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School experiences of children on the move: voices of immigrant and refugee children in primary education in the periphery of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Master's thesis in Master of Philosophy in Childhood Studies

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Ida Marie Lyså

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Irene Rizzini

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Abstract

This is a study about the school experiences of children on the move in Duque de Caxias, which is one of the 22 municipalities that compose the Rio de Janeiro Metropolitan Region. The study consists of qualitative child-focused research, with children and community members, aimed to explore the school experiences and challenges of six children, of which four are refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo, and two are immigrants from Angola. Children are from eight to 18 years old, and they attend two elementary schools in the same neighborhood. Besides then, three pedagogical advisers, one immigrant mother, and an employee of the municipality Secretary of Education took part in the study. Also, a group of Brazilian children partook in two activities. However, they do not have the same status as the other participants in this study. Their voices were only included because they evidence important aspects of the studied context, enriching the analysis. This study is situated in the theoretical-methodological scope of the childhood studies field, which implies the consideration of children as competent social beings. The empirical data was collected during August and September 2019 through unstructured observations, focus-group discussion, semi-structured interviews, drawings, and sentence-completion. Moreover, secondary data was used. The participants live in an impoverished part of the Rio de Janeiro Metropolitan Region, strongly shaped by violence. Children experience harassment and racial and ethnic discrimination by peers in school. However, children resist in this context, and even facing several difficulties, they present good schooling performance, which can be considered a form of resistance and agency. Moreover, children's lives and their school experiences are shaped by the values of the Congolese and Angolan cultures and by the generational space that children occupy to the adult group.

Keywords: child-focused research; school education; racism; xenophobia; Brazil.

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List of Abbreviations

ACRWC	African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
CD	Collective drawing
CEPERJ	Statistics Center Research of Rio de Janeiro State
CI	Collective interview
CONARE	Brazil's National Committee for Refugees
DPU	Brazilian Federal Public Defenders
EJA	Youth and Adult Education
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FEBF/UERJ group	Research group from the Faculty of Education of Baixada Fluminense, part of the Rio de Janeiro State University.
FGD	Focus-group discussion
IBGE	Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics
IPEA	Brazilian Institute of Applied Economic Research
IOM	International Organization for Migration
PNAD	Brazilian National Household Sample Survey
PNAE	Brazilian National School Feeding Program
PUC-Rio	Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro
RJ	Rio de Janeiro State
RMRJ	Rio de Janeiro Metropolitan Region
SSI	Semi-structured interview
TBA	Task-based activity
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

*In the forest
of our times,
it is the children
who know the way.*

Congo Tales: Told by the People of Mbomo (Henket, 2018)

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

School represents wisdom and courage (Sun, 10 years old).

Education is in fact very important, and surely school is the future for me. If there is no school, there is no future. So, I like school to study (Kyra, 12 years old).

*It is important to be in school, for learning.
School practically gets us off the streets.
If you don't want to study, you get ignorant, you follow the path of drugs, crime.
School helps, you learn (Xitu, 18 years old).*

Wisdom, learning, knowledge. A way beyond ignorance, criminality, and drugs. Courage, a way ahead, future. These are some of the words that express the importance of formal education for the children¹ who took part in this study. Sun, Kyra, and Xitu are pseudonyms for three children aged 10, 12, and 18 years old, respectively. Sun and Kyra are originally from the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Xitu is from Angola. All of them had lived a very mobile life. Xitu is an immigrant. Sun and Kyra are refugees. Kyra's family has first fled from Congo to Brazil, then went from Brazil to Angola, and from Angola to Brazil again. For Sun, Kyra, Xitu, and the other participants of this study, mobility is a fundamental aspect of their childhood experience.

Mobility is not a new phenomenon. Individuals, families, and populations have been migrating for different reasons at all times. However, when a person becomes a refugee or an asylum seeker, that person loses the protection of his or her State. Besides that, people in this situation experience many other types of losses, such as the loss of dear friends and family, the loss of their houses and material goods, the loss of a previous life, the loss of their home country to terror and war, among many other difficult losses. For children and young people, all these losses are as hard as for any person. Children need to leave their country and say goodbye to those who stay behind. Also, many children do not have the opportunity to say goodbye to their friends. Kyra and Sun told me about good friends they had in their home countries, whose they were unable to say goodbye to, and therefore the relationship got lost. Children need to leave school and other places they experience their lives without having a guarantee of what is waiting for them. Uncertainty becomes a reality for those who have their lives shaped by the refuge situation.

Based on this context of forced migration, this study aims to respond to the challenge of providing formal education to *children on the move* in the asylum countries. The term *children on the move* is an umbrella definition for people below the age of 18 years old that have moved from their original residence. The term encompasses children that are in transit, both internationally or within their countries, and those who have already reached host communities. Therefore, it encompasses children internally displaced, asylum-seekers and refugee children, stateless children, migrant children, trafficked children, and child soldiers (UNHCR, 2016). This term was chosen to be used here because this study embraces the experiences of both immigrant and refugee children.

Diverse international and multilateral organizations have published resolutions and frameworks on formal education for *children on the move* (Save the Children, 2018; UNESCO, 2016, 2017, 2019; UNHCR, 2016, 2019; UNICEF, 2019). The 2030 Agenda for

¹ According to the United Nations Convention for the Rights of the Child (1989), Article I, "a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier".

Sustainable Development, through the Sustainable Development Goal 4: Education for all (UNESCO, 2016), states that vulnerable groups, such as immigrants and refugees, should receive particular attention from educational offices. Furthermore, *children on the move* must be included in the national educational systems as a form of international obligation (UNESCO, 2017, 2019; UNHCR, 2019; UNICEF, 2019). However, each country has its educational system with own specificities and, therefore, the challenges for the inclusion of *children on the move* in the national systems vary. There are many ways to investigate these challenges, but for this study, the experiences of Sun, Kyra, Xitu, Mole, Chó, and Ya were taken as the main empirical data. This study aims to explore and analyze the school experiences and challenges of this small group of refugee and immigrant children from the Democratic Republic of Congo and Angola through their voices. The study was carried out in two elementary schools² in Duque de Caxias, a municipality part of the Rio de Janeiro Metropolitan Region (RJ, Brazil).

1.1 Personal Motivation

My interest in the school experiences of *children on the move* started almost three years ago, when I was an undergraduate student in Education at the Federal University of Paraná (UFPR), Brazil. During that period, I was conducting a study for my graduation thesis in two public schools about what the school represents for children from different socioeconomic backgrounds. While I was in one of those schools, I met a group of immigrant children from China. They could not speak Portuguese, so I got very interested in their school experiences. The pedagogical manager told me that the school was receiving a large group of immigrants and refugees, and most of them could not speak Portuguese as well. Through this encounter I became very interested in the experiences and challenges of immigrant and refugee children at school.

At the end of the same year, 2017, I decided to pursue a master's degree, so I applied for the master program in Education at UFPR in Brazil and the master program in Childhood Studies at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) here in Norway. In Brazil, the selection process demands, among other things, that you have already a project that is relevant to the research groups. Following my earlier interest, I wrote a child-focused research proposal that aimed to explore the value of education for refugee children in my hometown, Curitiba (Paraná, Brazil). I went through the selection process and got accepted for a research line called Diversity, Difference, and Social Inequalities which I attended the first semester. Some months later, I got accepted at the Childhood Studies program at NTNU, and so I decided to leave Brazil to pursue my master's degree in Norway.

At my first semester in Trondheim, I started a volunteering job with refugee children and young people at the organization Caritas Internationalis and, seeing the challenges that young people face in Norway, especially regarding education, I decided to reframe the research proposal I have designed to UFPR to what this project had become: a child-focused study about the school experiences of *children on the move* in Rio de Janeiro Metropolitan Region. The choice to carry out this project at Rio de Janeiro was based on an agreement established between NTNU and the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), between my supervisor Marit Ursin and professor Irene Rizzini. Through this agreement, professor Marit Ursin was at PUC-Rio as an invited researcher during the same period I was conducting fieldwork, which was a fundamental aspect of the fieldwork

² The elementary school in Brazil is divided into two levels. The first one, Elementary I, is from the 1st to 5th grade (children between 6 and 10 years old), and the second part, the Elementary II, is from the 6th to 9th grade (children between 11 and 14 years old). This study was conducted in one elementary I and one elementary II school.

experience, as well as the opportunity to be co-supervised by professor Irene Rizzini. During my stay in Rio de Janeiro, I participated in some meetings and lectures at the International Center for Research and Policy on Childhood - a study center associated with PUC-Rio. Professor Irene Rizzini introduced me to professors, researchers, and other professionals that are carrying similar projects. Through them, I was able to take part in relevant lectures and seminars about the refugee situation in Rio de Janeiro and to have access to relevant literature.

1.2 Background of the topic

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2019), 70,8 million people are forcibly displaced worldwide as a result of persecution, conflict, or generalized violence. From those, 25,9 million are refugees, 41,30 million are internally displaced people, and 3,51 million are asylum-seekers. Still, according to UNHCR (2019), children under 18 years old constitute about half of the displaced refugee population, representing one of the most vulnerable groups in the world (UNICEF, 2019). Therefore, "an important part of the response to *children on the move* is to provide protection and assistance to them and their families in countries of origin, transit, and asylum" (UNHCR, 2016). However, regarding asylum, 80% of the refugee population is hosted in countries near their countries of origin (UNHCR, 2019), which means developing countries in the Global South that also strive against poverty, violence, and social inequalities. Therefore, offering a rights-based asylum to the families, and especially to children and young people, is a challenge.

Brazil is receiving every day more refugees seeking asylum, and it is part of the country's response to offer access to formal education for *children on the move* (UNESCO, 2017, 2019; UNHCR, 2019; UNICEF, 2019). Due to the work of public offices and despite many difficulties, children are accessing national schools. Brazil has an universal educational system from early childhood education to higher education completely free of charge, which immigrants and refugees have the right to access on equal terms as the Brazilian population does. However, Brazil does not have any specific educational policy for *children on the move*. Moreover, the public educational system faces several challenges, such as educational inequalities, lack of investment, public administration, devaluation of public education, devaluation and underpayment of teachers and educational professionals, and corruption. At the local level, schools strive against infrastructure problems such as the absence of libraries, playgrounds, science and computer labs; the lack of infrastructure reparation; the shortage of school supplies and basic materials like books and paper; the number of classrooms below the necessary, which makes classes overcrowded and teaching even more challenging; and low quantity of teachers and other school employees. In this way, when immigrant and refugee children start studying at school, the teachers' work, which is already very difficult, becomes even harder, and the children can experience difficulties in many forms.

Any child may have to struggle to get adapted to the school rhythms and norms. The school contents and didactic can be a challenge for many children. Also, the relationship among peers and with the group can be hard. Peer victimization is considered a global problem, as has been documented in many countries around the world (Jimerson, Swearer, & Espelage, 2009). Regarding the difficulties that *children on the move* face, Sarah Dryden-Peterson (2016) and Sidhu, Taylor, and Christie (2011) observed that the language, the kind of pedagogy used, separated classes, and discrimination are some of the main challenges immigrant and refugee children face in school. There is an extensive number of

international reports about formal education for *children on the move*. However, there is a lack of studies about their experiences in the Brazilian context.

I made a literature review in Portuguese, looking for works in *SciELO Brazil* and *Periódicos CAPES*³ databases, using the keywords 'childhood and refugee', from the year 1998 to 2019. The result of this search was scarce, with only nine articles found. The works are published in the field of law (5 articles), international relations (1 article), and psychology (1 article). Moreover, three master thesis were found (Grajzer, 2018; Lazarin, 2019; Thomé, 2019). They are located in the field of international relations/education, sociology, and social work, respectively. The study of Thomé (2019), "Refugees and asylum seekers children and adolescents in the city of Rio de Janeiro: challenges and prospects for social protection", is particularly relevant as it was conducted in Rio de Janeiro.

Using the keywords 'refugee education' and 'public policies and refugee children', four articles⁴ and one PhD dissertation⁵ were found. Besides that, the e-book entitled "A look at the differences: The interface between educational and migration projects" (Bahia & Santos, 2016) is the most relevant material found regarding education and forced migration. This e-book has seven chapters, which include a study entitled "Children of Congolese refugees in Rio de Janeiro: socialization and schooling in public schools" (Petrus, Santos, & Aragão, 2016). Also, Petrus (2010) PhD dissertation is very relevant for this study as it presents enriching narratives about the social experiences of Congolese people and its children in Rio de Janeiro Metropolitan Region and in Duque de Caxias (RJ, Brazil).

Also, because the former searches did not present many results, I did a brief literature search with the keywords 'education and migration' in the same databases, also in Portuguese. The results of this search were broader. Brazil is a large country constituted by many migratory movements, and most of the articles found were about internal migration and migratory movements from decades ago. However, because this study focuses on recent immigration and forced migration in Brazil, I discarded many of these studies. Among them, I only highlight the articles of Alexandre and Abramowicz (2017) on school inclusion of immigrant children from Haiti, and the article of M. O. Santos (2014), which analyses the daily life of immigrant children at school in the RMRJ.

In short, there is a growing body of studies on the recent immigrant flows and forced migration to Brazil, including some about the refugee experience in Brazil. However, children remain almost invisible at all. Most of the studies about 'childhood and refugee' in Brazil are based on legal works about protection rights. Also, most of the studies on 'refugee education' and 'public policies and refugee children' are about the right to education and on public policies to social assistance, protection, and integration of refugee children. Only four articles are about the school integration of immigrant and refugee children in Brazil, and two of them were conducted in the RMRJ. Considering the lack of studies on *children on the move* and their formal education in Brazil, this study aims to explore the school experiences and challenges of the participants of this study through their voices.

³ One of the main scientific databases in Brazil. For more information, see <https://www.periodicos.capes.gov.br>

⁴ Busko (2017); Vieira, Menezes, and Silva (2017); Magalhães (2013); Freitas and Silva (2015);

⁵ I. D. C. Santos (2018).

1.3 About this study: objectives and research questions

The core of this study is to explore the school experiences of *children on the move* in two public elementary schools in Duque de Caxias (RJ, Brazil). Further, this study aims to identify the main challenges faced by children inside the school settings and how children relate to them. Thus, to achieve these two aims, this study is based on the following research questions:

- How is the encounter of *children on the move* with the school culture at these schools?
- How are *children on the move* schooling performance?
- How does children's educational background influence their experience in the present?
- Which kind of challenges *children on the move* face in school, and how do they relate to them?

1.3.1 Significance, strengths and weaknesses

This study is particularly relevant to the Brazilian context, not only because it brings forward the school experiences of *children on the move*, but also because it presents it from children's perspectives. Children's participation in this study was inspired by children's rights 'to be properly researched' (Ennew et al., 2009). This right is based on the interpretation of articles 3.3, 12.1, 13.1, and 36 (Ennew et al., 2009, p. 1:22) of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Child – UNCRC (United Nations, 1989), which states:

States Parties shall ensure that the institutions, services and facilities responsible for the care or protection of children shall conform with the standards established by competent authorities, particularly in the areas of safety, health, in the number and suitability of their staff, as well as competent supervision (Article 3.3);

States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child (Article 12.1);

The child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child's choice (Article 13.1);

States Parties shall protect the child against all other forms of exploitation prejudicial to any aspects of the child's welfare (Article 36).

The interpretation of these rights for this study implied that: this project was conducted in conformity with high scientific standards; that children perspectives and knowledge are integral to this study, as well as the those of pedagogical managers, teachers, and a parent; that the methods used were designed and redesigned to help children to express themselves in the best possible way; that this study had an ethical methodology; and that the participants were not exploited, prejudiced, or harmed in any stage of the research process, which also means that confidentiality and anonymity of the research participants are a fundamental aspect of this project.

The fieldwork was conducted in cooperation with Brazilian researchers from the Faculty of Education of Baixada Fluminense, part of the Rio de Janeiro State University (FEBF/UERJ). This group studies the integration of migrant and refugee children at a public school in

Duque de Caxias⁶. The cooperation with FEBF/UERJ research group made the fieldwork possible to happen. Thus, although this study is based on the experiences of a small group of informants, through the material produced by the FEBF/UERJ research group, this study can be inserted as a part of a broader context. Furthermore, the findings of this study consist of very relevant data for further educational strategies for *children on the move* in Rio de Janeiro Metropolitan Region.

Finally, I highlight that this study has many limitations. I intended to provide as much information as possible about education for *children on the move* in Brazil, also contextualizing some topics related to childhood and refuge that are not directly related to this project. I did so to provide an overview of the field to the readers, as not many studies on the topic were found. However, although I have done careful literature research on the mentioned topics, some literature may have been left out.

It is worth remarking that the experiences described in this study do not represent the school experiences of all the *children on the move* in the RMRJ. Children's experiences vary in terms of culture, language, social class, family settings, as well as their time of arrival in the country, the adaptation to the Brazilian culture, among many other factors. The Angolan children that took part in this study have Portuguese as their native language, and the Congolese families have been living in Brazil for an extended period. In this way, the experiences described in this study includes only this particular group of children, which are already adapted to the Brazilian context. Newly arrived children probably have very different experiences from the participants of this study.

1.4 Outline of the thesis

This master thesis is organized into seven chapters. Following this introduction, **chapter two** presents the context of this study. This part briefly describes the context of recent refuge in Brazil, Brazilian demographics, the Rio de Janeiro Metropolitan Region, and the educational context. This part also presents the two schools where this study was realized. **Chapter three** presents the theoretical framework of this study: the interdisciplinary field of childhood studies as its main theoretical-methodological reference, the intersectionality theory, the philosophy of Ubuntu, and relational sociology as complementary analytical lenses. **Chapter four** describes the methodology of this study. This chapter describes all the research stages: planning, data collecting, organizing, coding, and data analyzes. This part also presents the participants of this study and the ethics involved in child-research. **Chapter five** is the first analysis chapter and it aims to answers the research question about the main challenges faced by the informants in elementary school, which are: bullying, racism, xenophobia, and peer coercion. Furthermore, this chapter presents the context of poverty and violence where children live. This is the only part of this thesis which brings the voices of Brazilian children. **Chapter six** aims to explore the encounter of Angolan and Congolese children with the school culture. This chapter encompasses Angolan and Congolese participants as pupils, their relationship with the teachers, and the value of formal education for them. This part also explores children's schooling performance and the elements that influence it. In conclusion, **chapter seven** summarizes the main findings of this study, highlighting a final reflection on education to *children on the move* in Brazil and on child-focused research.

⁶ The project "The integration of migrant and refugee children at the public school of Duque de Caxias (RJ)" is coordinated by professors Leila Carvalho de Mendes and Kelly Russo from FEBF/UERJ. The group has recently published two articles about this project (Mendes, Russo, & Barros, 2020; Russo, Mendes, & Borri-Anadon, 2020).

CHAPTER TWO: THE CONTEXT OF THIS STUDY

This is a study about the school experiences of *children on the move* in Duque de Caxias, which is one of the 22 municipalities that compose the Rio de Janeiro Metropolitan Region. Thus, this is a study about children, refuge, immigration, and education. Moreover, this is a study about Brazil, which is a country located in South America, a place of many diversities and sharp social inequalities. To cover all the aspects of this study, this context chapter is divided into four parts. The first part begins with a brief introduction to the context of recent refuge in Brazil. The second part introduces Brazil, highlighting the demographic and social inequalities aspects. The third part presents Rio de Janeiro Metropolitan Region, focusing on social inequalities and territorial segregation. Then, the context of violence and the situation of children and young people in vulnerability is highlighted. The third part presents Duque de Caxias and the refugee community at this municipality. Finally, the last part of the chapter explores the educational context. This part briefly describes legal aspect of school access for *children on the move*, the Brazilian educational system, and it presents the schools where this study was carried out.

2.1 The refugee context

According to the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees (United Nations, 1951), a refugee is someone who

owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (United Nations, 1951, Article 1A (2))

Brazil also recognize as refugee those that “due to serious and widespread human rights violations, is forced to leave their country of nationality to seek refuge in another country” (Brasil, 1997, Article 1, own translation). Refugees need asylum, which is defined as the protection of a State to a person inside its territory or inside another place under this State control. When a State recognizes the refugee condition, this State is obligated to concede asylum to this person (Galindo Vélez, 2005).

In December 2018, Brazil had 11.231 recognized refugees, and 161.057 request for recognition of the refugee condition being assessed (CONARE, 2019). The number of recognized refugees in Brazil is increasing. While in 2011 there were 4.035 refugees, in 2018 the country recognized 11.231 people. In total, the biggest group is from Syria (40%), followed by people from the Democratic Republic of Congo (14%), Angola (9%), Colombia (7%), and Venezuela (3%). Other nationalities comprise 30% of the refugees in Brazil (CONARE, 2019). However, the economic crisis in Venezuela is leading to an increasing number of families and children to seek asylum in Brazil every day. Regarding the refugee flow from Venezuela⁷, since March 2018, a multi-sectoral task force called *Operação Acolhida*⁸ has been working to provide accommodation, basic humanitarian assistance, and relocation of refugees to other States of the country (Brasil, 2020).

⁷ Refugees from Venezuela enter Brazil through the northern border, being mainly concentrated into two cities: Pacaraima and Boa Vista, both in the Roraima State.

⁸ It is the first humanitarian operation on the Brazilian ground. It is coordinated by “the Civil House of the Presidency of the Republic, with the participation of the ministries of Defense, Citizenship, Justice, Health, Education, Foreign Affairs, Family and Human Rights, Economy and Regional Development, and the Office of

Regarding the situation on the northern Brazilian border, UNICEF (2020) highlighted that 9.583 refugee children are in very vulnerable conditions. In 2019 the Federal Public Defenders (DPU) in the city of Pacaraima attended a total of 6.085 children and adolescents that were considered in a "particular migration difficulty" (DPU, 2020a). That means that children were either separated from their legal guardians, completely unaccompanied by an adult, or undocumented. During only the second semester of 2019, 423 children had entered Brazil alone (DPU, 2020a). Moreover, during the same period, 1.998 children entered without their legal guardians, and 1.080 children were undocumented. From those, 52,7% were boys, 47,3% girls, 9,75% indigenous children⁹, and 90,3% non-indigenous. Most of the children in a particular migration difficulty were between 13 to 17 years old, followed by the group from zero to six years old, and by the group from seven to 12 years old (DPU, 2020a).

Refugees and asylum seekers (when the eligibility is applied) receive housing assistance in public shelters, food assistance from UNHCR, and health assistance, through the public health system and from UNHCR. Refugees also receive juridical protection and have the same rights as Brazilian citizens, except for political participation (Moreira, 2005). Brazil offers universal services, free of charge, of education and health care to the population, which are also available for all refugees and eligible asylum seekers. Also, the labor legislation is applied in the same way to this population. Integration services, such as language courses, are offered by public universities, NGOs, and other organizations. Regarding the challenges in Brazil, xenophobia is one of the main problems suffered by immigrants and refugees (A. B. Pereira, 2018). Xenophobia affects refugee's settlement and their experiences within their neighborhoods, housing, and access to services such as education and health care (Ziersch, Due, & Walsh, 2020). In the following, the international and national legal contexts of refugee are presented.

2.2.1 International and national legal frameworks

The refugee law is a branch of the International Human Rights law, which means that "all refugee issues have some connection to human rights issues" (Mcnamara, cited by Cunha e Almeida, 2008, p. 428). The United Nations General Assembly created the High Commissioner for Refugees in December 1948, approving the statute of the organization in December 1950. In January 1951, the UNHCR started its activities, and in June 1951, the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees was adopted by the UN General Assembly. This treaty was not the first legal document regarding the rights of refugees. However, it is not my objective to describe the long history of legal protection to refugees here. In short, the organization was created to be an instrument to implement the 1951 Convention. The UNHCR is responsible for the protection of the refugees' rights, which are divided into two branches: prevention and reparation of human rights (Cunha & Ameida, 2008). Thus, it acts as a third-party intercessor, with a humanitarian and social character, and needs to be strictly apolitical (Cunha & Ameida, 2008). Besides the 1951 Convention, the UN 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, is also a valid and important document because it expanded the definition of a refugee. Before the 1967 Protocol, the 1951 Convention was valid only to those who became refugees as a result of events that occurred before 1 January 1951. Moreover, in the context of the Americas, the Inter-American Human Rights System, which is a sum of regional human rights treaties, is an

Institutional Security" (UNHCR, 2019, para. 6). The operation relies on more than 100 agencies, including the UNHCR, UNICEF, and other non-governmental organizations.

⁹ Children from Venezuelan native population. Most of them are from the Waraos ethnicity, which is the second largest indigenous group in Venezuela (Montenegro, 2019).

important tool as it also englobes refugee rights. There is no contradiction between the Inter-American system and the UN system regarding refuge, asylum, and extradition. The regional systems in Latin America reinforce the UN protection system (Galindo Vélez, 2005).

Regarding refugee rights in Brazil, the country signed 1960 the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951), being the first country in South America to regulate the protection for refugees. In 1972, Brazil ratified the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. Brazil was also the first country in South America to promulgate a specific law about refugees (Brasil, 1997). This law defined the instruments for the implementation of the Convention and the Protocol and created the National Committee for Refugees (CONARE). From 1964 until 1989, Brazil and many other countries in Latin America were under military dictatorships, which provoked a flow of over 2 million refugees only from the Central American countries (Moreira, 2005). In this context, the Cartagena Declaration, a regional instrument for the protection of refugees in the Americas was drafted in 1984. The Cartagena Declaration expanded the definition of refugees, redefining that they are those that "left their countries because their lives, safety, or freedom were threatened by generalized violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, mass violation of human rights, or any other circumstances that disturbed the public order" (Moreira, 2005, p. 64, own translation). Brazil adopted the broad definition of refugees from the Cartagena Declaration, but the country did not sign the document at that moment. Moreover, despite the ratification of these treaties, Brazil established a geographic restriction recognizing only refugees from European countries, which made Brazil the country that received the highest number of refugees from Europe after the Second World War (Moreira, 2005). It was only in 1989, after the democratization of the country, that the geographic restriction was revoked (Moreira, 2005).

About migration laws, in 2017, Brazil approved the new Migration Law (Brasil, 2017) to replace the Foreigner Statute (Brasil, 1980) adopted during the military regime. The new law was designed to attend to new global migration challenges based in a human rights and humanitarian approach, compromised with 22 main principles, among which I highlight the "repudiation and prevention of xenophobia, racism and any forms of discrimination"; the "no criminalization of migration"; and the "full protection and attention to the best interests of the child and adolescent migrant" (Brasil, 2017, pp. 2-3, own translation). The new Migration Law of 2017 is considered one of the most advanced rights-based migration laws nowadays. It converges to the aims of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (2016), which is "the first inter-governmentally negotiated agreement" (IOM, 2020, para. 3), elaborated under the patronage of the UN to improve international cooperation to migration. The compact was adopted by the UN General Assembly by "152 votes in favour, 12 abstentions, and five votes against, namely by the Czech Republic, Hungary, Israel, Poland, and the United States of America. An additional 24 Member States were not present to take part in the vote" (United Nations, 2018, para. 4). Brazil voted in favor and adopted the agreement, however, under the government of the current right-wing president Jair Bolsonaro, Brazil left the agreement in January 2019.

In regard to child-specific laws, children's rights are protected by the Brazilian Statute of the Children and the Adolescent (Brasil, 1990) and by the UNCRC (United Nations, 1989), which are documents on the rights of all children, including *children on the move*. In addition, regarding specific rights of *children on the move*, the Brazilian National Council for the Rights of Children and Adolescents (CONANDA), the National Committee for Refugees (CONARE), the National Immigration Council (CNI), and the Federal Public

Defenders (DPU) elaborated a joint resolution (CONANDA, CONARE, CNIg, & DPU, 2017) on procedures to identification, attention and protection of foreign children and adolescents who are unaccompanied upon entering the Brazilian territory. Currently, this is the main document in use in the Brazilian borders. At the international levels, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights has also a document on the rights and guarantees of children in the context of migration and/or in need of international protection (Inter-American Court of Human Rights, 2014), and the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, through the General Comment no. 6 (United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2005), elaborates about the treatment of unaccompanied and separated children outside their country of origin. These are relevant documents for the situation of children in “particular migration difficulty” (DPU, 2020a) in the northern Brazilian border.

Concluding, although there is a well-grounded body of treaties on the rights of children on the move, the implementation of the rights is not simple, demanding intensive work in collaboration with many institutions and actors. Since 2001, the Brazilian government has been implementing resettlement programs, which are realized in collaboration with public institutions, as the Attorney General Office (AGU), the Federal Public Defenders (DPU)¹⁰, the municipalities, civil society organizations¹¹, and the UNHCR (CONARE, 2019). The next topic presents Brazil and its demographics.

2.2 The Federal Republic of Brazil

With a territorial area of 8.510.820,623 km², the Federative Republic of Brazil (República Federativa do Brasil) is the largest country in Latin America, being the fifth largest in the world. In contrast to the other Latin American countries, Brazil is the only one that has Portuguese as its official language. Besides it, there are more than 274 native languages that are spoken by 305 different native peoples ethnic groups¹² (FUNAI & IBGE, 2010; IBGE, 2010c). The country is a presidential federative republic formed by 26 states, one federal district – which holds the country’s capital, Brasília –, and 5.570 municipalities. The independence from Portugal occurred in 1821 and it was recognized in 1825. The country became a republic in 1889. The current Brazilian Federal Constitution, also called the Citizen Constitution, was approved and promulgated in 1988, after the re-democratization of the country from the military dictatorship (1964-1985).

Divided into five big regions: Northern, Northeast, Central-West, Southeast, and Southern, Brazil is diverse in terms of climate, ecosystems, and cultures. Brazil is the country with the most diverse biodiversity on the planet (IBGE, 2020b), and it is considered one of the most ethnically diverse nations that exist. Brazilian population is formed by “indigenous people from various ethnic groups, Portuguese, Africans (coming from various regions of the African continent, especially Ivory Coast and Angola), Spanish, Jews, Germans, Italians, Arabs, and Japanese” (IBGE, 2020a, para. 3, own translation). Acknowledging that it is not possible to contextualize in its entirety any country, especially a complex and diverse country like Brazil, in a master thesis, this chapter will provide only a brief introduction of some important aspects that are relevant to this study. After Map 1, the next topic will contextualize Brazilian demographics and its inequalities.

¹⁰ Through the Working Group Migration, Statelessness and Refuge. For more information see: <https://www.dpu.def.br/migracoes-e-refugio>.

¹¹ Cáritas Internationalis, through the Assistance Program for Refugees and Asylum Seekers (PARES), is the main organization that assists and support refugees and asylum seekers in Brazil.

¹² Also called indigenous peoples.



Map 1: Brazil large regions map
 Green is North; Yellow Northeast; Orange Central-West; Pink Southeast; Purple South.
 Source: IBGE, Geosciences Directorate, Cartography Coordination.

2.2.1 Demographics

Brazil's demographic statistics are officially done by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE)¹³, based on household data collection¹⁴. In 2019, Brazil had an estimated population of 210.147.125 people. Concerning gender, 51,7% of the population is female and 48,3% is male (IBGE, 2018a). Regarding age, Brazil presents an age pyramid with a similar length for the age groups of young people (0-19 years) and adults (20-59 years), getting narrower from the range of 60 years old to the top.

In relation to race and ethnicity, the Brazilian population consists of 46,5% of “pardos” (mixed/mestizo), 43,1% white, 9,3% black, 0,47% “yellow” (Asian), and 0,38% indigenous people (IBGE, 2018b). IBGE simultaneously employs a self-attribution (when the person declares the ethnic-racial category that he/she belongs), and a hetero-

¹³ The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) is the national agency responsible for the analysis of the territory, including cartographies, geographies, environment, and the collection of all official statistics. In addition, IBGE produces studies based on official collected data that shows how people live, work and produce, how people access the different goods, and how the country’s economy evolves. All this information is produced at the national, state and municipal levels.

¹⁴ The Demographic Census is carried out every decade, and in the middle of each decade the Population Census is realized. Also, there is the National Household Sample Survey (PNAD) which annually collects information on “housing, income and labor, associated with some demographic and educational characteristics” (IBGE, 2010c).

attribution (when the ethnic-racial attribution is given by others¹⁵) methodology, called '*color and race*', to identify racial groups (Petruccelli, 2013). The classification options are white, black, pardo (mixed), yellow (Asian), and indigenous. This '*color and race*' classification originated in the colonial period when skin color was used to differentiate dominators (white), slaves, and servants (Osório, 2003). The first official Brazilian census, realized in 1872, designed black, pardo, caboclo (indigenous), and white as categories of racial differentiation (Osório, 2003). Those categories were originated by terms used frequently by the Brazilian society "as a form of classification and hierarchization of its members" (Osório, 2003, p. 18, own translation). Besides Brazil, only the United States and Canada have a similar racial classification system, although each one of them have their specificities (Osório, 2003). There is a considerable debate about the classification system used by IBGE, however, the main compelling argument is that this system provides relevant data to see how '*color and race*' intersect with other social statistics, showing that pardos and black people are located in vulnerable social positions since the first demographics census (Osório, 2003). The '*color and race*' classification system reflects the history of the racial relations in Brazil, which is also a history of social and geographic inequalities in the country.

Brazil's independence from Portugal occurred in 1821, and the abolition of slavery was declared in 1888, being Brazil the last country in the Americas to do so. At that moment, Brazil had the largest number of slaves in the Americas (Telles, 2014). In the following years, the Brazilian elite was concerned about the country's development, and based on ideas of biological white supremacy they believed that "only Europeans were capable of achieving full progress and that their large nonwhite populations would doom them to perpetual second-class status" (Telles, 2014, p. 17). These concerns influenced a movement that attracted European immigrants to Brazil. The country's elite wished to 'whiten' the population through a miscegenation process based on a pseudoscientific theory that "white genes would predominate in successive generations" (Telles, 2014, p. 18). The miscegenation process, which can be understood as a biological and cultural mixture, created during the 20th century the idea that Brazil is a racial democratic society (Telles, 2014), where people live in equality, without race discrimination. However, although Brazil did not experience any official racist regime, such as the Apartheid, the idea of a democratic racial society was never the truth. Discrimination based on race and ethnicity was always present in the Brazilian society. While the normative discourse exalted that Brazil was a racial democratic country, "whites or lighter-skinned mestizos tend to be privileged, while indigenous peoples, Afrodescendants, and dark-skinned persons are often seen and treated as less deserving" (Telles, 2014, p. 29).

About general demographic statistics, 84,72% of the population live in urban areas, and 15,28% live in rural areas (IBGE, 2015). According to IBGE (2018), the Southeast part of the country concentrates the highest population density (42,2%), followed by the Northeast (27,2%), the Southern (14,3%), the Northern (8,6%), and the Central-West (7,7%). The cities with the highest demographic density are São Paulo with 12.252.023 inhabitants, Rio de Janeiro with 6.718.903 inhabitants, and Brasília with 3.015.269 inhabitants.

¹⁵ By the IBGE interviewer at household data collection for demographic census.

2.2.2 Social inequalities

The most used index to measure social inequality is the Gini coefficient¹⁶, which is a useful tool to measure economic inequality between and within countries. Based on the Gini coefficient, Brazil is the eighth-most economically unequal country in the world and the most unequal in Latin America (*World Bank, 2020*). The 2018 National Household Sample Survey (PNAD 2018) showed that 10% of the Brazilian population concentrate 43,1% of the country's income mass (*IBGE, 2019a*), and

the average monthly working income of the 1% richest population was almost 34 times higher than the poorest half in 2018. This means that the highest income earned R\$ 27.744¹⁷ per month, on average, while the 50% least favored earned R\$ 820¹⁸. (Peret & Nery, 2019)

However, social inequality is not only about income. Amartya Sen (1992) states that social inequalities happen when income, resources, rights, freedoms, opportunities, political participation, privileges, possibilities of realization, among others, are unevenly distributed among a population. There are many kinds of inequalities which reinforce each other creating layers of deprivation. In Brazil, there are strong inequalities between geographic locations, "rich and poor, men and women, between categories of race, which in turn are expressed through income, access to services, and political participation" (Arretche, 2019b, p. viii). Considering geographic location and income, the Northern and Northeast regions are the most economically unequal regions and the regions with the highest levels of poverty (Arretche, 2019a). The territorial inequalities between and within regions in Brazil are huge. They create differences in terms of infrastructure, housing, urban conditions, provision of essential services, access to health care and education, income, and political participation. Moreover, social inequalities in Brazil also have a racial mark. The regions with the highest level of poverty, social inequalities, and lowest income are also the regions with the majority of black populations. There are many studies about the intersection of race and class in Brazil, which are essential for understanding how the Brazilian society was and still is structured. Most of them highlight that

(i) blacks occupy the worst social status because they have emerged from slavery, a time that, although had no racial prejudice, did have class prejudice; (ii) racial prejudice is a vestige of slavery [...], and (iii) racial discrimination is a mechanism that leads to inequality by disqualifying blacks from competition, thus preserving privileges, as well as material and symbolic gains, for whites. (Lima & Prates, 2019, p. 114)

This pattern is statistically observable. PNAD 2018 showed that the black population has severe disadvantages in the labor market. The unemployment rate, the proportion of workers without formal employment, and the underutilization of the labor force affect more the black population. Also, black people occupy the lower-level positions, while whites are the majority in management and higher-level positions. Black people are also the majority below the poverty line¹⁹, having the worst housing conditions, with a lack of access to essential services. Moreover, educational inequalities can be observed at all levels and along educational trajectories, getting worse at higher education. Illiteracy rates are higher for blacks and mixed (9,1%) than for whites (3,9%).

¹⁶ It measures the differences between the higher and lower income in a place. Its ranges from zero (perfect equality) to one (maximum inequality).

¹⁷ Equivalent to € 4.188,41 (1 BRL = 0.15 EUR, XE Currency Converter, October 8, 2020).

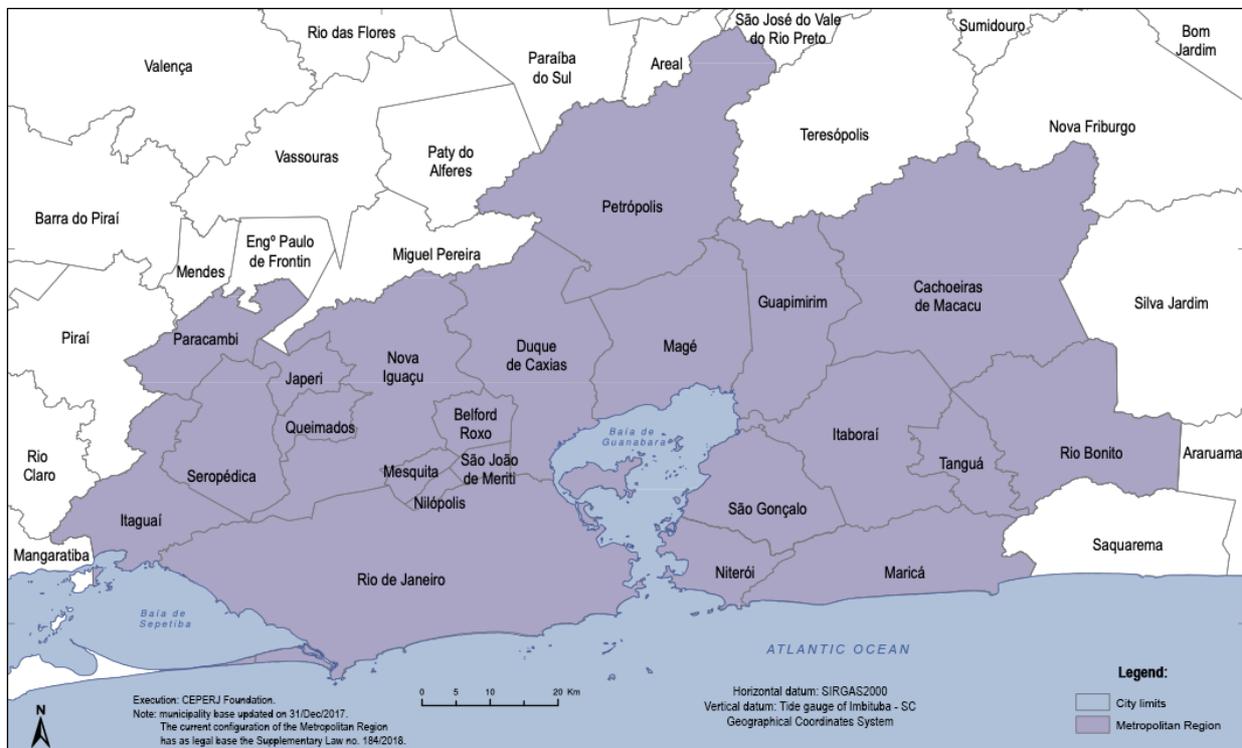
¹⁸ Equivalent to € 123,91 (1 BRL = 0.15 EUR, XE Currency Converter, October 8, 2020).

¹⁹ People with monthly income up to R\$ 89,00 (€ 13,46, 1 BRL = 0.15 EUR, XE Currency Converter, October 8, 2020) per person are considerate in extremely poverty (Ministério da Cidadania & Secretaria Especial do Desenvolvimento Social, 2020).

Furthermore, the homicide rate²⁰, which is used to measure the incidence of extreme violence, was 16 for every 100 inhabitants among white people and 43,2 among black and mixed people in 2016. That means that 71% of the people murdered every year in Brazil are black or those with darker skin (IPEA, 2019). This rate affects mostly the young population (15 to 29 years old). Finally, although more inequalities could be explored here, I highlight the same as Telles (2014), who affirms that race is one of the primary stratifying variables in Brazil. The intersection of race and class in Brazil have created ethnoracial inequalities, which are persistent in history. Thus, in Brazil, race, and class are not independent categories. Ethnoracial disadvantages are also class disadvantages. Following the contextualization, the next topic presents the Rio de Janeiro Metropolitan Region, the context of this study.

2.3 Rio de Janeiro Metropolitan Region (RMRJ)

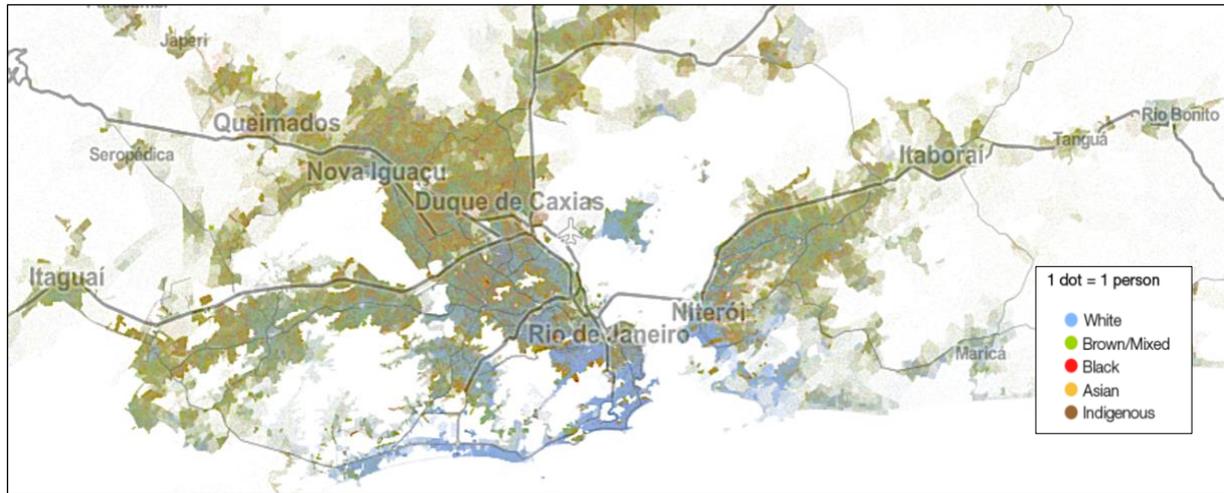
The Rio de Janeiro Metropolitan Region is composed of 22 municipalities that cover a territorial extension of 6,7 million km² (CEPERJ, 2019). With 12.699.743 inhabitants and a population density of 1.725,82 persons per km² (FNEM, 2018), the RMRJ is the second most populated metropolitan region in Brazil. 45,7% of the inhabitants live in the capital, Rio de Janeiro, and the other 55,3% are spread across the other municipalities. The RMRJ produces 60% of the Brazilian Gross Domestic Product (Câmara Metropolitana do Rio de Janeiro et al., 2017), being the second biggest GDP in the country (IBGE, 2019c). In 2010, the RMRJ produced the 30th highest GDP in the world (World Bank, 2010). People constantly move between the different municipalities in their daily lives, creating complex flows of people, goods, and information. It is, therefore, more relevant to contextualize the broader contexts of the RMRJ than just the municipality where this study took place.



Map 2: Rio de Janeiro Metropolitan Region.
Source: CEPERJ Foundation (2019).

²⁰ Deaths caused by aggression and legal intervention (IBGE, 2019b).

The RMRJ population is mainly mixed, but racial groups are visibly divided into municipalities and neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro city. The neighborhoods that concentrate most of the white population are also the wealthiest ones, while those that concentrate most black and mixed populations are worst served with public services. The following map shows how racial groups are spread into the RMRJ:



Map 3: Racial dot map of the Rio de Janeiro Metropolitan Region

Source: Picture of the interactive map of racial distribution of the Brazilian population²¹, based on the IBGE demographic Census of 2010.

As illustrated above, the white population is mostly located in the Rio de Janeiro city, in a region called South Zone (Zona Sul), which is the wealthiest region, historically inhabited by elites. Conversely, the black and mixed populations are mostly located in the north and west sides of the city, in slum areas on the hills, and in the metropolitan region.

Regarding the refugee population, there was a total of 4.834 refugees living in the RMRJ in 2018. The largest group is from Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Colombia. Among asylum seekers, the Congolese people are the majority, followed by refugees from Bangladesh, and Angola. Most of the refugees at the RMRJ are male (69%), and the major age group is from 18 to 59 years old. In October 2018, there were 551 refugee children from zero to 13 years old, and 402 asylum seekers children from zero to 13 years old at the RMRJ (Caritas, 2019). The refugee population is mostly located in the metropolitan areas and in the North Zone of Rio de Janeiro city. Next, it will be presented how social inequalities are distributed in the RMRJ.

2.3.1 Social inequalities and territorial segregation

The RMRJ, as well as its metropolis, presents high levels of social disparities, which have roots in the history of the region. There are many inequalities within the metropolis and between the municipalities that compose the RMRJ. Moreover, the geography of the region has also contributed to shaping spatial segregation. Rio de Janeiro area is well known as 'the marvelous land': Mountainous and coastal massifs, hills, lakes, mangroves, swamps, forest (Atlantic forest), river plains, dunes, sandbanks, coastal lagoons, and many beaches compose an astonishing tropical landscape. This particular geography was a challenge while the city was expanding and the population was growing. To dismiss distances between places, many hills were flattened, mountains were perforated, and lagoons, lakes, and parts of the sea were drilled (CEPERJ, 2019). The accelerated and unregulated growth

²¹ Developed by Pata, an agency specialized in visualization with data. The interactive map is available here: <https://patadata.org/maparacial/en.html> (Accessed on April 13, 2020).

of the metropolitan region and its population has created many environmental problems (Dantas et al., 2005) and social inequalities, which manifested as territorial inequalities. The drilled areas became urbanized and highly populated, but many of these areas are not adequate for the urban use. These problematic areas became location for the low-income population. The same has happened to the occupation of the hills, for which the low-income population was pushed. This process, among others, has created many *favelas* (slum areas), which are mainly occupied by poor, black and mixed segregated populations (Dantas et al., 2005).

IBGE uses the term *subnormal agglomerates* (IBGE, 2010a) to define poor housing conditions, with an absence of essential public services, urbanization without normal standards, and illegal land occupation. The term is a generalization for many types of irregular settlements, including the *favelas*. In 2010, 14% of the population of the RMRJ were living in these kinds of housing conditions (IBGE, 2010a). There are several inequalities between the population that live in impoverished and privileged areas, both within the city of Rio de Janeiro and between municipalities. Between municipalities, there are inequalities in the labor market, income, education, health (life expectancy, teenager pregnancy, and infant mortality differences), and basic sanitation (people served by sewer service, garbage system), are some of the indicators that show how the municipalities of the RMRJ have created unequal patterns of life. In almost all them, the city of Rio de Janeiro has the best conditions (Casa Fluminense, 2010). However, within the city, the access to basic public services varies from one neighborhood to another. The privileged population use mostly private services, as private education and private health plans. The gap between this group and the excluded population is even deeper. Public security and violence rates also differ between neighborhoods in the metropolis and between the municipalities. The next section describes how the context of violence reaches children and young people.

2.3.2 Violence and the children and young people in vulnerability

There are many types and levels of violence, and Brazil scores high for many different types. Pavoni and Tulumello (2020, p. 49) affirm that violence is "a concept constantly oscillating between the physical and the structural, the visible and the invisible, the natural and the social, the institutional and the criminal". Regarding lethal violence, Brazil is the country with the highest levels of homicides per year. 2017 registered 65.602 homicides (Cerqueira et al., 2019), which is the highest level registered in the country. The groups that are more affected by lethal violence in Brazil are the youth, black people, the LGBTI population, and women (Cerqueira et al., 2019). Regarding children and young people, Brazil "registers the second-highest worldwide load of homicidal violence in the world among young people" (Muggah & Pellegrino, 2020, p. 13). In 2017, 35.7853 young people between the ages of 15 and 29 were murdered, being homicide the number one cause of death of young people (Cerqueira et al., 2019).

In the Rio de Janeiro State and the RMRJ, the situation is not different. The worsening of crime and violence affects the whole population. However, children and young people have been the most affected group by all types of violence. These crimes include physical violence, sexual violence, financial violence (robbery and stealing from children), moral violence (injury, defamation, calumny), psychological violence, and precipitation of life and health (mistreatment, abandonment, and mission of assistance) (Manso & Gonçalves, 2018). Almost all kinds of injuries against children and young people are committed by people close to them. Only homicides, attempted murders, and murders resulting from

police action were not committed by any close family member in 2017 (Manso & Gonçalves, 2018). The crimes of homicide hit mainly young black boys, while sexual, moral, psychological, and bodily crimes affect mostly girls (Manso & Gonçalves, 2018, p. 12). Accordantly,

black and brown are the majority of the victims in almost all forms of violence except the property-related ones (46%). The conjugation of several factors, among them racism, poverty, and institutional discrimination, contributes decisively to the black and brown population being hit hardest by violence, especially the most serious. (Manso & Gonçalves, 2018, p. 12, own translation)

In the quote above, 'the most serious' refers to homicide cases. In 2017, 635 children and adolescents were murdered in the Rio de Janeiro State. From those, 104 children (28.6%) were killed as a result of police intervention (Rio Segurança, 2018). Only during my stay in Rio (from the end of July to the beginning of October 2019) 11 children and adolescents were killed in situations involving shootings: Dyogo, 16 years old; Gabriel, 18 years old; Margareth, 17 years old; Henrico, 19 years old; an unidentified child, 16 years old; Kauê, 11 years old; Rafael, 15 years old; Ryan, 17 years old; Agatha, 8 years old; and Kelvin, 17 years old (Deister, 2019). They were all killed in situations involving shootings (Deister, 2019). It was a total of 24 children and young people killed by police actions in the RMRJ until that moment (October 2019), six of them were under 12 years old (Deister, 2019). All of them were black and residents of impoverished communities. Black children have nine times higher homicide rates than white children, and "the darker the skin tone, the greater the vulnerability to death intentional violence" (Rio Segurança, 2018, p. 20, own translation).

The territory consists of one of the most relevant aspects of the violence against children and young people. Most part of the violent deaths occur in the neighborhood where the child or adolescent live. The history of Rio, its huge socioeconomic disparity, the inequality of public policies such as public safety, health, and education, and spatial segregation contribute to this context of violence. Besides that, most crimes in Rio de Janeiro are directly or indirectly related to three types of collective actors:

- a) Those who act directly in illegal markets, mainly the factions of illegal drug trafficking that control points of sale in favelas and other poor urban regions;
- b) Those that organize extermination groups and militias to extort residents of unsafe areas;
- c) Police and other public employees who, in the exercise of their profession, offer protection to traffickers and other agents of illegal markets in exchange for eventual bribes or regular payments. (Misse, 2017, p. 72)

This context of violence, crime, and unsafety in RMRJ cannot be easily or briefly described. As it is not the focus of this study to discuss the causes of violence in the RMRJ, I will not describe more details of this context. Instead, I just remark the existence of these different kinds and levels of violence, and that they are located in the regions where the participants of this study live.

In this way, many children and young people are not safe with their families, extended family, and people close to them, which are responsible for 46,8% of the body lesions, 47,1% of psychological violence, 40,4% of crimes of sexual violence, and 38,2% of the crimes of moral violence (IPEA, 2019). Furthermore, poor and black children are not safe in their neighborhoods, dominated by crime and drug factions. Finally, an institution that should protect children and young people, the Military Police, is the main actor responsible for the deaths of young black boys. The Angolan and Congolese participants of this study live in this same context of unsafety and violence, being vulnerable to those risks. The following section will present Duque de Caxias, the municipality where this study was conducted.

2.3.3 Duque de Caxias: the home of the Angolan-Congolese community

Duque de Caxias has been the home of most of the refugee population from Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo since the mid-eighties (Petrus, 2010). When Congolese refugees started to arrive at the RMRJ, they were at first living in the city of Rio de Janeiro. However, the economic cost to live in the metropolis was too high, so the group moved to Duque de Caxias, where they have been living since then (Petrus, 2010). According to Caritas (2019), there were 2.626 Congolese refugees and 1.066 refugees from Angola living in the RMRJ in October 2018, most of them in Duque de Caxias.

This municipality occupies 10% of the RMRJ, being located 15 km from the capital Rio de Janeiro, in a region called Baixada Fluminense. It has 468,3 km² and it is divided into four districts. In order to preserve the identity of schools and participants, the district and the neighborhood where the research was conducted will be kept confidential.

The city has a population of 855.058 inhabitants, with a density of 1.828,51 inhabitants/km². Regarding ethnics and race, the population is mainly mixed and black (57,7%). The largest age group is from 10-14 years old, followed by the age group of 15-19 years old, and the age group from 20-25 years old (IBGE, 2010b). Thus, the population of the municipality is mostly mixed and young.

The economy of Duque de Caxias is based on oil refining, and Petrobras is the largest employer in the municipality. The city produces the 24th largest GDP in the country. However, despite the wealth produced, the average monthly income per capita is R\$ 856²². Furthermore, 10% of the municipality's population was living with up to R\$ 140²³ a month in 2010, and 2,8% was living in extreme poverty, living with up to R\$ 70²⁴ a month in 2010 (Casa Fluminense, 2010). There are also many inequalities in terms of infrastructure, income, violence rates, housing, and education (Silveira & Ribeiro, 2017) between the districts and neighborhoods. In 2010, the year of the last demographic census, there were 25 *subnormal agglomerates* in Duque de Caxias. Regarding violence, the city had the highest homicide rate for young blacks and pardos (brown, mixed) in the RMRJ in 2010 (Casa Fluminense, 2010). That means that Duque de Caxias was the most dangerous place to be a black youth in the RMRJ in 2010 (Casa Fluminense, 2010).

The Angolan and Congolese community is located in an impoverished region of Duque de Caxias, which is also occupied by a poor Brazilian population. Petrus (2010), in her research on the local integration of Congolese refugees in the RMRJ, highlights that the Angolan and Congolese people closely collaborate, forming a community with a collective life strategy. The families support each other, especially with childcare. They are also supported by the Brazilian local people in Duque de Caxias. Because of the absence of adequate institutional integration policies, employees from different areas (e.g. social service, health care, education, law) meet voluntarily to discuss strategies to assist the immigrant and refugee population in Duque de Caxias. Also, the Angolan and Congolese families are assisted by a charitable organization that distributes food packages for the families once a month. During the fieldwork, I took part in one meeting for each group, which helped me to understand the social context of the participants. In the next section I present the context of formal education in Brazil, highlighting the access of *children on the move* to school and the two institutions where this study was conducted.

²² € 129,75 (1 BRL = 0.15 EUR, XE Currency Converter, October 8, 2020).

²³ € 21,22 (1 BRL = 0.15 EUR, XE Currency Converter, October 8, 2020).

²⁴ € 10,61 (1 BRL = 0.15 EUR, XE Currency Converter, October 8, 2020).

2.4 The formal education context

The aim of this study is to explore the school experiences of *children on the move* through the experiences of a group of Angolan and Congolese children enrolled in two primary schools in Duque de Caxias. Brazil has both private and public schools, but *children on the move* mostly attend public schools. The schools where this study was carried out had around 20 students with migrant or refugee backgrounds. For a school with 600 students, this number is not high. However, the situation is very different in the Brazilian region that borders Venezuela, where the public system can no longer provide places, suffering from a lack of vacancies. This is a challenge that encompasses different aspects, especially because Brazil already faces many challenges concerning public education. This section introduces the legal framework to the access of *children on the move* to formal education, followed by a brief description of the Brazilian educational system, and at the last part of the chapter, the two schools where this study was carried out are presented.

2.4.1 School access to *children on the move*

Brazil's public educational system is universal and completely free of charge from early-childhood to higher education, and any child can be enrolled based on the 1988 Federal Constitution, which states that

All are equal under the law, without distinction of any kind, guaranteeing Brazilians and foreigners residing in the country the inviolability of the right to life, liberty, equality, security, and property (Article 5);

Social rights are education, health, food, work, housing, transportation, leisure, security, social security, maternity and childhood protection, assistance to the helpless, in the form of this Constitution (Article 6);

Education, which is a right of everyone and duty of the State and the family, will be promoted and encouraged [...] (Article 205);

Education shall be provided based on the following principles: I - equal conditions for access and permanence in school (Article 206)

(Brasil, 1988, own translation).

Moreover, the Brazilian Statute of Children and the Adolescent (Brasil, 1990), the Act of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (Brasil, 1996), the National Plan of Education (Brasil, 2014); and the Brazilian Migration Law (Brasil, 2017) are important documents that establish the equal access to education for all children regardless of nationality. At the international level, immigrant and refugee children rights to formal education are stated in the following treaties: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948); the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (United Nations, 1951); the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (United Nations, 1966b); the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1989); the World Declaration on Education for All (United Nations, 1990); the General Comment no. 6 of the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2005); the Advisory Opinion OC-21/14 of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (Inter-American Court of Human Rights, 2014); and the UNHCR Education Strategy 2017-2021 (UNHCR, 2017).

Brazil ratified all the above-mentioned treaties. Each one of them explore different aspects of the duty of the State to provide formal education for *children on the move*. However, it is not my objective to discuss each treaty, but instead, to highlight how well-grounded the right to education is for this population, both in Brazil and internationally. On the other hand, despite the legal base, there is an absence of federal legislation concerning refugee education. Thus, States educational offices have been striving with the situation almost alone. The few orientation documents found by me were produced by the States of São

Paulo (Conselho Estadual de Educação de São Paulo, 1997; Secretaria de Educação de São Paulo, 1995, 1998), Paraná (Conselho Estadual de Educação do Paraná, 2001), and the Federal District (Conselho de Educação do Distrito Federal, 2002). São Paulo has also produced two booklets on immigrant and refugees' enrollments and integration for school staffs (São Paulo, 2018a, 2018b). The Federal Public Defenders (DPU) have also been dedicated to ensure that *children on the move* have access to formal education (DPU, 2020b).

According to the mentioned documents, children's enrollment in school can be made with any one of the following documents: the National Registry of Foreigners (RNE), the Provisional Document of National Migration Registry, the Provisional Foreigner Identity Document (Federal Police Protocol), passport, birth certificate issued by the country of origin (translated or not), and the school documents issued by the country of origin (translated or not). Moreover, enrolment cannot be denied in case of absence of identification documents. However, the situation is not simple. Many institutions do not know about this regulation and migrants and refugees still face challenges with children's enrollment as it was mentioned to me by a representative of DPU I met in the fieldwork. The Public Prosecutor's Office has documented (Ministério Público Federal, 2017) that Venezuelan refugees have difficulties in enrolling their children in Brazilian public schools because of the lack of translated documents.

Regarding school documents, it is also not obligatory to submit any documentation to prove the previous education as a requirement for enrollment. Furthermore, is not necessary to have a certified translation of the previous schooling documentation. In case of the absence of documentation, the school management must realize a classification procedure. If it is not possible to classify the student as soon as possible, or if there are other obstacles, the child should be enrolled with the same age group, and the reclassification

can occur any time during the school year, upon request of the teacher or the student responsible, and will define the most suitable year/series to the continuation of studies, based on age/series correspondence and a competence assessment. (São Paulo, 2018b, p. 16, own translation)

The above-mentioned document is from the São Paulo State, however, the same applies to Rio de Janeiro as also mentioned by the DPU representative I met in the field. After school admission, no special education policy exists. Children are enrolled in a standard classroom with the same curriculum as Brazilian children. The next topic briefly presents the Brazilian public educational system.

2.4.2 Brazilian educational system and some of its limitations

The Brazilian educational system is ruled by the Act of Guidelines and Bases of National Education and by the National Plan of Education, being divided into two levels: basic education and higher education. Basic education comprises: early childhood education, which is divided into nursery (from 0 to 3 years old) and pre-school (from 4 to 5 years old); elementary education, which is divided into elementary I and elementary II (from 6 to 14 years old); and upper secondary education (from 15 to 17 years old). Basic Education is compulsory for all children from four to 17 years old (INEP, 2016). Besides basic education, Brazil has the following modalities of education: Indigenous Education;

Quilombola²⁵ Education; Special needs Education; Youth and Adult Education (EJA)²⁶; Countryside Education; and Professional Education (INEP, 2016).

The education funding works in a system of collaboration between the municipalities, the States, and the Federal Union. The municipalities are responsible for early childhood education, and for elementary education I. The States are responsible for elementary education II and upper secondary education. Higher Education is mostly funded by the Federal Union, with some exceptions that are funded by the States. The Federal Union is also responsible for the professional education. Besides that, there are private schools from early childhood education to higher education. However, in this study, I focus only on the public elementary education (elementary I and II).

As mentioned at the introduction, the public educational system faces several challenges, such as educational inequalities, lack of investment, public administration, devaluation of public education, devaluation and underpayment of teachers and educational professionals, and corruption. At the local level, schools strive against infrastructure problems such as the absence of libraries, playgrounds, science and computer labs; the lack of infrastructure reparation; the shortage of school supplies and basic materials like books and paper; the number of classrooms below the necessary, which makes classes overcrowded and teaching even more challenging; and low quantity of teachers and other school employees. The next topic introduces the two schools where this study was realized.

2.4.3 The two schools were this study took place

This study took place in one Elementary I and one Elementary II school. Both schools are located in the district and neighborhood of Duque de Caxias. To secure confidentiality, the terms School I and School II will be used.

School I was founded in 1990 and offers early childhood education, elementary education I, and youth and adult education (EJA). According to its Political Pedagogical Plan (PPP), the school had approximately 800 students in 2019, most of them live in the community around the school, where a large part of the population lives under a very precarious life situation, including cases of begging. Many members of children's families are unemployed or underemployed, living from social programs, such as *bolsa família*²⁷. The document also highlights that many students stop studying early to contribute to the family income and that many students emancipate themselves to assume responsibilities with the household. Moreover, it is highlighted that there are several *favelas* with places that sell toxic substances around the school, and there is a large group of young people involved with licit and illicit types of drugs.

School II was founded in 1945 and offers elementary school II, and the final stages of youth and adult education (EJA), having around 20 classes in total. It is located in the same neighborhood, sharing the same social context and being attended by the same

²⁵ Quilombo is the name for communities of black slaves who resisted the slavery regime. There is a total of 3.386 quilombola communities distributed throughout Brazil (Comissão Pró-Índio de São Paulo, 2020).

²⁶ EJA is a modality of basic education that covers all levels of education. It is designed for young people, adults and, seniors who did not have access to education or did not complete basic education at the appropriate age. It allows students to resume their studies and complete them in less time.

²⁷ "Bolsa Família is a federal program to combat poverty and social inequality in Brazil. The program has three main axes: income supplement; access to rights; and articulation with other actions to stimulate the development of families. The program is to families living in poverty and extreme poverty. They can be part of the program: all families with income per person of up to R\$ 89 (€ 14,52) per month; and families with income per person between R\$ 89 (€ 13,53) and R\$ 178 (€ 27,07) per month, as long as they have children or adolescents from 0 to 17 years old in school" (Brasil Governo Federal, 2020, para. 1-2). Conversions based on 1 BRL = 0.15 EUR, XE Currency Converter, October 8, 2020.

population group as School I. Moreover, the Political Pedagogical Plan of School II states that a significant number of students of this school “show signs of material and affective lack, being target of family neglect, presenting a significant number of absences, and increasing rates of learning difficulties” (PPP School II, 2019, p. 13, own translation).

Moreover, the Political Pedagogical Plan of both schools’ highlights that both institutions need infrastructure improvement and reparation. There is also a need for more materials and more teachers. The lack of resources, as well as the lack of infrastructure, and the social situation of the children and their families make the educational practice a challenge for children and all actors involved in their education.

2.5 Summarizing chapter two

This chapter has highlighted four dimensions that are important to the contextualization of this study. The first part of the chapter described the refugee context in Brazil, focusing on the current situation and on the international and national legal frameworks. The second part has provided information about Brazil’s demographics and the context of social inequalities. Then, the third part of the chapter described Rio de Janeiro Metropolitan Region, highlighting the context of social inequalities and territorial segregation. This part also emphasized the critical situation of children and young people who live in those areas. Moreover, the municipality of Duque de Caxias was introduced. The last section of the chapter has provided information on the context of formal education in Brazil, focusing on the access of *children on the move* formal education, the Brazilian educational system, and finally, the two schools where this study was conducted.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the theoretical-methodological framework of this study: the interdisciplinary field of childhood studies, and intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 1989). Moreover, two additional relational approaches, the philosophy of Ubuntu (Ramose, 2003), and relational sociology (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2008; Lahire, 1997) will be used as complementary analytical frames. The first part of the chapter presents three key concepts in childhood studies that will be used in this study: the social construction of childhood, generation, and generational order (Alanen, 2009). The second part of the chapter presents the intersectionality theory and the key-anchor categories chosen to be used to data analysis: social class, race, ethnicity, racism, and xenophobia. The third part of the chapter will introduce the philosophy of Ubuntu and make a brief presentation of relational sociology approaches to educational research.

3.1 Childhood Studies

This study is rooted in the interdisciplinary field of childhood studies²⁸ and uses the concept of childhood as the early period of the human life-course (Giddens & Sutton, 2014), which is transitory for a person, but permanent in all human societies as a category at the social structure (Qvortrup, 2009). Childhood is a category of the generational type (Alanen, 2009), shaped by historical periods, space, and culture. Also, even inside the same culture and during the same historical period, childhood differ in terms of social class, religion, ethnicity, race, gender, and (dis)ability (Alanen, 2009; Prout, 2011). As a structure (Qvortrup, 2009), childhood change over time, which means that a child from a particular place has a different childhood experience than a child from the same place but from a different century. In the same way, children that lived during the same historical period but in different cultures, social classes, among many other differentiation elements, experience childhood in a very different way. The differences in how childhood is constituted can be theorized using social constructionism (Montgomery, 2003), which is one of the core elements of childhood studies. More than only a biological period of the human life-course, a period that is universal to all children, this field of studies states that "childhood is a social structural place" (James & James, 2012, p. 15), which is "constructed and reconstructed" (Prout & James, 1997) by diverse institutions, factors, actors, and by children themselves (Prout, 2011).

The emergence of childhood studies arose between the 1970s-1990s from inquiries regarding essentialized ideas from developmental psychology, most specifically against Piaget's development theory, and functionalist theory, questioning Durkheim's and Parsons socialization theory. This process resulted in the emergence of the field, which was considered a new paradigm in the social sciences (Alanen, 2009; Jenks, 1982; Mayall, 2005; Prout, 2011; Prout & James, 1997; Qvortrup, 2009). Prout and James (1997), stated six key features that distinguish this field of study from what other disciplinary fields stated before. The first key concept states that childhood is a social construction and a social category in the structure of society. Childhood is defined as "a specific structural and cultural component of many societies" (Prout & James, 1997, p. 7). Secondly, childhood is understood as a variable for social analyses. When childhood is intersected with other variables it shows that rather than being universal, childhood occurs in a variety of forms. The third key feature state that childhood is "worthy of study in their own right" (Prout &

²⁸ About the nomenclature of the field, it was firstly called sociology of childhood and later social studies of childhood in the 1990s. Childhood studies is the most common term nowadays. Thus, I will only be using the term childhood studies in this thesis.

James, 1997, p. 7). That implies that children are worthy of study for what they are now, rather than what they are going to be in the future, or rather from the adults' perspectives. In the same direction, the fourth key concept affirmed that children are social actors that actively construct and reconstruct their social worlds and the lives of those around them. Children are not passive social reproducers, but active social actors with agency. The fifth feature suggested that ethnography is a good method to be used with children and young people because it allows them to have more voice and participation in the research process. The sixth and last feature affirmed that childhood is a social institution, produced and reproduced by all social actors of society. In this way, Prout & James (1997) affirmed that to claim this paradigm is also a way to "engage in and respond to the process of reconstructing childhood in society" (Prout & James, 1997, p. 7).

Since then, scholars in the field have been engaged in the process of theorizing childhood, conceptualizing and reconceptualizing fixed and emerging concepts, from a diversity of scientific traditions. The multi/inter-disciplinary field of childhood studies has shown itself as a self-critical scientific field, in which scholars from within the field think and rethink their analytical lenses. Since Prout & James (1997) classical work, the so-called child-friendly methods have been used to research with children. More about methodology of research with children is explored in the next chapter.

In conclusion, the childhood studies field is embedded with a wide range of key concepts, and analysis categories for the study of children's realities. Childhood studies embrace studies at individual and micro-levels, as well as studies on the impacts of macro-structural elements, such as economic forces, globalization, migration, transnationalism, conflicts, poverty, among many others, into children's lives. The next section explores some important key concepts for this study: the social construction of childhood, generation, and generational order.

3.1.1 Social construction of childhood

Stuart Hall (1997), affirms that culture is the sharing of meaning or, in other words, it is the sharing of the same interpretation of symbols and values of a social group through language. Thus, "to belong to the same culture is to say that they (*people*) interpret the world in roughly the same ways and can express themselves, their thoughts and feelings about the world, in ways which will be understood by each other" (Hall, 1997, p. 2). In this way, a social constructionism perspective "explores the ways in which reality is negotiated in everyday life through people's interactions and through sets of discourses" (James & James, 2012, p. 116). Social constructionism explains how individuals negotiate everyday life in an ongoing process. Montgomery (2003) affirms that the social constructionism character of childhood is related to how children are seen and understood in different cultures. The ideas or beliefs about what childhood is or should be shape children's lives and experiences. The beliefs on children, on what they are able to, and what are their rights and responsibilities are consolidated into discourses and representations, which are rooted in "a historical, social and political context" (Montgomery, 2003, p. 47).

Giddens and Sutton (2014) define discourse as a way of talking and thinking about something, connected by common principles. Discourses structure and shape peoples' comprehension and actions about something. Discursive practices refer to everything that is related to the language, but are more than just that. Social relations and material culture are also a social construction, created and reinforced by discourse. Phillippe Ariès (1982) analyzed how the iconography of the child changed from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, suggesting that childhood, as a different stage of the life-course with specificities,

did not exist in the centuries before, and the discovery or invention of childhood by modernity (Ariès, 1982) allowed the societies he studied to shape this period of life called childhood.

Discourses about children and childhood shape children's representation. According to Hall (1997), representation is the symbol that communicates a social construct, which is located in a sense of place, time, and culture, as a result of historical and political conflicts. Different ways of seeing a child are representations. Therefore, discourses and representations are not neutral or passive acts. Discourses impact how a group of people is seen and understood. They are acts of power, as Michael Foucault (1975) has showed in his discourse theory. Discourses impact how people are treated. This is clear when we look into how colonization forged the image of 'the other' into something that is subaltern, not-human, voiceless and rightless. Historical discourses have created strong lines of discrimination (Beck, 2011). In sum, taking childhood as a social construction is to claim that there is no essential, unique, and global childhood. For this study, the social construction characteristic of the childhood studies is taken as the starting point to understand how the informants' childhood experiences in RMRJ are, and their impacts on children's school experience. The next section introduces the concepts of generation and generational order.

3.1.2 Generation and generational order

Qvortrup (2009) suggested childhood in structural terms, stating that childhood is an universal structural phenomenon in every society. He affirmed that, even with the many differences in terms of childhood experiences, what makes childhood a permanent category in the social stratum is its opposition to adulthood. In these terms, childhood is understood as a category of the generational type. Karl Mannheim (1982), in his early paper on the concept of generation, affirms that "the sociological phenomenon of generation is based on the biological rhythm of birth and death" (Mannheim, 1982, p. 72). However, the fact of belonging to the same age range does not mean to belong to the same generation. To be considered as part of the same generation people must share a common sociological situation in the historical and social process. "It is necessary to be born in the same historical and cultural region, however, it demands more, the individual needs to participate at the same common destiny of this historical and social unity" (Mannheim, 1982, p. 86). Thus, "generation as reality", as Mannheim called it, is constituted by fellow contemporary individuals that are socially situated in the same social stratum, are actively participating in a common destiny, sharing the same ideas and values, and experiencing the same consequences of the combinations of those factors. Saying so, inside the same age-range group of individuals coexist many "units of generations" (Mannheim, 1982). This concept of generation is especially relevant for this project, as the experiences of Brazilian, Angolan, and Congolese children, although having the same age and living at the same space, differ considerably.

Scholars within the field of childhood studies have commonly used the term childhood in the plural form, as *childhoods*. It intends to say that "there is no such thing as a single childhood, rather a multiplicity of childhoods" (James & James, 2012, p. 32), and this multiplicity can be found in terms of culture, race, ethnicity, social class, gender, (dis)ability, territoriality, historical period, and so on. However, in opposition to the term *childhood* in the plural, Qvortrup (2008 cited by Alanen, 2016) argues for the use of *childhood* in the singular form, to remember that this term refers to a social category. The diversity within the category can be explained by the concept of generation, as it was

coined by Mannheim (1982). In other words, it is only one childhood category but a diversity of generations, or “units of generations” (Mannheim, 1982), within it. Following the same direction, Alanen (2016, p. 159) affirms that generation should be for childhood studies the equivalent of gender in feminist studies, which means that, despite being only one woman category, “women are not only women but also black, white, poor, rich, and so on” (Alanen, 2016, p. 158). Considering childhood as a singular category aims to do more than “only describing the multitude of children’s childhoods – their life-worlds, identities, and experiences – but also analyze the casual social mechanisms” (Alanen, 2016, p. 60), the commonalities within childhood and the impact of structural elements into children lives. Furthermore, Alanen (2009) affirms that age, and therefore generation, is also a pre-given structural condition within the social world. The inclusion of age as an intersectional category implies the assumption “that children’s lives and experiences are in addition to being gendered, classed, raced, and so on, also – and first of all – generationed” (Alanen, 2009, p. 162). Here is where childhood encounter the intersectionality theory. First of all, children are children because of the generational space they occupy. Following it, children are Angolan, Congolese, Brazilian, black, white, refugee, immigrants, and so on. Intersectionality theory complement the understanding of childhood as a structural form.

Moreover, the concept of generation, when considered in the study of childhood, originated the concept of generational order, which was coined by Alanen (2009) to explain “[...] a system of social ordering that especially pertains to children as a social category, and circumscribes for them particular social locations from which they participate in ongoing social life” (Alanen, 2009, p. 161). It means that childhood is a social place, with a particular social ordering, and children are active in the construction of this space and order, shaping their own lives and the lives of others around them. Moreover, the concept of generational order implies that the categories of childhood and adulthood are interdependent. “A generational order is a structural network of relations between generational categories that are positioned in and act within necessary interrelation with each other” (Alanen, 2009, p. 162). This can be also understood in terms of generational practices, which generates “patterns of relationships between adults and children” (Prout, 2011, p. 11). In this way, generational order is a relational concept in which the social position of each member exists because of the order. In the case of this study, it is of interest to know how different generational orderings – between children and their families, and between children and other adults – impact the school experiences of the participants of this study. The next section presents intersectionality theory.

3.2 Intersectionality theory

Intersectionality theory was developed and introduced by the critical race theorist Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw in 1989 (Crenshaw, 1989). The core of the theory is that social categories, mainly from minority backgrounds, overlap and reinforce each other, generating complex identities that cannot be understood independently. As an analytical approach, it starts from the ‘non-additive’ principle. That means that intersectionality is more than just the addition of many social categories (e.g. class plus race plus ethnicity).

Conceptually, this framework proposes that the various categories of oppression are understood as interconnected and interdependent, rather than as separate essentialist categories, given the limitations of privileging one system of oppression over another and the impossibility of explaining inequalities through a single framework of oppression (Bastia, 2014, p. 239).

In this way, this framework is a useful to understand how structures of oppression overlap and impact the lives of those who live in the intersections (Hancock, 2016, p. 82). It “highlights the interconnections and how different systems of oppression feed from one another” (Bastia, 2014, p. 240). It shows how the converse of social inequalities, including social class, race, ethnicity, gender, dis/ability, and sexual orientation, can generate complex patterns of discrimination (Giddens & Sutton, 2014).

McCall (2005, cited by Christensen and Jensen, 2012) differentiates three approaches used by feminist theory to understand how different categories cross each other creating complex patterns of discrimination. Using any of them, the first step is the “distinction between the different forms of social differentiation” (A.-D. Christensen & S. Q. Jensen, 2012; A. D. Christensen & S. Q. Jensen, 2012), keeping in mind that each one works in a unique way. For example, gender, race, and social class have different mechanisms of social differentiation. A second step is the definition of key-anchor categories. Only after that, it is possible to analyze how the different mechanisms overlap each other, creating complex patterns. In this study, I will analyze the crossing of social class, race and ethnicity. I could also have included migration and/or mobility as a category, as it is an element of the participants’ lives, however, I chose to focus on ethnicity, as the experiences reported in the field can be better understood from an ethnic/cultural perspective. The next section presents the chosen key-anchor categories: social class, race, ethnicity, and two systems of oppression derived from them: racism and xenophobia.

3.2.1 Social class

Social class is a form of social stratification where power, possessions, prestige, and other distinctive elements are unequally distributed in the structure of human societies. Giddens and Sutton (2014) highlight that the concept of social class has been an element of discordance between sociologists, being the two main approaches elaborated by Karl Marx and Max Weber. In short, for Marx, social class is defined by those who have a common relation to the means of production. Some possess the means of production and some sell their workforce. On the other hand, for Weber (1970), social class divisions are not only about possessions, but also related to the result of them in the abilities or functions that people are able or not to realize. Beck (2011) affirms that there is a belief that modern societies have dissolved social classes. However, what happens is that social classes are not so visible as they were during the industrial period, but its constraints continue to influence the people’s lives. In this study, I use the Weber (1970) concept, which states that the classes positions imply on economic capital, in the abilities to access goods and services, to take positions, to be able (or not) for social mobility, among other characteristics. As described in chapter two, Brazil is a highly unequal society, and social class constraints affect the way social groups access social rights and freedoms.

3.2.2 Race

Race is a socially constructed concept. Silvio de Almeida (2019), a Brazilian lawyer and philosopher, affirms that there is nothing in the natural world that leads to the concept of ‘race’²⁹. “Race is an essential political element, without any meaning outside the socio-anthropological realm” (Almeida, 2019, p. 13, own translation). However, the implication of the social construction of race has shaped how power has been divided since the

²⁹ For being a social constructed concept, when referring to race, some authors write it in quotation marks. However, race is a powerful political element that, although inexistent in the natural world, it exists and persists through history. Thus, I’ve chosen to write it without quotation marks.

colonization of the Americas, and thus it is not possible to talk about social relations in Brazil without referring to race as a key-anchor category. The Peruvian decolonial sociologist Aníbal Quijano (2005) explains how the colonization of America organized a new pattern of power, the coloniality of power, which was centered in two main cores: race and capital. Regarding race, Quijano explains that the modern idea of race has no history before the colonization of America, and this construction was probably originated from the differences between the biological traces of the conquerors and the conquered. Based on these differences, social identities were created in the Americas: indians, blacks, mestizos, and besides these identities, based exclusively on the skin color and the phenotypes characteristics, the identities of the colonizers were also defined. Quijano (2005) describes that

terms such as Spanish and Portuguese, and much later European, which until then indicated only geographic origin or country of origin, acquired from then a racial connotation in reference to the new identities. Insofar as the social relations that were being configured were relations of domination, such identities were considered constitutive of the hierarchies, places, and corresponding social roles, and consequently of the model of colonial domination that was being imposed. In other words, race and racial identity were established as instruments of basic social classification. (Quijano, 2005, p. 117)

The phenotypical differences between the identities were codified by the conquerors, which called themselves as whites. This “mental construction” (Quijano, 2005, p. 117) of race was used in America to legitimate relations of dominance. More than that, it established Europe (Western Europe) as ‘the identity’, and white as ‘the race’. This process enabled the domination of people from diverse parts of the globe, putting them into a subaltern position. “In this way, race became the fundamental criterion for the distribution of the world population into ranks, places, and roles in the new society’s structure of power” (Quijano, 2005, p. 118). In this colonial context, whiteness was used as a “commodity of social capital” (Rampersad, 2012, p. 59), a form of property that a person could only inherit. The colonial world was structured around the idea of race, and the labor structure was built upon it. Race, that was first used to describe the native population of America (Quijano, 2005, p. 141), was reinforced by subaltern labor positions, creating “a systematic racial division of labor” (Quijano, 2005, p. 118). In Spanish America, the native population was allocated for servitude, the African population for slavery, and the Spanish and Portuguese for paid labor. This process was not different in Brazil. The racial groups created during the colonial period designated which form of labor a person would perform based on the skin color. According to decolonial theory (Quijano, 2005; Segato, 2014; Spivak, 2016), this process was also not different in other parts of the colonized world.

Summarizing, the idea of race has structured social positions since the colonizing period in Brazil. As a social construction, race is a powerful and persistent construct that still situates people in subaltern social positions, as exposed in the previous chapter. The next section introduces ethnicity as a concept and its relevance for this study.

3.2.3 Ethnicity

The concept of ethnicity is considered more useful than race for the social sciences, as race does not exist beyond the social/anthropological perspective. Ethnicity refers to a social group in which its members share the same cultural identity, which is common for them, but different from others. Furthermore, ethnicity refers to cultural practices. It includes language, religion, a shared history, a shared way of living, including traditional clothes, earrings, necklaces, among others (Giddens & Sutton, 2014). Ethnicity can be understood as “the combination of characteristics from a person’s geographic and hence national

origins and heritage, which are acquired by birth and used to demarcate and maintain differences in background and identity” (James & James, 2012, p. 49).

Giddens and Sutton (2014) explain that ethnicity is a social phenomenon that continues to be reproduced when new generations assimilate the way of living, rules, and beliefs from older generations. Another characteristic of the ethnic groups is that most of them have exclusion patterns that create and maintain borders and keep the group identity alive. An exclusion pattern can be a rule against marriage with another ethnic group, for example. Sociology also uses the idea of ethnicity to refer to minority groups that have disadvantages compared to dominant groups, as ethnic minorities.

James and James (2012) highlight that “ethnicity is a powerful element in the construction of personal identity – of how we define and understand ourselves as individuals” (p. 49), which is a crucial element in the recognition of the difference. Moreover, James and James (2012) affirm that ethnicity can be a major factor

on the shaping of individuals, not only in terms of their personal identity but also their life-chance more generally, since ethnicity can exercise a powerful influence in terms of locating individuals within any given social structure. (pp. 49-50)

This is particularly relevant in the context of this research, as the participants come from different ethnic groups. The use of ethnicity as a key-anchor category aims to provide an understanding of how the social practices of the Angolan and Congolese families encounter the local context, and how their cultural practices impact the way children experience school. The next section introduces two forms of social subordination related to race and ethnicity: racism and xenophobia.

3.2.4 Racism and xenophobia

Brazilian people experience diverse levels of racial differentiation and racial discrimination in their daily life, as it was described in the previous chapter. In the same way, black and mixed immigrants and refugees also experience the same racial discrimination when arriving in Brazil. (A. B. Pereira, 2018). However, they do not experience just racism, they also experience xenophobia (Felix, 2019). The next topic introduces both racism and xenophobia.

Racism

Almeida (2019) advocates that all kinds of racism is structural, and that racism cannot be understood only as prejudice or racial discrimination. The United Nations International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (United Nations, 1966a) adopted in December 1965, defines racial discrimination as

any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life. (Article 1)

However, racial discrimination is the last stage of a pattern in which, before any distinctive, exclusionary, or differentiation practice, start with beliefs and judgments. At the root of any practice of racial discrimination, there are racial prejudices. According to the Cambridge English Dictionary, prejudice can be understood as “an unfair and unreasonable opinion or feeling, especially when formed without enough thought or knowledge” (2020, para. 1). In short, racial prejudices are beliefs and judgments based on stereotypes about the individuals from another ethnic group or those that have physical traces of it. Prejudice can, but do not necessarily lead to racial discrimination. On the other hand, racism is a

systematic form of racial discrimination, where there is a set of beliefs about “the existence of superior and inferior races” (Gomes, 2005, p. 52), which “culminate in disadvantages or privileges for individuals, depending on the racial group to which they belong” (Almeida, 2019, p. 13, own translation). Moreover, racism

is not, therefore, just a discriminatory act or even a set of acts, but a process in which conditions of subordination and privilege are distributed among racial groups and reproduced in the spheres of politics, economics, and daily relations. Racism is articulated with racial segregation, which is, the spatial division of races into specific localities - neighborhoods, ghettos, Bantustans³⁰, peripheries, etc. (Almeida, 2019, p. 15, own translation)

The studies about race and racism are broad, and there are many categorizations. Almeida (2019) highlights the three main conceptions: the individualistic, institutional, and structural. Almeida (2019) emphasizes that, although institutional and structural racism are sometimes described as the same, they are very different conceptions, as institution and structure are two distinct sociological phenomena. Institutional racism describes how racism is embedded in the social institutions of a society. Social institutions are the systems of organization and ordering that coordinates social behavior. They have roots in economic and political forces (Miller, 2019), and in all sets and systems of rules, norms, laws, citizenship, beliefs, moral values, and so on. On the other hand, the term structure refers to the sociological understanding of social structure, which is the body of social institutions and relational components in which a society is organized (James & James, 2012).

Departing from the above-mentioned distinction, individualistic racism comes from the idea that racism is a pathology or anomaly of individuals, something that needs to be treated at the individual level. The individualistic approach affirms that a racist society does not exist, there are only racist individuals that act together. Regarding the institutional racism, the term was coined in 1967 by Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, which were activists of the Black Panther Party in the United States (Almeida, 2019). The term explains that racism is a constituent element of racialized societies. More than just a prejudice or discrimination at the individual level, racism is related to power mechanisms. This approach affirms that racism penetrates the institutions of racialized societies (M. A. B. Silva, 2017). Institutional racism describes how different race groups unequally access rights and social freedoms. Moreover, the main thesis is that racial conflicts are also part of the institutions, which are “hegemonized by determinate racial groups which impose political and economic interests” (Almeida, 2019, p. 19, own translation). This process results in discriminatory practices where “culture, aesthetic standards, and power practices of a particular group become the civilization horizon of the society as a whole” (Almeida, 2019, p. 20, own translation). Thus, the mechanisms of organization and ordering that hold the stability of the social system are also racialized and are also discriminative and exclusionary. Finally, structural racism comes from the thesis that

racism is a consequence of the social structure itself, of the ‘normal’ way in which the political, economic, legal, and even family relations are constituted, not being a social pathology or an institutional disarrangement. Racism is structural. Individual behaviors and institutional processes are derived from a society for which racism is the rule rather than the exception. (Almeida, 2019, p. 27, own translation)

Thus, institutions reproduce the conflicts that already exist in the structure. Racism is part of the social order and “the viability of systemic reproduction of racist practices lies in the political, economic, and legal organization of society. Racism is expressed concretely as political, economic, and legal inequality” (Almeida, 2019, p. 21, own translation). Based

³⁰ Bantustans were areas at South Africa and Namibia created during the apartheid to segregate the black population.

on these differences, I agree with Almeida (2019) in the statement that all kinds of racism are structural. Racism converts social inequalities into ethnoracial inequalities, being both a political and a historical process (Almeida, 2019).

Regarding how the different levels of racism operate, Margaret Hunter (2007) affirms that discrimination works first in relation to race, and secondly regarding color. The first discrimination/exclusion criterium is race (as Black, African, Asian, Latino, etc.). Secondly, it is the skin color that operates (darker skin and lighter skin). The level of discrimination rises with the intensity of the skin tone. Although all black people suffer discrimination, those with darker skin suffer even more. This process, which is called *colorism* (Hunter, 2007), can be described as “a system that privileges the light-skinned over darker-skinned peoples within a community of color” (Hunter, 2007, p. 237). Thus, even within the same group, *colorism* privileges light-skinners over dark-skinners. It is “racism inside racism” (Hunter, 2007, p. 237).

Xenophobia

The publication ‘International Migration, Racism, Discrimination and Xenophobia’ (Inter-Agency, 2001) describes xenophobia as “the intense dislike or fear of strangers or people from other countries, [...] an attitudinal orientation of hostility against non-natives in a given population” (International Labour Office, International Organization for Migration, & Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2001, p. 2). Further, “xenophobia describes attitudes, prejudices and behavior that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or nation identity” (Inter-Agency, 2001, p. 2). The next section presents two complementary relational approaches that will support the analysis of the empirical data.

3.3 Complementary relational theories

This study is mostly based on a relational framework, as generation, generational order (Alanen, 2009) and intersectionality are relational theories. In addition to them, two other relational approaches will be used as complementary theories to data analysis, the philosophy of Ubuntu, and relational sociology. The next topic presents Ubuntu, highlighting how this philosophy is used in order to understand interdependent life strategies. This framework is used to understand relationality inside the context of the family. The last section presents some concepts from relational sociology which is used to understand relationality inside formal educational contexts.

3.3.1 Ubuntu and interdependency

Ubuntu is a word shared by four African languages: Ndebele, Swati, Xhosa and Zulu (Noguera, 2012). These are languages categorized as part of the *Bantu* languages, which are spoken in Southern Africa, including the Democratic Republic of Congo and Angola, where the informants of this study are from. The idea of Ubuntu is derived from the Zulu proverb, *umuntu ngomuntu ngabantu* – one person is a person through others (Ramose, 2003; Ramose & Hook, 2016a). The concept became popular when Nelson Mandela (1918-2013) and Desmond Mpilo Tutu (1931-) received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993. In their speeches, they used the notion of Ubuntu to suggest a reparatory policy, part of the Ubuntu system, as a solution for South Africa (Noguera & Barreto, 2018).

Ubuntu is a “concept in which philosophy, ontology, and ethics are thought together in a holistic approach to human-ness” (Ramose & Hook, 2016b, p. 1). It means that humans

exist in interdependency, that humanity is depending on nature, and that people are interdependent of each other from birth to death. The concept translates the fact that people need others to access food and other resources, to raise children, and for almost all aspects of life. Ubuntu does not mean that we are dependable, but that we exist always in relation to others and nature. In other words, Ubuntu means humanness, common belonging, it means the recognition of the interconnection of people in a family and community. This understanding means that one person affects the whole group, and the whole group affects one person.

Although Ubuntu is not present in all African countries, the collective and relational aspect that Ubuntu translates is considered a major trace of most all African cultures (Bâ, 2013). This is translated in the "worldview of relationality [...] based on the idea that as human beings we depend on other human beings to attain ultimate wellbeing" (Murove, 2012, p. 37). Moreover, "in Ubuntu, the meaning of responsibility is premised on the relationships which the individual has with others in the community and not on the idea of individual autonomy" (Murove, 2012, p. 37).

Although it is not possible to generalize, and knowing that African countries are very heterogenous and are composed by class-divided societies, I highlight the statement of Moodley, Raniga, and Sewpaul (2020) that, in African countries, the extended family and elders in a family have an important role in the care of children. Similarly, Abebe (2012) describes that in the context of Ethiopia, children "are neither independent citizens nor autonomous individuals with separated rights but interdependent beings whose daily livelihoods are intricately entwined with and are inseparable from that of the family collective" (Abebe, 2012, p. 72). Thus, there is a relational and mutual interdependence between generations within the families. In the same way that children depend on their families for their basic needs, protection, and love, children also have responsibilities with siblings and elders. The level of responsibilities can vary between families and cultures, however, in almost all African countries the collective aspect of the families can be highlighted as a common way of living (Bâ, 2013).

The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child - ACRWC³¹ is an example. It was elaborated to represent some specificities of the African continent. The preamble of the document says that the ACRWC takes "into consideration the virtues of their cultural heritage, historical background and the values of the African civilization which should inspire and characterize their reflection on the concept of the rights and welfare of the child" (African Unity, 1990, p. 1). Thus, one of the main differences from the UNCRC is that the document presents, beyond the preamble, an Article about the responsibilities of the child. The UNCRC does not define any responsibility for children. In contrast, the Article 31 of the ACRWC, on the responsibility of the child, states:

Every child shall have responsibilities towards his family and society, the State, and other legally recognized communities and the international community. The child, subject to his age and ability, and such limitations as may be contained in the present Charter, shall have the duty:

³¹ Adopted in 1990 by the African Member States of the Organization of African Unity (now African Union), ratified by forty-seven of fifty-four states: Central African Republic, Sao Tome et Principe, Somalia, Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, South Sudan, Tunisia and the Democratic Republic of Congo are the countries that have not ratified the Charter. Morocco has also not ratified, the Charter, however, the country left the African Union since 1984. (Save the Children, 2018)

- (a) to work for the cohesion of the family, to respect his parents, superiors, and elders at all times, and to assist them in case of need;
- (b) to serve his national community by placing his physical and intellectual abilities at its service;
- (c) to preserve and strengthen social and national solidarity;
- (d) to preserve and strengthen African cultural values in his relations with other members of the society, in the spirit of tolerance, dialogue, and consultation and to contribute to the moral well-being of society;
- (e) to preserve and strengthen the independence and the integrity of his country;
- (f) to contribute to the best of his abilities at all times, and at all levels, to the promotion and achievement of African Unity. (African Unity, 1990, pp. 10-11)

Abebe (2012) highlights that, while the UNCRC focuses on independent rights, the ACRWC reconceptualized children's rights as interdependent first to the family, and secondly to the wider context of African cultures and countries. Petrus (2010) described that in the RMRJ Congolese families have collective and interdependent life strategies, and some families mentioned to her that children share responsibilities in the care of the house, being also important in the care of their siblings. In this way, it seems that this idea of interdependent rights is presented in the Angolan community in Duque de Caxias. Thus, this approach will be used in the analysis in order to understand the relationality between the members of the participants family.

The last topic of this chapter introduces some concepts originated in Pierre Bourdieu's theory which will support the analysis of the schooling performance of the Angolan and Congolese participants of this study.

3.3.2 Relational sociology approach to education research

To complement the theory framework of this study I will use some concepts theorized by Pierre Bourdieu's to analyze how children relate to the school culture, which include the school norms, practices, and relationships between teachers and pupils. In this way, I will mainly use Bourdieu's study on education (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) and Bernard Lahire (1997)³² study on educational success in popular classes. Bourdieu produced a broad and extensive body of work. His theory is completely relational, embracing the in-betweens and "the primacy of relations" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 15). I acknowledge that Bourdieu's theory can be used in very wide and complex way, however, for this study, I do not intend to do it. I will use it only as complementary approach to analyze the elements that support children in their educational trajectory.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) comment that "the word disposition seems particularly appropriate to express what is covered by the concept of the *habitus* (defined as a system of dispositions): it expresses, first, the result of an organizing action [...] and, in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination" (p. 66). In other words, it is the disposition to the assimilation of organizing actions, a process of inculcation of rules, norms, ways of being and thought, tendencies, behaviors in society, etc. in a person, group or nation. It is how structure is assimilated by individuals, and how individuals are shaped by structure. Alanen, Brooker, and Mayall (2015, p. 6) described that habitus "is produced when people internalize the material, cultural and intellectual structures that constitute a particular type of environment". For this study I will observe how children encounter the school culture, and how they internalize this educational habitus.

³² A French sociologist which conduct research in education based on relational sociology, using Bourdieu and Norbert Elias theories, among others, as theoretic frameworks.

Viñao Frago (1996, p. 2) describes the school culture as a group of "theories, principles, norms, and practices sedimented over time within the educational institution". The school culture shapes the school space, the school times and rhythms, the language, and discursive practices. It shapes the curriculum and all internal practices (Viñao Frago, 1996). In the context of school, there is the pupil habitus, which contains cultural representations about how children should relate to their school education. Children that know how to perform this habitus have more chances for a good performance at school.

Bernard Lahire (1997) highlights four familiar practices that can lead to success or failure at school. The first one is familiarity with the written culture. For families that have the habit to read, practices which involve reading/writing, and/or a written form of organization, the disposition to success school, which is mostly based on the written culture, is higher. Secondly, Lahire (1997) highlights that the moral order in the family was observed as an important element that contribute to school success:

A part of the lower-class families can attach great importance to "good behavior" and respect for the teacher's authority. Once they cannot help their children academically, they try to inculcate in their children the ability to submit to the school authority, behaving correctly, accepting to do the things they are asked to do, in other words, to be relatively docile, listening, paying attention, studying and not playing... (Lahire, 1997, p. 27)

Another aspect observed by Lahire (1997) was the form of familiar authority. School is a context ruled by norms of discipline, and for those who are habituated to follow other disciplinary rules, the assimilation of this habitus can be done more easily. "The behavior of those who respect these rules for themselves is often classified as 'autonomous', and opposes the behavior of those who need, incessantly, to remember the rules and who show little spirit of self-discipline, self-direction" (Lahire, 1997, p. 27). The third observed aspect is the family's educational investment. Children's interest and success in school is also related to the value that the family give to school education, and how the family support and encourage the child to be 'successful'. Finally, the last observed element is the economic conditions and the dispositions available that can be disposed for the education of the child.

Finally, I acknowledge that Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) study on education highlighted that the school system operates as a power mechanisms that reproduce systems of oppressions. Instead of transforming structural inequalities, Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) affirmed that the school systems perpetuate the status quo. However, although I am using this theoretical frame, I temporally ignore this finding in order to understand the value of formal education for the participants.

3.4 Summarizing chapter three

This chapter provided the theory framework of this study. This is a master thesis situated at the theoretical-methodological scope of childhood studies. In addition, the intersectionality theory, and two relational approaches, the philosophy of Ubuntu and relational sociology, will be used for data analysis. Intersectionality theory will help to understand how children's childhood is socially constructed and how their challenges in school overlap. Also, ethnicity and Ubuntu complement each other making possible to understand how cultural elements shape relations between children and adults. Most theories used in this study are relational, and the various approaches described in this chapter interlink and complement each other.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODS, AND ETHICS

One of the core features of childhood studies is that children are social actors that uniquely experience the world, so child-focused research is “conducted with children as the subjects, rather than the objects of the research” (James & James, 2012, p. 10). Empirical studies in childhood studies field take children’s experience and knowledge as the main empirical data (Alderson & Morrow, 2011; Mayall, 2005; Montgomery, 2003; Morrow, 2013; Punch, 2016). Moreover, Abebe (2009), referring to Ennew and Plateau (2004), highlights that “participatory approaches do not solely rely on children by ignoring adults. Instead, they take children and their views seriously while simultaneously giving everyone who has a stake (in childhood) a voice and a choice about what is being researched” (Abebe, 2009, p. 452). Based on this approach, this study is a qualitative, child-focused research with children and community members, inspired by children’s rights ‘to be properly researched’ (Ennew et al., 2009).

This chapter is divided into four parts that aim to describe the study stages from the project design to the data analysis. The first part presents the planning stage. Additionally, this part describes the formal requirements in the process of researching with children in public schools in the RMRJ. The second part of the chapter describes the data collection stage. This part presents the participants and the methods used. The fieldwork was realized through a collaboration with Brazilian researchers from the Faculty of Education of Baixada Fluminense, part of the Rio de Janeiro State University (FEBF/UERJ), that conduct an *extension project*³³ with migrant and refugee children in Duque de Caxias. This part of the chapter describes how this collaboration has happened. The third section describes the last stages: transcription, coding, and analyses. Finally, the last part of the chapter discusses relevant ethical considerations for this study.

4.1 Planning stage: designing and redesigning the project

This project was designed to be a qualitative research with around 10 *children on the move* from 12 to 14 years old. The plan was to contact the families through an organization that supports refugees at the RMRJ. However, it was not possible to make contact with the organizations before arriving in Rio de Janeiro because of bureaucratic dynamics. In the RMRJ, almost all types of research requirements need to be delivered in person, and a personal contact is usually more accepted than a phone call or even an e-mail. In this way, the most imperative issue for the fieldwork was the time, as it was limited to the months of August and September (2018).

The first step when I arrived in Rio de Janeiro was to contact the organization Archdiocesan Caritas of Rio de Janeiro – the main organization that offers humanitarian help to refugees at the RMRJ – to present the project and to propose a collaboration. I went to the organization but, despite the kindness of the social workers, it was not possible to conduct this project in collaboration with them because of an internal policy. Keeping with the initial project plan, I contacted another non-governmental organization that works with refugees and migrants’ rights, but it was not possible to conduct this research with them too. At that moment, I realized that it was necessary to redesign the methodology to carry out

³³ Brazilian universities were built upon the “inseparability between teaching, research and extension” (Brasil, 1988, Article 207, own translation). Extension means that “universities and higher education institutions shall extend to the community, in the form of special courses and services, teaching activities and research results inherent to them” (Brasil, law 5.540/68, Article 20, own translation).

this project inside a school, which made the issue of time even more imperative because it entailed a formal process of getting authorization from the educational secretary. The social worker at Caritas sent me a list of schools with refugee and migrant students at the RMRJ, and all of them were in Duque de Caxias. Thus, I applied for research authorization at the Duque de Caxias educational secretary, and some weeks later I got a message that it was necessary to have this project evaluated by a Brazilian ethics committee. The next topic describes this process.

4.1.1 Ethics committees and research permit

Qualitative research demands the assessment of the project by an ethics committee, especially if it engages children and young people, vulnerable groups, or sensible data like ethnic origins, health data, religious beliefs, and political ideologies (Alderson & Morrow, 2011). Thus, this project, including the guidelines for focus-group discussions, interviews, and consent forms, was submitted to the Norwegian Center for Research Data (NSD) before fieldwork, and their assessment attested that the processing of personal data in this project complies with data protection legislation. Besides, to conduct this research in the context of the RMRJ it was necessary to submit it to a Brazilian committee. Through the co-orientation of professor Rizzini, I was able to submit this project to the Research Ethics Committee of PUC-Rio, and with their assessment, the project, with an introduction letter from professor Rizzini³⁴, the guidelines for focus-group discussions, interviews, consent forms, and the approval from PUC-Rio ethics committee, was submitted in person to the Municipal Secretary of Education of Duque de Caxias (RJ). I got the final approval from the municipality on 12 September, 2019, 16 days before my return to Norway. Due to that, I had only 15 days to conduct the activities of this study with children inside the schools.

In summary, this project has been accessed and approved by the Norwegian Center for Research Data³⁵, the Research Ethics Committee of the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro³⁶, and the Municipal Secretary of Education of Duque de Caxias (RJ)³⁷. The next section describes the data collection stage.

4.2 Data Collection Stage

In Brazil there is a cooperation agreement between the UNHCR with Higher Education Institutions³⁸ and the Brazilian National Refugee Committee called Sérgio Vieira de Mello Academic Chair (CSVM)³⁹. Because of that, but not only, some seminars and activities with refugees at Rio de Janeiro were taking place during the fieldwork period and, while I was waiting for the final approval of the project, I attended to some of them. During one lecture, I met professor Leila Carvalho de Mendes from FEBF/UERJ. We discussed the similarities between our projects, and after I mentioned the difficulties I was having, she invited me to join her group during their activities. She introduced me to the school where the FEBF/UERJ group was carrying their project, and I started to join them during the activities as a participant observer. She also put me in contact with the principal of School II. The process of getting to know professor Mendes, joining her group, being introduced, and getting the positive endorsement at the schools, was a long time-consuming process. However, although I had to wait to start my project, I was able to follow the FEBF/UERJ

³⁴ Appendix C: Information Letter.

³⁵ Appendix A: Ethical clearance, Norwegian Center for Research Data.

³⁶ Appendix B: Ethical clearance, Ethics and Research Committee of PUC-Rio.

³⁷ Appendix D: Research approval, Municipal Secretary of Education of Duque de Caxias.

³⁸ 23 institutions up until August 2020 (UNHCR & SVMAC, 2020).

³⁹ For more information see: <https://www.acnur.org/portuques/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Annual-Report-SVMAC-V2.pdf>.

research group into its activities at School I. The group was conducting weekly activities focused on reading and writing for immigrants, refugees, and some Brazilian children. Thus, my first meeting with children from School I was through the FEBF/UERJ research group.

During the same period, I was also introduced to some Angolan and Congolese families during a charity event. This event occurs monthly and it is organized by a charitable organization in Duque de Caxias. The organization support immigrant and refugees offering them a food package every month. During the same period, I also had the opportunity to take part in a meeting that aimed to organize the people who have been working with refugees in Duque de Caxias. Having the opportunity to join these two meetings gave me a better understanding of the challenges faced by the Angolan and Congolese people in Duque de Caxias and in the RMRJ. The next section presents the participants of this study.

4.2.1 The participants of this study

The participants of this study are divided into two groups, the group of children and the group of adults. Although this project was designed to be conducted with around 10 *children on the move* from 12 to 14 years old, when I encountered the children from School I and II, the original project had to be modified. I met younger and older children than that predefined age group, and because *children on the move* in those schools comprised a small group, I decided to use the 'ignorance of age' (Solberg, 1996) as a technique. The ignorance of age in this context can be explained by the focus on children's school experience rather than on their age. Thus, using this technique, I invited all *children on the move* from Scholl I and II to partake this study, independently of how old they were. I describe this process in the follow topic.

Among the group of children, four refugee children from the Democratic Republic of Congo and two immigrant children from Angola took part in this study. The families from Congo have been in Brazil for more than 10 years. All of them fled to Brazil because of political persecution. The youngest refugee child was born in Brazil. Regarding children from Angola, one family has been in Brazil for around nine years, and the other child has been in Brazil for two years. The following table presents the group of children divided by gender, country, status, school, age, and grade. All children received pseudonyms.

Pseudonym	Gender	Country	Status	School	Age	Grade
Xitu	Male	Angola	Immigrant	School II	18	9 th 4 ⁰
Chó	Female	Angola	Immigrant	School I	10	4 th
Kyra	Female	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Refugee	School II	12	7 th
Mole	Male	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Refugee	School I	10	4 th
Sun	Female	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Refugee	School I	11	4 th
Ya	Female	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Refugee	School I	8	2 nd

Table 1: Participant children gender, country, status, school, age, and grade

On the other hand, the adult group is composed by three pedagogical advisers from School II, being two of them women and one man, an Angolan mother which will be called Guri

⁴⁰ Xitu attend school through the modality EJA elementary school. It is destined to young people from 15 years old who have not completed the stage between the 1st and 9th grades.

(pseudonym) in the analysis's chapters, and an employee of the Secretary of Education of Duque de Caxias.

Moreover, some Brazilian children from School I, which originally were not included in the project design, joined two activities. During my observations at School I, I got very close to a group of Brazilian children which thought that was unfair that they were not joining the activities of this project. Because it was not the focus of this study to explore the school experiences of the Brazilian children in that context, I had not planned any activity with the Brazilian children. However, to be fair with them, I designed two activities where they could be included in this study. The activities Brazilian children participated in did not involve any kind of personal or sensitive data, names, gender, and age. They have a different status as research participants in this study. I only included their voices in chapter five, and I did so because their experiences evidence the complexities of this research context, making the data analyses richer. The next section describes the field access, and how the participants were informed and consented to participated in this study.

4.2.2 Access, information, and consent

The access to both schools occurred through professor Mendes who introduced me to both school principals. As a result of her good relationship with the principals and pedagogical advisers, my access to the schools was very smooth. I established a good relationship with the staff in both institutions, and my researcher status was easily understood by the gatekeepers, that gave freedom to do the activities and observations.

Following the FEBF/UERJ research group at School I, I was introduced to Guri. I explained the project to her and got her acceptance immediately. As the Angolan-Congolese community in this neighborhood is connected, she introduced the project to the other families. After this moment, I invited the children who were already participating in the FEBF/UERJ research group to take part in my study. They received an invitation leaflet⁴¹ with the Consent Letter⁴², which we read together. I also gave them the Consent Letter to their legal guardians⁴³. Most of them returned the Consent Letters signed the day after. At School II, as children attend school at different school shifts⁴⁴, I presented the project one by one. They received the invitation leaflet and the Consent Letters for them and for their legal guardians as well. I invited four children to take part in this study, however, only two of them participated. One male refugee was not authorized by his mother and a female refugee, although showing interest, never returned the consent form. Thus, they were not included in this study.

It is important to highlight that getting written consent was only the first step of the data collection stage. Warin (2011) uses the term 'continuing consent' to explain that to follow the process of data collection, it is necessary to safeguard the continuity of consent. The "continuing consent" or "ongoing consent" (Thorne, 1980) needs to be present in all stages of data collection to assure that the participants still want to contribute to research. In this way, "consent is always in progress and unfinished" (Warin, 2011, p. 807). The process of consent occurred differently in the two schools. At the School I, because I got to know the children and did unstructured observations in their classroom through the FEBF/UERJ research group, consent was an everyday process of acceptance of what to say, and how and when to participate. At the School II, because I had to wait for the final consent from

⁴¹ Appendix E: Invitation leaflet to the children.

⁴² Appendix F: Consent Letter to the children.

⁴³ Appendix G: Consent Letter for the legal guardians.

⁴⁴ In Brazil we have two school shifts. One in the morning and one in the afternoon.

the municipality to enter school, which only occurred 16 days before the fieldwork finished, it was not possible to have many activities with the participants. With Xitu, consent was given in only one single step as we only met twice. With Kyra, consent was also an ongoing process because I met her outside school at the charitable event, and around School I a couple of times.

4.2.3 Research methods with children

Since the emergence of the childhood studies, scholars have been discussing if there is any difference between doing research with children and doing research with adults (Punch, 2001; Solberg, 1996). Punch (2001) highlights some research dilemmas that are the same both in research with children and with adults: writing a report; not imposing the researcher's view and interpretations; validity and reliability; bearing in mind the research context; and clarity of questions. However, there are some differences that make the process of researching with children different than with adults. Among the differences, I highlight "the way in which researchers perceive childhood and the status of children in society influences how children and childhood is understood" (Punch, 2001, p. 321). This means that the way the researcher approaches younger participants influences the way children share their knowledge. Thus, during all the moments with children, I have always showed myself as an adult that recognizes children's voices, experiences, and knowledges as legitimate, demonstrating to them that there was not a right knowledge or a right answer. I emphasized many times that I was there to learn from them about their social worlds and that they were the experts in that reality.

Thus, to answer the research questions, five 'research-friendly'⁴⁵ (Punch, 2001) methods were designed. The methods selected can be divided into oral methods (focus-group discussion and semi-structured interview), visual methods (drawing), and written methods (task-based research and diary⁴⁶). For each research question, more than one method was designed to "offset the weakness of one method by the strength of the others" (Abebe, 2009, p. 454). Not all children participated in all the activities. Below are the research questions, followed by Table 4.3, which presents the methods used, the participants that partook in each method, and the research questions addressed. After Table 4.3, each one of the research methods will be briefly presented.

- How is the encounter of *children on the move* with the school culture at these schools?
- How are *children on the move* schooling performance?
- How does children's educational background influence their experience in the present?
- Which kind of challenges *children on the move* face in school, and how do they relate to them?

⁴⁵ Some researchers affirm that research with children should use child-friendly methods, which are more interesting methods, based in a wider variety of human expression. On the other hand, Punch (2001) affirms that the same kind of tools used with children can also be used with adults. Thus, Punch (2001) suggest the term 'research-friendly' to describe this kind of research method.

⁴⁶ The diary was used as a tool to record daily events, perceived as good or bad, in the participants' school life. They were encouraged to write about their day-to-day school experiences for one week. However, the data generated by this tool was difficult to analyze, so I did not used it at the analyzes.

Methods	Participants	Research questions
Unstructured observation	Chó, Mole, and Sun	All research questions
Focus-group discussion	Chó, Mole, and Ya	All research questions
Semi-structured	Xitu and Kyra	All research questions
Collective draw	Chó and Mole	All research questions
Task-based research	Kyra, Chó, Mole, and Sun	Research questions 1 and 2
Diary	Chó, Mole, Sun, Kyra and Ya	All research questions

Table 2: Methods, participants and research questions

Unstructured observation

Ennew et al. (2009) state that participant observation is a long-process and researchers that use this method do around one year of fieldwork. Thus, because my fieldwork happened in short period of time I use the term unstructured observation to describe the process where I was together with the research participants, either at school or in other spaces, observing behaviors, comments, body language, interactions, the dynamics of a place, and everything else that caught my attention. My observations were documented in my field diary.

At School I, I made unstructured observations once a week for three weeks during the activities of the FEBF/UERJ group. Also, I made unstructured observations at School I during two weeks in the 4th grade class because most of the participants at this school were in this class. At this school, I have also made unstructured observations during the breaks, and at the moments when children arrived and left the school. Moreover, the opportunity to meet children and their families outside school, enabled us to build a relationship that was connected with other spaces where they experience their lives, and therefore, we established a good and trustful relationship. At School II, it was not possible to make unstructured observations because I had to wait for the final consent from the municipality to start the data collection stage. Ennew et al. (2009) affirms that “unstructured observation is in fact a systemic process” (p. 5:9). Furthermore, some informal conversations with Brazilian and refugee children were also recorded (with their consent) and parts of them were transcribed. The informal conversations are part of my field diary and composes a part of my unstructured observations.

Focus-group discussion (FGD)

Ennew et al. (2009) describe focus-group discussion as “a formal, facilitated discussion on a specific topic” (p. 5:29), and suggest the use of this tool in early fieldwork for “identifying the knowledge, ideas, values, beliefs, and attitudes of a group” (p. 5:29). Thus, this method was planned to subtly enter in all research questions with children at School I. This method aimed to map the field, understanding the ideas and concepts that children have on their school experience. The discussion happened in one room at School I, the same one where the FEBF/UERJ research group conducts its activities. As I was following this group for three weeks, at the moment of this discussion, I was already very close to the children.

At the beginning of the activity, I explained to the children the objectives of our conversation and they signed the consent form. Thus, although they had seen me as part of the FEBF/UERJ research group, they knew that this project was a different one. Following

that, I asked the children for their consent to record our conversation, which lasted twenty minutes. The activity was going well, and children were talkative, and despite the diversity of ages, the conversation was flowing until we had to interrupt it because of a change in the children's schedule. Children apologized for it and asked to continue the activity later. However, because I did not have much more time in the field, I could not continue the focus-group discussion. Instead, we had an activity called collective drawing, which is further described.

Despite the interruption, the focus-group discussion was a very useful tool to get to know the participant's ideas, views, and challenges⁴⁷. During the discussions, one of the participants was very concerned that all children should have voice, so she was always calling others to say something. A weakness of this tool is that children can start to talk about other topics that are not relevant to the study. In this way, I had to bring them back to the topic in a friendly way, showing that although the other topic was interesting, we could talk about it later.

Semi-structured interview (SSI)

Ennew et al. (2009) describe interviews as "conversations with a purpose" (p. 5:36). Furthermore, "unstructured or semi-structured interviews are relatively informal, usually with individual participants, using a list of questions or themes rather than a questionnaire with fixed questions" (p. 5:36). This tool was used with Xitu and Kyra because it was not possible to gather them to a focus-group discussion. Thus, both interviews happened separately. I conducted the interviews at the pedagogical orientation room at School II. Both interviews lasted for around 30 minutes. Regarding the dynamic of the interview, before we started, I asked the participants if they had any questions which they would like to ask, they signed the consent form and we started. Both interviews were voice recorded with their consent. Kyra was more talkative than Xitu, and while Kyra was sharing many different elements of her life, Xitu was only answering questions. The focus-group discussion and the semi-structured interview were about the same topics.

A semi-structured interview "comes close to an everyday conversation, but as a professional interview it has a purpose and involves a specific approach and technique" (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p. 27). In this way, one of the main strengths of a semi-structured interview is that this method allows both the researcher and the participant to explore other relevant topics when the interview is happening. However, there may be a challenge to engage the participants, as what happened with Xitu for example. Moreover, the place where the interview occurred was also not ideal. There was a lot of noise and children were entering the room many times during both interviews, which created a stressful atmosphere.

Collective drawing (CD)

This tool was chosen to continue the focus-group discussion on children's school experiences at School I. This was the first activity that included Brazilian children, and it did so because they asked to. Firstly, I explained to the group about the objective of this activity and asked for children's consent to voice record. Secondly, children were divided into two pairs, the immigrant/refugee and the Brazilians. Each pair received from me a cardboard to draw. I asked them to draw together their school and to write down some adjectives and/or phrases about it. Then, they presented their drawings to each other. The

⁴⁷ See Appendix I: Focus-group discussion and semi-structured interview guideline, for more information on the topics discussed.

activity happened in the same room as the focus-group discussion and lasted for one and a half hours. Their dialogues during the drawing process and their presentations were recorded.

The drawing process was not the strongest part of the activity. Both pairs drew almost the same. However, the conversation during the activity was very interesting. Ennew et al. (2009) suggest that “drawing allow participants to explore a topic without having to answer direct, individual questions” (p. 5:13). Most of the time, Chó and Mole were telling me some of their experiences within the school, and the Brazilian pair was listening. During one part of the conversation, Chó and Mole talked about lack of respect, racism, and bullying, but they suddenly stopped because the Brazilian children were present. They were afraid that those boys could tell other children about what they were telling me. Later on, Chó and Mole entered again into the racism topic, and the Brazilian children tried to justify themselves, and this situation generated a small conflict between the children. The conflict was solved when Chó and Mole said a couple of things they do not like, and the Brazilian children listened to them. In the end, we had a role play activity where children were reporters and the activity finished in a positive way.

Task-based activity (TBA)

Punch (2001) highlights that task-based research is very beneficial to be used in schools, as it allows many children to participate simultaneously. In this way, it was a good option to include the Brazilian children that wanted to partake. In this study, this kind of research originated a sentence-completion activity, which happened at the 4th grade classroom at School I. Chó, Mole, Sun, Kyra, and 21 Brazilian children participated in at school, and two children did it at home. During the activity, I was alone with the children. I told them that this was a voluntary activity for my research project that aimed to understand children’s experiences at elementary school. I emphasized that the activity was not part of the schoolwork, so those who did not want to take part could do something else. Only one Brazilian girl did not take part. Moreover, I told them that there was no right or wrong answer and that it was an anonymous activity. So, they should not write their names on it. However, Chó, Mole, and Sun wrote their names. In general terms, children enjoyed the activity, and many of them asked for help to complete their worksheets, which was composed of 16 questions, which the first 12 questions are about children’s experiences at school, and the last ones are on their neighborhood, house, and family⁴⁸. Following are the questions.

1. What the school represents for me;	9. My biggest challenge in school is;
2. The best of the school is;	10. My relationship with my classmates is;
3. The worst thing about school is;	11. My relationship with my teachers is;
4. At school, I feel happy when;	12. If I could change something at school, I would change...;
5. At school, I feel sad when;	13. The place I live is;
6. At school, I feel angry when;	14. My house is;
7. I like school because;	15. My family is;
8. I don't like school because;	16. I would like the adults to know that...

Table 3: Task-based activity questions own elaborated

⁴⁸ Appendix J: Task-based activity worksheet.

4.2.4 Research methods with adults

The adult participants joined this study through semi-structured interviews (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). With Guri it was conducted a semi-structured interview in the school where her child studies. She was very collaborative and glad to take part in this study. The interview lasted for around 20 minutes and it was voice recorded. With the employee from the Secretary of education it was also conducted a semi-structured interview which lasted for 30 minutes and was also voice recorded. The interview was at her office at the Secretary of Education of Duque de Caxias⁴⁹. With the pedagogical advisers, it was conducted a semi-structured group interview at the School II. The group interview lasted for almost one and a half hour and it was interrupted many times by students that needed something from them. It was also voice recorded. The guideline for this group interview was elaborate based on the guideline elaborated by the FEBF/UERJ research group, so the generated data could be used also by them. The Consent Form and the guidelines for these two interviews are available at Appendices⁵⁰.

4.2.5 Secondary data

The FEBF/UERJ research group conducted interviews with teachers and the principal of School I during 2018 and 2019. These interviews were conducted and recorded at School I. There is a total of nine interviews that aimed to explore, among other themes, teacher's perception of the presence, integration, and the challenges that immigrant and refugee children face in school. This collection of interviews was shared with me by professor Mendes, and I used it to contextualize the children experiences at School I in the analysis chapters. The access to this material enriched this study. The interview guideline used by the FEBF/UERJ research group is available at Appendices⁵¹.

4.3 Transcribing, organizing, and coding

All recorded material was transcribed and anonymized. The transcriptions were inserted at NVivo 12, which is a qualitative data analysis software, and in the software, the empirical data was organized and coded. The coding process was based on a definition of key-topics such as children as pupils, learning processes, bullying, racism, xenophobia, food, teacher-pupil relationship, discipline, school experiences abroad, differences in education, violence, among others. These topics were recurrent among the participants. Thus, I decided to group them into categories on which the data analysis was based. The task-based activity sheets were also coded in the same way.

4.4 Ethical considerations

"The inclusion of children's voices did represent a radical epistemological break" (James, 2007, p. 265) in the process of doing social research. However, some points need to be taken carefully when young people take part as research participants. Beyond the need for deeply ethical consideration in all the research stages, always checking if consent is still valid, generational power, and privilege issues need always to be present in the researcher's self-reflection. Moreover, researchers need to ensure the protection of the research participants from harm; to ensure that the research participation is voluntary; to respect cultural traditions, knowledge, and customs; to establish as much equality as

⁴⁹ The data from this participant was not used in the analysis. However, I mentioned her here to be transparent about the methods and participants.

⁵⁰ Appendix H: Consent Form to adults' participants; Appendix J: Semi-structured interview guideline with legal guardians; Appendix K: Semi-structured interview guideline with legal guardians;

⁵¹ Appendix M: FEBF/UERJ research group interview guideline.

possible; to avoid raising unrealistic expectations; to take care of reciprocity; to respect privacy; to ensure confidentiality; to take responsibility for the behavior of visitors; to take responsibility for images; to ensure the safety of researchers (Ennew et al., 2009, p. 2:18). In any research context this set of ethical concerns needs to be ensured; furthermore, it is necessary to be attentive to each place's social rules and ethics (Abebe, 2009). The following topics will explore some ethical elements that emerged during fieldwork.

4.4.1 Ethics of place and social inclusion

The process of data collection at this project involved deep cooperation with community members and research partners, and it was mainly influenced by the issue of time. Working close to these partners allowed me to understand the ethics involved in that context, making my access to the field easy and the gatekeepers collaborative. On the other hand, the ethics of social inclusion, which refer to the inclusion of all children that want to take part in, was a challenge during fieldwork.

In the first study design, the focus was only on refugee children, but when I encountered the field, I met both immigrant and refugee children. In this way, to include all children, I invited all the immigrant and refugee children that were enrolled in both schools to participate, using the 'ignorance of age' (Solberg, 1996) as a technique. However, because of my unstructured observations and my constant presence at School I, it was possible to start a relationship also with Brazilian children, and at the end of the first week, some Brazilian children were already very close to me. Those children were always asking about my study, and around the middle of the second week, they started to ask me to take part in the project.

This situation was complex. On the one hand, I had the Brazilian children wishing to be included, but on the other hand, the main content communicated by the Angolan and Congolese children was about their difficult relationship with this same group. So, in order to be inclusive, I designed two activities in which the Brazilian children could take part in, without commuted Angolan and Congolese children space to speak about peer issues.

4.4.2 Researcher role

In qualitative studies, the researcher can be considered as one of the "most important research instruments" (Given, 2008). The data collection stage is deeply influenced by how the researcher sees and listens to the participants, and by their ways of interaction. The questions that are made, what is observed, and the researcher's perspective affect not only the data production but also their interpretation. In this way, to be a researcher doing fieldwork requires us to be aware of our lenses and our attitude towards the field. This is significantly important in child research because of the power imbalance between children and adults (Mayall, 2005).

To explain my role in the field it is also necessary to explain the social position I came from. Although I am from Brazil, I was an outsider in this context. I am a 31 years old white woman. I came from Curitiba, a capital in Southern Brazil, from a middle-class family. Besides that, I am half Norwegian, as my father's family is from Norway. During the whole extension of the fieldwork, children were very curious about me and my family, both in Brazil and in Norway. The fact that I live in Norway was a kind of bond between the Angolan and Congolese children and me, as both of us have lived in other countries. However, for Brazilian children, it was a very distinctive factor. One Brazilian child at School II told me that 'I look like a rich Norwegian'. When I asked her why and 'what is a rich

Norwegian', she told me that it was because 'I am white and because I live in Norway'. In this phrase, I understood that some children associate whiteness with wealth.

Although my strong outsider status, I did not have barriers related to language and culture. I tried to present myself as an "unusual type of adult, one who is seriously interested in understanding how the social world looks from children's perspective but without making a dubious attempt to be a child" (Christensen, 2004, p. 174). This unusual type of adult encompassed attitudes such as not reacting to activities that are considered inappropriate to children, to listen and to see without showing surprise or judgment, to give children space to tell what they want, and to have the sensibility to feel if the child wants to share more and ask them more about a topic, and to get to know the participants by how they present themselves, not through other children or other adults' lenses. Thus, at the same time I was showing myself as someone deeply interested in their thoughts and lives, they were showing themselves deeply interested in the person I am. At the same pace I was not reacting to what I was seeing, I could see each day more and they started to tell me also more and more. So, in a relatively short period, children let me in and shared with me stories about their neighborhoods and personal lives. The informal talks that I had were mostly with the Brazilian children and they were very important for me to understand children's experiences in that community.

4.5 Summarizing chapter four

This chapter aimed to describe the methodological path that constituted this study from the project design to data analysis. The research design, methods, and ethics are based on the methodological scope from the childhood studies field. The chapter was divided into four parts that included: project design; data collecting stage; data transcribing, organizing, and coding; and ethical considerations on research with children. The fieldwork experience was strongly shaped by the issue of time, as it was necessary the assessment of this project by a Brazilian research ethics committee. Thus, I highlight the importance of the support of professor Irene Rizzini and the FEBF/UERJ research group in order to conduct the fieldwork in a very short period of time.

CHAPTER FIVE: LIVING INTERSECTIONS

This study aims to explore the school experiences and main challenges faced by Sun, Kyra, Xitu, Mole, Chó, and Ya at School I and II. The findings will be presented in two analysis chapters. This first chapter explores the main challenges faced by the participants inside the school settings, highlighting how children relate to them. Regarding some of the challenges faced by *children on the move* at school, international reports highlight that children in these situations have been presenting difficulties related to language barriers, pedagogical practices, number of students per class, lack of material, lack of teacher qualification, tuition fees, discrimination, among other difficulties (UNHCR, 2016; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2017, 2019). To identify and to analyze the main challenges faced by the participants of this study in Duque de Caxias is the aim of this chapter.

The chapter is divided into four parts. The first one presents the context of poverty and violence, and how it is reflected into school. This part also shows how Brazilian, Angolan and Congolese children experience differently these elements. The second part introduces a problem encountered during fieldwork that almost all children expressed to have faced: bullying, which can be defined as a type of peer harassment, "a victimization that entails face-to-face confrontation or social manipulation through a third party" (Juvonen & Graham, 2001, p. xiii). The third part explores how bullying intersects with race and ethnicity, creating patterns that discriminate most of the Angolans and Congolese children who took part in this study. This section is about racism, xenophobia, and peer coercion. The fourth part analyzes children generational experiences based on Mannheim's (1982) concept of generation, and it highlights the importance of the Angolan-Congolese community for children's lives in the RMRJ. Moreover, this last part explores how all those elements intersect with each other, generating a complex exclusionary experience for the Angolan and Congolese children. Finally, the last part presents a summary of this chapter.

5.1 Living under poverty and violence

As described in chapter two, both schools are located in an impoverished, unsafe and violent part of Duque de Caxias. Through my proximity with children and through the activities of this study, this context was evidenced to me through children's experiences. Although it was not the objective of this study to understand how poverty and violence shape children's lives, during fieldwork I could perceive how poverty and violence influence the relationship children have with school. In this way, before entering the challenges children face within school, this first part of the chapter will firstly present children's poverty situation, and their encounter with lethal violence and crime.

5.1.1 Poverty and food insecurity

In the context of this study, there is a segregated population that shares an extreme precarity. Poverty, more than low or lack of income, is the "lack of basic capabilities that induces to vulnerability, exclusion, lack of power, participation and voice, exposure to fear and violence; in short, to the exclusion of basic rights and welfare" (Scalon, 2011, p. 1). Furthermore, the Brazilian society and the RMRJ are strongly structured by social inequalities, which shape the lives of all individuals, giving privilege to some, and restricting others. Social disparities are also manifested in terms of services. Inside this unequal context, the education of children that live in this area is neglected in comparison to privileged areas. The schools are precarious, and teachers and students need to deal with many difficulties. Moreover, poverty affects children's lives in all ways. Regarding the

appropriation of educational opportunities, poverty cause distress in terms of nutrition, health, incentive, and disposition to learn, among other factors that impact children's educational processes (Scalon, 2011).

The FEBF/UERJ research group asked the teachers at School I if the students have something in common and which were the differences and similarities between the students. Two of the teachers answered:

They are equal in poverty. A very extreme poverty that exists here at school, but they perceive it differently from each other. Some see school as a way to escape poverty and others see it simply as a way not to stay in the region. As if the school was a kind of shelter for them;

They are black, poor, is a good group, with some disabilities, intellectual or physical, autism. [...] They live in the periphery [...] it is a very large poverty cluster. [...] they live from underemployment or social programs. (Teachers at School I, FEBF/UERJ group, 2018/2019)

This is a context which prevails strong social inequalities and poverty. For children who live in this context, the school has different meanings, as it was described by a teacher in the quote above. For the Brazilian children in the 4th grade, the school has also a meaning related to poverty. At the task-based activity, 'food' and 'eating' were the main elements described by Brazilian children, as the following table will show.

1. What the school represents for me:	
1. O que a escola representa para mim: <u>Briscoadeira é muita comida é só.</u>	1. Play, a lot of food, and only this.
2. The best of the school is:	
2. O melhor da escola é: <u>com</u>	1. Eat.
2. O melhor da escola é: <u>comida</u>	2. Food.
2. O melhor da escola é: <u>o comida</u>	3. The food.
2. O melhor da escola é: <u>e come e Briscoa</u>	4. To eat and play.
2. O melhor da escola é: <u>comida e aulas extras</u>	5. Eat and extra classes.
4. At school, I feel happy when:	
4. Na escola eu me sinto feliz quando: <u>eu como a Briso</u>	1. I eat the food.
4. Na escola eu me sinto feliz quando: <u>Eu como comida gostosa eu gosto de stroganoff deliciosa!</u>	2. I eat delicious food, I like the delicious stroganoff.
7. I like school because:	
7. Eu gosto da escola porque: <u>brisa e da comida</u>	1. Because of the food.
7. Eu gosto da escola porque: <u>SEM NINQUENAS PARA SE ABRIGAR</u>	2. There is food to feed me.
7. Eu gosto da escola porque: <u>porque tem Briscoadeira e comida.</u>	3. Because there are games and food.
16. I would like the adults to know that...	
16. Eu gostaria que os adultos soubessem que: <u>que eu gosto de comer</u>	1. That I like to eat.

Table 4: Brazilian children at School I writings about food

Thus, for many children, school is the main place to access food. It shows that children live under food insecurity, which is characterized by “the limited or uncertain availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or the ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways. Most broadly, food insecurity involves issues of availability, access, stability and utilization of food” (Fram, Bernal, Frongillo, & Unicef, 2015, p. 7). Moreover, “at the household level, food insecurity is characterized by four dimensions: inadequate quantity of food, inadequate quality of food, psychological unacceptability of food and ways of obtaining food, and social unacceptability of food and ways of obtaining food” (Fram et al., 2015, p. 8).

This is the reality of many *favelas* and impoverished communities, not only in the RMRJ but in many parts of Brazil. Children’s meals at school occur through the National School Feeding Program (PNAE), which is a federal program that offers schools meals, snacks, and alimentary education. The program has universal coverage, attending all public schools, private institutions affiliated with the public educational system, and philanthropic educational institutions in the national territory. It covers all levels of basic education, attending children in early childhood education, elementary school, high school, youth and adult education, and Indigenous and Quilombola education⁵². The program was created in the 1950s and, during the past decades, it has been extended and transformed into “the second-largest National School Feeding Program worldwide and the largest among the universal public programs” (Escola de Economia de São Paulo, World Food Programme, & Regional Centers for Learning on Evaluation and Results, 2015, p. 10). This program is one of the main tools to combat childhood malnutrition in Brazil. The program has been taking thousands of children out of extreme hunger, helping to reduce malnutrition. Moreover, “access to school meals has become a universal right under Brazilian law, and 43 million pupils in 250.000 schools now get at least 30 percent of their daily nutritional needs when they attend school” (FAO, 2014, p.2). In this way, more than a place to offer education, school is for some children the main food provider. The above answers by Brazilian children show that access to food is one of the main values of school for their lives.

To receive food in school is important for all children. The Angolan and Congolese informants described that food is one the best things about school, but for them school represents study. More about the school representation for them will be discussed in the next chapter. The Angolan and Congolese families receive monthly a food package with primary food products, as oil, rice, beans, among others, through a program of the catholic church for helping the refugee community in this municipality. The organization’s assistance makes a difference in the lives of these families. Also, immigrant and refugee families are supported by Caritas Rio de Janeiro and by the local Brazilian community, which organizes themselves voluntarily to help those families. This help, although small, makes a big difference in a context of such deprivation. Crisp, Morris, and Refstie (2012) regarding challenges to attend urban refugee population highlighted that

while refugees are entitled to certain forms of assistance, targeting support at them in an urban environment can have unintended consequences if the host population is not considered in the process. When the urban poor see neighbors receiving material assistance while they do not there is potential for violence and xenophobia. (Crisp et al., 2012, p. S34)

This can be true in the context of this study. The principal of School I, which was interviewed by the FEBF/UERJ research group, affirmed that the refugee children started to arrive at that school around 2014/2015 and during that period, the school noticed that

⁵² Modality of formal education for Indigenous and Quilombola communities.

children were being segregated. The school investigated it and found out that it was the local community that was motivating the discrimination against them. The problems at school were coming from the community around (FEBF/UERJ group, 2018/2019) that was afraid that immigrants and refugees would take their opportunities. The principal described a meeting with some children's families where they realized that the segregation was coming from the community around.

It was only repeated at school. The parents of the Brazilian children said that refugee children were different, that they were strangers. They were afraid of refugees and they passed it to their children. (Principal of School I, FEBF/UERJ group, 2018/2019).

Xenophobia is still one of the main challenges faced by the participants inside the schools. The third section of this chapter explores more about it. However, here I want only to suggest that maybe the xenophobia experienced by children has one of its origins in the support that is given to them in the community. While refugee families are minimally supported by different organizations and by other members of the Angolan-Congolese community, Brazilian families are alone in their poverty. I highlight that every discriminatory practice needs to be seen and addressed, however, the situation of the Brazilian population and their children in this context is very extreme, and it is understandable that this population feel abandoned for not receiving material assistance as the refugee population do. The next section shows some of the encounters between children with lethal violence and crime.

5.1.2 Lethal violence and crime

Beyond poverty, Brazilian, Angolan, and Congolese families share a social space embed in violence. I did not design any activity or tool to research on violence with children, however the topic was raised by the Brazilian children, which were the only ones who talked or wrote about it. At the task-based activity, one child wrote that the place he/she lives is "great! It is very quiet, there was only one day that a policeman was killed there" (TBA, Brazilian child). Also, during my unstructured observations in the 4th grade, one Brazilian boy told me everything he considered that I should know about criminal factions. This boy described the sign people do to show that they are part of (or protected by) a faction called Red Command (Comando Vermelho). He told me which drugs they sell, which guns they have, which streets they are at, among other elements about this faction. This boy also told me how to prepare marijuana cigarettes, what is cocaine, and how people use crack. This boy did not use or sell drugs, but he knew everything about how it works. Moreover, he described how situations with shootings are present in his life. He described how he lies on the floor or hide behind the refrigerator when shootings happen around his house. I did not ask about any of these topics. The boy just started to talk about it one day during a break into the classroom. Still, regarding violence, a teacher at School I commented that

when we have a conversation here, they talk about violence, they want to share a little of this anguish, of what they experience. Most of the students come from the surrounding communities. There was a day when a first-year student came talking: "I saw a dead man all bloody". (Teacher at School I, FEBF/UERJ group, 2018/2019)

I consider, in the same way as the mentioned teacher, that the boy told me about those elements because he wanted to share his experiences. Children in this context live surrounded by many types of violence, some of them brutal and lethal. Moreover, at the 4th grade classroom I heard a lot about criminal factions from the Brazilian children. It seemed like, as the factions are part of that territory, they are also present in children's lives, being also an element of the imaginary when children play. However, in contrast, I did not hear any similar history, or any story related to lethal violence and crime from the

Angolan and Congolese children. It does not mean that this group of children do not experience these elements, however, during this study they did not mention any of this. I explore this topic further on this chapter. For now, I highlight that these histories show how violence and crime are present in the context. Brazilian children presented to me a violent social context, immerse in unsafety and crime. The next section discusses how this same violence is present within school.

5.2 Systemic victimization between peers at school

Sitting at the back of the 4th grade classroom I could observe a difficult atmosphere among children. Children were teasing each other almost all the time, many children were called by strong offensive nicknames, and for some of them, bullying was an intermittent situation. Although peer abuse among children is an old practice, the concept of bullying was only coined in the early 70s by Dan Olweus, a Swedish-Norwegian psychologist. According to the Revised Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire, a student is suffering from bullying when other students

1. say mean and hurtful things or make fun of him or her or call him or her mean and hurtful names;
2. completely ignore or exclude him or her from their group of friends or leave him or her out of things on purpose;
3. hit, kick, push, shove around, or lock him or her inside a room;
4. tell lies or spread false rumors about him or her or send mean notes and try to make other students dislike him or her;
5. and do other hurtful things like that. (Olweus, 2001, p. 6)

However, to have these actions understood as bullying, those practices need to happen repeatedly over time and the student being bullied should have difficulties defending himself or herself. In this way, "a student is being bullied or victimized when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more students. [...] an additional criterion of bullying is an imbalance in strength" (Olweus, 1995, p. 197). Thus, I noticed this exact practice since my first unstructured observations at School I. Many Brazilian children were cursing, teasing, hitting, calling others by offensive names, among other kinds of behavior, in front of me. Children never felt constrained by my presence. As an observer, the 4th grade classroom was a complex and difficult environment for both children and teachers. For children, they were immersed in a context of intermittent bullying. On the other hand, the teachers needed to give lessons in a hectic environment, where most of the children were agitated and distracted. Children were almost always hitting, screaming, and bullying each other.

Bullying is not only a problem in the schools where this study was conducted, but also a problem that is present in the whole country, in the State of Rio de Janeiro, and in all municipalities of the RMRJ. To combat the problem, in 2017 the Brazil Federal Government modified⁵³ the Article 12 of the Act of Guidelines and Bases of National Education to "promote measures to raise awareness, prevent and combat all types of violence, especially systematic bullying, and establish actions to promote a culture of peace in schools" (Ota, 2017, para. 2, own translation). Also, in 2015 it was established the National Program to Combat Bullying⁵⁴. In the context of the Rio de Janeiro State, in 2013 it was instituted the "Week to combat bullying and cyberbullying"⁵⁵ in the schools' that are part of the public educational system of the Rio de Janeiro State. Accordantly, "the week

⁵³ Law 171/ 2017 - Altera o Artigo 12 da Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional (Lei 9.394/1996)

⁵⁴ Law 13.185/2015 - Estabelece o programa de combate ao Bullying.

⁵⁵ Law 6.401/2013 - Institui a "Semana de combate ao bullying e ao cyberbullying" nas escolas públicas da rede estadual do Rio de Janeiro.

referred in this law will occur annually, in the first week of April, in honor of the victims of the massacre that occurred at the Tasso da Silveira Municipal School, in the City of Rio de Janeiro” (Rio de Janeiro, 2013, Article 2). The massacre mentioned in the above law happened in an impoverished neighborhood on the west side of the Rio de Janeiro city, when a 23 years old boy invaded an elementary school with two guns, shooting the students. He killed 12 students, left 22 students injured, and committed suicide soon after. The shooter was an ex-student at this school and although the reasons for the massacre are still not clear, classmates declared that he suffered bullying at school. This was the first time this type of situation happened in Brazil (BBC, 2011).

Based on this official week to combat bullying and cyberbullying, both School I and II, have projects to raise awareness of their students about the topic. Even so, peer harassment consists of an observable pattern among children. The next sections present the context of bullying firstly by the voices of the Brazilian children in the 4th grade, and soon after by the voices of the Angolan and Congolese children.

5.2.1 Brazilian children talk about bullying

Beyond my unstructured observations and informal talks about bullying with some of the Brazilian children in 4th grade, it was through the task-based activity that Brazilian children brought bullying as a worthy topic to talk about. From the 21 children who took part in the task-based activity, nine children wrote the word ‘bullying’, as the following table shows:

1. What the school represents for me:	
1. O que a escola representa para mim: <i>Bullies</i>	1. Bullying.
3. The worst thing about school is:	
3. O pior da escola é: <i>Os alunos xingando e bullying brincadeiras violentas não tem ar condicionado na sala de aula</i>	1. The students cursing, the bullying violent games, and no air conditioning in the classroom.
3. O pior da escola é: <i>O Bullying que as pessoas faz com outras pessoas</i>	2. The bullying that people do with other people.
3. O pior da escola é: <i>As pessoas jogando bulli comigo e com outros</i>	3. These people doing bullying with me and with others.
3. O pior da escola é: <i>O pior da escola é Bully</i>	4. The worse of school is bullying.
3. O pior da escola é: <i>Os deveres é o bullying o matemática</i>	5. The schoolwork and the bullying and mathematic.
3. O pior da escola é: <i>Bullying</i>	6. Bullying.
8. I don't like school because:	
8. Eu não gosto da escola porque: <i>Fazem um pouco de bullyn comigo</i>	1. (They) do a bit of bullying with me.
8. Eu não gosto da escola porque: <i>tem muita bully</i>	2. There is a lot of bullying.

Table 5: Bullying described by the Brazilian children at School I

Besides that, all of them mentioned some kind of harassment present in the school. Children wrote that they feel sad in school when “students hit me”, “the boys call me names”, “when others call me name and treat me badly”, when “I see people lying, fighting, and many other things”, and when “someone hits me or says something that makes me sad” (TBA, Brazilian children). Moreover, they feel angry when “everyone is

teasing me”, “the students tease me”, “someone teases me”, “the boys fight with me”, “they do not allow me to do the schoolwork, and keep disturbing me”, and when “a person scares me” (TBA, Brazilian children).

As I have not collected any personal data from the Brazilian children, it is not possible to make a deeper analysis. Also, because I did not conduct more activities with the Brazilian children, I cannot analyze the dimensions of the bullying towards them. Murray-Harvey, Slee, and Taki (2010) highlight that “bullying is a complex phenomenon that needs to be understood as a construct and not merely portrayed as a simple act of aggression or violence” (Murray-Harvey et al., 2010, p. 36). Peer harassment can assume a diversity of forms. Carrera-Fernández et al. (2019) describe bullying related to gender stereotypes, as boys or girls that do not correspond to stereotypes of their gender; sexism, when there is a hostile and/or behavior towards girls; rejection of sexual diversity; and attitudes toward cultural diversity. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that rejection is something that happens in context, thus the understanding of how the social categories overlap harassment practices cannot be generalized. Olweus (2001) emphasizes that there is a heterogeneity of children that suffer hostilities.

An interesting fact about the data generated in the task-based activity is that, although I asked children to not write their names in the school sheet, many of them wrote it, and through this, I could see that many of those children that wrote that bullying is the worst thing about school are the same ones who bully others. This shows how bullying dynamics are complex. Haynie et al. (2001, cited by Murray-Harvey et al., 2010) describe an interconnectedness between bullies and victims, affirming that “half of the bullies in their study also reported being victimized” (p. 37). This was an observable pattern in this classroom. Moreover, it also describes what is called systemic victimization, which is “a complex group phenomenon in which social processes going on in the group are involved as well” (Salmivalli, 2001, p. 400). In this way, “victimization by peers cannot be understood without taking into account the social context in which it arises” (Salmivalli, 2001, p. 400). When bullying is systematic, most of the students are aware of it, and even students that dislike the practice can take part. Also, there are the ones who are called *bystanders*, which are the

silent majority in the process of victimization. Not only those who join in but also those who silently witness the bullying episodes without intervening can be seen as part of the process in which victimization is rather encouraged – or not least allowed – than fought against. (Salmivalli, 2001, p. 401)

In this way, the whole group is the victim and the perpetrator. However, it is not my objective to analyze the bullying phenomenon in this group or at the schools. My choice to present the voices of the Brazilian children first aimed to show that although peer harassment is the main problem faced by the Angolans and Congolese participants, the Brazilian children also suffer from it. This is a systemic victimization process that affects all children, a context of peer harassment that precedes individual victimization, making all children victims of it. Almost all children wrote about a type of victimization in the task-based activity, showing that they dislike these practices. The next section explores how Angolan and Congolese children experience this context.

5.2.2 Angolan and Congolese children talk about bullying

Almost all Angolan and Congolese participants of this study suffer different kinds of peer harassment in school. The only exception is Xitu, which mentioned having good friends in school and feeling respected both at school and wherever he goes in general⁵⁶. However, all the other participants affirmed to suffer from bullying. They consider that they suffer more bullying than the Brazilian children do, and when they talk about it, they clearly distinguish between Angolans and Congolese, and Brazilian classmates. The next table presents some of children's answers about bad peer relationships and bullying:

Mole	
<p>3. O pior da escola é: <u>alunos chatos.</u></p> <p>5. Na escola eu me sinto triste quando: <u>algun aluno me ameaça.</u></p> <p>6. Na escola eu sinto raiva quando: <u>mi zorn.</u></p> <p>8. Eu não gosto da escola porque: <u>sem alunos barulheiros.</u></p> <p>10. Minha relação com os meus colegas é: <u>ruim e não é boa.</u></p> <p>12. Se eu pudesse mudar alguma coisa na escola, eu mudaria... <u>os alunos chatos.</u></p>	<p>3. The worst thing about school is: boring students.</p> <p>5. At school, I feel sad when: some students threaten me.</p> <p>6. At school, I feel angry when: (<i>students</i>) make fun of me.</p> <p>8. I don't like school because: there are troublemaker students.</p> <p>10. My relationship with my classmates is: bad and not good.</p> <p>12. If I could change something at school, I would change: the boring students.</p>
Chó	
<p>3. O pior da escola é: <u>Bullying!</u></p> <p>5. Na escola eu me sinto triste quando: <u>Tem inimigos!</u></p> <p>6. Na escola eu sinto raiva quando: <u>Mus amigos me maltratam!</u></p> <p>9. Meu maior desafio na escola é: <u>Bullying! É o dever!</u></p>	<p>3. The worst thing about school is: Bullying!</p> <p>5. At school, I feel sad when: There are enemies!</p> <p>6. At school, I feel angry when: My friends treat me badly!</p> <p>9. My biggest challenge in school is: Bullying! And schoolwork!</p>
Sun	
<p>3. O pior da escola é: <u>Quando as pessoas fazem coisas ruins falando</u></p> <p>5. Na escola eu me sinto triste quando: <u>As pessoas me acusam de uma coisa que eu não fiz quando eu souço sempre muito feliz em casa</u></p> <p>6. Na escola eu sinto raiva quando: <u>meus amigos ou outras pessoas fazem coisas de mau gosto ou me insultando</u></p> <p>8. Eu não gosto da escola porque: <u>as crianças sempre dizem eu que eu tenho muita coisa nas crianças</u></p> <p>9. Meu maior desafio na escola é: <u>Apesar de não se com as pessoas que não gostam de mim</u></p> <p>10. Minha relação com os meus colegas é: <u>um lugar divertido. Com alguns com a maioria é, um pouco difícil</u></p>	<p>3. The worst thing about school is: when people are cursing and saying bad words.</p> <p>5. At school, I feel sad when: people accuse me of something I did not, when they curse me and curse my family, I get sad.</p> <p>6. At school, I feel angry when: my friends and other people 'get up in my stuff'.</p> <p>8. I don't like school because: children curse too much. I wish children were more educated.</p> <p>9. My biggest challenge in school is: almost nothing, only the people who do not like me.</p> <p>10. My relationship with my classmates is: is nice and fun with some of them. With the most is a bit difficult.</p>
Kyra	
<p>6. Na escola eu sinto raiva quando: <u>quando o 8º ano faz o furo de repetição e quando me trançam no banheiro</u></p> <p>10. Minha relação com os meus colegas é: <u>muito ruim e eles não me dão apoio</u></p>	<p>6. At school, I feel angry when: when the eighth grade 'jump the line' or when they lock me in the bathroom.</p> <p>10. My relationship with my classmates is: very bad and they are very false.</p>

Table 6: Bullying described by the Angolan and Congolese children

⁵⁶ Because Xitu do not mentioned any topic related to this chapter, when I write about the experiences of Angolan and Congolese children in this chapter Xitu is never included.

In all activities of this project, the Angolan and Congolese children have talked about how difficult is for them to share the school space with 'disrespectful students', a term used by them. However, the challenges faced by Angolan and Congolese children go beyond bullying. Peer harassment researchers "have repeatedly found racial/ethnic disparities in bullying" (Peguero, 2019, p. 159), showing that "of the many diverse sociocultural factors and inequalities associated with the stratification of bullying is race/ethnicity" (Peguero, 2019, p. 159). This is also the case of this study and the next section explores this topic.

5.3 Discrimination against Angolan and Congolese children

Each country, context, and educational system has its specificities and there are a variety of challenges and difficulties that *children on the move* can face when attending national schools. However, although the differences in terms of context and regardless of the country or continent, researchers have extensively described a common pattern experienced by immigrant and refugee children in formal education worldwide: race and ethnic discrimination (Brown, 2015; Correa-Velez, Gifford, & Barnett, 2010; Dryden-Peterson, 2015, 2016; Graham, Minhas, & Paxton, 2016; Peguero, 2009; Save the Children, 2018). This same pattern has also been found in this study. Beyond bullying, Angolan and Congolese children experience racism, xenophobia, and peer coercion inside the schools. Each one of the next sections describe and explore how children experience these patterns in school.

5.3.1 "The worst thing about school is to suffer racism"

The above statement was written by Kyra at the task-based activity. Kyra is the child who spoke the most about harassment in this study. The experience of being harassed and discriminated has been a constant in her life since she started attending school in Brazil. During the semi-structured interview, Kyra mentioned that "in my old school, it was the same as here: bullying [...] nobody liked me there either". She affirmed that in her other school, her classmates isolated her and told others to isolate her as well. "So, every person who was coming was isolating me". Moreover, when she changed schools, she "was expecting it to be different, but it is the same thing here". Kyra recognizes that she suffers not only bullying. "Sometimes it is prejudice, sometimes it is bullying, sometimes they call me ugly, other times they call me thick-lipped (*beicuda*). [...] my lip, first of all, is natural, and they keep talking about my lip, that my braids are fake, that I am not pretty, I am ugly. Anything I say is a problem" (SSI, Kyra). Kyra recognizes that she suffers racism.

<p>3. O pior da escola é:</p> <p><i>sofrer racismo, quando te provocam que não tem respeito com os professores</i></p>	<p>3. The worst thing about school is: to suffer racism; when they tease me; when there is no respect for teachers.</p>
<p>5. Na escola eu me sinto triste quando:</p> <p><i>quando fiquem me zangando de brincadeiras de saia de fora, aí fico triste</i></p>	<p>5. At school, I feel sad when: when they make fun of me; when they call me <i>beicuda</i> (thick-lipped and other similar offensive nickname related to the size of her lips), then I get sad.</p>

Table 7: Racism described by Kyra

Racism was also mentioned by a teacher at School I to the FEBF/UERJ research group. This teacher commented about one episode where a child from Congo was being discriminated by the other children in class:

I noticed her being very quiet and one day I decided to observe children during the break. I saw that she was alone, so I asked her what was happening. She started to cry and said she wanted to go back to her country. I broke down because I knew what was going on in her country, so I thought "if there (*Congo*) is bad and she wants to go back, so there is something very wrong here". I was disappointed with the class. I cried and called their attention, explaining why she is in our country. Some students also cried apologizing. It was a painful experience. I thought my class was following me, but they were reproducing oppressions. (Teacher at School I, FEBF/UERJ group, 2018/2019)

The size of the lip, the texture of hair and the hairstyle, the nose, among other characteristics, constitute a group of elements due to which black girls and women commonly experience discrimination. "This reflects the dominant beauty paradigm which privileges white/light skin, straight hair, and what are seen to be European facial features. The influence of whiteness as a yardstick for beauty has a history which extends back to slavery" (Tate, 2007, p. 301). The consequences for it is a racialized aesthetics, where biological traces of black woman such as "texture and color of the hair, thickness or thinness of lips, the structure of the nose, width of the face, eye color and body structure" (Gabriel, 2007, p. 69), are seen as negative and/or ugly. Racist aesthetics is related to institutional racism, in which "the culture, aesthetic standards, and power practices of a particular group become the civilization horizon of society as a whole" (Almeida, 2019, p. 20, own translation).

Chó, Mole, and Sun also experience racism at School I through racial insults. During the activity collective drawing, Chó and Mole, told about how they feel inside school, mentioning that "sometimes we are happy, sometimes sad" (CD, Chó). When I asked the reasons for sadness, they mentioned:

Mole: Because sometimes they humiliate people here.

Camila: How do they humiliate people?

Chó: They keep calling us bald bread (*pão careca*) all the time, black cockroach (*barata preta*). For example, Sun (another research participant) they call her black cockroach. They call me *negresco* (the Brazilian version of the Oreo cookie).

Camila: Do they do this only with you or with the other students too?

Mole: Only with us.

Chó: No.

Mole: Only with us.

Chó: No! I don't think so! What is this Mole?

Camila: But, why do you think it is only with you?

Mole: ah... it is because sometimes they talk to us... these things... they happen every day. They take everything out on us.

[...]

Mole: They call us imitation apes (*macaco de imitação*) they call blacks as apes (*macaco*). (CD, Chó and Mole)

In the above quote, Chó and Mole have a divergent opinion. Mole says that they are the only ones who are humiliated, but Chó affirms they are not the only ones who suffer racial insults. Regarding the terms mentioned, the term *pão careca* is a racist, pejorative and offensive expression to offend people who have frizzy hair, usually black people or Afro descendants. The expression is related to the expressions 'bad hair' and 'hard hair'. Regarding the black cockroach (*barata preta*), Guimarães (2000) observes that the cockroach when used as a racial insult is used to call black people dirty. Also, the cockroach, as a racial insult, was observed by Guimarães (2000) as a term that refers to "simultaneously to dirt and the female genitalia" (Guimarães, 2000, note 6.). Thus, the cockroach as an insult it is used to offend black woman. *Negresco* is the name of the Brazilian version of the Oreo cookie. So, when the Chó classmates call her *negresco*, it seems that they are saying that she is so black as the Oreo cookie. In a country where to

be black is a disadvantage, to call her *negresco* is an attempt to insult her. Regarding ape (*macaco*), as a racist insult it originated during the colonization period in which colonizers considered that Africans and native populations were inferior and uncivilized races, closer to apes than to humans (Bradley, 2013). According to Guimarães' (2000) study, the term was used to say that black people and native populations should occupy a subaltern social position. On the other hand, the expression imitation apes (*macaco de imitação*) refers to the expression copycat, and it describes a person without initiative or someone who copies the behavior of others (O. Silva, 2020).

The majority of students at both schools are mixed race and black. However, Angolan and Congolese children have darker skins. Also, they have different phenotypes traces than the Brazilian black students, and their origin is also visible through their hairstyles. Kyra, for example, has long and well-cared braids, which are distinctive in that context. She thinks her classmates are jealous of her hair. However, more than jealousy, her braids make visible her identity. Black and mixed Brazilians also use braids, but people from the Democratic Republic of Congo have a different way to braid their hair. So, through her braids, her Congolese identity is exposed. However, beyond discrimination related to identity, which is explored in the next topic, it is important to highlight that Brazil is a country where a structural racism prevails, and when immigrants and refugees come to Brazil, they can start to experience racism as well. Black people from African countries can suffer even more discrimination if their skin color is darker, as it was observed in this study. A teacher interviewed by the FEBF/UFRJ group mentioned that

although the school is mostly composed of black children, there is prejudice [...]. I heard stories from mothers who said they found out what is racism here at school because where they came from, all people are black. So, they discovered the meaning of the word racism with the children. (Teacher at School I, FEBF/UERJ group, 2018/2019)

This is a very complex phenomenon. Kabengele Munanga (2004), a Congolese anthropologist, scholar in anthropology of the Afro-Brazilian population, affirms that

it seems simple to define who is black in Brazil. But in a country that has developed the desire for whitening, it is not easy to present a definition of who is black or not. Some black people have introjected the whitening ideal and do not consider themselves as black. Thus, the question of identity of the black person is a painful process. The concepts of black and white have an ethno-semantic, political, and ideological foundation, but not a biological content. (Munanga, 2004, p. 52, own translation)

In this way, when mixed and black Brazilian children discriminate Angolan and Congolese children, they are revealing how race as a social construct is a complex concept. Munanga (2015) describes that the process of identity and race awareness is based on the difference between 'us' and the 'others'. Thus, there are levels of awareness, based on different cultural groups of people, and the skin color is not the only element that unites all black people in an essentialized category. However, black peoples and other oppressed groups, especially in Brazil, share a common history of oppression, dehumanization, and systematic cultural destruction.

The Brazilian population that lives in this neighborhood occupies a peripheral social position where the levels of unsafety and violence are the highest in the RMRJ. Moreover, in a strong social stratified society, they are in a subaltern condition in relation to other social classes, which are also other racial groups. Thus, they occupy the lowest social position in a racist social structure (Almeida, 2019). This social structure shapes the "individual behaviors and institutional processes" (Almeida, 2019, p. 27), making racism "the rule rather than the exception" (Almeida, 2019, p. 27). Thus, the Brazilian population in this context also suffers from racism, which is structural and results in poor public services,

low access to rights, and limited social freedoms. The Angolan and Congolese populations are in a similar situation. However, beyond the restrictions of this social space, they also have darker skin which makes them more vulnerable to racial discrimination, and because of their immigrant and refugee status, they also suffer ethnic discrimination.

Moreover, about the context of institutional racism in education, at Brazilian schools, racism is present in multiple forms, including: educational inequalities; the denial of the African, Afro-Brazilian, and Amerindian traditions and customs (Cavalleiro, 2001); through the curriculum which privileges dominant social groups, denying the African, Afro-Brazilian and Amerindian worldviews, epistemologies and ontologies (Silva, 2002); through the representation of some social groups as exotic and/or folkloric in textbooks (T. T. Silva, 2002, p. 102); depoliticizing social groups experiences; among many other elements that go beyond individual insults. These are some of the heritages of colonialism in the Brazilian education. The next section explores how children's identities influence their experience in these schools and how, in addition to racism, xenophobia is also a part of their school experiences.

5.3.2 "I think... it's because we are Angolan and Congolese"

The above quote is the continuation of conversation with Chó and Mole present in the previous section (p. 56) when I asked Mole "why do you think it is only with you?" and he answered "ah... it is because sometimes they talk to us... these things... they happen every day. They take everything out on us" (CD, Chó and Mole, p. 54). During all the activities of this study, the Angolan and Congolese children were always distinguishing them from the Brazilian children. They were always talking about 'us' and 'them'. Moreover, as it was described above, there was a moment when Chó and Mole had conflicting opinions. Mole was affirming that they were the only ones that suffer racial discrimination, while Chó was disagreeing. Thus, when Mole affirmed that "they take everything out on us" I knew that 'us' were them, so I asked why he thinks that they (Brazilian children) 'take everything out' on them, as the continuation of the dialogue shows:

Camila: Why do you think they take everything out on you? Because you are from other countries?

Mole: Uhm.

Chó: I think... it's because... we are Angolans and Congolese.

Camila: Do you feel that other children treat you differently because you are from Africa?

Mole: Yes!!! Sometimes it looks like the person is jealous of us, of our hair...

(CD, Chó and Mole)

Beyond my questions, which could have been better formulated, after this part Chó was agreeing with Mole. This dialogue happened during the collective drawing activity, where two Brazilian boys were also present, and they were hearing this conversation at this moment. As a way to include them, I ask what they think about having children from other countries in school:

Camila: How about you? What do you think about having children from other countries here in school?

Brazilian child 1: good, to get to know...

Brazilian child 2: Is Chó from another country?

Brazilian child 1: She is Angolan.

Brazilian child 2: *Angolan?* (the child laughs a lot and keeps repeating 'Angolan' and laughing)

Chó: What is the problem? (with an angry tone)

Mole: Like this *aunt!* (*referring to me*) That is how it starts! (*referring that conflicts start when Brazilian children laugh about any aspect related to children's identity/origin/culture*).

This is what we don't like! (with an angry tone)

Chó: Yes!!!!

Mole: They keep giving nicknames...

Chó: Yes!!!!

Brazilian child 2: No, I didn't know it... (with a tone that debauches)

(CD, Chó, Mole, and two Brazilian boys)

This conversation was very tense, Chó and Mole got very angry. After this moment, the Brazilian children tried to explain themselves, but they did not give a satisfactory answer, and I changed the subject to soothe the moods. What happened was that the conversation got tense when the Brazilian child started to laugh at the word *Angolan*. Similarly, Kyra mentioned that "they always talk about *Angolan*, but I don't understand why" (SSI, Kyra). The practice of calling others '*Angolan*' was described by one teacher that was interviewed by the FEBF/UERJ research group. This teacher, when talking about her experience with a female pupil from Congo, affirmed:

Here we have many black students, but the students from Congo are different. The skin tone is darker, they stand out with their hairstyles. So, we look and see that there is not a Brazilian child, and children also see it. So, they started to call her *Angolan* at the first moment. Some students were saying *Angolan*, *Angola*, *Angolan*. At the moment she called me and said that she was upset because they were calling her *Angolan*, I started to talk with the class about it, to understand why they were calling her *Angolan*. One of the students said, "ah, she looks like the *Angolan* from the hill"⁵⁷. So, there is someone where they live who they call *Angolan*. But why *Angolan*? What means to be *Angolan*? "Ah, it is because she has the same skin color as him" [...]. Many students here have the habit to call black people as *Angolans*. (Teacher at School I, FEBF/UERJ group, 2018/2019)

The above quote reinforces what was discussed in the previous section about how the skin color and the hairstyle of Congolese children distinguish them from the Brazilian black children. Also, the quote shows that *Angolan*, more than a word that describes someone from Angola, has a different connotation. Another teacher affirmed that "this '*your Angolan*' is an offensive thing, using the condition of Angolan or African as a curse" (Teacher at School I, FEBF/UERJ group, 2018/2019). Similarly, another teacher mentioned that:

they don't like to be called Africans; they don't like to be called Angolans. They become very angry, they say: "He called me an *Angolan*"...and I try to calm them down. [...] they say "I am not Angolan, I am Congolese. (Teacher at School I, FEBF/UERJ group, 2018/2019)

Besides, a refugee from Sierra Leone interviewed by Caritas Rio de Janeiro mentioned that "sometimes when they see that I am African, they call me *Angolan*. Not every black person in Brazil is Angolan! Why do they call me an *Angolan*? I feel bad" (Felix, 2019, para. 16, own translation). Thus, it is possible to say that the word *Angolan* has a negative connotation, not only in the context of these schools, but in the RMRJ in general. It seems like it holds both a race and an ethnic weight, being used to discriminate people both by their skin color and by their African origin. In this way, it seems like it is both a racist and a xenophobic insult.

According to Caritas Rio de Janeiro, refugees from African countries suffer "a triple prejudice: besides being a refugee, being black, and African" (Felix, 2019, para. 17, own translation). This is not different in the school context. During the group interview with the pedagogical adviser at School II, one of them told me that the first time she met a refugee student in school was through a conflict situation. School II offers the final stages of youth and adult education (EJA) and the conflict was between students around 17 years old. According to her:

⁵⁷ 'from the hill' is the translation of '*lá do morro*'. *Morro* means hill, but in this context, it is vertical community or a *favela* in a hill.

the head of the school called me because it was a fight on the second floor, and I went there to see [...] the conflict was between the old students and a couple from Congo [...]. They were using very strong phrases, like: "These apes come from there to disturb us here", "he wants to take our jobs" [...]. It was not just a common youth conflict. It had a bit of xenophobia in it, you know? Because the great majority of students in that class, and the great majority in the school, is black. So, it was a question of, besides being black, they were from another place. (GI, pedagogical advisor, School II)

This quote presents again the term ape as a form of insult. Here, more than a racist insult, ape has a relation with the place of origin, Africa. It shows the same pattern described by Caritas, a discrimination for being black, African, and for being an outsider. Also, it shows a common xenophobic idea which reveals a fear that outsiders will undermine opportunities of the local population. In a context where the social conditions of the excluded Brazilian population are already very reduced, an outsider with more abilities can potentialize the fear of unemployment, as it was mentioned in the first part of the chapter.

In addition to this form of insult, the pedagogical adviser in School II mentioned that immigrant and refugee children suffer different kinds of ethnic discrimination in school. They mentioned that when a refugee child first starts at school, they are always very shy "because many of them suffer prejudice from the classmates" (GI, pedagogical advisor). They noticed that refugee children have resistance to communicate because when they talk, the other children will notice they are different. So, "they always try to omit the peculiar traits of their nationality [...]. Because these marks can initially sound negative when the classmates evaluate" (GI, pedagogical advisor). So, they noticed that refugee and immigrant children in School II try to mask their ethnic differences to be alike the others and avoid discrimination. In addition, all the six young participants of this study, when asked by me if the school should have any special program for immigrant and refugee children, answered no. Both Kyra and Chó affirmed that a special program could potentialize discriminatory practices. In other words, they are afraid to show they are different. In addition to the explored topics, which are very serious, Angolan and Congolese children also described experiences involving peer coercion. The next topic shows how it happens.

5.3.3 "He threatened her, he said he was going to kill her"

The above quote is from Chó. She mentioned it at the collective draw activity referring that Sun was threatened by a classmate, which said that he was going to kill her. According to Chó and Mole, that was not the first time that this kind of threat happened at school. They affirmed that threats are a part of their daily lives in school. In an informal conversation between me, Mole, and a Brazilian boy during an activity conducted by the FEBF/UERJ group, Mole told me that one of his classmates got very angry after a discussion with the teacher and because Mole observed the situation, this boy said: "what are you looking at, Mole? If you continue, I will take all my anger out on you!". Mole shared a lot about this boy, who I call Carlos⁵⁸, with me. Besides the episode, Mole shared another history where Carlos threatened Mole and another Brazilian boy:

⁵⁸ Pseudonym.

Mole: The bad thing about coming to school is to be afraid that other students will bring something to kill you. Because they say "you will see, I will kill you, I will bring a knife from home!", they say such things.

Brazilian boy: The teacher said she was going to call Mole's father and Carlos' father to talk because Carlos threatened me and Mole⁵⁹. Then, after she said that, Carlos came and said "call my father, call him. My father has already *caught two* at work with a knife"⁶⁰.

Mole: Yes. He said that.

Brazilian boy: He said that his father has already *caught two* at work with the knife. He said his father was going to come and get us with the knife. (Informal talk with Mole and another Brazilian boy)

Fosco, Frank, and Dishion (2012, p. 70) describe the threat as a type of peer coercion to drive someone away. This kind of coercion needs to be understood, especially in this context, as "a result of the complex interplay between individuals and their broader social environment" (Espelage & Swearer, 2009, p. 333). Beyond individual characteristics, peer relationships, family issues, among other individual elements, "the characteristics of the community in which children live and go to school also have direct impact and indirect influences on these behaviors" (Espelage & Swearer, 2009, p. 343). This is very clear in this context. Children live in a space that is dominated by different levels of violence, used to demarcate social positions. According to the description in the quote above, this boy uses his father as a way to impose himself. In the same direction, the pedagogical advisers at School II, when asked by me what children at School II have in common with each other, discussed among themselves:

A: too much contact with violence...

B: ... a daily routine where violence is present all the time. Not only armed violence, which is already very serious but also this very aggressive relationship between peers. They do it to impose themselves... we see this a lot here. Every time there is a little problem, there is aggression. One hit the other, the other slapped back. I believe they build themselves, as a subject, overlapping in violence. So, I speak louder because the other one is shouting at me.

A: So, I have to hit...

B: ... if one hits me, I have to fight back, because if I do not do it, I invalidate myself at this space.

A: And I do not conquer my space here either. Because, for them, the notion of conquering space is very tied to the reality they live in. What is the reality of the slum traffic? It is a conquest, a search for territory, a dispute over territory. It is a conflict over violence. They do not dispute with talk, with democracy. They use violence. Whoever has more armed power has more hierarchical power within the *favela*. So, children experience this, and it is impossible to not reproduce it. Because if they live in this social place, they will bring it to school [...] what you see in their interpersonal relationships is violence, all the time.

B: Yeah, whether it is verbal or physical, right? So, this question of deprivation of material resources, the precariousness of public services, racism. I think these things go through everyone, all our students.

A: They end up reproducing what they live.

(GI, pedagogical advisers)

The above quote is very interesting and important, as it shows that the way violence happens in school is similar to the way it happens outside in the *favelas* that surround this area. Thus, bullying and aggressive behavior are used to "establish a higher position on the hierarchy of social dominance within their peer group" (Espelage & Swearer, 2009, p. 343). Moreover, the pedagogical advisers recognize that violence in this context is not only a reflection of the local violence experienced in this particular neighborhood. What happens

⁵⁹ I do not know why the teacher would call only Mole's father and not the Brazilian boy too. Maybe she also said that, but they did not mention it. Also, I did not ask about it.

⁶⁰ It means that the father of this child has already stabbed two people during his work, or at his workplace. In Portuguese, "já pegou dois no trabalho com uma faca".

in this particular context is a result of a wider context where social inequalities, territorial segregation, structural racism, and deprivation of rights prevails. However, Angolan and Congolese children are not the only ones who suffer from it. All children are victims, including those who perpetrate violence. As Brazilian child wrote at the task-based activity, if I could change something at school, "I would stop the violence" (TBA, Brazilian child). Following, the next part of this chapter will explore some differences related to the way Brazilian, Angolan and Congolese children experience this context.

5.4 Same context: different experiences

As a listener and a researcher, I noticed that Brazilian children and the group from Angola and Congo were telling me different kinds of stories, as those related to lethal violence for example. Through those histories, I understood how, even inside the same context, children have different childhood experiences. Children, although having similar ages, going to the same school, and living in the same neighborhood, have very different life experiences. The following topic will analyze children's childhood experiences based on the concept of generation (Mannheim, 1982), on the role of the Angolan-Congolese community into children's live, and by intersectionality theory.

5.4.1 Different generational experiences

According to Mannheim (1982) generations are formed by the members of the same age range, living during the same historical period and cultural region, sharing a common sociological situation. Moreover, to be considered as members of the same generation the participants need to share a common identity and a "common destiny of this historical and social unity" (Mannheim, 1982, p. 86). Applying generation as a theory frame to the participants of this study, it is possible to see at first that Brazilian, Angolan, and Congolese children have approximately the same age, live in the same neighborhood, and attend the same schools. So, children share the same "generational location" (Mannheim, 1982). Alanen (2001) highlight that "generational location" for Mannheim (1982) is equivalent of class location for Weber (1970), which is defined by the possibility to access the same material goods, life-chances, benefits, and social position from a class location (Alanen, 2001, p. 18). Thus, Brazilian, Angolan, and Congolese children, although not born in the same place, share the same generation location. All children are located in a segregated space that receives bad public services, like public safety and education. Moreover, although Brazilian, Angolan, and Congolese children experience poverty and urban violence differently, they still share the same class situation, and children's life chances are influenced by this context.

However, to share the same "generational location" it is not enough. The "second stage in the formation of generations involves the development of a shared interpretation of experiences and definition of situations among those who share a generational location" (Alanen, 2001, p. 15). At this stage, children are very alike each other. The Angolan and Congolese family's lives are based on values and practices part of their culture, which shape the relationships between children and adults, children's permissions and responsibilities, and other elements I will demonstrate in the next chapter. Moreover, as was observed, most of the Angolan and Congolese participants are similarly discriminated in school. Also, they interpret their experiences by similar lenses, which make them an "actual generation" (Mannheim, 1982). Actual generations are "characterized by face-to-face interaction among its members and similar ways of reacting to the issues they meet as generation" (Alanen, 2001, p. 15). Brazilian children in this context can also be considered an actual generation. In this way, we have in this study two "actual

generations”, the Brazilian and the Angolan/Congolese children. Although Angolan and Congolese compose two (or more) distinct ethnic groups, they are a group of children with African background. Following the next section will present and analyze how this background influence their experiences in the context of the RMRJ and at school.

5.4.2 “It takes a village to raise a child” or a network of interdependencies

Amadou Hampâté Bâ, who was a master of the African oral tradition, historian, and ethnologist from Mali, affirmed that “there is no Africa, there is no African man, there is no African tradition valid for all regions and all ethnic groups” (Bâ, 2013, p. 12), and it is not possible to generalize or essentialize an African tradition. However, there are some similarities or considerable major traces that go beyond the differences. One of them is the community sense, the collective strategy of living (Bâ, 2013), which was also observed during fieldwork. Moreover, Petrus (2010) also highlighted in her study how the Congolese people in the RMRJ support each other and other immigrants and refugees.

The concept of Ubuntu, which can be also translated in a “worldview of relationality [...] based on the idea that as human beings we depend on other human beings to attain ultimate wellbeing” (Murove, 2012, p. 37), helps to understand how important community is for the families and children in this context. Ubuntu is a concept that translates the fact that people is interdependent of other people and other elements to achieve well-being. Every kind of good, food, shelter, even every merit a person has, is a product of many others. We do not exist separately; we are parts of complex patterns of relationships. Similarly, Nibert Elias (1991) affirms that we are connected, forming a plurality, and this plurality is what we call society. According to the author, since an individual is born, there is an invisible order, which situates each person in a structural place, where the person will develop by the relationships around. In these terms, Elias (1991) affirms that instead of focusing on dualities of individual/structure, a focus into the relationship or the functions between people, and between people and the structure could give a better understanding of society. Thus, he conceptualized the notion of a network of interdependencies. This network is at the same time something that the person is from, but also something that the person is a part of. Elias (1991) describes this network as a woven net, where all threads are linked together. The net cannot be understood without the threads and, in the same way, the threads are not a net without each other. The net only exists because they are linked. They exist in relation to each other. In this way, it is not possible to exist without an interdependence network. The differences are in the living strategies.

In this study, the Angolan and Congolese families of the participants closely collaborate in the care of the children as they live close to each other and attend to the same church, as Guri had reported to me. Sun often stays with her Congolese neighbor when her mother is working, for example. Besides the responsibilities of care that adults have with the children, some of the Angolan and Congolese children also have responsibilities with their families. Older children take care of the younger ones, as Kyra and Mole do with their siblings. This is also a characteristic part of the cultural heritage of the families. As mentioned before, at the ACRWC (African Unity, 1990) it is stated that children “shall have responsibilities towards his family and society” (African Unity, 1990, p. 10). Children have rights and responsibilities; this is an important cultural value. Another example on how the families collaborate was when I first presented this study to Guri, who explain it to the others. With her help I could get the collaboration of the other families without meeting them.

It is very important to the families that they can closely collaborate in the care of children, especially because they are outsiders and because they live in a dangerous part of the RMRJ. Duque de Caxias is one of the municipalities of the RMRJ with the highest percentage of deaths of young black boys, as the Angolan and Congolese boys are. In addition to my observations in the context, Petrus (2010) described how the social networks of Congolese people works to 'protect' the community:

the Congolese of Bakongo origin⁶¹ constitute the majority of the so-called "les vieux" ("the elders"). They expect and demand respect of others; they exercise the "obligation" and power to protect the youngest and to watch over the least experienced so that, as they have explained, "they don't mess with what they shouldn't and with these they don't know"; they are also sought out by others Congolese adults when they have a need "to be oriented, to call out others, or to correct the behavior of some young people who are bringing problems to the community", especially in the favelas and/or in the others precarious areas where they are concentrated in terms of housing. [...] Because they have been here for many years, they have a large family, Brazilian children, better financial conditions, home, employment and because they develop commercial activities or have their own commercial/service establishments (besides speaking better Portuguese), they have contacts and important information for the Congolese who arrived from 2003/2004. They are like "fixed and strong points" of social networks and reference figures for almost all the issues and problems that appear in the "Congolese community", the term most commonly used by them. (Petrus, 2010, p. 190)

In this way, in a context of violence and deprivation, the interdependency relationships, common belonging, and the recognition of the interconnection of the Angolan and Congolese peoples, its Ubuntu, offer children (and the other members of the community) protection. In this context, the sense of community, which Bâ (2013) described as a major trace of the African cultures, works as a protection network for the families. For those who occupy the peripheries and other marginalized areas, a strong community makes difference. For those who met violence alone or without the support of others, the vulnerability to all types of violence, poverty, and hunger is even worse. I cannot say that the Brazilian families in this context do not have a network system as I did not research with them, however, the network system of the Angolan-Congolese families was one of elements which have stood out in this study. Moreover, the lives of Angolan and Congolese children, besides being shaped by the elements of their social situation in Brazil, are also socially constructed by their cultures and their status as immigrants and refugees. I believe that is one of the reasons why I did not hear any history related to lethal violence and crime by the Angolan and Congolese children. The sum of those elements mediates the encounter between them and their surroundings.

However, the same element that helps the families in their survival and protection in this context, their ethnicity, culture, and interdependent way of living, are also the elements that differentiate them from the others, generating discrimination. However, as showed before in this chapter, the Angolan and Congolese children do not only suffer xenophobia in school. They also experience offenses related to race, and other types of peer harassment. The next part of this chapter will analyze how children's experiences overlap creating a complex social experience for Angolan and Congolese children in school.

⁶¹ A Bantu ethnic group mostly present in Angola, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, and at Congo Brazzaville (L. N. Pereira, 2013). According to Petrus (2010), Congolese from the Bakongo ethnic group compose most part of the Congolese people at the RMRJ.

5.4.3 Looking to the intersections

This chapter firstly present the social context where children live and go to school, which is a context of poverty, crime, and systemic violence. Moreover, it has demonstrated that among all the difficulties that the Angolan and Congolese informants could have in school, peer relationships are the main challenge faced by most of them. In this way, it was presented and analyzed children's experiences with bullying, racism, xenophobia, and peer coercion in both schools. However, children's challenges go beyond these phenomena. All these challenges, and this constrained life situation, intersect generating a complex exclusionary experience, which is characterized by the mechanisms of each of them and by the overlapping of them all. Thus, this section will summarize these challenges, showing how they overlap each other creating a heavier exclusionary experience.

Intersectionality theory shows although all children occupy childhood as a structural social space, their generational experiences (Mannheim, 1982) differ in terms of social class, race, ethnicity, gender, among many other elements (Alanen, 2016; Crenshaw, 1989). In this study, Angolan and Congolese children reported that they experience discrimination related to the color of their skin and other characteristics related to their African background. Moreover, bullying when related to them also assumes the form of racial and ethnic discrimination. Alanen (2016) highlights that intersectionality theory is a suitable frame for child research, however, to do an intersectionality analysis is complicated because it departs from non-additive differences that exist between children. The analysis needs to separate these differences and understand the "sources of subordination" (Alanen, 2016, p. 159) and the oppression they produce individually. "It is here that intersectional analysis becomes troubling to execute [...]. These material and symbolic sources of oppression, subordination, and/or disadvantage are not directly observable and must therefore be theorized" (Alanen, 2016, p. 159). Besides, A. D. Christensen and S. Q. Jensen (2012) highlight that the number of categories or key-anchor concepts that will be analyzed is also a challenge to do qualitative intersectionality analyses, and that the inclusion of the groups that are not marginalized or oppressed (the majority-inclusive principle) would better contextualize social dynamics.

Thus, to attend these challenges, the key-anchor categories (social class, race, and ethnicity) were firstly presented and theorized in chapter three. The choice for those categories emerged from the experiences reported by children. If children had reported situations involving gender or disability, I could have included these categories, but this was not the case in this study. Secondly, this chapter was structured to present how each category creates different forms of oppression. Thus, from the experiences described by children, it was possible to see how the "forms of differentiation work differently, on both a structural and an identity level, and that they are all conditioned by power relations" (A. D. Christensen & S. Q. Jensen, 2012, p. 111). Beyond peer harassment, the Angolan and Congolese participants of this study reported experiences involving racism and xenophobia which are forms of oppression related to race and ethnicity, commonly experienced by many social groups in Brazil. The differentiation between the categories in intersectionality analysis aims to show how the structures of power work independently. Thus, this chapter has shown how the Angolan and Congolese children are discriminated against because of their race and identity/ethnicity/culture. However, the non-additivity principle of intersectionality theory does not mean that children suffer racism plus xenophobia, what happens is that oppressions merge, creating a complex pattern that is both of them and something else.

Regarding social class, all children that took part in this study live under a poverty situation, being located in a context of high social vulnerability and unsafety. This is the reality of all the population situated in this neighborhood. The families receive *bolsa família*, which is a social program to families living in poverty and extreme poverty⁶². Besides, because of their vulnerable class position, Angolan and Congolese families are also supported by a charitable organization that give them food baskets monthly.

Moreover, Angolan and Congolese children experience bullying and peer coercion in school. Those situations are also experienced by the Brazilian local children at School I. As the Brazilian society structural racism shapes the institutions, which among many elements, results in unlike services offers for different social and racial groups of people. On a personal level, children experience racial offenses by their classmates, which are also black and mixed. However, Angolan and Congolese children have a darker skin color, which makes them more vulnerable. Moreover, children experience xenophobia because of their immigrant and refugee status. Most of this prejudice comes from the community around and reflects into the school, as it was reported by the headmaster at School I (FEBF/UFRJ, 2018/2019), and by the pedagogical managers at School II.

In this way, most of the Angolan and Congolese participants of this study suffer different types of peer harassment in school. Most of the harassment practices could be understood or nominated as a raced xenophobia, as it holds both a racial and an ethnic feature. Caritas Rio de Janeiro, at a newsletter on their website, describe that discrimination because of African origin is also experienced by other immigrants and refugee from African countries at the RMRJ. A refugee seeker from Uganda reported that "if you are African, people never think you have an education. The first thing they think is that you are very poor and that you have never been to school" (Felix, 2019, para. 13, own translation).

The challenges reported by children in school show how major patterns of exclusion operate in daily life. These patterns, more than individual only insults or 'lack of respect', as some of the children called it, indicate systemic marginalization of the people with those traces, origin, and ethnic characteristics. In this way "intersectionality calls attention to social identities that are consistently treated as marginal or invisible [...] and, points to the complex nature of power, undermining all reductive theories of oppression" (Harris & Leonardo, 2018, p. 5). In this way, my use of intersectionality theory aims to show that children's experiences cannot be reduced only to bullying, racism, and xenophobia. The overlapping of these categories of oppression creates a much heavier discrimination experience, which is experienced uniquely by the black immigrants and refugees with African background. In this way, although many international rapports had mentioned that *children on the move* suffer discrimination in school settings, for each country and region, discrimination present different characteristics, which need to be handled locally.

In the case of this study, I highlight that racism is a structural element of the Brazilian society. As it was theorized and analyzed before, racism is structural, presenting manifestations in the institutional and individual levels. In this way, to combat discrimination against immigrants and refugees' children with African backgrounds is necessary to handle with the systemic discrimination present in the structure of the Brazilian society, which also affects Brazilian black children. Moreover, I highlight that my use for intersectionality theory aim to be a response from what I have heard from children. Harris and Leonardo (2018, p. 6) highlights that "intersectionality reminds us of the

⁶² See footnote 27.

inexhaustibility of the struggle for social justice”, which from my perspective, is an ethical commitment to children and their heavy live experiences, which were kindly shared.

The struggle for social justice highlights that children are human beings. Brazil “registers the second-highest worldwide load of homicidal violence in the world among young people” (Muggah & Pellegrino, 2020, p. 13). Moreover, those who are mostly being killed are the black young boys, as homicide is the number one cause of death for this group (Cerqueira et al., 2019). As mentioned in chapter two, “the conjugation of several factors, among them racism, poverty, and institutional discrimination, contributes decisively to the black and brown population being hit hardest for violence (Manso & Gonçalves, 2018, p. 12). That is why the Congolese elders are concerned about the safety of the black Congolese youths. They are inside the group which suffer most racism, and are most killed in this context. Analyzing the experiences from the group of children from Brazil and the group from Angola/Congo it is possible to affirm that the conflicts described here, more than individual insults, are structural subordination constrains.

5.5 Summarizing chapter five

This chapter was drawn to answer the research questions: which kind of challenges do *children on the move* face in school and how do they relate to them? This research question originated the topics that were discussed in this chapter, which are bullying, racism, xenophobia, and peer coercion. The discrimination against Angolan and Congolese children is originated in a wider context, and it is reproduced in school. Considering so, although the research participants (children and adults) comprise a very small and quite diverse group, the experiences and narratives described by them put in evidence the social structure which excludes and marginalizes most certain social groups as blacks, immigrants, and Africans. Also, this chapter demonstrated how children’s lives are shaped by poverty, violence and crime, as how the interdependent cultural values of Angolan and Congolese families protect children in this context.

CHAPTER SIX: EDUCATION AS RESISTENCE

This second analysis chapter aims to explore the encounter of Angolan and Congolese children with the school culture, highlighting children's schooling performance and the elements that influence it in present. The chapter is organized into four sections. The first part explores the encounter of the Angolan and Congolese children with the school culture. It encompasses the Angolan and Congolese participants as pupils, their relationship with the teachers, and the value of schooling education for them. The second part of the chapter explores children's schooling performance. This part examines some elements that influence children's performance, as the social construction of children's childhood at the RMRJ, children's families, and former school experiences in the Angola for two of them. Finally, the last part presents a summary of this chapter.

6.1 Encounters with the school culture

A school is an institutionalized space. The historiography of education shows how middle-age educational spaces, mostly designated to academic religious and other elites, evolved to the school models that we have globally now (Sacristán, 2003). Although it is possible to highlight many changes in the school model since this period, as the democratization of education for women and popular classes, the school structure remains similar (Sacristán, 2003). A school, apart from its physical structure, is formed by the school culture, which is a group of "theories, principles, norms, and practices sedimented over time within the educational institution" (Viñao Frago, 1996, p. 2). The school culture shapes the school space, the school times and rhymes, the language, and discursive practices. It shapes the curriculum and all internal practices (Viñao Frago, 1996). Although every country, city, and institution have specificities of the local context, the school culture is a historically rigid structure, which presents similar characteristics. Between the elements that are similar in almost all school settings globally, I highlight two characteristics that stand out in this study: the social construction of the pupil, and the imbalance of power between teachers and pupils, which are elements in which Angolan and Congolese children behave differently from the other children in this context. Thus, this section will explore Angolan and Congolese children as pupils and their relationship with their teachers. Moreover, the last part of this section will present the value of education for them.

6.1.1 Angolan and Congolese children as pupils

In the same way as childhood is not composed of "a homogeneous group of subjects, the same applies to schooled children" (Sacristán, 2003, p. 125). The pupil, in the same way as childhood, is a social construction. Despite the apprentice role during the Middle Age, as the child that was learning with a master a trade, the social construction of the pupil that we have today was shaped during the industrialization period when the school was designed as the privileged space for children, which were mass schooled (Sarmiento, 2011). With the institutionalization of childhood, the child was transferred from the private sphere of the family to the institutionalized space of the educational institutions. The school established "a school form, a school culture, and a dominant organizational model" (Sarmiento, 2011, p. 9). Besides, to go to school was designated as the work of the child, their 'métier'.

According to Perrenoud (2005) the word 'métier' describes, in addition to other meanings, a permanent occupation that has certain characteristics. It describes that children have a permanent 'work' as school pupils, the 'métier d'élève', a kind of work with its own rules and norms. The concept 'métier d'élève' is derived from the French childhood sociology.

The emergence of the childhood studies paradigm in France was mainly conducted by a group of sociologists of education based on a framework of "return to the actor" (Sirota, 2010). This interest gave birth to a major research field focused on the 'métier d'élève', or pupilhood in English (Sirota, 2010). The pupil is not only the child that is the subject of the education practice but is the child that knows how to do it.

To become a pupil is a fusion of various exercises of power, self-discipline, and meetings with fellow pupils. Such diverse ways of becoming a pupil could be referred to as pulpiness. Pulpiness refers mainly to socially becoming a pupil. Becoming an appropriate pupil also includes academic qualifications and (not) meeting curricula demands. It is not the only criteria, however. (Kofoed, 2008, p. 416)

Furthermore, not all children have the ability to perform the 'métier d'élève' what results in a deviant pupil, mostly characterized by a lack of interest in school, inappropriate behavior, and weak learning accomplishments (Kofoed, 2008), which is not the case of the Angolan and Congolese participants of this study. During all data collecting activities and encounters in the field, including unstructured observations and informal talks with teachers, it was possible to notice that the Angolan and Congolese participants of this study present a great ability to perform the pupil role. They are interested and dedicated students. They have a lot of discipline in school and with the schoolwork. Moreover, they present a behavior that is appreciated by their teachers and by other educators in the institutions. Teachers describe them as 'the perfect pupils'. According to the teachers at School I, interviewed by the FEBF/UERJ research group, Angolan and Congolese children

are very active, very intelligent, very interested children who inspire my class (teacher 1);

They are the best students in class (teacher 2);

They are very smart... they have a lot of discipline (teacher 3);

One of them draws attention because she is very studious (teacher 4).

One thing that caught my attention is that they are assiduous. If they need to be absent, the sister of the child will let you know. They are worried about being in school, about their studies. Not because they have to be at school, but because they worry about their studies.

I don't see this characteristic in other students. I can generalize because there is not another student that I can remember in 5 years, who is so worried about being here to study. I feel that this difference is striking. They are very responsible. They ask, they ask for an explanation, and the families are present (teacher 5);

(Teachers at School I, FEBF/UERJ group, 2018/2019).

The quotes above does not only encompass teachers' experiences with the informants of this study, which is a small group but with many other Angolan and Congolese children that had been at School I. In this way, it underlines my observations in the field, that the Angolan and Congolese participants of this study have not only the ability to occupy and perform this role, but they also value formal education. Children demonstrated frustration when their classmates do not do the schoolwork or when they disrespect the teacher. They relate to their school education in a very responsible way, following the school norms, practices, and roles for adults and children. Thus, it is possible to say, that the Angolans and Congolese participants of this study have a behavior that fits into the school context, adapting well to the school culture and its practices. This behavior is appreciated by their teachers and other adults in the institution, in which they have very good relationships. This is very important for them, especially because of the challenges they face with their peers. In this way, in a classroom environment which is very challenging for teachers, they cooperate. The next topic explores the relationship between Angolan and Congolese children and their teachers.

6.1.2 The teacher-pupil relationship

“It is common for adults, in general, to have power and authority over children and for children – the younger generation – to occupy a subordinate position vis-à-vis adults” (James & James, 2012, p. 62). This characteristic is especially strong in traditional school settings, which are based on asymmetrical power relationships between teachers and pupils. It is part of the ‘*métier d’élève*’ to occupy the space of obedience to their teachers. However, this power imbalance between teachers and pupils can be also understood as a place of respect between older and younger generations. This is what the Angolan and Congolese children affirmed. For them, there is a lack of respect in school. This lack of respect leads to a difficult environment for learning and difficult interactions with peers.

Kyra mentioned that in Angola there is respect in school, and “the students respect the teacher a lot”. When I asked her the reason for it, she said “it is because of the education we get there [...]. The children here curse, not there. Here, they disrespect the teacher, there you cannot” (SSI, Kyra, School II). In the same direction, during the focus group discussion, Mole, Chó, and Ya, when asked about the differences between school in Angola, Congo, and Duque de Caxias, affirmed:

Mole: Here at school everyone is fighting, kicking, cursing, but there it happened only once.
Camila: Children there, don't fight, don't curse?
Mole: No.
Camila: But here, do they fight and curse their classmates or the teachers?
Chó: Both of them.
Mole: The classmates and the teachers.
Chó: The teachers too.
Mole: They lack education.
Camila: What do you think about that?
Mole: Bad.
Chó: I don't think it's very good.
Ya: I think they are fools for doing this.
Mole: They keep threatening others.
Ya: Others keep putting their foot, like Yuri, they keep putting their foot for others to fall.
Camila: Wow!
Chó: and also... I don't think it's good, because then the teachers or friends will think that the parents don't give education, but they do.
Ya: yes, at home.
(FGD, School I).

However, it is important to highlight that, in this group, Mole was the only one that attended school in his home country⁶³. This was the first activity with children at School I, and it aimed to get to know children and their ideas about the research topics. Thus, at this moment I did not know about who had experiences with school in other countries yet. Even so, this quote is important because it shows what children think about this topic.

The topic of respect and disrespect was a constant during the fieldwork. In all activities with children, the topic of lack of respect was always emerging. On the other hand, during unstructured observations, it was possible to observe that the Angolan and Congolese children were always respectful with teachers and with adults. One of the teachers at School I, when talking about her relationship with a Congolese child to the FEBF/UERJ research group, affirmed that children have a relationship “with the eldest... with... that question of hierarchy, they respect a lot and are very polite to everyone” (Teacher at School I, FEBF/UERJ group, 2018/2019). This attitude is appreciated by their teachers, and

⁶³ Besides him, Sun and Xitu also attended school in their home country. Kyra attended school in Angola. She is Congolese, but her family lived as refugees in Angola when she was younger.

it leads to a good relationship between them. In the semi-structured interview with Guri, I asked her about the relationship between her child and the teacher. She told me:

I pass to my daughter that the teacher is always right. Whatever she says, she is right, is it the right. Although many times she might even be wrong. But I am not going to belittle the teacher in front of my daughter. I will give reason to the teacher and try to guide my daughter in the best way to communicate with her. [...]. I always give reason to the teacher. (SSI, Guri).

Guri also affirmed that if she feels that the teacher is wrong, she will talk with the teacher, but she would not do it in front of the child. In behaving in this way, the mom reinforces the attitude that the child must have to their teachers. Mitchell and Ouko (2012), during a research about the experiences of Congolese refugee families in New Zealand with early-childhood education, heard similar conceptions of education from the Congolese families. The authors identify that for their participants' respect was a cultural element of the African culture and the basis of all relationships. One of the Congolese participants in Mitchell and Ouko (2012) study affirmed "education in Africa is not only about going to school and passing exams. It involves respect, it involves life skills on how to live with different people and it teaches the child, not only to respect their parents but to respect everybody else" (Mitchell & Ouko, 2012, p. 104). Similarly, when I asked Guri if adults relate to children in Angola differently than in Brazil, she commented that

the education is very different. Here there is a lot of freedom, a very big opening between an adult and a child. Many times, there is what we Africans consider as a lack of respect, the way children sometimes position themselves to adults. But in Angola, there is a line of respect between the child and the adult. The lessons are passed differently, there are limits. There is the point where a child should come and from where the child should not cross [...]. I pass along the education I got in Angola to my children. I have two children. Just yesterday, for example, at work, my colleague was complaining that she also has a daughter - her daughter is 11 years old - and she was commenting that she is having problems with her because she comes home and simply leaves and does not give an explanation. Of course, this was not a question of culture. But here it is very normal for children to behave that way, to walk in the street, to go out. I don't know if this is here in Caxias, or if it is Brazil in general, but it seems to be a general thing. In Africa no. Children don't do anything without asking you first. So, I raise my children that way. They do nothing without telling me, without asking me first [...]. In our education in Africa, children, before they do anything, have to let adults know. Because I have to authorize whether or not they can do it. There is more openness here. The child does what he/she wants, they don't ask for permission, after doing it, they communicate. (SSI, Guri).

The respect between adults and children mentioned by children and by Guri shows how the social relations between children and adults are socially constructed (James & James, 2012) based on an intersection of elements. Here, ethnicity, gender, age, and social class are intersected constituting a reality where, on one side there is the child that does what he/she wants without giving asking for permission from the adult generation, and on the other side, there is a child born and raised in an generational system which "power and authority is vested in members of the oldest generation" (James & James, 2012, p. 62). To the Angolan and Congolese children, ethnicity/culture is a very important determinant to shape the relationships between children and adults. Here, generation and ethnicity/culture produce a social world, where power and wisdom are located with the older generation. On the other hand, for Brazilian children, the relationships between children and adults can differ based on social class, gender, rural/urban, ethnicity/race, and religion. From the Brazilian children that took part in this study, social class is an important determinant. Many families, especially in low-income neighborhoods, have difficulties to take children away from the streets, which is a dangerous place. Families have long labor journeys, and they are not able to be close enough to their children to instruct them in the way they would like, as Guri's friend.

Differently from Mannheim's (1982) concept of generation, here the relationships between children and adults make evident the idea of a generation order (Alanen, 2009), where the interactions are not only between individuals but "between social groups: the social group children and the social group adults interact across generations" (Alanen & Mayall, 2001, p. 2). Petrus (2010) observed a pattern of relationship between the Congolese in Duque de Caxias which she called "the role of elders", according to her

such role incorporates certain rights and obligations practically undisputed - the respect of the 'elders' and/or the more experience is a fundamental part of culture [...], this is the hierarchy of social relations of the Congolese". (Petrus, 2010, p. 190)

This role was also commented in the last chapter and more about this topic will be explored in the second section of this study. However, here I highlight that this hierarchy of generational relations, which Guri has also mentioned, are mutually constitutive. Adults and children positioned themselves enforcing and underlining each other's status and position in the relationship. Thus, children positioned in the same way in relation to other adults, as their teachers. The respect children have for adults works in this context operate as a connecting element between teachers and pupils. Angolan and Congolese children described their relationship with their teachers as "good", "cool", "good, almost very good because they are polite and dedicate when we respect them" (TBA, Angolan and Congolese children). On the other hand, teachers feel recognized and appreciated by them, enhancing their relationship positively as the following quote from a teacher at School talking about the Angolan and Congolese children demonstrates:

They are great. They have come to give our school a bigger push. They are charismatic, they are loving [...]. They are all good. All love. They are wonderful. I am in love with them. From the little ones to the big ones. They are super sweet. Some are rowdy, but they are *those rowdies* we call... they hug, they kiss, they hug you wherever you are [...]. (Teacher at School I, FEBF/UERJ group, 2018/2019).

In the above quote, the teacher is affirming that more than just respectful, children with African cultural background that she had contact in school are charismatic, kind, sweet, and affectionate. It is common that some children hug their teachers in elementary school. However, this teacher is affirming that the Angolan and Congolese children present an even stronger affectionate behavior than the others. I also had the same experience with the participants I had most contact with. I got very connected with Chó, Mole, Ya, and Sun, which were hugging and kissing me at every meeting and farewell. However, some Brazilian children at School I, were also very affectionate. Regardless, I believe that this teacher is comparing the Angolan and Congolese children with deviant and aggressive pupils, which are also present in school. However, the Pedagogical adviser at School II commented that the refugee children differ a lot from each other, and many of them are very shy and have difficulties interacting with both adults and other children.

In conclusion, the relationship between children and teachers is strongly shaped by the elements of the Angolan and Congolese generational systems which shapes the relation between adult-children and teachers-pupils. The generational position children occupy in relation to the adults is the same position the school culture demands from pupils. In this way, this socialization system enables them to perform a better 'métier d'élève'. However, for Xitu and Kyra, their experiences with the education system in Angola seems also to influence their pupil role. The second part of this chapter will explore this topic. Following, the next topic will present the value of education for the Angolan and Congolese participants of this study.

6.1.3 The value of formal education

This master thesis started with the quotations of Sun, Kyra and Xitu about the meaning of formal education. For them, school is associate with wisdom, learning, knowledge, courage, a way beyond ignorance, criminality, drugs, and future ahead. Moreover, at the focus-group discussion at School I, Mole, Chó and Ya affirmed that "school represents study", "the best of school is the study", "school is important for us to study and to be someone in life" (FGD, School I). Only Chó has mentioned a different meaning than study. She affirmed that school "helps to learn, to study, to read, and also to play, that you have forgotten, but that is ok. School is study, play and much more" (FGD, Chó). In the statement "that you have forgotten", she highlighted to the others that none of them have mentioned that school is an important space also to play. The following table presents more meanings that highlight the value of formal education for the Angolan and Congolese informants:

1. What the school represents for me:	
1. O que a escola representa para mim: <i>estudo, aprendizagem e muito mais...</i>	1. Study, play, and much more! (Chó)
1. O que a escola representa para mim: <i>a escola representa estudo.</i>	2. School represents study (Mole).
1. O que a escola representa para mim: <i>A escola é um lugar educar-se para mim e é a meu futuro e é no futuro.</i>	3. School is an educational place for me, and it is my future ahead (Kyra).
1. O que a escola representa para mim: <i>oh, eu não sei, acho que representa a escola.</i> <i>Representa: Sabedoria, coragem.</i>	4. Sometimes I feel shame. School represents wisdom and courage (Sun).
2. The best of the school is:	
2. O melhor da escola é: <i>Estudo.</i>	1. Study! (Chó)
2. O melhor da escola é: <i>os outros trabalhos.</i>	2. The extra classes (Mole).
2. O melhor da escola é: <i>Comer, estudar, copiar e ler, respeitar os trabalhos, fazer trabalhos.</i>	3. Eat, study, copy text, respect the schoolwork, do the work (Kyra).
4. At school, I feel happy when:	
4. Na escola eu me sinto feliz quando: <i>fazer trabalhos, quando ficar no meu quarto não comendo.</i>	1. When I do the schoolwork, when I stay on my own, when I eat (Kyra).
4. Na escola eu me sinto feliz quando: <i>Tem amigos e também comida gostosa deliciosa e deliciosa.</i>	2. There are friends and mathematic, delicious food, delicious, delicious! (Chó)
7. I like school because:	
7. Eu gosto da escola porque: <i>amigos e brincadeiras.</i>	1. They teach the children (Mole).
7. Eu gosto da escola porque: <i>por que é o meu futuro e eu amo a escola.</i>	2. Because it is my future ahead and I love the school (Kyra).
7. Eu gosto da escola porque: <i>Tem comida gostosa, fazer educação física e brincadeiras e etc.</i>	3. There are food, schoolwork, gym, school break, etc (Sun).

Table 8: The value of formal education by the Angolan and Congolese children

Thus, for the participants of this study, school is an important space to access knowledge, making it possible for children to "be someone in life", with "a future ahead". Wilkinson (2002) in a study about the educational success of refugee youth in Canada affirmed that refugee youth wishes to thrive in school could be derived by "a phenomenon known as the immigrant drive" (p. 187). According to Anisef et al. (2000) "immigrant drive or minority determination operate to influence the high aspirations and expectations of respondents with foreign-born parents" (p. 187). This was observed in this study. The Angolan and Congolese informants are very ambitious in their wish to thrive in school. This can be explained by immigrant drive, but also as a desire to a "future ahead", a path "out of the

streets” and away from drugs and crime, as Xitu mentioned, as is the reality of many around them.

6.2 Understanding children’s schooling performance

According to the Pedagogical advisers at School II and the teachers interviewed by the FEBF/UERJ research group, this group of children do not have problems related to their learning process. As a teacher at School I mentioned: “they are the best students in class” (Teacher at School I, FEBF/UERJ group, 2018/2019). During my unstructured observations in the 4th grade, and through my conversation with children I notice also it. Sun wrote that her main challenge in school is “almost nothing, only the people who do not like me” (TBA, Sun). Mole has some difficulties, but they are as normal as any child has in his age. Guri’s child is a very intelligent child who stands out within the group. Guri mentioned “she has a great intellectual capacity, and it has always attracted attention. She has always stood out” (SSI, Guri). Only Xitu can be considered behind for his age, as he is enrolled in the EJA program⁶⁴.

As described in the section above, a school is an institutionalized space, with rigid practices that demand a specific kind of habitus, which can be translated as the process of inculcation of rules, norms, ways of being and thought, tendencies, behaviors in society, differentiation, etc., in a person. Lahire (1997) highlighted that “we can only understand a child’s school performance and behaviors if we reconstruct the family network of interdependencies” (p. 19), which are where the individual capacities are constructed. In this way, the following topic will firstly present how the childhood of Angolan and Congolese children are constituted in the RMRJ and following it, the next sections will explore which kind of elements are contribute to children’s schooling performance, trying to identify how do they have composed a habitus that leads them forward a good educational trajectory.

6.2.1 A social construction of a diasporic childhood

James, Jenks, and Prout (1998) state that from the social construction view of childhood, there is no essential child or childhood, but children who are constituted by their space, time, ethnicity/race, social class, and by many other elements including their selves and “the ways of parenting and the means of educational provision” (James et al., 1998, p. 213). For the participants of this study, their social situation, as Angolan and Congolese living a diasporic experience in the RMRJ, is one the most constitutive aspect of children’s childhood experience. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2017), the term diaspora refers “to migrants or descendants of migrants, whose identity and sense of belonging have been shaped by their migration experience and background” (IOM, 2017, p. 305). Moreover, “the distinguishing characteristic of diasporas from other migrant groups is the presence of strong cultural, linguistic, historical, religious and affective ties with the country or community of origin, or a sense of shared identity and belonging” (IOM, 2017, p. 304). All those elements are presented in the Angolan and Congolese families that partook in this study. Children’s lives and experiences are shaped by their ethnicity, culture, and life situation as immigrants and refugees. They are Angolan and Congolese children living a diasporic childhood in Duque de Caxias, the municipality of the RMRJ which concentrates most of the Angolan and Congolese peoples. Children and their families are located in this wider diasporic community, which both Angolan and Congolese families are part of.

⁶⁴ See footnote 26.

Moreover, children's lives are mediated by the elements of the Angolan and Congolese culture, which is transmitted to them. The culture is kept alive when children assimilate the way of living, rules, and beliefs of the older generation (Giddens & Sutton, 2014). As explored in the section above, the Angolan and Congolese children who took part in this study occupy a fixed social space in relation to adults, based on their condition as children. In this hierarchy, children occupy the place of submission to the adult generation, which is common for children. However, for the Angolan and Congolese, to be a child as a social role seems to be stricter than for the Brazilian children which do not have so strict rules regarding how adults and children should relate to each other. André and Hilgers (2015) state that "in many places in Africa, the institution of seniority is a central component of the dynamic of social structuration" (p. 123). According,

within the seniority system, the various groups and individuals of the various groups, for example, the group of children and the group of elders, see their positions (and their tasks) defined within a reciprocal set of duties, gifts and responsibilities" (André & Hilgers, 2015, p. 124).

Petrus (2010) highlighted that "the role of the elders incorporates certain rights and obligations practically indisputable – since the respect to the elders and/or the more experienced is a fundamental part of the culture and the principles of obedience and the social hierarchy of the Congolese" (Petrus, 2010, p. 190). The same kind of relationship between adults and children was described to me by Guri, which is from Angola. However, the hardness with which the relationships between the generations are constituted does not mean that children are raised by authoritarian ideas or practices, or that children do not negotiate their rights and responsibilities with their families. But it means that the social space of children is well defined in relation to adults, and even between adults, those with more age or experience have a higher authority. Thus, as demonstrated before, children occupy this same social place to their teachers in school. This is one of the characteristics that Lahire (1997) has highlighted as an element that contributes to the assimilation of the school habitus. As already mentioned in chapter three, the forms of familiar authority are relevant because the school is a context governed by norms and rules of discipline, and for those who are used to follow disciplinary rules, the adaptation to the school practices can be easier. The forms of family authority of the Angolan and Congolese families give relative importance to the control of adults over children, which in school means control of teachers over students.

Among other elements related to culture, Angolan and Congolese peoples speak their language at home with the children. Congolese families speak Lingala at home and Angolan have also Portuguese as mother tongue. Both groups attend the same Pentecostal church, where they can practice their religion and meet with other Angolan and Congolese people. Moreover, there is a wider community formed by both Angolan and Congolese which share similar customs and values on child-rearing. Guri affirmed that the way Brazilians in Duque de Caxias raise their children is very different than how Angolan families do, both in their homeland but also at the RMRJ. Guri mentioned that her daughter does not have authorization to go almost anywhere without her, "the only place she goes without me is the bakery, which is two minutes away from home. But sometimes I go out with her and we see her friends in the street, playing alone" (SSI, Guri). Similarly, one of the educational advisers at School II commented:

our students here, they walk alone, they come and go alone, they stay on the street. The refugees don't stay on the streets. They don't stay. This is so because of the refugee situation, which is a delicate situation. He is not a resident, so he can be the target of things that involve the police or anything⁶⁵. But also because of their culture. (GI, pedagogical advisor)

Related to the same topic Kyra commented "my father always says, from school to home, from home to school" (SSI, Kyra). Moreover, the pedagogical advisers mentioned that immigrant and refugee families are always very worried about their children. Petrus (2010), in her study on the integration of Congolese families at the RMRJ, highlighted that beyond violence, Congolese mothers are always concerned about the influence of Brazilians on their children. According to one Congolese mom,

there is a lot of difficulties with the children here in Brazil. "Young people here no longer respect the parents as they should because they are being influenced by Brazilian youth". The lack of respect for elders is not allowed in Congolese families. (Petrus, 2010, p. 302)

Also, Petrus (2010) highlighted that many Congolese girls have fights with their dads "because of the clothes they want to use" (p. 304), which can be shorter than the Congolese traditional ones. In my study, I did not enter in such topics. However, I highlight them here because of the influence that I notice that the community has on the participants of this study. The 'role of elders', for example, was noticed by me and it was reported by both the teachers interviewed by the FEBF/UERJ research group (2018/2019) and by Petrus (2010). In this way, the findings of this study find correspondence in these other studies, and their findings help in the contextualization of this study.

Even with ethnic differences and divergences that exist between Angolan and Congolese people, when these two groups met in the RMRJ, they have more similarities than differences. Both of them are peoples from the African continent sharing a diasporic experience in the RMRJ. During fieldwork and all activities of this study, it was possible to observe that children's experiences are firstly shaped by their ethnicity and culture, and then by their immigrant and refugee status, which also consolidates the families as part of the wider Angolan and Congolese diaspora community in Duque de Caxias. Petrus (2010) described that this social network is very important at the RMRJ. According, Angolan and Congolese have a strong social network in the RMRJ, being formed mostly by Angolan and Congolese peoples that live in Duque de Caxias and in a neighborhood called Bráz da Pinha, at the Rio de Janeiro city. The network has a structuring, leadership, and organizational role between the Congolese and Angolan peoples in the RMRJ. Moreover, its members welcome and help new people who seek refuge.

In conclusion, it is possible to say that children's ethnicities and culture, as well as the networks with the wider Angolan-Congolese community, can be considered as an amplifier of children's abilities to adapt to school. Following, the next topic will explore the influence of social class and the level of instruction of the families into children's school performance.

⁶⁵ As described in chapter two, black children have nine times higher homicide rates than white children, and "the darker the skin tone, the greater the vulnerability to death intentional violence" (Rio Segurança, 2018, p. 20, own translation).

6.2.2 The role of social class and education in the families

As described in chapter two and analyzed in the first part of chapter five, the Angolan-Congolese community is socially situated in a place of social vulnerability, without access to public safety and other social freedoms (Sen, 2010) . Crisp et al. (2012) about refugee and internally displaced persons (IDPs) settlements in urban areas highlight how accommodation costs are difficult for this population which, in most of the cases, do not have "money for a deposit, local references, or permanent employment" (p. S31). Thus, an observed pattern is that refugees and IDPs "settle on urban peripheries or on land inappropriate for normal residential development" (Crisp et al., 2012, p. S31). This is the case of this study. Besides, another reason for the settlement of refugees in Duque de Caxias, beyond the Angolan-Congolese community there, is that they "are afraid to live in favelas" (Petrus, 2010, p. 201).

Regarding on how Congolese people came to the RMRJ, Petrus (2010) described that Congolese refugees "knew where they were going to" (p. 206) when they decided to flee to Rio de Janeiro (RJ). She affirmed that the Congolese refugees choose to depart

even with some knowledge of the great difficulties of life around here. They tell about the arrangements and care they have needed to take, the time they had to wait to leave, and how this was done in conjunction with political partners or with relatives. (Petrus, 2010, p. 206)

In the case mentioned above, even though migration from the Democratic Republic of Congo is a forced migration, refugees are "choosing the least worst choice from a limited or virtually non-existent range of options" (Erdal & Oeppen, 2018, p. 985). So, these refugees decided to leave the country and they prepared for the journey with the help of relatives and political partners. In other words, besides, to have economic conditions to the journey, these refugees had social networks that help them to flee. In contrast to them, "there are people who not became displaced, people who stay behind, for whatever reason" (Malkki, 1995). Regarding the economic situation of the families, a pedagogical adviser at School II affirmed:

what I have noticed, from what I know, both at school and at the meetings I go to, is that they are not poor. They have to have a certain capital to get here, right? [...] they are not rich, but they can raise money to send someone [...]. This week I received the photos of the sisters of a young woman from Angola [...]. I look at the house, it is not the same as here, in this favela nearby [...] it is a structured house. (CI, pedagogical advisors)

However, the situation in Duque de Caxias is very different and the families live with many economic restrictions, as explored in chapter five. Guri mentioned that in Angola she "had a more or less stable life. I had a good job, a good salary" (SSI, Guri). When Guri came to Brazil first, she stayed in Copacabana, at the South Zone (Zona Sul) of the Rio de Janeiro city, which is one of the wealthiest neighborhoods of the city. She chose Copacabana because

it was practically the same standard of living that I had in my country. So, I stayed there for a while, but then the situation became unbearable. It was when, through church, I was introduced to the district here in Caxias, and I chose to move here because I already knew people here. (SSI, Guri)

Guri is an accountant. She is a well-educated and well-articulated woman that demonstrates a lot of knowledge about Brazil. In the same way, a pedagogical adviser at School II mentioned "I have attended both Dina and Kyra fathers, who are very well-educated people. I was positively surprised. Kyra's father is a volunteer French teacher" (CI, pedagogical advisors). The same applies to Xitu's family. According to him, his father received a scholarship from his job in Angola to come to Brazil. In contrast, regarding the

Brazilian families in the neighborhood, "the level of education that prevails among those in charge is the incomplete basic education and/or functional illiteracy" (PPP School I, 2019, p. 13). In this way, it is possible to say that in both schools, the Angolan and Congolese families came from well-educated families, some with tertiary education. Wilkinson (2002) highlighted that in her study on the educational success of refugee youth in Canada "parents' highest level of schooling is an important consideration given its influence on the academic achievements of children" (p. 181). Similarly, Wilkinson (2002) cited the work of Driscoll (1999) in which [...] parents' education and occupation are the most important predictors of educational success for Hispanic immigrant and non-immigrant children in the United States" (p. 181).

Furthermore, both the Congolese and the Angolan families seem to have come from social class in Africa that is not considered poor. Wilkinson (2002) highlights that "family income is another important influence on educational status" (p. 181). Thus, although the fact that the participants are in social vulnerability in Brazil, they contrast with the local population considering the economic and social capital they got in their countries of origin. The families bring different kinds of habitus internalized, such as an educational habitus, which Brazilians in this neighborhood may not have.

The instruction level of the families influences children's performance, especially in this context. Kyra, Xitu, Mole, Sun, and Ya affirmed that their parents value education considerably. In the same way, almost all teachers at School I affirmed that Angolan and Congolese families are present at school, supporting the education of their children. Moreover, Anisef et al., (2000) highlights that there is "a number of research findings, which have shown that immigrant parents tend to believe that education makes occupational success possible" (p. 186), pushing their children to a good schooling performance.

The sum of these elements shows that into the participants' families, it is available the other three elements described by Lahire (1997) in his book about educational success in popular classes. Beyond the forms of familiar authority described in the section above, children's families have also the domain of written culture. The families value education, encouraging and supporting children at school, and disposing economic resources (although very limited) for children's education. Those elements contribute to children's good schooling performance. Moreover, for Xitu and Kyra who had attended school in Angola, their experiences there also seems to influence. The following part explores this topic.

6.2.3 Experiences with school in Angola

The institutionalized space of the school was historically built upon the pillars of control to serve "at the same time the functions of reception, assistance, moralization, control, and teaching of large groups of minors" (Sacristán, 2003, p. 157). This strong disciplinary force was present in the whole school space. Besides, with the institutionalization of the childhood, which transformed education into a formal institutionalized practice, the educational practices

moved to a highly regulated space and time, where access to knowledge assumed forms that lasted over time, with specialized adults exercising control over access to knowledge. This process was carried out in an environment in which the body, the mind, the relationship with others are subject to the rules of an institution[...]. In the same way, the school that locked up a childhood that was once free confines it in an isolated space and introduces it to a strict disciplinary regime. (Sacristán, 2003, p. 158)

Although the disciplinary practices have changed and softened during the years, Xitu and Kyra, described the education system in Angola as still very strict. Xitu is Angolan and Kyra attended one part of elementary school in Angola. Xitu has experience school in Angola as a native, and Kyra as a refugee. Chó and Ya only attended school in Brazil. Mole attended a daycare in Angola, because his family fled from Congo to Angola, and Sun never talked about her former school experiences.

Xitu mentioned that "in Angola, the teaching methodology is stricter. They are more rigid. It is... rigid. Because there the government is... it practically puts education aside" (SSI, Xitu). Xitu mentioned that schools in Angola are private. When he says that the government 'put the education aside' he is affirming that there is no public investment in education in Angola. In the direction, Kyra mentioned:

Kyra: The difference between the school there and here is that there they hit. They hit, but not for bad, but to educate. I have also been through this, but the teacher always said: "it is so that you can have a better future". [...] even if I got hit it was for me to learn, and I knew it was for me to learn because if I had not learned there, until today I would not be able to read, to write. But, thank God, I studied there and now I am just like that, in seventh grade.

Camila: How did they hit you?

Kyra: Wood, ruler. On the hand. The hand, on any finger, in the side of the body.

Camila: And how did you feel when they hit you?

Kyra: No. You cry, but there is no way you can complain. It is the law there.

Camila: Do you think here I better?

Kyra: Aham (yes), here. (SSI, Kyra)

At School I, Mole also told some histories about hitting practice in his country. In the same direction, a teacher interviewed by the FEBF/UERJ group at School I mentioned:

The children said and the adults confirmed that in Africa the classrooms are crowded, 50, 60 students in the class, and only one teacher to handle it. There are five hours of class daily, one hour more than Brazil. And one thing that the children said and made me curious is that in Africa the teachers hit, they can hit the children...there is no crime. And at a meeting, when there was a snack break, I called the children's legal guardians and talked to them about these issues. [...] one day there was a mess in the classroom and one child said "why don't you hit him? [...] in Africa you can." I said, "Is that right?". "Yeah, they hit with a chain there". [...]. they hit with anything they have: broom, chain... understand? So that day I could check with the adults. (Teacher at School I FEBF/UERJ group, 2018/2019).

Regarding pedagogy, Xitu and Kyra mentioned that schools in Angola has many more students per class there than in their classes in Brazil, which have around 35 children. Thus, it seems that to be able to have control over an environment with so many children, the discipline is very strict, allowing teachers to hit the pupils. In this way, the generational order (Alanen, 2009) between teachers and pupils, which is already shaped by a strong generational system, is reinforced by teachers' authoritarian power. Thus, when children that were socialized in a very strict school culture come to Brazil, they bring th habitus produced by the "internalization of the material, cultural and intellectual structures that constitute this particular type of environment" (Alanen et al., 2015, p. 6) in this context to Brazil. In other words, the rules of social order and discipline were internalized through the use of violence, producing an internalized habitus that tells children how to perform in a school setting.

Regarding the schooling methodology, I asked Kyra if she thinks that the teaching in Angola was different from teaching in Brazil she said: "yeah, you learn more there. The teacher teaches you until you try to answer. But not here. Here [...] the teacher will give you a subject if you do not learn the problem is yours. Then when the exam comes, suddenly you do not know anything" (SSI, Kyra). Similarly, Xitu said that he does not think

that he learns faster because of the education he received in Angola, but he mentioned that his teachers say so. Maybe because they have experiences in learning in a very crowded class environment, with a strong disciplinary force, they had developed skills that facilitated their learning. However, this is just a hypothesis.

The sum of the topics covered in this section, as the diasporic characteristic of children life's, the role of class and education of their families, and the experiences of some of them in Angola, can be translated to a pupil with transnational characteristics. Following, the next and last section of this chapter will reflect on how the combination of elements result in the constitution of a transnational pupil.

6.3 Children as transnational pupils and study as resistance

It was possible to observe in this study that the school experiences of the Angolan and Congolese informants are strongly shaped by values and practices of Angolese and Congolese cultures. Children's abilities to perform the 'métier d'élève' is shaped by the characteristics of their diasporic childhood in this context, which includes the values of their cultures, and interdependent rights and responsibilities. Diaspora is understood as "the presence of strong cultural, linguistic, historical, religious and affective ties with the country or community of origin, or a sense of shared identity and belonging" (IOM, 2017, p. 304). Considering that children's lives in the RMRJ are shaped by those elements, when children go to school, those elements are kept with them, standing out the Angolan and Congolese children from their Brazilian classmates. Teachers and other educators value the Angolan and Congolese children cultural practice. They take children's characteristics as very positive. Moreover, many of the differences and values of the families help children to have a good schooling performance.

The differences that are recognized as positive by teachers are also the elements which generate discrimination by peers. However, even facing several challenges in school, the Angolan and Congolese informants highlight that school is an important space for them. Children have many dreams and educational aspirations. This finding collaborated to studies on school education and childhood mobility, which instead of showing the schooling performance of *children on the move* as a failure, show that immigrant and refugee children have many aspirations related to school education. Boyden (2013) describes, based on Young Lives⁶⁶ studies in Ethiopia, India, Peru, and Vietnam, that "one of the most notable features of raised aspirations is the perception that school education is both the sole means of escaping poverty and the prime vector for social mobility" (Boyden, 2013, p. 585). This is the same I heard from children that attended school in a social exclusion place, in a previous study I conducted in Curitiba (PR, Brazil). In this study, I study what school represents for two groups of children, and only for the group that lived in a social exclusion place, school was associated with the future. For the group of children that attended school in a privileged neighborhood, the school was more associated to the main place to meet friends (Langfeldt & Coutinho, 2020). In this way, I consider that for children who live in socially disadvantage spaces, school is the only possibility children see to escape of this context. This can be explained by the assumption of education as the main path to social ascension, which is a very problematic assumption as it puts the responsibility of escape poverty only into the individual affords. Scalon (2011) highlights that although the value of education is undeniable for many reasons,

⁶⁶ A longitudinal study of childhood poverty and schooling core-funded by the UK Department for International Development and the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Boyden, 2013). More information on <http://www.younglives.org.uk>

schooling has often been presented as a magic solution [...] which reifies the notion of a labor market with equal opportunities, whose determinant is the meritocratic value. Unfortunately, this is a difficult condition to achieve in a context of extreme inequality [...]. It is also difficult to assume that education alone is capable of reversing a scenario of inequalities that express themselves in several capacity-building dimensions and produce situations of extreme need in health, nutrition, stimulus, and disposition, among other factors, which creates differences in the very chances of appropriation of educational opportunities. [...] Thus, investment in education, which is indispensable for the promotion of equity and well-being, does not always have a direct and immediate impact on poverty and vulnerability of underprivileged groups. (Scalon, 2011, p. 63)

Even so, for the Angolan and Congolese children, to continue to pursue formal education, being a 'good student', having good grades, is what is possible for them in this context. It is a form of agency, a way to overcome the overlapping of difficulties children face not only in school but also as immigrants and refugees living in a segregated social place. I asked the pedagogical advisers at School II if they perceive any form of resistance from refugee children against the violence they face in school and the neighborhood, one of the advisers commented the following:

Pedagogical adviser: I think that resistance exists because they want to live, right? In this wider, more abstract sense. I think the resistance is when you leave home, wait for the shooting to pass, protect yourself, continue studying... Even if this school sometimes is not that... even if you will hear a little bullying, sometimes something else. It is a resistance to go back to a place where somebody called you something. And then you raise your head, "I am upset, I will talk...". Everything is a resistance movement, right? (CI, pedagogical advisers)

In this way, her observation confirms that for children, to continue attending school, to not give up, it is both a form of agency and a form of resistance in face of a very complex and excluding social reality. Resistance in this context does not mean opposition to normative rules, or to adults' authority, but instead, to follow cultural practices, adult's advices, and respect the generational orders (Alanen, 2009) of their cultural backgrounds. The resistance here is in opposition to the context of peer harassment and disrespectful behaviors towards classmates, teachers, and to the school in general. Moreover, children see in education the possibility for a future ahead, a path beyond poverty, violence, and crime, being in this way, very active in their school education, as an act of agency.

6.4 Summarizing chapter six

This chapter explored the Angolan and Congolese informants encounter with the school culture, highlighting children as pupils, their relationship with their teachers, and the value of education for them. Secondly, the chapter explored children's school performance and the elements that help children to navigate their educational trajectory. It was highlighted that the social construction of children's childhood, the level of education of children's families, and the experiences with school in Angola are some elements that support children's schooling performance. The children demonstrated ability to follow the institution's norms and practices. One of the reasons for it is the position children occupy in the generational order (Alanen, 2009) of the Angolan and Congolese cultures. In contrast with the former chapter, which presents many difficult situations between peers, this chapter demonstrated that even with those challenges' children thrive. Children highlight that school is an important space for them and their families. To continue to pursue formal education, being a 'good student', having good grades, even facing discrimination in school, can be considered a form of agency to overcome so many difficulties.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

This study was firstly introduced by the voices of three of the participants. Kyra shared that education means the future for her, and “if there is no school, there is no future”. Xitu affirmed that “school practically gets us off the streets. If you don't want to study, you get ignorant, you follow the path of drugs, crime”. For them, education seem to be the unique and the most important tool to overcome a difficult life situation, both as immigrant and refugee, but also as residents of the periphery of Rio de Janeiro, living under poverty and violence. Also, the introduction has presented the meaning of education for Sun which wrote at the task-based activity that “School represents wisdom and courage”. In her phrase, Sun transcribes perfectly the two main findings of this study.

It demands a lot of courage to go back every day to a place where you are bullied, discriminate and threatened. Besides Xitu, which was the only participant that did not mentioned any kind of difficulties with peers in school, all the other Angolan and Congolese informants suffer many forms of peer harassment in school. It also demands courage to continue to pursue knowledge and learning, even in face of many difficult life situations, as the refuge situation itself, poverty and violence. The value of education from children and their courage facing the challenges, result in a good schooling performance, their way of resistance. To conclude this study, the main findings will be summarized in follow. Also, a final reflection on education to *children on the move* in Brazil and on research with children will be provided in the end of this chapter.

7.1 Key findings

This study aimed to explore the school experiences of the immigrant and refugee participants in two elementary schools in the municipal education system of Duque de Caxias (RJ, Brazil). Besides that, this study aimed to identify the main challenges faced by children inside the school settings and how children relate to them. The research findings were presented in two analysis chapters. Here, the main findings will be outlined.

Chapter five was designed to explore the main challenges faced by the participants in the school settings. This chapter answered the research question: *what kind of challenges do children on the move face in school and how do they relate to them?* The chapter was built upon the experiences of the Angolan and Congolese children, Brazilian children from the 4th grade at School I, the pedagogical advisers from School II, and the teachers from School I, through the use of secondary data from the FEBF/UERJ research group.

Children and their families, as well as the Brazilian population in this neighborhood live under poverty and violence, which impact on children’s relationship with the school. The participation of Brazilian children evidenced the social vulnerability situation of this population. Many Brazilian children attribute to school a major importance for access to food, which evidences a context of food insecurity. In addition, lethal violence and crime are present into the lives of many which children. This violence enters the institutions assuming the form of systematic victimization between peers in both schools.

It was demonstrated that among all the difficulties that the Angolan and Congolese children could have in school, the peer relationships are one of the main challenges faced by most of them. In this way, chapter five presented children’s experiences with bullying, racism, xenophobia, and peer coercion in both schools. Brazilian children also highlighted that bullying is one of the main problems faced by them in school too, and they would like to change it. However, when this context encounters the Angolan and Congolese children,

which manifest in their bodies racial and ethnic characteristics, the victimization assumes the form of racial and ethnic discrimination.

Racism, as was elaborated, is a structural element of the Brazilian society, and the xenophobia suffered by the participants also presents a racial characteristic. In this way, through the use of intersectionality theory, it was possible to demonstrate that the discrimination faced by children is also characterized by the overlapping of all these elements. Thus, it was acknowledged that children suffer a triple kind of discrimination, first because they are black, secondly because they are outsiders, and then because they have an African cultural background. However, the values and practices of Angolan and Congolese people also produce strong communitarian bonds, offering children protection in this context. It was demonstrated how the interdependencies and the social networks of the Angolan and Congolese peoples work as a protective mechanism, softening the impact between Angolan and Congolese children with their surroundings.

Then, chapter six explored the encounter of Angolan and Congolese children with the school culture, highlighting children's schooling performance and the elements that influence it. Chapter six encompassed children abilities to perform the 'métier d'élève', the relationship between pupils and teachers, and the value of school education for them. The second part of the chapter presented children's schooling performance and it explored the elements that contribute to children's educational achievements, which are: the social construction of their childhood, the level of education of the families, and for those who attended school in Angola, their experiences there.

Through this chapter it was demonstrated that even facing several challenges in school, children present a good schooling performance and they are considered the best students in the schools. This chapter showed that the Angolan and Congolese participants have a great ability to perform the 'métier d'élève', which is mainly derived by generational space children occupy in their families. Children value school education and they present a behavior that is appreciated by their teachers. The relationship between teachers and pupils is good, and this is very important for children, as the relationship between peers is problematic. Most of children's families have tertiary education and come from a better economic and social context in their home countries. In this way, the informants' families have both an economic and educational background that distinguishes them from the population that lives in this neighborhood. Moreover, the families support the formal education of their children, which also helps them to navigate their educational path.

In conclusion, I highlight that the Angolan and Congolese children present characteristics that can be understood as the characteristics of a transnational pupil, as they bring to school the elements and practices of their diasporic life experience. For the participants of this study, to pursue formal education, to be a good student, to have good grades, to return every day to a place where they are discriminated, can be considerate as a form of agency and resistance in face of so many difficult life experiences. The next topic provides some last reflections on education to *children on the move* in Brazil.

7.2 Final reflection on education for *children on the move*

Brazil is receiving every day more refugees and, as highlighted in the introduction chapter, many schools, especially in the North Brazil, have been struggling with lack of vacancies. Children can face several challenges in school besides discrimination, as no specific education policy for *children on the move* exists. In this study, the participants did not present difficulties concerning their learning process, however, international studies on the education of *children on the move* describe many difficulties children can have such as the

language barriers, the adaptation to the school norms, the methodology, among many others.

The elements that support the education trajectory of the participants of this study are very specific from this context and community and cannot be considered in other studies. Thus, I highlight that children and families from other countries and cultures, among other differences, will encounter the school context differently. For any kind of education program for *children on the move* that a school, municipality, or State want to implement, it is important to firstly understand the specificities of each context, having in mind that children are vulnerable to suffer discrimination from their peers. So, any kind of program or practice must be sensitive to it.

Children on the move must have their educational needs provided by the school, however, it is also important to not exclude the Brazilian students from it, as it can create a feeling of unfairness and generate more discrimination. Finally, teachers need also support, both because they can face several challenges to teach a group with these specificities, and because classrooms can be overcrowded. In this way, I highlight that besides the need for an educational program for *children on the move* in Brazil, it is necessary to strengthen the public education system through economic investments.

7.3 Final considerations on research with children

Research with children does not simply mean including participants below 18 years old as a source of empirical data. To research with children means that the study design, methods, and results will be shaped by children, even though it is an adult who writes the report. To take children as researcher participants do not mean that their knowledge is the only one that will be discussed, further, it means a process where the researcher is always checking if the research topic and research methods make sense to the participants, if the points that will be explored in the report are those on which the participants have raised, among other elements. More than interviewing or including young people in a study, research with children implies the construction of knowledge with them.

Furthermore, child-research means to communicate a social reality, which is experienced by a specific group of children, to other members of society that do not know how the different social situations shape and/or affect children's lives. About it, Roberts (2017) gives an example related to poverty, saying that "although the question of what 'counts' as poverty may be contested in academia and political debates, the experience of a child living in poverty, vividly described, cannot be easily dismissed" (Roberts, 2017, p. 144). However, because children's voices offer vivid experiences, there is an increasing use of children's voices for political purposes (Brasil, 1997) (Spyrou, 2011). Because of it, it is very important to secure that children will not be used, manipulated, or harmed in any phase of the research processes, including the results dissemination.

Finally, I highlight that although children's voices evidence their social worlds and many interesting elements of their lives, the main topic the informants decided to share was bullying, racism, xenophobia, and peer coercion. Roberts (2017) on child research highlighted that "it is clear that listening to children, hearing them and acting on what they say are very different activities" (p. 156). However, in a context of so many difficulties, it is important to both hear and act on what children say. Intersectionality theory highlights the importance of the struggle for social justice and only children can help us to understand the complexities of their lives, appointing us ways to respond to it.

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Appendices

The final part of this master thesis contains the project assessment and approval by the Norwegian Center for Research Data (NSD), the Ethics and Research Committee of the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro, and the Municipal Secretary of Education of Duque de Caxias (RJ). This part also contains the documents produced to this study: information letters, consent letters and forms, the guidelines for the focus-group discussion, semi-structured interviews, and the task-based activity sheet. In addition, the FEBF/UERJ research group interview guideline will be presented. The first part of this appendices contains the documents in English, and the second part the originals in Portuguese.

Appendices in English

Appendix A: Ethical clearance, Norwegian Center for Research Data

Meldeskjema for behandling av personopplysninger

31/07/19 12:47



NSD's assessment

Project title

Educational policies for refugee children in Rio de Janeiro from children's experience

Reference number

879172

Registered

03.07.2019 av Camila Langfeldt - camilala@stud.ntnu.no

Data controller (institution responsible for the project)

Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet NTNU / Fakultet for samfunns- og utdanningsvitenskap (SU) / Institutt for pedagogikk og livslang læring

Project leader (academic employee/supervisor or PhD candidate)

Marit Ursin, marit.ursin@ntnu.no, tlf: 73596243

Type of project

Student project, Master's thesis

Contact information, student

Camila Langfeldt, camilalangfeldt@hotmail.com, tlf: 41325370

Project period

04.08.2019 - 14.05.2020

Status

31.07.2019 - Assessed

Assessment (1)

31.07.2019 - Assessed

Our assessment is that the processing of personal data in this project will comply with data protection legislation, presupposing that it is carried out in accordance with the information given in the Notification

Form and attachments dated 31.07.2019, as well as dialogue with NSD. Everything is in place for the processing to begin.

NOTIFY CHANGES

If you intend to make changes to the processing of personal data in this project it may be necessary to notify NSD. This is done by updating the Notification Form. On our website we explain which changes must be notified. Wait until you receive an answer from us before you carry out the changes.

TYPE OF DATA AND DURATION

The project will be processing special categories of personal data about ethnic origin, religious beliefs and health data, as well as general categories of personal data, until 15.05.2020.

LEGAL BASIS

The project will gain consent from data subjects to process their personal data. We find that consent will meet the necessary requirements under art. 4 (11) and 7, in that it will be a freely given, specific, informed and unambiguous statement or action, which will be documented and can be withdrawn.

The legal basis for processing special categories of personal data is therefore explicit consent given by the data subject, cf. the General Data Protection Regulation art. 6.1 a), cf. art. 9.2 a), cf. the Personal Data Act § 10, cf. § 9 (2).

PRINCIPLES RELATING TO PROCESSING PERSONAL DATA

NSD finds that the planned processing of personal data will be in accordance with the principles under the General Data Protection Regulation regarding:

- lawfulness, fairness and transparency (art. 5.1 a), in that data subjects will receive sufficient information about the processing and will give their consent
- purpose limitation (art. 5.1 b), in that personal data will be collected for specified, explicit and legitimate purposes, and will not be processed for new, incompatible purposes
- data minimisation (art. 5.1 c), in that only personal data which are adequate, relevant and necessary for the purpose of the project will be processed
- storage limitation (art. 5.1 e), in that personal data will not be stored for longer than is necessary to fulfil the project's purpose

THE RIGHTS OF DATA SUBJECTS

Data subjects will have the following rights in this project: transparency (art. 12), information (art. 13), access (art. 15), rectification (art. 16), erasure (art. 17), restriction of processing (art. 18), notification (art. 19), data portability (art. 20). These rights apply so long as the data subject can be identified in the collected data.

NSD finds that the information that will be given to data subjects about the processing of their personal data will meet the legal requirements for form and content, cf. art. 12.1 and art. 13.

We remind you that if a data subject contacts you about their rights, the data controller has a duty to reply within a month.

FOLLOW YOUR INSTITUTION'S GUIDELINES

NSD presupposes that the project will meet the requirements of accuracy (art. 5.1 d), integrity and confidentiality (art. 5.1 f) and security (art. 32) when processing personal data.

To ensure that these requirements are met you must follow your institution's internal guidelines and/or consult with your institution (i.e. the institution responsible for the project).

FOLLOW-UP OF THE PROJECT

NSD will follow up the progress of the project at the planned end date in order to determine whether the processing of personal data has been concluded.

Good luck with the project!

Contact person at NSD: Karin Lillevold

Data Protection Services for Research: +47 55 58 21 17 (press 1)

Appendix B: Ethical clearance, Research Ethics Committee of PUC-Rio, English version

PONTIFÍCIA UNIVERSIDADE CATÓLICA
DO RIO DE JANEIRO



PUC-Rio RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE – CEPq / PUC-Rio Opinion N. 81/2019 – (Protocol 88/2019)

The PUC-Rio Research Ethics Committee, called CEPq – PUC-Rio, linked to the Vice-Presidency for Academic Affairs, is responsible for the evaluation and monitoring of all research involving human beings, sent to it, observing the pertinent ethical and scientific foundations.

Identification:

Title: “Políticas Educacionais para crianças em situação de refúgio no Rio de Janeiro” – “Educational policies for refugee children in Rio de Janeiro from children’s experience” (Norwegian University of Science and Technology – NTNU and Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro - PUC-Rio).

Author: Camila Caldeira Langfeldt (Master’s student at NTNU in partnership with PUC-Rio).

Advisors: Marit Ursin (Professor at NTNU)

Irene Rizzini (Professor at the Department of Social Service at PUC-Rio)

Presentation: Qualitative research that aims to analyze the encounter of children in situations of refuge and their trajectories with the public education system in Rio de Janeiro and how these challenges could be solved from the children’s experiences and perspectives. Furthermore, it aims to analyze educational policies that are already implemented (or not) in the city. The study will be carried out in a municipal school in the city of Rio de Janeiro, with children from 12 to 15 years old, through a focus group and the preparation of short texts. The parents/guardians will be invited to answer a questionnaire aiming to contextualize the participants in their experience in Brazil, focusing on the educational integration of children.

Ethical aspects: The project and the Free and Informed Consent Form presented are in accordance with the principles and values of the University’s Referential Framework, Statute and Regiment with regard to the responsibilities of its faculty and students. The Terms clearly state the research objectives and the procedures to be followed. They guarantee the secrecy and confidentiality of the data collected. They inform about the possibility of interrupting the research without applying any penalty or constraint.

Opinion: Approved


Prof.ª Ilda Lopes Rodrigues da Silva
Coordinator of the Research Ethics Committee – PUC-Rio

Rio de Janeiro, August 01, 2019
Vice-Reitoria para Assuntos Acadêmicos
Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa da PUC-Rio – CEPq/PUC-Rio
Rua Marquês de São Vicente, 225 - Gávea – 22453-900
Rio de Janeiro – RJ – Tel. (021) 3527-1612 / 3527-1618
e-mail: vraca@puc-rio.br

Appendix C: Information Letter, English version



From: Prof. Irene Rizzini, PUC-Rio, Department of Social Service; Director of CIESPI/PUC-Rio
To: Municipal Schools of Duque de Caxias (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil).

RESEARCH PROJECT PRESENTATION LETTER

I hereby present the Research Project by Camila Caldeira Langfeldt, Master's student at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in agreement with the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), in the function co-advisor, alongside Prof. Marit Ursin. The research aims to understand the challenges that children in situations of refuge face in municipal schools in the city of Duque de Caxias (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil). At the same time, the research aims to analyze the educational policies that are already implemented in the city and contribute to the reflection on the types of educational policies that could be proposed from the children's experiences.

We emphasize that the interest in the children's views of the school seeks solely to know what their experiences at school are in a general way, and not focused on the institution itself. This research has no intention of evaluating the institution in any way, and neither the teachers. The duration of the research at the institution will be, at maximum, of 1 (one) month.

The research will develop an analysis of the voices of elementary school children, seeking to identify similarities and differences, from the children's views. The children's participation will take place through audio recordings of conversations in focus groups and, also, in written form, through the elaboration of small pieces of text.

We clarify that the child's participation is completely voluntary, and the child or guardians can request the refusal or withdrawal of participation at any time, without any burden or prejudice to the child. We also clarify that the child's information will be used only for the purposes of this research and will be treated with the utmost secrecy and confidentiality, in order to preserve the identity of the child and the institution. The recordings will only be used as a data collection method and will not be disclosed in any way.

CIESPI - International Center for Research and Policy on Childhood, in partnership with PUC-Rio
Estrada da Gávea – 50 - Cep 22451-263
Rio de Janeiro, RJ Brasil
Tel/fax: (55 + 21) 2259-2908
e-mail: ciespi@ciespi.org.br - www.ciespi.org.br

Em Convênio:



Membro da rede:

Childwatch
INTERNATIONAL
RESEARCH NETWORK



The research will be conducted in three distinct steps:

1. With due authorization, the researcher will be present in the children's classroom, adopting a participant observer posture, where she will aim to get close to the children, to know them and to create a bond with them.
2. After a period of rapprochement with the children, the research will be developed with the children through focus groups and through the elaboration of small pieces of text within the limits of the school.
3. Finally, after the data production, the analysis of the material will be developed and categories of analysis will be created according to the elements that have emerged.

In case of doubts or need for further clarification, researcher Camila Caldeira Langfeldt can be contacted by phone (21) 98036-1900, or by e-mail camilalangfeldt@hotmail.com. The advisor of this study, Professor Irene Rizzini, can be reached at PUC-Rio / CIESPI - International Center for Research and Policy on Childhood, Estrada da Gávea, 50 - Gávea, Rio de Janeiro - RJ, irizzini.pucRio.ciespi@gmail.com or (21) 2259-2908.

For this purpose, we respectfully request authorization to conduct the research.

Rio de Janeiro, September 9, 2019.

Irene Rizzini

Professor at PUC-Rio and Director of CIESPI/PUC-Rio

Camila Caldeira Langfeldt
Researcher

CIESPI - International Center for Research and Policy on Childhood, in partnership with PUC-Rio
Estrada da Gávea – 50 - Cep 22451-263
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Em Convênio:



Membro da rede:

Childwatch
INTERNATIONAL
RESEARCH NETWORK

Appendix D: Research approval, Municipal Secretary of Education of Duque de Caxias, English version



ESTADO DO RIO DE JANEIRO
PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE DUQUE DE CAXIAS
SECRETARIA MUNICIPAL DE EDUCAÇÃO
SUBSECRETARIA DE ENSINO
CENTRO DE PESQUISA E FORMAÇÃO CONTINUADA PAULO FREIRE

Duque de Caxias, 12 September 2019

Opinion no. 32/19 – CPFPP/SME-DC

Applicant: Camila Caldeira Langfeldt

University of associated agency: Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), in partnership with the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio)

Subject: Research authorization

INITIAL CONSIDERATIONS

According to the duties of this Research Center and having observed the attached documentation, authorizations in our Network are granted on condition that the standards of decorum and suitability established by the School Unit are respected.

ANALYSIS

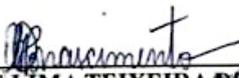
After analyzing the research project entitled “Educational Policies for Children in a Situation of Refuge: From the Experience of Children”, whose general objective is “to understand what are the challenges that children in situations of refuge face in municipal schools in the city of Duque de Caxias (RJ, Brazil). At the same time, analyzing the educational policies that are already implemented (or not) in the city and thinking about what kind of educational policy could be proposed based on the children’s experiences”, the need was verified field research.

It is noteworthy that, for the conduct of interviews, application of questionnaires and / or exercises, use of images or any other practices related to research, authorizations should be requested from all involved allowing the use of data for academic and / or scientific purposes. In the case of minors, it is requested to include an authorization from their guardian.

CONCLUSION

Based on the careful evaluation of the information presented in the documents, the research is **AUTHORIZED**. It is worth mentioning that the information provided to the researcher must be archived for the time determined by the legislation and cannot be used to the detriment of the School Unit, Municipal Department of Education, Duque de Caxias City Hall and/or participating individuals, including in the form of damage esteem, prestige and/or economic/financial damage. Furthermore, the anonymity of such information must be guaranteed during and after the research. If necessary, we can revoke this authorization at any time if proven activities that cause damage to the institutions and / or people involved.

Cordially,



GISELLE IRENE LIMA TEIXEIRA DO NASCIMENTO
Diretora do CRPP
Matrícula: 06723-0
Diretora do CRPP
Matrícula: 06723-0

Appendix E: Invitation leaflet, English version



INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE ON RESEARCH: Educational policies for children in situation of refuge in Duque de Caxias (RJ)

Did you know that, according to the **Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1989)**, every child has the right to give their opinion on everything that concerns them?

Based on this right, we would like to invite you to participate in this research!

I'LL TELL YOU THE OBJECTIVES

We would like to know how are your experiences at your school in Rio de Janeiro. We are interested in knowing what it has been like for you to be in school here.

Is your experience good?

What are your biggest difficulties?

What are the differences from your home country?

And mainly, what could be done to make your time at school better?

I'LL EXPLAIN HOW IS THE RESEARCH GOING TO WORK

If you accept this invitation, we will meet approximately five times.

In these meetings we will talk about the school and your experiences at it.

You can tell me what you think by writing, in small group conversations and through drawings!

For each activity, you can decide whether you want to participate.

You can also withdraw your participation in the research at any time.

Your participation is completely voluntary!

SOME IMPORTANT INFORMATION

Everything you tell me will be kept secret! Even your name will be kept confidential.

To participate in the survey, we need the authorization from your guardian. They must sign our term authorizing your participation.

You will not be paid or pay anything to participate in the research.

The research will also not result in any change in your school. The only objective of the research is to know what your experiences at school are like.

As each person is unique and perceives things in a unique way, your participation is important to us!

If you or your guardian have any question, please contact us at (21) 98213-4566 or by e-mail: camilalangfeldt@hotmail.com.

Who is the researcher?

My name is Camila and I'm 30! I study Education and this research is my Master's degree work. I am interested in knowing how are the children's experiences at school.

TERM OF CONSENT CHILDREN AND/OR ADOLESCENTS

You are being invited to participate as a volunteer in the research:

RESEARCH - EDUCATIONAL POLICIES FOR CHILDREN IN SITUATION OF REFUGE IN
DUQUE DE CAXIAS

Researcher: Camila Caldeira Langfeldt, Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Scientific Partner: Irene Rizzini, Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro

In this research, we want to know what your experiences at school are like here in Duque de Caxias (RJ). The research will be carried out with children in situation of refuge here in Duque de Caxias (RJ) who are between 7 and 15 years old. You don't have to participate in the survey if you don't want to, it's your right, and there's no problem if you give up afterwards. If you want to give up, you just need to talk to me, with the scientific partner Irene or even ask someone or a professional who is a reference for you to contact us.

If you agree, you can participate in five (5) activities with us within the month of September, which can last up to 1 hour. If you want to talk to me to find out more about the research, I can give you my cell phone number and email address at the end of our conversation.

The information you give us will be used for research purposes only and the audios, drawings or texts will not be shared or published, except with your express authorization. All of this material will be kept with me for a period of five (5) years, but you can ask me to not use or to delete any of them. We will preserve your identity and your name will not appear to anyone else, it will be kept confidential. Nobody will know what you told us and we will not give this information to anyone.

Your responses and those of other participants will help us to think about educational policies for other children and adolescents who live in situations similar to yours. We will publish the results, through texts, but without identifying the name of the participants who, like you, contributed to the research.

The research will not generate any cost or financial gain for any participant, but it will help to think about policies that better meet the needs of children and adolescents who face similar conditions of life.

The survey may address topics that you don't like or that bother you, but if that happens, just tell us and we will end the interview, let the research coordinator know and, if necessary, we can look for a family member, a friend and/or a professional that you trust so you can talk. If you feel it is necessary and understand that your rights have been violated, you can contact us to take other appropriate steps.

Your participation is very important to us. Anything you tell us will help us understand what your life is like and how the services you use work. In the end, the result of the research will be transformed into a thesis, a type of text, and all partner institutions will receive a copy. If you want, we can get your contact and send this text to you too.

Research conditions:

I, _____, accept the research conditions.

- a. I can ask for a break at any time and I can ask for the activity to be canceled if I don't feel comfortable.
- b. My identity will be preserved and my information will be protected.
- c. I will have no cost or financial gain to participate in this interview.
- d. I received a copy of this document, read and agreed to participate in the survey. I have also received a signed copy of this document.

I agree to participate in the activities:

- Conversation group where there will be audio recording
- Drawings
- Diary writing
- Filling out forms about the school
- Writing small pieces of text

Place and date: _____, _____, 2019.

Participant	Researcher
Signature or fingerprint	Camila Caldeira Langfeldt
Name:	

Finally, we'd like to let you know that, if you feel that your rights were not respected during the research, you can also contact:

<p>Researcher: Camila Caldeira Langfeldt camilala@stud.ntnu.no Phone: (21) 98036-1900</p>	<p>Scientific Partner: Irene Rizzini irizzini.pucrio.ciespi@gmail.com Phone: (21) 96765-9491</p>	<p>PUC-Rio Research Ethics Committee: R. Marquês de São Vicente, 225 - Gávea Rio de Janeiro – RJ – vrac@puc-rio.br Phone. (021) 3527-1619</p>	<p>Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD): personvertjenester@nsd.no Phone: (0047) 5558-2117</p>
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TERM OF FREE AND INFORMED CONSENT **GUARDIANS OF THE CHILDREN AND/OR ADOLESCENTS**

RESEARCH - EDUCATIONAL POLICIES FOR CHILDREN IN SITUATION OF REFUGE IN
DUQUE DE CAXIAS

Dear Sir or Madam:

We would like to invite the child under your responsibility to participate in the research project **“Educational Policies for children in situation of refuge”**, which will be carried out by the Master's student at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) - Norway in collaboration with the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), Camila Caldeira Langfeldt.

Research description - The objective of this research is to learn about the experiences of children in situation of refuge in schools in Duque de Caxias (RJ). The child's participation will take place through conversation groups, drawings, filling out forms about the school, diary writing and also by writing small pieces of text. The discussions will be recorded. If you agree to participate in this survey, you will also be asked to complete a questionnaire that includes: the child's gender; the child's age; your nationality; your religion; how long have you been living in Brazil; what services do you access in Rio de Janeiro/Duque de Caxias (RJ); the reason for your departure from your country; and how satisfied you are with public policies aimed at the population in situation of refuge in Rio de Janeiro. The answers will help the researcher to understand what is the access to public services for the population in situation of refuge in the city of Duque de Caxias (RJ).

Duration and number of meetings - If you agree, I would like to do some activities with children and teenagers about their experiences at school. There will be five (5) meetings and each activity can last 1 hour, but it can be faster.

Use of data and anonymity - Photos will not be taken. Audio data will only be used internally for reference and scientific purposes and will not be shared or published, except with express authorization. The answers will be kept with the researcher, and the child or adolescent may ask to exclude.

Guarantee of clarification, freedom of refusal and guarantee of confidentiality

The voluntary participant is guaranteed full freedom to refuse to participate or withdraw their consent, at any stage of the research, without any penalty. To do this, just contact the research coordination. We also guarantee privacy based on the confidentiality of your data in all phases of this research.

The activities that will be proposed will be recorded in writing and the identity of the child or adolescent will be preserved in all phases of the research. After organizing the collected material, the child or adolescent may request a copy and may request the change or exclusion of the information provided so that they are not subjected to any type of constraint or moral damage. There will be no expense for the voluntary participant and there will be no additional financial compensation. The costs resulting from the research will be paid by the researcher. The data and instruments used in the research will be archived by the researcher for a period of five (5) years. Only the researcher and her advisors, Professor Marit Ursin (NTNU) and Professor Irene Rizzini (PUC-Rio) will have access to the content.

Benefits and risks resulting from the research

The participation of the child and/or adolescent in this project will be very important for us to understand how the integration of children in situation of refuge is taking place in schools in Duque de Caxias (RJ) and to signal what kind of policy is needed to solve the main challenges of children. The benefits of this research consist in contributing to the production of knowledge from the point of view of those who deal with the issue on a daily basis, as well as recording their contributions to the improvement of policies, programs and actions that deal with the topic.

In all research involving human beings, there are risks. In relation to the researched subjects and researcher, during the entire production process of this project, there are no risks to their health and safety. However, it is possible that moments of unpredictable embarrassment and discomfort may occur according to the topic discussed, as we are dealing with situations and moments of intense fragility in the lives of children and professionals. If this happens, the child and/or adolescent can tell us and we will end the activities and notify the coordination of the research. We can also contact someone who is a reference for the participant, in case they need psychological support. However, the benefits are even greater and can be multiplied from works and documents produced from the collected data.

Based on an agreement with the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) has certified that the processing of personal data in this project complies with the legislation to protect the use of personal data in research. Thus, as long as you can be identified in the data collected, you have the right to:

- access the personal data being processed about you;
- require your personal data to be deleted;
- require incorrect data about you to be corrected;
- receive a copy of your personal data and;
- submit a complaint to the Personal Data Protection Office or the Norwegian Data Protection Authority.

Research conditions

I, _____,
 nationality _____, CPF _____, bearer of the identity card
 number _____, issued by _____, resident and domiciled in the city
 _____, declare that I authorize and sign for
 _____, under
 my custody or tutelage, participate in this search..

I understood that I can agree with the research, but that, at any time, I or the children/adolescent can stop or withdraw, without suffering any penalty. The researchers explained the objectives of the research, clarified my doubts and talked about the methodology used. I received a signed copy of this consent form, I have read and agree with the research.

In this case, I authorize the use of the child's and/or adolescent's reports, with the objective of collaborating in the studies carried out for this research and intended for academic use and the formation of a historical collection.

I agree with the participation of the child or adolescent under my responsibility in the activities:

- Conversation group where there will be audio recording
- Drawings
- Diary writing
- Filling out forms about the school
- Writing small pieces of text
- I agree to complete the questionnaire.

Place and date: _____, _____, 2019.

<p>Legal Guardian Signature or fingerprint</p>	<p>Researcher Camila Caldeira Langfeldt</p>
<p>Name:</p>	

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, you can contact:

Contact data:			
<p>Researcher: Camila Caldeira Langfeldt camilala@stud.ntnu.no Phone: (21) 98036-1900</p>	<p>Scientific Partner: Irene Rizzini irizzini.pucio.ciespi@gmail.com Phone: (21) 96765-9491</p>	<p>PUC-Rio Research Ethics Committee: R. Marquês de São Vicente, 225 - Gávea Rio de Janeiro – RJ – vrac@puc-rio.br Phone. (021) 3527-1619</p>	<p>Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD): personvermtjenester@nsd.no Phone: (0047) 5558-2117</p>

TERM OF CONSENT

You are being invited to participate as a volunteer in the research:

RESEARCH - EDUCATIONAL POLICIES FOR CHILDREN IN SITUATION OF REFUGE IN DUQUE DE CAXIAS

Researcher: Camila Caldeira Langfeldt, Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Scientific Partner: Irene Rizzini, Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro

Description of the research - The objective of this research is to learn about the experiences of children in situation of refuge in schools in Duque de Caxias (RJ). The answers will help the researcher to understand how is the access to public services for the population in situation of refuge in the city of Duque de Caxias (RJ). The information you give us will be used for research purposes only and will not be shared or published, except with your express authorization. All of this material will be kept with me for a period of five (5) years, but you can ask me to not use or to delete any of them. We will preserve your identity and your name will not appear to anyone else, it will be kept confidential. Nobody will know what you told us and we will not give this information to anyone.

The research will not generate any cost or financial gain for any participant, but it will help to think about policies that better meet the needs of children and adolescents who face similar conditions of life.

The survey may address topics that you don't like or that bother you, but if that happens, just tell us and we will end the interview, let the research coordinator know and, if necessary, we can look for a family member, a friend and/or a professional that you trust so you can talk. If you feel it is necessary and understand that your rights have been violated, you can contact us to take other appropriate steps.

Based on an agreement with the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) has certified that the processing of personal data in this project complies with the legislation to protect the use of personal data in research. Thus, as long as you can be identified in the data collected, you have the right to:

- access the personal data being processed about you;
- require your personal data to be deleted;
- require incorrect data about you to be corrected;
- receive a copy of your personal data and;
- submit a complaint to the Personal Data Protection Office or the Norwegian Data Protection Authority.

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, you can contact researcher Camila Caldeira Langfeldt, by phone (21) 98213-4566 or by email camilalangfeldt@hotmail.com, or you can contact:

- The Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU – Norway) via the advisor of this project, Professor Marit Ursin, by email: (marit.ursin@ntnu.no).

- The Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), via Professor Irene Rizzini, at the International Center for Research and Policy on Childhood (CIESPI) by phone: (21) 2259-2908.
- The person responsible for the protection and processing of personal data at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Thomas Helgesen via email: (thomas.helgesen@ntnu.no).
- The Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) by email: (personverntjenester@nsd.no) or by phone: 0047 55 58 21 17.

This term must be completed in two copies of equal content and initialed on all pages, one of which will be duly completed, signed and delivered to you.

Research conditions:

I, _____, accept the research conditions.

- a. I can ask for a break at any time and I can ask for the activity to be canceled if I don't feel comfortable.
- b. My identity will be preserved and my information will be protected.
- c. I will have no cost or financial gain to participate in this interview.
- d. I received a copy of this document, read and agreed to participate in the survey. I have also received a signed copy of this document.

I agree to participate in the interview where there will be an audio recording.

Place and date: _____, _____, 2019.

_____ Participant Signature or fingerprint	_____ Researcher Camila Caldeira Langfeldt
--	--

Name:

Appendix I: Focus-group discussion and semi-structured interview, English version

Guideline for Focus-group discussion and Semi-structured interview

Sample: 10 children between twelve to fourteen years old. Participants will be divided into three or four groups of five children for each focus group interview.

General guideline: focus group interview. Personal data will not be collected. The discussion will be recorded.

Introduction

- Researcher explain the main objective of this activity: understand children previous experiences with schooling.
- Researcher ask for permission to record the conversation and ask children to sign the consent form for this activity.

1. Exploring terms

The objective of this section is to explore ideas, attitudes, terms, values, and beliefs about education.

- a. Is school (formal education) important for you? Why?
- b. What is the purpose of education for you?
- c. How was your relationship with school in your home country? Did you like it? Why? And if you don't, why?

2. Similarities

- a. Can you describe some similarities between your schooling experiences in your home country and here in Rio?

This is an open topic. From their answers to this first question more questions will be asked. For example: if they answer that the pedagogy was similar, I will ask them to describe more.

3. Differences

- a. Can you describe some differences between your schooling experiences in your home country and here in Rio?

This is an open topic. From their answers to this first question more questions will be asked.

Conclusion

- Researcher ask if they have any doubt, if they want to say something else and thank them for the participation.

Appendix J: Task-based activity sheet, English version

SURVEY ABOUT THE SCHOOL

1. What the school represents for me:

2. The best of the school is:

3. The worst thing about school is:

4. At school, I feel happy when:

5. At school, I feel sad when:

6. At school, I feel angry when:

7. I like school because:

8. I don't like school because:

9. My biggest challenge in school is:

10. My relationship with my classmates is:

11. My relationship with my teachers is:

12. If I could change something at school, I would change...

ABOUT YOU

13. The place I live is:

14. My house is:

15. My family is:

16. I would like the adults to know that...

Appendix K: Semi-structured interview, Legal guardians, English version

Acknowledgment

1. Can you tell me a little about your arrival in Brazil and if you had any difficulties in terms of access to public services?
2. How do you describe your life in Brazil? Do you believe that it is better here than in your country of origin? Why?
3. What are the places that you frequent the most? Do you feel integrated into the Brazilian society?
4. In what language do you communicate with your child?

Education and School in the country of origin

5. Regarding education: what is education for you?
6. Can you tell me a little about the school and education of children in your country of origin?
7. What is the purpose of the school? Who has access to the school?
8. How is the relationship between adults and children? Children and teachers? And between families and the school?
9. What is expected of a child who attends school? Is this different here?

In Duque de Caxias

10. Did you have any difficulties to register your child at school?
11. Can you tell me a little about your child's adaptation to school here in Duque de Caxias?
12. Does the school here fulfill your expectations? If not, why?
13. Do you think school is a difficult environment for your child or other children in a similar situation to yours? Can you tell me a little about it?
14. What would you consider to be good care for migrant children and/or in situation of refuge?
15. Do you think a specific education policy for these children is necessary? If so, how could it be?

Acknowledgment

Appendix L: Semi-structured interview, Pedagogical advisers, English version

CATEGORIES	QUESTIONS
Sense of the teaching profession and the school institution in relation to equality and differences	<p>1) How did you become a teacher? What were your motivations?</p> <p>2) For you, what does it mean to be a teacher? What would be the social importance of this profession and its main challenges?</p> <p>3) What about the school? What is the role of the school in our society today? Was it always this? Has anything changed? On what?</p> <p>4) In your opinion, how does the school deal with issues related to equality or difference? What is considered to be most important?</p> <p>5) At school, in general, what does predominate: the affirmation of equality or the recognition of difference? Could you give examples?</p>
Social situation of families	<p>6) How many immigrant/foreign students at school? What are their nationalities? How many have passed through the school during the period that you are here?</p> <p>7) Do they speak Portuguese? And other languages? Which ones?</p> <p>8) In your opinion, what are the main characteristics of these students? How would you characterize them?</p> <p>9) Regarding young people in situation of refuge, can you tell me a little about the social situation of these families? Do you know them? Do you know the possible difficulties they face?</p> <p>10) Did you have contact with any of these children's family members? In what situation? And how was that relationship: any particular difficulties?</p> <p>11) Do you know why did these families come to Brazil? Have you heard anything about their stories...</p> <p>12) Do you believe that these families are more or less marginalized in relation to the Brazilian families that live in the same region?</p>
Integration of foreign students in the classroom	<p>13) How would you define the integration process of these foreign students: in relation to the school routine? In relation to learning? Their relationship with other students?</p> <p>14) In your opinion, what would be the biggest difficulties for this group in their integration into the school routine?</p> <p>15) Do you think they suffer some kind of prejudice? Which ones? In what situations?</p> <p>16) Have you noticed any kind of conflicting relationship between foreign students and other students? Could you give examples? How did you deal with it?</p>
Teaching-Learning in a multicultural universe	<p>17) Regarding foreign students and learning: what are the group's biggest difficulties? And facilities? Could you give an example of both?</p>

Equality and Difference at school	<p>18) Now, thinking about the students in your classes at the Barão do Rio Branco school, how would you characterize them, in general?</p> <p>19) What do they have in common? How are they equal? And what are the main differences among them?</p> <p>20) At what times does this equality and the differences of students manifest at school? Could you give examples?</p>
Practice as educational advisor	<p>21) As an educational advisor, do you miss some type of support from the secretary for the inclusion of these young people? What are your main difficulties as an advisor?</p>
Regarding the activities developed by the secretary	<p>22) In relation to the activities developed by the secretary, how do you evaluate them?</p> <p>23) What were the objectives of the center? Do you think they have been achieved?</p> <p>24) Do you consider that is necessary some type of policy for the inclusion of young people and children in situation of refuge in school in a more systematic way?</p>
Finishing...	<p>25) Would you like to add something?</p> <p>Acknowledgements</p>

Appendix M: FEBF/UERJ research group interview, English version

PROJECT CONGOLESE IN PUBLIC EDUCATION IN DUQUE DE CAXIAS

Proposal of interview script for teachers

CATEGORIES	QUESTIONS
Sense of the teaching profession and the school institution in relation to equality and differences	<p>1) How did you become a teacher? What were your motivations?</p> <p>2) For you, what does it mean to be a teacher? What would be the social importance of this profession and its main challenges?</p> <p>3) What about the school? What is the role of the school in our society today? Was it always this? Has anything changed? On what?</p> <p>4) In your opinion, how does the school deal with issues related to equality or difference? What is considered to be most important?</p> <p>5) At school, in general, what does predominate: the affirmation of equality or the recognition of difference? Could you give examples?</p>
Equality and Difference in the classroom	<p>6) Now, thinking about the students in your classes at the Ruy Barbosa school, how would you characterize them, in general?</p> <p>7) What do they have in common? How are they equal? And what are the main differences among them?</p> <p>8) At what times does this equality and the differences of students manifest at school? Could you give examples?</p> <p>9) What strategies do you use to work with more heterogeneous classes? Why? Could you give examples?</p>
Identification of the foreign students and their families	<p>10) Are there immigrant/foreign students in your classroom? How many? What are their nationalities?</p> <p>11) Do they speak Portuguese? And other languages? Which ones?</p> <p>12) In your opinion, what are the main characteristics of these students? How would you characterize them?</p> <p>13) Did you have contact with any of these children's family members? In what situation? And how was that relationship: any particular difficulties?</p> <p>14) Do you know why did these families come to Brazil? Have you heard anything about their stories...</p>
Integration of foreign students in the classroom	<p>15) How would you define the integration process of these foreign students: in relation to the school routine? /// In relation to learning? /// Their relationship with other students?</p> <p>16) In your opinion, what would be the biggest difficulties for this group in their integration into the school routine?</p>

	<p>17) Do you think they suffer some kind of prejudice? Which ones? In what situations?</p> <p>18) During your classes, have you noticed any kind of conflicting relationship between foreign students and other students? Could you give examples? How did you deal with it?</p>
Teaching-Learning in a multicultural universe	<p>19) Regarding foreign students and the learning of your subject in particular: what are the group's biggest difficulties? And facilities? Could you give an example of both?</p> <p>20) What are the strategies that you use to improve their learning? //// Which ones work better? //// Which ones don't work? //// Why?</p>
Training in Teaching	<p>21) During your teacher training, did you have any approach to the issues of multiculturalism or interculturalism in education?</p> <p>22) And since then, during your continuing education, did you have any approach? Where? How?</p> <p>23) Did this approach contribute to your teaching practice?</p>
Perception about multi/intercultural education	<p>24) How would you define, in your words, what is a multicultural education? What about intercultural education?</p> <p>25) In your opinion, what resources (pedagogical, financial, structural, etc.) should the teacher count on to develop multi or intercultural education?</p> <p>26) In your opinion, how should the government better support the development of your work in a multi/intercultural perspective?</p> <p>27) In your opinion, how could the public university (particularly UERJ Caxias) support the development of your work in a multi/intercultural perspective?</p>
Finishing...	<p>28) Would you like to add something?</p> <p>Acknowledgements</p>

Appendices in Portuguese

Appendix B: Ethical clearance, Ethics and Research Committee of PUC-Rio, Portuguese version

PONTIFÍCIA UNIVERSIDADE CATÓLICA
DO RIO DE JANEIRO



COMITÊ DE ÉTICA EM PESQUISA DA PUC-Rio – CEPq / PUC-Rio Parecer Nº 81/2019 – (Protocolo 88/2019)

O Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa da PUC-Rio denominado, CEPq – PUC-Rio, vinculado à Vice-Reitoria para Assuntos Acadêmicos, é responsável pela avaliação e acompanhamento de todas as pesquisas envolvendo seres humanos, a ele encaminhadas, observando os fundamentos éticos e científicos pertinentes.

Identificação:

Título: “Políticas Educacionais para crianças em situação de refúgio no Rio de Janeiro” – “Educational policies for refugee children in Rio de Janeiro from children’s experience” (Norwegian University of Science and Technology – NTNU e Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro - PUC-Rio).

Autora: Camila Caldeira Langfeldt (Mestranda da NTNU em convênio com a PUC-Rio).

Orientadoras: Marit Ursin (Professora da NTNU)

Irene Rizzini (Professora do Departamento de Serviço Social da PUC-Rio)

Apresentação: Pesquisa qualitativa que visa analisar como é o encontro das crianças em situação de refúgio e suas trajetórias com o sistema público de ensino no Rio de Janeiro e como esses desafios poderiam ser resolvidos a partir das experiências e perspectivas das crianças. Bem como, analisar políticas educacionais que já estão implementadas (ou não) na cidade. O estudo será desenvolvido em uma escola municipal da cidade do Rio de Janeiro, junto a crianças de 12 a 15 anos de idade, através de grupo focal e de elaboração de pequenos textos. Os responsáveis serão convidados a responder um questionário visando contextualizar os participantes na sua vivência no Brasil, no foco da integração educacional das crianças.

Aspectos éticos: O projeto e os Termos de Consentimento Livre e Esclarecido apresentados estão de acordo com os princípios e valores do Marco Referencial, Estatuto e Regimento da Universidade no que se refere às responsabilidades de seu corpo docente e discente. Os Termos expõem com clareza os objetivos da pesquisa e os procedimentos a serem seguidos. Garantem o sigilo e a confidencialidade dos dados coletados. Informam sobre a possibilidade de interrupção na pesquisa sem aplicação de qualquer penalidade ou constrangimento.

Parecer: Aprovado


Profª. Ilda Lopes Rodrigues da Silva
Coordenadora do Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa – PUC-Rio

Rio de Janeiro, 01 de agosto de 2019
Vice-Reitoria para Assuntos Acadêmicos
Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa da PUC-Rio – CEPq/PUC-Rio
Rua Marquês de São Vicente, 225 - Gávea – 22453-900
Rio de Janeiro – RJ – Tel. (021) 3527-1612 / 3527-1618
e-mail: vrac@puc-rio.br

Appendix C: Information Letter, Portuguese version



De: Profª Irene Rizzini, PUC-Rio, Departamento de serviço Social; Diretora do CIESPI/PUC-Rio
Para: Escolas Municipais da cidade de Duque de Caxias (RJ, Brasil).

CARTA DE APRESENTAÇÃO DE PROJETO DE PESQUISA

Venho, por meio desta, apresentar o Projeto de Pesquisa de mestrado da aluna Camila Caldeira Langfeldt, estudante da Universidade Norueguesa de Ciência e Tecnologia (NTNU), em convênio com a Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), na função de co orientadora, juntamente com a profª Marit Ursin. A pesquisa tem o objetivo de compreender os desafios que as crianças em situação de refúgio enfrentam nas escolas municipais da cidade de Duque de Caxias (RJ, Brasil). Ao mesmo tempo, a pesquisa visa analisar as políticas educacionais que já estão implementadas na cidade e contribuir para a reflexão sobre os tipos de política educacional que poderiam ser propostos a partir das experiências das crianças.

Ressaltamos que o interesse pelo olhar da criança sobre a escola busca unicamente conhecer como são as experiências das crianças na escola, de uma forma geral, e não focada na instituição em si, não tendo essa pesquisa, de nenhuma forma, intenção de avaliar a instituição ou os professores. O tempo de duração da pesquisa na instituição será de no máximo 1(um) mês.

A pesquisa irá desenvolver uma análise das vozes de crianças de nível fundamental, buscando identificar semelhanças e diferenças, a partir dos olhares das crianças. A participação das crianças se dará através de gravações áudio de conversas em grupos focais e, também, na forma escrita, através da elaboração de pequenos textos.

Esclarecemos que a participação da criança é totalmente voluntária, podendo a criança ou os responsáveis solicitar a recusa ou desistência da participação a qualquer momento, sem que isto acarrete qualquer ônus ou prejuízo à criança. Esclarecemos, também, que as informações da criança serão utilizadas somente para os fins desta pesquisa e serão tratadas com o mais absoluto sigilo e confidencialidade, de modo a preservar a identidade da criança e da instituição. As gravações apenas serão utilizadas como método de coleta de dados e não serão divulgadas de nenhuma forma.

CIESPI - Centro Internacional de Estudos e Pesquisas sobre a Infância, em convênio com a PUC-Rio
Estrada da Gávea – 50 - Cep 22451-263
Rio de Janeiro, RJ Brasil
Tel/fax: (55 + 21) 2259-2908
e-mail: ciespi@ciespi.org.br - www.ciespi.org.br

Em Convênio:



Membro da rede:

Childwatch
INTERNATIONAL
RESEARCH NETWORK



A pesquisa acontecerá em três etapas distintas:

1. Com as devidas autorizações, a pesquisadora estará presente na sala de aula das crianças, adotando uma postura de observadora participante, onde buscará se aproximar das crianças, conhecê-las e criar vínculo com elas.
2. Após um período de aproximação com as crianças, a pesquisa irá se desenvolver com as crianças por meio de grupos focais e pela elaboração de pequenos textos dentro dos limites da escola.
3. Por fim, após a própria produção dos dados, será desenvolvida a análise do material e serão criadas categorias de análise de acordo com os elementos que surgiram.

Caso haja dúvidas ou necessite de maiores esclarecimentos pode-se contatar a pesquisadora Camila Caldeira Langfeldt pelo telefone (21) 98036-1900, ou pelo e-mail camilalangfeldt@hotmail.com ou ainda, procurar a orientadora deste estudo Professora Irene Rizzini, PUC-Rio/CIESPI – Centro Internacional de Estudos e Pesquisa sobre Infância, Estrada da Gávea, 50 - Gávea, Rio de Janeiro – RJ, irizzini.pucRio.ciespi@gmail.com ou (21) 2259-2908.

Para tanto, respeitosamente, solicitamos autorização para a realização da pesquisa.

Rio de Janeiro, 9 de setembro de 2019.

Irene Rizzini

Professora da PUC-Rio e Diretora do CIESPI/PUC-Rio

Camila Caldeira Langfeldt
Pesquisadora

CIESPI - Centro Internacional de Estudos e Pesquisas sobre a Infância, em convênio com a PUC-Rio
Estrada da Gávea – 50 - Cep 22451-263
Rio de Janeiro, RJ Brasil
Tel/fax: (55 + 21) 2259-2908
e-mail: ciespi@ciespi.org.br - www.ciespi.org.br

Em Convênio:



Membro da rede:



Appendix D: Research approval, Municipal Secretary of Education of Duque de Caxias, Portuguese version



ESTADO DO RIO DE JANEIRO
PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE DUQUE DE CAXIAS
SECRETARIA MUNICIPAL DE EDUCAÇÃO
SUBSECRETARIA DE ENSINO
CENTRO DE PESQUISA E FORMAÇÃO CONTINUADA PAULO FREIRE

Duque de Caxias, 12 de setembro de 2019

Parecer nº: 32/19 – CPFPP/SME-DC

Requerente: Camila Caldeira Langfeldt

Universidade ou agência associada: Universidade Norueguesa de Ciência e Tecnologia (NTNU), em convênio com a Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio)

Assunto: Autorização de pesquisa

DAS CONSIDERAÇÕES INICIAIS

De acordo com as atribuições deste Centro de Pesquisa e tendo sido observada a documentação anexa, as autorizações em nossa Rede são concedidas na condição de que sejam respeitadas as normas de decoro e adequabilidade estabelecidas pela Unidade Escolar.

DA ANÁLISE

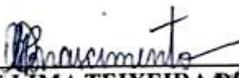
Após a análise do projeto de pesquisa intitulado “Políticas Educacionais para crianças em situação de refúgio: a partir da experiência das crianças”, cujo objetivo geral é “compreender quais são os desafios que as crianças em situação de refúgio enfrentam nas escolas municipais da cidade de Duque de Caxias (RJ, Brasil). Ao mesmo tempo, analisar as políticas educacionais que já estão implementadas (ou não) na cidade e pensar que tipo de política educacional poderia ser proposta a partir das experiências das crianças”, constatou-se a necessidade da pesquisa de campo.

Ressalta-se que, para a realização de entrevistas, aplicação de questionários e/ou exercícios, uso de imagens ou quaisquer práticas outras relacionadas à pesquisa, deverão ser solicitadas autorizações de todos os envolvidos permitindo a utilização dos dados para fins acadêmicos e/ou científicos. No caso de menores, **solicita-se a inclusão de uma autorização de seu responsável.**

DA CONCLUSÃO

Com base na avaliação criteriosa das informações apresentadas nos documentos, **AUTORIZA-SE** a realização da pesquisa. Vale ressaltar que as informações fornecidas ao pesquisador deverão ser arquivadas pelo tempo que determina a legislação e não poderão ser utilizadas em detrimento da Unidade Escolar, Secretaria Municipal de Educação, Prefeitura Municipal de Duque de Caxias e/ou indivíduos participantes, inclusive na forma de dano à estima, prestígio e/ou agravo econômico/financeiro. Outrossim, o anonimato de tais informações deverá ser garantido durante e após a pesquisa. Caso necessário, a qualquer momento poderemos revogar esta autorização se comprovadas atividades que causem prejuízo às instituições e/ou pessoas envolvidas.

Cordialmente,



GISELLE IRENE LIMA TEIXEIRA DO NASCIMENTO

Diretora do CRPP
Matrícula: 06723-0

Dir. do Nascimento
CPFPP
Matr. 06723-0

Appendix E: Invitation leaflet, Portuguese version

CONVITE PARA PARTICIPAR DA PESQUISA: Políticas educacionais para crianças em situação de refúgio em Duque de Caxias (RJ)

Você sabia que de acordo com a **Convenção dos Direitos das Crianças (ONU, 1989)**, toda criança tem o direito a dar a sua opinião sobre tudo aquilo que lhe diz respeito?

Com base nesse direito, gostaríamos de te convidar para participar dessa pesquisa!

VOU TE EXPLICAR OS OBJETIVOS

Gostaríamos de saber como são suas experiências dentro da sua escola no Rio de Janeiro. Nos interessamos em saber como tem sido para você estar na escola aqui.

Sua experiência é boa?

Quais são suas maiores dificuldades?

Quais são as diferenças com o seu país de origem?

E principalmente, o que poderia ser feito para que seu tempo na escola fosse melhor?

VOU TE EXPLICAR UM POUCO COMO VAI FUNCIONAR A PESQUISA

Se você aceitar esse convite nós vamos nos encontrar aproximadamente cinco vezes.

Nesses encontros vamos conversar sobre a escola e suas experiências nela.

Você poderá me dizer o que pensa de forma escrita, em conversas em pequenos grupos e por desenhos!

Para cada atividade, você poderá decidir se quer ou não participar. Você também poderá deixar de participar da pesquisa a qualquer momento.

Sua participação é totalmente voluntária!

ALGUMAS INFORMAÇÕES IMPORTANTES

Tudo o que você me falar será mantido em segredo! Até seu nome será mantido em sigilo.

Para participar da pesquisa é necessário a autorização do adulto responsável por você. Ele deverá assinar nosso termo autorizando sua participação.

Você não será pago ou pagará para participar da pesquisa.

A pesquisa também não trará nenhuma mudança na sua escola. O único objetivo da pesquisa é conhecer como são suas experiências na escola.

Como cada pessoa é única e percebe as coisas de forma singular, sua participação é importante para nós!

Se você ou o adulto responsável por você tiver dúvidas, entre em contato conosco pelo telefone (21) 98213-4566 ou pelo e-mail: camilalangfeldt@hotmail.com.

Quem é a pesquisadora?

Me chamo Camila e tenho 30 anos! Tenho formação em educação e essa pesquisa é o meu trabalho de mestrado. Me interessa em saber como são as experiências das crianças na escola.

TERMO DE CONSENTIMENTO **CRIANÇAS E/OU ADOLESCENTES**

Você está sendo convidado(a) a participar como voluntário da pesquisa:

**PESQUISA - POLÍTICAS EDUCACIONAIS PARA CRIANÇAS EM SITUAÇÃO DE REFÚGIO
EM DUQUE DE CAXIAS**

Pesquisador: Camila Caldeira Langfeldt, Universidade Norueguesa de Ciência e Tecnologia
Parceira Científica: Irene Rizzini, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro

Nessa pesquisa, nós queremos saber como são suas experiências na escola aqui em Duque de Caxias (RJ). A pesquisa será feita com crianças em situação de refúgio aqui em Duque de Caxias (RJ) que têm entre 7 e 15 anos de idade. Você não precisa participar da pesquisa se não quiser, é um direito seu, e não tem nenhum problema se você desistir depois. Se quiser desistir, você só precisa falar comigo, com a parceira científica Irene ou até mesmo pedir para que alguém ou algum profissional que seja referência para você faça contato com a gente.

Se você concordar, você poderá participar de cinco (5) atividades com a gente dentro do mês de setembro, que poderá durar até 1 hora. Caso você queira falar comigo para saber mais sobre a pesquisa, eu posso te dar o meu número de celular e e-mail ao final da nossa conversa.

As informações que você nos der serão utilizadas apenas para fins da pesquisa e os áudios, desenhos ou textos não serão compartilhados ou publicados, salvo com sua autorização expressa. Todo esse material ficará guardado comigo durante um período de cinco (5) anos, mas você pode me pedir para não utilizar ou apagar qualquer um deles. Vamos preservar sua identidade e seu nome não vai aparecer para mais ninguém, ele ficará guardado de forma sigilosa. Ninguém vai saber o que você nos disse e não vamos dar essas informações a ninguém.

Suas respostas e a dos outros participantes vão nos ajudar a pensar políticas educacionais para outras crianças e adolescentes que vivem situações parecidas com a sua. Depois nós vamos divulgar os resultados, por meio de textos, mas sem identificar o nome dos participantes que como você contribuíram com a pesquisa.

A pesquisa não vai gerar nenhum custo ou ganho financeiro para nenhum participante, mas vai ajudar a pensar políticas que atendam melhor as necessidades de crianças e adolescentes que enfrentam condições semelhantes de vida.

A pesquisa pode abordar temas que você não goste ou que te incomodem, mas, se isso acontecer, basta você nos dizer que encerraremos a entrevista, avisaremos à coordenação da pesquisa e, se for preciso, podemos procurar algum familiar, amigo e/ou profissional da sua confiança para que você possa conversar. Se você achar necessário e entender que seus direitos foram desrespeitados, você pode entrar em contato com a gente para tomarmos outras providências cabíveis.

A sua participação é muito importante para nós. Tudo o que você nos disser vai nos ajudar a entender como é a sua vida e como funcionam os serviços que você utiliza. No final, o resultado da pesquisa vai ser transformado em uma dissertação, um tipo de texto, e todas as instituições parceiras vão

receber uma cópia. Se você quiser, a gente pode pegar seu contato e enviar esse texto para você também.

Condições da pesquisa:

Eu, _____, aceito as condições da pesquisa.

- a. Eu posso pedir uma pausa a qualquer tempo e posso pedir para que a atividade seja cancelada caso não me sinta confortável.
- b. Minha identidade será preservada e minhas informações, protegidas.
- c. Não terei nenhum custo ou ganho de dinheiro para participar nesta entrevista.
- d. Eu recebi uma cópia deste documento, li e concordei em participar da pesquisa. Eu também recebi uma via assinada deste documento.

Concordo em participar das atividades:

- Grupo de conversa onde haverá a gravação de áudio
- Desenhos
- Registros em diário
- Preenchimento de fichas sobre a escola
- Elaboração de pequenos textos

Cidade e data: _____, _____ de _____ de 2019.

 Participante
 Assinatura ou impressão datiloscópica
Nome:

 Pesquisadora
 Camila Caldeira Langfeldt

Por fim, gostaríamos de informar que, caso sinta que seus direitos não foram respeitados durante a pesquisa, você também pode entrar em contato com:

<p>Pesquisadora: Camila Caldeira Langfeldt camilala@stud.ntnu.no Tel: (21) 98036-1900</p>	<p>Parceira Científica: Irene Rizzini irizzini.puerio.ciespi@gmail.com Tel: (21) 96765-9491</p>	<p>Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa da PUC-Rio: R. Marquês de São Vicente, 225 - Gávea Rio de Janeiro – RJ – vrac@puc-rio.br Tel. (021) 3527-1619</p>	<p>Centro Norueguês para Proteção de Dados em Pesquisa (NSD): personverntjenester@nsd.no Tel: (0047) 5558-2117</p>
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TERMO DE CONSENTIMENTO LIVRE E ESCLARECIDO RESPONSÁVEIS PELAS CRIANÇAS E/OU ADOLESCENTES

PESQUISA - POLÍTICAS EDUCACIONAIS PARA CRIANÇAS EM SITUAÇÃO DE REFÚGIO
EM DUQUE DE CAXIAS

Prezado(a) Senhor(a):

Gostaríamos de convidar a criança sob sua responsabilidade para participar da pesquisa “**Políticas Educacionais para crianças em situação de refúgio**”, a ser realizada pela estudante de mestrado da Universidade Norueguesa de Ciência e Tecnologia (NTNU) - Noruega em colaboração com a Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), Camila Caldeira Langfeldt.

Descrição da pesquisa - O objetivo dessa pesquisa é conhecer como são as experiências das crianças em situação de refúgio nas escolas de Duque de Caxias (RJ). A participação da criança se dará por meio de grupos de conversa, desenhos, preenchimento de fichas sobre a escola, registros em diários e também pela elaboração de pequenos textos. As discussões serão gravadas. Se você concordar em participar nessa pesquisa, também será solicitado que o Senhor(a) responda um questionário que inclui: o gênero da criança; a idade da criança; sua nacionalidade; sua religião; quanto tempo vocês estão vivendo no Brasil; quais serviços vocês acessam no Rio de Janeiro/Duque de Caxias (RJ); o motivo da sua saída do seu país; e quão satisfeito você está com as políticas públicas voltadas à população em situação de refúgio no Rio de Janeiro. As respostas ajudarão a pesquisadora a entender qual é o acesso aos serviços públicos da população em situação de refúgio na cidade de Duque de Caxias (RJ).

Duração e número de encontros - Se você concordar, eu gostaria de realizar algumas atividades com as crianças e adolescentes sobre suas experiências na escola. Serão cinco (5) encontros e cada atividade pode durar 1 hora, mas pode ser mais rápido.

Uso dos dados e anonimato – Fotos não serão tiradas. Os áudios serão exclusivamente utilizados internamente para referência e fins científicos e não serão compartilhados ou publicados, salvo com autorização expressa. As respostas ficarão guardadas com a pesquisadora, e a criança ou adolescente poderá pedir para excluir.

Garantia de esclarecimento, liberdade de recusa e garantia de sigilo

O participante voluntário, tem toda a garantia de plena liberdade para recusar-se a participar ou retirar seu consentimento, em qualquer fase da pesquisa, sem penalização alguma. Para isso, basta entrar em contato com a coordenação da pesquisa. Garantimos também a privacidade a partir do sigilo de seus dados em todas as fases desta pesquisa.

As atividades ora propostas serão registradas em forma escrita e a identidade da criança ou adolescente será preservada em todas as fases da pesquisa. Após a organização do material coletado a criança ou adolescente você poderá solicitar uma via e poderá solicitar a alteração ou exclusão das informações fornecidas para que não seja submetido a qualquer tipo de constrangimento ou prejuízo moral. Não haverá para o participante voluntário qualquer despesa e não haverá nenhuma compensação financeira adicional. Os custos resultantes da pesquisa ficarão a cargo da pesquisadora. Os dados e instrumentos utilizados na pesquisa ficarão arquivados com a pesquisadora durante um

período de cinco (5) anos. Somente a pesquisadora e suas orientadoras, professora Marit Ursin (NTNU) e professora Irene Rizzini (PUC-Rio), terão acesso ao conteúdo.

Benefícios e riscos resultantes da pesquisa

A participação da criança e/ou adolescente neste projeto será muito importante para compreendermos como está sendo a integração das crianças em situação de refúgio nas escolas de Duque de Caxias (RJ) e para sinalizar que tipo de política é necessária para resolver os principais desafios das crianças. Os benefícios desta pesquisa consistem em contribuir para a produção de conhecimento a partir do ponto de vista daqueles que lidam com a questão cotidianamente, assim como registrar suas contribuições para o aprimoramento das políticas, programas e ações que versam sobre o tema.

Em toda pesquisa envolvendo seres humanos há riscos. Em relação aos sujeitos pesquisados e pesquisador, durante todo o processo de produção desse projeto, não se vislumbram riscos à saúde e à segurança dos mesmos. Entretanto, é possível que ocorram momentos de constrangimentos e desconfortos imprevisíveis de acordo com o tema discutido, por estarmos lidando com situações e momentos de intensa fragilidade na vida de crianças e profissionais. Se isso acontecer, a criança e/ou adolescente pode nos dizer que encerraremos as atividades e notificaremos à coordenação da pesquisa. Ainda, poderemos contatar alguém que seja referência para o participante, caso ele necessite de suporte psicológico. Entretanto, os benefícios se mostram ainda maiores e podem ser multiplicados a partir de trabalhos e documentos produzidos com os dados coletados.

Com base em um acordo com a Universidade Norueguesa de Ciência e Tecnologia (NTNU), o Centro Norueguês para Dados em Pesquisa (NSD) certificou que o processamento de dados pessoais nesse projeto está de acordo com a legislação de proteção ao uso de dados pessoais em pesquisa. Desse modo, desde que você possa ser identificado nos dados coletados, você tem o direito de:

- acessar os dados pessoais que estão sendo processados sobre você;
- requerer que seus dados pessoais sejam deletados;
- requerer que dados incorretos sobre você sejam corrigidos;
- receber uma cópia dos dados pessoais e;
- enviar uma reclamação ao Escritório de Proteção a dados pessoais ou o as Autoridades Norueguesas para Proteção de dados pessoais.

Condições da pesquisa

Eu, _____,
nacionalidade _____, CPF _____, portador/a da carteira de
identidade no _____, emitida pelo _____, residente e domiciliado/a na cidade
_____, declaro que autorizo e assino para
que _____,
sob a minha guarda ou tutela, participe desta pesquisa.

Entendi que posso concordar com a realização da pesquisa, mas que, a qualquer momento, eu ou menor pode parar ou desistir, sem sofrer qualquer penalidade. Os pesquisadores explicitaram os objetivos da pesquisa, esclareceram minhas dúvidas e conversaram sobre a metodologia utilizada. Recebi uma via assinada deste termo de consentimento, li e concordo com a realização da pesquisa.

Nesse caso, autorizo o uso dos relatos da criança e/ou adolescente, com o objetivo de colaborar nos estudos realizados para esta pesquisa e destinados à utilização acadêmica e formação de acervo histórico.

Concordo na participação da criança ou adolescente sob a minha guarda e tutela nas atividades:

- Grupo de conversa onde haverá a gravação de áudio
- Desenhos
- Registros em diário
- Preenchimento de fichas sobre a escola
- Elaboração de pequenos textos
- Concordo em responder o questionário.

Cidade e data: _____, _____ de _____ de 2019.

 Responsável Legal
 Assinatura ou impressão datiloscópica

 Pesquisadora
 Camila Caldeira Langfeldt

Nome:

Caso o(a) senhor(a) tenha dúvidas sobre o projeto, ou queira exercitar seus direitos, você poderá contatar:

Dados de contato:			
Pesquisadora: Camila Caldeira Langfeldt camilala@stud.ntnu.no Tel: (21) 98036-1900	Parceira Científica: Irene Rizzini irizzini.pucRio.ciespi@gmail.com Tel: (21) 96765-9491	Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa da PUC-Rio: R. Marquês de São Vicente, 225 - Gávea Rio de Janeiro – RJ – vrac@puc-rio.br Tel. (021) 3527-1619	Centro Norueguês para Proteção de Dados em Pesquisa (NSD): personvertjenester@nsd.no Tel: (0047) 5558-2117

TERMO DE CONSENTIMENTO

Você está sendo convidado(a) a participar como voluntário da pesquisa:

PESQUISA - POLÍTICAS EDUCACIONAIS PARA CRIANÇAS EM SITUAÇÃO DE REFÚGIO
EM DUQUE DE CAXIAS

Pesquisador: Camila Caldeira Langfeldt, Universidade Norueguesa de Ciência e Tecnologia
Parceira Científica: Irene Rizzini, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro

Descrição da pesquisa - O objetivo dessa pesquisa é conhecer como são as experiências das crianças em situação de refúgio nas escolas de Duque de Caxias (RJ). As respostas ajudarão a pesquisadora a entender qual é o acesso aos serviços públicos da população em situação de refúgio na cidade de Duque de Caxias (RJ). As informações que você nos der serão utilizadas apenas para fins da pesquisa e não serão compartilhadas ou publicadas, salvo com sua autorização expressa. Todo esse material ficará guardado comigo durante um período de cinco (5) anos, mas você pode me pedir para não utilizar ou apagar qualquer um deles. Vamos preservar sua identidade e seu nome não vai aparecer para mais ninguém, ele ficará guardado de forma sigilosa. Ninguém vai saber o que você nos disse e não vamos dar essas informações a ninguém.

A pesquisa não vai gerar nenhum custo ou ganho financeiro para nenhum participante, mas vai ajudar a pensar políticas que atendam melhor as necessidades de crianças e adolescentes que enfrentam condições semelhantes de vida.

A pesquisa pode abordar temas que você não goste ou que te incomodem, mas, se isso acontecer, basta você nos dizer que encerraremos a entrevista, avisaremos à coordenação da pesquisa e, se for preciso, podemos procurar algum familiar, amigo e/ou profissional da sua confiança para que você possa conversar. Se você achar necessário e entender que seus direitos foram desrespeitados, você pode entrar em contato com a gente para tomarmos outras providências cabíveis.

A sua participação é muito importante para nós. Tudo o que você nos disser vai nos ajudar a entender como é a sua vida e como funcionam os serviços que você utiliza. No final, o resultado da pesquisa vai ser transformado em uma dissertação e todas as instituições parceiras vão receber uma cópia. Se você quiser, a gente pode pegar seu contato e enviar esse texto para você também.

Com base em um acordo com a Universidade Norueguesa de Ciência e Tecnologia (NTNU), o Centro Norueguês para Dados em Pesquisa (NSD) certificou que o processamento de dados pessoais nesse projeto está de acordo com a legislação de proteção ao uso de dados pessoais em pesquisa. Desse modo, desde que você possa ser identificado nos dados coletados, você tem o direito de:

- acessar os dados pessoais que estão sendo processados sobre você;
- requerer que seus dados pessoais sejam deletados;
- requerer que dados incorretos sobre você sejam corrigidos;
- receber uma cópia dos dados pessoais e;
- enviar uma reclamação ao Escritório de Proteção a dados pessoais ou o as Autoridades Norueguesas para Proteção de dados pessoais.

Caso o(a) senhor(a) tenha dúvidas sobre o projeto, ou queira exercitar seus direitos, você poderá

contatar a pesquisadora Camila Caldeira Langfeldt, pelo telefone (21) 98213-4566 ou pelo e-mail camilalangfeldt@hotmail.com, ou poderá contatar:

- A Universidade Norueguesa de Ciência e Tecnologia (NTNU – Noruega) via a orientadora desse projeto, professora Marit Ursin, pelo e-mail: (marit.ursin@ntnu.no).
- A Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (Puc-Rio), via professora Irene Rizzini, no Centro Internacional de Estudos e Pesquisas em Infância (CIESPI) pelo telefone: (21) 2259-2908.
- O responsável pela proteção e processamento de dados pessoais na Universidade Norueguesa de Ciência e Tecnologia, Thomas Helgesen via e-mail: (thomas.helgesen@ntnu.no).
- O Centro Norueguês para Dados em Pesquisa (NSD) pelo e-mail: (personverntjenester@nsd.no) ou pelo telefone: 0047 55 58 21 17.

Este termo deverá ser preenchido em duas vias de igual teor e rubricado em todas as páginas, sendo uma delas devidamente preenchida, assinada e entregue ao(à) senhor(a).

Condições da pesquisa:

Eu, _____, aceito as condições da pesquisa.

- a. Eu posso pedir uma pausa a qualquer tempo e posso pedir para que a atividade seja cancelada caso não me sinta confortável.
- b. Minha identidade será preservada e minhas informações, protegidas.
- c. Não terei nenhum custo ou ganho de dinheiro para participar nesta entrevista.
- d. Eu recebi uma cópia deste documento, li e concordei em participar da pesquisa. Eu também recebi uma via assinada deste documento.

Concordo em participar da entrevista onde haverá a gravação de áudio.

Cidade e data: _____, _____ de _____ de 2019.

Participante
Assinatura ou impressão datiloscópica

Nome:

Pesquisadora
Camila Caldeira Langfeldt

Appendix J: Task-based activity sheet, Portuguese version

PESQUISA SOBRE A ESCOLA

1. O que a escola representa para mim:

2. O melhor da escola é:

3. O pior da escola é:

4. Na escola eu me sinto feliz quando:

5. Na escola eu me sinto triste quando:

6. Na escola eu sinto raiva quando:

7. Eu gosto da escola porque:

8. Eu não gosto da escola porque:

9. Meu maior desafio na escola é:

10. Minha relação com os meus colegas é:

11. Minha relação com os meus professores é:

12. Se eu pudesse mudar alguma coisa na escola, eu mudaria....

SOBRE VOCÊ

13. O lugar que eu moro é:

14. Minha casa é:

15. Minha família é:

16. Eu gostaria que os adultos soubessem que:

Appendix K: Semi-structured interview, Legal guardians, Portuguese version

Agradecimento

17. Você pode contar um pouco sobre sua chegada ao Brasil e se teve alguma dificuldade em termos de acesso à serviços públicos?
18. Como você descreve sua vida no Brasil? Você acredita que ela aqui é melhor do que no seu país de origem? Por quê?
19. Quais são os espaços que você mais frequenta? Você se sente integrada a sociedade brasileira?
20. Em que idioma você se comunica com a sua criança?

Educação e Escola no país de origem

21. Em relação à educação: o que é educação para você?
22. Você pode me falar um pouco sobre como é a escola e a educação das crianças nos seu país de origem?
23. Qual é o objetivo da escola? Quem tem acesso à escola?
24. Como é a relação entre adultos e criança? Crianças e professores? e entre as famílias com a escola?
25. O que se espera de uma criança que frequenta a escola? Isso é diferente aqui?

Em Duque de Caxias

26. Você teve alguma dificuldade de matrícula da sua criança na escola?
27. Você pode me contar um pouco sobre como foi a adaptação da sua criança à escola aqui em Duque de Caxias?
28. A escola aqui cumpre suas expectativas? Se não, por quê?
29. Você acha que a escola é um ambiente difícil para a sua criança ou para outras crianças em situação similar a sua? Pode me contar um pouco sobre isso?
30. O que você consideraria que seria um bom atendimento às crianças migrantes e/ou em situação de refúgio?
31. Você acha necessária uma política de educação específica para essas crianças? Se sim, como poderia ser?

Agradecimento

Appendix L: Semi-structured interview, Pedagogical advisers, Portuguese version

CATEGORIAS	PERGUNTAS
Sentido do magistério e da instituição escolar em relação à igualdade e à diferenças	1) Como se tornou professora? Quais foram as suas motivações? 2) Pra você, o que é ser um professor/a? Qual seria a importância social dessa profissão e seus principais desafios? 3) E da escola: qual é o papel da escola em nossa sociedade hoje? Foi sempre este? Mudou em algo? Em quê? 4) Na sua opinião, como a escola lida com as questões relacionadas à igualdade ou à diferença? O que ela considera mais importante? 5) Na escola, de um modo geral, predomina: a afirmação da igualdade ou o reconhecimento da diferença? Você pode dar exemplos?
Situação social das famílias	6) Quantos estudantes imigrantes/estrangeiros na escola? Quais as suas nacionalidades? Quantos já passaram pela escola durante o período que está aqui? 7) Eles falam o português? E outras línguas? Quais? 8) Na sua opinião, quais seriam as principais características desses estudantes? Como você os/as caracterizaria? 9) Em relação aos jovens em situação de refúgio, você pode me contar um pouco sobre a situação social dessas famílias? Você as conhece? Sabe das possíveis dificuldades que enfrentam? 10) Você teve contato com algum/a familiar dessas crianças? Em que situação? E como foi essa relação: alguma dificuldade em particular? 11) Você sabe por que essas famílias vieram para o Brasil? Já escutou algo sobre suas histórias... 12) Você acredita que essas famílias estão mais ou menos marginalizadas em relação as famílias brasileiras que habitam na mesma região?
Integração dos estudantes estrangeiros/as na sala de aula	13) Como você definiria o processo de integração desses estudantes estrangeiros: em relação à rotina escolar? Em relação à aprendizagem? A relação deles com outros/as estudantes? 14) Na sua opinião, quais seriam as maiores dificuldades desse grupo em sua integração na rotina escolar? 15) Você acha que eles sofrem algum tipo de preconceito? Quais? Em que situações? 16) Você já percebeu algum tipo de relação conflituosa entre os/as estudantes estrangeiros/as e os/as demais estudantes? Poderia dar exemplos? Como lidou com ela?

Ensino-Aprendizagem em um universo multicultural	17) Em relação aos estudantes estrangeiros e a aprendizagem: quais são as maiores dificuldades do grupo? E facilidades? Poderia dar exemplo de ambos?
Igualdade e Diferença na escola	18) Agora, pensando nos/as alunos/as da/s sua/s turma/s na escola Barrão do Rio Branco, como você os/as caracterizaria, de modo geral? 19) O que eles/as têm em comum? Em que são iguais? E quais são as principais diferenças entre eles? 20) Em que momentos essa igualdade e as diferenças dos/as alunos/as se manifestam na escola? Você poderia dar exemplos?
Prática como orientação educacional	21) Você sente falta como orientadora educacional de algum tipo de suporte da secretária para a inclusão desses jovens? Quais são suas principais dificuldades como orientadora?
Em relação as atividades desenvolvidas pela secretária	22) Em relação as atividades desenvolvidas pela secretaria, como você as avalia? 23) Quais eram os objetivos do núcleo? Você considera que eles foram alcançados? 24) Você considera necessário algum tipo de política para a inclusão de jovens e crianças em situação de refúgio na escola de forma mais sistemática?
Finalizando...	25) Você gostaria de acrescentar alguma coisa? Agradecimentos

Appendix M: FEBF/UERJ research group interview, Portuguese version

PROJETO CONGOLESES NA EDUCACAO PUBLICA EM DUQUE DE CAXIAS

Proposta de roteiro de entrevista para professores/as

CATEGORIAS	PERGUNTAS
Sentido do magistério e da instituição escolar em relação à igualdade e à diferenças	1) Como se tornou professora? Quais foram as suas motivações? 2) Pra você, o que é ser um professor/a? Qual seria a importância social dessa profissão e seus principais desafios? 3) E da escola: qual é o papel da escola em nossa sociedade hoje? Foi sempre este? Mudou em algo? Em quê? 4) Na sua opinião, como a escola lida com as questões relacionadas à igualdade ou à diferença? O que ela considera mais importante? 5) Na escola, de um modo geral, predomina: a afirmação da igualdade ou o reconhecimento da diferença? Você pode dar exemplos?
Igualdade e Diferença na sala de aula	6) Agora, pensando nos/as alunos/as da/s sua/s turma/s na escola Ruy Barbosa, como você os/as caracterizaria, de modo geral? 7) O que eles/as têm em comum? Em que são iguais? E quais são as principais diferenças entre eles? 8) Em que momentos essa igualdade e as diferenças dos/as alunos/as se manifestam durante a sua aula? Você poderia dar exemplos? 9) Que estratégias você utiliza para trabalhar com turmas mais heterogêneas? Por quê? Poderia dar exemplos?
Identificação dos/as estudantes estrangeiros/as e de suas famílias	10) Existem estudantes imigrantes/estrangeiros em sua turma? Quantos? Quais as suas nacionalidades? 11) Eles falam o português? E outras línguas? Quais? 12) Na sua opinião, quais seriam as principais características desses estudantes? Como você os/as caracterizaria? 13) Você teve contato com algum/a familiar dessas crianças? Em que situação? E como foi essa relação: alguma dificuldade em particular? 14) Você sabe por que essas famílias vieram para o Brasil? Já escutou algo sobre suas histórias...
Integração dos estudantes estrangeiros/as na sala de aula	15) Como você definiria o processo de integração desses estudantes estrangeiros: em relação à rotina escolar? /// Em relação à aprendizagem? /// A relação deles com outros/as estudantes? 16) Na sua opinião, quais seriam as maiores dificuldades desse grupo em sua integração na rotina escolar? 17) Você acha que eles sofrem algum tipo de preconceito? Quais? Em que situações?

	18) E durante as suas aulas: já percebeu algum tipo de relação conflituosa entre os/as estudantes estrangeiros/as e os/as demais estudantes? Poderia dar exemplos? Como lidou com ela?
Ensino-Aprendizagem em um universo multicultural	19) Em relação aos estudantes estrangeiros e a aprendizagem de sua disciplina em particular: quais são as maiores dificuldades do grupo? E facilidades? Poderia dar exemplo de ambos? 20) Quais são as estratégias que você utiliza para melhorar a aprendizagem deles/as? //// Quais funcionam melhor? //// Quais não funcionam? //// Por quê?
Formação no Magistério	21) Durante a sua formação de professor/a, você teve alguma aproximação com as questões do multiculturalismo ou interculturalismo na educação? 22) E, depois, durante a sua formação em serviço, você teve alguma aproximação? Onde? Como? 23) Essa aproximação contribuiu para a sua prática docente?
Percepção sobre educação multi/intercultural	24) Como você definiria, com as suas palavras, o que é uma educação multicultural? E uma educação intercultural? 25) Na sua opinião, quais os recursos (pedagógicos, financeiros, estruturais, etc.) que o professor deveria contar para desenvolver uma educação multi ou intercultural? 26) Na sua opinião, como o poder público deveria melhor apoiar o desenvolvimento do seu trabalho em uma perspectiva multi/intercultural? 27) Na sua opinião, como a universidade pública (UERJ Caxias em especial) poderia apoiar o desenvolvimento do seu trabalho em uma perspectiva multi/intercultural?
Finalizando...	28) Você gostaria de acrescentar alguma coisa? Agradecimentos

