forsake the state, institutions, or the importance of public policies.

Daniel Vazquez: The pandemic had a significant impact on the young population, particularly due to the closure of schools. What were its effects on the social behavior of young people?

Maria da Glória Gohn: I believe it affected everyone, but particularly in the case of young people, the issue of schooling caused disastrous effects. Every day, we saw news reports, particularly when online classes resumed, about how this process was unfolding. Often, there was only one cell phone in the household, when there was one at all, to serve four or five children. How could they follow classes on a single cell phone for four or five children? The disparities in socio-economic inequalities came to the forefront as a daily news item in the media. Inequality is a fundamental category for understanding why middle-class youth were able to continue their education, but what about students from peripheral areas? And then, when mothers returned to work, how did that situation unfold? So, the overarching issue to explain here is that the question of inequalities exploded, and we can no longer

speak about youth, though we might say youths, in the plural, without addressing territorial positioning and specifying which young people we are referring to. It is crucial to characterize the issue of territories and social class, to understand which class we are talking about, because the effects of the pandemic were very different across them.

There is another aspect of the pandemic, in relation to the development of skills in peripheral populations, which is the resurgence of a different form of associativism, one that is completely different from the associativism of the ecclesial base communities of the 1970s and 1980s. This new form of associativism is driven by the urgency of solving problems practically and simultaneously by creativity, with territorial engagement in communities and favelas.

It is interesting to note that, until recently, the term "*favela*[4]" was not used because it carried stigma. However, it has become part of a recent discussion with the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), and they have now reclaimed the term. Calling something a favela no longer carries the stigma it once did; it is simply the name of the territory. At this point, I am reminded of Licia Valadares, the great Brazilian scientist who contributed immensely to the study of favelas in Rio de Janeiro, who recently passed away and made a significant contribution to the understanding of favelas in Brazil.

For example, in the case of Paraisópolis, the second-largest favela in São Paulo, one of the major issues during the pandemic was getting people to hospitals and health clinics, as well as delivering groceries, because there are streets with ramps that are difficult to climb for deliveries. They had a system of motorcycles among themselves, and they created a system in which the residents' association, through donations from companies and civil society, acquired an ambulance. This was one of the initiatives; they later set up a workshop to make masks. In short, the pandemic generated new needs, which they resolved through their inventiveness and creativity. If they had waited for public authorities, the death rate and problems would have been much higher. Instead, they had one of the lowest death rates in São Paulo, especially considering the number of people living there. In terms of fatalities, it was a relatively small number. In this process, the pandemic truly changed peripheral sociability within these communities.

Daniel Vazquez: Another recent change affecting young people's lives is the reform of secondary education. Despite the resistances and the recent revision, how does the New High School impact the education of the current and future generations?

[4] *Favelas* are a type of popular housing complex found in cities and built informally. They are characterized by high population concentration, consisting of self-built houses, with a predominance of low-income population and informal employment.

Maria da Glória Gohn: This is an interesting issue because it is almost exclusively addressed within the field of education, by educators and the National Association of Postgraduate Studies in Education (ANPED), when in fact it affects everyone, particularly those with children in high school. And it affects not only public schools, because the reform is general; it also impacts those attending expensive private schools. On one hand, something needed to be done, undoubtedly, because the previous high school system was entirely outdated. On the other hand, the earlier reform in secondary education introduced so many subjects that it became impossible to cover the entire curriculum. It was different from the introduction of sociology in 2007, which was truly an advance, a conquest. Later, there was the inclusion of arts and music, but the reform introduced so many extraneous subjects that they diverted attention from the primary focus.

The new Lula government inherited this ticking time bomb and had to provide a solution; it couldn't just be shelved. I think it must first be viewed as a process, what is currently in place, what has been approved, and what can be done? What can be changed? The current situation is very different from the time when Paulo Freire questioned the banking model of education and proposed circles for discussion, rather than the behavioral approach where each student is confined to their desk. It was a different concept, it was about forming citizens who could learn to read the world and think independently. Will this current reform lead young people to think for themselves? I don't think so.

These are my initial impressions of the challenges that need to be addressed, but I think there must be a clear agenda for which demands have been addressed, which "riders" have been introduced that will lead to disaster, and what possible positions we can adopt to find a viable path. It is a significant difficulty, the young students were not heard; they were completely ignored. Why can't they give their opinions about what they like or dislike in school? They are engaged in so many things and form opinions on many matters, so why can't they share their views on education?

Olivia Perez: Can we continue to rely on youth for the improvement of the democratic system? If so, what contributions have they made?

Maria da Glória Gohn: First, we must clarify what we mean by a democratic system; this is where the confusion starts when we talk about improvement. What we are currently experiencing is a polarized system, right vs. left, conservatives vs. progressives.

Brazil recently avoided a worsening of the right-wing government, a coup, but I do not believe the problem has been fully resolved, nor do I think the current government practices are genuinely aiming at consolidating the democratic system. Often, we get the impression that those in power rely on polarization because it

helps them stay in power, this is the impression some of their actions leave, though not all of them.

In this scenario, young people are trying to build paths, but the majority are ignored. We saw that the celebration of the 10th anniversary of June 2013 led to numerous publications. I participated in the debate intensely, through interviews, articles, and discussions at ANPOCS and SBS. I believe anyone who thinks June 2013 was merely "the serpent's egg," a political maneuver solely intended to shift Brazil's politics to the right, has misunderstood it. I believe that in terms of public policy, for example, among the principles outlined in the Statute of Youth, the first refers to promoting the autonomy and emancipation of young people. Look at how it is written autonomy is understood as a trajectory of inclusion, freedom, and the participation of youth in society. After that, through international cooperation, the Statute promotes international integration among young people, preferably within Latin America and Africa. Can you see any effort in that direction in the youth policies of 2013? And what about today?

I believe these are beautiful words, the political participation to which the Statute refers, anticipating the involvement of young people in formulating, implementing, and evaluating youth public policies. It is anticipated that this participation should occur through: associations, networks, movements, and youth organizations. Is this happening? If so, who are these movements and organizations, associations, and networks that are involved?

In conclusion, the issue of youth is a construction; it is not an inherent category, nor is it based on biological factors, nor is it something natural, it is entirely socially constructed. And how is the current concept of youth being constructed, a theme that is scarcely understood and inadequately addressed?

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Received on: 06/08/2024

Approved: 12/08/2024