

Ethnic-racial socialization and racism: from Afro-Brazilian and African knowledge to the construction of ethnic-racial identity¹

Socialização étnico-racial e racismo: dos saberes afro-brasileiros e africanos à construção da identidade étnico-racial

Patrícia Modesto Matos*
Dalila Xavier de França*

ABSTRACT

Recent research points to the benefits of ethnic-racial socialization for Black children and adolescents. This study intended to verify perception of ethnic-racial socialization and its effects on ethnic-racial identity, as well as the implications of racism for the ethnic-racial identity of Black students. We used as a theoretical basis the literature on identity, racism in education, studies on ethnic-racial socialization and those on the implementation of Law No. 10639/2003 (BRASIL, 2003) in Brazilian schools. The participants in this research were 120 students attending the final years of elementary school and who answered a self-administered questionnaire. We used SPSS software for data analysis by associating skin color with ethnic-racial socialization, identity and experience of racism. The perception of these participants showed that socialization of Afro-Brazilian and African knowledge contributes to positive valuing of the subjects' identity. We therefore recommend that future studies investigate both the promotion and also the quality of ethnic-racial socialization transmitted in schools.

Keywords: Education. School. Ethnic-racial identity. Racism. Ethnic-racial socialization.

¹ Translated by David Harrad. E-mail: davidharrad@hotmail.com

* Universidade Federal de Sergipe. São Cristóvão, Sergipe, Brasil. E-mail: patriciamatosd_23@hotmail.com - <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3763-7895> E-mail: dalilafranca@gmail.com - <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0431-3034>

RESUMO

Pesquisas recentes apontam os benefícios da socialização étnico-racial para as crianças e os adolescentes negros. Este trabalho teve o objetivo de verificar a percepção acerca da socialização étnico-racial e seus efeitos na identidade étnico-racial, bem como as implicações do racismo na identidade étnico-racial dos estudantes negros. Utilizamos como aporte teórico a literatura sobre a identidade, o racismo na educação, os estudos acerca da socialização étnico-racial e os que tratam da implementação da Lei 10.639/2003 (BRASIL, 2003) nas escolas brasileiras. Participaram desta pesquisa 120 alunos que estão cursando os anos finais do ensino fundamental, por meio de um questionário autoaplicável. Adotamos o *Software* SPSS para a análise dos dados mediante associação da cor da pele com a socialização étnico-racial, a identidade e a experiência de racismo. A percepção desses participantes evidenciou que a socialização dos saberes afro-brasileiros e africanos contribui para a valorização positiva da identidade dos sujeitos. Assim, recomendamos que estudos futuros investiguem a promoção, mas também a qualidade da socialização étnico-racial transmitida nas escolas.

Palavras-chave: Educação. Escola. Identidade étnico-racial. Racismo. Socialização étnico-racial.

Introduction

Brazil faces the challenge of guaranteeing education as a universal and social human right that must maintain a close relationship with other rights explicit in the 1988 Federal Constitution. Education is also understood to be both an individual human right and also a collective right, capable of promoting mobility so that subjects can exercise other rights, that is, through the knowledge acquired in the school context, students will be able to enhance their skills to fully exercise their citizenship and will be able to live with dignity. Therefore, education occurs through the movement of socialization of cultural practices that are built, maintained or transformed into new knowledge, knowledge and values (BRASIL, 2004).

Education for ethnic-racial relations is directly related to the success of public policies included as part of the educational process of Black and White students. It is possible to find educational practices to combat racism and discrimination, which advocate the strengthening of Black awareness in Black people and the awakening of this awareness in White people. Therefore:

For Black people, such practices may offer knowledge and security for them to be proud of their African origin; for White people, they may enable them to identify the influences, the contribution, the participation and the importance of the history and culture of Black people in their way of being, as well as how they live with and relate to other people, especially Black people. These educational practices will also be part of a process of recognition by the State, society and schools of the social debt they have in relation to the Black segment of the population, making possible an explicit stance against racism and racial discrimination, as well as making it possible to build affirmative action at different levels of teaching in Brazilian education (BRASIL, 2004, p. 07-08, our translation).

It is important to emphasize that school practices aimed at transmitting the knowledge held by historically discriminated groups contribute to making schools a more democratic space in the production and dissemination of knowledge, not only for Black students but also for all subjects who are part of the most diverse groups that have gone towards building Brazilian society. Thus, it is known that the success of these actions also depends on the deconstruction of racist mentalities and misconceptions that permeate the ethnic-racial theme.

Education about ethnic-racial relations therefore imposes learning between White and Black people, exchange of knowledge, breaking of mistrust and a joint project for building a fair, equal and equitable society (BRASIL, 2004, p. 15, our translation).

Even with the broadening of the debate and the innumerable achievements in the field of Brazilian education, it is possible to find positions contrary to what is advocated by public policies that aim to guarantee the educational rights of Black people (SANTOS, 2014). Therefore, in view of the complexity that surrounds ethnic-racial relations and the role that schools play in developing the socialization of subjects, it is essential for there to be studies that investigate educational practices that inform about knowledge emanating from Black people and bring influence to bear on reducing racism and building the identity of subjects.

Ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity

The first studies investigating the transmission of information about race and ethnicity from adults to youth are known to have emerged with effect from the 1980s, and this form of transmission is referred to as ethnic-racial socialization (HUGHES *et al.*, 2006). Within this context, race is understood to be a social construct (CABECINHAS; AMÂNCIO, 2003) formed by the ways of classifying and identifying that drive human actions, with the aim of maintaining and reproducing existing social differences and privileges (GUIMARÃES, 1999).

Although it is a broad concept, there are studies that use the term “racial socialization”, while others use the term “ethnic socialization” or both. In conceptual terms, racial socialization refers to guidance that focuses on preparing young people to deal with racial stereotypes and racism. On the other hand, ethnic socialization occurs through transmitting to them information about the culture, the history, the customs of the group to which they belong, that is, adults can teach them what it means to be part of that group and encourage them to learn something about the racial group of which they are part (SEOL *et al.*, 2016). Moreover, although they are few, most studies that address the effects of racial and ethnic socialization focus on investigating ethnic identity, self-esteem, ability to cope with prejudice, discrimination and school performance (HUGHES *et al.*, 2006).

Although ethnic-racial socialization began in the family environment, the theory about it has gained ground in schools, and researchers have become interested in how teachers react to manifestations of discrimination and attacks on identity suffered by their students (SEOL *et al.*, 2016). The time young people spend at school makes this a place of specific interest, because as they grow up, their family is no longer the main group with which they interact and they start to include classmates, teachers, other school and community members in their social relationships. Therefore, awareness that schools are a place where ethnic-racial socialization and interaction with other groups occur may increase during adolescence (BANKS, 2007).

In the school universe, the theory of ethnic-racial socialization has been strongly influenced by the ideals of multiculturalism (RUTLAND; BROWN; CAMERON, 2005). The multicultural literature indicates some ways in which school institutions can socialize ethnic-racial attitudes and beliefs with students. This can occur through access to learning materials (books, school curriculum and extracurricular actions), education policies, among others (ALDANA; BYRD, 2015). Transmission of knowledge about a people’s history and culture

is a form of ethnic-racial socialization, and can be effective in affirming group belonging and group identity (HUGHES *et al.*, 2006). As such, Law No. 10639/2003 (BRASIL, 2003) which, although it was not created with the aim of being an ethnic-racial socialization strategy, can be considered as such when seen in the light of what Hughes *et al.* (2006) put forward.

In light of the racist context experienced by part of the population, Law No. 10639/2003 (BRASIL, 2003) seeks to work and strengthen the identity of Black people, deconstructing erroneous ideas that have been disseminated and are still rooted in people's imagination (CLARO; SOARES, 2017). As such, schools have a fundamental role in building the identity of Black students and must, in the face of the complexity involved in the school universe, seek to understand and respect the numerous identities built in relationships between the subjects that share this space. Thus, Black identity is “[...] a social, historical, cultural and plural construct. It implies building the view that an ethnic/racial group or subjects that belong to the same ethnic/racial group, have of themselves, based on their relationship with the other” (GOMES, 2005, p. 43, our translation).

Identity focused on belonging to a group has been studied in the Social Identity Theory, which believes that the individual needs to develop a positive self-concept in order to affirm that he/she belongs to a certain social group, sharing similar characteristics and objectives with the subjects of that group. In order to belong to a group, it is imperative that the individual considers him/herself to be part of it and also to be considered a member by the other subjects in that group. This social identity is associated with an emotional component (the feeling of belonging) that strengthens the individual's attachment to the group or social category that qualifies them. Thus, the way the group is assessed influences the building of its members' social identity. If their assessment of the group is positive, the subject will show satisfaction in belonging to it and will have a positive social identity. When the opposite occurs, that is, when the subject perceives that the group to which he/she belongs is not valued by society, he/she will have a negative social identity (TAJFEL; TURNER, 1986).

Studies on identity associated with racial or ethnic belonging have reached certain conclusions. For example, Doria (2015) analyzed the process of categorization, self-categorization and emotional assessment of belonging among 179 White, non-White and Quilombola children. The study found that of the 65 non-White children (hetero-categorization), 46.2% self-categorized themselves as White and of these, 56.3% demonstrated dissatisfaction with the group to which they belonged.

In a survey of Youth and Adult Education students, Rosa (2017) asked students to indicate the ethnic-racial identity to which they belonged. Following

this they were asked to self-report their skin color, based on *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* (IBGE) categories. The results showed that students assigned similar answers regarding skin color in both questions. Even though they had physical characteristics of Black people, some students tended not to recognize themselves as Black. Such findings, according to Tajfel (1978), suggest that psychological disidentification of subjects with the group they belong to is a self-protection mechanism against socially experienced discrimination.

The negative aspects related to Black people are the result of a long period of European colonization that led Brazil to be the last country to abolish slavery. Although affirmative action policies have been approved since 2001 (MOEHLECKE, 2002), Black people still find it hard to move up the social ladder. Evidence indicates that the illiteracy rate affects 3.9% of White people compared to 9.1% of Black and brown-skinned people aged 15 years or more. When looking at the older age group, the illiteracy rate affects 10.3% of White people aged 60 years or more, while it affects 27.5% of Black people in the same age group. Child labor is also a reality that affects Black children (64.1%) more than White children (35.9%), and boys (65.3%) more than girls (34.7%) in the 5-17 age group (IBGE, 2018).

Racism and the educational process of Black children

The school trajectory of Black students is strongly marked by racial prejudice that permeates relationships in schools, which is sometimes denied or attributed to someone else (SANTOS, 2014). The different way in which teachers evaluate the school activities of White and Black students (FRANÇA, 2017), in addition to teachers not acknowledging these attitudes, may contribute to the negative school performance of Black students. Another point may be associated with the fact that teachers do not see themselves as the main promoters of change or implementation of affirmative policies in schools (SANTOS, 2014).

As some research has shown, Black students constantly experience racism in their schools. This can be seen in the way Black students who attend early childhood education are neglected by teachers in terms of care and affection in relation to their White peers (OLIVEIRA; ABRAMOWICZ, 2010). It can also be seen when poor Black children with a history of school failure are the main targets of discrimination by classmates and teachers. Racism also contributes to the subjects' desire to have the physical characteristics of the White group because it is more socially valued (MOREIRA; AGUIAR, 2015), this being an aspect

that contributes to their refusal to perceive themselves as Black (ROSA, 2017). Moreover, racism silences and discriminates against Afro-Brazilian religions, that is, teaching about the subject is not transmitted and, when it does occur, it is in a decontextualized way, because Christian religions exert greater influence in school spaces (RUSSO; ALMEIDA, 2016). Thus, aware of the damage that racism causes in Black students, schools must ensure, as a social institution, the right to education and repudiate all forms of discrimination (BRASIL, 2004).

Considering the theoretical framework exposed above, this study aimed to verify perception of ethnic-racial socialization and its effects on ethnic-racial identity, as well as the implications of racism for the ethnic-racial identity of Black students attending the final years of elementary education at municipal public schools in the interior region of the states of Bahia and Sergipe. Thus, the following hypotheses (H) guide this study:

H1) Black students will present negative identity, while White students will present a positive one;

H2) Regardless of their skin color, students will perceive promotion of ethnic-racial socialization in the context of their schools;

H3) Regardless of their skin color, students will consider it important to promote ethnic-racial socialization at school;

H4) Black students who consider that their school promotes ethnic-racial socialization will present a more positive ethnic-racial identity than Black students who consider that it does not;

H5) Black students will have more experiences of racism in the school context than White students;

H6) Black students with more experiences of racism will have less positive ethnic-racial identity.

Therefore, based on the objectives and hypotheses mentioned, this study intends to answer the following questions: from the perspective of the students, is there promotion of ethnic-racial socialization at school? Does racial-ethnic socialization influence the ethnic-racial identity of young Black people? What are the implications of experiencing racism for the ethnic-racial identity of Black students?

Methods

Sample

The study participants were 120 students, enrolled in the final years of elementary education, attending six municipal public schools located in a municipality in the interior region of the state of Bahia (BA) and in another municipality in the state of Sergipe (SE). According to the 2010 census, the municipality of Paripiranga (BA) had a population of 27,878 inhabitants, among whom 10,522 reported their race/skin color to be white, 230 yellow (Asian), and 17,026 black and brown (IBGE, 2019). In the year the survey was conducted (2010), the municipality of Simão Dias (SE) had 38,702 inhabitants, among whom 11,708 reported their race/skin color to be white, 363 yellow (Asian), 138 indigenous, and 24,493 black and brown (IBGE, 2019).

In relation to student enrollment, the municipality of Paripiranga (BA) had a total of 6,138 students enrolled, 2,372 of whom did not report the color of their skin, 1,106 reported their skin color to be white, 8 yellow (Asian), 8 indigenous, and 2,443 black or brown. In the same year, the municipality of Simão Dias (SE) had 10,764 students enrolled, 1,405 of whom did not report the color of their skin, 1,872 reported their skin color to be white, 19 yellow (Asian), 4 indigenous and 7,464 black and brown (INEP, 2020b).

It is noteworthy that in 2019 municipal schools offering the final years of elementary education in Simão Dias (SE) achieved a *Índice de Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica* [Basic Education Development Index] (IDEB) of 4.6, while municipal schools offering this level of education in Paripiranga (BA) had an IDEB of 4.1 (INEP, 2020a).

The age of the participants varied between 11 and 18 years ($M = 13.5$; $SD = 1.6$), 25.8% were in the 6th grade, 25% in the 7th grade, 24.2% in the 8th grade and 25% in the 9th grade. Regarding the gender of the students, 45% (63) were female and 55% (77) were male. Skin color was assessed using a 7-point Likert scale, whereby the following instruction was given to the participant: “considering the scale below, how do you perceive your skin color? Mark an X on the number that best corresponds to your color. (e.g. the lower the number, the more you perceive yourself as White; the higher the number, the more you perceive yourself as Black)”. The scale was presented with a label “White” next to number one (1), followed by the intermediate numbers with no label and, finally, a label “Black” next to number seven (7). Thus, number 1 represented the lightest skin tone and 7 the darkest skin tone. In the composition of skin color, options 1, 2 and 3 were categorized as White and 4, 5, 6 and 7 as Black, so that 45% (54) self-reported themselves to be White and 55% (66) self-reported themselves to

be Black. This form of skin color data collection was used because it allows for different ways of analyzing the data and because it avoids the tendency to avoid less accepted skin tones, as occurs in the study by Turra and Venturi (1995). However, this form of data collection does not allow identification of individuals of yellow (Asian) and indigenous race/skin color in the sample. However, as shown by the 2010 Brazilian demographic census (IBGE, 2019) and the 2019 basic education census (INEP, 2020b), the rates of individuals of yellow and indigenous race/skin color recorded in the surveyed population are low.

Procedures

This study was approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee, as per Opinion No. 3.471.242. Before collecting data, we sought the authorization of the schools by presenting the research proposal to the legal representatives of the institutions. Then, the most appropriate day to talk to the students about their participation in the study was set with the management team of each school. After talking with the students, the day was agreed for them to return the Free and Informed Consent Form signed by their legal guardian. Students could only answer the questionnaire if authorized by their legal guardians.

The questionnaire was administered in the classes made available by the schools, during the morning and afternoon shifts, when the teachers interrupted teaching activities for about twenty minutes so that the participants could answer the questions. After the questionnaires were handed out to the students, each student was instructed to sign the Free and Informed Assent Form and to answer the questionnaire. The students were encouraged to think about their school context and to express their opinion sincerely, based on their experience as a member of the school they attended. If the student had any questions, he or she could call the researcher to answer them.

Instruments

The instrument used to collect data was a questionnaire with 20 closed questions about experiencing racism, ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity. The instrument was pre-tested with students in the final years of elementary education, following the same procedure of the main study, in order to verify the time needed for completion, possible ambiguities or questions that might be hard understand, and confirmation of the answers to all questions. After the feedback from the students who answered the pre-test, we noted that more questions needed to be added to the questionnaire in order to broaden the range of information. Following this, the instrument was submitted to the pre-test once more and this time there were no further changes.

Ethnic-racial socialization consisted of a five-point Likert scale about the frequency with which actions to discuss the history, culture and conditions of racial groups took place in the classroom. The higher the score, the more the school undertook these actions: (1) never, (2) rarely, (3) sometimes, (4) frequently and (5) always. Two procedures were used to build the questions: one set of items was based on the ethnic-racial socialization scale proposed by Hughes & Chen (1999)² while the other set of items asked about the application of Law No. 10639/2003 (BRASIL, 2003) in the classroom by teachers. In all, the scale was comprised of nine items. Examples of these items include: “Have you studied the history of Black people? Have you studied about culture of Black people? Do your teachers do activities to remember events in Black history?”. Next, we built the ethnic socialization indicator by adding up the scores and finding the average for the set of items.

The importance of ethnic-racial socialization was measured by the question: “Do you think it is important to study Black history and culture?”. The answer was given based on a five-point Likert scale about how important it is to know about the history and culture of racial groups in the classroom. The higher the score, the more important this knowledge is: (1) not at all important, (2) not very important, (3) neither important nor unimportant, (4) important and (5) totally important.

Ethnic-racial identity was measured through satisfaction and also through self-reported importance of skin color. Both indicators were measured on a 5-point Likert scale: (1) totally dissatisfied, (2) dissatisfied, (3) unsure, (4) satisfied, and (5) totally satisfied; and level of skin color importance: (1) not at all important, (2) not very important, (3) unsure, (4) important and (5) totally important. Next, we built the ethnic-racial identity indicator by adding up the scores and finding the average for the set of items. This indicator considers that higher scores are related to greater satisfaction and to importance the subjects place on the skin color they have.

Experience of racism was measured by means of two questions that were answered using a five-point Likert scale, considering the frequency of occurrence racism according to the students. The higher the score, the more racist events occur: (1) never, (2) rarely, (3) sometimes, (4) frequently, (5) always.

² Items of the ethnic-racial socialization scale were tested in previous studies with samples of mothers (FRANÇA *et al.*, 2019) and teachers (SANTOS; FRANÇA; MOREIRA-PRIMO, 2020). Only one factor of the original scale was used, i.e. cultural socialization. The items were translated by the researchers and revised by a translator and specialists in Social Psychology. In the above mentioned studies and in this study, the factor presented a satisfactory internal consistency index (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.823 for the sample of mothers and 0.905 for the sample of teachers).

The questions were as follows: “Have you ever been badly treated because of the color of your skin or because of your hair? Would you stop going to school if you were badly treated because of the color of your skin or because of your hair?” Next, we built the experience of racism indicator by adding up the scores and finding the average for the set of items.

Results

Initially, exploratory and adjustment procedures were conducted on the database [replacement of missing items (<1%), treatment of outliers (<1%) and typing errors], with the aid of the SPSS program (version 25).

In the following sections the results will be described and organized according to the study’s objectives and the hypotheses associated with them.

Analysis of ethnic-racial socialization and identity of children and young people

In order to analyze whether, from the students’ perspective, their school promotes ethnic-racial socialization and whether this influences their ethnic-racial identity, we initially performed a simple t-test with the ethnic-racial identity indicator, which indicated that students, in general, are satisfied with and consider the color of their own skin important ($M = 4.09$; $SD = 0.9$) $t(119) = 13.2$; $p = .001$.

To test the first hypothesis, which assumed that Black students would present negative identity compared to White students, an ANOVA test was performed, taking identity as the dependent variable and skin color as the independent variable. The results do not confirm the hypothesis. Black participants demonstrated more satisfaction with their skin color and its importance ($M = 4.30$; $SD = .82$) than White participants did ($M = 3.8$; $SD = .93$) $F(1, 119) = 8.93$; $p = .003$.

To test the second hypothesis, which predicted that regardless of skin color, students would perceive that their school, through teachers, promotes ethnic-racial socialization. Initially, an analysis of the internal consistency of the items of the ethnic-racial socialization scale was performed, and a satisfactory

index was found (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.71$). We then built the ethnic-racial socialization indicator by adding up the scores and finding the average for the set of items. Once the indicator was obtained, a simple t-test was performed against the midpoint of the scale (3). The result indicated that the participants, in general, affirm that their school promotes ethnic-racial socialization sometimes or often ($M = 3.47$; $SD = .62$) $t(119) = 8.29$; $p = .01$.

To test whether the perception of ethnic-racial socialization being promoted by their school is shared by the students regardless of their skin color, an ANOVA test was performed taking ethnic-racial socialization as the dependent variable and skin color as the independent variable. The results confirm the hypothesis of the perception that the school promotes ethnic-racial socialization. This perception was found regardless of the participants' skin color $F(1, 119) = .747$; $p = .389$ ($M_{white} = 3.53$, $SD = .69$; $M_{black} = 3.43$, $SD = .56$).

To test the third hypothesis that promoting ethnic-racial socialization is perceived to be important regardless of the students' skin color, an ANOVA test was performed taking the importance attributed to the promotion of ethnic-racial socialization at school as the dependent variable and skin color as the independent variable. The results confirmed the hypothesis $F(1, 119) = .287$; $p = .593$ ($M_{white} = 4.54$, $SD = .57$; $M_{black} = 4.59$, $SD = .53$).

The fourth hypothesis assumed that Black students who consider that their school promotes ethnic-racial socialization would present a more positive ethnic-racial identity than Black students who do not. The results obtained by Pearson's correlation analysis (one-tailed) do not confirm the hypothesis, that is, Black students who perceive more promotion of ethnic-racial socialization by their school do not differ in their identities from those who do not perceive this ($r = .14$, $p = .13$, $n = 66$).

Analyses of experiencing racism

The second objective of this study was to analyze the implications of experiencing racism for the identity of Black students attending municipal public schools in a city in the interior region of the state of Bahia and another in the state of Sergipe. Initially, a simple t-test (versus 2) was performed with the indicator for racism experienced, which showed that, in general, students were never badly treated or would stop going to school for this reason ($M = 1.80$; $SD = .85$) $t(119) = -2.529$; $p = .013$.

To test the fifth hypothesis, which assumed that Black students would have more experiences of racism in the school context than White students, an ANOVA test was performed, taking racism experienced as the dependent variable and skin color as the independent variable. The results show that there is no significant difference between racism being experienced by White and Black students $F(1, 118) = .547; p = .461 (M_{white} = 1.74, SD = .90; M_{black} = 1.85, SD = .80)$.

The sixth hypothesis assumed that Black students with more experiences of racism would have less positive ethnic-racial identity. The results obtained through Pearson's one-tailed correlation analysis confirm the hypothesis, that is, Black students who have more experience of racism like being Black less ($r = -.200, p = .054, n = 66, M = 4.30, SD = .82$).

Discussion

This study aimed to verify the perception of students about ethnic-racial socialization and its effects on ethnic-racial identity, as well as the implications of racism for ethnic-racial identity of Black students in the final years of elementary education at municipal public schools in the interior of the states of Bahia and Sergipe. The results show that schools have promoted actions related to ethnic-racial education and that students think it is important to address this issue in the school environment.

This research found that Black students had a more positive ethnic-racial identity than White students. This finding contradicts expectations, since it was thought that Black students could express a less positive identity, given the negative experiences they have in society. In this sense, there are strategies that are used so that the subject can achieve positive ethnic-racial identity, for example, limiting comparisons with similar groups or those with low social status, enabling more favorable comparisons with the endogroup (CARLOS, 2018). Moreover, these results may reflect affirmative policies that have contributed to them valuing and identifying with the group to which they belong (FRANÇA; LIMA, 2011).

On the other hand, the data show that Black students who experience racism more like being Black less. In this context, it is understood that the way the social group to which the subject belongs is assessed influences the building of the ethnic-racial identity of its members. When perceiving that the group is socially valued, the subject will manifest satisfaction and present a positive ethnic-racial identity. On the contrary, if the group is not valued in society, the member will present a negative ethnic-racial identity (TAJFEL, 1978; TAJFEL; TURNER, 1986).

With regard to ethnic-racial socialization, it was evident that students are having contact with Afro-Brazilian and African knowledge. This fact shows that, in some way, schools are implementing Law No. 10639/2003 (BRASIL, 2003) in the school curriculum. These results add to those highlighted in other research in which it was possible to find encouraging contexts about the promotion of actions to implement the law and ensure a more inclusive curriculum (MATOS; FRANÇA, 2019a).

Ethnic-racial socialization in the school environment did not depend on the students' skin color, that is, both groups, Black and White, perceived that their school promotes actions to reduce racism. This result adds to other studies, which show that both these groups can benefit from such actions (ALDANA; BYRD, 2015; DORIA, 2015). Thus, developing these practices favors the valuing of the identity of Black students and enables White students to appreciate and live with diversity (DORIA, 2015). Moreover, it was found that Black students, who have greater perception of their school promoting ethnic-racial socialization, do not differ in their identities from those who do not perceive it. This finding leads to the assumption that, as identified in the study by D'hondt *et al.* (2016), is not just a case of the amount of perception, but also the quality of the ethnic-racial socialization process that has been transmitted. For this reason, Aldana and Byrd (2015) suggest that observing educational practices can inform how the community and school act in promoting enriching experiences for Black youth.

It can be seen that students rarely experienced situations of racism in their schools, and there was no significant difference between the experience of racism experienced by White and Black students. These results do not corroborate the literature that highlights racism as a phenomenon present in the school environment (OLIVEIRA; ABRAMOWICZ, 2010; MOREIRA; AGUIAR, 2015; RUSSO; ALMEIDA, 2016; MATOS; FRANÇA, 2019b). However, it is considered that in contemporary times, due to the pressures of anti-racist policies, traditional forms of racism are giving way to new forms of expression of racism that are more difficult to identify (LIMA; VALA, 2004). On the other hand, these results may reflect teaching practices that have promoted ethnic-racial socialization and, consequently, the implementation of Law No. 10639/2003 (BRASIL, 2003).

Final considerations

This study aimed to verify the perception of students about ethnic-racial socialization and its effects on ethnic-racial identity, as well as the implications of racism for the ethnic-racial identity of Black students attending the final years of elementary education at municipal public schools in the interior region of the states of Bahia and Sergipe. To this end, tests were performed which elucidated that those schools promote ethnic-racial socialization and that students rarely experienced racist situations.

It was found that, from the perspective of White and Black students, their schools promote ethnic-racial socialization. This context influences ethnic-racial identity, especially of young Black people who, in the sample investigated, expressed it more positively than White students. On the other hand, it was identified that experiencing racism at school interferes with the positive building of Black students' ethnic-racial identity, that is, the more they perceive themselves as targets of racism, the less they like being Black.

Given this reality, it is considered fundamental that schools continue developing actions that contribute to the valuing of the Black population. In this perspective, teachers can highlight, as part of the contents of the curriculum, the contributions of Black people in history, science and art; they can develop projects that involve the community, providing an exchange of knowledge; highlight Black personalities of national relevance; among others.

As such, this study contributes to students, teachers and the school community developing educational practices focused on ethnic-racial socialization and, consequently, on the implementation of Law No. 10639/2003 (BRASIL, 2003), as they collaborate toward reducing racism, favor more respectful ethnic-racial relationships among the actors in the school environment and enable Black students to develop a more positive ethnic-racial identity. At the same time, it contributes to the expansion of national studies about ethnic-racial socialization – which is still a theory little studied in Brazil –, racism and the implications of both for the ethnic-racial identity of Black students. On the other hand, due to the geographical location of the research we conducted, the results found in this study may be specific to these populations, thus limiting their generalizability. A similar study should be conducted in other realities in order to strengthen these findings.

Finally, in addition to the aspects explored in this paper, future studies can investigate the perception and quality of transmission of ethnic-racial socialization in schools, guided by the following questions: what educational practices for reducing racism and valuing the Black population do teachers develop in the subject they teach? How do teachers promote ethnic-racial

socialization in schools? How does the teacher include the ethnic-racial theme in the content of the curriculum? What projects are developed during the school year that involve ethnic-racial issues? How does the school act when facing a situation of racism? These and other questions may point to directions for the production of knowledge about the complex dynamics that involve racism in the school environment and bring about changes in the ethnic-racial relationships that emerge in this space, imbuing more respect in these relationships.

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