

**CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE BORDER REGION: CHILDHOOD SOCIOLOGY
AND SCHOOL EDUCATION**

***DIVERSIDADE CULTURAL EM REGIÃO FRONTEIRIÇA: SOCIOLOGIA DA
INFÂNCIA E EDUCAÇÃO ESCOLAR***

***DIVERSIDAD CULTURAL EN LA REGIÓN FRONTERIZA: SOCIOLOGÍA INFANTIL
Y EDUCACIÓN ESCOLAR***

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ABSTRACT: This article aims to discuss the links between childhood sociology and school education – focusing on border regions. Our interest persists in understanding the cultural construction of childhood, as well as the place of school education intersecting with cultural diversity. Based on the bibliographical reference, and the literature used, it was noticed that childhood is a social construction that varies between different groups in a society. Thus, several ways of experiencing childhood coexist, which – in turn – are not always considered in school institutions. It ends up valuing certain cultures - specifically dominant - over others, exerting different formats of symbolic violence. The concept of universal child, adopted by the school, ends up marginalizing childhoods that escape the prevailing convention. Thus, the sociology of childhood must redirect the look at the subjects in order to contribute to a school that goes beyond social reproductions.

KEYWORDS: Childhood sociology. Cultural diversity. Schooling. Border region.

RESUMO: *Este artigo tem como objetivo discorrer acerca dos entrelaçamentos entre sociologia da infância e educação escolar – com enfoque em regiões fronteiriças. Nosso interesse persiste à compreensão da construção cultural da infância, bem como sobre o lugar da educação escolar com intersecção à diversidade cultural. Com base no referencial bibliográfico e na literatura utilizada percebeu-se que a infância é uma construção social que varia entre os diferentes grupos de uma sociedade. Sendo assim, várias formas de se vivenciar a infância coexistem, que – por sua vez – nem sempre são consideradas nas instituições escolares. Acaba-se valorizando determinadas culturas – especificamente dominantes – em detrimento de outras, exercendo diversos formatos de violência simbólica. A*

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concepção de criança universal, adotada pela escola, acaba por marginalizar as infâncias que fogem da convenção predominante. Com isso, a sociologia da infância deve redirecionar o olhar sobre os sujeitos a fim de contribuir com uma escola para além de reproduções sociais.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Sociologia da infância. Diversidade cultural. Educação escolar. Região fronteira.*

RESUMEN: *Este artículo tiene como objetivo discutir los vínculos entre la sociología infantil y la educación escolar, centrándose en las regiones fronterizas. Nuestro interés persiste en comprender la construcción cultural de la infancia, así como el lugar de la educación escolar en intersección con la diversidad cultural. A partir de la referencia bibliográfica y la literatura utilizada, se advirtió que la infancia es una construcción social que varía entre los diferentes grupos de una sociedad. Así, conviven varias formas de vivir la infancia que, a su vez, no siempre son consideradas en las instituciones escolares. Termina valorando determinadas culturas - específicamente dominantes - sobre otras, ejerciendo diferentes formatos de violencia simbólica. El concepto de niño universal, adoptado por la escuela, acaba marginando infancias que escapan a la convención imperante. Así, la sociología de la infancia debe reorientar la mirada a los sujetos para contribuir a una escuela que vaya más allá de las reproducciones sociales.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Sociología de la infancia. Diversidade cultural. Enseñanza. Región fronteriza.*

Introduction

Indeed, in order to favor the advantaged and disadvantage the disadvantaged, it is necessary and sufficient that the school, in the teaching it imparts, in the methods and techniques of transmission, and in the criteria of evaluation, ignore cultural inequalities [...] (BOURDIEU, 2007).

Childhood, as we know it in our daily lives, is an invention of modernity and is related to a bourgeois conception of how to look at the child, usually seen in a universal way - who needs to be cared for, educated, and prepared for the future. However, this elitist idea of childhood does not correspond to the reality of many children who live in undignified living conditions, besides not having their basic rights respected.

Based on this understanding, and seeking to understand the complexity of this period of life, the Sociology of Childhood emerged. The field began to gain notoriety on the international scene in the 1980s, proposing a new way of looking at children and childhood. These, although they had already been the object of studies of other sociological disciplines - such as the sociology of education - used to be understood in a simplistic way: a fragile being,

a small subject, as a student, a to-be, a passive being and target of a socialization process. In this way, childhood was constituted as a transitional phase to adulthood.

Childhood is seen, after this period, as a social construction that is closely related to the prevailing ideals and values of each time. Children are now understood as social actors, participants in society and builders of culture, who "[...] participate in the exchanges, interactions, and processes of permanent adjustment that shape and contribute to transform society. They are inserted in everyday life, whose analysis is not reduced to that of institutions" (SILVA; RAITZ; FERREIRA, 2009, p. 77).

Corroborating this understanding around the concept of child and childhood, this article aims to discuss how childhood, or rather, the different ways of experiencing childhood, are treated in the school system. With this in mind, we use as our theoretical contribution the conception of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) about education. We used bibliographical research, with a qualitative approach, since this methodological path allows us to know the academic production on the discussion points, besides being the basis for the development of many research processes (PIZZANI *et al.*, 2012).

The results of this bibliographical research were organized as follows: in the first part, we present the conception (construction and consolidation) of childhood throughout history; then, what is the place of institutional education, as a constituent of the sociological field, as a counterpoint to reproduction as a space of respect for differences and opportunity to "be a child"; we list, in the third part, brief considerations about cultural diversity in border regions - as well as its intersection with the school space. And, finally, some final remarks.

The social construction of childhood

Recalling the historical process of how the child was seen over the years, through iconographic documents, Ariès (1986) states that in the Middle Ages, childhood was unknown. There was no feeling of childhood at that time, that is, it was not thought of as a phase with its own characteristics, different from adults. Childhood, thus, was understood only as a transitory phase that, once passed through, would be forgotten.

Analyzing the works of art of this period, Ariès (1986) noted that the only differentiation made between children and adults was related to stature. Until the 12th century, in medieval art, the child was represented with the same features and physical characteristics of an adult, but physically smaller. It was only in the 13th century that a feeling of childhood came closer to the modern conception, when the representations of angels with a

younger appearance than that of adults began to appear. This lack of space for children in the society of the time may be related to demographic conditions. As soon as one passed the stage of greatest risk of mortality, around 7 years of age, the child's existence was already confused with that of the adult.

Kuhlmann and Fernandes (2012) point out that, although the child entered the adult world at around age 7, this did not mean that it was an immediate change, nor that he or she would exercise the same activities and responsibilities as the adult. The introduction of children in the productive activities of the time implied initiation processes, of learning, in which children would become capable of exercising such functions until they acquired their autonomy. The authors also point out that this "adult world", in fact, represented a universe with people of different ages, so that the child was already inserted in it from birth.

It was only in the 17th century that childhood is -finally- "discovered". In art, this is demonstrated by the appearance of representations, in family pictures, of children who had already died. In this aspect, one can notice the greater importance given to children by the family, a characteristic of the Christianization of customs. In addition, the records of children's portraits increased: the aim was to preserve, through painting, the fugacity of childhood. Portraying children in paintings, by themselves, without the company of adults, was new (ARIÉS, 1986).

One can consider that the first feeling of childhood that arose was related to "pampering. Now, the child, because of his naivety and grace, was seen as a source of distraction for the adult. A second sense of this period of life emerged still in the 17th century, with the moralists and educators of the time, who were concerned with discipline and rationality of manners. According to Ariès (1986), this feeling was aware of the innocence and weakness of children and was aimed at strengthening this weakness, preserving innocence. Therefore, the interest in the child came to be characterized with moral concern and psychological interest.

Another characteristic of this second feeling of childhood is that different from the first: here it was already thought of as a long childhood. This is thanks to the success of school institutions, guided and disciplined by moralists and educators of the time. Ariès (1986) points out that educational instruction in the early eighteenth century was already approaching the conceptions that would be consolidated in the nineteenth century, with a minimum duration of four to five years. In school, children were subjected to a strict discipline, and childhood was extended to most of the duration of the school cycle.

In the 19th century, the view of childhood changed, with a medical view, since issues such as poverty, mortality and child labor began to gain attention. The child becomes the target of studies in Medicine and Psychology, in order to prescribe a childhood, to describe each stage of the child's life, standardizing and standardizing them, always focusing on the adult. In this sense, age gains remarkable importance, because it will be this age that will define the deviants from the norm, the children who did not develop, who did not learn, who started speaking too late, etc. (ABRAMOWICZ; OLIVEIRA, 2010).

In the field of sociology, the child was understood - for a long time - as a future being, a to-be. The Sociology of Childhood emerges as a new way to look at the child, breaking with the idea of the child as a passive object of socialization promoted by institutions such as family, school, church, among others. It stems mainly from the pioneering study conducted by historian Phillippe Ariès in the 1960s, who demonstrated that childhood is not a natural and universal occurrence, but rather a historical and social construction. This field of research, which has been consolidating itself in the international scientific discussion since the early 1980s, is the result of a movement in sociology for new interests in the processes of socialization, which led to consider the child as a social actor, seeing childhood as a social construction (SIROTA, 2001).

In Brazil, it was the study of Florestan Fernandes, in 1947, that introduced the interest for children in the discussion of sociologists - although it was only in 1980 that sociology would dispute this knowledge with other areas - seeking to understand what it is to be a child, to go through childhood. According to Abramowicz and Oliveira (2010), the sociology of Brazilian childhood began in 1990, from the convergence between sociologists and pedagogues.

Sarmento (2008) highlights the consecration of a global market of products for childhood; the fact that children mobilize an increasing number of adults who work with them (such as teachers, for example) and, finally, the significant reduction in the number of children in society (if compared to other age groups). For this same author, this quantitative reduction ends up making the presence of children more sensitive in affection relations and in the constitution of family income.

It is worth remembering that Sociology of Childhood, as a scientific field ⁴, is marked by internal differences regarding emphasis, method, selected issues or privileged focus, which

⁴ For Bourdieu, the concept of field represents a space characterized by conflicts and domination. Each field has its own characteristics, and are marked by struggles, "which are fought between the newcomers, in search of the right to enter the field, and the dominants, who will try to defend their monopoly and prevent competition. The RIAEE – Revista Ibero-Americana de Estudos em Educação, Araraquara, v. 17, n. esp. 2, p. 1349-1366, June 2022. e-ISSN: 1982-5587 DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21723/riaee.v17iesp.2.16989> 1353

are segmented into different paradigms and currents, such as the traditional theories of socialization and interpretive reproduction theories proposed by Corsaro (1997, apud SARMENTO, 2008), or the currents of structural, interpretive and intervention studies described by Sarmiento (2008). However, it is not up to the space of this work to explain each one of these currents, but to present the contributions of this field of investigation for a new way of seeing and understanding the child as a social actor.

Sirota (2001), when doing an analysis on the emergence of the term "sociology of childhood", gathers some common points in the English and French literature regarding the object of this sociology, which will be commented on below. Sociology has a double research object: the child as a social actor and childhood as a generational social construction (SARMENTO, 2008). From this perspective, childhood comes to be understood as an institution, with the child as its subject, that is, childhood persists as a structural form, just like a social class: no matter how many children enter or leave it, it will always continue to exist. What matters for sociology, then, is to analyze how this category changes, quantitatively and qualitatively (QVORTRUP, 2011).

For Sarmiento (2008), childhood, as an integral part of culture and society, is a category crossed by inequalities and contradictions. Throughout time, there have been several social images associated with childhood, as well as several social roles attributed to them. One can cite as an example the times of the Industrial Revolution, when it was very common and viewed as normal by society to see children working in industries, or even in mines - given their short stature, which facilitated the performance of functions that adults could not perform.

In contemporary times, these inequalities and contradictions are marked, mainly, by belonging to different social classes, gender, ethnicity, religion, linguistic universe, and social context of life (rural or urban). According to Sarmiento (2008, p. 23), "[...] the condition of childhood is simultaneously homogeneous, as a generational category, by relation to the other generational categories, and heterogeneous, by being crossed by the other generational categories”.

This complexity that is the specificity of sociological research. Thus, one of the roles of the sociology of childhood is to think about socialization processes from the perspective of the child itself. Another point widespread in Sociology of Childhood is that the child, at the

dominants aim to consecrate the strategies of conservation of the field, maintaining, in the case of the scientific field, the doxa of knowledge production, and the perpetuation of the existing order” (PRADO; VOLTARELLI, 2018).

same time that he/she is a product, is an actor in social processes. He is a determinant in his own life, as well as in the lives of those around him and the community in which he lives. Thus, there is an urgent need to discuss not only what they produce in the institutions they attend, but also what they create in the intersection of these instances of socialization (SIROTA, 2001). In this sense, we leave for the discussion of childhood in the institutional educational context.

Sociology of childhood and school education

One of the great contributions of the Bourdieusian epistemology to education was to demystify the neutral character that school presents. For the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, this institution reproduces and legitimizes social inequalities through cultural arbitrariness, in which a particular culture is seen as legitimate to the detriment of others. Thus, the much-talked about democratization of education, based on the ideology of promoting equal opportunities, thinking of school as a tool for social mobility, does not exist (VALLE, 2013).

To explain the different school trajectories of children from different social classes, Bourdieu uses one of his main concepts, that of cultural capital. According to him, the social origin of each child will directly influence their school performance, thus, performance inequalities among children are related to the also unequal distribution of capital among classes (PIOTTO, 2009).

Children who inherit from their families cultural capital, that is, "tastes in art, cooking, decoration, clothing, sports, etc.; the greater or lesser mastery of the official language; the information about the school world" (NOGUEIRA; NOGUEIRA, 2002, p. 21), are benefited when they arrive at school, because the education offered by the school ends up being a continuation of family education, to which the child is already familiar. On the other hand, children who are born in less favored social contexts, when they arrive at school, suffer a major cultural shock. For school success, cultural capital is more important than even economic capital, although, most of the time, these two capitals go together.

The school, in front of the student, assumes, in order to teach him, prerequisites that exist only to a minority, the possession of cultural capital, which "[...] would provide a better performance in formal and informal processes of assessment. Bourdieu observes that school evaluation goes far beyond a simple verification of learning, including a true cultural and even moral judgment of the students" (NOGUEIRA; NOGUEIRA, 2002, p. 21).

In this context, we understand that school does not teach everything it demands. This institution, by treating the different as equal, ends up serving as an instrument for the legitimation and reproduction of social inequalities. Because, from this perspective, teachers teach and evaluate students in the same way, as if everyone already had a previous baggage, the necessary tools to decode the transmitted message. The school ends up privileging those who are already privileged (by a family background), justifying the success of these students as "individual gifts" and natural aptitudes (NOGUEIRA; NOGUEIRA, 2002). As for those considered different, who do not have the same culture, their school failure is justified by laziness, lack of interest, unwillingness and lack of intelligence, which ends up affecting the image that the students create of themselves.

This process is recognized as symbolic violence - another of the main concepts of Bourdieu's theoretical legacy. For the sociologist, this is characterized as a violence that occurs with the complicity of the victim and the oppressor: the practice of this violence happens unintentionally, without the perception of practicing or suffering it. It is exercised by dominant groups or institutions, which reproduce what is considered legitimate within a field. It is in society's internalization of an arbitrary dominant culture that symbolic violence is reproduced. The dominated do not see themselves as such, because they do not perceive themselves as victims of this domination process, facing situations of oppression as something natural and inevitable (OLIVEIRA; SANTANA; OLIVEIRA, 2014).

Symbolic violence is practiced in school through two arbitrary dimensions: the content of the message that is transmitted and the power attributed to the teacher, who uses it with authoritarianism. At the same time, it is only through education that this symbolic violence can be unmasked and perceived by the oppressed, thus, the protagonism of becoming a social actor that can break with this reproduction and legitimation will be given an opportunity (OLIVEIRA; SANTANA; OLIVEIRA, 2014). The school ends up making a selection of the students that go through it, a selection that is "[...] unequally severe, and that the social advantages or disadvantages are progressively converted into school advantages and disadvantages by the game of early orientations, which, directly linked to social origin, replace and redouble the influence of the latter" (BOURDIEU, 2007, p. 52). With this legitimization of the transmission of cultural heritage, the school allows the elite to justify the position it occupies in society as something that was meritocratically conquered. The few students who can obtain a satisfactory result, of success, end up legitimizing even more the

selection made by the school, giving credit to the myth of the "liberating", fair and neutral school (BOURDIEU, 2007).

Sarmento (2011) states that the dominant conceptions of childhood, what is understood as childhood, over the years, are determined by the social practices of children and adults belonging to dominant social groups. Thus, forms of "being a child" that depart from this convention end up being excluded from the social status that is recognized as childhood. As an example, the author cites the situation of children living on the streets, which besides being excluded from the opportunity to access basic social rights, such as housing, health, and food, are also excluded from the symbolic value of the recognition of being a child.

Over the years, a dominant social representation of childhood has been legitimized, also known as "children's craft", which are the behaviors that are expected to be performed by them. However, according to Sarmento (2011), the craft of the child is constantly reconfigured as social changes occur in the status of childhood. The urbanization of daily life, access to information and communication technologies, sedentary lifestyle, worsening poverty conditions, increase in violence, feeling of insecurity and risk of exploitation of children in vulnerable conditions, unequal distribution of opportunities in society, are changes that directly and unequally interfere in the way of being a child of each social, cultural and ethnic group of belonging.

Nogueira (2017), when analyzing the documentary "The invention of childhood", directed by Liliana Sulzbach, elucidates how different childhood can be for children from different social classes. The idea of childhood created in modernity, as the golden period in which the child's only function would be to enjoy his innocence, was created by the elite, due to the social role assigned to childhood by this class. The documentary shows the reality of children from different regions of Brazil and from different social classes. Poor children, living in the countryside cities, end up having their childhood disrespected by the needs that life imposes on them. Many of them have to work (in jobs considered high risk even for adults) in order to help their families survive - just like in the Middle Ages.

Children who are exposed, from an early age, to an environment with obligations and stimulus to study, marked by extracurricular activities, will most likely be more successful in school than children who do not have the same opportunities. It is the first type of child that the school is prepared to receive, the one that already has a previous background, that has access to the culture considered as legitimate by the school and is used to discipline in studies. The others, on the other hand, end up having no space in this place. Their reality is totally

different from the one presented by the school. In this institution, the child is seen more as a student than as a child, is understood as a passive being, object of an intentional action of transmission of knowledge and values stipulated as legitimate, in order to be prepared for social life, to become a citizen.

By fantasizing a specific type of student, they disregard the many others. These marginalized students have great difficulties in adapting to an institution so distant from their reality, which demands more than it is able to teach. The school ends up seeing the child-student based on his/her performance, without considering that this depends on factors beyond the cognitive. Thus, schooling ends up becoming a great competition, in which the competitors are child-students who come with different life trajectories - ignored by the school system - and the prize is the successful passage through this system. The winners of this competition who achieve school success are those who already come with a baggage - such as cultural capital - that makes it easier for them to go through this selective process, marked by evaluations and demands.

For those who do not have this framework, the idea remains that if they make a lot of effort and have merit, they will obtain the same results as the privileged ones. The school socialization process ends up being centered on meritocracy, competitiveness and autonomy, which further reinforces the symbolic violence committed by the school: "the child-student is called to develop as a competent individual, able to define his or her school and social path, but is continuously placed under evaluative control" (SARMENTO, 2011, p. 593).

According to Rando and Nogueira (2020), the main axis of the school curriculum should be the child, since she is its final recipient. Thus, the child should also be part of the construction of this curriculum. For the planning of school practice, the first question to be asked is what conception of child has guided these practices and how this determines the educational practices of childhood.

It is noticeable in Brazilian schools that the curricula are plastered, reproduce the dominant logic, without the participation of children and the school community. We understand that it is the documented conception of childhood and child that will influence the pedagogical practice of the teacher and the school. Only by seeing the student as an active subject, a fundamental participant in the process of building their knowledge, will it be possible to propose learning opportunities aimed at the full development of this child (RANDO; NOGUEIRA, 2020).

Hence the need for the school to take a new look at childhood and the child, breaking away from the adult-centric and reproductive view. The education of the young child should be focused on their own universe, that of fantasy, imagination and sensibility. Considering that the child's learning occurs in a pleasurable way, playful activities must always be present in pedagogical practices. It is through playing that the child communicates with the world: in this context, playing and toys work as a form of expression proper to the child, and for this reason they should be valued. It is important that school education reinvents the student's craft, without separating it from the child's craft (RANDO; NOGUEIRA, 2020).

Kramer (2000) points out that it is necessary to think about an education focused on valuing differences, recognizing the other, thus breaking with the idea of the universal child. The author points out the need to "educate against barbarism", thinking of a critical education, which problematizes the prejudices and discriminations arising from ethnic, economic, and cultural differences. It is essential to truly know the children: what they do, like, dislike, talk, play, and invent. Thus, by learning from children, it is possible to recognize the value of the playful dimension, of art, and of imagination.

With the increasing discussion about the need for a critical education that understands the different childhoods, official documents-such as the Common National Curricular Base (2017)-brings in some contradictions. From the time of its elaboration to the publication of its final version, the document has been the target of great controversy among teachers and education researchers. Some authors defend it and others criticize it - the questions revolve around: to what extent the document goes from a reference to a curriculum prescription, to what extent it can contribute to the homogenization of content and encourage the loss of autonomy of the school and teachers.

When talking about learning experiences and goals for early childhood education, the BNCC does not consider the diversity of existing childhoods. The document presents an instrumental vision, which organizes what the child should learn and controls the teacher's work. There is a lack of incentives to discuss the principles that value children and their social rights (a dignified life, health, good food, housing, etc.), restricting learning rights only to school education, without considering that education is not limited to the experience in the school institution, but is a multifaceted and broad social practice. Therefore, they state that the BNCC (Common National Curriculum Base) assumes a neoliberal perspective, of standardization and alignment of practices, which ends up extending to the initial and continued training of teachers (BARBOSA; SILVEIRA; SOARES, 2019). By way of

understanding, we intertwine our discussion the contextualization of this problematic in border region.

Childhood, Inclusion and School Education in Border Region

Brazilian schools located in the border region are marked by cultural and linguistic diversity, especially those located in twinned cities such as Ponta Porã/Brazil, which borders Pedro Juan Caballero/Paraguay and are separated only by a "neutral zone", which is a strip that delimits the states (BRAZIL, 2014), without any physical barrier. This characteristic enables Paraguayan children to attend Brazilian schools, thus interacting early on with Brazilian culture and their culture of origin. This dynamic influences childhood, as the Paraguayan child acquires unique characteristics by living with both cultures.

The experiences of Paraguayan children in Brazilian dry border schools are marked by conflicts and tensions involving the issue of Guarani and Spanish languages, which have assumed a negative and inferior characteristic, especially the Guarani language, which is seen locally as the language spoken by poor and Indians (BERGER, 2015). Given this reality, it is not too much to emphasize the importance of the principles of school inclusion, which need to gain space in schools in the Brazilian border region, because they must adapt to accommodate all children, considering their physical, intellectual, social, economic, emotional, linguistic, ethnic, cultural, etc. conditions (DECLARAÇÃO DE SALAMANCA, 1996).

The paradigm of inclusive education has as one of its milestones the World Conference on Special Education, held in Salamanca, Spain, in 1994 - which reaffirmed regular schools, with child-centered pedagogy, as one of the most effective means for the constitution of open, welcoming, democratic communities and to combat discriminatory attitudes. From this angle, inclusive education has as its fundamental principles "equity, physical, intellectual, ethnic, cultural or religious diversity, rights and duties, and breaking the barriers imposed by the utopia of achieving homogeneity, normalization" (SANCHES, 2011, p.136). Inclusion is an issue of rights and challenges in education, considering that the school must accommodate and provide opportunities for meaningful learning for all students and children (SILVA, 2011).

In research on border education, Dalinghaus (2013) problematized the myth of Spanish or/and Guarani interfering with school performance if these languages were used in the classroom. As a result they were banned, so Paraguayan children were not free to express themselves through their own mother tongue and sometimes use it as an element of protest to

demonstrate their dissatisfaction. The school opposed to inclusion and accessibility is the result of factors historically and culturally created by men, thus, the linguistic diversity present in Brazilian schools in the border region can take another place in these spaces. This linguistic heterogeneity and cultural diversity may cease to be seen as a problem in the teaching-learning process and become "[...] a great challenge to the creativity and professionalism of education professionals, generating and managing changes in mentalities, policies, and educational practices" (SANCHES; TEODORO, 2006, p. 72).

The problem signaled by Dalinghaus (2013) and Berger (2015) reiterates the need for a pedagogical project based on the principles of inclusive education, which presupposes the reception of all children and students, flexibility and adaptation of its curriculum, restructuring of its practices in organizational and functional terms. The educational practice for school inclusion in the border region implies considering the actions undertaken by the environment, which encompasses attitudes, convictions, political and legal actions, aiming to overcome the social, environmental and cultural barriers and obstacles of Paraguayan children who are in Brazilian schools, regardless of their origin or place of residence.

Inclusion is an unfinished process in societies and in education-its materiality is marked by contradictions, and it is no different in border schools. The research of Pinto and Santana (2020) indicates, among the existing advances, the interest of teachers in seeking new knowledge to meet the needs of students targeted for Special Education, coming from Paraguay, recognizing and respecting this cultural and linguistic diversity. In addition, it demonstrates the production of pedagogical resources to meet the singularities of Paraguayan students whose mother tongue is Guarani and/or Spanish.

In summary, there are achievements and contradictions regarding the inclusion of children in border schools, considering that the effectiveness of school inclusion demands public policies committed to investments in professional training, management, organizational forms of pedagogical work, structuring and operation of Brazilian education. Even though there are documents, policies, and laws that ensure school inclusion in course, it is important to continue its problematization and the debate aiming its materialization.

With this, we emphasize our concern - specifically - with childhood in a pandemic period. What about early childhood education after this complex period of so many losses? In a recent survey, professionals of basic education - early childhood education - reported that 36.7% of their students did not have access to remote learning; 34.6% of children did not show autonomy to monitor the progress of online activities; and 36% of parents were not able

to develop school tasks with their children, not even through mediation, with teacher interventions. It is understood that the applicability process of remote teaching:

[...] made available to students differ among the stages/substages of Basic Education. The teachers in Early Childhood Education were the ones who recorded the most video lessons, having been produced by more than half of the participants. 43.5% of the teachers in High School held remote live classes (GESTRADO; OLIVEIRA, 2020, p. 15).

Professionals in early childhood education have had their working hours extended in the home office format, and have entered into exhausting routines; so, we ask: what about the children? To what extent, in this period, were their individual rights preserved? According to Dourado and Siqueira (2020), the unequal scenarios, both in terms of teachers' and students' work, have created gigantic chasms that urgently need to be diluted in specific solutions, with investments in diversity and preservation of the right to childhood, cultural identities, and social liberties.

Final remarks

In this article we present the intertwining of childhood sociology with school education. Based on the literature used, it was noticed that this sociological field arises in an attempt to redirect the look at the child and childhood, breaking with adult-centered views that, until the present day, prevail in most pedagogical practices.

With the social studies of childhood it is possible to perceive the existence of several childhoods, since this is a social construction that varies according to the social groups in a society. These childhoods enter the school space, so it is necessary to reflect on the reproductive character of the school. Aiming at socialization, it inculcates the dominant culture in children in an attempt to standardize them. In this process, those who share the same culture imposed by the school are benefited, and those who do not are marginalized and silenced. As Bourdieu (2007) points out, the school is not prepared to deal with differences arising from social classes, ethnicity, origin and sex. Hence the importance of thinking about education beyond reproduction.

“Being a child” must be valued and understood, in all its specificities. Thus, it is necessary to see the child not as a passive receptacle, but as a social actor, critic, historical subject and participant in their learning process. All children must find a space at school to

“be a child”, to experience what is most characteristic of this stage of life, such as imagination, fantasy and creation.

With this, we can see the importance of education promoting a dialogue between different cultures, an exchange of knowledge, knowledge and customs. The school, in this sense, should be understood as a space for cultural negotiation, for facing conflicts caused by the unequal distribution of power between different social groups and, mainly, for recognizing the “other” (CANDAU, 2008).

It is necessary to understand difference as inherent to every human being, as an enriching contribution to the teaching process – and no longer as a problem to be corrected. It is therefore urgent to break with the idea of a legitimate dominant culture, from which all who move away are seen as threats. Children are different from each other, there are several ways to be a child, and this should be explored by the school.

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