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Political subjectivations in the field: youth itineraries and the June 2013 Journeys^{1,2}

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Abstract

Addressing the political subjectivations in the June 2013 Journeys, this study aims to analyze the political formation of young people based on their experience participating in 2013 demonstrations and its influences in the reconstruction of their political and educational identities and trajectories. In dialogue with the notions of itineraries and trajectories, a bibliographic review was carried out on results that dealt with the 2013 Journeys regarding the themes of youth, students, education, subjectivities, and identities. As theoretical framework, Jacques Rancière's notion of political subjectivation guides our formulation of research questions, which are described as our main results. Thus, as results, rather than conclusions, this study build analysis scripts to guide field research on "Educational dimensions of the 2013 Journeys: Educational agendas, school experiences, and political formation of young people in protest," which will interview militants and activists in 10 Brazilian states on questions about the tensions and approximations between the contingent experiences of protesting (which created moments of political subjectivation), coexistence in a "multitude" of multiple identities that are affirmed and

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rebuilt. Also, questions on the ambiguities and contradictions of the Journeys – expressed in the bifurcation of protest paths in the following years between continuing progressive demonstrations and the conservative drift that impeached Dilma in 2016 and elected a candidate of the extreme right in 2018.

Keywords

Journeys of 2013 – Youth – Political subjectivation – Itineraries – Reflexivities.

Introduction

This study describes results of the first phase of the research “Educational dimensions of the 2013 Journeys: Educational agendas, school experiences, and political formation of young people in protest.” This bibliographic phase explores results related to the June 2013 Journeys (articles, books, chapters, theses, and dissertations) that directly or indirectly relate to what we have called the “educational dimensions” of this cycle of protests in Brazil.

Our work accepts the challenge to dialogue with the theme of this dossier, for which the aforementioned bibliographical research contributes to reflections about education, students, youth, subjectivities, and identities. A central concept for our research refers to Jacques Rancière’s (1996) political subjectivation, which has led us to think about the continuities and discontinuities in the processes of political formation of young people in social movements and their educational and political trajectories. Political subjectivation makes it possible to analyze, at least in part, what the selected results of the bibliographical research bring about the participation of young people in the Journeys and their trajectories – a concept that dialogues with that of “itineraries.”

The study, after this introduction, is divided into six parts: the first part briefly describes the June 2013 Journeys and offers general data on our bibliographical research, highlighting the analyzed thematic block; the second part briefly discusses the notions of itineraries and trajectories; the third one brings Rancière’s concept of political subjectivation in dialogue with bibliographical research results that deal with subjectivity and identity. This same dialogue is repeated in the following parts, but with results related to education (part four) and youth and students (part five); finally, considerations are made that, rather than conclusions, outline scripts for the next steps of this research.

The Journeys and the bibliographical research

The June 2013 Journeys in Brazil belong to the global cycle of protests throughout the 2010s, which Gerbaudo (2017) calls “revolts of the squares,” as they are characterized by occupying public spaces, especially squares. The origin of this cycle lies in the global

economic crisis that began in 2007–2008, which, although marking the decline of global capitalism, has been faced by political and economic elites with the same instruments from the neoliberal repertoire that probably caused the crisis. Its most important events include the Arab Spring (which started in 2010), the Indignados movement in Spain (2011), Occupy Wall Street (2011), the 2013 Journeys, and the Nuit Debout in France (2016).

In Brazil, the latency of the Journeys mainly resides in the creation of Movimento Passe Livre (Free Pass Movement - MPL) and its campaigns against the increase in public transport fares – having as a landmark the Buzu Revolt in Salvador in 2003 – and in the creation of Comitês Populares da Copa (World Cup Popular Committees - CPC) from 2010 onward, which maintained an agenda of denouncing the impacts of works for mega sporting events (the World Cup and the Olympics) beyond 2013 (DOWBOR; SZWAKO, 2013).

Even before June, the 2013 protests around public transport fares began, as per the successful and largely autonomist Bloco de Luta pelo Transporte Público (Public Transport Struggle Bloc) in Porto Alegre in March of that year. (GONÇALVES, 2019). However, the process that occurred in São Paulo has been used as a milestone in the chronology and understanding of the Journeys for its a tough start with a smaller number of participants in demonstrations and blockades by the MPL that were strongly repressed by the police; a wave of support from the public opinion that swelled and legitimized these protests that were victorious in an agenda to repeal the raise in transport fares; and a third phase of continuous expansion of protesters and multiplication of agendas, in which an anti-corruption, nationalist, and anti-party discourse gained strength and enjoyed the support of mainstream media. With similar dynamics, the Journeys had national repercussions and were internalized in the set of collective actions with the greatest popular support in the history of Brazil. However, at this stage, the characterization of the movement as essentially left wing loses strength due to the presence of liberal and conservative individuals and organizations on the streets (SINGER, 2013).

The peak of the protests saw the coexistence of progressive and conservative protesters on the streets. After June, although less massive, progressive mobilizations survived, such as those by the CPC, strikes, occupations by homeless movements, in 2015 and 2016, of student occupations against neoliberal education policies (BRAGA, 2017). Still, the ambiguous nationalist and right-wing expression in the Journeys gained an organic form and strength (especially in 2015) in the movement to impeach Dilma Rousseff, succeeding in 2016 after a parliamentary coup.

The study had a first phase of bibliographic search. In May 2021, the descriptors “Jornadas de 2013” (2013 Journeys) and “Junho 2013” (June 2013) – applied to the Scientific Electronic Library Online (SciELO), Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (Capes), and Google Scholar databases – retrieved 142 results, including theses, dissertations, articles, books, and chapters on the Journeys, as shown in Table 1. Results were divided into five thematic blocks, of which the fifth (“Others”) refers to results with an indirect relation (or none at all) with “educational dimensions.”

Table 1- Thematic blocks

Theme	n.	%
Block 1: Education, youth and students, identity, and subjectivation	26	18.3
Block 2: Collectives and activist/militant experiences	28	19.7
Block 3: Social networks and media	29	20.4
Block 4: Relevant general analyses	25	17.6
Block 5: Others	34	23.9
Totals	142	100

Source: Survey on SciELO, the Capes Portal of Theses and Dissertations and Google Scholar in May 2021.

The research team first recorded all results in Table 1. For this, the team analyzed their abstracts, evaluating their introductions and final considerations in case of no abstracts or insufficient information in them.

Later, results selected for documentation were read and “documented” by the team. The documentation form contained basic data, main results, comments on main contributions to research, and chosen excerpts for all chosen studies.

This study especially analyzed Block 1 (“Education, youth and students, identity, and subjectivation”) results. Of the 26 results of our bibliographical research, this study chose 19 for documentation. For analysis purposes, these results were divided into three sub-themes: “Education,” “Youth and Students,” and “Identity and subjectivities,” as shown in Table 2.

Table 2- Block 1 results that were chosen for documentation and divided into sub-themes

Subtopic	n.	Description
Identity and subjectivities	7	Andrade (2016) Araújo (2015) Mendonça (2017) Chick (2016) Portugal (2016) Ritter (2016) Venera (2017)
Education	7	Keys (2015) Haddad (2016) Estácio Jr. (2015) Martins, J. (2013) Martins, M. (2013) Menis (2015) Rose (2015)
Youth and Students	5	Eusebios Filho; Guzzo (2018) Gohn (2018) Pereira (2016) Singer (2013) Almeida; Corrochano; Sposito (2020)
Total	19	

Source: Data from the survey “Educational Dimensions of the 2013 Journeys.”

Itineraries and trajectories

The term itinerary at first seems to denote a predetermined route, such as a travel itinerary or a predefined route in stages of schooling. Itinerary would therefore be linked to a planned route that precedes the act of going. In turn, trajectory refers to the path subjects actually experience, which may coincide with a socially expected itinerary, following the latter with more or fewer detours or taking an unexpected direction.

However, the encounter with the academic literature on education and sociology seems to confuse the meanings of the terms or use them as synonyms. For example, research on Youth and Adult Education (EJA) that seeks to know youth and adult learners' lives before and beyond school:

As training and curricular itineraries, we understand the constituent processes of a training path present in educational practices that involve teachers, adults, young people, institutions, and the school system in the process of transmitting or even producing new knowledge for the subjects who place themselves in such a relation. (FAZZI, 2007, p. 17).

Teacher training research still features the notion of itinerary in, for example, the effort to “[...] work on historical-personal events related to teaching work, analyzing how subjectivity composes life and training itineraries in the teaching career” (BEZERRA; BRAGA; GONÇALVES, 2018, p. 42).

Finally, Pinheiro (2017) uses ‘itinerary’ in a broad sense, including the trajectory traveled or narrated posthumously in addition to itineraries with pre-established milestones. In fact, the author seems to compare the actual itineraries of subjects from the outskirts of Porto Alegre – distinguished by age cohorts – from the itinerary “officially” planned by older people and militants of urban movements. Thus, Pinheiro (2017, p. 4) narrates a certain discrepancy between ideals, community ties, and unitary local identity (as agents of the expected itineraries) on the one hand and the effective inflections in the ways of identifying the subjects in “contexts of significant social diversification and wide circulation of information” on the other.

Our research started from the notion of trajectories, especially school trajectories, which are defined as “the paths taken by individuals throughout their school life” (BITTAR, 2015, p. 49). The concepts about school trajectories oscillate between Pierre Bourdieu’s more structural perspective and Bernard Lahire’s more interactionist position. For example, Senkevics and Carvalho (2020) evaluated old and new forms of educational stratification in the Brazilian youth after years of massification of secondary education and the fact that a significant number of young people were the first members of their families to enter higher education. Despite access, new and old barriers remain marked by class, gender, and race. Studies such as Brandão (2007) dealt with the practices of elite families to reproduce educational privileges and their superior positions in the social hierarchy such as investment in elite schools.

However, our study on the Journeys, based on the findings of research on high school occupations in 2015 and 2016 and on youth collectives at universities, sought

to consider the impact of extra-daily youth experiences – in this case, participation in protests or political actions – in students' school trajectories and, in fact, life itineraries themselves.

The research we have conducted on young people in universities and on high school students based on their occupations shows a complex overlap between cumulative tendencies of political socialization⁶, the contingent impacts of collective actions, and the weight of sociopolitical contexts – which, in turn, unlike the “normality” of everyday life, tends to hinder the maintenance of activist or militant engagement by adolescents and young people involved in collective actions (GROPPPO et al., 2020). Regarding school trajectories, participation in secondary occupations has been crucial for the decision to continue studies in higher education, the type of university (in general, public institutions), the type of course, and the meaning of the decision (which tends to become politicized) (GROPPPO, OLIVEIRA, 2021).

The notion of biographical itinerary in the composition of social identities in Pinheiro (2017) seems to dialogue very well with this concept of school trajectory and youth politics. Effective biographical itineraries consider events, conditions, belongings, and common socializing institutions (such as family, work, and school) and are open to analyzing the plurality of scripts under the influence of generational cohorts and other forms of social stratification. (PINHEIRO, 2017). In addition to the possibility of ultimately dealing with singularities regarding such a notion of itinerary, our focus on educational and political trajectories remains open to contingencies. The 2013 Journeys, even if understandable in their latency and at least partly explainable by concrete causes, brought unpredictable consequences for collective life and individual biographies.

Next, our text seeks to dialogue with these preliminary considerations about itineraries and trajectories.

Identity and subjectivities

Jacques Rancière's notion of political subjectivation (1996) deals with the constitution of political subjects during what he calls dissent. Thus, it challenges the usual meanings of politics and seems to propose a shift in the theme of identities and their relations with social movements. Dissent is the moment of “true” politics for Rancière: when people seen as inferior, incapable, or excluded from the political community show the fundamental equality between all people and build (even if provisionally and briefly) “political subjects” by challenging the artificial boundaries established between “citizens” and outsiders. These borders, in turn, are defended by the “police” powers of repression, management, and legitimation (the institutionality we are used to associating with politics).

6- “Political socialization [...] is one of the dimensions of the socialization process and specifically concerns the transmission and acquisition of values, conduct, perceptions, and preferences about politics. Therefore, we can say that every individual is politically socialized although the characteristics and effects of this process can vary enormously: on a micro level, according to the social origin, family background, level of education, occupation, or profession of individuals and, on a macro level, to certain economic, social, and political conjunctures” (TOMIZAKI; CARVALHO-SILVA; SILVA, 2016, p. 938).

At first, Rancière's concept of political subjectivation has a limitation to deal with June 2013: that June (its most massive phase) saw the mobilization of right-wing subjects. Political subjectivation presupposes a politics lived as an affirmation of equality, which the philosopher considers fundamental for all people. According to Norberto Bobbio (2001), affirming equality would mark the position of the left. Dealing with the 1968 French student movement, Rancière (2014) comments on what seems to be valid for the progressive beginning of June and its offspring, such as the movement of high school occupations: "Against the hierarchies of consensus and the passions of exclusion, the occupation of the street by the anonymous multitude reaffirms the community of sharing. And this it can do only by tracing that violent inscription which made the contingent site of the negotiation of knowledge into a place for the exercise of egalitarian transgression." (RANCIÈRE, 2014, p. 65).

Thus, political subjectivation fails to apply in principle to right-wing political experiences and lessons. Based on Rancière (1996), it can be stated that such experiences and learning would be part of the resources of the "police" (the political as force, control, and creation of consensus to maintain unequal social orders), thus averse to politics as dissent and a moment of political subjectivation.

As seen above, in their latency and origin, the 2013 demonstrations are progressive, stemming from a field to the left of Partido dos Trabalhadores (The Workers' Party - PT) itself. The studies this article searched do not elaborate in depth the input of liberal and right-wing subjects, groups, and agendas, but it is necessary to consider that other political experiences took place on the streets in 2013, especially in the second and most massive phase of the Journeys. From the point of view of political subjectivation, these right-wing political experiences oppose the dissent of autonomist movements and deny their claims of equality — by also paradoxically occupying the streets and, in many cases, sharing the streets with subjects and organizations of the autonomist left. Right-wing demonstrators will reaffirm the classifications of the social order and the divisions in the distribution of the sensitive under the guise of the righteous revolt against corruption and patriotism. Significantly, they will take possession of the meaning of "people," as shown below.

In the wake of Gerbaudo (2017), identities seem to compose the ferment of the anti-globalization movement (at the end of the last century and the beginning of the current one) in the form of a coalition around a common opponent, global capitalism, a coalition that fit relatively well in Hardt and Negri's concept of multitude (2001). However, still according to Gerbaudo (2017), the revolts on the squares in the 2010s (in which the 2013 Journeys are inscribed) rebuilt the notion of people and the popular as a unit of the "99%" against the elites of power and finance — as expressed well by the Occupy Wall Street movement. Rancière's notion of political subjectivation seems to make more sense now. If the multitude refers to the coalition of multiple identities, political subjectivation refers to the primordial equality between all and everyone, shown above all by the dissent from those who the "police" power wants to keep outside the political community. This recreates the idea of people, one of the great marks of the movements on squares, according to Gerbaudo (2017).

However, Brazil is witnessing a takeover of the very notion of “people” by right-wing movements, masked as “motherland” and displaced from radical democratic populism. This configures a hallmark of the massive phase in June, which would be made explicit in the demonstrations for the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff in 2015 and 2016, in the form of the anthem, the flag, and the green and yellow.

Finally, it should be noted that, as we saw in a recent survey of high school occupations in Brazil in 2015 and 2016 – a progressive offshoot of the Journeys –, the process of political subjectivation avoids necessarily opposing that of the assumption of identities – especially of gender and sexual orientation but also ethnic-racial ones. (GROppo; SILVA, 2022). The assumption of political subjects opens an opportunity in the space-time of politics – such as the occupied school or street protests – and in adolescents’ trajectories to rethink their condition as women and even as men by a potent high school feminism sexual orientation – whether LGBTQIA+ or heterosexual – that deconstructs prejudices.

The seven studies selected for documentation in the sub-theme “Identity and subjectivities” best dialogue with the concept of political subjectivation, which is essential for the research “Educational Dimensions of the 2013 Journeys.” These articles can be divided into two groups: the first around identity and the second around subjectivity/subjectivation.

Of the three studies that thematize identity, Araújo’s dissertation in Letters (2015) stands out, on the one hand, for its qualified discourse analysis (a relevant methodological contribution to understanding the narratives about the Journeys), on the other hand (and more relevant for this study), for its effort to bring Hardt and Negri’s (2001) concept of multitude precisely to thematize social identity in the Journeys. By citing sociological theories such as those of Bauman, Araújo (2015) shows social identity in protests as fluid, procedural, and constituted by difference. The Journeys offer a counterpoint between the multitude and police repression in the constitution of protesters’ identity. Mendonça (2017) also deals with social identity in late modernity, bringing Hardt and Negri’s concept of multitude into dialogue with contemporary sociological theories, especially Axel Honneth’s recognition [also mobilized by Pinto (2016)]. For Mendonça (2017), the notion of multitude could explain the connectivity and appreciation of singularity in protests, in which individuals would have united around the construction of a common project. Pinto (2016) mobilizes theories of recognition from Honneth, Nancy Fraser, and Judith Butler to reach a less optimistic conclusion about the Journeys: although they expressed the desire for recognition of that range of individuals who take to the streets, “the absence of organized collective subjects characterized a condition of dispersion and fragmentation, resulting in a demand for anti-political and individualized recognition.” (PINTO, 2016, p. 1071).

The second group of studies emphasizes subjectivity and subjectivations in their evaluation of the senses of June but only Portugal (2016) resembles our research by using Rancière. Andrade (2016), Ritter (2016), and Venera (2017) prefer to base themselves on Michel Foucault’s and Gilles Deleuze’s post-structuralist theories, offering an interesting counterpoint to our research on the Journeys.

Discussing the narratives of the mainstream media and protesters about the Journeys, Portugal’s (2016) dissertation highlights Rancière’s concept of sharing the

sensitive, which has both political and aesthetic dimensions that refer to the way in which fictions establish boundaries as to who can legitimately participate in public debates and decision-making processes and who can configure as the subject of these debates and decisions. Protesters' dissent enables a new, potentially more plural and inclusive sharing of the sensitive not only by expanding the subjects who would have the right to participate in decision-making processes, but also by the themes to be publicly discussed, such as the "right to the city." The mainstream media defends the pre-existing social and political order, thus also exercising a "police" action even when, from a certain point onward, it starts to distinguish between "legitimate" protesters (who protest peacefully and thematize corruption and anti-partisanship) and "vandals" (who resist police attacks and thematize the expansion of rights).

Andrade's dissertation (2016) exemplarily searches for rapprochement between Michel Foucault's post-structuralism and Hardt and Negri's concept of multitude. Andrade (2016) states that a "multitude" would have effectively formed in the Journeys – opposing the more homogeneous subject of "the people" – as a resistance to instituted powers, resulting less in a victory against these powers and more in an openness to create new modes of subjectivation. Thus, by a discursive analysis of the Journeys, that study seeks to associate multiple processes of subjectivation (such as the construction of heterogeneous, plural, and mutant identities) with political resistance (in a new, more horizontal, participatory, and informal way) against capitalism neoliberal.

As Portugal (2016), Ritter (2016) and Venera (2017) analyzed the discourses of the mainstream media along the Journeys and the counterpoint from protesters. Ritter (2016) uses Foucault's discourse analysis to show the self-creation of alternative communication channels by demonstration subjects. Venera (2017) resorts to Gilles Deleuze's notion of the virtual (the potential space of diversity to materialize the real) alongside Jacques Lacan's notion of the real (that which escapes symbolization) to conclude that the Journeys escape established social representations and symbolizations.

Multitude (as a coalition of identities) and political subjectivation constitute neither necessarily exclusive nor contradictory concepts. They share a heretical Marxist origin – the recreation of the concept of class for itself – in dialogue with post-structuralist currents (which Hardt and Negri accept). They have different emphases: the multitude highlights the mobilization and constitution of identities and differences and the expression of unique individualities; political subjectivation highlights the political process of dissent, a revelation of human equality serving as the foundation of politics and historical contingencies. If the concept of the multitude fits the neo-anarchist and multi-identity spirit of the anti-globalization movement and its fight against global capitalism better, the concept of political subjectivation seems to better fit the radical democratic populism that inspired the uprisings on squares in the 2010s and was preponderant at least in the latency and initial protests of the 2013 Journeys – before the profusion of agendas, subjects, and protests in the second phase of the Journeys.

Both concepts usefully evaluate the itineraries of the activists and militants in the organizations and collectives that gave rise to the Journeys during and after 2013. As evinced in our research on high school occupations, student movements show a powerful process of political subjectivation, in which adolescent high school students, especially

women, constituted the political subject “secundas” – which transfigured the group of people considered to be pre-politicals into defenders of social rights and democracy itself. This process reconstituted identities in the daily life of occupations in schools, especially from the point of view of gender but also regarding sexual orientation and ethnic-racial identities. As for school and political itineraries, political subjectivation left powerful marks that were decisive in school and professional projects and in the lasting adherence to progressive political values. It is worth asking how these processes took place with activists and militants from 2013 onward and if they have similarities or differences with high school students from 2015 and 2016.

Education

In our bibliographic survey, seven studies addressed educational issues, highlighting two perspectives: the training process of participants in mobilizations and the importance of social media as a means of communication and training of subjects.

José Martins (2013) mentioned that the educational agenda was ineffective in the Journeys as it did lacked a concrete and objective focus due to its vague demands for higher education and good education.

Rosa (2015) used individual interviews, conversation circles, and ethnography to analyze the formative process of militants from the Public Transport Struggle Bloc in Porto Alegre. The author highlights the non-formal education process the Bloc developed, which would be mobilized even before the beginning of the 2013 demonstrations. The perspective of that group deemed important to educate “recluses” or “sleepers” about the oppressive and excluding character of the capitalist system:

For the “giant” that had just woken up, an educational action was needed to guide or provide subsidy so that it could build strong, politicized, and propositional responses, preventing them from becoming pawns for the big media or easy prey for far-right fascist and Nazi-fascist movements. (ROSA, 2015, p. 31).

According to Rosa (2015, p. 32), the Transport Struggle Bloc developed public classes to guide and train its activists, using the internet and holding horizontal assemblies in public spaces. The author concluded that “the Struggle Bloc provides intentional training spaces such as public classes. However, subjects identify the experience of militancy in street protests, assemblies, and occupations as their main training space.”

Marcos Martins (2013) highlighted the political and educational impacts of the Journeys. For the author, they enabled the creation of a new form of communication made possible by the internet and social media and distancing themselves from the great means of dissemination, elements that helped form young people without previous political experience.

According to the author (p. 51), using the phrase “¡Usted que grita y que despertó hace poco, no rechace a quien nunca durmió!”⁷ developed an educational principle

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“You who scream and woke up recently, do not reject those who have never slept!”

that indicated that the struggles would result from the past struggles of different social movements. This mechanism made individuals and social groups begin to debate, reflect, and question the social, economic, and political structure of the country. The author suggests that such an impact was perhaps more significant than the effective achievements regarding the revocation of the increase in fares or the pre-salt budget destined for public education: “Mediante este proceso se ha inducido a la sociedad brasileña a una reflexión colectiva, productora de nuevos aprendizajes”⁸ (MARTINS, M., 2013, p. 51).

Haddad (2016) researched, by documents and interviews, the training process carried out by the Free Pass Movement (MPL) in São Paulo and its relation with popular education. For the author (2016, p. 22), the movement felt the need to form activists politically and permanently. It was considered that participants learn by practice and militancy, as in the organization of acts. For that, strategies contained in popular education movements were used.

Estácio Junior (2015) addressed the self-training process of the multitude carried out by the Journeys in virtual spaces. The method the author used was cartography, which considers research in and with the other. For him, collaborative virtual experiences enabled formation itself. This formative character would have occurred in coexistence:

It should be noted that this training is not seen from a formal, disciplinary, or controlling perspective – in which something is taught to the other – but rather as a deeply collaborative training in which those who experience it are invited to form meanings *with* the other. (ESTÁCIO JUNIOR, 2015, p. 7, emphasis added).

Focusing on subjects’ narratives, Chaves (2015) analyzed the relationships between youth, cities, and networks by the historical-cultural method. The author aimed to investigate the learning built by the experience of participating in the Occupy Niterói movement, finding, once again, the emphasis on the role of social media in the organization of actions and subjects’ training processes. The author highlighted the educational character of the practices involved in the daily relationships between participants: “a transformation is evident – or, to approach the field of education, a formation – that happens when experience happens to us” (CHAVES, 2015, p. 177).

These formative elements distance themselves from learning carried out in the school space, which seems to neglect the formative importance of interaction between different people.

In the main lessons highlighted by the occupants, the interdependence established in the network of relationships woven between them is one of the keys to understanding the establishment of an educational space-time that is potent in its simplicity: a space freed from productive time, with people available to meet one another and coexist with what is different, in which there is no need for institutions or leaders mediating the educational processes. In “learning by living with the different,” we grow as human beings, accept differences, and become more tolerant as we gain a “more human look” to “look at people more. (CHAVES, 2015, p. 203).

8- “By this process, the Brazilian society has been induced to a collective reflection, producer of new learning.”

Menis (2015) developed his research around how young higher education students in the municipality of Imperatriz, Maranhão, perceived and experienced the acts by interviews and questionnaires. Rather than addressing the educational aspects themselves, the author highlighted the importance of social networks, forms of movement organization, and the differences in the performance of participants according to their social position.

In the view of Menis (2015, p. 22), social networks offer young people new ways of organizing themselves which, despite their unstable bonds, have no hierarchical command and in which membership is an individual decision. Despite this, the author concluded (2015, p. 131) that the movements had leaders, such as coordinators who organized the mobilizations, even though they did not have full control over the multitude.

In general terms, note the developments in educational agendas regarding public policies throughout the Journeys, such as a discussion on public spending on education. Also note the problematization of these texts regarding the very meaning of education and ways of learning since they drew attention to the importance of political formation in spaces beyond the school, recognizing the value of non-formal education, learning in coexistence, and social media on the internet.

This last aspect is closer to the theme of the biographical itineraries of young activists and militants active in the Journeys. Most texts address the intense influence of social media, which constitute important mechanisms of political and social formation throughout the various phases of the Journeys. But the importance of learning by face-to-face interaction was also highlighted, constituting relevant experiences provided in the practices of participation, organization, and mobilization of actions – as well as during political and social discussions – and especially by interactions with subjects with different perspectives of life and thought. This last aspect refers to learning with the other: in relationships with the other, it is possible to glimpse the possibilities of changing the life itineraries of the involved subjects, affecting aspects of subjectivation and construction of identities and enabling them to rethink socially and politically due to that immersion in the perspectives of other subjects.

These new forms of organization and political learning indicate the formative importance of spaces for social struggles within a new context in which the presence of social media is also strong. For interviews to be carried out by research, it is appropriate to ask the activists more directly about the political formation developed in the movements to characterize the meaning of this formation by them and for them.

Youth and students

This section analyzes the search results listed in the sub-theme “Youth and students.” We begin this expedient by considering the influential study by André Singer (2013), “Classes and Crossed Ideologies.” The researcher, still in the heat of the demonstrations and considering the movement as predominantly youthful, saw what was happening both as an expression of a traditional middle class that was dissatisfied with different aspects of the national reality and as a reflection of what he called young people from the “new proletariat.” The latter managed to get formal jobs in the years of the PT governments

(2003–2013) but suffered from precarious working conditions – such as low pay, high turnover, and poor working conditions.

For Singer (2013), it was, at the time, a multifaceted movement in its proposals, with ideological meanings that echoed both socialism and fascist impulses, but against which reformism and liberalism came to predominate in different gradations. Thus, he rejected the characterization of the process as “journeys” since he considered that this collective action failed to live politics as a project of restructuring the social and political order. Thus, the youths of the 2013 Journeys failed to repeat the revolutionary praxis of other events, especially the proletarian Journeys of 1848 in France.

This aspect leads us to focus on Pereira (2016), which brings important criticisms to the way adults perceive and evaluate the reality and actions of youths. It focuses on the social representation of young people from 1968, 1988–1992, and 2013 in two mass circulation news media, the *Veja* magazine and *O Globo* newspaper. Although the study highlights different aspects of youth revolts and demonstrations at different times, it remains, according to Pereira (2016), a model for building the reality of demonstrations that responds to the need to produce a recognizable youth representation for adults, i.e., although almost half a century separates 1968 from 2013, the different means of communication support already consolidated social representations to describe and explain the manifestations of the beginning of the 21st century. According to the author, this procedure that makes current events more familiar – and therefore less threatening because they are known – neither explains reality nor contributes to politically delegitimize contemporary youth protests.

In a path contrary to the delegitimization of a limiting social representation, Maria da Glória Gohn (2018), based on a survey carried out on internet sites in youth networks and on data from the São Paulo print media, finds the diversified and multiple collective actions and identifies a new context for young people to act and claim in Brazil. For the author, it is a renewed youth movement, composed of young people belonging to different social strata with diverse ideologies and philosophical principles. From this research, Gohn highlighted, among the characteristics of these “new movements” as he called it, the importance of the youth’s leading role in social media, a more horizontal internal organization, and a critical posture toward the organizational model of political parties and social movements.

Along the same lines, Euzébio Filho and Antônio Guzzo (2018), focusing on what students from a popular course and a public university in inner São Paulo thought, all young people, after the June 2013 demonstrations, corroborate many of Gohn’s indications (2018) by adopting the concept of political consciousness reinterpreted in terms of individuality, i.e., manifested as the uniqueness of subjects. The authors claim that, even identifying at the time a void of alternatives in the face of the withdrawal of social rights that was and still is imposed or the emerging conservative political wave, such young people maintained little confidence in participating in political parties or social movements, claims, or another participatory path to overcome the consequences of such a process.

Considering both the conjunctural changes and the various political nuances that situate the context of the 2013 demonstrations, Almeida, Corrochano, and Sposito (2020) analyzed academic texts prepared from 2006 to 2018 that treated young people as collective actors. They found that several characteristics of youth collective actions have already been present since the early 2000s but have gained greater intensity in recent years.

Political confrontation; confrontation in public space; new internal organization model; renewal of the student movement; and new modalities of action, cultural productions, and expression of what is known as “collectives” configure aspects that constitute contemporary marks of youth movements that feature in all analyzed studies.

In this context, educational guidelines have always been present. However, as the set of analyzed studies indicates, the mobilizations of 2013 can be considered representative of a new cycle of struggles in education, even more so than the large school occupations of 2015 and 2016. This is because 2013 marks, in participants’ biographical itineraries, the convergence of changes arising from different social struggles that point, in short, to an attempt to face the disastrous consequences of neoliberal capitalism and its crisis.

Considering both the conjuncture alterations and the diverse temporalities of the mobilization processes studied by the authors, it is emphasized that youth movements have affected the itineraries of young people in probably unprecedented ways, marked by the rise of social media, preference for participatory forms of action – in which young people perceive themselves as contributing to the organization and action – and distrust toward traditional representative forms.

Final considerations

This study started from a debate on youth itineraries and/or trajectories, dealing with their constructions and reconstructions. This study found tensions between expectations and individual and singular projects arise and general social, economic, and political contexts and processes, which, at certain times, have covered the sign of the contingent, the indeterminate, the unpredictable, and the ambiguous as in the June 2013 Journeys.

This set of social and political protests, the 2013 Journeys, was actually characterized during its latency and in its first phases as a cycle of progressive and autonomist demonstrations to the left of the political spectrum of the PT coalition government. However, its developments proved complex and unpredictable. They partially constituted the scripts of progressive movements in the following years. These movements would even serve as resistance to what will be characterized as the other legacy of the Journeys, namely, a very politically active right wing and extreme right wing, which will mobilize toward Dilma Rousseff’s impeachment and win the 2018 presidential elections.

As for the debate made in this study on the sub-topic education, the seven chosen studies deal with it broadly and beyond the school, especially as political formation, whether incidental during the protest itself or in a more or less conscious and organized way as an educational device. We found autonomist collectives, such as the MPL in São Paulo and the Struggle Bloc in Rio Grande do Sul, with great concerns regarding the political formation of young people who joined the protests or who wanted to mobilize

themselves (such as the “grassroots work” of the MPL in public schools, which would even have served as a latency to the São Paulo occupation movement in 2015).

On political practices, Gohn (2018) brings a more optimistic reading, focused on horizontality and the appreciation of participation and diversity, which marked the autonomism of the first phase of 2013, whereas social media seemed to promise a more democratic production of information. Other works, even favored by the broader temporal perspective, such as those by Euzébio Filho and Guzzo (2018) and Almeida, Corrochano, and Spósito (2020), bring elements that characterize the scenario of political practices and the use of social media as more ambiguous and contradictory.

The analyzed studies in the sub-theme youth and students return to subjects of the sub-theme education, namely, political participation and political formation. However, the analysis begins by evaluating the position of André Singer (2013) regarding the meaning of the events of June – which he refuses to call “journeys” – and, therefore, the ways in which Brazilian youths at the time acted, unlike those of the 1968 student movement.

On the one hand, Singer seems to have delegitimized the youth of 2013 – both from the precariat and the middle class –, which collides with the decisive impacts of these active subjects in 2013 on the past history of the country and on the life trajectories of these youths. On the other hand, Singer seems to be at least partly right in denying the event the name “journeys” given that the term echoes popular revolutionary protests of the 19th century. However, we face a cycle of protests that included subjects and agendas from the right in its main moment. The “winning” sense of these powerful impacts became more evident in the following years, as Brazil drifted to the extreme right as a result of the 2016 coup and the banal moralism arising from the support for Operation Lava Jato. Even so, progressive movements remained active: even if unable to stop that conservative wave, they were very relevant in the social mobilization that helped define the 2022 presidential election.

It is on this last conclusion that the first questions arise, aiming to contribute to the “Educational dimensions of the 2013 Journeys” field research on how the people who participated in the Journeys had their trajectories – especially educational and political ones – affected by this experience full of unexpected, complex, and ambiguous moves and continuities. How was coexistence on the streets and demonstrations possible – even if almost always with tensions and sometimes conflicts – between progressive and conservative subjects, organizations, and agendas? How did this coexistence mark the experience of young activists, militants, and protesters in 2013 and influenced their political trajectories?

Still regarding the influences on the life trajectories of young activists and militants from the progressive field – who started this cycle and remained active after June –, the research theme “Educational Dimensions of the 2013 Journeys” includes the questions: how did young people incorporate – or not – unprecedented political practices and increasingly ambiguous agendas into their political trajectories? How have they absorbed, since then, the relation between social media and social, political, and personal life?

Another line of questioning derives from the discussion in this study regards identities and subjectivations.

Regarding identities: are there influences of participation in the Journeys on the constitution of social identities such as class, gender, sexual orientation, and ethnic-racial identity? Would these influences be more noticeable in interactions with more intimate and lasting coexistence, such as within collectives and organizations, as well as occupations, similarly to what was observed in the research on high school occupations in 2015 and 2016?

About subjectivities: what political subjects did the Journeys build, outline, or at least glimpse in their experiences of dissent and momentary establishment of political equality? Is it possible to conclude, as regarding high school occupations, that the process of political subjectivation was the most important or powerful in the 2013 Journeys, even above identity processes? Would the process of subjectivation also have opened spaces and opportunities for the reconstruction of social identities?

Regarding education, questions address educational trajectories and political training and encourage us to question how much educational and professional projects featured political experiences in 2013, i.e., would there be an impact similar to what we found in the movement of secondary occupations, which led the vast majority of its protagonists to higher education?

Our study, as announced, ends with more questions than answers, in this dive into some of the academic production regarding youths' actions in the 2013 Journeys. It is hoped that such questions contribute to the understanding not only of the youth trajectories of activists and militants (which our research intends to know) but also from other research on youth collective actions.

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