

School Evasion in the Brazilian trends: analyzing the vectors that influence students' decision to interrupt their formative process

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Abstract— *Research data demonstrate that the analyzes built around School Evasion considers, primarily, the quantitative metrics of students' entry and exit and also the monetary losses, especially because it would be incoherent not to take as reference the goals and objectives outlined for education school system. However, analyzing the vectors that influence students' decision to interrupt their formative process, according to purely numerical criteria, would imply in ignoring the function of educational institutions and the real causes/reasons stemming from the social and relational demand of students' passage on educational institutions. For this reason, problematizing some of the recurring issues and incidents generated by certain investigations seems instigating and challenging. If in on the one hand, the attitude of understanding the conceptualization, the investigative tendencies and the characteristics of the studies give rise to certain criticisms that put in check the complexity of the object in question, on the other, it can stimulate the construction of other tendencies, new pathways, other possible ways of overcoming the gaps identified in the studies about School Evasion in Brazil.*

Keywords— *School Evasion in Brazil, education school system, analyzing the vectors.*

For a presentation to the critical public: concept and origin

On the course of this research proposal, we firstly discuss some questions about the originality of the term evasion and then, more precisely, about the conceptual

insights of "school evasion" giving rise to its use as a tagline of this research. In the next moment, the construction scenario of the first analyzes undertaken in Brazil is presented, as well as the aspect that ends up showing choices, viewpoints and academic preferences. Then, the main idea was to show part of the panorama represented by the international tendencies, which in a way, have inspired the Brazilian researchers. In order to represent the end of the explanatory work, the intention was to stimulate the visualization of the details identified in the researches, as aspect widely used in Brazil, and the possibility of suggestions for the construction of other possible models to be produced and used in the country.

I. IS SCHOOL EVASION A TIMELESS CONCEPT? USES AND SEARCHES

In general, in the Portuguese language, the word evasion refers to a feminine noun that names the act of evading, fleeing, escaping or disappearing. The action of dropout something or move away. As a Latin word, from the denotative point of view, the term carries with it, meanings close to verbs such as: to divert, to avoid, to deceive, to steal (with skill or cunning), to change (a direction) or to change (a goal). It appears as "Evadere" meaning "to leave, to throw itself out, to escape, to be saved, to avoid" (SARAIVA, 1993, p. 438, our translation). In the figurative sense, the term evasion is also a subterfuge, an evasive attitude, a ruse or a vague response when trying to get out of some difficulty.

Also in the denotative sense, the Luso-Brazilian Encyclopedic Dictionary (LELLO and LELLO, 1991, p.940) presents, etymologically, the discursive evasion element based as reference the Latin term *evasione*. It presents the term's meaning as: "act of evading, escaping from prison: planning an escape".

Extending the search for meaning, it was defined by Gaioso (2005) as the interruption in the cycle of studies and by Kira (1998) as the escape of students. Other more complex definitions were presented by Polydoro (1995, 2000) and Cardoso (2008) who, in a common way, have identified the existence of several interpretations. The last researcher has presented two main questions: i) it does not appear in a consensual way in the investigations carried out by the academic community; and ii) it is considered, in several surveys, as a similar term of abandonment, transfer (external or internal), retirement, decoupling, loss (of vacancy), cancellation (school registration), etc.

About the studies on evasion, one of the most meaningful references is the investigations of Vincent Tinto. One of his most widely used studies in evasion research was the Dropout from Higher Education: A Theoretical Synthesis of Recent Research, created by the sociologist in 1975. In order to predict the determinants of student avoidance in student institutions in the United States, he has explained the phenomenon as being an interactive process between the individual and the institution. The theoretical proposal of Tinto (1971, 1973, 1975) was based on three basic principles: (i) Emile Durkheim's conception of suicide (conceived as a fact that could be treated sociologically rather than for reasons motivated by acts of self-destructions, since the unit of analysis would be the society, not the individual); and ii) in the idea of the rite of passage of the French anthropologist Arnold Van Gennep, that when he was studying the ceremonies that occurred in several societies, he realized that they were marked by the transition of individuals from one status to another – what has contributed to Tinto systematizes a similar sequence based on the rites: "separation", "liminality" and "incorporation"; and (iii) the cost-benefit ratio of the values applicable to education. For his theoretical construction, the postulates were sufficient to support the hypothesis that the student's attitude in taking a decision to evade would occur from a longitudinal process, marked by phases and influenced by the interaction between individual and institution, so that this process would be influenced by both elements, as demonstrated in the following section:

The theoretical model developed here suggests then that dropout this multidimensional process which results from the interaction between the individual, and

the institution and which is influenced by the characteristics of both elements. The basic elements of this model are diagrammed (...) in a manner which suggests that there exists a longitudinal dimension to the process of dropout (TINTO, 1975, p.41).

In terms of the incidence and reasons that triggered the evasion process, Tinto (1988, p.448), inspired by Social Anthropology, have traced three stages that would precede the decision to evade. These would be: i) the stage of separation; ii) the liminality stage e; iii) the stage of incorporation. He reinforces the idea:

In employing the stages of separation, transition, and incorporation in our analysis of student departure, we do not mean to oversimplify what is a very complex and quite fluid situation. The stages of passage we have described are abstractions that necessarily simplify for purposes of analysis the more complex phenomena we understand as student departure.

By employing the stages in his explanations, he has inferred them as abstractions that would simplify for purposes of analysis, a possible explanation of the student evasion phenomenon. However, it is understood that some weaknesses and uncertainties of the studies on evasion in Brazil emerged due to the way international research was interpreted, once even between them, the analyzes did not present themselves defined. Conclusions of a review about subject between the years 1950 and 1975, for example researches realized by Pantagen and Creedon (1978), showed that low performance was the main evasion factor for students, but also the good performance did not guarantee the non-evasion in the course.

In Brazil, according to Baggi and Lopes, (2010), the two formal milestones of the evasion studies occurred from 1995 with the Seminar on Evasion in Brazilian Public Universities, promoted by the Secretariat of Higher Education and Ministry of Education (MEC). The second was the creation, in the same period, of the Institutional Evaluation Program of Brazilian Universities (PAIUB) for public Higher education institutions.

As a result of the previous events, the Special Committee on Studies on Evasion in Brazilian Public Universities was created whose definition was considered "as the definitive exit of the student from its course of origin, without concluding it" (BRAZIL, 1996, p.15).

In an attempt to conceptualize, Cardoso (2008) presented two different appraisals around the concept which are: "apparent evasion" and "real evasion". The first one, referring to mobility, that is, the passage from one course to another, and the second, the dropout of the

student from educational institution. In addition, Silva Filho and Lobo (2012) expressed two similar qualifications. One called annual school evasion, which would partially verify the difference between students enrolled from one year to the next. The other would be total evasion that would compare the number of students first enrolled with the final number of graduating students at the end of a course or cycle.

The term had also been brought into the research by Palharini (2010, p.13, our translation), when he tried to conceptualize it in the following way:

Evasion is understood the definitive exit of the student from the course of origin without completing it. Although this is a practically consensual definition among scholars of the subject, it should be noted that from this point, for different reasons, the divergences begin to manifest themselves. These differences are seen in the parameters by which the student evaded is identified, since this definitive exit can assume different conformations, both with regards to the form as to its meaning. Usually, the following forms of exit are considered: the student does not enroll and leaves the course; the student officially communicates the withdrawal; the student chooses to transfer to another course of the same institution; the student is excluded by institutional norm, the student chooses to transfer to the same course in another institution.

According to Ristoff (1996), there is a difference between evasion and migration. The evasion would correspond to the abandonment of the studies while the migration of students would be the change from one course to another without leaving the educational system, mean mobility. Without exhausting the way of thinking the concepts, Palharini (2010) has warned that we must distinguish the difference between school evasion and retention. The concept of retention in Brazil had been used to characterize the student repeated enrolled in his or her course of origin who already extrapolated the average time of payment curriculum. This distinction is not always taken into account in the different forms of evasion, especially before 1996.

Returning to the issue of the terms evasion and retention, it was noticed that a problematic in the trajectory of studies, especially in Brazil, refers to the interpretation of impact models as a theoretical basis in the international literature, with greater relevance in the American literature, greatly in vogue in the Brazilian's researches. The epistemological and conceptual question did not seem to appear itself clearly. The

problematic revolves around, on the one hand, the fact that the term in the North American works refers to actions and proposals of permanence of the students in the institution, in the opposite direction to the phenomenon of the evasion. On the other hand, in some Brazilian studies, the researchers addressed the issue to students' non-approval (Pereira, 1997, Pontes, 2012, Santos, 1999).

As an example of this mistake, Tinto (1987) has noticed that even though the word retention was related to actions whose purpose was to stimulate the presence of students for a longer time in the institution (in order to conclude the course), the work was mistakenly taken as synonymous of evasion in many scholarly works in Brazil. It is suspected that the mistake was initiated because of the report prepared by the Special Committee on Studies on Evasion in Brazilian Public Universities (created in 1995 by the MEC to study in depth the issue of evasion in the country) by presenting the term as synonymous with retention. In it, the word retention appeared as: "permanence in courses beyond the maximum time of curricular payout" (BRASIL, 1996, tradução nossa).

Faced with this confirmation, it was noticed that several studies followed the same tendency, when they have misused the term retention (used in North American researches to refers to the students' longer time in the institution in order to not leave the course but to complete it) as the non-conclusion of course in the foreseen time. Verified fact since works published in the 1990s, such as Pereira (1997), to some most recent such as Pontes (2012), Gemaque e Souza (2016), Nodari (2016), Ambiel, Santos, Dalbosco (2016).

Still on the forms of understanding, in recent works, school evasion appeared as a broad, ambiguous and polysemic term. Agreeing with this position Freitas (2016, p.13, our translation) warned that:

As early as my first readings, it became clear to me that in the various papers about this subject, there is no single definition of the term evasion, as it is also possible to find different terms for this event. However, in spite of this, in several studies on this subject, it is sought to find the causes of that, once termed as conceptual evasion, leads the student to give up, whether through abandonment, stop out, cancellation or transfer.

Thus, in addition to the multiplicity of definitions surrounding the concept of evasion in general and specifically related to education, the main investigations outside and inside Brazil presents several conceptual orientations and questions that make some

conclusions about the subject questionable and imprecise.

It seems to be a consensual that the own concept of school evasion made it difficult to carry out studies or standardization / categorization on this issue. If on the one hand there were those who considered that the term would have a great elasticity to understand the students' exit process, others pointed to the need for a greater rigor for such analysis. For example, it would be possible to point out a student who had passed away as a point of discussion among the various ways to understand school evasion. If an individual dies before completing his studies, he would fail to attend classes, which would make him officially a "quitter", and thus, along the lines of most analyzes, would contribute to the increase in the percentage of evasion from an educational institution or network. Another common example would be the fact that many students were unable to graduate in the expected time, delaying from their initial class. The case would configure the student's repetition, that in turn, depending on how school evasion was measured, would increase the number of evaders.

Starting from a conceptual discussion, it is proposed in the next section to verify how the Brazilian researchers responsible for the first investigations were positioned as to their meanings, methodological criteria and scientific view about the subject.

II. CHRONOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF SCHOOL EVASION IN THE BRAZILIAN SCENARIO

Several efforts were being made to investigate the phenomenon of school evasion in an attempt to find its causes. One of them was the research of Alvarenga and Alvarenga (1971) that analyzed the correlation between the grades of the vestibular in the tests of Chemistry, Physics and Biology of the Medicine course. It was verified that none of the mental processes measured by the test were necessary to the good performance in the chairs evaluated in Higher Education. They observed several negative correlations, among them and their connection with student avoidance.

Faced with the problem, researchers have positioned themselves on their concerns about studies on the phenomenon of school evasion in Higher education, pointing out as the main ones: difficulty in determine and adequacy for the calculation and understanding of the phenomenon; the absence of appropriated methodologies; the quality and fidelity of the information of the academic records and inappropriate analysis of the data (Ristoff, 1999, Pereira 1996, Gonçalves 1997, Polydoro 1995, 2000).

In the same period, the investigations by Almeida and Cerqueira (1971) have analyzed the influence that the global society exerts on the young students. The results showed that their socio-economic status was a determining factor in the course choice and that the students' preferences are concentrated in the professions of the technical-scientific and biomedical areas, while many others do not get to know some professions and that is why they evade.

For Barroso (1972) the demotivation would be the main cause of the candidates' evasion, mainly because they did not pass the first option in the vestibular. He also considered that evasion is more sensitive in full-time courses.

On the other hand, CAPES (1975) denounced the fact that only 15% of the students enrolled in the postgraduate degree manage to reach the degree. The study by Messender (1976) about the first cycle of the Federal University of Bahia has found that the most influenced situation to evasion would be the teaching methodology used.

In turn, Rosa (1977) started from the suspicion that the evasion was very costly for the graduated student. There was a lack of bibliography about evasion, which is not the case with aspects related to the cost of education. The different personal characteristics of the students, the structure of the course and the profession (for example, the prestige level of the profession) are linked to the occurrence of evasion.

From Andreola's point of view (1977), socioeconomic status and lack of career stimulation are the variables that can cause evasion. In the conception of Passos (1978) the lack of connection between the personal values of the students and the choice for the course are the main causes of the evasion in the educational institutions. This investigative perspective gained space in that area, when school evasion was restricted by individual failure. Two dimensions were considered as relevant factors in the school evasion process: exogenous and endogenous factors to the institutions. The first concerns the factors which are external to the organization, among them the financial condition of the students, their "aptitude", previous preparation and their perspectives. Considering the endogenous factors: the teaching staff, the curriculum, the organization of the institution, the adequacy to the content, and others.

In Costa's (1979) view, the high rates of retention and evasion in the first semesters of the basic cycle is a consequence of the type of selection promoted by the vestibular. The evasion does not seem to be related to the quality or difficulty of the course, since the students do not even know it because they leave the

basic cycle. They identify the evasion, retention and performance indices compared with the order of option attended in graduation courses.

As a reflection of the academic concerns, from a temporal point of view, data showed that the first decade of production of the first researches in Brazil on school evasion analyzed different analytical categories. Freitag's work (1980), for example, analyzed the category of school failure in the country between 1960 and 1973, showing that there was about 44% of evasion in the primary year, 22% in the secondary, and 17% in the third. In the same way, the author has associated these rates with the rates of failure that between 1967 and 1971 reached about 63.5% of the total number of students enrolled.

Although there was a consensus about the existence of a number of issues involved, the different studies developed are wariness about the weaknesses of the analysis and conclusions regarding the causes of school evasion. This wariness is due to the difficulties of access to the student who evaded, the lack of conditions for the clear configuration of the sample of the investigated students and the possible concomitance of the multiple causes in the decision to leave the course (Carraher, Carraher and Schliemann, 1982).

Discussing about the evasion in Higher education in Brazil in general, Benda (1984) emphasized that can affects it: the privatization issue, the drop in quality of courses and the lack of resources. With regard to the reasons for dropping out of the course at the Federal University of Paraíba, studies by Maia (1984) revealed that the subjects declared that they were the result of their own lack of motivation and personal problems such as marriage.

In her study, Gatti (1984) reported that evasion at the University of São Paulo and at the State University of São Paulo occurred independently of the distribution of courses in careers. When investigating the variables that determined students' evasion at the Federal University of São Carlos, Martins (1984) has concluded that it was the student's lack of identification with the course. A fact that was related to the lack of orientation for the professional choice in the period before the student's choice.

Investigating the causes of evasion at the State University of Rio de Janeiro, Brandão (1985) has found that they are concentrated in the university itself. According to the reports, the students had trouble reconciling working hours with the academic load (which in a way generated dissatisfaction), as well as excessive disciplines, lack of research development, and disagreement with the relevance of the offer of some subjects.

Based on a 25 year longitudinal analysis, Moysés (et al., 1985) has concluded that there are institutional and extra-institutional factors that affect student evasion. He understood that the main causes are in the institution.

Professor Hamburger (1986) has analyzed the causes of evasion and he found that 42% of university students in Brazil in the 1980s evaded because of the socio-economic situation. On the other hand, in a joint investigation, the team of researchers formed by Paul, Ribeiro and Pilatti (1990) has concluded that there was a real need for investment in evaluation activities and establishment of a process of comparison between quantitative and qualitative approaches, in order to exchange of experience betwixt institutions.

Studying graduation at the Federal University of Bahia, Carvalho (1992) has found that families, especially economically privileged, had a long influence on the trajectory of the students, influencing the choice of careers and access to the most competitive courses.

In studying graduate school evasion, Silva (1993) raised the suspicion that some causes were related to the structure and functioning of the courses. Still on the protagonism of the students, another issue approached by Bueno (1993) was the differentiation between evasion and academic exclusion. For the author, evasion in education may correspond to an active stance of the students who decides to leave their own and responsibility, while exclusion, would imply a responsibility of the school institution for not creating mechanisms for utilizing and directing the student. In this way he endorsed:

Is it an evasion phenomenon or a case of student exclusion? The word evasion may mean the active attitude of the student who decides to disconnect by his own responsibility. The word exclusion implies the admission of the responsibility of the school and of everything that surrounds it, because they do not have mechanisms of profit and direction of the adolescent that presents himself for a professional training. There are undoubtedly intra and extra-school factors affecting the student's permanence in the university. What is our responsibility? What have we done and what can we do to beard intra-school factors? Are only these factors, which are closer, to consider in a discussion about the evasion of our students? Or is it not for the university to use its leadership position and help to remove the difficulties imposed by external factors? (BRENO, 1993, p.13, our translation).

In a comparative research between two institutions of Curitiba, one public and the other private, Paredes (1994) seeks to verify the existence or non-existence of a correlation between evasion and the prestige of the course. It was observed that, in both cases, the most frequent reasons for evasion were really close.

In order to realize an investigative methodologies of the determinants of the phenomena permanence/evasion, Mercuri, Moran and Azzi (1995) sought to verify the variables related to them in the first year of student enrollment. The research was limited to the evasion occurred in the first year once it occurs most markedly in this period, since in others it can be minimized by planning strategies aimed at the new entrants. The partial results of the investigation indicated that the phenomenon of evasion (in the case study) was the result of a complex and longitudinal process, affected by internal and external factors from school organization.

The studies developed by state universities in São Paulo (Bicudo, 1995) and the Report of the Special Committee for studies on evasion (Brazil, 1996) were also highlighted in the context of the investigations. In the report, it was verified that the phenomenon took on dramatic lines, it means that, in some courses, only 20% of those student who joined has graduated. It was observed a tendency towards concentration of evasion in teaching graduation courses and in the area of exact sciences. It is important to note that the formula for assessing evasion at the time was based on the difference between the number of participants and the number of graduates.

In a Bordas (1996) research, she understood that the object of school evasion research needs to be seen as a process where one must overcome the purely economic stance, derived from the essentially utilitarian view of training. She has argued that indexes should be examined in their complexity and not only as a finality itself, or with an objectives ranking. It should be considered as a contribution to the identification of problems and adoption of pedagogical and institutional measures capable of overcoming it.

In the view of Pereira (1996), although school evasion is a highly discussed subject in Brazil, what is meant by "evasion" varies from institution to institution. Otherwise, influenced by American studies, Santos (1999) has presented the results of a research conducted at the Federal University of Ouro Preto about the flow of students in their graduation courses. It was part of a set of concerns that had been mobilizing institutions around the world about the institutional evaluation. The research aimed to: i) identify the success points of the enrollment, retention and evasion rates; ii) to map the tendency of the indicators of diploma, retention and evasion; iii) to

subsidize the Collegiate Courses and others involved with the dynamics of teaching and political pedagogical projects' evaluation. It is observed that the indicators show a specific behavior in each one of the courses and that the evasion manifested itself indistinctly in the courses, to different degrees.

The authors argue that they can not be restricted to the raising of quantitative indices only, since the numerical values would need to be subsidized by information and analysis that would qualify the phenomenon (Pereira, 1997; Polydoro, 2000).

The brief review of the literature indicated a tendency until the early 1990s to understand school evasion as a phenomenon related to academic failure, either by the student (and, above all), or by the course and/or institution. Its causes would be associated to the process of democratization of access to Higher education, verified in Brazil from the 60's (UNICAMP, 1992, Paredes, 1994, Silva, 1995, Bicudo, 1995, MEC, 1999; Peixoto et al., 2000). Basically, the investigations have presented that: I) In the investigations of Elementary and Middle School, the phenomenon of evasion was mostly related to school failure, evidencing the protagonism of the student. II) While in the researches in Higher Education, the causes of the evasion would be related, predominantly to the process of democratization of the access in the expansion of the vacancies, from the decade of 60. In a certain way, some research pointed to the role of the institution in the student evasion process.

III. INTERNATIONAL TENDENCIES THAT BECAME REFERENCE IN BRAZIL: SCHOOL EVASION AS A PATCHWORK QUILT

Considered classics, pioneers in studies of evasion in education, Tinto and Cullen (1973) have elucidated that it was necessary to discuss and distinguish the variety of meanings attributed to the term. Analyzing their trajectories as researchers they realized that they followed in the direction of the deepening of the thematic for some years. In their early studies, in the early 1970s they presented a basic theoretical model that sought to explain evasion in American Higher education as an interactive process between the individual and the institution. In the same period, they focused on the analysis of the definitions and distinctions of the concept of evasion. It brought problems for those individuals who pretend to investigate on the subject among them the fact that there are different definitions of school evasion: i) the exit in the enrollment of an institution; ii) the exit as failure to obtain the diploma; iii) the exit due to the absence of perspective, motivation or individual interest of the student; iv) or permanent exit. It elaborated a basic theoretical model that sought to explain evasion as an

interactive process between the individual and the institution and also sought to develop a distinction between voluntary avoidance of the non-volunteer, as well as the transfer of permanent evasion in Higher education.

Differently other American researchers, Pascarella and Terenzini (1977) published a paper entitled "Patterns of student-faculty informal interaction beyond the classroom and voluntary freshman attrition" creating a model to measure the effect of the academic environment on students' cognitive development and learning. It started from 5 variables, the first four being inspired by the American bibliography (at the time) and the fifth created by the author: a) history of the student; b) structural and organizational characteristics of the institution; c) institutional environment; d) frequency and modes of interaction of students with socializing agents (teachers and peers); e) quality of the effort to develop learning (ways in which the association between organizational or structural characteristics of the institution can influence the educational outcomes of the students).

In an opposite direction, Bean (1980) seeks to explain the evasion process in education. He emphasized the role that external factors would play in the decisions and attitudes of leaving the institution. He cited the background of family and friends, financial issues and perceptions about transfer opportunities to other institutions as some of these factors.

Pascarella and Terenzini (1980, p.649-650) presented a new general and casual model of analysis, focusing no longer on the explanatory character of evasion, but on learning, on the cognitive development and, therefore, the permanence of the students. They have concluded that:

Finally, because the causal model was estimated with correlational data, one cannot infer strict experimental causality from regression results (...) Rather, causal modeling as employed here should be thought of as an attempt to establish the plausibility of a hypothesized causal structure by fitting it to existing longitudinal data (...) Thus, when estimating a causal model, the terms "direct effect" and "indirect effect" are commonly accepted for theoretically plausible causal relationships within a causal model . They imply only the possibility, not the actuality, of cause and effect.

The absence of theoretical models that would explain the phenomenon (since the few attempts before have only described it), the fact that there is no predominant behavior or pattern of behavior that better characterizes the phenomena that the researchers

mistakenly label as school evasion, Tinto (1987, p.4) believes that "the student's quit assumes a variety of forms and arises from a diversity of individual and institutional sources." The author dedicates a few years of his life to the studies on evasion in the American Higher Education stimulating deep reflections and proposing an inversion in the look and a theoretical model of practical actions for the institutions.

Regarding the perspective at the student on Higher Education, it was noticed that there was an opening of new perspectives and ways of researching evasion in the 1990s. While researcher Tinto (1991), hitherto a reference in the area, has corroborated with Pascarella and Terenzini (1980) by confessing that the integrated study of the variables learning and permanence could clarify the relationship between both and positively influence the permanence of the students. They also concluded that classroom space, the role of teachers and peers, curriculum and teaching-learning strategies added to external factors from the institution can impact the students' cognitive development and permanence, that is why he has argued:

We have too long overlooked the essentially educational and develop-mental character of persistence as it occurs in most college settings. There is a rich line of inquiry of the linkage between learning and persistence that has yet to be pursued. Here is where we need to invest our time and energies in a fuller exploration of the complex ways in which the experience of the classroom comes to shape both student learning and persistence. Among other things, we need to pursue Braxton's (1995) lead and ask about the role of faculty teaching in persistence and more carefully (TINTO, 1997, p. 619).

From this new conception, the author dealt with the character of what could be translated into Portuguese as "school permanence" as a new line of research defining learning as the primacy of education studies. He has argued that as a core of training in educational institutions, one should talk about "school permanence" as an important issue from the educational practice point of view.

Likewise, the American researchers Cabrera, Nora, and Castaneda (1993, p. 135) have conducted some studies that took as basis the studies of Tinto and Bean. To explain the evasion in Higher Education, they have presented the following postulates: i) non-evasion in the institution would result from a complex set of interactions over time; ii) the typology of education would have direct effects on the student's life; (iii) the decision whether or not to remain in the institution seems to be influenced by

the combination of characteristics of the student and the institution. About this synthesis, they have explained:

Results indicated that when these two theories were merged into one integrated model, a more comprehensive understanding of the complex interplay among individual, environmental, and institutional factors was achieved. In this respect, the effect of environmental factors was by far more complex than the one envisioned by the Student Integration Model.

Testing the convergence between these two theories, the researchers have concluded that the combination of the two analyzed models allowed them to better understand the evasion process in the institution. Their merge would contribute to the comprehension, in a more comprehensive way, of the factors that would influence the students' evasion or not (Cabrera, et al., 1992).

The researchers, in addition to collaborating with the American findings on the issues that permeated education, offered what they called a causal modeling as an alternative analysis and attempt to establish a plausible relationship between the role of an organizational structure adjusted to the longitudinal data existing. In this context of investigatory changes and rearrangements, after analyzing some explanatory models proposed with a focus on the institution and the influence of external factors as well as those that emphasized the student's role, Cabrera, Nora and Castañeda (1993) have pointed to the role of interaction between the student and the institution, also reporting that both models would be correct. They thought that when choosing to analyze school dropout, the focus would be on the product of what is produced due to a complex process of interaction of personal and institutional factors, however, if the choice were to promote permanence, the exam would be around the result (understood as search for resolution) of the association of these factors.

In an attempt to explain the evasion phenomenon, especially in the first year of Higher Education (considered critical), Tinto (2001) believed that there would be a variety of forms emerging from a diversity of individual and institutional origins. He affirmed that there would be no reason that prevailed in the explanation of the evasion by the students, but it categorized the 7 that in their conception would most approximate to the explanatory categories of the phenomenon in question: 1) Academic difficulty; 2) Difficulties of adaptation; 3) Objectives / Goals; 4) Commitments; 5) Finance; 6) To belong and 7) Involvement.

In this direction, over the years, many researchers have been developed in the international scope, but it is necessary to present a study of Ambiel, Santos and Dalbosco (2016, p.294) that when investigating the reasons for the avoidance in a psychological perspective, have used what they called scale of reasons for evasion on Higher Education and constructed indicators of what they called a career adaptability scale (CAAS). On the one hand, they observed the presence of negative and not very explanatory correlations with all the domains of CAAS. On the other hand, they have realized that students who felt good emotionally tended to have no reason to leave the institution because, "in addition to the physical structure of the institution, the established relationships, when healthy and positive, can contribute to the permanence and completion of the course".

IV. CONTEMPORARY REVIEWS: THE SIEVE OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH THAT ANALYZE SCHOOL EVASION

An ascertainment another tricky point in evasion research concerns is its own results. Trying to understand the phenomenon in two different institutions in Brazil, Paredes (1994, p. 22) has concluded that in both, the percentage of final evasion was approximately 13%, once many of the students who had left the institution completed their studies in another course or institution. He concluded that "about 64% of the pupils who, apparently, dropped out of higher education because they had dropped out of the course in which they were enrolled, complete tertiary grade."

Concerning about theoretical and investigative methods, it is important to highlight those who apprehend the indexes and statistics regarding the student staff, coordination and the office responsible for didactic accompaniment. Taking the student as object of the analysis, we can find questions about sex, culture and economic level of parents, student's age, expectations and support from relatives and friends. When the focus is on the institution, it is common to emphasize the workload, the ease of access, the security of the student, the classification according to the MEC assessments, teacher training, technological and information resources, bibliographic collection among others. A problem commonly encountered in investigations concerns the reliability of the data found, since it is common for the collections to be pledged; information is often lost or partial; there is disagreement among the data found; so many others do not correspond to the reality; in many institutions the concept of school evasion does not seem clear, which directly influences the nature of the data (Palharini, 2010).

Reflection of this observation could be observed by a team of researchers formed by Azzi, Mercuri and Moran (1996). They realized that about 68% of students who were considered evaded, have returned their studies the following year and 27% stated their desire to restart. In this direction, other studies have suggested that, in addition to contacting the evaded students, it would be necessary to collect information from those who did not evade, in other words, those who completed their studies (Moysés, 1985; Moreira, 1988).

Following the criticisms made by scholars about the research that takes school evasion as an object, other raised aspects were the predominance of centralization of the causes of evasion in the person of the student and the inefficiency, from the practical point of view of the academic analyzes. Regarding the centralization of reasons for evasion, researchers pointed out the need to consider not only the student's responsibility in the decision to evade, but also the role of the institution, especially regarding its structure and rules of operation (Red , 2001; Kira 1998; Polydoro, 1995, Paredes, 1994).

Reflecting on the weaknesses in the analysis of the studies that pointed to the causes of evasion, authors enumerated the recurrent related to the institution as: teachers' commitment; quality of the course; structure of the curriculum; and absence of student-focused programs. If, on the one hand, "the history of each student and his / her personal characteristics will determine forms of interaction (...) with or without the completion of the course, on the other, the institution may prove to be a facilitator or not from this process "(POLYDORO, 2000, p.52, our translation).

Expatriating on referrals concerning the researches that dealt with evasion in institutions, Polydoro (2000, p. 1) argued that in order to do understand the phenomenon of school evasion, it would have to be considered differently. He believed that the data provided by the institution (especially the quantitative ones) may fail to address a multitude of real and subjective questions, especially because the focus of attention should not be restricted only to negative meanings about the decision, "but one should also look for the student who often sees in the decision to evade an appeal to achieve his professional and personal goal". From this perspective, evasion should not be considered a failure or wastefulness, but as an investment of the student, in an attempt to find himself and to consider himself an active participant in his own formation. In addition, it may be necessary to go back into the institution and seek, with the remaining students, information not only about their integration, but also specifically about actions to overcome the difficulties faced in this process, which for others, would result in definitive evasion.

Considering the applicability of theories and researches in educational practice, despite the several investments and research developments about the evasion phenomenon, authors affirm that the scenario is still unchanged, since methodological limitations and lack of proposals generate naive and misleading analysis and has not really contributed to overcoming the problem (Polydoro, 2000; Tinto, 2006).

Another issue that confers to the research on school evasion a troubling status in the scope of research, concerns the collection of official data on the phenomenon. According to Baggi and Lopes (2011, p. 364-365, our translation), the website of the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira (INEP) does not explicitly provide the data of students' exit, since the calculation can be approximated when taking into account the number of students enrolled, entering and finishing students each academic year. In the case of Higher Education, it may differ from what is done in educational institutions, so they explain:

The lack of details about the numbers found causes problems because we can not qualify them, it means that, there is no tracking of the student's movement within the educational system and thus evasion in one institution can represent enrollment in another. The various existing concepts for evasion can not be identified in the Inep data; this is done through academic research within the various areas of education.

In these terms, Silva Filho (et al. 2007, p.10, our translation), when questioning himself about the reliability and methodological clarifications about the calculations made to measure evasion, points to some questions and makes a severe criticism to the office responsible for the accounting survey of the enrollments in the institutions. The researchers came to the following conclusion:

It is also true - and obvious - that if internal transfers and re-entries are excluded, the evasion conceptually understood to be due essentially, the transferences between Higher Educational Institution or abandonment of studies by students is less than when it is considered, also the two ignored variables (internal transfers and re-entries) by INEP as of 2009.

Faced with the assumptions that make research on school evasion an object of scientific study and questionable, studies have emerged and with the intention of presenting other ways of facing school evasion, some of them from a positive bias. From this point of view,

they make it clear that this form of research means that attention should not be limited to the registers or perspectives of the institution; but also prioritize the student's speech, which must present the student's perception about the event and the attribution of causality to the decision of interrupting their studies in a certain institution. School evasion can be seen from the academic point of view as a way to achieve a certain goal. In this case, it can not always be understood as wastefulness or failure, since it can be characterized as the active participation of the student in the definition of his trajectory and of his formative process. For that matter, evasion is even desirable, as a result of the student's decision and/or the institutional role of clarifying their role and can contribute to increase the student's capacity for choice and criticism. For this reason, the suggestion of betting on relationships and lived experiences - contrary to the studies of evasion - appears subtly in the speeches of researchers who dealt with this object, according to Polydoro (2000, p.59, our translation) when he suggested that:

the remainder may also present relevant information, not only regarding their integration into higher education, but also about the actions to overcome the difficulties involved in this process, which may indicate intervention strategies.

In addition to the identifiable vulnerabilities in evasion research and weaknesses in official and real data, another questionable element seems to be the student's protagonism and his or her decision-making, as well as the ways in which it is understood.

In response to the criticisms and gaps of the evasion research in Brazil after 1990, a few surveys have started in a timely manner to turn their attention and consider the role of the institution in the students' decision to evade. One of them was the research developed by Braga, Miranda-Pinto and Cardinal (1997), that observing the average time of stay of the evaders in an educational institution considered that the end of students' persistence had a direct relation with questions of disillusionment within the school education institution.

In this meander, educators have classified as an intelligent posture of those who have decided to evade perceiving the non-identification with the institution, course or career (Carmo, Silva, 2016). In an American perspective, based on this logic, Tinto (1987, p.14, our translation) has presented one of the contradictions identified in the investigations on school evasion. He has defended the existence of a paradox between the institutional commitment and the limits of institutional action; since the phenomenon of school evasion could occur, when in the context of the educational process, an

institution has clarity of its own function, commitment and educational choice, and realizes that it would help the student to understand the gaps and mismatches of the institutional action regarding the desires and pretensions of the students. The author affirms that "When confronted with individuals whose needs and interests can not be adequately met, the institution must be equally prepared to help the individual to go somewhere else."

Considering the dynamics of the relations and the protagonism of the actors within the institutions Sbardelini (1997), analyzing the decision to leave an institution, understands that the student probably would stay in an institution if the institution effectively hosted him or her. Corroborating with the question of social and sometimes problematic dynamism in the formal learning environment, Polydoro (2000, p.53, our translation) observed:

Decision taking about permanence in the course or institution occurs within the dynamism of the relationships between the factors involved in the longitudinal process of interaction between student, institution and external events, which are confronted and also confronts at every moment.

Regarding the issue of reception, when dealing with the reasons for evasion, the research team considered that the institution's role in overcoming "would not require large additional investments in complex retention programs, but small daily actions that may increase the sense of well-being to the institution" (AMBIEL, SANTOS and DALBOSCO, 2016, p.295).

Taking back and confirming the weaknesses of analyzes in the investigations on evasion, Polydoro (2000, p.56, our translation) foreseeing a more dynamic, real and less naive forms of analysis, has defended already at the beginning of the 21st century the following idea:

In general, the analysis of factors that led to the permanence of students entering a non-preferential option confirms the importance of the EXPERIENCE LIVING throughout the course to strengthen the initial commitment (...).

Elaborating analyzes about school evasion in the Brazilian tendency, researchers made certain reflexive criticisms. Considering the theoretical-methodological limitations of Ambiel, Santos and Dalbosco (2016, p.295-296, our translation), they drew attention to the following question:

It should be noted that at least in Brazil, previous studies have limited themselves to identifying statistics on evasion in large-scale samples (...) without considering the reasons

that led to such a decision, or relating it only to vocational issues (initial professional choice) or financial.

In addition to the mistaken problematic regarding the considerations referring to the researches about evasion in Brazil, the most striking criticism refers to the translation of the concept. In academic circles, the word "retention" in Brazil can designate students who have been retained and have not moved on to the next educational series or stage. But the term, in English the term retention, in addition to appearing more objective, commonly refers to the set of viable measures designed to keep the student in the institution. Studies and actions in countries such as the United States and Australia demonstrate the importance given to the issue as they discuss and invest in research on it. Moreover, the seriousness given to the subject appears to be proven by the management of retention sometimes exercised by a specific management, if not by a board-level occupant in educational institutions. In some institutions, a considered professional would be called Retention Director, whose function would be to collaborate with the pedagogical team of the institutions, as well as to develop and implement programs and actions that will enable students to complete their studies (Portela, 2013).

V. SYNTHESIS EXERCISE: THE NEED TO CUSTOMIZE SCHOOL EVASION

The aim of this essay was to discuss issues that permeate meaning, through use in the educational universe, in Brazilian investigations and, finally, outside the country. Among the several perceptions, it was verified that in academic productions that investigate the issue of school evasion, some problems were evident. The first one was the question of polysemy, accompanied by inaccuracies, multiplicity of views, and often non-propositional character. Even if the researcher chooses to prefer more rigorous studies, involving a whole generation of students, with their different characteristics; it could be a problem to find indexes that supposedly would have more relation with reality, it can not be capable of covering all generations of students, which in turn would indicate more reliably the research.

On the other hand, even if there are studies that attempt to understand the phenomenon of school evasion in recent years, administrative barriers (such as lack of or inconsistency of information) would not allow the possibility of an accurate view of the indexes. Thus, the debate between the trustworthiness and the actuality of the studied phenomenon is established, which characterizes a little objective field in the area of academic research.

In view of the discussions about the conceptualization of the term school evasion, according to the analysis of the first Brazilian researches, the observation of the international trends and the criticisms built around the investigative object, it seems urgent the dialogue in the Brazilian territory with a view to the necessity of proposition of another type of notion, approach and horizon in contrast to the way in which school evasion is investigated in Brazil.

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