

The Research on Children and Early Childhood in the UNESCO Project¹

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Abstract

The paper presents a partial summary of the details of an ongoing survey aimed to analyze the research on children and childhood at the UNESCO research program implemented in Brazil, known as “UNESCO Race relations Project” (MAIO, 2004), in partnership with Revista Anhembi, from São Paulo, Brazil, between 1950 and 1953. We integrate a genealogical methodology in order to recover the ideas that anticipated thinking about race relations and children from Virgínia Leone Bicudo’s (1955) “*Atitudes dos alunos dos grupos escolares em relação com a cor dos seus colegas*” (“Attitudes of schoolchildren regarding the color of their schoolmates”) and Aniela Meyer Ginsberg’s (1955) “*Pesquisas sobre as atitudes de um grupo de escolares de São Paulo em relação com as crianças de cor*” (“Research on the attitudes of a group of schoolchildren of São Paulo towards colored children”). The studies indicate a protagonism of racial thinking about children’s ways of socialization, a central theme to contemporary studies, the agency of the child and, in a specific way, the specificity of the agency

1 Translated from the text in Portuguese “A pesquisa sobre criança e infância no Projeto UNESCO” published in this same issue.

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in terms of race relations. These studies have a precursor character, as they investigate categories as race, gender, nationality, age and social class in an articulate way. Our emphasis is to constitute the historical context in which the Brazilian social sciences developed as a field of study and research in which the issues regarding children and their childhoods are marked by the variability of gender, race, and social class experiences. We seek to conciliate a diachronic sequence in which the authors' investigations are inserted within the themes of contemporary research on childhood and race relations.

Keywords: Race relations, Childhood, UNESCO project.

The research on race relations in Brazil and the UNESCO

The paper presents preliminary data from an investigation⁵ that examined the “UNESCO Project on race relations”, conducted in partnership with Revista Anhembi, from São Paulo, between 1950 and 1953. The project was part of the research on children and childhood conducted by Virgínia Leone Bicudo's (1955) “*Atitudes dos alunos dos grupos escolares em relação com a cor dos seus colegas*” (“Attitudes of school pupils towards the color of their schoolmates”) and Aniela Meyer Ginsberg's (1955) “*Pesquisas sobre as atitudes de um grupo de escolares de São Paulo em relação com as crianças de cor*” (“Research on the attitudes of a group of schoolchildren of São Paulo towards colored children”). This text is based on items that intend to outline the conceptual and methodological aspects to be employed, in order to assume the project subsidized by UNESCO as the object of analysis.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization – UNESCO has proposed, since its institution, the necessary actions to be consolidated as a political forum within the United Nations System, with the aim of promoting normative

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measures in the areas of education, science and culture. The scope of action of the principles of UNESCO and other specialized agencies of the United Nations has been intended, since its establishment, to the protection of the Nation-State as a political unit. This conception of the Nation-State as a cohesive entity is a legacy of a modern western political construction that was allied with the motto regarding the promotion of a “culture of peace” (UNESCO, 2000; MAUREL, 2010). Specifically speaking, this principle was anchored on a sense of coexisting social relationships based on tolerance and understanding among Nations that would ensure the sovereignty and the rule of law and democracy, themes that have become general principles of a model of international political organization.

The constitution of UNESCO during the period post-World War II meant a worldwide political tension, which acquired new contours with the integration of African and Asian countries after the completion of their decolonization processes and the Civil Rights Movement against racial segregation of black people in the USA, as well as the apartheid in South Africa. Such a scenario has culminated in a reordering of social relations, which began to be seen as racial tensions, understood by Silvério’s (1999) as “a new moment of racialization”. This configuration brought about the need for a regulatory body designed to prevent potential conflicts among nations:

The United Nations was born with the vocation of becoming the world political society organization, to which all the nations of the world committed to the defense of human dignity ought necessarily to belong to. (COMPARATO, 2010, p. 226)⁶.

6 Translated from the original in Portuguese: As Nações Unidas nasceram com a vocação de se tornarem a Organização da sociedade política mundial, à qual deveriam pertencer, portanto necessariamente, todas as nações do globo empenhadas na defesa da dignidade humana (COMPARATO, 2010, p. 226).

The context led UNESCO guidelines to draw up a series of measures to resolve racial conflicts. Basically, UNESCO's actions were directed to the production of research and normative documents with the purpose of providing an intergovernmental union between the member countries, in order to achieve "universal peace". That became the slogan "*live together*", an axiom that was intensely disseminated by the United Nations. Specifically speaking, this principle was anchored due to the belief in the coexistence and in building social relationships based on tolerance and understanding between nations, i.e., actions that could ensure the sovereignty, the rule of law and democracy, themes that have become the general precept of an international political organization model.

UNESCO is seen as a key agency, as it operates with some autonomy in relation to the UN. It also influences some of the themes to be considered by other agencies, inserted into the internal regulations of the nations. Among its duties, UNESCO ensures international cooperation, by stimulating studies grounded in the most up-to-date scientific discoveries in order to reduce conflicts and tensions⁷ (UNESCO, 1958). Therefore, UNESCO has embraced a problematic theme to be solved: the coexistence among nations with different ethnic and racial backgrounds. While embracing the racial issue, UNESCO started an intense process of theoretical production on the topic, by means of scientific research and, in particular, normative measures that are configured in documents that constituted an anti-racism policy in which education would have a key role (CRUZ, 2014).

In 1950, the informative *L'UNESCO et son programme: la question raciale*⁸, which contained the actions of the organization during that year, was published simultaneously to the recently

7 *L'unesco: ce qu'elle est, ce qu'elle fait: La maison de l'unesco*. O Correio da UNESCO, 1958, Ano XI, nº 11, pp. 37-38.

8 UNESCO, *La UNESCO et son programme: la question raciale*. 1950, 11p.

approved Declaration on Race. It was inserted into one of UNESCO's main lines of activity and formed an incessant production of knowledge on the topic. The text exposed the proposal of research to be undertaken in Brazil, which was seen as a nation that, in spite of a history of participating in racially different groups, did not express, at least explicitly, conflicts of social coexistence. The research had the objective of providing, in the theoretical field of social sciences, elements on the conditioning processes that could assist in the construction of "more peaceable and happier inter-racial relations" (UNESCO, 1950, p. 4).

The choice for Brazil was due to the conviction in the discursive representation of the country as a place that had managed to equalize potential racial conflicts. In Roger Bastide's opinion, the country offered "*au monde le modèle d'une démocratie raciale; mais, pour la comprendre, il faut en chercher les racines dans l'histoire du passé esclavagiste*" (BASTIDE, 1957, p. 525). The proposal⁹ to conduct research with this configuration gave rise to a "program of dissemination of scientific facts designed to make disappear the so-called race prejudice" (COMAS, *apud*, PINTO 1999¹⁰). The program, known as "UNESCO Project on Race Relations", in partnership with Revista Anhembi, from *São Paulo*, between 1950 and 1953, brought together foreign and Brazilian intellectuals so as to conduct "a large survey in Brazil in order to

9 The proposal was approved at the 5th UNGA in Florence in 1950, during the ECOSOC session, requesting UNESCO to conduct the research. The resolution of the Conference indicated that UNESCO's Director-General should "research and collect scientific data concerning racial issues; disseminate widely the scientific data and prepare an education campaign based on these data" (Translated from the original in Portuguese: "pesquisar e reunir os dados científicos concernentes às questões raciais; difundir amplamente os dados científicos assim reunidos e preparar uma campanha de educação baseada nestes dados" (O Correio da UNESCO, 1950, Ano III, Nº 8, p. 8).

10 COMAS, J. Prefácio. In: COMAS, J. *Raça e ciência*. Paris: UNESCO, s.d. citado em PINTO, R. P. Diferenças étnico-raciais e formação do professor. **Cadernos de Pesquisa**, São Paulo, n. 108, Nov. 1999. Translated from the original in Portuguese: "programa de difusão de fatos científicos destinados a fazer desaparecer o que se convencionou chamar de preconceito de raça"

study social tensions and changes in the social structure (...)”¹¹ (PINTO, 1998).

UNESCO managed the project through Alfred Métraux, the Race Relations Department coordinator at the time. Revista Anhembi, on its turn, articulated a network of Brazilian and foreign researchers. Revista Anhembi was idealized and published by Paulo Duarte, whose aim to “sponsor an in-depth investigation about black people’s problems in S. Paulo”¹² (DUARTE, 1955, p. 7, sic) was outlined from the repercussions of his article “Brazilian Blacks”, published in the newspaper “O Estado de São Paulo” in 1947¹³. In the article, Paulo Duarte mapped what he called “the negro’s problem”, whose vertex could be identified by means of the unfavorable development indices in various social spheres that at the time resulted in the social experience lived by black people.

The UNESCO Project ended up as an inventory of data whose goal was to evaluate and to understand “the Brazilian racial reality” (FERNANDES, 1955, p. 21). It instituted a field of studies on race relations in Brazil, so that the notion that Brazil would serve as “laboratory of civilization” was spread within the UNESCO (MAIO, 1999). The studies subsidized and directed by UNESCO were included in the agenda of the project *Tensions Affecting International Understanding*¹⁴, launched in 1949. The knowledge produced in the 1950s, under the auspices of UNESCO, were marked by the transition from natural sciences to social sciences, whose reflection was the change of the lexicon of human

11 Translated from the original in Portuguese: “um grande *survey* no Brasil a fim de estudar as tensões sociais e as mudanças de estrutura social (...)” (PINTO, 1998).

12 Translated from the original in Portuguese: “patrocinar um inquérito em profundidade sobre o problema do negro em S. Paulo” (DUARTE, 1955, p. 7, sic)

13 See: DUARTE, P. Negros do Brasil. O Estado de São Paulo, 16-17 de abril de 1947.

14 The title was given to a forum held in 1948, as part of the project “Tensions That Cause War” in which participated, among others, Gilberto Freyre, Max Horkheimer, George Gurvitch, Gordon Allport. In the discussions in the forum, Latin America was seen as a fruitful social research place. In the event, Gilberto Freyre emphasized the importance of Latin America as a region that could provide alternatives in social relations (MAIO, 1997, p. 41).

body to the lexicon of culture. MAIO (1999) states that UNESCO Project's legacy was to promote a sociology based on a specific field, the sociology of race relations.

Therefore, it is the circumstances under which the UNESCO Project was conducted that pose specific questions about the surveys conducted.

During the presentation of the São Paulo phase of the UNESCO project, entitled "*Race prejudice in São Paulo (a study project)*" (BASTIDE; FERNANDES,[1955] 2008), Florestan Fernandes and Roger Bastide described the steps to be taken and the objective of the research, i.e., to unveil the "nature and function of race prejudice" (*Op. cit.*, p. 267). In the methodological text, the authors exposed the project profile as "informative, descriptive and interpretive". Another objective was "to use the results in the social rehabilitation of adults and in the basic policy of race approximation"¹⁵ (*Op. cit.*, p. 267).

The problems arising from the need to analyze color-related prejudice as a research object, once its "nature and function are far from being well known by Sociology"¹⁶ (BASTIDE; FERNANDES, 2008), influenced the development of the project. The authors recommended that the research in other contexts should only be used as a comparison, and that the objective of an investigation directed by a supranational institution should take precedence over the development and the implementation of the research steps (BASTIDE; FERNANDES, 2008).

In order to identify the race prejudice, the project would incorporate "both the analysis of education at school as *at home*

15 Translated from the original in Portuguese: "natureza e a função do preconceito racial", "informativo, descritivo e interpretativo" and "servir-se de seus resultados na reeducação social dos adultos e em sua política básica de aproximação das raças"

16 Translated from the original in Portuguese: "natureza e função estão longe de ser bem conhecidos pela Sociologia" (BASTIDE; FERNANDES, 2008)

(*Op. cit.*, p. 287)¹⁷, in games groups, working groups and other situations of human co-existence” which would help identify “their psychic function”¹⁸ (*Op. cit.*, p. 287). During the presentation of the research data in São Paulo, in the introduction to the book “Relações raciais entre negros e brancos em São Paulo” (“Race relations between blacks and whites in São Paulo”) (1955), Bastide outlined the project structure, in its *paulista* phase. He indicated that the results had been obtained through the themes investigated by special committees composed of leaders of the “black environment”, students and researchers of the UNESCO Project. Fernandes and Bastide refer to a “special committee formed by some colored intellectuals”, who assisted the “Committee for the study of race relations in São Paulo” in the research. With this group, there was a “female committee designed to examine the characteristics of color-related prejudice towards women and children, who met every two weeks in the Sociology Office 1”¹⁹ (BASTIDE, 2008, p. 12, *sic*), called “*Comissão do Estudo da Mulher Negra em S. Paulo*” (“Committee of Black Women Studies in S. Paulo”). The latter was composed by the “Comissão das Senhoras de Cor” (“Committee of Colored Ladies”) (with the participation of Virgínia Bicudo). In the debate about race relations among children, there was the contribution of Francisco Lucrécio, who assisted in the case study “*Relations between White and Black Children in Playgrounds in the Capital*”²⁰. Florestan

17 Italics in original.

18 Translated from the original in Portuguese: “tanto a análise da educação na escola, quanto *em casa*, nos grupos de folguedo, nos grupos de trabalho e nas demais situações de convivência humana [...] a função psíquica delas” (*Op. cit.*, p. 287).

19 Translated from the original in Portuguese: “comissão especial de alguns intelectuais de cor” [...] “Comissão para o estudo das relações raciais em São Paulo” [...] “comissão feminina encarregada de examinar os característicos do preconceito de cor relativamente à mulher e à criança, e que se reunia quinzenalmente no gabinete I da Cadeira de Sociologia” (BASTIDE, 2008, p. 12, *sic*)

20 This analysis was developed in “A ‘cultura infantil’ na perspectiva de Florestan Fernandes: contribuições para a sociologia da infância brasileira” (2014) (“Children’s culture from Florestan

referred to Francisco Lucrecio's intervention, who "made a special announcement, of great importance, about the situation of colored children in the face of the manifestations of color-related prejudice"²¹ (BASTIDE; FERNANDES, 1955, p. 14, sic).

One of the interesting aspects of the project, which appears incipiently in the allusions to the UNESCO Project, is the participation of black women and men in the condition of intellectuals and leaders of black associations, in empirical investigations. A preliminary analysis of the results leads to the understanding that some studies have participated as secondary sources, such as the investigations of psychological and sociological interface by Virgínia Leone Bicudo (1955) and Aniela Meyer Ginsberg (1955). It was, therefore, with the aim to conduct a "scientifically oriented sociological research in Brazil"²² (DUARTE, 1955, p. 7) that Virgínia Leone Bicudo's and Aniela Meyer Ginsberg's research papers were inserted. These items, defined as "documents" or "research protocols", constituted in a collection" of reports in which the themes specifically ordered would serve as bases for other research. Roger Bastide said that the authors' research was "psychological work, done in children's groups"²³, whose function was to "confirm" the sociological work conducted in São Paulo (BASTIDE, 1955, p. 13).

Fernandes's perspective: contributions to the sociology of Brazilian childhood"), by Elisabeth Christiane Teixeira, as a Scientific Initiation research funded by FAPESP, advised by Prof. Dr. Andrea Barnes Moruzzi, at the Universidade Federal de São Carlos. The author analyzed a document found at the Florestan Fernandes Fund, Community Library, UFSCar, about the cases, entitled "*Situação das Crianças Negras nos Parques Infantis*" ("The situation of black children in playgrounds in the capital city"). See: *Relações entre crianças brancas e negras em parques infantis da capital*. Mimeo, [s.d.]. Documento disponível no arquivo PDF 02.04.4527 (Estudos de Caso) do Fundo Florestan Fernandes (BCo/UFSCar), p. 194-199.

21 Translated from the original in Portuguese: "fez uma comunicação especial, de muita importância, sobre a situação dos imaturos de cor em face das manifestações do preconceito de cor" (BASTIDE; FERNANDES, 1955, p. 14, sic)

22 Translated from the original in Portuguese: "investigação sociológica no Brasil cientificamente orientada" (DUARTE, 1955, p. 7)

23 Translated from the original in Portuguese: "trabalho psicológico, feito em grupos infantis" (BASTIDE, 1955, p. 13).

Research on children and childhood in the UNESCO Project

With the purpose to analyze the prejudicial experiences that had victimized her during her childhood, Virgínia Leone Bicudo got her bachelor's degree in Sociology at the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo (ELSP) in 1938²⁴. In the master dissertation, entitled "*Estudo de atitudes raciais de pretos e mulatos em São Paulo*" ("A study of racial attitudes of blacks and mulattos in São Paulo"), presented in 1945 and supervised by Donald Pierson, the author analyzed black associations and thinking about race relations in São Paulo between 1941 and 1944²⁵. The investigation resulted from the project "*Estudo da Consciência de Raça entre Pretos e Mestiços de São Paulo*" ("Study of the Race Consciousness among Blacks and Mestizos in São Paulo")²⁶, in which she developed the argument that "blacks and mulattos" used to internalize a certain "white conception for them, given the influence of primary contacts, *mainly during childhood*"²⁷ (BICUDO, 2010, apud SILVA, 2011, p. 411).

Due to her experience as a researcher and lecturer at Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo (ELSP), Virgínia Leone Bicudo was the only black woman to integrate UNESCO Project's group of researchers. Based on the research carried out in the UNESCO project, she published the text "*Atitudes*

24 In an interview to newspaper Folha de São Paulo, in 1994, the author said: "I had a lot of great conflicts with myself, but I thought the cause was social. Since I was a kid, I have been the object of color prejudice. I wanted to study sociology because, if that was the problem, I should study sociology to protect me against prejudice, which is formed at the cultural and social level." ("I've been called a charlatan", an interview Virgínia Bicudo gave to Claudio Julio Tognoli, 1994).

25 Virgínia Leone Bicudo's trajectory was analyzed in the thesis: GOMES, Janaína Damasceno. Os segredos de Virgínia: estudo de atitudes raciais em São Paulo 1945-1955. Tese de doutorado em *Antropologia Social*. São Paulo, USP, 2013.

26 See: BICUDO, V. L. *Atitudes raciais de pretos e mulatos em São Paulo*. São Paulo: Editora de Sociologia e Política, 2010.

27 Italics in original: "concepção do branco para eles, dada a influência dos contatos primários, *principalmente da infância*" (BICUDO, 2010, apud SILVA, 2011, p. 411).

dos alunos dos grupos escolares em relação com a cor dos seus colegas”²⁸ (“Attitudes of school pupils towards the color of their schoolmates”). The objective was to analyze “the feelings and the defense mechanisms in the attitudes related to the color of schoolmates” and “the influence of intra-familial relations in the development of those attitudes”²⁹ (BICUDO, 1955, p. 227, *sic*). The research included a universe of 4,320 school pupils in the city of São Paulo. The pupils answered a questionnaire with the purpose of collecting data “related to feelings, stereotypes and attitudes among white and colored people”³⁰ (BICUDO, 1955, p. 228 *sic*). As a second phase of the research, Bicudo selected 29 of the pupils’ families, in order to understand how black and white children perceive race prejudice at school, and also what they mobilize to establish “rapprochement” and “distance” criteria in their social relationships within the school space. Finally, the author extracted subsidies from the interviews that helped identify that “children are influenced by their parents’ attitudes towards colored people, but they re-elaborate and reproduce the attitudes with greater or lesser tenacity, according to the affections operating in the relations with their parents”³¹ (BICUDO, 1955, p. 292 *sic*).

Although the theme appeared throughout her history, it became more effective with her professional activity as a health educator whose job was to take care of “problem children”. This action derived from her studies at the teacher education school

28 The first version of the text was published in 1953. It was later published in a book organized by Florestan Fernandes and Roger Bastide, “Relações raciais entre brancos e negros em São Paulo” (“Race relations between whites and blacks in São Paulo”) in 1955.

29 Translated from the original in Portuguese: “os sentimentos e os mecanismos de defesa nas atitudes relacionadas com a cor dos colegas” e a influência das relações intrafamiliares no desenvolvimento daquelas atitudes” (BICUDO, 1955, p. 227, *sic*).

30 Translated from the original in Portuguese: “referentes aos sentimentos, aos estereótipos e às atitudes entre os brancos e os de cor” (BICUDO, 1955, p. 228 *sic*).

31 Translated from the original in Portuguese: “a criança é influenciada pelas atitudes dos pais com respeito às pessoas de cor, porém, que ela as re-elabora, mantendo-as com maior ou menor tenacidade, segundo os afetos operantes nas relações com os pais” (BICUDO, 1955, p. 292).

and the specialization course in health education. She later worked in the Children Guidance Clinic at the School Mental Hygiene Section in São Paulo between 1938 and 1960³². During that period, Bicudo worked as a health educator, motivated by the “problems of children and social relations”³³ (BICUDO, 1946, p. 86 *apud* DAMASCENO, 2013, p. 61). During her work at the Clinic in São Paulo, Bicudo collected the 11 cases included in her research conducted between 1941 and 1944³⁴. They represented “elements from the social classes who send children to the schools”³⁵ (BICUDO, 2010, p. 65).

Polish psychologist Aniela Meyer Ginsberg³⁶ conducted a similar study, entitled “*Pesquisas sôbre as atitudes de um grupo de escolares de São Paulo em relação com as crianças de côr*” (“Research on the attitudes of a group of schoolchildren of São Paulo towards colored children”) (1955). She investigated “the attitude of schoolchildren towards their white and colored schoolmates”, based on the markers “age, sex, social background, and the color of the pupils”³⁷ (GINSBERG, 1955, p. 311, *sic*). Ginsberg describes these attitudes in different schoolchildren groups composed of “poor children, workers and artisans”, “children of workers of a higher economic level”, and “children from a private school [...] rich people’s children”³⁸ (GINSBERG, 1955, p. 315, *sic*).

32 In the neighborhoods in São Paulo: Bela Vista, Santana, Vila Mariana, Barra Funda e Mooca (BICUDO, 2010, p. 66).

33 Translated from the original in Portuguese: “problemas das crianças e as relações sociais” (BICUDO, 1946, p. 86 *apud* DAMASCENO, 2013, p. 61).

34 “Visiting schools in the capital, we asked for blacks’ and mulattos’ addresses and we talked to their parents, telling them we wanted to see the conditions of the affective environment in order to guide them in the education of their children” (Op. cit. p. 65).

35 Translated from the original in Portuguese: “elementos das classes sociais que enviam crianças para os grupos escolares” (BICUDO, 2010, p. 65).

36 Aniela Meyer Ginsberg was a social psychology professor at ELSP between 1937 and 1940.

37 Translated from the original in Portuguese: “a atitude das crianças de idade escolar para com os seus colegas brancos e de côr” a partir dos marcadores de “idade, sexo, meio social, e a côr dos examinados” (GINSBERG, 1955, p. 311, *sic*).

38 Translated from the original in Portuguese: “crianças pobres operárias e artesãs”, “crianças filhos de operários de nível econômico mais elevado” “crianças de uma escola particular [...] filhos de ricos” (GINSBERG, 1955, p. 315, *sic*).

In addition to the application of research methods with 208 pupils, the author interviewed children from eight cases identified as exceptional, in order to structure the data. As a methodological option, Ginsberg was inspired by the techniques of H. G. Trager, M. Radke and H. Davis, who developed procedures based on “doll-play interviews”, in which children should choose between black and white dolls, and the “interpretation of representative pictures”³⁹ (GINSBERG, 1955, p. 313, *sic*).

The “picture interpretation” method, inspired by Ruth Hartley Horowitz’s⁴⁰ (1939) “show me test”, is a means of collecting data adopted by Ginsberg in cases when she noted the children’s embarrassment and consequent refusal to answer particular questions. Horowitz’s method to present pictures and toys to black and white children, in order to capture their racial self-classification, as well as to identify the mechanisms of racial preference in their social relations within the school space, was used by Ginsberg for data collecting. Also under North-American inspiration, Ginsberg applied the technique of Kenneth Bancroft Clark⁴¹ and Mamie Phippis Clark⁴², who had expanded Ruth

39 Translated from the original in Portuguese: “jôgo de bonecas” [...] “interpretação de quadros representativos” (GINSBERG, 1955, p. 313, *sic*).

40 Ruth Hartley Horowitz is a precursor for the development and use of techniques to obtain data about racial classification with dolls, pictures and other artifacts. She is the author of the text “Racial aspects of self-identification in nursery schoolchildren” whose objective was to identify the racial perception and identification of children, with the use of pictures, in boys and girls from 2 to 5 years old in a nursery school. See Horowitz, R. E. (1939). Racial aspects of self-identification in nursery schoolchildren. *Journal of Psychology: Interdisciplinary and Applied*, 7, 91-99.

41 Kenneth Bancroft Clark achieved international recognition when his study was cited in the case regarding the unconstitutionality of racial segregation in North-American schools in 1954. His work was a catalyst for the African American Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s.

42 Mamie Phippis Clark’s Master dissertation “The Development of Consciousness of Self in Black Pre-Schoolchildren”, at Howard University in 1938, identified that the self-perception of children about the “blackness” was very latent in childhood, leading to the projection of the studies with the dolls. See Karera, A. (2010). Profile of Mamie Phipps Clark. In A. Rutherford (Ed.), *Psychology’s Feminist Voices* Multimedia Internet Archive. <http://www.feministvoices.com/bonnie-strickland/>

Hartley Horowitz's findings, by employing the "choice tests"⁴³. Kenneth and Mamie Clark developed the techniques with children between three and seven years old. They first asked them questions about the dolls and then asked them to color the drawings of boys and girls based on their own colors. Many black children used white or yellow crayons. Clark and Clark concluded that there is a deviation in the construction of black children's racial identity⁴⁴.

From this theoretical and methodological scope, Ginsberg started the research. She pointed out the strong influence of the "social environment", an expression employed for the definition of the social class in the "friendly" or "less favorable" attitudes of children from different phenotypes, although, in general, they showed similar responses that indicated an "evident preference for whites" (GINSBERG, 1955, p. 311). She also stated that "in the games, all of the children exhibited, with no distinction of age, sex, social background or color, an evident preference for whites"⁴⁵ (*Op. cit.*, p. 338). On the other hand, although "colored children" maintained "the ideal white", they did not assign an "inferior role" to blacks. In the racial classification, the author adopted the skin "color": "white, black and mulatto". Regarding the gender, the categories or indicators were masculine and feminine; for "age group", children from 7 to 14 years old (*Op. cit.*, p. 316).

43 The technique consisted in showing pictures for the children to choose based on the question "Which one is you?" The objective was to identify whether the kids would recognize similarities with themselves in the pictures. See Clark, K. B., & Clark, M. P. (1940). Skin color as a factor in racial identification of Negro preschoolchildren. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 10, 159-169.

44 Such proposition was much criticized by Willian Cross Jr. (1991 apud ROCHA, 2005), one of the most prominent names of Black Psychology, who developed a method of stages of development for black identity in the African American context. Cross Jr. adopts the idea that personality develops after childhood, from measurable stages. For the author, the socialization experiences influence the construction of identity. The sociability developed in childhood, particularly in educational units, is essential for young children.

45 Translated from the original in Portuguese: "todos os examinados sem diferença de idade, sexo, meio social ou côr mostram nos jogos marcada preferência pelos brancos" (*Op. cit.*, p. 338).

Both Bicudo's and Ginsberg's texts are notable, as they result from an articulation between theory and method, designed to think about race relations in childhood in school contexts in a pioneer way, based on categories such as age, social environment, skin color, sex and nationality⁴⁶, from a sociological perspective.

Bicudo employed the term "schoolchildren" to refer to children between 9 and 15 years old, and used a phenotype⁴⁷ race classification to establish the ethnic-racial categories. We see here an equivalence between skin color and race, as "colored" refers to black and mixed-race people or "mestizos"⁴⁸ in that context. That is, skin color, which is a sociologically indeterminate concept, as the color is biological, is matched and understood through the analytical concept of race. Regarding the differences between boys and girls, both authors use the term "sex" for the differentiation, i.e., the categories sex and gender are undifferentiated.

Bicudo's and Ginsberg's impressions, articulated from a theoretical emphasis between sociology and social psychology, demonstrated the existence of color prejudice, separated from class prejudice, thus diverging from the current analyses, especially Donald Pierson's. In the case of Bicudo's studies, Pierson's influence was more evident in the methodological steps

46 The author uses the term "sex" to refer to boys and girls, only in the description of the classes in the schools studied, in which she describes the classes as "feminine", "masculine", or "mixed". In relation to the public, the author uses terms such as "schoolchildren", "pupils", "schoolmates". To differentiate the nationality, the author uses terms such as "Brazilians" and "foreigners", in addition to descriptions of specific nationalities.

47 The author says that the schoolchildren chose the terms "black, colored and brown" for the phenotypic definition, when they rejected the black schoolchildren.

48 Bastide and Florestan define: "the expression 'colored man' (or other equivalent definitions) is generally used to designate blacks and mestizos. However, people with well-known black ancestors with some evident black people features are often characterized as 'whites', and are treated as such". Translated from the original in Portuguese: "a expressão 'homem de cor' (ou outras equivalentes) é geralmente empregada para designar negros e mestiços; porém, pessoas com ancestrais pretos conhecidos e portadores de alguns traços negróides salientes, frequentemente passam por 'brancos', e são tratados como tal" (BASTIDE; FERNANDES, 1979, p. 140).

for data collection, based on the “statistical method and case studies”⁴⁹, from the perspective inspired by the Chicago School, with an emphasis on the observation of urban sociability and interdisciplinarity.

Strictly speaking, these and other investigations⁵⁰ are pioneers, as they articulated intersections of age, gender, ethnic and racial categories in the social interaction among several age groups, from the agency of the children themselves, by means of their oral manifestations. The empirical competence research works conducted by Bicudo and Ginsberg are indeed precursors, as they sociologically articulated concepts from the incipient psychoanalysis of the time in Brazil in children’s attitudes, by using the school as a comprehensive locus. Their aim was to understand children’s attitudes in relation to race prejudice in schools in São Paulo. The authors’ analyses, inserted into a sociological proposition, provided tools for repositioning the way in which children were methodologically built as subjects whose texture was shaped with sexuality, gender, ethnicity and race, playing roles in the social spaces whose configurations subjected them.

Conclusion

The consideration of the child as a subject capable of being a social actor, who establishes and produces a specific type of

49 Described as the application of questionnaires and interviews with parents and teachers, in order to map “the feelings towards stereotypes and attitudes between white and colored people” Translated from the original in Portuguese: “os sentimentos, aos estereótipos e às atitudes entre os brancos e os de côr” (BICUDO, 1955, p. 226, *sic*). (BICUDO, 1955, p. 226, *sic*). These parents were selected from statistical analysis and from a selection among the most rejected and the preferred boys and girls, based on the attitudes of “approximation and detachment” from schoolmates. Translated from the original in Portuguese: “aproximação e afastamento” (BICUDO, 1955, p. 227).

50 Bicudo refers to Carolina Martuscelli’s “*Aceitação de Grupos Nacionais ‘Raciais’ e Regionais*” (“Acceptance of ‘Racial’ and ‘Regional’ National Groups”), developed with university students from São Paulo, in a text published in 1950 at the Bulletin CXIX, from the Philosophy, Sciences and Letters School of the University of São Paulo (BICUDO, 1955, p. 285).

socialization, acquires conceptual and analytical status in social thinking with the contemporary studies, especially the sociology of childhood. In Brazil, there is a consensus that Florestan's "As Trocinhas do Bom Retiro" is pioneer, as he described the ways children used to establish a peculiar type of social organization in which their cultural particularities vitalized social relations. However, research on children and childhood started to consolidate both theoretically and methodologically in the 1970s and especially in the 1980s. This perspective, via French researchers, brought about assumptions that broke with the analysis of children as subjected to processes of socialization. Via schooling, the perspective sought to establish a de-schooling analysis of sociology of education, besides understanding the children's agency in the socialization process (SIROTA, 2001, p. 11).

This came with a significant volume of transnational academic research. The emergence of specific publications such as the journal *Sociological Studies of Children*, and articles and books written by a variety of authors such as Willian Corsaro, Allison James, Alan Prout, and Jens Qvortrup, Régine Sirota, among others, illustrate the fact. These events and other integrated actions define the 1980s as a milestone in sociological thinking about children (MONTANDON, 2001). Such theoretical perspectives insert children as real social actors, who are part of society and the world, and partners in the construction of their childhood and the society they inhabit, affected by the same forces that affect adults, although in a particular way (QVORTRUP, 1993, p. 7).

Pluralizing the concept of childhood is part of a theoretical change seen from several perspectives. Delgado (2003) identifies childhood as a historical construction that requires concepts and theories with a methodological structure in tune with the theoretical field. Jenks (1996) and Prout and James (1998) defended the concept of childhood as a plural category – childhoods – also built and rebuilt for and by children.

This distinction of childhood as a social construct derives, according to Sirota (2001), from the pioneering work of Philippe Ariès, who conceptualized the construction of what he called “feeling of childhood”⁵¹. The assertion was “resumed and discussed by a large number of studies that will contribute to the interest in the object, both among historians and all the social sciences”⁵² (SIROTA, 2001, p. 10).

In the Brazilian context, regarding the ethnic-racial relations in childhood, the studies also left the interregnum to which they had been relegated after these decades. Most of the research on black children, except for a few studies⁵³, exposed two prominent representations: enslaved children in the late 19th century and, after that, abandoned, needy children who appeared in Brazilian research in the early 1980s, together with the specific legislation designed to their control and institutionalization. Contemporary analyses contribute to the debate, as they break or seek to break away from the duality between these representations.

It is interesting to observe the context into which the theme inserts at the UNESCO Project and what this analysis may offer us in terms of theoretical and epistemological questioning. In other words, when the Brazilian social sciences constitute as an

51 The study “*Representações de criança e infância nas obras de Gilberto Freyre*” (2014) (“Representations of children and childhood in Gilberto Freyre’s works”), by Flavia Francchini, advised by Prof. Dr. Tatiane Cosentino Rodrigues, and funded by the Institutional Program of Scientific Initiation Scholarships, at the Federal University of São Carlos, emphasizes Gilberto Freyre’s narrative. It points out that the author anticipates the analysis of a specific way of thinking and relationship with children, prior to Philippe Ariès, who called it “feeling of childhood” (ARIÈS, 1981). In this way, the author joins the scholars who defend that Freyre proposes a characterization of the childhood history specifically about the ethnic-racial belonging and the social gender roles before the 17th century.

52 Translated from the original in Portuguese: “retomada e discutida por um grande número de trabalhos, que contribuirão para o interesse pelo objeto, tanto entre os historiadores quanto no conjunto das ciências sociais” (SIROTA, 2001, p. 10).

53 See: JOVINO, I. S. *Crianças negras em imagens do século XIX. (Black children in the 19th century images)* 2010. 131f. *Tese de Doutorado em Educação*. Universidade Federal de São Carlos, São Carlos, 2010.

area of study and research, the themes related to children and their childhoods (marked by the variability of experiences of gender, race, social class, etc.) consolidate with the research on race relations. Our hypothesis is that the area of childhood in Brazil, in its genealogy, was built concurrently to the debate about the racial theme. That is, through the debate designed to map and understand the ways in which social relations in Brazil are traversed by the racial theme, the aspects about the socialization of children are specifically inserted.

Focusing on the objective of this text, we present some points that enable to reconcile a diachronic sequence into which the research on children and childhood developed in the UNESCO Project are inserted along the themes of contemporary research. Our intention is to establish a cartography to identify these studies, based on how they may contribute to the conceptual and epistemological refinement, with regard to contemporary propositions about the ways children establish their social relations. As it is not a chronological trajectory, we want to assign to research a temporality that acts in the present, thus, a genealogy. That is, inspired by genealogical assumptions (MORUZZI, ABRAMOWICZ, 2010), it aims to set up a still little explored atmosphere and capture the elements that make up the sociological thinking on children and their childhoods. In other words, these studies may be allocated in a sort of historical genesis of the sociological research on ethnic-racial relations, children and their childhoods in the Brazilian context.

In this sense, the research on children and childhood developed in the UNESCO Project is included among the themes of contemporary research. However, the intention is not to read these works from an anachronistic historiographic point of view, but to recognize them into a cartography that identifies them based on how they may contribute to the contemporary research

on the ways children establish their racial and social relations. We seek to assess the elements that constitute the knowledge and practices that mark the ways of constitution of social relations, the processes of identification and recognition, which racially pass through the micro and macro policy of a given social formation.

This is particularly important with regard to the use of theoretical notions of race and ethnicity. Both terms are used here as social analysis categories, that is, of contingent and historical character. Such terms do not contain any biological meaning, but are significant in terms of the course and the exteriority inscribed in the bodies, whose reading may only be made by properly informed eyes. This dimension may be seen in the empirical research by Bicudo and Ginsberg, when they employ methods that lead to the assessment of how the children who participated in the study have interpreted and identified a color, a feature, an object, a form, and have qualified such elements in a given context.

These studies may be allocated in a sort of historical genesis of sociological research on children and their childhoods in the Brazilian context. We see, therefore, especially from the Brazilian research context, that there is a gap in the studies on childhood between 1940 and 1970. Such inference derives from a research project carried out between 2010 and 2012, whose objective was to establish a genealogy in order to compose the research field of the sociology of childhood in Brazil⁵⁴. The conclusion of the project pointed that the research on children and Brazilian childhood was based on themes informed by events and historical contexts that drove the analysis. The genealogical method employed identified the atmospheres and borders that influenced the objects of study

54 Project "Educação e Sociologia da Infância no Brasil: uma genealogia em construção" ("Education and Sociology of Childhood in Brazil: a genealogy in construction", funded by FAPESP, conducted between 2010 and 2012 by the Research Group on Children, Childhood and Early Childhood Education: policies and practices of the difference, UFSCar, under the coordination of Prof. Dr. Dan Abramowicz.

concerning children and childhood in Brazil and, especially, identified a gap in the research between 1940 and 1970.

In the view of the points outlined here, we analyzed the research on children and childhood developed in the UNESCO Project departing from a reading that, besides revealing a specific historical moment of Brazilian theoretical production, may offer elements to draw a broad panorama of Brazilian social thinking on children and their childhoods. Choosing this model requires taking a path through the history of the construction of the research on Brazilian children and childhoods, which integrates an analysis of ethnic-racial relations. This leads to the construction of compelling theoretical inflections, as historically the Brazilian research about children and their childhoods have worked with a child represented by the image of a pupil whose ethnic-racial belonging remained camouflaged in a given image of children (ABRAMOWICZ; OLIVEIRA, 2010).

By comparing Bicudo's and Meyer's studies, we identify the pioneering spirit that they aggregate, by articulating, in the early 1950s, analysis categories such as race, gender, nationality, age and social class. It is possible, therefore, to establish another temporality, to the extent that it is possible to link the research developed in the UNESCO Project about race relations within the formation of a sociological investigation on Brazilian childhood. The hypothesis is, then, that the authors' studies include a genesis of sociological research about childhood in the analytical path advocated by Florestan Fernandes and thus the debate about children and childhood maintained the border with the debate of race relations in Brazil.

It is intended, with the results of this investigation, to inspire others, especially due to the vanguard character that the UNESCO Project acquired by promoting, not only institutionally, but also conceptually and theoretically, the Brazilian social

sciences. It is intended, therefore, to remove the invisibility to which their research works were linked, as they were identified as “subsidiaries” or “support”, reflecting a tacit dispute of themes and projects that became indeed sociological. In other words, we propose to place them in the center of sociological research on children and their childhoods in the Brazilian context. Despite the treatment given to the results of the research on children and childhood in the UNESCO Project, we intend to establish an opposite movement, by highlighting such research.

We focus on the discontinuity of the research works, in particular the ones that have been relegated to the ostracism, insofar as it indicatively informs us the way the scientific field was constituted, especially the field of ethnic-racial relations. We seek to establish a disruptive relationship with time, by using the notion of diaspora as a conceptual experiment that leads to characterize historical periodization models by articulating different historical contexts. Bringing Bicudo’s and Meyer’s studies to a synchronic dialogue with the contemporary debate about children and their childhoods leads us to reposition bonds of meaning between the historical events regarding the theme.

It is possible, in relation to the way the sociological thinking on children and their childhoods was constituted, to establish another temporality, by creating a link with the UNESCO Project investigation on Brazilian race relations within the theoretical field of sociological research on Brazilian childhood.

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