

ARTICLE

LITERACIES IN A NON-FORMAL EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT: A FUSION OF FORCES

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ABSTRACT: This article analyzes literacy practices of teenagers promoted by a social organization in the outskirts of Sao Paulo, Brazil, in a non-formal educational context. Our theoretical-methodological framework is grounded on Literacy Studies and the Bakhtinian approach. Beyond regularities, we deal with the meanings attributed to these literacy actions, revealed in actors' interactions and positions within these experiences. The analytical corpus comprises field notes, transcriptions of video recordings of literacy events, and discourses of four teenagers and a social educator collected in conversation circles and semi-structured interviews. The results suggest the concomitant occurrence of traces of school form and culture together with collaborative experiences involving the mobilization of multimodal genres, permeated by orality, affection, and body. Thus, the participants could express and recognize themselves, leading to greater autonomy and reassurance in literacies held in other social spheres.

Keywords: literacies, discourses of teenagers, non-formal education in vulnerable territories.

LETRAMENTOS EM UM CONTEXTO DE EDUCAÇÃO NÃO FORMAL: UMA FUSÃO DE FORÇAS

RESUMO: Este artigo tece compreensões sobre as práticas de letramento de adolescentes promovidas por uma organização social na periferia de São Paulo, em um contexto de educação não formal. Fundamenta-se num quadro teórico-metodológico filiado aos Estudos do Letramento e à abordagem enunciativo-discursiva bakhtiniana, apreendendo, além das regularidades, os significados atribuídos a esses letramentos que se revelam nas interações e posicionamentos sobre essas experiências vividas pelos participantes. O *corpus* de análise é composto por notas de campo, transcrições de gravações em vídeo de eventos de letramento e produções discursivas de quatro adolescentes e de um educador social, em situações de rodas de conversa e entrevista semiestruturada. Os resultados indicam que, ao mesmo tempo que são observados traços da forma e cultura escolar em algumas das atividades propostas e nos modos de interação do educador com os adolescentes, as práticas de letramento da organização desvelam modos colaborativos, com a mobilização de gêneros multimodais, perpassadas por oralidade, corpo e afeto, nas quais os participantes podem se expressar e se reconhecer, atuando com mais autonomia e segurança em letramentos de outras esferas sociais.

Palavras-chave: letramentos, discursos de adolescentes, educação não formal em territórios vulneráveis.

LITERACIDAD EN UN CONTEXTO DE EDUCACIÓN NO FORMAL: UNA FUSIÓN DE FUERZAS

RESUMEN: Este artículo elabora reflexiones sobre las prácticas letradas de adolescentes, promovidas por una organización social, en la periferia de São Paulo, en un contexto de educación no formal. Se basa en un marco teórico-metodológico afiliado a los Estudios de Literacidad y al enfoque enunciativo-discursivo bakhtiniano, aprehendiendo, además de las regularidades, los significados atribuidos a estas literacidades por parte de los participantes, dimensiones que se revelan tanto en sus interacciones como en sus posicionamientos sobre estas experiencias. El corpus de análisis está compuesto por notas de campo, transcripciones de videgrabaciones de eventos letrados y producciones discursivas de cuatro adolescentes y un educador social, en situaciones de círculos de conversación y entrevista semiestructurada. Los resultados indican que, al mismo tiempo que se observan trazos de la forma y de la cultura escolar en algunas de las actividades propuestas, así como en los modos de interacción entre el educador y los adolescentes, las prácticas letradas de la organización revelan formas colaborativas, con la movilización de géneros discursivos multimodales, permeados por la oralidad, el cuerpo y el afecto, donde los participantes pueden expresarse y reconocerse, actuando con más autonomía y seguridad en las literacidades de otros ámbitos sociales.

Palabras clave: literacidades, discursos de adolescentes, educación no formal en territorios vulnerables.

INTRODUCTION

We belong to increasingly graphocentric societies¹ and technological², in which the written language, along with other semiotic systems, are part of the everyday landscape, being used, in multiple forms historically produced, to meet various purposes, needs, and interests. Thus, by integrating with different systems of representation (such as image and sound), they constitute human activities and social relations, ordering life and conditioning the production and circulation of knowledge and access to basic rights.

From this perspective, individuals and groups play multiple roles in social interactions, differentiating themselves based on what they can and know how to do with writing and technologies. It is not a simple cultural difference, as Lahire (2008) asserts. Inequality stems from the absence or deprivation of specific knowledge and attributes, established as indispensable by institutions and collective beliefs, constituting an "intolerable flaw" and affecting the possibilities of assuming certain social positions. The lack of skills and knowledge necessary to interact in situations permeated by writing, for example, results in social cleavages. In Brazil, we live far from an ideal society in which the distribution of opportunities for access and the dissemination of practices for the use of writing and technological innovations occurs with equity and social justice (BATISTA; RIBEIRO, 2004; BATISTA; VÓVIO; KASMIRSKI, 2015).

The school institution is assigned the role of offering a basic education to all, and should fulfill at least three functions: the educative, linked to the formation of people able to make decisions and act rationally; the socializing, related to the adaptation to life in society; and the distributive, linked to the distribution of goods that weight the hierarchical shaping of social positions (DUBET, 2004;

¹ By graphocentric, we understand societies regulated and ordered with and from writing, in which cleavages are produced between social groups, considering, among other factors, the social value assigned to the written language, to certain productions and practices of writing use, to the detriment of others.

² Barton and Lee (2015), despite the inequalities of access, state that technologies are integrated into everyday life and their appropriation favors the realization of numerous activities. They assert, however, that "technologies alone do not automatically bring about change," what matters is "what people do and how they mobilize resources to construct meaning in their lives" (BARTON; LEE, 2015, p. 13).

CRAHAY, 2002). Moreover, the school is recognized as one of the main literacy agencies, constituting the object of ideological and economic stakes (KLEIMAN, 1995).

Currently, for adolescents and young people from popular sectors, expectations about the role and functions of the school are falling. Studies based on the results of standardized assessments denounce an alarming scenario regarding the access and training of writing users and the ineffectiveness of the school as a catalyst for social change processes. Alves, Soares, and Xavier (2016), when examining data from Prova Brasil³, between 2005 and 2013, found learning inequalities among students enrolled in the 5th and 9th grades of elementary education in public schools, which vary according to socioeconomic level (NSE), gender status, and race/color. Although performance has improved over the years, there is growing inequality in reading and mathematics proficiency among social groups. In the 5th grade, it was identified that students with lower SES were at a disadvantage, corresponding to more than two years of learning, compared to those with higher SES. The differences defined by race/color are also relevant — black students had lower proficiency — and even greater are the distances in groups defined by multiple variables, such as race/color and social position.

Alves and Ferrão (2021), also based on data from Prova Brasil, verified whether there were advances in the quality of education, in terms of learning and approval in elementary education 1 and 2, and identifying whether students improved their proficiency, according to sociodemographic characteristics, between 2007 and 2017. As a primary trend, they highlighted that the “quality of education in elementary school has improved, learning has evolved, and failing grades have decreased” (ALVES; FERRÃO, 2021, p. 708). In 2017, they found a higher proportion of 5th- and 9th-grade students achieving adequate performance (57% in reading and 45% in math, and 35% in reading and 16% in math, respectively). However, this advance is insufficient, given the benchmark learning expectations (70% of students should be at the adequate level). Still, they noted great variation between states on the positive evolution concerning learning to read. For example, in Maranhão only 13% of students reach adequate proficiency levels, while in Ceará, 42%. Focusing on social characteristics, they concluded that variables such as NSE and race/color continue to determine performance. They also noted, in the period, advances in the percentage of students without any failure: from 66% to 70% in the 9th grade, and from 70 to 78% in the 5th grade.

The negative variation observed for subgroups with lower SES, blacks, and who live in territories with greater social vulnerability follows the same pattern of social inequalities and is intensified during schooling, generating greater obstacles for certain students to constitute successful trajectories. Schooling seems inefficient in providing quality educational opportunities for all, widening the inequalities between social groups, producing failures, and adversely affecting those in situations of greater social vulnerability.

The panorama becomes more critical when considering adolescents and their entry into high school. The research conducted by Ribeiro, Batista and Lima (2015), aiming to apprehend the reading, writing, and math skills of young people aged 15 to 24 years old belonging to different metropolitan regions of the country, shows that only 40% of them have reached the full level of literacy⁴, while 38% have only the basic level and 19% have not overcome the rudimentary level, even among those who have finished elementary and/or high school. As for the school literacy practices declared by young people, copying frequently appears, while those linked to greater autonomy and more complex writing uses (such as summaries and fichas) are less frequent. The reading of books is a rare practice: 49% of young people, especially those with the lowest levels of literacy, answered that they had not indicated any reading in the last six months. Outside the school environment, the means of access to information are the computer, the television, and the Internet, to the detriment of newspapers, magazines, and books: 39% said they never read newspapers, 36% never read magazines, and 39% never read books. We agree with Ribeiro,

³ Prova Brasil is a large-scale educational assessment conducted biannually by the National Institute for Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira (INEP), consisting of mathematics and Portuguese language tests (emphasis on reading), applied to students in the 5th and 9th grades of elementary education in public schools. It includes contextual questionnaires to characterize the participants.

⁴ On the Functional Literacy Indicator (INAF) scale, there are three levels of literacy, which contrast with absolute illiteracy. At the rudimentary level, young people can locate explicit information in short, familiar texts; at the basic level, they already read and understand medium length texts; at the full level, they read longer texts, relating their parts, and compare and interpret information.

Batista, and Lima (2015, p. 290) that "this age group seems to live in a particular way the vicious cycle of economic, educational, and cultural exclusion.

On the one hand, we have the inefficiency of the school in promoting fundamental learning for all, regardless of the NSE and other social conditioning factors; on the other hand, there is a certain relativization of the functions of the school, which is recognized today as "only one moment of the global educational process of individuals and collectivities" (TRILLA, 2008, p. 17), coexisting with other mechanisms that start to interact dynamically in people's development.

Alternatively, non-formal education is a broad and versatile space-time of actions and educational processes outside the formal education system (chronologically graduated and hierarchically structured), aiming to facilitate certain learning for various social groups (TRILLA, 2008). It differs from informal education for its intentionality regarding the modification of behaviors, from explicit objectives of training and knowledge construction. It tends to present flexible and participative methodologies outside the regulated educational system. It is dedicated to social themes, such as human rights, identity practices and social inequalities⁵. Concerning initiatives aimed at children and adolescents living in poverty, many of them propose to promote rights and enhance learning, complementing them in dimensions that the formal system does not cover (GOHN, 2010), which includes knowledge and skills associated with the use of writing and technologies, which may or may not favor social change and the questioning or softening of broader inequalities.

In order to understand how non-formal education experiences happen and to what extent they favor the democratization of the use of writing and the expansion of participation opportunities for adolescents in a society marked by social inequalities, this article seeks to identify and analyze the literacy practices developed in a social organization located in the outskirts of São Paulo. By entering this socio-educational universe, understanding and systematizing its relationships and dynamics of literacy, and especially how participants mean them, we intend to contribute to the school's work, towards an education that collaborates to redeem inequalities. After the introduction, the article is organized as follows: we address the theoretical and methodological framework, then the methodological procedures adopted and briefly describe the field, the participants and the *corpus* of analysis; next, we present the main results and draw some considerations by way of conclusion.

THE SOCIAL CONCEPTION OF LANGUAGE AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THIS STUDY

Adopting a social conception of language implies understanding it as a human capacity, constituted by and constituting interactions: it is through it that individuals act, relate, produce meanings and build their identities. Therefore, language is a fundamental component of social-historical configurations, participating in the constitution of reality, people and ideas, as argued by Ianni (1999):

Language simultaneously shorthand and constitutes the relations, processes, and structures of social life in general, as well as the productions and creations that shape society at local, national, regional and global levels. The epochs and cycles of history, at all levels, as well as the forms of cultures and civilizations, everything is expressed, articulated, moved, tensioned, transformed, flourishes or declines in signs, symbols, emblems, concepts, metaphors, explanations, and myths (IANNI, 1999, p. 25).

From a communicative situation and the elaboration of statements, the subjects are more than interlocutors; they interact and produce culture, they position themselves and construct meanings through negotiation strategies, within particular cultural, historical and institutional circumstances. Affiliating to this perspective presupposes investigating participants' discourse in interaction, revealing how they act on the world through language and thus produce social reality and themselves (MOITA LOPES, 2002).

Literacy Studies, from a socio-historical perspective, provide interpretative keys for the analysis of the social uses of writing, circumscribed by the institutions and routines where they take place, related to artifacts and human activities and involved in power relations. This strand marks a break in

⁵ Nevertheless, there is a great diversity of programs, institutions and actions, serving varied interests and objectives; therefore, it is not a homogeneous set, whose effects are apprehended based on their purposes.

studies about written language: it no longer centers on the individual and their mind, but on social interaction and practice. Literacy practices are conceived here as cultural ways of using written language by people in different social spheres, being situated, heterogeneous, and linked to the power structures of the societies in which they are established. They are shaped by social rules that guide the use and distribution of texts, directing who can produce and access them (VIANNA *et al.*, 2016; STREET, 2014; KLEIMAN, 1995).

The concepts of literacy practice and event are central to this strand, and a new theoretical understanding of the subject derives from their operationalization. Barton and Hamilton (2000) produce precise outlines for such definitions.

(...) literacy practices are what people do with literacy. However, practices are not observable units of behavior, since they also involve values, attitudes, feelings, and social relations. This includes people's consciousness of literacy, constructions and discourses, and how people talk about and make sense of literacy. These are internal processes for the individual, while practices are social processes that connect people with others and this includes shared cognitions represented in ideologies and social identities (BARTON; HAMILTON, 2000, p. 8).

This set of authors points to the abstract nature of literacy practices, covering non-observable dimensions and considering that these are immersed and expressed through thinking, valuing, feeling and using writing. Literacy events, in turn, are understood as observable activities that arise from practices and are shaped by them; they are configured as communicative situations, within a specific context, in which writing is integral to the nature of interactions and shared interpretive strategies and processes.

The text would be, then, the third fundamental element of this theory: one interacts with and from one or more written texts, which, in turn, have neither autonomous meanings nor functions independent of the context of use, which implies unveiling how it is produced, received and appropriated in each situation. People can have multiple roles in the same event, while the activities and texts can have different configurations for the participants. Therefore, "literacy is best understood as a set of social practices, which can be inferred from (observable) events mediated by written texts" (BARTON; HAMILTON, 2000, p. 9).

As Street (2008) states, for the production of a broader theory about the uses of writing, it is not enough to describe the events and categorize the practices, it is essential to investigate what these actions mobilize in the subjects, in terms of values, feelings and experiences. Thus, to access the meanings attributed to literacies, the target of this study, it becomes important to apprehend what the participants say about them, either in interaction or when being interpellated, which allows covering associated social and cultural factors, the relationships involved, and what they think, feel, and perceive about such a situation.

In this direction, the propositions of Bakhtin's Circle (BAKHTIN, 1997; VOLÓCHINOV, 2019; 2017) offer a theoretical apparatus that allows us to understand how adolescents position themselves discursively, both when expressing themselves in events and when talking about them, contributing to a broader understanding of human experiences that is not sustained on formal models of fragments of things and abstract grammatical categories. Language is a reality constituted by axiological positions, that is, when we talk about an object, we assume a certain attitude towards it, loaded with valuation, which emerges and responds to a cultural context saturated with meanings and values (FARACO, 2009).

The notion of dialogism constitutes a foundation for the apprehension of these discourses, assuming that, in the interaction, the interlocutors construct themselves when producing and interpreting texts. Each subject projects onto the other an attitude in relation to his or her social position and, from this perspective, meanings are constructed from a common ideological horizon, shared and of mutual evaluation. Thus, discourse is configured as a place of ideological manifestation, carrying different ways of acting and meaning the world, according to the context in which it is established (BAKHTIN, 1997; VOLÓCHINOV, 2019; 2017) and the utterance is taken as the real unit of communication. Consequently, the conception of alterity also stands out: the self is realized from the other, and the presence of the other shapes what we say and how we perceive ourselves.

Based on the understanding that discursive productions condition reality and social relations condition and, it is assumed that the meanings attributed to literacies emanate from interactions with and from texts, in distinct times and spaces, which circumscribe the possibilities of saying and meaning. When investigating the meanings constructed in action and those that position the subjects about social practices, we understand such experiences as varied, situated, and permeated by specific behaviors and values. Taking this position in front of the words of adolescents, investigating specific discursive practices and how their meanings are modified and updated, according to the socio-historical context and the concrete situation of interaction, is a great challenge of this study.

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

We adopted the qualitative-interpretivist approach of ethnographic nature, which is consistent to know and understand aspects of everyday life and cultural practices of a specific social group, enabling rich and detailed descriptions of people in action (LANKSHEAR; KNOBEL, 2008). It allows generating contextualized data, considering the investigated institution's unique characteristics, and analyzing them through interpretation and deduction of meanings with and from the participants, which contributes to weaving explanations and understandings of different phenomena of the social world.

We started from the immersion in a social organization, located in the south zone of São Paulo, in Jardim Ângela, characterized by a social vulnerability index between medium and very high⁶. This non-profit philanthropic entity emerged in 1994, from community leadership initiatives, with a focus on care and assistance to families from underprivileged social classes. The link with the Catholic Church, which marks the origin of movements, non-formal education initiatives and popular organizations in the district, is evident in the space's name and in many of the partnerships developed since its foundation.

At the time of the research⁷, the educational processes, which took place during after-school hours, were financed by donations from individuals and support from companies and partner organizations, a logic typical of the urban associativism driven by the Third Sector. Its institutional mission was aimed at the comprehensive development and expansion of perspectives and spaces in society for children and adolescents in vulnerable conditions, which impose greater obstacles to mobility and social participation.

It is noteworthy that the term vulnerability has been the subject of debates, focused on questioning its use as an attribute imposed on certain subjects, without considering the social conditioning that circumscribe on their personal trajectories (JORGE, 2013). In this sense, we consider that people who live in regions with social vulnerabilities are more exposed to a series of susceptibilities and deprivations, linked to factors such as the precariousness of educational and health offers, the difficulty of urban mobility and the scarce employment opportunities (KAZTMAN, 2001). Thus, social organization, the field of this research, conceiving education as a means to promote social change, emerges as a possibility of training and facing these obstacles.

One social educator and 26 adolescents voluntarily participated in the study⁸, 11 male and 15 female, aged between 11 and 15, attending one of the organization's classes. Most of them belonged to families with low socioeconomic status and lived in areas of high social vulnerability in the Jardim Aracati neighborhood. With varied socio-cultural profiles and diverse needs, many faced socio-affective issues related to family and local socio-economic reality⁹. All were attending school, in elementary or high

⁶ Data from Fundação SEADE (Sistema Estadual de Análise de Dados) indicate that the district of Jardim Ângela had most of the territory with IPVS (São Paulo Social Vulnerability Index) 4 to 6, i.e. between medium and very high social vulnerability, low Human Development Index (94th position in the municipality), high illiteracy rates and numerous social problems, which affects the conditions for reproduction of social life by its inhabitants (SEADE, 2010).

⁷ This research was reviewed and approved by the Unifesp Ethics Committee, opinion number 2.581.154.

⁸ Informed Consent was obtained from the parents, adolescents, and social educator participating in this research.

⁹ In an interview with the educator, occurrences of mood disorders such as depression and suicidal thoughts, of domestic bullying and sexual harassment, among others, were reported.

school. Some of the older adolescents were looking for their first jobs or doing "odd jobs," contributing to family income generation.

Different methodological instruments were used to grasp the uniqueness of participation and the meanings attributed by adolescents to literacy events. Among them, participant observation and video recording documented the dynamics of activities, modes of interaction and discourses and favored the focus of the researched scene, covering the constituent elements of these events, visible and non-visible.

The observation and analysis of the events and texts that mediated the interactions, examining how they entered the adolescents' experience, were the starting points to access and understand the class's literacy practices. To organize a descriptive-analytic framework of these events, we used the categories proposed by Hamilton (2000), based on her study of prototypical images of literacy recorded in the English print media. Through an analysis of these images, the author inferred constitutive elements of the events: the visible ones, associated with what people are doing with writing, and the non-visible ones, present in the modes of action in these images. Box 1 presents these categories and the adaptations according to the Bakhtinian enunciative-discursive approach.¹⁰

Box 1 - Units of analysis of literacy events

Visible elements of literacy events	Non-visible elements of literacy events
Participants: people interacting around written texts.	Hidden participants: people or groups of people involved in social relations of production, interpretation, circulation and, in a particular way, regulation/control of written texts.
Environments: immediate physical circumstances in which interactions take place.	Social spheres of activity within which events take place, considering their meanings and social functions.
Artifacts: material tools and accessories involved in the interaction (including the texts and genres mobilized).	Other resources that add non-material values, understandings, ways of thinking, meanings, skills, and knowledge to the literacy event.
Activities: the actions developed by the participants.	Structured routines and paths that facilitate or regulate actions: appropriation and eligibility rules (who can and cannot engage in particular activities).

Source: Adapted from Hamilton, 2000.

In addition to the immersion period, to apprehend the participants' positions on literacies, we held conversation rounds with the participation of four adolescents, Evelin, Diego, Thomas and Tainá¹¹, all self-declared as brown or black. The choice of these adolescents was made in agreement with the social educator, considering the assiduity in the activities and the representativeness in terms of gender, age, interests, and sociocultural experiences. We also took the statements of the educator produced in a semi-structured interview - Norberto declared himself to be brown, living in the neighborhood, with a degree in arts and psychopedagogy, and working in the organization for over ten years. The *corpus* of analysis is composed of field notes, video transcripts, and oral data produced in conversation circles and interviews for this study.

The Bakhtinian enunciative-discursive approach offered us the analytical tools to access the meanings and apprehend how the relationships between the participants and the negotiations for the construction of these meanings are established. Two concepts mobilized were dialogism and social voices. Each selected text was taken as a linguistic-discursive, social and historical object, composed of

¹⁰ The substitution of domain of practices for social spheres of activity is justified by the comprehensiveness of the idea of discourse sphere as organizer of the wide diversity of texts, genres and literacy practices in relation to the various contexts in which they are constituted and circulate. It refers to both the concrete situation and the historical time in which an utterance is produced, understanding that each field of ideological creativity has its own way of orienting and refracting reality, and presupposing an interlocution between the spheres (ROJO, 2010).

¹¹ The names used to identify the adolescents and the social educator are fictitious, in order to guarantee the confidentiality of identities.

multiple voices (many other texts, discursive manifestations and already said) that intersect, complement each other, respond to each other, or question each other within the weft of these threads, sustaining the positioning of the adolescents. We seek to apprehend, both in the concrete situation of interaction and in their statements, the valorative positions assumed associated with the set of historical voices summoned in the scope of the enunciation.

Also employing the notion of alterity as an analytical tool, we could consider that the adolescents and the social educator, when talking about themselves and the literacies, transform themselves into others, creating meanings to their memories, recreating their experiences and building their identities. By unveiling the voices that the participants articulate from a broader social background, in which discourses dispute different positions, we approach the meanings attributed to these experiences and themselves.

LITERACY PRACTICES: "EACH ONE HAS A DIFFERENT STRENGTH, WHICH CREATES A SINGLE FORCE AND BECOMES A VERY CRAZY FUSION"

We started from the literacy events structured in the weekly routine of this class to arrive at the association's literacy practices. To identify them, we employed the same terms used by the participants to refer to them: Rodas, Journalism, Theater, Music (or Idols), Literacy, and Labor Management (or *Apprentice*). The Rodas were situations intentionally planned for dialog between the educator and the adolescents, marking specific moments of the group's routine and acting as an organizing and supporting device for oral presentations, explaining procedures and processes, and discussing ideas. Although mostly oral, different written artifacts, such as blackboard, flipchart sheets, and notebooks, were present, serving as reference and record, mediating the situations and conditioning some of the roles played. In these events, the educator introduced themes and proposals, distributed responsibilities, and gave feedback, for example, and the adolescents joined in a collaborative way, in many cases, exchanging roles with the educator or supporting him. Considering this, the asymmetric relationships seemed to be more horizontal, with the guarantee of listening and voice for the participants.

The practices called Journalism took on greater prominence within the routine, involving the planning, production and reflection of media products such as informative videos, reports, journalistic interviews, wall newspapers, news broadcasts and radio programs. These were planned situations in which the teenagers were invited to know, elaborate, understand, watch, listen and talk about multimodal texts characteristic of this sphere. The thematic content was related to the class's interests, life stories and reality. In these events, the educator approached procedures and facilitated processes, and the adolescents, knowing the techniques, adhered to the proposals and worked in groups. These activities took place in the most diverse environments, which was favored both by the dynamism of the proposals and by the educator's posture, allowing the circulation through different spaces and the use of several artifacts, such as video cameras, cameras, cell phones, computers, office supplies.

The Theater and Music events presupposed the exploration of narratives, customs and issues in vogue in society, as well as different instruments and rhythms, favoring cultural diversity. In Theater, we identified the construction of plays (rehearsals, preparations and performances), skits and improvisation of scenes. Religious themes and commemorative dates motivated some of these cultural productions and literary works. Music included rehearsals and performances, in which the participants sang, played instruments, danced, and acted; everyone participated in some way and was stimulated to express themselves and play roles in which they felt comfortable, going beyond the Association's environments and schedules. Literacies were considered, since the text integrates these proposals, with various supports mobilized, such as the cell phone screen to resume the lyrics of a song, and the use of literary plots and life stories as triggers for the elaboration of scripts and sketches.

The group also designates specific meetings as Letramentos, which involved the reading, interpretation and production of various texts, within a particular day of the week, even though they could also occur in other circumstances. In many of these events, the adolescents followed typical school procedures, participating in situations such as individual reading and writing summaries. The educator acted to instruct them by correcting these productions and giving them feedback evaluating questions of form, for example, and proposing activities that were not always guided by sociocommunicative

functions, as in other practices. However, we observed that the adolescents acted in order to circumvent these proposals, creating opportunities to share ideas and affections.

Finally, the proposals for Labor Management were configured as instrumental situations and followed very specific objectives compared to the others, and were also identified by the same name of a TV program: *Aprendiz*¹². They involved experiences linked to the world of work, in which the teenagers simulated and discussed about ethical behavior and conduct in circumstances of job interviews and professional activities, especially in companies. They had the opportunity to elaborate products in several languages, articulating elements from other proposals, such as the construction of videos and interviews developed in Journalism, and simulations of employee and boss roles, recontextualizing theatrical creations to integrate such situations. Moreover, at the same time that the participants recognize in these experiences ways of preparing them for insertion in a company, we notice that they incorporate contradictions inherent to the world of work, often with a tendency to teach adaptive behavior.

Thus, based on this brief overview, we can attribute to the socio-educational dynamics in the Association the offer of multiple and diverse opportunities for adolescents. These proposals have writing as a constitutive and necessary element for interaction, involving the mobilization of a range of artifacts, the organization of various environments, and the production and circulation of copies of genres from various discursive spheres, such as journalism, arts and culture, the world of work, and school. These events boosted different ways of using and relating to writing and the experimentation of various roles, as evidenced in the account below, referring to a journalistic interview production event.

[After the orientation, two groups go out into the community spaces, and one occupies the music room. I accompany the latter, which is dispersed in the beginning, and some of the participants, more shy, are oblivious to the proposal. Noticing this lack of focus, **two older teenagers lead the organization and division of tasks, starting with a survey of the necessary functions.** One of them suggests that since we will **deal with music, we can let those who sing and play as musicians, who will also be interviewed. And what better than to have them play too, what do you think?** In the process, they realize that they have not chosen who will be the interviewer, and one of them suggests that **it could be Marina, because she speaks well and was not the interviewer last time.** Everyone agrees, nodding their heads. The part of the group responsible for creating the guiding questions for the interview **decided that these would be different** for each trio of musicians, so as not to become repetitive. The **questions suggested, negotiated, and written down in a notebook** are related to the group's experiences, as in the example: **what do you think if we ask them about where they have played together before?** The two trios that were going to perform spent most of the activity rehearsing and also **gave some suggestions on the actions of other functions** (like tips on how to position the cell phone for recording). At a certain moment, one of the teenagers, realizing that too much time had passed, **alerts the group, saying they would have to run.** So, the interviewer announces the presentations and **asks the questions (sometimes looking at the notebook to remember them)**, while two teenagers take turns filming the scenes. During the recordings, on the cell phone, they have to go back many times, as some laugh at each other. When the educator enters the room to call the group, alerting them that the time was up, many **ask for a few more minutes to finish** [...]. (Excerpt from field notes, participant observation stage, researcher, our emphasis).

In this excerpt, two teenagers assume the role of leaders, organizing the tasks and distributing responsibilities. Based on suggestions and arguments, negotiations occur during the entire process, involving everything from the survey and selection of roles to the content of the productions. There are forms of participation that are not defined in advance, that arise along the way, such as controlling the time available to act and establishing new agreements with the educator. In these proposals, they come into contact with writing through the experimentation of several roles, which simulate functions common to the journalistic sphere: script writer/interviewer, interviewer/presenter, interviewee, camera, organizer of functions and flows within the group, among others. We often notice that these choices are made based on interests, previous knowledge, and resources they already have, or based on challenges in the face of new discoveries.

¹² This is a reality show aired on a commercial TV channel, in which groups of guests compete for awards in the world of business and entrepreneurship.

In events with less intervention from the educator and more openness to experimentation and creation, we see a collaborative, flexible, and participatory mode of action. Adolescents can negotiate proposals, present themselves through different languages, actively participate in discussions, and assume different positions. This happens with the mediation of the social educator, who favors these more participatory models, capable of linking the appropriation of written language to real contexts and the communicative needs of the participants.

The propositional, reflexive, and collaborative nature of many of these events is also evident in the following example, taken from the first round of conversation of this study, which allowed us to apprehend meanings that the adolescents attribute to the practices of Journalism. Tainá, while exploring different photos of literacies in the organization, selected the one that portrayed the production of wall newspapers.

Tainá: Like this, Norberto makes everyone do something, and then **he taught us to take the best that we have, you know, to put it into practice** whenever we do something, Marcelo's **creativity is total**) and **I can't be that creative** (...) then I get like "Marcelo, what do I do, calm down, breathe, my god in heaven, I **can't do everything at once**" (+++) I, **Norberto praises** my writing a lot and **he says there are no mistakes in Portuguese**, so I wrote, like: (.) almost everything (...) Thomas tells::u/ there was a day when he **told his story** (...) **I did the interview with Norberto** (...) and **Julia did:: everything with decorations**, the:: cardboard, **we, like, each one was (putting) our creativity**, you know? (...) **we learn a lot to work in group**, you know? (...) when we are in a group, **each one has a different strength that:: creates a single force and a:: becomes a very crazy fusion** ((laughs)) [...] and:: **that** was really cool, that makes us (...) **be more spontaneous and:: stop being so embarrassed**

Diego: In my group, for example, **I am those guys who:: travel the maionese** with everything they have

Evelin: me too ((laughs))

Diego: Like this, there's a pink piece of cardboard (.) I say "cut this here, turn this here, fold it like this and glue it there" (.) and then there's a time when everybody wants to do something, I say "people, do one thing at a time," then I separate "you do this, you do that, you do that" (.) **I also like, I organize everybody (.) to go out, and what comes out**

Tainá: I think that it is in these activities that **we see our capacity, you know?**

Evelin: yeah, each one in fact, like this (.) *é/ cad/* Alex is more on his own, he likes to **read** more, (sometimes) he likes to **take pictures** (.) **Diego is soccer and e:: music** (.) and/or I don't know much ((pointing to Tainá)), I **think it's** more the:: the:: is:: music (.) in my case I **don't know what:: what I do best** (.) **I love to read**

[]

Tainá: I think you speak, I **think you speak very well.**

Supported by the image, Tainá reconstructs the activity and its course based on the roles played by her and the other participants in her group. Thus, she positions the event as a space to discover potentialities, relating it to the possibility of expressing oneself in different ways, overcoming obstacles, and working collectively and collaboratively. By referring to a lack she identifies in herself, she means the potential of these practices and their learning: the awareness, the exercise of individual possibilities, and the articulation of capabilities for the realization of more effective proposals, through the recognition of the *strength*¹³ of the group.

Tainá's narrative triggered a series of statements by the participants, in a dynamic in which one "story leads to another," contributing to their shared construction of meanings about the proposals of Journalism. Diego does it by analyzing his performance in these productions, emphasizing his creative potential (of daydreaming) and the organization of his work. Evelin, besides nodding positively and agreeing with what is being said, ponders the skills she recognizes in her colleagues and in herself, thus reinforcing a valuation of these practices as a place of multiple possibilities and of unveiling individual and collective potentialities. Tainá, upon noticing Evelin's hesitation in the appreciation of herself, adds perceptions about her, highlighting her capacity for oral exposure.

In addition, they bring identifications with activities related to reading and writing. These aspects point to positions in relation to themselves permeated by the identities of reader and writer, and,

¹³ The use of italics, here and in other parts of the text, is justified because it refers to statements produced by the participants of this study.

in the case of Tainá, to the mobilization of a traditional school perspective on writing (there is no mistake in Portuguese). We also noticed that the adolescents valued the educator's role in contributing to their personal discoveries and the group's performance.

The following excerpt, taken from one of the recordings, highlights the modes of interaction of the participants and allows us to better apprehend the meanings attributed to such events. In this scene, in the Opening Round of a Labor Management meeting, the educator gives a message about a future Music proposal, so that the adolescents can prepare and commit to their tasks. At this moment, one of them raises his hand, asking for the floor.

Educator: Guys, here's the thing (...) this evening, Tiago, Diego and Ricardo need to write down on a piece of paper the name of the song that you will sing in the next Idol (...) next week, right:?:...) then we get together, to rehearse the song that you are going to sing (.) look at the rush we are going through because of you, which is important, you sing well, and:: who is entering new also

Adolescent 1: So, and those who think so::m and say "ah, but it's only the Idols, it's not valid for na::da" ((makes a movement with his hands, representing "whatever")) it's **not that it's not valid for anything, we are rehearsing now, because it's the beginning of the year and so on (.) always at the end of the year we go out to sing something, like last year we performed at the CE::U** ((another adolescent interacts, saying something inaudible)) it was very good:: ((with his hand pointing at his friend))

Educator: inside the theater

Adolescent 1: In the theater too:: we presented **music (.) so, our strong point here is music, so:: when we are rehearsing now and doing this rush now, when at the end of the year we had everything ready and:: (+++) we don't have to run around, rehearsing, rehearsing and so on, right?** (looks at the educator) (Excerpt from the transcript of a recorded event, participant observation stage, researcher, emphasis added).

In the statements above, the teenager complements an idea proposed by the educator, bringing his position: he demonstrates the value he attributes to the musical activities in the Association and recalls his experiences in the previous years, aiming to stimulate the commitment and explain the importance of the collective effort in the rehearsals and recordings. By using the memories of his experiences, he means the Roda as a space in which he can position himself and give his opinion, and even stimulate his colleagues' commitment. While he speaks, the other adolescents listen attentively, which indicates the value of these Rodas for mutual support and the strengthening of the group.

In this same excerpt, by remaining silent, enunciating only complementary information that reinforces what the adolescent says, the educator shows that he is attentive to what he says and values these propositions. We identify a social educator who allows the adolescent to intervene, contributing to the interlocution, and who shares functions such as speaking, listening, and stimulating the group. Besides managing the proposals and relationships, he also animates the interaction, keeping it in continuous motion.

When asked about the meanings he attributes to the literacies he provides to the adolescents, the educator highlights some constitutive elements of these practices. He refers to a teacher's speech in an informal conversation, in which he appreciates the school performance of the adolescents who attend the Association.

The teacher said, "**Norberto, wait, if there is a seminar, they organize the room in ro::da (+++) but I say, wait, but why people, and this mess?** and they say **that if the seminar is here in the middle, because:: using oratory**, Evelin said that ((one of the adolescent-participants in this research)), **we can see everyone, not get stuck, it doesn't make us sleepy, and they set the room in a circle**, and I thought my God, I'm turning into an alu::no" (+++) **I thought this was fantastic because they put it into practice not only here:: but also at school** (Excerpt from individual interview, educator Norberto, emphasis added).

When referring to the discourse of another, who positively appreciates the way adolescents organize themselves for a seminar, the educator mobilizes the voice of a teacher from a school near the organization, to whom he attributes a condition of authority. The teacher's speech endorses the positive effects of participating in the Association's events and his work as an educator indirectly. It highlights

some lessons learned: the organization of the appropriate space for public speaking and the use of *oratory*, a term that, in this case, refers to the eloquent way of speaking.

Legitimized by the teacher's discourse, the educator signifies the Roda as a device of non-formal education, which differs from the traditional forms of school interaction, even causing strangeness on the part of the teachers, but which favors other ways of communicating, the dialogue, the "eye to eye," the dynamism and the exchanges. It also reinforces the value of these proposals as transformers in the ways of relating, by addressing how adolescents reproduce them at school, bringing new possibilities of interaction that go beyond the socio-educational sphere.

On the other hand, in several Roda events, we recognize traces that suggest directivity in the conduct of interactions by the educator, when he introduces and directs the approach of certain themes, instructs on how to perform tasks and redefines concepts or positions based on his values and worldviews. Situations like these, marked by control and by the reproduction of asymmetric relations, close to the school form and dynamics, are also identified in other moments, as evidenced below, when the adolescents are questioned about the proposals called Literacy.

Diego: and:: on the literacy day, like, I think that's the day that:: **everybody stays:: (.) focused on one thing** (+++) and also we **don't stay::** in one **kind of knowledge** (.) we stay, like, searching in/in children's books, in books for our age

Evelin: try to be quiet

Diego: only doing several other things (...) for example, **you are reading your book here, then you are talking continuing to read the book** (...) you read your friend's book, you read it too ((makes a movement of looking to the side))

Tainá: I remember when we were reading a book, and I was next to Marcelo, **right?** and he said "I'm going to get one here," and he got the **golden ball** and **there were two/two children** ((puts his hand on his head)), there was nothing written right in the book (.) "bro, bro" and **laughing** and **Norberto "be quiet" and** we (.) ((laughter))

Diego: then you (.) had a way to (let out) a **joke** from the book you were reading too

Evelin: é (+++) é (.) é do letramento (.) mesmo lê/ mesmo a gente tentando foco/ é, **sem foco, a gente consegue falar**

Diego: that's why, even if the book **is small** (+++), you get so **distracted** that you don't even finish the small book you started reading.

In this excerpt, they resume the proposals for individual reading frequently occurring in the Association's routine. Diego begins by indicating two outstanding characteristics of these events: the need for focus and the opportunity to explore different literary genres, such as children's and young adult literature, so that they can seek different types of knowledge. Beyond the access to books, it links the event to acquiring and expanding knowledge. At the same time, the participants' speeches suggest a tension between two extremes: on one hand, they try to follow the instructions, not to disperse and remain silent and attentive; on the other hand, the need for interaction, for exchanges with their colleagues. As a component that constitutes them, interaction, which opposes the contract imposed by the educator, is valued positively. They report how the contents of the books provoke the sharing of stories and experiences, permeated by laughter and fun, indicating movements of subversion of the "norms." Sometimes they get so distracted that they don't finish reading; other times they integrate conversation with reading the book, as Diego explains.

The emphasis on the interaction between adolescents and the difficulty of focus, understood as attention and silence, during readings, indicates a "right" way of reading and behaving when reading a book, imposed by the educator. The use of the speech reported to the educator's speech reinforces this idea: he also asks for silence, which is linked to the format of silent reading, a solitary and individual act. These traits bring them closer to situations of literary reading in school, where, in general, traditional writing practices aim to develop individual skills and competencies, to the detriment of collaborative literacies that consider the characteristics of the participants of these interactions (KLEIMAN, 2005).

We also verified that the book is privileged, qualified by the adolescents in terms of size (as Evelin does, when she says the book was small) and personal tastes (as Tainá, who attributes a negative value to the book her classmate was reading). In these speeches, we see how reading awakens affection, refers to other moments in their lives, such as childhood, and impacts them, even when *there* is nothing

written right in the book, a situation in which illustrations play an important role in the construction of meanings.

In addition, in a series of proposals, especially the theatrical ones, we noticed the approach of themes linked to the Catholic religion, involving religious festivals and commemorative dates such as Easter and Christmas, which goes back to the calendar of official holidays and reiterates the identity of the Association. In the same way, we identify the experience of more conventional practices and roles that reproduce what is socially established, associated with meritocracy and the reproduction of mass cultural models. The following excerpt, related to the adolescents' perception about the musical proposals, allows us to evidence some of these elements.

Evelin: (+++) ai, ai::, there are **juries, then they give us a grade**, then at the end, I think in the / two, three this week before it ends:: we start to go to / to the **eliminations**, right?

Tainá: it is like this, like:: the notes are from zero to five (...) five is the maximum (...) **the jurors write them down either in excel, or in a little notebook**, when I was a juror **I wrote everything down in a little notebook because they always lose some day's notes, there in excel** (+++) then:: (.) we arrive (...), we count everything (...) and leave three people in the final, for example, the people who have the most points.) we arrive, we count everything (.) and leave, for example, three people in the **final, which are the people with the most points (.) then** the people (.) sing one day, (.) and then:: the jurors will give a note, we count, whoever gets the most points **wins a prize**

Evelin: yeah, besides music there was::, there was music, dance, joke, performance

Diego: Usually, **he asks who wants to be a juror** (...) like, and::u as this year I'm playing guitar for a lot of people, **I'm not being a juror (...) like::, I'm participating in the presentation** (Excerpt from the first round of conversation, emphasis added).

In this excerpt, the participants narrate how the course of presentations takes place during the Idols activities and the relevance of the role of the jury, responsible for evaluating the cultural productions of colleagues and valuing them through notes. We can see a characteristic of competition, evidenced by the presence of eliminatory and final stages and processes of accumulation of points and awards. The name Idols, as well as Apprentice, originates from a commercial open television program, taking up media values, a fact that contradicts the Organization's declared objective, which is to critically educate individuals. Thus, despite the opportunity to express themselves in different ways and to realize new potentials and interests through these practices, there is also the presence of traits that value competition (the people who have more points get to the final) and encourage certain patterns of consumption of ways of acting and relating.

The Labor Management events also present aspects that meet these characteristics of social conformation, as we see in the following excerpt.

Diego: the apprentice is the activity that **everybody is afraid of, right?** it's (...) the day that everybody jokes "I'm going to miss it, I'm going to be sick this day, I'm not going to come" (...) it's the activity that we spend more **time/ suffer** more **pressure**, with a lot of: **rigidity** (.) theater, everybody was loose, like this, talking to everybody, then Wednesday comes and you have to be **quiet, listening to Norberto** talk, **sitting** like this, **keeping your posture** ((everybody imitates someone sitting, quiet and contained)) (.) and like:: **Mr. Norberto** (.) **otherwise you lose points in the Apprentice**

Tainá: it's (.) (I've already lost points) in the Apprenticeship (.) it's very boring (.) **we can't be ourselves** and it's (.) very **stressful** (.) very boring, **we don't want to work so hard**

Evelin: we are no longer at home, it's/ there/ an:: (.) the parents won't serve us anymore, **we will serve the bosses**, they won't serve us (.) he puts pressure

Tainá: But Norberto is not stupid, because (...) he knew that if he put only the Apprentice, a lot of people would be missing, **but there's a prize, right?**

Diego: but, like, everybody does it, and:: especially in the groups, everybody gets **together, which is a very difficult activity**, so everybody gets together, with several ideas (+++) and because **wanting it or not it is an important activity, right?** it's a **referral for us:: to go to a company**, so much so that (.) many former students **got jobs because of the Apprenticeship** (.) like, who come here to talk to Norberto, come here to visit, agra::decer (Excerpt from the first round of conversation, our emphasis).

In this interaction among the adolescents, there is an explicit recognition of the difference between this and the other proposals offered, demanding more *work*. They enunciate the perception about the configuration of another way of behaving and relating, with more *rigidity*, *pressure*, and *stress*: they have to *keep their posture*, be *quiet and sit still*, listening to the educator, and treat him with formality. To situate these differences, Diego uses the expression *there, the fourth comes, and* contrasts these activities with the theater activities, when they are *loose, talking to everybody*. At the same time that they recognize these activities as important, by highlighting the *union of the group*, the possibility of building collective ideas and *learning how to act* in different social spheres, the representation they construct of such situations presents negative traits. They comment on the fear they feel, bring up depreciating evaluations (*it is very boring, it is very hard or boring*) and employ an ironic tone, referring to jokes that refer to an unwillingness to participate in the *Apprenticeship*. Tainá complements this idea, stating that *we can't be us*, which shows discomfort, along with the perception of restrictions, by having to assume a role that does not represent us.

To exemplify the pressure to which they are submitted, Evelin refers to the educator's discourse: they are not at home, *served by their parents*; now they will have to prepare themselves to *serve the bosses*. The meanings they attribute to the world of work update the educator's discursive manifestations: they need to act in a certain way and *serve* their superiors, within a certain standard and control, to have and keep their job. This aspect alludes to a complex vision of the world of work, linked to servitude and submission, which sustains the maintenance of the *status quo* and the reproduction of social inequalities.

Both the educator's and the adolescents' speeches suggest an implicit message linked to the notion that their choices are restricted by class conditions, so that belonging to the periphery would limit their possibilities. In these statements, even when they explain the relevance of these *Apprenticeship* practices, there is no awareness of what is at stake, nor a critique of the contradictions of the world of work. In the same way, the participants refer to the meritocratic character of the activity, with scores and awards, which restricts the group's way of acting and commitment: if you don't treat the educator with a certain formality, you *lose a point*; whoever participates and scores more points *wins a prize*.

In general, in the conversation rounds, employed as a research method, the adolescents, by recognizing themselves in each other's speech and negotiating positions among themselves, attribute a highly positive valuation to the Association, the literacy practices, and the interaction with the social educator. We next apprehend them transforming themselves into others in relation to those they have experienced proposed (BAKHTIN, 1997; VOLOCHINOV, 2019; 2017) by addressing how they feel and what changes they recognize in participating in the Theatre practices:

Evelin: To do theater is a: an **honor** (.) because:: when I was in the smallest class, I always saw Norberto's plays and I always had:: a heart/, é::, the **will to do it** (+++) **my eyes sparkled** (+++) **now I can do it** (.) I, a/it is very:: cool (.) is, I **can express** myself in a **funny way** (.) **you live is::, different role** (.) like me, I was already a child (.) is:::, narrator (.) and angel (+++) **but I wanted to be, I wanted, like, to play the role of a villain** (+++) it is very nice, for me to **know the role more::, interpret things**

Diego: I really, really like it (...) I like to **express myself through paper** (...) **this is something I want to take with me for the rest of my life**, and like: (...) in the:: there was kind of a **revolution, I started with a small paper, a passage, a guy who took the chair away** (...) **today:: I will read for the main character, even to organize the play** (...) **then: it was thanks to that I evolved in everything, right?** **today:: I will read, for the main character**, even to organize the play (.) then:: it was thanks to that, **then I evolved in everything, right?** (+++) like, at **home I** am also the one who talks the most, who most (clears up) everyone (.) making jokes, doing this, doing that (.)

Thomas: that's right, it's::, like (+++) I **was very closed**, or if/at **school** myself, the teacher asked me to read something, I always felt bad because I didn't read, I was ashamed (.) then after I came to the Association I **lost my** shame, and now whenever there is something, a seminar, I **present it, it's already in practice** (.) that's why I found it very interesting, it changed a lot (+++) because of the **qualities, the teachings you teach here**

Evelin: for me the Association is my **second home** (+++) has changed a lot, I think (...) é: eu **ti/ era muito shy** (...) quando eu cheguei aqui eu fui mais é: eu fui evoluindo, eu fui mai/ **ficar mais livres** (...) agora eu cons/ agora eu **apresento, me se socializo** (...) (+++) porque eu já tenho a postura e já já não tenho mais vergonha pra falar, pra **dar ideia** (...) (Excerpt from the 2nd round of conversation, our emphasis).

Their speeches refer to the dimensions of desire, will, and pleasure, as well as the recognition of their potentials and future possibilities: Diego aims to carry these activities for the *rest of his life*; Evelin associates them with fun and with the exploration of the different versions that she can be (the narrator, the child, the angel, the villain). As a justification for the interest in these practices, the teenagers talk about the opportunity of interpreting different roles, experiencing different feelings and possibilities and challenging themselves, as well as going through an *evolution* process, in which they play simpler and supportive roles and go on to more prominent roles. The meaning of evolution is represented by the path of transformation that they narrate, contrasting the use of verbs in the past tense, when they talk about the moment of their insertion in the Association (*I started in a small role; I was very shy*), and in the present tense, when they talk about the capabilities developed (*today I go to read, for the main character; now I present, I socialize*).

The approach to behavioral changes is a hallmark of the participants' discourse, especially regarding the effects on how they relate to and act in the school environment. Thomas recounts his experience at school to clarify how he perceives his personal transformation, stimulated by the theatrical proposals: from being *very closed* and refusing to read, out of shame, he started to present himself and lead seminars, indicating more resourcefulness. Evelin complements these comments by talking about her greater ability to socialize, present her ideas, and articulate herself in public, highlighting the possibility of *becoming freer*. Diego refers to another sphere in which he notices changes in the way he expresses himself, the private sphere: at home he is the one who leads communication, mediates situations and *clarifies* facts.

In view of these testimonies, we identified that the theatrical practices and the musical ones are linked to what the adolescents most like and highlight in the Association. These situations contribute to their special appreciation for the organization, accompanied by a feeling of welcoming and belonging, making it their *second home*. They attribute value to these experiences by discovering their potentials and interests and by recognizing the *qualities* and differentiated *teachings* in relation to other educational environments.

A significant part of these literacies, especially those in which the participants show greater identification, concern situations in which writing plays a secondary role in interactions. These are practices open to creation and discussion, based on oral culture, music, the construction of images and space, and the use of the body, in which multimodal texts are produced¹⁴ (KLEIMAN; SITO, 2016). Affection also appears as a prominent element, permeating a doing founded on interest, listening to the voices and recognizing the presence of each other, so that they become active parts of the process and that the will to become, of self-realization, is valued (HOOKS, 2017), which is evidenced in the strong bond created between adolescents and the social educator.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

When we consider the literacies investigated, we verify a double and contradictory movement, permeated by a complex game of forces. On the one hand, there is the offer of varied opportunities and the expansion of the cultural and informational universe of adolescents, based on a climate and an organization focused on their interests, the discovery of potentials and new possibilities of action, active, propositional and respectful participation, and the problematization of various issues associated with daily life and society. Social rules shape these practices, strategies, and ways of relating that are specific to the sphere of non-formal education, which acts to regulate the use and distribution of texts, enabling more collaborative and flexible modes of action, less controlled spaces for speaking and listening, and the absence of prerequisites for participation, an imposed curriculum, and a formal system of evaluation.

¹⁴ This concept refers to the diversity of semiotic systems and communication modalities that permeate literacies, in addition to writing. Thus, texts are not only composed of words, but of multiple systems of meaning, such as sound, oral, gesture, imagery, graphics, and digital, driving the construction of new ways of approaching, consuming, and producing texts.

Nonetheless, there is the mobilization, in many of these proposals, of voices linked to the school discourse, the Catholic religion and the incorporation into the labor market and the consumer society, indicating a tendency to the tutelage of adolescents and the adaptation to certain standards and social expectations, based on a negative representation of peripheral youth. Thus, we observe that the real investment in the perspective of providing reflective and plural experiences about reality, social relations and the contradictions that condition their choices (GOHN, 2010) has its limitations, revealing processes of erasure of ethnic-racial, gender and class issues. This last dynamic is favored by an organizational logic of urban associativism, which predisposes a character of linkage to civil society organizations and various institutions, dating back to an authoritarian tradition, which submits the development of educational policies to the vision of authorities and public power specialists, with little room for consultation with the groups to which these projects should be addressed (GHANEM, 2008). Thus, they impose limits concerning incorporating literacies that favor transformative dynamics and the reduction of social inequalities.

Some of these practices are affiliated with what Street (2014) calls an autonomous conception of literacy, in which it is assumed that certain literacies unequivocally generate homogeneous and always positive effects regardless of the context: access to reading and books is taken as capable of transforming the lives of adolescents; the incorporation of adaptive behaviors and personal effort are understood as possible to lead to insertion in the labor market. We also noticed the low presence of literacies articulated to the potent cultural productions of the region, such as *slams*, *saraus*, and peripheral literature, indicating little openness to the territory and the appropriation of what is characteristic of it.

We also identify the construction of resistance positions (MOITA LOPES, 2002) and movements of escape in relation to the more institutionalized and normative discursive forces. By positioning themselves on the book reading wheels, we see how the adolescents subvert the "norms" (associated with silence and individualized action), pointing to collaborative and creative ways of reading, in which they share ideas and affections. As they relate to each other in small groups, we observe the construction of particular and undirected ways of appropriating writing, responding to different communicative situations and enhancing collective processes. These tactics, permeated by negotiation processes marked by the tension between the established and the recreation, may contribute to resize identities (SOUZA, 2009), destabilize crystallized discourses, in which the validated literacies are only the hegemonic ones, and break asymmetries.

In addition, the statements produced by the participants denote how the learning and ways of relating acquired in the Association, as to speak in public, articulate ideas with more agility and propriety and organize spaces that favor more dynamic interactions and dialogues, are used by adolescents to enhance their performance in other spheres, especially at school. This aspect brings us back to the potential of transcontextualization of literacies (BRANDT; CLINTON, 2002), when social practices related to reading and writing can be transferred, generally, from a socially legitimized context to another less recognized one. We identify an opposite movement, since the transcontextualizing practices are those handled in a non-formal education context: the modes of action related to the literacies learned in the Association are transferred to the formal context, favoring the active participation and a more autonomous positioning of the adolescents in situations in which the power relations act in a more asymmetric way.

It is worth mentioning that, despite the contradictions identified, when we access the adolescents' discourse, that is, how they see the literacies they take part in, highly positive meanings stand out. Their narratives express how they link these practices to their personal transformations and to new ways of expressing themselves, communicating, and being, with more security and confidence, to the possibility of experimenting with various roles, through languages, among which orality, the body, and affection stand out, that meet their tastes and passions, and to the construction of trajectories in which they can choose and dream.

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Author 1 - Data collection, active participation in data analysis, and writing the text.

Author 2 - Supervision, data analysis, writing and final revision.

DECLARATION OF CONFLICT OF INTEREST

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