

Adolescents and Experiences with Violence: making sense of subjective interpretations of *life-world*¹

Hermílio Santos²

1 Delinquency and interpretation of life-world

Recent Brazilian social sciences literature emphasizes a macro approach to the problem of adolescent delinquency, structural factors and the objective living conditions of these youth (for instance, family structure, uncertainties in the labor market, drug use and trafficking, school evasion, etc.) (see, for instance, Assis 1999; Spagnol 2005; Abramo 2005; Novaes 2006; Caccia-Bava 2006). For this reason, we can say that the Brazilian literature is not concerned with a “sociology of violence,” but with a “sociology of the causes of violence” (see for instance, Staudigl 2007: 236). This is also recurrent in the recent international literature (see, for instance, Carroll *et al.* 2009).

In an effort made to offer an understanding of the problem mentioned, Alba Zaluar’s extensive and influential production has been important, especially her analysis of the “masculinity *ethos*” (Zaluar 1997: 45; 1999; 2004 and 2007) and the associative forms of gangs and *galeras* (Zaluar 1997: 44) as strongly connected to juvenile delinquency. However, in her analysis of the engagement of adolescents with serious infractions, the most important point seems to be that adolescents are, above all, subjects with the capacity to establish their own course of action (Zaluar 1997: 20), and not just victims of the precarious material conditions which they live in, in opposition to many other authors who used to deserve or still deserve a major or minor

1 This is a modified version of a paper presented at the VI Reunião de Antropologia do Mercosul, in Buenos Aires, September 2009, and is part of research supported by CNPq (National Council for Scientific and Technological Development of the Brazilian Ministry of Science and Technology) and of CAPES (from the Brazilian Ministry of Education). I am grateful to the reviewers of *Vibrant* for their suggestions to improve this article.

2 Professor at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS, Porto Alegre, Brazil), e-mail: hermilio@pucrs.br.

reputation. This thesis of Zaluar is very closely connected to the findings of different approaches affiliated to an “interpretive sociology”, such as symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology and phenomenology. Common to all these approaches is the presupposition that “the everyday social actor does not merely internalize norms whose implementation is seemingly as automatic as the stimulus-response behavior sequences learned in operant conditioning ... on the contrary, the actor is a conscious agent continuously mindful of and responsible for the active application of normative codes in the interpretation of social reality” (Parsons 1978: 111).

These perspectives offer an important contribution to the comprehension of the situation of Brazilian youth, since they allow for an understanding of the institutional and systemic contours that constrain the action of these individuals. On the other hand, however, the social sciences literature has dedicated relatively little attention to other analytical perspectives that could offer important contributions to understanding the problem discussed here. A dimension that received very little attention in recent studies refers to the “everyday life-world” (Schutz 1979:72) of adolescents, through the narratives of adolescents themselves. The purpose of this paper is to contribute to recent efforts to further understand Brazilian adolescents, especially those engaged in delinquency. Before presenting biographical narratives from three female adolescents, I present some theoretical presuppositions that guided both the collection of these narratives and their preliminary analysis, mostly focused on the phenomenological concept of life-world.

Life-world (*Lebenswelt*) is the pre-existing intersubjective world that an individual “takes-for-granted” in a “natural attitude” (Schütz 2003: 182) that recognizes objective elements of life as laws and customs that can guide an individual’s action, as well as the conditions for action (for instance, an other’s intention and his or her own). A natural attitude in everyday life does not suspend a belief in the existence of elements from the environment; to the contrary, what is suspended is precisely doubt concerning the existence of these things (Schutz; Luckmann 1973: 27), since all past experiences are lived in the present as if they were ordered, as knowledge or as expectation that something in the near future will occur exactly the same way it occurred in the past (López 2008: 242). However, everything that is taken for granted in the life-world is surrounded by uncertainty (Schutz; Luckmann 1973: 9). Thus, a natural attitude occurs simultaneously to the interpretation

conducted by individuals, based mostly on the stock of knowledge available to individuals and on their previous experiences and of others with whom they are in contact, directly or indirectly (for instance, parents, teachers, teachers of teachers, etc.), that means, based on the *knowledge on hand* (*Wissen vorhand*), which serves as a “reference code” (Schutz 1979: 72) for the individual. In this sense, this knowledge system – as the result of the sedimentation of subjective experiences (biography) in the life-world (Schutz; Luckmann 1973: 123) – assumes for those individuals that recognize themselves as internal members of a group, community or movement - an aspect of coherence, clarity and consistency sufficient for all to have a reasonable chance to understand and be understood (Schutz 1979: 81).

The sociology proposed by Schutz can be understood as a sociology of action, in which the main focus of analysis is directed at the investigation of the subjective process of attributing meaning to the life-world. The individual actor plays a central role in this analysis. However, the investigation proposed by Schütz should not be misinterpreted as a procedure that merely “gives voice” to the object of investigation, but, following the comprehensive sociology tradition (*verstehende Soziologie*), proposes to explore common sense knowledge. This necessarily implies interpreting the individual’s interpretation of everyday life, since it somehow affects *being-in-the-world*, that is, the individual’s capacity to attribute meaning (Staudigl 2007: 235). At the same time, to put the subjective meaning at the frontline of the analysis has nothing to do with the investigation of the psychological process of the agent, since what is intended to be understood is not the agent itself, but the *meaning* of his or her action (Cohn 2002: 28).

The interpretive work of individuals implies, in Schutzinian phenomenology, having at their disposal a system of relevance and typification that is part of what is transmitted to the members of an internal group through education (Schutz 1979: 119). Although both concepts refer to distinct problems, we can affirm that relevance and typification are elements of the same system, whose role is precisely to “naturalize” or harmonize social life. Phenomenological sociology presents an explicit pragmatic component, since the individual is considered from the point of view of action, or imminent action. Individuals are neither adrift nor submerged under the stream of facts they experience, since they are “equipped” with the instrument needed to orient themselves. This instrument is the relevance and typification

system, which selects the knowledge on hand that is relevant to their action (Nasu 2008: 91); thus, pure events or facts do not exist, but only interpreted facts and events.

Schutz distinguishes between various types of relevance. The first distinction is between imposed and voluntary relevance. These two kinds of relevance can assume motivational, thematic or interpretive characteristics. The first kind, motivational relevance, is oriented by an individual's interests in a specific situation. This means that individuals separate, among the elements present in a situation, those useful for the definition of the situation according to their interests (Wagner 1979: 23). This happens when the elements of the situation are sufficiently familiar to the person. When this is not the case, that means, if the involved elements in the situation are not sufficiently known, the individual effort will be directed to define the situation, since this is a problem that must be clarified. However, the unknown or the problematic is only relevant if it obstructs the definition of a situation according to individual interests and current plans (Wagner 1979: 24). Schutz also distinguishes a third kind, interpretive relevance, which demands a more detailed interpretation by the individual to permit the recognition of the situation. This interpretation can be non-problematic, if the knowledge needed is that routinely accessed; if this is not the case, the individual will make specific efforts to conduct a satisfactory interpretation, even before taking the first step of action. It is clear, then, that not only the biographic position is relevant here, but also the results of personal history, and of the experiences at hand and on hand, which means, the results of their own experiences and those of their contemporaries or predecessors, which have been transmitted to them in some way (Schütz 2004b: 69). Knowledge acquired through experiences will organize the different levels of relevance mobilized by individuals in all situations of everyday life.

Relevance is the most important problem for the phenomenological investigation of life-world (Nasu 2008: 92), since it implies asking about the ways individuals make sense of objects and events around them, which means how they perceive, recognize, interpret, know and act in everyday life through the selection of facts in the totality of elements involved in each situation. Experience itself occurs as a process of choice and not as a fatality or as a passive reception of data and information, due to the fact that individuals choose which elements of meaning should receive their attention, that

means, which elements among those involved in a situation are made relevant. On the one hand, we could say that individuals do not always choose the objective situations of life they must face; on the other hand, individuals can make choices about the attention they give to problems. Those choices are, however, informed by the stock of knowledge accumulated through previous experiences, their own and also those of others with whom they maintain any kind of tie, even if those other individuals are not their contemporaries. In this sense, present and future choices are in some way influenced by choices taken in the past, but not in a deterministic way. This is so because even past experiences are constantly submitted to interpretation and reinterpretation by those that act. In this sense, although anchored by the stock of knowledge, an individual's course of action remains open, although constrained by phenomena over which he or she does not have any control.

The process of typifying, on the other hand, is previous to the perception of a situation (Psathas 1980: 9). All objects, with which we are in contact, even for the first time, are experienced through typification, which means they are sent to a kind of catalogue where we search for affinities and similarities to other things already seen or known. Typification is socially processed, which means that the milieu in which a person is socialized builds and recognizes a typification of objects and relations, which are transmitted to new members of a group during childhood. This typification is in general accepted by those that are members of such a group. Simultaneously, individuals operate a self-typification, in which they typify their situation in the world and the diversity of relationships they maintain with other individuals and other objects, both material and cultural (Schutz 1979: 118). Typification is a reference to the perception of the situation. In this sense it is submitted also to interpretation by those that act, thus leading to an individual, subjective typification, over which is sustained the individual's guide for action. On the one hand, this typification allows individuals to anticipate the perspectives of the object to which he or she is in contact. On the other hand, it allows organizing the expectations in relation to the objects.

There is an important distinction to be made between *knowledge on hand* (*Wissen vorhanden* in German) and *knowledge at hand* (*Wissen zuhanden*). In the latter, the knowledge is not just accessible, but also effectively used in a specific situation in an objective way. In the opposite case, the knowledge on hand is available to the individual even if he or she does not use it in a direct

and objective way or even without the conscience of having this knowledge. This kind of knowledge can be accessible to the social scientist through the individual narrative, since it is strongly connected to their own biography, which necessarily means considering in the analysis the subjectivity in relation to the subjectivity of others, which involves an analysis of an intersubjective dialogue.

This intersubjectivity is constructed through the relation of the *I* with the *we*, and implies a common experience (Schutz; Luckmann 1973: 68; Capalbo 2000: 293). In this sense, what Durkheim (1962) considered a strong constraint to individual action – the role played by collective representations – Schütz considers a reference that individuals can dispose and follow, but as an object for their interpretation, since they are provided with the cognitive capacity to do so, which is developed since childhood (Schütz 2003: 339; see also Cicourel 2007: 175). Here, individuals are guided by a “natural attitude” in relation to the world, that means, belief in things of the everyday life. However, in phenomenological terms, “belief in” implies making everyday situations objects of inspection and interrogation (Natanson 1998: 7). Schutz conceives a status of actor for individuals who interpret things with which they are confronted (people, ideas, events, etc.), to assume a position in the world, and, in so doing, to establish their guide for action.

The *habitus* concept employed by Bourdieu (1980, 2000 and 2005) – as a system of socially constituted dispositions that generate and unify the practices and ideologies of an agent group (Bourdieu 2005: 191) – somehow remain close to the identified characteristics of members of an “internal group,” as in Schutz’s formulation.³ The *habitus* of agents is anchored by their past experiences and, in addition to composing their thoughts and perceptions of present reality, defines agents’ practices in a regular and constant manner (Crossley 2001: 83), expressed through symbolic marks of distinction created by the knowledge acquired, which is translated into lifestyles, and to political, moral and esthetic judgments (Bourdieu 1980: 92; 2000: 61). In this sense, we can affirm that members of a specific internal group are connected to each other by a specific *habitus*; however, Bourdieu (2000: 92) asserts that *habitus* makes possible the production of *all* thoughts, of *all* perceptions and also of *all* actions, which seems to enormously restrict a possibility for the

3 Bülow-Schramm and Gerlof (n.y.) see also approximations between both concepts.

individual's interpretation of this *habitus*. On the one hand, it seems to be possible to identify a proximity between the concept of *habitus* and "internal group" (an expression adopted by Schütz from William Graham Sumner, see Schutz 1979: 80); on the other hand, it is clear that the role of interpreter played by individuals or agents is not emphasized with the same intensity in both approaches. Crossley (2001: 85), for instance, points out precisely this distinction between the two approaches, affirming that phenomenology – as well as those schools he calls "social phenomenology" (ethnomethodology and symbolic interactionism) – excessively emphasize the agent's interpretive horizon.⁴ It could also be said that the phenomenological approach does not consider the constraints played by "social structures" on the definition of individual action. It must be remembered, however, that the important point here is to stress the possibility open to individuals to interpret their reality, including an interpretation of structural constraints over their actions.

The issue of individuals' interpretive attributes in everyday life is the most important aspect of Schutz' phenomenological sociology in terms of the attempt to combine the most important foundations on which his interpretation is established: Husserl's phenomenology and Weber's sociology of action. On one hand, Weber points out that individuals, in action, ascribe subjective meaning, considering the present, the past and the most probable future behavior of those with which they interact, at the same time that they are considered by others (Weber 2004: 13-16) – which makes clear that individuals, for Weber, are interpreters *par excellence*. It should also be considered that, according to Husserl, reality is put between brackets (Wagner 1979: 8), in the sense that the interpretive activity causes everything around an individual to be suspended so that it agrees with the subjective meaning he or she attributes to it.⁵

As already mentioned, individual interpretive work implies having a system of typification and relevance, as part of what is transmitted to members of the internal group through education (Schutz 1979: 119). This system fulfills the following functions: a) it determines which events should be treated as equals (so that similar problems can be handled similarly); b) it transforms

4 Throop and Murphy (2002) similarly scrutinize Bourdieu's criticism of Schutz's phenomenology.

5 For a brief and important comparison of the phenomenological approaches of life-world in Weber and Schutz, see John R. Hall (1991).

unique individual actions of unique human beings into typical functions of typical social roles, which guarantees that individuals act in accord with the social role they play, and c) it works simultaneously as a code for interpretation and orientation for members of the internal group, creating a common discourse universe, although no certitude of a common discourse. Social interaction depends on this system, in which the typification code is standardized and the relevance system institutionalized. This common system of relevance and typification originates the individual typification and structure of relevance, which are basic instruments for individual interpretation (Schütz 2004b; concerning Schutz's significance of "relevance," see also Langsdorf 1980 and Nasu 2008).

Considering Sérgio Adorno's (1993) argument that there is no typical biography related to delinquency, and Zaluar's (1997) observation that adolescents engaged in delinquent activities are protagonists in the definition of their actions, and based on the theoretical approach proposed by phenomenological sociology mentioned above, this article analyses the narratives of adolescents who committed crimes. The purpose of the study is to analyze how these adolescents construct meaning in everyday life, particularly concerning their experience with violence.

2 Narratives and experiences with violence

We know, since Durkheim (1962), that collective representations, understood as "a system of classification and denotation, of allocation of categories and names" (Moscovici 2003: 62), are shared in general by members of a society, community or group. However, the capacity of social representations to be a shared orientation for individual action seems to be challenged, even in a family environment (Zaluar 1997: 41). This is due, in part, to the fact that the construction and representation of self are becoming a relevant problem in contemporary societies (Giddens 1993) that are strongly marked by a process of redefinition of tradition, in which the individual occupies a central role in the definition of his or her own identity, since we have to decide not just who we are, and how we act, but also how we appear to the world (Giddens 1996: 97; see also Leccardi 2005). According to Giddens, the identities inherited by a traditional status no longer satisfy individuals, making the self an object of manipulation. According to Mead, the process in which the self emerges

is a social one, which involves the interaction of individuals of a community and the pre-existence of this community (Mead 1972: 164). The community is characterized by the interaction of *ego* with *alter*, which are mutually oriented. This reciprocity is possible due to the previous conditions of existence of a communication through a common system of symbols or culture.

The establishment of a common life with others necessarily presupposes sharing meanings that sustain social relationships (Schutz 1979: 80; see also Schutz 1972: 202) or of a collective identity expressed through common values that are reaffirmed in the communicative environment, in interactive relations (Schutz 1979: 160). This means that people from a specific community or group possess something socially significant in common, having in this element or elements boundary markings, since the subjective meaning that a group presents to its members consists in their knowledge of a common situation, and with it, a common system of typification and relevance (Schutz 1979: 82), in which recognizing similarities also involves establishing differences (Jenkins 2002: 80)⁶ that make possible the internal group (Schutz 1979: 80).

Common sense knowledge is based on the sedimentation of directly or indirectly lived experiences. Experiences are not restricted to practical events in which individuals are directly engaged, but also those events in which their contemporaries or even their predecessors took part, but that are somehow connected to their everyday life. This way, experiences must be understood as phenomena to which individuals ascribe some meaning. However, not all experience can be considered meaningful, since this characterization is restricted to experiences that are regarded retrospectively (Schutz 1979: 63). To say that an experience is meaningful implies affirming that it is possible for the individual to distinguish it and accentuate it, which means, to confront it with other experiences, when it is not possible to realize it with the ongoing events. This is possible if the experience can be delineated through what Schütz calls “an attention act.” Thus, to ascribe meaning to an experience is to interpret it *ex post*, by recovering it through memory, even if the event just occurred. Although Schütz did not delineate instruments and guides for empirical research based on his phenomenological sociology (Hitzler; Eberle 2000: 117), this can be undertaken through analysis of

6 In Schutz’s analysis of the “strange” we can very clearly see the relevance of alterity in the establishment of individual action (see, for instance, Schütz, 2004a: 219; 2004b: 116; 1979: 85).

biographic and everyday life narratives, because their use allows recovering the most important and meaningful elements for subjective interpretation, i.e. the system of relevance and typification.

Narratives in Brazilian social sciences have been used for some authors, especially in anthropology, but also in sociology (see Feltran 2008). However, the use of narratives or biographic narratives is still marginal in the Brazilian academic research, used mostly to complement other kinds of data collection. The resource of narrative is still viewed as a way to collect from the informant some objective information. Possible reasons for that is, first, the perception by social scientists that their main role is to “discover” the reality based mostly in objective information, even if the research is based mostly in interviews. Second, and probably even more important, is the very poor reception of theoretical approaches that could offer epistemological foundations for such a research undertaking, despite some important exceptions (see for instance, Velho 1987 and Teixeira 2000).

A quite different situation can be found in the German social science research scenario, where the biographic and everyday life narrative approach is widespread, based mostly on the formulation of Fritz Schütze (for instance, Schütze 1983; Riemann 2003; Rosenthal 2008; Völter 2003; Bohnsack 2008; in Brazil a good example is Weller 2005a and 2005b). Biographical and everyday life narratives are able to offer a very important access to the narrator’s interpretation, but also to the connections between individuals and their groups, communities and movements (Carvalho 2003: 293). The main theoretical source for the elaboration of the biographic narrative approach is, among other, the phenomenology of Alfred Schutz, especially his theory of relevance (see for instance, Rosenthal 2005). This approach has as starting point that any narrative is an interpretation viewed from a specific biographical situation (Schutz 1979: 73), since a biography is a description of processes and lived experiences by the individual itself. In this sense, biography is someone’s “subjective interpretation of their own life trajectory” (Born 2001: 245). To approach a problem this way implies a research undertaking that put in relieve not only the narrator – since his or her interpretation on life-world is what has to be analyzed – but also the researcher, who plays simultaneously the role of interpreter and partner in a narrative. Individuals whose narratives are the object of analysis are guided by their own relevance system. Here, the analysis of everyday verbal language permits an access to

the comprehension of the relevance and typification system (Schutz 1979: 96; Giddens 1993: 43; Berger; Luckmann 2002: 56; Hall 1997: 19), since “everyday life is above all the life with language” (Berger; Luckmann 2002: 57).

I will now proceed to an analysis of the narratives of three female adolescents who committed crimes and were “in jail”⁷ when the interviews were conducted. The individual narratives are influenced by the internal situation of a “total institution” (Goffman 2003); however, this definition of the situation, as well as its interpretation, is also strongly influenced by biographic factors, since the definition of situation is also “the sedimentation of all previous experiences” (Schutz 1979: 73).

The adolescents, whose narratives will be in part considered here, were interviewed voluntarily. No attempt was made to disguise the role of the researcher. To the contrary, the research proposals and the institutional affiliations of the researcher were explicitly mentioned before the interviews. Each adolescent was interviewed on three different occasions in the building of the Fundação de Apoio Socioeducativo [Foundation for Socio-Educational Support] (FASE), in Porto Alegre, an institution of the Rio Grande do Sul state government, in southern Brazil.

These narratives provided a reasonable approach to the adolescents’ “system of typification and relevance” (Schutz 1979: 82), which, in turn, offered basic elements to analyze the interpretations of their life-world, especially concerning their experience with violence. The analysis considered how to handle the “knowledge on hand,” as well as the system of typification and relevance, among other important elements in the process of interpretation of the life-world.

I present here the narratives of three adolescents, Carla, Fabíola and Geovanna, that will be used to construct different types of narrative that can be observed in the field. However, the most important difficulty here is that this typology is not based on different kinds of engagement in delinquency nor even on different kinds of objective life experience, but on the different motivations, that is distinct subjective interpretations of the life-world. Furthermore, these examples are not sufficient to saturate the field, since the research is still in progress.

7 Actually, boys and girls between 12 and 17 who commit serious offences are condemned to a maximum of three years reclusion, some of them with a chance to have external activities or to visit their parents on the weekend.

In conclusion, I present a preliminary assessment, considering the theoretical approach presented in this text.

After conducting several interviews with young males in the same institution where the girls were confined, I was a bit concerned about the possibility of having access to adolescent females, especially because of my condition as a male researcher, much older than the adolescent girls. The research procedures were anticipated by an exposition to the staff who worked with the girls, with the presence of the administrative directors, as well as the psychologists and pedagogical personnel. They all agreed to provide the necessary help in inviting the girls, and suggested that I should only interview girls who are not allowed to have external activity, because the interviews would probably disturb the agenda of those allowed to maintain external activities. In this sense, I did not use any criterion concerning age or gravity of offense, also because this does not seem to be relevant to the main focus of the research. All the girls who were indicated as being available for interview agreed to receive me. I had no explicit difficulty in gaining their confidence in narrating their lives. To the contrary, some of the adolescents confessed some episodes that they said they never before told to someone else. For instance, some of them told me about other crimes they committed, which are not known by a judge. One told me about sexual abuse practiced by family' members, etc. I had the opportunity to interview each adolescent three times. The place of the interviews was decided by the adolescent and the unit administration, and most of them chose the room where the beauty workshop took place. But I also conducted interviews in class rooms and in a room reserved for psychological consultations. The third and last interview of each adolescent was held in the rooms where they sleep, so that I had access to their "intimate" space. All of the interviews were not only recorded in audio, but also in video. I did not observe any important difference between conducting the interviews in video and audio or with just an audio recorder. One of the male adolescents asked me during the second interview, when I was not using the camera, why I did not bring it, because he preferred to be filmed. It is possible that one or two generations ago a camera could be excessively invasive, but probably not for adolescents today, because of the intensive use of visual media to expose and demarcate identities.

The Brazilian social sciences literature, especially in sociology and anthropology shows a strong interest in the relations of gender and violence

and on the engagement of female adolescents with delinquency and crime (see, for instance, Zaluar 1999). The issue of gender and violence was introduced not only because it has become important in the theoretical debate but above all because it was identified as relevant by my informants.

In a previous phase of this research, started with male adolescents, I conducted interviews with a semi-structured questionnaire. I soon perceived that this technique obstructed the narrative fluency of the interviewees and showed to be inadequate both for the theoretical approach that underpins my interest in making sense of subjective interpretations of life-world.

Following the basic guidelines of the narrative interview (see Rosenthal *et al.* 2006; Rosenthal 2008), the interviews were conducted without a prepared list of questions, although my main interest was to investigate their experience with violence and their interpretation of their own life-world. All these issues arose in the narratives without my having to ask direct questions. My questions were introduced only after periods of narration and were focused on elements already mentioned by the adolescent. I never asked questions like “Why did you...?” I always asked them to narrate or explore an issue or episode already referred to. This procedure proved to be adequate and consistent with the theoretical approach presented above, since the spontaneous narrative made possible the emergence of the typification and relevance system, key elements, according to Schutz, for the analysis of the interpretation of life-world. If I would ask explicit questions, I would be strongly lending my own typification and relevance system to my interviewee. Of course, asking them to explore some aspects of their narrative and not others is a way to give some direction to our dialogue, and doing so I will always emphasize some elements more than others. In any case, this procedure proved to be fluent, even in the absence of formal and previously formulated questions, because the questions that sought more detail for some episodes did not come from outside the interview. The interviewees gave the impression that they felt comfortable narrating, because what they were saying was exactly what I was interested in. That means that my interest was not established from outside the narrative, but from within the narrative itself and from within the relevance system they presented.

Some of the adolescents expected that I would be asking many questions as in the well-known procedure of question and answer, already used many times with them by the police, judges, and many other professionals

involved with the penal system and socioeducational procedures. It was quite unusual for someone to ask them to tell their entire life history and some aspects of their daily life, and most of them explicitly expressed feeling very comfortable when talking to me about their lives. Although the interviews began with questions about their life history, the interviews were not conducted with the intention of reconstructing their life trajectory as a whole.

After these remarks on the methodological procedures adopted, I will next analyze three narratives. My interest here is not to “explain” the life trajectory of the adolescents and the reasons “why” they committed offences, but to investigate how they begin their narratives, invariably connected to their current biographic situation, with the objective of understanding how the interviewees operate in the life-world, makes choices and establish their own relevance system according to their stock of knowledge.

Carla

Carla committed the offence that provoked her internment when she was 16. I asked her to initiate the narrative of her life from whatever moment she wanted. Her narrative began when she was 13, when she moved from her maternal grandmother’s house to the house of her mother and stepfather. In this narrative, Carla emphasized that the behavior of her stepfather, who tried to abuse her sexually, provoked in her a reaction against living with her mother and stepfather. This refusal was strengthened by the reaction of her mother, after having informed her about the behavior of her husband, in the following way:

As a small child I lived with my grandmother and when I was 13 years old I moved to live with my mother and with my stepfather. ... so my stepfather ... he went to my room sometimes, he would stay there and I was afraid because I was very young. “Then” after a certain time I started to leave home, started to leave home, I did not want to stay longer, started to go with boys in the street and to use drugs and I told my mother and my mother did not believe me and after a time I was using drugs, using cocaine, then my mother interned me and I stayed one month and seven days on a farm.

This choice to begin the narrative with this event is closely linked to the biographical situation at the time of the interview. It is remarkable here that she starts her narrative pointing out a turning point in her life. She could start her narrative at any time of her life, but she explicitly decided to begin

with this moment of moving to her mother's house. According to the analysis of narrative interviews proposed by Rosenthal (2005 and 2008) the analysis should start by identifying the first narratives introduced by the informant, since it offers the first elements of the individual relevance system, which is established according to the biographic situation of the narrator. These elements of the narrative offer us important indications to understand Carla's action since then. Starting her narrative in this way indicates, first, that the attempted abuse by her stepfather is directly connected to her use of drugs and, second, that there is a close link between the fact of having moved from her grandmother's house with all the changes in her life that occurred since then. That is, the situation of being "imprisoned" in an institution for adolescent offenders and the fact of having been involved with drug use and drug dealing is directly related, according to Carla's own narrative, with the moment she went to live with her stepfather and with her mother. That is, according to Carla's own narrative, the situation of internment in such an institution and the fact of having been involved with drug use and dealing are directly related to the fact that she began to live with her stepfather and her mother. In another passage, Carla provides more details about these relationships, both with her stepfather and with her mother:

... I lay down in bed and he sat down and sometimes he would look at me. I cried and "then" he ran his hand over me. And one day I told my mom "right," I told my mom and she did not believe me. She said that I was lying, because she loved him, because she had a son with him. "Then" I started going secretly to the Conselho Tutelar (Guardian Council) and in the Guardian Council I started to tell everything...

...

And she told me that I had to come back, that I should not denounce him, that I had to be quiet, that I should not destroy her life. She had a small child and she wouldn't leave because she didn't work, and he worked as a truck driver; he sustained her and the baby

Her stepfather's behavior and especially the behavior of her mother, of not giving any credit to her charges, marks a turn in Carla's life. For Carla, her mother's attitude is the expression of her fear of risking her own sustenance and that of her young son. This turn in her life, marked by the beginning of drug use, but also by leaving her mother's house – moving to an

aunt's house, whose husband was imprisoned – is identified in the narrative as strongly influencing Carla's world understanding. This understanding is marked by the feeling of having been abandoned by her family, or at least by her mother. She realized that her life must be led without support from her own mother. In this way, financial independence began to play a central and critical role in Carla's life. However, financial independence is not viewed by Carla as an indispensable element to be pursued by adolescents of her age, but as a particular mechanism through which the affection of her mother could be reacquired. The situation of her mother, as a material hostage to her stepfather – much more than the affective abandonment – gave her the motivation to leave her mother's house. Leaving home did not only have the meaning of expressing dissatisfaction and even revolt with the attitude of her mother when confronted with the denunciation of abuse practiced by her husband. This departure can be understood as a way to recover her mother's affection.

Living with her aunt, whose husband was imprisoned, allowed Carla to establish direct contact with other people who committed crimes, first by phone. Carla called her uncle many times. On one of these attempts, Carla spoke with an unknown prisoner who showed interest in meeting her. After some contacts by phone, she met him alone in the city where the prison is located, since he was allowed to leave the prison a few hours a day. After meeting Carla many times, he escaped from prison. They began to live together. At this moment she started dealing in drugs.

We were dealing, “then,” dealing, “then” one day I told him to return to surrender, and he surrendered... “then” I started to visit him, started to sell drugs alone, it was to go there, because I did not have any more money to go there, and “then” the police invaded my home and arrested me and now I am here.

Although she had no involvement with drug dealing before, this was already an activity practiced by her family, by her uncles and a brother-in-law. In this sense, to know and to maintain an affective relationship with a drug dealer and to practice the same activity does not seem to her as something far from her possibilities, since it was already an important component of her experience. This way, the experience with drug dealing is part of her knowledge of everyday life. Of course, there is no determinism involved, which means, this experience would not necessarily lead her to replicate the actions

of those from the same social environment. However, the indirect experience with drug dealing, combined with the motivation to recover her mother's affection give important inputs to understanding her engagement with drug dealing. It was, thus, one option that can steer her action from among many other possibilities at her disposition, but that option was more plausible given her familiarity with this kind of activity, even if she had no previous engagement with drug dealing.

Another aspect that can be gathered from Carla's narrative is her somewhat paradoxical relationship with her boyfriend. One can observe that she had some influence over him and maintained a certain independence in relation to him, since she had suggested that he should surrender after he escaped from prison – which he did. However, she also took the initiative to start dealing, to obtain a supply of drugs and to continue to deal, despite her boyfriend's recommendation to reduce these activities. On the other hand, their relationship was marked by intense conflict; he even beat her at times. However, the demonstration of independence to initiate and to organize the drug dealing was not sufficient to avoid her boyfriend's efforts to subjugate her. Her perception that she had already been treated with violence and disrespect was present at that time. In this sense, this was not an *ex post* interpretation. What had probably avoided a definitive rupture was that she was quite sure that her boyfriend loved her, which, however, was attenuated by her feelings of repugnance. Moreover, a return to her mother's home was not what she desired. This certitude was only eliminated when, while in "jail," she received the result of a test that confirmed that she contracted a serious sexually transmitted disease from her boyfriend. The fact that she was sure that her boyfriend infected her provoked a radical change in her conviction about her boyfriend's love for her. At that time she was convinced that she did not love him anymore. In the last interview with Carla, she narrated a dialogue she had with her mother a few days earlier, in which she gave her mother a condition for returning to her mother's home after her internment in the socioeducational institution: her mother must leave her stepfather. Carla had bought a house with her income from drug dealing with the intention of living with her mother once again.

What is remarkable in her narrative is that her plans for the near future are very closely connected not just with her present situation, but also with her present interpretation of past events.

Based on the narrative elements offered by Carla we can propose the hypothesis that her engagement in delinquency was motivated neither by a posture of masculine women (expression used by Zaluar to identify some women leaders of drug traffic she found in Rio de Janeiro; see, Zaluar 1999: 110), nor by a female attracted by a masculine authority, nor even motivated by the local visibility and influence that the engagement in drug traffic can offer. More important in her motivation to practice offences seems to be a reaction to recover the lost affections of her mother. Of course, there were many possibilities open to Carla to build a strategy to recover the mother's affection. However, as stated by Schutz (1979), individual courses of action are based on the interpretation of life-situations, and any future plan will take account this interpretation, based on past experiences. At the same time, any future strategy is not conceived outside the individual's stock of knowledge. According to Carla's interpretation, the main reason why her mother did not pay attention to her denunciation of her stepfather's attempted abuse, was due to the fact that her mother was economically dependent on her husband. Despite the fact that her action project could involve many possibilities, she identified that her economic autonomy could attract her mother back. Again, this financial autonomy could be constructed through many ways, for instance, as employee or as prostitute. Another strategy is closely connected to her "stock of knowledge" and could be among the possible alternatives in her strategy: the engagement in drug traffic already practiced by some members of her family. Of course, there is here no determinism, on the contrary, the individual choice is made considering the experience accumulated by the individual herself and by those with whom she is contact with, as Schütz has pointed out (1979). Analyses that would consider just the objective situation of Carla's life would probably not be able to present such an interpretation of her engagement with delinquency. Even if other adolescents presented similar life characteristics they would not be sufficient to understand their subjective interpretations of their engagement in delinquency.

Fabíola

Fabíola, 16, was born in Porto Alegre and at the time of the interview, had been at FASE for 15 months for robbery and did not have permission to maintain external activities. We had three interviews. In the first she spoke without interruption for fifty minutes. Fabíola started her narrative from when

she was 12, when she left home after losing her father, who was murdered in a park in Porto Alegre. However, most of the first meeting was concentrated on the disturbing relationship with her boyfriend and the circumstances of her imprisonment. In all three interviews the narrative about the relationship with her boyfriend was recurrent. The loss of her father, to whom she was strongly linked or even emotionally dependent, seems to have motivated a search for male protection and stimulated her refusal to live with her mother. After leaving home, Fabíola “stayed” with many boys before meeting her boyfriend, with whom she maintained a three-year relationship, which lasted until just before her imprisonment.

I asked her to tell me about her life. She started this way:

My life, now? Well, let's start when I left home. I left home when I was twelve, after I lost my father, he died with a shot, he got a shot in the park. I was very close to him, when I lost him I lost control, I did not care about my mother, I went out with many guys, until I met a guy called C. We stayed together many years, some three years. I moved in to live with him, then. Then we moved to live with his mother. He was nice, he worked, everything, he worked in a car wash. Then he changed, but the relationship with his father was not ok. His father did not like me; he said that he would never accept me in his house, that my boyfriend must get another house and everything. Then his outlook changed and he started to steal with his friends. But in between we separated, we stayed two months away from each other, then I heard that he was stealing with his brother and his friends; I never expected this from him. Then he started using drugs, he didn't use before, he didn't. Then he asked me to come back. Then he started to beat me, he became more aggressive, started to beat me, beat me almost every day, he used drugs, and he said that he would like to have a child with me, said that he loved me, but in reality he didn't..

It is remarkable that she starts her narrative telling about the moment she left home. We see here similarities with the way Fabíola and Carla began their narratives, beginning with the moment in which both see a major turning point in their lives. As Schütz pointed out, past experiences will be considered in close connection to the present biographic situation. In this sense, for both adolescents the situation of imprisonment guided the memories of their life as if all past experiences were subordinated to the present. Different from Carla, however, Fabíola identifies the death of her father as the moment

when she lost the security and protection of home, refusing to see her mother in the role of protector. She searches for a replacement for her father in another masculine figure, her boyfriend. She spent almost all of the first interview telling me about their conflictive relationship.

Despite this tumultuous relationship, Fabíola started to engage in her boyfriend's delinquent activities. One of these episodes provoked her confinement in an institution for adolescent delinquents. She tried many times to separate from her boyfriend, without success. Many authors would argue that in this case we find an attraction to a "masculinity *ethos*" represented by the violent offenses committed by her boyfriend. However, Fabíola's narrative offers other elements that make the persistence of this relationship understandable. On the one hand, the narrative offers elements to understand her interpretation of the relationship to her mother, as well as her refusal to live together with her. The attraction for a masculine figure, although it may occur among female adolescents engaged with delinquency, seems not to be the case of Fabíola, since this attraction involved in some way the process of her giving up her individual ambitions and judgments in order to assume those of the partner. At the same time, this attraction seems to minimize the thesis that the association to a masculine figure involves a calculation, in which a partnership provides some important advantages. In the concrete case discussed here, the alliance with her boyfriend provides the possibility of leaving home, her principal project at the time. In this sense, the association of Fabíola with her boyfriend involves not the subordination to a masculine figure, but principally a calculation of its advantages, even if it implied paying a high price. She had a clear notion that the price paid was very high, which makes the reasons for the fighting between them somewhat clearer. With the passing of time she became convinced that the chances of being arrested and punished were very small. This way of thinking and acting is very common in the common sense knowledge of everyday life – as already pointed out by Schutz –, i.e., it is oriented by the conviction that "if it is going this way until now, it may be so in the future". In other words, if the first offences occurred without any negative consequence the same would be true of future ones. Fabíola makes this quite clear in the following passage:

... I had fear, I was afraid the first time, and the second time. Then, the third time I was not afraid anymore. I thought everything would be ok. If the first and

the second time were ok, why would something go wrong on the third? And things were happening this way.

This way of organizing actions, that is, to consider the stock of experiences as an organizing criterion of future actions was already pointed out by Schütz, as previously discussed. The comprehension of Fabíola's action, i.e., her engagement with delinquency, becomes easier to understand through her interpretation of her own experience, which is explicit in her narrative, since the foundation for the action can be found in the agent. In this sense, it seems that the attraction for a masculine figure is not sufficient on its own to understand her engagement in delinquency. This attraction was combined with a rationalization about how things happen in everyday life. For her, it was more important to be sure that the future would be nothing more than the repetition of past events than to be an object of masculine protection. To be discovered by the police provided her a new knowledge about everyday life: that the future is something different from a simple repetition of events in the past.

Geovanna

Geovanna, 18, was also interviewed three times. She was not permitted to have external activities for almost one year. Among the adolescents that were interviewed, she was unique, mostly because of her upper middle-class background, the fluency of her narrative, her command of Portuguese as a spoken language, her care for speaking correctly (of which she was not always capable), the clarity of the explicit links she made between her experiences and future actions, as well as the visibility of her offense in the national and international press. At some moments Geovanna seemed to be proud because her offense had received so much attention in the media. Not only the local media, but also, according to her, in the national and international media. Although very restrained, at a few moments she seemed to express that her engagement in the offenses was somewhat glamorous. Contrary to the other girls interviewed, Geovanna presented her life trajectory as one that took place in an environment of harmony and affection:

well, I always received lots of affection from my family, from everybody. I am the youngest child, so everybody took care of me. My sisters, my friends, so, I was always treated with great affection. I am gentle, I am not aggressive,

nothing like that. My mother always carried me. Even when I came here, nobody believed it because it was something very shocking.

On the other hand, we see similarities between Geovanna and the other girls, especially in the fact that her internment is connected to offenses committed together with a romantic partner, although she maintained a very peculiar relationship with her partner. In this case, a much older one:

...he said that he was 28. Later I discovered that he was 34. First, he was a tall guy, I always had tall guys, but he was a calm boyfriend, a boyfriend that was not aggressive, an intellectual boyfriend, smart, interesting. I like smart and interesting people. Actually, I never liked to have boyfriends. I was always homosexual and so I really wanted to give a good impression to my mother. She is Adventist. I always studied in Adventist schools, so she wanted to bring me to an Adventist church.

...

She wanted me to become a Christian. A proper girl, very exemplary. But I have always tried to conform. But, actually, I never liked that, and she knows that. So what I liked in him is that he was not a person that would force me to have a sexual relation, and we never had a sexual relation, me and him. So I stayed with him because of that, because besides being someone who would not force me, he...I could make a good appearance, be with someone cool, and well-dressed. He was always very well-dressed. he was. He used to say that he was from an important family, a very refined family. And this was what he showed, to be a very calm guy, civilized, handsome, intelligent, intellectual. And besides this, very rich. But this did not make any difference to my life because my family is not rich, but a family that has very comfortable living conditions. We have everything we need, but I am not rich, absolutely not. I do not consider myself rich. I consider myself a person that has a very comfortable life. But I offered a good image of myself to my mother and my sisters. But I did not like him, no.

Geovanna justifies her engagement with this man with the argument that she was living a very difficult moment in her life, since she lost the woman with whom she had a stable and loving relationship. However, this relationship seems far from having been marked by the domination of a masculine figure. It seems even the opposite. Her interest in maintaining this kind of connection can be characterized to be instrumental, since having no sexual or affective attraction to men she was trying to present a masculine figure

just to avoid troubles with her family. That means that, first, there is a motivation to have this kind of connection, which is under her control to maintain or not, and, second, that this relationship should bring her some kind of advantage. Based on Geovanna's narrative there is no subordination to masculinity but, on the contrary, masculinity here is made useful to her; subordinated to her own interests. This resembles the motivation observed in Carla's narratives above, and it is probable that this kind of relationship is more common than the literature has admitted so far.

Her narrative makes it clear that she did not share with her family important aspects of acceptable behavior, such as being religious. On the other hand, she seems to share other values that seem to be important to her nuclear family, for example, relating to people with the same cultural, social and economic status as she and her family. During the interview, Geovanna affirmed more than once that one of the questions that most embarrassed her was the question raised many times by her family, by the judge and also by psychologists to explain the reasons for her engagement in offenses. Searching for a plausible answer to that question, Geovanna seems to be influenced by a religious determinism, which marked her socialization in the family and also at school, since her mother is a diligently religious person and she had to go to a school from the same religious persuasion. It is a heritage that she would like to abandon, as she stated before, she did not like religious activities, contrary to her mother's desire to see in her an exemplary Christian girl. Ironically, however, she falls back on religious determinism in the absence of a convincing explanation for the motivations that led her to commit the offense; it must be God's will. This interpretation, marked by a strong resignation, can be considered a way to minimize the pain of having lost her freedom.

We can find some important similarities among these narratives, but also differences that permit us to suggest that they represent different types of experience among female adolescents engaged in delinquency.

3 Concluding remarks

For a number of years Brazilian social science literature has dedicated great attention to the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency. As mentioned earlier in this paper, a considerable part of this literature emphasizes objective

aspects of the lives of those youth as determinant variables for the commitment of offenses. The main focus is directed towards exploring the diverse types of crimes (Adorno, Bordini e Lima, 1999), drawing attention to adolescents profiles, their motivations to commit “crimes” (Zaluar 1997; Spagnol 2005), as well as for their life history, with a special emphasis on the precarious structural conditions of society and social inequalities (Assis 1999). We also found in the literature a reasonable and justified concern for the penal system (Adorno 1993; Zamora 2005; Lima 2006; Neri 2008). More recently, Fonseca *et al.* (2009) investigated the trajectory of female adolescents after leaving institutions for adolescents that committed crimes. Despite the relevance and importance of their approach to offer a deeper understanding of the experience of living under the “socioeducational” system, their theoretical and methodological procedures do not converge with those presented in this paper, through which it will be possible to construct a typification of subjective interpretation of the life-world of those adolescents.

Although action is something usually committed individually, the Brazilian literature dismisses analyses that try to understand the problem from a perspective of individual action, i.e. through a sociological analysis of subjectivity. We tried here to explore the issue in a preliminary way through the comprehension of individual action based on the narrative of the agents. With the phenomenological sociology of Alfred Schutz as the main theoretical support, the focus was on understanding these actions through the interpretation these individuals make of their life-world and their everyday life. The analysis of the narratives based on Schutz’ concepts proved to be a promising undertaking, even in a preliminary way, since it permitted exploring the foundations of the action of the agents themselves. As stated by Schutz, these foundations are connected to the way these experiences are accumulated in their respective biographies, and expressed through their relevance system, conceived as the individual orientation to action. It does not imply searching for an understanding of the individual psyche, but interpreting the action from the perspective of individual narratives. The methodological approach adopted would not be the most appropriate to provide new findings on the objective life situation of adolescents engaged in crimes. On the contrary, proceeding the way presented here will provide us with a better understanding of the interpretation of individuals from similar communities or those that share a common experience.

Recurrent in the narratives mentioned in this paper and in others as well is that they start from the moment in which the adolescents identify a close link between their past experience and the present biographical moment. In this sense, the stock of past experiences is used to interpret the current situation. Doing so, they reinterpret their own experience, using as criterion for this reinterpretation precisely their current biographical situation. We can also call attention to the fact that in all three narratives, the system of typification and relevance recognized in the social context in which they were socialized are interpreted by the youths, thus building their individual typification system. In a preliminary way we can conclude, on the one hand, that there is no typical biography connected to delinquency – corroborating the theses of Adorno (1993) and Zaluar (1997: 20). On the other hand, the basic foundation for an individual action can be found not just on the objective living conditions of those individuals, but above all in the way they interpret their own experiences. At the same time, the preliminary findings presented here are in some way similar to those already found by Zaluar (1999: 111), in which the engagement of females in crime is mostly connected to a relationship with an affective partner. However, the proceedings used here try to go beyond these kinds of findings, exploring the female adolescents' life-world interpretation.

Before concluding, we should make some comments on the narrative interviews conducted. After trying out various ways of conducting the interviews, I found that the most adequate technique proved to be to solicit the freest possible narrative, avoiding a battery of standard questions. There were at least two reasons for this decision. First of all, presenting formal questions, even the most simple ones – in which the researcher obtains objective information about the adolescent's life – would eliminate the opportunity to analyze the narrative choices constantly made by the informant during the narrative. These choices made during the narrative of a biographical trajectory or of everyday life' situations are important for interpreting the informant's relevance system. Secondly, starting the interview with objective questions increases the possibility for the informant to adapt to a "comfortable" situation of simply answering the questions formulated by the researcher. In addition, starting the narrative interview with objective questions makes it a little harder to encourage the informant to use a more fluent narrative and provides the informant too much of an indication about the researcher' expectations. Actually, at the beginning, I invited the interviewee

to narrate his or her life. After the first presentation I explored some issues mentioned in the first presentation. My objective was to collect narratives (not descriptions or arguments) of their experience, thus offering elements for the analysis of the relevance system. My interest here was not to identify the recurrence of the kinds of interpretation, but, on the contrary, the presence of different types of relevance systems among adolescents with direct experience with violence. The adoption of the method of narrative interview as proposed first by Fritz Schütze (1983) and developed among other by Gabriele Rosenthal (2008), and with a “tradition” of three decades in the German social sciences, showed to be adequate also for some other reasons, above all because it permits us to record more fluent narratives and because it makes the recognition and respect for the informant explicit. The interview is conducted strictly according to the relevance system captured during the interview itself. If the focus is to reconstruct and to interpret the interpretation of the life-world of the informant, the richness of the approach adopted is enormous, much more than pre-structuring a questionnaire based on the researcher’s own relevance system.

Although the principal goal of the research approach presented here is not to provide recommendations for better handling adolescents who have committed crimes, it was clear during the interviews that the adolescents’ own interpretation of their experiences are not considered very much during the “resocialization” process. The point here is that the punishment process seldom considers the interpretation of the experiences provided by offenders themselves when establishing the appropriate measures for re-socialization. This would certainly lead to a need to adjust the current forms of dealing with these adolescents, considering not just the kind and severity of the offense, but also the subjective interpretation of the offender’s experience. In this sense, measures in this direction would not involve an individualization of responses, but a categorization based on other terms, which would allow re-grouping adolescents according to a typification of subjective interpretation.

References

- ABRAMO, Helena Wendel. 2005. “Condição juvenil no Brasil contemporâneo”. In: Helena Wendel Abramo e Pedro Paulo Martoni Branco (orgs.), *Retratos da juventude brasileira – análises de uma pesquisa*

- nacional. São Paulo: Editora Fundação Perseu Abramo, pp. 37-72.
- ADORNO, Sérgio. 1993. "A experiência precoce da punição". In: José de Souza Martins (org.), *O massacre dos inocentes – a criança sem infância no Brasil*. São Paulo: Editora Hucitec, pp. 181-208.
- ADORNO, Sérgio; BORDINI, Eliana B.T.; LIMA, Renato Sérgio. 1999. "O adolescente e as mudanças na criminalidade urbana", *São Paulo em Perspectiva*, 13 (4), pp. 62-74.
- ASSIS, Simone Gonçalves. 1999. *Traçando caminhos numa sociedade violenta – a vida de jovens infratores e seus irmãos não infratores*. Rio de Janeiro/Brasília: Fiocruz/Unesco/Ministério da Justiça.
- BERGER, Peter L.; LUCKMANN, Thomas. 2002. *A construção social da realidade*. Petrópolis: Vozes.
- BOHNSACK, Ralf. 2008. *Rekonstruktive Sozialforschung – Einführung in qualitative Methoden*. 7. Auflage. Oplade: Verlag Barbara Budrich.
- BORN, Claudia. 2001. "Gênero, trajetória de vida e biografia: desafios metodológicos e resultados empíricos". *Sociologias*, 5: 240-265.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre. 1980. *Le sens pratiques*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre. 2000. *O poder simbólico*. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre. 2005. *A economia das trocas simbólicas*. São Paulo: Perspectiva.
- BÜLOW-SCHRAMM, Margret; GERLOF, Karsten. 2008. "Lebensweltliche Konstruktionen von Studierenden – Brücken zum Habitus?" Disponível em http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/QUEST//Pdf/lebensweltl_konstruktionen.pdf. Acesso em 21/07/2008.
- CAPALBO, Creusa. 2000. "A subjetividade em Alfred Schutz". *Veritas*, 45(2): 289-298.
- CARVALHO, Isabel Cristina Moura. 2003. "Biografia, identidade e narrativa: elementos para uma análise hermenêutica". *Horizontes Antropológicos*, 19: 283-302.
- CACCIA-BAVA, Augusto. 2006. "Sobre as políticas locais de segurança para os jovens". *Política e Sociedade*, 8: 59-88.
- CARROLL, Annemaree; HOUGHTON, Stephen; DURKIN, Kevin; HATTIE, John A. 2009. *Adolescent reputations an risk – Development trajectories to delinquency*. New York, Springer.
- CICOUREL, Aaron. 2007. "As manifestações institucionais e cotidianas do habitus". *Tempo Social*, 19(1): 169-188.

- COHN, Gabriel. 2002. "Introdução". In: _____. (org.), *Max Weber*. São Paulo: Editora Ática, pp.7-34.
- CROSSLEY, Nick. 2001. "The phenomenological habitus and its construction". *Theory and Society*, 30: 81-120.
- DURKHEIM, Émile. 1962. *De la division du travail social*. Paris: Presses Universitaire de France.
- FELTRAN, Gabriel de Santis. 2008. O legítimo em disputa: As fronteiras do "mundo do crime" nas periferias de São Paulo. *Dilemas – Revista de Estudos de Conflito e Controle Social*, v. 1, pp. 93-126.
- FONSECA, Claudia; MAGNI, Claudia Turra; PASINI, Elisiane; PAIM, Heloisa. 2009. Trajetória de algumas meninas egressas da FEBEM-RS, in: Fonseca, Claudia; Schuch, Patricia (org.), *Políticas de proteção à infância – Um olhar antropológico*. Porto Alegre: UFRGS Editora, pp. 65-92.
- GIDDENS, Anthony. 1993. *Modernity and self-identity – Self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- GIDDENS, Anthony. 1996. *Para além da esquerda e da direita*. São Paulo: Unesp.
- GOFFMAN, Erving. 1967. *Interaction ritual*. New York: Anchor Books.
- HALL, John R. 1991. "Max Weber's methodological strategy and comparative life-world phenomenology". In: Peter Hamilton (org.), *Max Weber: Critical assessments 1*, volume II. London: Routledge, pp. 1-22.
- HITZLER, Ronald; EBERLE, Thomas S. 2000. "Phänomenologische Lebensweltanalyse". In: Uwe Flick; Ernst von Kardorffa; Ines Steinke (orgs.), *Qualitative Forschung – Ein Handbuch*. Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag, pp. 109-118.
- JENKINS, Richard. 2002 *Social identity*. London: Routledge.
- LANGSDORF, Lenore. 1980. "Schutz's theory of relevance". *Human Studies*, 3: 403-410.
- LECCARDI, Carmen. "Por um novo significado do futuro – mudança social, jovens e tempo". *Tempo Social*, 17(2): 35-57.
- LIMA, Rita de Cássia Pereira. 2006. Mudança das práticas sócio-educativas na FEBEM-SP: As representações sociais dos funcionários, *Psicologia e Sociedade*, 18 (1), 56-62.
- LÓPEZ, Daniela Griselda. 2008. "Conocimiento de sentido común y procesos de interpretación – una mirada a partir de las reflexiones de Alfred Schutz y Harold Garfinkel". *Intersticios – Revista Sociológica de Pensamiento Crítico*, 2(2): 241-250.

- MEAD, Georg H. 1972. *Mind, self and society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- MOSCOVICI, Serge. 2003. *Representações sociais – investigações em psicologia social*. Petrópolis: Vozes.
- NASU, Hisashi. 2008. “A continuing dialogue with Alfred Schütz”. *Human Studies*, 31: 87-105.
- NATANSON, Maurice. “Alfred Schutz: Philosopher and social scientist”. *Human Studies*, 21: 1-12.
- NERI, Natasha Elbas. 2008. Quando jovens punem jovens: um olhar sobre a internação de adolescentes em conflito com a lei no Rio de Janeiro. 32. *Encontro Anual da ANPOCS, Caxambu*.
- NOVAES, Regina. 2006. “Os jovens de hoje: contextos, diferenças e trajetórias”. In: Maria Isabel Mendes de Almeida; Fernanda Eugenio(orgs.), *Culturas jovens – novos mapas do afeto*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor, pp. 105-120.
- PARSONS, Arthur S. 1978. “Interpretive sociology: the theoretical significance of Verstehen in the constitution of social reality”, *Human Studies*, 1, pp.111-137.
- PSATHAS, George. 1980. “Approaches to the study of the world of everyday life”. *Human Studies*, 3: 3-17.
- RIEMANN, Gerhard. 2003. “A joint project against the backdrop of a research tradition: an introduction to ‘Doing Biographical Research’”. *Forum Qualitative Social Research*, 4(3): art. 18.
- ROSENTHAL, Gabriele. 1995. *Erlebte und erzählte Lebensgeschichte – Gestalt und Struktur biographischer Selbstbeschreibungen*. Frankfurt, Campus Verlag.
- ROSENTHAL, Gabriele. 2008. *Interpretative Sozialforschung – Eine Einführung*. Weinheim: Juventa Verlag.
- ROSENTHAL, Gabriele; KÖTTIG, Michaela; WITTE, Nicole; BLEZINGER, Anne. 2006. *Biographisch-narrative Gespräche mit Jugendlichen – Chancen für das Selbst- und Fremdverstehen*. Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich.
- SCHUTZ, Alfred. 1972. *The phenomenology of the social world*. London: Heinemann Education Books.
- SCHUTZ, Alfred. 1979. *Fenomenologia e relações sociais*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar.
- SCHUTZ, Alfred. 2003. *Theorie der Lebenswelt 1 – Die pragmatische Schichtung der Lebenswelt* (Alfred Schütz Werkausgabe Band V.1, organizado por

- Martin Endreß e Ilja Srubar). Konstanz: UVK.
- SCHUTZ, Alfred. 2004a. *Der sinnhafte Aufbau der sozialen Welt – Eine Einleitung in die verstehende Soziologie* (Alfred Schütz Werkausgabe Band II, organizado por Martin Endreß e Joachim Renn). Konstanz: UVK.
- SCHUTZ, Alfred. 2004b. *Relevanz und Handeln 1 – Zum Phänomenologie des Alltagswissens* (Alfred Schütz Werkausgabe Band VI.1, organizado por Elisabeth List). Konstanz: UVK.
- SCHUTZ, Alfred; LUCKMANN, Thomas. 1973. *The structures of the life-world*. Volume 1. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- SCHÜTZE, Fritz. 1983. “Biographieforschung und narratives Interview”. *Neue Praxis*, 3: 283-293.
- SPAGNOL, Antonio Sergio. 2005. “Jovens delinquentes paulistanos”. *Tempo Social*, 17(2): 275-299.
- STAUDIGL, Michael. 2007. “Towards a phenomenological theory of violence: reflections following Merleau-Ponty and Schutz”. *Human Studies*, 30: 233-253.
- TEIXEIRA, Carla Costa (org.). 2000. *Em busca da experiência mundana e seus significados – Georg Simmel, Alfred Schutz e a Antropologia*. Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará.
- THROOP, C. Janson; MURPHY, Keith M. 2002. “Bourdieu and phenomenology – A critical assessment”. *Anthropological Theory*, 2: 185-207.
- VELHO, Gilberto. 1987. *Individualismo e cultura – Notas para uma antropologia da sociedade contemporânea*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar.
- VÖLTER, Bettina. 2003. *Judentum und Kommunismus – Deutsche Familiengeschichten in drei Generationen*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.
- WAGNER, Helmut R. 1979. “Introdução: A abordagem fenomenológica da sociologia”. In: Alfred Schutz, *Fenomenologia e relações sociais* (textos escolhidos de Alfred Schutz). Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores, pp. 3-50.
- WEBER, Max. 2004. *Economia e sociedade*. Volume 1. São Paulo: UnB.
- WELLER, Wivian. 2005a. “A presença feminina nas (sub)culturas juvenis: a arte de se tornar visível”. *Estudos Feministas*, 13(1): 107-126.
- WELLER, Wivian. 2005b. “A contribuição de Karl Mannheim para a pesquisa qualitativa: aspectos teóricos e metodológicos”. *Sociologias*, 13: 260-300.
- ZALUAR, Alba. 1997. “Gangues, galeras e quadrilhas: globalização, juventude e violência”. In: Hermano Vianna (org.), *Galeras cariocas*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ, pp.17-57.

- ZALUAR, Alba. 1999. Um debate disperso: violência e crime no Brasil da redemocratização, *São Paulo em Perspectiva*, 13 (3), pp.3-17.
- ZALUAR, Alba. 1999. Women of Gangsters: chronicle of a less-than-musical city. *Estudos Feministas*, Special Issue, 1st set., pp. 109-115.
- ZALUAR, Alba. 2004. *Integração perversa: pobreza e tráfico de drogas*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV.
- ZALUAR, Alba. 2007. Democratização inacabada: fracasso da segurança pública, *Estudos Avançados*, 21 (61), pp.31-49.
- ZAMORA, Maria Helena (org.). 2005. *Para além das grades – elementos para a transformação do sistema socioeducativo*. São Paulo: Edições Loyola.

Received March 30, 2010, approved May 9, 2010