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**THE AFFIRMATIVE  
DIMENSION OF  
ACTIONS: SOCIAL  
MOVEMENTS AND  
AFRICANIZATION<sup>1</sup>**

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**Abstract:** This article proposes to highlight the importance of the actions of social movements for the collective demands of individuals from the black population for public and social policies. Thus, our focus is on the importance of the actions of the black social movement in the field of education as a strategy for the social inclusion of young blacks in Brazilian universities, with specific affirmative actions, considering that, in these spaces, the different social relations of power are configured., being and knowing. In this reflection, we highlight the Pre-College Entrance Exam for Blacks and Needy People (PVNC), considered a contemporary social movement, given that in its specific activity it brings together ambivalent groups such as race and gender and that seeks, through its conduct, to produce a type of transforming social action that requires a change in the structure of society, both in its economic and cultural dimension, for a broad conception of citizenship. This means that social policy would enable the democratization of education as a social right available in Brazilian society for the black population, as a process of fostering Afro-citizenization.

## INTRODUCTION

The 1990s gave an important inflection in the Brazilian sociocultural context to the debate on ways to combat racial inequalities, as well as to the questioning of the myth of racial democracy. The search for solutions to these issues mobilized social movements and civil entities, with the aim of implementing public and social policies that would make equality of conditions a reality. This debate was inspired, above all, by the principle that the denial of opportunities to individuals who historically suffered from social and racial inequality must be emphatically fought.

The emergence of new forms of individual identification and specifically the collective

formations that manifest themselves in modernity such as blacks, women, indigenous peoples, ecology, religious movements, attribute an important inflection to social and intellectual movements of political and cultural contestation, as well as determine the affirmation of the plurality of public spheres and of the rights of historically socially and culturally excluded groups.

The effective recognition of historically excluded identities and the consequent search for non-universalist public policies, which seek to benefit these social segments, reveals that the criterion of justice to be achieved - in the sense of attributing equal opportunities as a starting point to all individuals and groups - is one in which differences are no longer an impediment to the distribution of socially scarce goods. Due to this fact, different social movements have emerged, such as the Black Consciousness Movements, the Feminist Movements, the "Landless" Movement, among others, which privilege both the recognition and the more effective appreciation of their respective cultural identities, and of its particularities and specific contributions to social construction.

Thus, our focus is on the importance of the actions of the black social movement in the field of education as a strategy for the social inclusion of young blacks in Brazilian universities, with specific affirmative actions, considering that, in these spaces, the different social relations of power are configured., being and knowing. In this process, we highlight the role of the Pre-university Social Movement for Blacks and Needy People (PVNC), as an important movement that articulates the demands for education between Civil Society and the State.

The PVNC is, in general, a movement to fight against any form of racism and exclusion and, specifically, a front of denunciation, questioning and struggle for the improvement

and democratization of education, through the defense of public and quality education. at its elementary, middle and higher levels at the municipal, state and federal levels.

This way, with this work, we intend to highlight the importance that this social movement has for the subjectivity of its target audience in carrying out its collective demand, as well as highlighting the affirmative dimension of its actions in the construction of citizenship. In this case, collective demands are associated with demands for identities that are constructed in an intersubjective relationship, presuming to open up new spaces for exchange and dialogue, where the subject forms his will discursively. This presupposes the relationship between identity and difference. This reflection takes into account to consider the Pre-Vestibular for Blacks and Needy as a contemporary social movement, given that in its specific activity it brings together ambivalent groups such as race and gender and that seeks, through its conduct, to produce a type of transforming social action that, as we will see in the course of the work, requires a change in the structure of society, both in its economic and cultural evaluative dimensions.

## PVNC: CORPORATE COMMUNITY ACTION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTIONS

The performance of the black social movement in the Brazilian sociocultural context is configured as an important action in the process of social pressure with the State for democratization and expansion in the field of education as a social right and as a space capable of promoting social emancipation.

Seeking to break with illiteracy, the black movement had the help of the Frente Negra Movement - they composed the black press, together they articulated the emancipation of the black population and had the proposal to integrate blacks into social, cultural and political life, thus, it would be possible to break with intellectual inferiority. It is worth noting that, in the Constitution from 1824 to 1891, it did not allow black Africans access to schools, only those born free in Brazil, however, it dictated education as a right of all citizens who had possessions and income with a sum of “eight hundred thousand réis”.

It is noted that the percentage observed on illiteracy, seeks to reflect the need for insertion of young people in other levels



Figure 1 – Illiteracy by color or race.

Source: IBGE – PNAD Continua Educação 2017.

of education. This way, inequality and educational exclusion have resulted in a lack of democratization in education. Throughout history the school was considered as a space belonging to a certain social class, where cultural knowledge and language were passed on to the dominant class, with favorable economic conditions and consequently would be the holders of cultural capital.

Even in a non-exhaustive way, we can point out that in its historical process in the search to break with illiteracy, the inclusion of the black population in public schools as a right for all, was a topic of discussion fostered by the black movement in educational debates throughout the 20th century. In 1961, the first Law of Directives and Bases for Education - LDB nº 4.024/61 was legislated, which contained arguments about race. Bearing in mind that, at that time, social class and race had the same dimension, however, it was not clear whether the free public school would be intended for the black population. According to Gomes (2017), in the period of the military dictatorship, in 1964, the racial theme ceased to be one of the principles in Brazilian education in accordance with the enactment of LDB nº 5.692/71.

This theme returned to centrality in the dialogue of education in 1996, with the emphasis of the black movement with LDB nº 9.394/96 – which establishes the basic guidelines for education. In 2003, this law was changed to Law nº 10.639/03 – which establishes the guidelines and bases of education to include in the official curriculum in the education network the obligation of Afro-Brazilian History and Culture with the inclusion of two articles. Article 26-A, mandatory teaching of Afro-Brazilian history and culture, in elementary and high schools in public and private schools; and article 79-B, which included in the school calendar the date November 20th,

the National Day of Black Consciousness.

On March 10, 2008, Law 10,639/03 was changed to Law 11,645 - which establishes the mandatory inclusion of the teaching of Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous History and Culture in the official curriculum of the public and private education network in basic education, which aims to fight prejudice and racial discrimination, even with advances through the recognition of history and culture through the inclusion of Afro and Afro-Brazilian education in the LDB, black youth persists finding themselves stigmatized in society and in socio-educational spaces, added of racial prejudice and discrimination. Referring to prejudice that can be identified through omissions, in attitudes and behavior or through an anticipated judgment and from stereotypes of a race, a group, an ethnicity or a religion, and thus,

Munanga (2005) calls our attention not to make the mistake of believing that prejudice is only due to people's ignorance. And in this case, prejudice would be circumscribed in the field of individual relationships, particularized, product of the lack of information, education and knowledge about other cultures. For the author, this way of relating prejudice to people's ignorance "puts more weight on the shoulders of individuals than on society" (apud CFESS, 2016, p. 12).

Even during the 1990s, the discussion about the access of blacks in universities was intensified, due to the expansion of the debate around the effective possibility of implementing affirmative action policies in Brazilian society. This policy is considered a specific instrument, capable of effecting the unprecedented presence in Brazilian universities of social segments hitherto absent from this space of citizenship construction. At the turn of the century, these strategies gained prominence and visibility throughout the country, becoming a national reference

in the struggles for the democratization of education and for the reduction of ethnic and racial inequalities, as a broad expression of the struggle for the transformation of the privileges of citizenship and for the promotion of Afro-citizenization.

For Guimarães (2013) Afro-citizenization represents ways of transforming the historical conditions experienced by individuals of the black population in Brazilian society, as an alternative to what has been understood to date as Brazilian racial democracy. It intends to give concreteness, to embody empirically, the achievements of all significant and pertinent rights to individuals in a democratic and just society. That is, it is conceived here as the effective realization of full citizenship for individuals of the black population, historically subordinated in our society. The concreteness of Afro-citizenization represents and encompasses several references: the recognition of racial identity as positive; the recognition of the leading role of the black population as the founder and builder of Brazilian society; the right to equality and liberty; the right to difference; the right to dispute social benefits in equal opportunities and conditions, that is, “Afro-citizenization” would be the realization of a true “racial democracy”, a social equity in which all individuals of the black population are contemplated and fully established. in Brazilian society.

## **HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES OF THE PVNC**

The Pre-Vestibular Social Movement for Blacks and Needy (PVNC) began its history in the Quilombo hall of the Igreja Matriz de São João de Meriti, Baixada Fluminense, Rio de Janeiro, in July 1993. The idea of organizing a Pre-College Course Entrance exam for black students was born from the reflections of the pastoral for the black, in São Paulo, between

1989 and 1992. During this period and with the concrete result of these reflections, PUC-SP, through Cardinal Archbishop Dom Paulo Evaristo Arns, granted 200 scholarships of studies for students participating in Popular Black Movements. The PVNC was also modeled on three similar pre-university entrance exams: the Steve Biko Educational Cooperative, in Salvador, Bahia; SINTUFRJ (Union of UFRJ Employees) and Mangueira Vestibulares, both in Rio.

Discussions and articulations for the organization of the first pre-university entrance exam for Blacks, in the Baixada Fluminense, began at the end of 1992, with the first objective of training for the entrance exam at PUC-SP and public universities in the State of Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro. This nucleus was conceived and organized by David Raimundo dos Santos, Alexandre do Nascimento, Antônio Dourado and Luciano Santana Dias, they contacted the teachers and obtained two classrooms at Colégio Fluminense, carrying out the work of dissemination and meetings with the first interested students. With this, they made it possible, on July 5, 1993, to found the Pre-Entry Entrance Exam Course for Blacks and Needy People at the Igreja Matriz de São João de Meriti, with an inaugural class.

The name, Pré-Vestibular Para Negros e Carentes (PVNC), was chosen due to the need to ratify the racial issue in Brazil and, above all, in the Baixada Fluminense, where the quality of secondary education is negligible and, according to the IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) of 1991, the Afro-descendant population in Brazil is 44%, however, in the IBGE survey it was found that the profile of university students included only 1.7% of black men and women.

In the 1999 version of its letter of principles, the year 1994 is highlighted as the most important year for the PVNC in terms of its

solidarity network structure, in that year the PVNC began to constitute itself as a Social Movement of Popular Education that, thus, it became recognized at the national level. One of the main practical actions of the PVNC was the establishment of an important partnership with PUC-Rio, through the Pastoral do Negro, with community and popular pre-university courses in a network, especially with the Pre-Vestibular Social Movement for Blacks and Needy People. (PVNC), granting them scholarships —full and non-refundable— for students who regularly pass their entrance exams, through its Social Action Scholarship Program.

This partnership has significantly transformed the lives of individuals in the black population, demonstrating the importance of affirmative action. This way, the silent revolution that affirmative actions set in motion in the last decade of the 20th century in Brazil made it possible to glimpse a process of transformation of unequal Brazilian social and racial relations. In fact, looking at the current material conditions of existence of the individuals who benefit from these actions, we can envision the possibility of having a racially fairer society. From this perspective, we can see how the agency and performance of the PVNC were significant to guarantee the presence of the black population in higher education and how this same agency was important for PUC-Rio to start its pioneering program of affirmative actions in Brazil. For the first course, around 200 enrollments were made. Of those enrolled, 100 students began studying in two classes. Over time, some left, and others entered during the course period (from July to November). The entity ended its activities in November, with 50 students. Of these students, 34% passed (one student for UFF-Niterói, one student for UFF-Baixada, one student for UERJ and four students for PUC-Rio).

This way, the PVNC presents itself as a popular, secular and non-partisan education movement, aimed at people from lower classes and, in general, black people, with the intention of qualifying them for the entrance exam. With the teaching of Pre-Vestibular and other actions, the PVNC defines itself in general as a movement to fight against any form of racism and exclusion and, in a specific character, a front of denunciation, questioning and struggle for the improvement and democratization of education., through the defense of public, free and quality education, which is also pluri-ethnic and multicultural at its elementary, middle and higher levels, at the municipal, state and federal levels.

Thus, the movement created the necessary conditions for students discriminated against, by ethnicity, gender or socioeconomic status, to compete in public university entrance exams, under concrete conditions of approval and inclusion in higher education. The movement is governed by a Charter of Principles, which systematizes the deliberations approved in the movement as a whole and guides its activities, philosophical and pedagogical principles, profiles of students, teachers and coordinators, in addition to standardizing the functioning of the nuclei. Nuclei means the denomination used by the PVNC to identify the groups that meet to deliver the courses.

Here are some significant points of the PVNC's proposed action, contained in its Charter of Principles:

- A concept of democracy as a form of social relationship that incorporates equality of opportunity, guarantee of a dignified life (fair wage work, health care, education, social security, housing, land, access to cultural production), popular participation in political deliberations, freedom of expression and respect for ethnic-cultural differences and diversities. It is worth mentioning that for the

PVNC, democracy, to be full, must also be an ethnic democracy;

- An Affirmative Action concept as collective action for the affirmation of identities and as a struggle for democratic economic, social and cultural political relations. It is a conception of affirmative action that goes beyond the institution of public policies aimed at a certain social group;

- A concept of education as a process of training technical competence and political competence, in the sense of autonomy and human emancipation.

- A belief that Education, as a practice of training human emancipation, has an important role in overcoming racism, gender discrimination, cultural discrimination and, in general, social inequalities, that is, attributing to issues of difference cultural and social inequality a central role in pedagogical practice;

## **PVNC AND THE DISCIPLINE CULTURE AND CITIZENSHIP**

In addition to its specific educational attribution, that of creating the necessary conditions for access to higher education for economically disadvantaged students, teaching the various propaedeutic subjects required in the entrance exam, the Preparatory Entrance Exam for Blacks and Needy offers another discipline that, in a certain way, grants a differentiating character in relation to the other pre-university entrance exams, namely, the Culture and Citizenship Discipline.

The Discipline Culture and Citizenship from the first moment it was taught has proved to be a fundamental condition for the continuity of the PVNC as a social movement. Its presence in the curriculum determines the *sui generis* condition of the movement. Because of this fact, the discipline is shown as a defining element of the condition of being a

pre-university course, that is, the presence of this discipline in the curriculum determines whether or not a preparatory course for university is a type of course aimed at lower classes, which, in a way, guarantees some benefits, such as the automatic exemption in the registration for the entrance exam of public universities in the State of Rio de Janeiro for students who come from it.

Within the scope of the discipline, the category “Citizenship” is understood in its broad and current sense, as we saw above, as encompassing not only civil and political rights, but also the right to education and existence itself. In turn, “Culture” is understood in a sense whose meaning expresses the establishment of a democratic culture that relates interest and collective action, configuring itself as a civic virtue.

From this angle, we can understand, according to Paulo Freire’s (1982) pedagogical theory, which will serve as a theoretical framework so that we can think about the purpose of including this discipline in a pre-university course, that in an educational relationship the practice of freedom only finds adequate expression in a pedagogy in which the oppressed are able to reflexively discover and conquer themselves as subjects of their own historical destiny. In this sense, he understands that dialogue leads the individual to deepen their awareness of reality through a reflective process. Therefore, reflexivity becomes the root of objectification. In its specific definition,

Consciousnesses are not in the void of themselves, because consciousness is always, radically, consciousness of the world. The monologue, as isolation, is the negation of man; it is closure of consciousness, since consciousness is openness. Dialogue phenomenizes and historicizes essential human intersubjectivity; it is relational and, in it, no one has absolute initiative. Dialogues “admire” the same world; they

move away from it and coincide with it; in it they put and oppose. Dialogue is not a historical product, it is historicization itself. It is, therefore, the constitutive movement of consciousness that, opening itself to infinity, intentionally overcomes the borders of finitude and, incessantly, seeks to find itself beyond itself. Isolation doesn't personalize because it doesn't socialize. By intersubjectifying himself more, the subject gains more subjective density. (FREIRE, 1982, p11)

Thus, awareness, when expressed in the form of deepening awareness, determines by its objectives, that the individual, when delving into reality, knowing it critically, assumes a critical awareness of it, striving to make this reality more human in which and with which he lives through his acts and experiences. Awareness as an instrument of knowledge and recognition of a certain reality becomes, therefore, the basic data that guides the individual to the transformation of his reality and gives him the opportunity to free himself from oppression. Therefore, the objective of the discipline is to carry out a broad socio-historical debate, in the sense of enhancing the political-cultural actions of students and educators of the PVNC, that is, enabling the production of subjectivities in the struggle for democracy and social justice.

## **PERSPECTIVES AND ANALYSIS ON THE PVNC**

The social action that the movement has been developing as a form of affirmative action has sensitized several researchers from different institutions, leading them to study it, as the movement is considered a fertile field for new perceptions about plural and educational social relations. The researchers' attention is mainly focused on the way in which the movement positions itself in the face of a crucial issue in a plural society, namely, the issue of difference.

As it is a movement whose specific demand is the inclusion of blacks and the needy at the university, the movement within it has the conduct of non-segregation, that is, in the movement the differences serve to demonstrate that it is possible to bring together different people around the same interest. Therefore, the emphasis is given to egalitarian dignity, in terms of the politics of recognition that we saw in Charles Taylor, to all citizens in democratic practice itself, because it brings the need for difference to be preserved from the recognition of one's own identity.

Among the various studies on the PVNC, we find the one carried out by Candau & Anhron (2001, p.6-8) who analyzed the movement based on political-pedagogical proposals that seek to offer elements for the development of a multicultural education. In their conclusions, they highlight that the dimensions most worked in classrooms by the PVNC are the dimensions of empowerment and the reduction of prejudice. Regarding the reduction of prejudice, the authors emphasize that the movement's proposal provides for a critical training of young people who pass through the nuclei, which in fact is effective in some Culture and Citizenship classes, when dealing with the surveillance of "politically correct" language", in promoting racial self-esteem, etc. In turn, the dimension of empowerment is manifested in different ways, either by constantly developing students' self-esteem, or by promoting an awareness that everyone can learn regardless of their condition, gender or ethnicity, or by providing (as) and teachers a democratic practice, in which the participation and involvement of all is a reality sought and quite achieved, within the limits of this process.

In terms of the pedagogy of equity, they considered that the PVNC is positioned through an affirmative action strategy perceived from the perspective of distributive



justice that seeks not only to favor the access of the low-income and black population to the university, but also to “empower” these groups in the perspective of full citizenship. However, the authors draw attention to the fact that there are some dimensions that are rarely present in classrooms: content integration and the knowledge construction process. For them, these absences constitute important concerns with which one can think about the possibility of working on school culture in a multicultural perspective. Given this fact, they understand that the challenge is that the entire curriculum can be transformed from this concern and this sensitivity is not restricted to certain themes and/or disciplines.

Therefore, the movement in terms of its political activity does not seek to advocate a policy for a target group or a quota policy or a certain type of special right, on the contrary, the affirmative dimension of its action is revealed in its ultimate end, namely, to provide the specific identity of the individuals who integrate the movement, as students, with conditions to be recognized in the educational sphere and consequently in the public sphere for their own abilities in the dispute for a place at the university. With this, it builds self-esteem in individuals through an effective social valuation.

Social valorization represents to the subject's self-esteem the very essence of a dignified social experience. The subject who is not recognized for his abilities and for his inherent capacity suffers day by day constraints that hurt his self. Therefore, it becomes extremely important to think about how a certain performance of a certain social movement can positively influence the social formation of citizens and how this behavior can operate a broad complex of meaning that determines great transformations.

## **PROSPECTS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICY IN BRAZIL**

Affirmative actions are a set of political strategies aimed at reducing social inequalities, whether in education, the labor market, health, social assistance and other sectors, seeking to favor social groups that are socially discriminated against. However, it is necessary to understand that this policy implemented by the rulers permeates a field of possible threats because it is managed by bourgeois sociability in the neoliberal core. The main objective of affirmative action policies would be to create opportunities for social equality, which would make it possible to overcome the economic, social and psychological consequences historically caused by social discrimination and racism, and would encourage the opportunity for inclusion, so that the black population that suffers from social and racial discrimination managed to insert itself in a democratic way in capitalist society.

Through the various variations in the socio-historical context of Brazilian society, in the midst of social injustices and social and racial inequalities, public and social policies aimed at repairing, recognizing and valuing black people were implemented. In order to give visibility to and insert young black people into university educational spaces, Law 12,711/12 was enacted – Provides for admission to federal universities and federal high-level technical education institutions and other measures, and establishes the reservation of vacancies through quotas the presence of black, brown and indigenous individuals through self-declaration. The quotas were configured by a political process to repair the segregation of social inequalities that plague a certain social group that historically suffer from discrimination.



Figure 2 – Education by color or race.  
Source: IBGE – PNAD Contínua Educaçáo 2017.

Affirmative actions are presented as specific instruments for the establishment of greater substantive equality, whether through quotas or any other instrument of application, they have been shown to be an instrument to combat discrimination and the consequent expansion of the range of equal opportunities that leads to individuals on the path to citizenship. As we can see today, the implementation of affirmative action policies in Brazilian society, enables the existence and expansion of access to education for the black population and, consequently, the promotion of Afro-citizenization.

### FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

From the actions of social movements over time, especially the black movement and popular movements, especially the PVNC, we can see that affirmative action policies have brought a means of enabling equal opportunities, respect and appreciation of Afro-Brazilian culture, the affirmation of identity, providing opportunities for the inclusion of the black population in

the various social spaces, given that this population represents the majority of the Brazilian population and, mainly, the recognition of a cruel and oppressor must be reversed if Brazilian society is to achieve, in fact, racial democracy.

In this particular, we can point out that going through the university, in addition to expanding cultural capital offering better opportunities to enter the sphere of work, also expands social capital, opening avenues of opportunities that would normally be closed to individuals from the black population. Such opportunities, which are of different natures, in addition to allowing the expansion of economic capital, help to guarantee social rights, contributing strongly to the conquest of citizenship. From this aspect, it can be said that the actions of social movements, especially those of the black movement, have expanded the citizenship rights of individuals of the black population, that is, they have been acting as a powerful tool in the process of Afro-citizenization.

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