

PANDEMIC AND CLASS HABITUS: ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL SELF-CARE PRACTICES DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN THE METROPOLITAN REGION OF RECIFE

PANDEMIA E HABITUS DE CLASSE: ANÁLISE DE PRÁTICAS SOCIAIS DE AUTOCUIDADO DURANTE A PANDEMIA DE COVID-19 NA REGIÃO METROPOLITANA DO RECIFE

PANDEMIA Y HABITUS DE CLASE: ANÁLISIS DE LAS PRÁCTICAS DE AUTOCUIDADO SOCIAL DURANTE LA PANDEMIA DE LA COVID-19 EN LA REGIÓN METROPOLITANA DE RECIFE

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RESUMO: Neste artigo, por meio de etnografias e biografia sociológica realizada com Jiboia – um membro das classes populares brasileira –, apresentamos que diante do contexto pandêmico a utilização de máscaras, realização do isolamento social, vacinação e higienização, não são apenas respaldadas pelas condições objetivas de vida, mas também, pelos condicionantes subjetivos de existência quando estes estão associados à *desigualdade existencial*. Este último, por vez, se estabelece na desigual alocação de respeito, dignidade e valorização da própria vida.

PALAVRAS-CHAVES: Pandemia. Classes populares. Desigualdade. Habitus de classe. Pierre Bourdieu.

RESUMEN: *En este artículo, a través de etnografías y biografía sociológica realizadas con Jiboia – miembro de las clases populares brasileñas–, presentamos que, ante el contexto de pandemia, el uso de mascarillas, el aislamiento social, la vacunación y la higiene, no son sólo sustentada en las condiciones objetivas de vida, pero también en las condiciones subjetivas de existencia cuando éstas se asocian a la desigualdad existencial. Este último, a su vez, se establece en la desigual asignación del respeto, la dignidad y el aprecio por la vida misma.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Pandemia. Clases populares. Desigualdad. Habitus de clase. Pierre Bourdieu.*

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ABSTRACT: *In this article, through ethnographies and so.ciological biography carried out with Jiboia – a member of the Brazilian popular classes –, we present that, in the face of the pandemic context, the use of masks, social isolation, vaccination and hygiene, are not only supported by the objective conditions of life, but also by the subjective conditions of existence when these are associated with existential inequality. The latter, in turn, is established in the unequal allocation of respect, dignity and appreciation of life itself.*

KEYWORDS: *Pandemic. Popular classes. Inequality. Class habitus. Pierre Bourdieu.*

Introduction

Over the last three years of the pandemic, the practices of using masks, hand hygiene, social isolation, vaccination, seeking medical attention when necessary, have become fundamental daily practices to deal with the dangers and threats arising from the Coronavirus. Such practices, named in this present article as *pandemic protection practices*, are crossed by questions related to social inequalities concerning the class struggle and are, under no circumstances, accessible in a socially fair way for all.

Amartya Sen (2001) teaches us that in order to formulate a given dimension of any social inequality to be analyzed, we need to evoke the following question: “*inequality of what?*”, so that, as a research strategy, we formulate the “evaluation spaces”, that is, the selection of the relevant criteria that will be used to analyze a certain social inequality.

In the case of this research, we analyzed the reconstruction of the meanings that social agents attribute to their actions in the “evaluation spaces”. The *practice of pandemic protection* analyzed here from the social inequalities that reside between the *objective conditions of life* and the *subjective conditions of existence*. The latter, put in the Bourdiesian sense of *class ethos*², understood here under Therborn's (2011) concept of *existential inequalities* - related to issues of low dignity, social self-esteem and valuing life itself.

To do so, we used ethnographic analyzes as a methodology and, mainly, sociological biographies rooted in Bernard Lahire (2004), in which we used, in addition to the concepts that will be presented shortly, three semi-structured interview scripts. The research reveals that pandemic protection practices are not only supported by material and economic inequalities. By reconstructing the meanings that the agents attribute to such practices, we infer that the

² The Bourdiesian concept of *habitus* is fragmented here to better serve the interests of this research, although Pierre Bourdieu, throughout his academic career, has abdicated this fragmentation. We deal with the concept of *habitus* from three constituent parts: the *eidosis*, a set of logical evaluation and action schemes; the *hexis* related to embodiment, in the sense of dispositions that became body, postures, gesture; and the *ethos*, as an axiological and systematic set of dispositions of the ethical dimension, in the ways of being in the social world. In this research we used especially *habitus* and *ethos*.

subjective constraints related to existential inequality are social determinants. Thus, after apprehending Jiboia's subjective dispositions in various social, diachronic and synchronic contexts, we understand that in the pandemic context, issues related to the low valuation of life itself figure as determinants for low pandemic protection practices in the case of Jiboia.

The three interviews were carried out over the years 2021 and 2022, with an audio recorder and a pad of paper for taking notes, both authorized by Jiboia. The interview took place at her home, more specifically in the space intended for her grocery store, while she attended to the few customers. Jiboia was informed that the research dealt with the lives of residents of urban occupations and that the collected data would not necessarily be used; in addition, the interviewee was informed that any question that led to the recognition of his true identity would be kept confidential.

Existential Inequality and Class *Habitus* in Brazil

About disposition in dispositionalist sociology, according to Pierre Bourdieu (2001, p. 171), after a play on *Heideggerian words*, “*disposition is exposure*” and, this occurs, precisely because the body is exposed to the exteriorities of the social space: to the dangers, reception, complacency or constraints of the social world that surrounds it, starting with the impositions of material conditions of existence, such as, for example, social agents residing in popular neighborhoods – which have low rates of pandemic protection practices – who lack a whole material condition that distances them from complying with the recommendations of social isolation, use of masks, vaccination, etc.

Thus, it is from a certain *objective position* - mainly through the social class - occupied in the social space that social agents understand the social space that encompasses them, and thus they are conditioned to a class of *habitus* that guide them by the conditions of this world specific social. The *habitus* is adjusted to the regularities of the position in the social world, functioning as a structuring structure and a structured structure, because the social structures used by the agents to understand the world are, at the same time, the incorporated product of that same structured and structuring world that surrounds it, because, as is known, social agents only understand the social world that encompasses them, engendering in this sense “*products of an unwanted and unconscious systematicity*” (BOURDIEU, 2007, p. 45, our translation); and which, at the same time, are able to guide individuals through common and everyday social practices, which are more or less homologous among members of the same fraction and social

class. This means that social agents, when making their decisions about pandemic protection practices, do not choose the principle of their choices, which is the *class habitus*.

In Bourdieusian praxeology, practice is the place of the dialectic between objective positions and subjective dispositions, with the first being the objectified exteriority of social structures that condition the perception and action of social agents, as a kind of “rigorous table of categories historically constituted” (BOURDIEU, 2007, p. 436, our translation), that is, of a social space that is constituted in and through the system of relational oppositions of different social positions and different distributions of living conditions; while the second is covered by the concept of *habitus*, defined as the unifying principle of subjective dispositions that, although they are formed in the course of the collective history of a society.

In this sense, through the incorporation in the course of the individual history of social agents, according to the different objective positions of agents in a given social space, which precondition the different perceptions and actions of these agents in each socialized and socializing context, making *habitus* a product of historical acquisition by a legacy of historical struggles between different social classes.

In the work “*Subcidadania Brasileira*” (2018), the sociologist reconstructs the Bourdieusian model of social class in Brazil, considering the fundamental differences between societies in central countries and those in peripheral countries. In his sociological interpretation of Brazilian social classes, the Bourdieusian notion of class struggle and *class habitus* is added to the Taylorian notion of value hierarchies of modern societies, which are founded on sources of strong institutions, such as the market and the State, and that end up classifying as citizens only those agents capable of dealing with modern requirements, such as prospecting, productivity, rationality. This recognition of modern citizenship, granted only to dignified productive rational agents, supported by the “moral sources” of strong institutions in modernity, is defined as primary *habitus*.

In this sense, Jessé Souza (2018) argues that the *habitus* thought by Pierre Bourdieu does not presuppose a fundamental condition of French society: socially shared recognition, in a transclassist way, in which all French people are French citizens. On the other hand, the absence of these same social preconditions characterize the concept of precarious *habitus*, corresponding to the set of internalized subjective dispositions - according to the objectified positions and conditions - which, according to Souza (2018, p. 240, our translation) “do not meet the objective demands so that an individual or a social group can be recognized as productive and useful in a modern and competitive society”, thus being socially recognized as sub-producers and sub-citizens and, therefore, sub-humans. The result is the construction of a

whole symbolic range of stigmatizations and prejudiced notions that present correlates of cognitive structures of social agents: disqualifying, criminalizing and abolishing the recognition of the social dignity of an entire social class, including having this pejorative recognition shared among the classes themselves. victims of the symbolic violence exercised.

That said, Souza (2018) defines the Brazilian popular classes, in their peculiar social condition of sub-citizenship, by the production and reproduction of a precarious *habitus* over time and space, this being the peculiar condition for the production and reproduction of the structural rabble Brazilian. In this sense, in the central thesis of the work, it is explained that about 1/3 of the Brazilian population, due to the absence of the minimum social pre-conditions to handle the demands of the dignity of the modern “rational agent”, is in the position of exclusion and disqualification before the whole society as “sub-producers” and, therefore, classified by the modern value hierarchy as sub-citizens. It should also be noted that this huge contingent of Brazilian men and women was first named by Florestan Fernandes (2008) as the first urban rabble and secular rabble, precisely because of the absence of the necessary psychosocial conditions to integrate into a modern and competitive society.

About the low social dignity, the condition of sub-citizenship, the denial of social recognition as a productive and valid agent that affects social groups and entire social classes. Sociologist Goran Therborn (2011, p. 21-22) proposes analytical perspectives between different types of inequality. For our interest, we highlight the notion of existential inequality, established in the denial of equality among all human beings, through the unequal allocations of respect, social recognition, dignity, humiliation, ignorance and marginalization.

Thus, when dealing with *class habitus*, or more precisely, with the class *ethos* of the Brazilian structural rabble, we are talking about a *precarious ethos*, that is, a precarious conception of being in the world; due to the absence of the necessary social preconditions to obtain the social recognition of modern citizenship and social dignity; leaving these completely marginalized and stigmatized individuals and social classes with an absence of recognition of human dignity, resulting in identity conceptions of low self-esteem and individual and collective dignity, as well as many other conditions that correspond to the deficient pole of existential inequality.

However, it should be noted that the *class habitus* is not mechanized here by external constraints, but an adaptable *habitus*, being transposable to the different social contexts of different social practices. As proposed by Bernard Lahire (2004) when assuming a sociological stance within the dispositionalist field of action that considers the plurality of different social environments being reflected in the plurality of the socialization of individuals, which

ultimately unfolds in the dispositional plurality of social agents to from the particularity of each social trajectory. Lahire elaborates from the Bourdieusian work, builds the understanding that the heterogeneity of the social world is incorporated in the social construction of individuals, or even, that every idea of field - which make up the multiple externalities of the social space - also operates in the individual dimension internalized in social agents. Thus, in this sociological biography presented here, we use dispositional concepts such as inclinations, plurality of dispositions, aptitudes, intraclass variations, biographical ruptures, etc.

Jiboia

Better known as Jiboia, Antônio da Silva is one of the oldest residents of the Dandara Occupation on the outskirts of Recife. Jiboia is 62 years old, divorced several times, father of 18 children without establishing a firm relationship with any. He is a bricklayer and owner of two small “stalls” selling hygiene, cleaning, basic foodstuffs, alcoholic beverages, which operate inside his two houses located in two urban occupations.

Owner of a heritage of skills regarding civil construction practices, Jiboia is often recognized as the “occupation engineer”, providing services both when the issue is collective, as well as in timely help to neighbors. Jiboia is supportive and his skills in providing for everyday life in the face of such precarious objective conditions are often at the service of community help. Despite complaints about the lack of recognition for its collective actions and the lack of financial collaboration from others, Jiboia is proud of the services provided.

In his career as a militant for the right to housing, he was for more than two decades president of the residents' association of a famous community in Recife, known in the field of the right to the city for its history of resistance against land evictions.

"Look, from 13 years ago I suffered a lot"

Jiboia is a native of the rural area of Aliança - a small municipality located in the northern forest area of Pernambuco. Jiboia was born, as he usually says, *within a sugarcane crack*, a place where he also suffered the exploitation of child labor in the fields. Jiboia remained in this work that is relatively analogous to slavery until he decided to flee to Recife - "*Look, from 13 onwards I suffered a lot*".

Jiboia is the only child of his father with his mother; "*My father was Durval Caetano, he was called Durval, my father was from Exú. He went to the mill to work, then right there in*

Aliança he died". Jiboia has been an orphan on his mother's side since birth, the story of what really happened to his mother and the reasons why he was taken from her at birth were never revealed to him. Despite being 62 years old, Jiboia still does not know the whereabouts of his mother; he does not know what happened at his birth; he does not know if his birth parents had any marital relationship; as he also does not even know for sure her name. Issues such as resentment and repercussions in your life.

When Jiboia was only three years old, Durval married Ruth, whom he initially classified as very evil – *"There are mothers who are not mothers to people, mothers are mothers"*. From the union of Durval and Ruth, three more children were born. Thus, the most central family composition was constituted with Jiboia being the eldest son of the house.

The period in Aliança, throughout his childhood and early adolescence, brings memories to Jiboia that he does not like to remember. The hard pains of the past that, as revealed by *"They come to mind, but I try to forget"*, are strongly linked to the objective conditions of life, as well as the particularities that intraclass variations. As is known, child labor in the countryside affects thousands of children in northeastern Brazil; however, as we will show in this research, each individual of this social position relates in a unique way with the social world, be it in aptitudes, inclinations, dispositions, particularity of each trajectory.

In sugarcane work, Jiboia began to accompany his father so early in his life that he cannot even remember when he started to help his father with work activities. At the age of 8, already having a wealth of dispositional capacities that are required in work activities on the farm, incorporated through an indirect socialization with his father's world of work, Jiboia was invited by the factory manager to work "formally".

In addition to being a child and having to face the hard work of sugarcane, Jiboia speaks with anger and resentment about the period in which he worked in his hometown. Mainly due to the position occupied in the family space and the particular relationships established with her stepmother; it should also be noted that it is at the intersections between the contexts of the world of work and the world of family that the interactions established with the stepmother become even more cunning and even more inhumane. He tells us, in an aggressive tone, that it was common to suffer sanctions imposed by his stepmother if he did not meet the daily goals of work at the plant, such as, for example, having lunch only when the job was finished; if he could not finish by lunchtime, he was obliged to fulfill the work demand in the afternoon, without his main meal of the day. The harsh sanctions imposed, as well as the appropriation of his salary by Ruth, did not occur hidden from Durval; on the contrary, Jiboia's father was quite oblivious to the context - *"I was hurt because my father said nothing"*.

Although he is skilled with numbers, civil construction and managing his two stalls, as he is proud to say, Jiboia is illiterate. His relationship with the world of school practically did not exist in his life: he started at age 9 and stopped at 13, when he fled to Recife. In addition to the various difficulties imposed, such as the great distance between his home and school, school hours were almost always compromised by work obligations, since, as he warns, the priority was always going to work. In interviews, Jiboia blames himself for being illiterate and penalizes himself for it, even defining himself as “*a neutral person*”.

Another point of social suffering that had its genesis in his childhood - perhaps the most central one - and which must be understood here as a *precarious ethos* established as a subjective condition from a position of the Brazilian structural rabble is a certain disruption of the family nucleus, which is expected to act as a fruitful environment for the affective transmission of values. In the particular case of Jiboia, the specific type of relationship with the stepmother, the maternal absence throughout her life, exploitation in child labor in the sugarcane field, extreme poverty, absence of the school environment and the omission of the father conform the particularities of a *precarious ethos* engendered in childhood and adolescence.

Jiboia, a subject loose in the world, a rejected calf

In many of the moments in which he talks about himself, Jiboia expresses a life marked by loneliness, both in the family dimension, maternal absence, absence of a marriage partner, the non-recognition as a brother by the other brothers from his father - “*I feel alone in the world because the others I have don't care about me, there are two brothers who never come to my house, I went there I don't know how many times*” -, without a close relationship with the 18 children, as well as in friendship relationships; although he has lived in the metropolitan area of Recife for almost 50 years, Jiboia has not built any lasting and solid friendships.

In this sense, it is possible to infer that solitary life figures as an important element in his life. Throughout the interview and the occasional encounters in which I was able to observe and interact with Jiboia, a song he named “Bezerro rejected” was sometimes the soundtrack of the moments we were together. Music sensitizes him and brings him a significant degree of identity and recognition:

J - Oxe, I suffered, that's why from time to time this song plays and I get a little sad [...] A rejected calf, a cattle when it rejects a child, what do you do? The guy doesn't give the bottle? Because the mother didn't want to give it.... then I keep thinking about it. I often think, then after this song

came out, that's it! That's when I really think... I remember that song a lot because of that, I was born a rejected calf, I didn't see a mother, I was suckling from one, I was suckling from another, there is the regret

Another central issue in Jiboia's solitary life is the absence of a steady marital partner, mainly at two points. First, it is linked to the sexual division of labor, the absence of a partner is also the absence of someone to carry out the domestic activities, thus, the double shift of work, which in general is common to women, ends up being carried out daily by Jiboia. Second, the absence of recognition in love, which corresponds to the absence of marital companionship, as in leisure and affection activities.

His father was the only relative of the most central family nucleus that Jiboia established more solid family relationships. Including, the only inheritance via affective transmission of values inherited from the family as a dispositional heritage, comes from the father in the form of a given moral economy, in the sense of dealing with marital relations and with the low objective conditions of life:

J - That's why nowadays, when my father died, he called me, and I went there. He said, "look my son, I'm dying" he called the allchildren. Luizinho and I... went, **'look, there's only one thing I ask of you, you got married, don't hit your wife, don't let her starve, if you can't live it, leave it, and don't let your fridge run out of anything in the house', nowadays, there are four [fridges], where you look for a piece of meat, thank god!**

The particularities of the encounters: the ruptures of a trajectory

Throughout his 62 years, Jiboia says he is grateful to only two people in his life; both established particular relationships with Jiboia and were in themselves transformative potentialities along the biographical path. The socializations established with Paulo and Faixa were fundamental in Jiboia's life path, and as the interviewee puts it, life without them would be different today – *"Paulo and Faixa meant a lot to me... it would be different because I wouldn't have learned the things I know"*.

Faixa is the figure responsible for an important biographical break in Jiboia's life, because *"Faixa is who took me out of the cane field, I don't know if he's alive or if he's dead, but I thank him wherever he is"*, as it was also with Banda that Jiboia began to learn his first constructive skills: *"He made pottery... ok, I learned to make pottery... work with plaster"*.

Banda offered him a job and housing in Recife and, even though these were very precarious and Jiboia was still subjected to the abuses of child labor, even so, at the time, it was the path he chose in the face of the possibilities and impossibilities to follow his life. Jiboia's

life working for Faixa did not last long, after six months, Jiboia became indignant with the conditions imposed by Faixa and stopped working for him.

In the story that Jiboia tells us about his life, it is essential to point out that throughout the chronology told by him there is a gap without information regarding the period between his departure from the house in Faixa and the moment he occupied what is today the Iraque community. In a period of more or less 10 years, we don't know what happened in Jiboia's life. On the occasions of the three interviews, we tried to access information about the period in many ways, however, all in vain.

While Paulo is presented to us as his great teacher - "*My life improved because of him, because if it weren't for him, I would still live without reading and I lived here and there*". Paulo was a master beyond his skills in civil construction, he taught Jiboia important values, such as driving, working with sawdust and, fundamentally, it was from the interactions established with Paulo that Jiboia instilled ascetic subjective dispositions to deal with money and also in food management so that there was no shortage of provisions that were not common for his social class fraction.

Therefore, and considering that the transferability of practices - such as asceticism in dealing with money - to other contexts is present in the very concept of *habitus*, we sociologically understand that Jiboia's ascetic dispositions, based on interactions with Paulo, created conditions and conditions permissive, enabling Jiboia to manage his two small businesses, as well as in other contexts of his life:

J - I learned to save money with him, I would take money today, tomorrow it was broke, I took money at the weekend, on Monday I was already borrowing money, " but man, I paid you so much, you live alone, spend it on others and today you're already asking for money... it's like..., like..., like...", I would lower my head and say 'okay, alright'... nowadays I have this [indicating with his eyes the shelves of the tent] because of him, for me it was a lot for me, you know? for me it was... then I started to like it, and he said, look at this and that, "you have nothing if you don't keep it", "you see, the rich to eat is a bit like that, it's leaves, it's bush and these things to have things, and they have it, and still want more, the same I tell you", **that's where I got it into my head, thank God.**

In dispositional sociology, the subjectivities of social agents are, above all, sediments of historicized practices throughout the agents' life history from a class position in the social space. When analyzing a biographical journey, as in the case of Jiboia, it is important to note that certain practices learned in different social contexts are only possible due to previous conditions. Here, it should be noted that the sociabilities established with Paulo, although plural in their contexts, started from the work relations of civil construction, which was only possible

due to the apprehensions of a dispositional set of capacities that had their fulcrum established in previous sociabilities with Faixa – *"When I arrived in Paulo, I already had experience with Faixa"*.

In this way, we understand that it is from such particular interactions that Jiboia comes to have a patrimony of conditioned competences that, certainly, are fundamental for him to have, currently, one of the best economic conditions of the occupation, both for the competences in construction civil society, as well as a relatively ascetic *ethos* in the financial and food dimensions.

Individual constraints: intraclass objective variations

Before moving to Dandara, Jiboia lived in Iraque - one of the poorest neighborhoods in Recife -, where he stayed for almost three decades. Jiboia's life in Iraque occupies a prominent place in his trajectory. It was in the community that Jiboia held the position of president of the association for more than two decades during a long period marked by land conflicts. About that period, Jiboia makes a point of telling his facts and showing his photos, which, by the way, he keeps with great zeal and pride - *"It was too good. I like working with people, when I went there, that number of people went to the meeting at the city hall, 'hey!', they all went"*.

Here, as a sociological activity, it is up to us to understand such particularity. Certainly, one of the personal characteristics that made it possible for Jiboia to occupy the position of community leader for years was the dispositional trait pertinent to public activity and collective activity and, aligned with these, the dispositional competences of a builder with high expertise in precarious materials, who in the end, it is the specialty demanded in their daily lives and that of their neighbors. *"In Iraque I was president of the council.... I never lost an election to anyone.... because I did everything, like here, I did everything"*.

As is known, it is a long-standing political practice in which some councilors in the city of Recife establish political relationships with community leaders in order to spread out in popular territories and thus collect more and more votes; many times, these practices are established through "exchange of favors". At one point in the conversation, Jiboia reveals that the highest position he occupied in the job market was made possible by such practices with a well-known city councilor.

In this sense, it is necessary to highlight that in the context of the time when he got that job - emphasizing here that as a member of the Brazilian rabble Jiboia did not have the social preconditions to acquire economic capital and certified cultural capital of the school system -

we can understand that such permissibility was given through Jiboia's dispositional patrimony focused on public and collective issues added to his patrimony of constructive capacities, which in turn, enabled an accumulation of sufficient political capital to weave exchange relations with that councilor, and thus, as an exchange element, he held a formal job which, in turn, positions him, differing to a certain degree, therefore, from the other neighbors, or more broadly, from the members of his class fraction. Therefore, based on the biographical and ethnographic analyzes presented here, it is possible to reconstruct, to a certain extent, how a certain dispositional heritage of Jiboia conditioned him to occupy his highest position in the world of work.

Despite Jiboia's precarious *habitus*, a closer analysis of the intricacies of his life path reveals subjective conditions that we understand as a pride associated with his accomplishments, which significantly differs him from the other members of his class fraction. In general, two questions appear with some frequency throughout the interview: the profession of security in a public bank with a formal contract and the position of president of the association are moments that are very different in his life.

City, favela; respect, disrespect; citizen, dog

As is known, the vast majority of the mass of poor people in Brazil live in the so-called urban slums. It is up to us here to analyze the social agents not only about the objective conditions of life, but also about the subjective conditions of existence imposed by the former. It becomes essential here, for the sociological understanding of the daily practices of the rabble in the pandemic period, the exercise of revealing from empirical works the feeling and deep meaning of what it is to “be a slum dweller” in the country. In this sense, Bourdieusian urban sociology offers us some valuable instruments: a dialectic between reified physical space and *class habitus* is one of them.

By explaining his visions of the social world and, in particular, about the “favela”, Jiboia soon tries to denaturalize the symbolic violence in popular neighborhoods in terms of the social ills attributed to urban violence in these territories. For Jiboia, issues such as robberies and homicides that occur in popular neighborhoods also occur in “beautiful places”, such as Boa Viagem - south of Recife and one of the most expensive square meters in the city - “*Which is a beautiful place, on the edge of beach, all... the people kill one, cripple one, steal everything... the way it is here*”.

However, despite Jiboia's efforts to denaturalize the fact that there is no formal address for many of the social ills, the transclassist common sense of the stigmatization effect focused on “being from the favela” operates in Jiboia's subjective conditions. Although it reinforces his liking for the “favela” and its importance in his life, being “favelado” is being humiliated, as well as being denied a series of rights, for example, the apparently simple matter of not receiving correspondence at home. According to Jiboia’s understandings, such a question of humiliation for being “from the favela” is the humiliation that the rich impose on the poor:

B - How do you feel like for living in a favela?

J - **I feel humiliated. I've always lived in the favela, and it's in the favela that I get my biscuits to eat, it's inside the favela, I like living in the favela.** You arrive to buy something at the store, when you give the address, you say 'ah, it's a favela, right? We don't deliver no'. I have a credit card anyway, I gave the address and they said it wouldn't arrive, I gave an address to the house of the mother of a boy from here. **Is this not humiliation? The people humiliate the favela a lot. The poor is humiliation of the rich, they look crooked to us.**

Jiboia's points of view and opinions about Brazilian social classes, as well as inequalities, appear immediately when asked which of the neighborhoods he lived in Recife liked the most. When questioned, a question that stands out as an important element for the debate proposed here, Jiboia does not answer the question by pointing to a specific neighborhood but brings a definition of what would be “a good place” in his understanding. For Jiboia there is no bad place and it is the person who makes the place, because, according to him, the central issue is knowing how to live. Thus, and even more importantly, when asked about what knowing how to live in the place where one lives would be, Jiboia readily attributes it to “*knowing how to respect and be respected*”. In this sense, it is important to emphasize that talking about what would be “a good place” is the only moment in the three interviews in which Jiboia labels the thought expressed as an issue already reflected by him, or even, in which one has conviction and, therefore, Jiboia immediately presents his understanding, “*That's what comes to my mind anyway, I answer right away because there is no bad place, no*”. The theme is articulated by him succinctly and applied to examples - which, by the way, contribute to reinforce that it is an opinion already reflected and taken as a conviction.

In Jiboia's understanding, the favela is in opposition to the city, as well as the rich nation to the poor nation. The relationship between city and favela is fundamental for the purposes of this research, because, according to Jiboia, being in a city or favela also defines the place where Jiboia will be respected as a citizen or, diametrically opposed to such a position of recognition, will be treated like a dog:

J - Here they respect it, but in the city, if I go there and walk among these peoples, will they consider me a citizen? No, a dog!

B - Who?

J – Those rich!

B – Like a dog?

J - I think it is, I think it is... because there are five or six of them there, if I arrive all bedraggled, the first thing the guy will say is, "Look, what a dog!" Just because you have the best clothes, because you have more money than the person, you read more than the person, right?

General provisions and class *ethos* in the pandemic

From the relationship already established with Jiboia, added to the sociological biography carried out through the interviews, it is possible to weave some understandings about Jiboia's dispositional heritage and, more specifically, about his *class habitus*. Our main objective is to reconstruct the meanings that social agents attribute to their pandemic protection practices, the practice being intermediated by objective living conditions and subjective conditions of existence.

That said, we seek to support the integral parts of unequal social realities and practices, considering the objective conditions of social class and, fundamentally, about the subjective conditions of existence in each particular context in Jiboia's life trajectory. Therefore, we understand that in Jiboia's life trajectory, social issues such as the exploitation of child labor in a situation analogous to slavery; absence of numerous rights related to childhood and adolescence; an inhuman stepmother; the feeling of being alone in the world, *a rejected calf*; low objective living conditions; absence of social pre-conditions for the acquisition of economic and cultural capital via school certificate; extreme poverty in several diachronic moments; lack of recognition in the dimension of love; solitary life of a social individual “loose in the world”, despite having 18 children and several ex-partners and the feeling of being recognized as a dog by the people of the city were/are imposing different subjective conditions understood here under the dispositional concept of *precarious ethos*. Such an *ethos* that could be perceived in some social contexts, for the purposes of this research, was analyzed in order to understand the intermediations between Jiboia's *precarious ethos*, objective living conditions and pandemic protection practices.

Before delving into the reconstruction of the meanings of Jiboia's practices in the pandemic mediated by the *class habitus*, it is necessary to place two other sets of dispositions that were understood here as strong dispositions and that, depending on the social context, decisively affect practices Jiboia's daily activities: religious dispositions - although Jiboia is not

of any religion and insists on ratifying it since he is not evangelical - and the *eidōs* about logical schemes.

Thus, everyday actions are mediated by religious beliefs, especially when resolving dangers, such as about pandemic protection practices that are made sense of through intermediations with provisions of religious belief. However, it should be noted that Jiboia's strong religious beliefs are not, under any circumstances, taken as a general disposition that defines his practices and visions of the world, but are placed in a correlation of forces with the other dispositions, from the peculiarity of each context.

Firmly claiming that he was never afraid of the coronavirus because he is not afraid of death, over the almost three years of the pandemic, Jiboia's actions to protect himself through masks, social isolation, correct hand hygiene and vaccination, going to the doctor were rare, when necessary etc. As a matter of fact, on the few occasions that he acted according to the protection recommendations, the purpose of his actions was not to protect himself, being much more associated with compliance with the rules.

In this sense, it is possible to infer that there is in Jiboia an enormous absence of fear of dying as a behavior of a *modus operandi* to face so many daily threats with which he had to deal throughout his 62 years, such behavior being a strong dispositional trait of the little attachment that Jiboia has for his own life, sedimented along a hard trajectory in the form of a *precarious ethos* - in the sense of existential inequalities. In the current scenario of severe social crisis that the country is going through, Jiboia's most immediate fears are others and the issues that lead to death too, such as hunger:

J - I am afraid of people dying of hunger, I see people dying of hunger, because there are no goods, no services, no money... I'm not afraid of dying, I have nothing to lose, I've already done what I had to do in my life, I'm already old, and I'll think about nothing else, I don't.

Although Jiboia has one of the best living conditions in the entire community, in the current context, the interviewee fears the uncertainties of his future more than being affected by the coronavirus. If, on the one hand, as he constantly points out, there is no work in civil construction; on the other hand, the small markets that are Jiboia's only livelihood are no longer guarantees of steady money, as the vertiginous impoverishment of the poorest part of the population directly impacts Jiboia's sales.

J - [...] **The guy just does what the guy has to do... is to do that thing and not be afraid. I'm not afraid of these diseases...** well, look, that's what makes you afraid [referring to an old man who had just caught a can of cachaça on

credit] **because if I don't take it off, how am I going to put it on? That's it...** that I already took a lot of shade here... then you have to put it in your head.

B - Are the people here short of money?

J - **Everyone without money, right? That there is no service to work on, even for women it is bad, there was cleaning on one side, cleaning on the other, going to one place, going to another, now there is no cleaning or anything.** Let's see if it improves now after Lula joins. Lula... [long pause] they're already making war with him again.

Perhaps one of the most accurate markers for us to measure the crisis of labor shortages among the structural rabble is Jiboia's finding about the lack of cleaning as a work activity for women in the pandemic context. As is known, despite the precariousness, the work of domestic servants is one of the most available categories for women from the popular classes since its first fulcrum. Without this income, the heads of household end up having to make ends meet in other ways, as we can see in Jiboia's reports:

J - **The people here are hungry and going to Ceasa to pick up garbage... is there a place to catch more diseases than Ceasa?** People would leave here to pick tomatoes, onions... there it's all on the ground, there it rains, you step on it, the car hurts it, then there's that black water on the ground, that causes a disease... **but I had to eat, hunt for something to eat, get here to wash it, scald it to eat it because I didn't have money to buy it, all this is a pandemic, you know?**

One of the biggest fears of Jiboia is becoming a person dependent on others to survive, which is a matter of pride. This dispositional trait, on the one hand, is strong, being able to motivate daily efforts of hard work, even at 62 years old and having a tired body; on the other hand, it is fragile, because through the testimonies we realize that it is emotionally very painful for Jiboia to imagine that in the near future the markets may close and he may return to the social position he already occupied as a beggar.

Another dispositional characteristic of Jiboia that should be highlighted in the reconstruction of the meanings of his actions in the pandemic context is the particularity of having learned to deal with low living conditions. The ascetic *ethos* when it comes to holding back food and money comes back to the fore as one of the particularities that are capable of giving the Jiboia a social advantage in a scenario of growing poverty. Therefore, we show that although Jiboia's concern is with the future, the fear is of a known pain, hunger. And not from an unknown disease.

In this sense, it is worth rescuing the sociological understandings of Jiboia's dispositional heritage analyzed in the above, in which we understand that the genesis of dispositions, either through a moral economy inherited from his father or from Paulo, are

fundamental to deal with the current context of social crisis and sanitary. Precisely in this sense regarding the particularities, Jiboia knows that the personal capacity to store food and money makes him different from the other residents of the occupation, mainly in the face of the current social and health crisis - ““*All my life I've liked to save my little bit, now it's got worse, you have to save even a little more, now in the pandemic you have to buy really carefully, because there's no money.*”

It should be noted that in addition to the class *ethos*, the provisions of religious belief and the ascetic dispositions of knowing how to ration food and money, in the reconstruction of the meanings of Jiboia's acts during the pandemic, it is necessary to emphasize how the pandemic-denying industry instilled subjective perceptions in Jiboia that directly affect their daily practices.

At different times, when asked about a certain deviation from his practices in the period, through the logical schemes of *eidos*, Jiboia disdains the pandemic by reproducing fake news, an issue that encourages him in actions of practices that deviate from pandemic protection practices. Although Jiboia is politically left-wing - as he defines himself - and does not like the current president Jair Bolsonaro, it is worth emphasizing that a series of Jiboia's understandings and practices regarding the pandemic find support in the president's public position, such as Jiboia's lack of interest and fear in take the vaccines.

An example of this support between certain pandemic protection practices and the public positions of the president can be seen in the notes of the research entitled *More than Words: Leaders' Speech and Risky Behavior During a Pandemic*. Research demonstrates that the words and actions of political leaders affect people's behavior regarding social isolation. The research found that after President Jair Bolsonaro minimized the risks of the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic and advised against social isolation, the locations that had the highest numbers of pro-government people - based on the 2018 election - were the places which showed the greatest weakening of social isolation indices compared to the locations where the president does not have the same popularity.

Jiboia says he is afraid of the consequences of taking a vaccine that, according to him, is not safe. Such fear of Jiboia is oxygenated by the president's position; however, it should be noted that the fear is not associated with the figure of Jair Bolsonaro, but with the position he occupies, as president of the republic. This question is posed as follows: "*If the president does not want to take it, there are reasons for that... he was the first person who did not want to take it*".

Regarding the use of masks, still in the first interview, in a humorous tone, Jiboia presents us with the vast collection of masks that he has due to the many purchases he had to make when he was required to use the mask on the occasion - "*When someone complains , 'Okay, I'll put it on' when I go on the subway, I have about 40 masks there, I go out everywhere and buy... 'Hey, I can't get in', 'How much is one?', 'That's two reais', 'give me one'*". Jiboia offers no resistance when required to wear a mask, claiming to be afraid of popular reprisal.

The use of a mask by Jiboia in the pandemic period is plural and, to a large extent, contradictory. At another time, although he does not understand the reasons, Jiboia recognizes the importance of wearing a mask, even classifying non-use and non-isolation as a "failure". However, as occurs in almost all of his opinions about his practices in the period, the beliefs dispositions of religious determinism and, to a greater degree, the *precarious ethos* as a set of dispositions that, among other things, are attributed to a courage before the dangers of the world and death, as in the context of the pandemic, a great absence of fear of dying from the disease in question.

Throughout the three interviews, Jiboia firmly states that he never stayed at home and never will, that he was never afraid and is not afraid of dying. In addition to the *precarious ethos*, the generational cut makes Jiboia even less attached to life itself. As we can observe throughout the interview, the more advanced age reverberates in some issues in Jiboia's life, such as the possibility of having a job with a formal contract - "At that age, no one will sign me for a formal job" - and less chances of getting it , in a fixed way, a companion; in this case, we understand that older age makes life even less interesting for Jiboia or even less valued, which in turn leads to less fear of dying, even when it comes to dying due to complications from the coronavirus.

Final considerations

As we have seen, the practices of Pandemic protection of Jiboia in the pandemic - use of mask, correct hand hygiene, vaccines and social isolation -, in general, are not in accordance with the recommendations for protection against the coronavirus. Jiboia did not use masks; did very little social isolation as a way to avoid being contaminated; does not wash hands properly with soap; and only took the vaccine due to relative pressure from members of the social movement coordination.

Therefore, regarding the behavior of Jiboia in the pandemic, the present research focused on the reconstruction of the meanings of the acts attributed by the social agents

themselves. That said, we understand - after three long biographical interviews and analysis - that the *class habitus*; the set of provisions that make up the *precarious ethos*; provisions of religious belief; and precarious dispositions of the logical schemes of the *eidós*, are sociological characteristics of Jiboia that allow the reconstruction of the meanings of the practices in the pandemic period analyzed here, being strongly mediated by issues related to Brazilian social inequalities.

As it was noticed, in the few times that Jiboia acted according to the recommendations, what mobilized him was much more related to other issues than the motivation to protect himself from dangers than possible contamination; as in the case of the use of vaccines, which happened when he discovered that he would suffer some restrictions in relation to his work card, to open bank accounts etc., or even in the case of masks, which in the vast majority of times Jiboia only used when required, either by norms of a certain place or by pressure from the people who demanded such protection.

To reconstruct the meanings that are imbued in the practices is to reconstruct the objective conditions of life and the subjective conditions of existence. As seen, if on the one hand the objective conditions determine a series of practices, mainly in a scenario marked by the abrupt increase in poverty, hunger, unemployment, etc., on the other hand, the provisions mentioned above darken the compression of Jiboia's actions in the period: the absence of fear of death is intertwined with his *precarious class ethos*, thus making pandemic protection practices that deviate from recommendations understandable from a sociological point of view.

That said, there is no doubt that existential inequality - understood here in the dispositionalist form of *precarious ethos* - is a central social element in the reconstruction of the meanings of pandemic protection practices that do not comply with the recommendations in the period. Low self-esteem, low social dignity, the feeling of being a dog for other social classes, the lack of recognition in marital or family love, the pains one carries because of the burden of being a favela dweller, are issues that make not only society, but also the Jiboia itself ends up valuing its life as something of little importance, resulting, therefore, in low pandemic protection practices.

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