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Singing to Exist. Narratives and Trajectories of African nad Afro-descendant Rappers in Lisbon

Jonatan Israel Benebgui

Master in Psychology of Intercultural Relations

Supervisor:
Dr. Ricardo Borges Rodrigues, Invited Assistant Teacher and Integrated Researcher
ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

October, 2022

Department of Social and Organizational Psychology

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To all those who are longing to exist.

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Resumo

O fosso educacional entre os estudantes nativos brancos e os seus pares africanos e afrodescendentes tem sido amplamente estudado e explicado por estudos transnacionais. A discriminação percecionada tem sido sublinhada como um preditor de desinteresse académico em grupos minoritários. A discriminação está, ainda, relacionada com o baixo bem-estar e com o envolvimento em comportamentos de risco. Embora muita investigação tenha posto o foco nas origens da discriminação racial — a qual, no contexto português, advém de uma longa história de colonialismo e negação — os estudos sobre as estratégias para combater o estigma são limitados em Portugal. No entanto, algumas investigações têm salientado os efeitos positivos da música rap no bem-estar psicológico da juventude marginalizada. Este estudo explora, através de entrevistas semiestruturadas, as narrativas de onze jovens africanos e afrodescendentes das cidades de Sintra e Amadora que utilizam a música rap como meio de expressão. Foi realizada uma análise temática para analisar os dados. Os testemunhos sugerem que os jovens encontraram na música rap o lugar de pertença que o sistema educacional não conseguiu proporcionar. Os resultados, limitações e sugestões para futuras pesquisas e políticas educacionais são discutidos.

Palavras-chave: Discriminação Racial Percecionada, Exclusão Escolar, Estratégias de Coping, Música Rap

Códigos de classificação da APA: 3560 Dinâmicas da Sala de Aula e Ajustamento do Aluno e Atitudes, 3040 Perceção Social e Cognição

Abstract

The educational achievement gap between white native students and their African and Afro descendant peers has been widely studied and explained by transnational studies. Perceived discrimination has been pointed out as a predictor for academic disengagement in minority groups. Discrimination is also related to low well-being and involvement in risk behaviors. While much research has shed light on the origins of racial discrimination — which, in the Portuguese context, stems from a long history of colonialism and denial — studies on coping strategies to stigma are limited in Portugal. However, some research has highlighted the positive effects of rap music in psychological well-being for marginalized youth. This study explores, through semi - structured interviews, the narratives of eleven male African and Afro descendant youngsters from the cities of Sintra and Amadora who use rap music as means of expression. A thematic analysis was conducted to analyze the data. The testimonies suggest that the youngsters found in rap music the place of belonging that the educational system failed to provide. Results, limitations and suggestions for future research and educational policies are discussed.

Key words: Perceived Racial Discrimination, School Exclusion, Coping Strategies, Rap Music

APA Classification Codes: 3560 Classroom Dynamics & Student Adjustment & Attitudes, 3040 Social Perception & Cognition

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Introduction

"[Rap is] salvation, yes. Definitive salvation. Yeah…Definitive salvation. Imagine, us… My culture was never a very privileged culture and rap was something that gave us a voice, that brought us, to say so, a power that we didn't have. Our power of privilege is in the music, it is where we can express ourselves" [Interviewee number 8 from this master's thesis]

Those words, pronounced by an interviewee of this master's thesis, give an overview of what this work is about. In an exercise of imagination, we could ask ourselves: did we think of a Portuguese person when reading the paragraph? Did we think of Portuguese culture when we read unprivileged culture? Indeed, the statement is from a youngster born in Portugal with Angolan background, whose family — like thousands of African families in the 1990s — settled in the city of Sintra, willing to give their children a better life in a modern European country, where the principles of equality and integration of all its citizens are part of the Constitution. Continuing the exercise of imagination, we should ask ourselves, what does this youngster mean by salvation? Who is he unprivileged in relation to? We should conclude the exercise by reflecting: what, and mainly, who do we imagine as Portuguese? Is there room for non-white identities in our portrayal? As we shall see throughout this work, the quick images that come to mind when we think of concepts do not stem from the void. Something created the images that our mind produces. The impact of the imagined representations is intended to be analyzed on this study.

Previous interdisciplinary research has tried to answer the questions above, shedding light on the origins of racial discrimination in Portuguese society. As the anthropologist Ana Rita Alves (2016; 2021) states, the category of "race" is at the core of the foundation and collective memory of modern European nation-states. Thinking of "black" as the inferiorized other serves to maintain a positive national identity, where "white" is the norm (Vala, Lopes & Lima, 2008; Vale de Almeida, 2006). The negative attributes to "blackness" are already shown by Portuguese white children early in their development (Feddes, Monteiro & Justo, 2014). Kenneth and Mamie Clark showed, already in 1947, that minority group members do know how their group is perceived by the majority (Clark & Clark, 1947). Those findings — which served to present evidence about the dramatic consequences of school segregation in the United States — have been widely confirmed by Social Psychology (Allport, 1954; Vala & Lopes, 2004). Furthermore, research has shown that minority group members might internalize the majority's perception about their group, devaluing their own self-image (Dunham, Baron & Banaji, 2007), and, in some cases, disidentifying with their own cultural frameworks (Liu & Concepcion, 2010). Additionally, negative social representations about minority groups have an impact on the academic trajectories of students who belong to one of those groups, either by awareness of the stereotypes 2

(Steele & Aronson, 1995) or by teachers' biased expectations and behaviors towards those students (Mckown & Weinstein, 2007). In Portugal, like in other post-colonial societies, Afro-descendant students have less chances than their white native peers to succeed in the educational system (Roldão, 2015; Roldão et al., 2016; Seabra et al., 2011). Although it is not clear what are the exact reasons behind the academic achievement gap, research has suggested that perceived discrimination has a direct influence on it (Guerra et al., 2019). Individuals who experience discrimination are at higher risk, not only of dropping out of school, but also of mental health problems (Hammond, 2012; Schwartz et al.,2015). However, discriminated individuals do find ways to cope with stigma (Croker & Major, 1989; Oyserman & Swim, 2001) and empower themselves through artistic means, such as rap music and hip hop culture, especially in marginalized Afro-descendant communities (Campos & Vaz, 2015; Varela, Raposo & Ferro, 2018). While much research has focused on the sources of discrimination towards African and Afro-descendants, there is research gap on the ways the discrimination is experienced by its targets and how they cope with it. Considering those limitations in previous research, the aim of this study is to explore the narratives of African and Afro-descendant youngsters from the cities of Sintra and Amadora who produce rap music. Framing the current situation of African and Afro-descendant communities in the periphery of Lisbon as indivisible from Portuguese colonialism as well as from the racial doctrines of European's 20th century nationalisms, the present study's approach starts by a historical and social contextualization, followed by a psycho-social analysis, considering the implications of social representations in beliefs and behaviors, more specifically in school context. Additionally, this study aims to explore the youngsters' relation with the educational system and the territory. Approaching rap music as a coping mechanism, semi-structured interviews — with a final focus on the meaning of music — are conducted. An applied thematic analysis is developed to interpret the data.

CHAPTER 1

Theoretical Background

1.1 Contextualization of African Immigrants and Afro-descendants in Portugal

African presence in Portugal dates back to the 15th century, when a considerable part of the slaves that Portugal trafficked with, estimated in 5 million, were forcibly brought to Portuguese shores (Henriques, 2019; Martins & Moura, 2018). There are historical records of communities of African and Afro-descendants who, after achieving their freedom, organized themselves in neighborhoods that became areas of cultural resistance; such a place was the neighborhood of Mocambo, in today's Madragoa, Lisbon (Henriques, 2019; Raposo & Varela, 2017).

Mocambo was erased from the memory of the official Portuguese history, just like the presence of slaves and African influence in Portugal since the 15th century (Alves, 2016; Raposo & Varela, 2017). To forget the crimes of the past is, for Maeso and Araujo (2015), an essential condition in the creation of the collective identity of the modern European nation-states. The official Eurocentric history frames colonialism as an exception in the expansion of universal humanistic ideas brought by Europe to the world: Human Rights, democracy and so on (Maeso & Araujo, 2015). However, scholars have challenged this notion, stating that colonialism and racism are ontological to the creation of the European nations and to concepts such as 'citizenship' and 'humanity' as we know them in Western countries (Alves, 2016; Raposo et al., 2019; Vale de Almeida, 2006).

Portugal is considered to be one of the main actors in colonialism and in slavery trade (Martins & Moura, 2018), and there is historical evidence about the brutality of Portuguese colonial practices (Barradas, 1992; Cunha, 1998). However, mainstream narrative frames Portugal as a country that did not do as bad as other colonialist empires, due to its natural disposition to embrace other cultures, and to the ability to give good treatment to the colonized populations — an idea that has been conceptualized in social sciences as *lusotropicalism* — (Cunha, 1998; Vala, Lopes & Lima, 2008).

The Portuguese colonial project of Africa gained importance with the rise of Salazar's dictatorship in 1926. During this period, the African colonies became, not only an economic enterprise but, fundamentally, an ideological project that would define a national identity constructed on "us" — whites/Europeans — versus "them" — blacks/Africans — (Vale de Almeida, 2006). The emergence of Portuguese dictatorship happened in a context marked by the dissemination of racial doctrines that established hierarchies between human groups based on phenotypic traits, inferiorizing the groups not perceived as "white"; these ideas permeated the common sense of European populations (Rodrigues, Monteiro & Rutland, 2012b) and created a collective imaginary of belonging to the nation by race, transmitted through blood, and determining who belongs and who does not, to the national

4 group (Raposo et al., 2019). It was in this sense that the Law of Nationality changed in 1982, from "jus solis" to "jus sanguinis", meaning that children of immigrants, born in Portugal, were restricted of having access to Portuguese nationality during the period that this law operated, that is, until 2006 (Rodrigues, Monteiro & Rutland, 2012b). Despite the alteration in the law, some conditions did not apply to all immigrant children. Consequently, 40 years after the implementation of the law, thousands of Portuguese born people with immigrant backgrounds are still restricted from basic rights, such as equal access to employment, education, or health (Henriques, 2018).

Although the negative representations of African and Afro-descendants emerged in Portuguese society in the 15th century with the arrival of enslaved people, the different colonial wars gave a new dimension to the stereotypes held by the Portuguese population, such as "savages", "terrorists" or "criminals" (Henriques, 2019). In the beginning of the 1960s, the African resistance to colonialism paved the way to the Portuguese coup that, in '74, put an end to both the dictatorship and colonialism (Vale de Almeida, 2006).

During the colonial rule of Angola, Cape Verde, São Tomé & Príncipe, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, different waves of immigration from citizens of those countries (then Portuguese) arrived in Portugal (Hortas, 2013). In the 60s it was mainly people from Cape Verde; in the 70s the immigration waves were mainly for political motives, following the instability of the decolonization process; in the 80s, the entrance of Portugal in the European Economic Community was the main reason for the arrival of thousands of immigrants from all the former colonies; finally, the industrialization and modernization of Portugal in the 1990s generated a need for construction workers and resulted in another big wave of immigration (Alves, 2016; Malheiros, 1998; Malheiros & Fonseca, 2011; Martins & Moura, 2018). The arrival of those immigrants, together with others from Asian countries, Eastern Europe or Brazil, changed the status of Portugal, from a country of emigrants to a country of immigrants (Malheiros, 1998; Vala, Lopes & Lima, 2008). In 1998, 44% of the total of immigrants in Portugal were nationals of the ex-colonies (Rodrigues, Monteiro & Rutland, 2012b). Today, the percentage has decreased to around 20%, not for a reduction of immigrants from African countries but rather, due to the increase of immigration of other nationalities (Malheiros & Fonseca, 2011).

The populations that were, not long ago, colonized subjects, became at the end of the 20th century an integral part of a Portuguese society that, despite the formal end of colonialism, had not yet acknowledged its role on it, and the *lusotropicalist* idea remained defining the hegemonic national identity (Cunha, 1998; Raposo et al., 2019; Vale de Almeida, 2006). Just like in other post-colonial societies, the emergence of an anti-racist social norm was not accompanied by the change in beliefs and prejudices; thus, concepts such as "race differences'' — immoral under the Declaration of Human Rights— were replaced by "culture differences'', perpetuating (subtly) the same hierarchization of human groups (Vala et al., 2002).

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1.2 Obstacles to Integration

The African migrants that arrived at the end of the 20th century, with the expectation of having a better life, found themselves constructing the infrastructure that modernized the city of Lisbon: bridges, buildings, roads and so on (Alves, 2016). While construction jobs were given to men, women's working opportunities were almost restricted to domestic and cleaning jobs (Malheiros & Fonseca, 2011). The difficulties in access to housing drove many of these new immigrants to settle at the periphery of Lisbon, in cities like Cascais, Amadora, Sintra or Seixal where the communities constructed their own neighborhoods due, partially, to the impossibility of buying houses or receiving credits (Malheiros, 1998; Raposo et al., 2019). Those communities were characterized by the mutual help between its dwellers, resembling other contexts of immigration and social marginalization, this lifestyle is known in Creole from Cape Verde as 'djunta mon' — which means 'to put hands together' — (Cuberos - Gallardo, 2019). Just like the forgotten neighborhood of Mocambo, the periphery of Lisbon saw the emergence of communities of African and Afro-descendants that developed a unique cultural identity, in part, as a response to the discrimination stemming from the large society (Alves, 2021; Raposo et al., 2019). Those neighborhoods, highly populated by African immigrants and their descendants — such as Cova da Moura, in the city of Amadora — became, with time, places of cultural resistance (Campos & Vaz, 2015).

These areas, and the immigrant and immigrant descendant population, began to occupy the media and the public discourse focus in the 1990s (Raposo & Varela, 2017) due, in part, to the organization of events with international projection, such *as Lisboa Capital da Cultura '94* and the *Expo '98* (Alves, 2016; Henriques, 2018), the images and ideas reproduced in the media and in the public discourse linked these territories with drugs, crime and violence (Alves, 2021; Raposo et al., 2019). The State's concern with the territories and the population in the periphery of Lisbon generated a program for re-allocation of communities into urban social housing. The program, that aimed to end with the shacks in Portugal, was responsible for forced evictions and separation of families and communities (Alves, 2016; 2021; Henriques, 2018); it drove populations of Afro-descendants to isolated areas with little access to public services (Raposo et al., 2019). The evictions that started with the implementation of the program have not stopped yet, indeed, a report from Amnesty International recommended the Portuguese government to stop forced evictions and to provide opportunities for essential housing, especially in the region of Amadora (Amnesty International, 2019).

The negative representations in the news or journals were especially directed to the Afro-descendant male youth, portrayed as 'gangsters' and 'criminals', creating an imaginary of violence that conquered the public opinion (Vale de Almeida, 2006). This imaginary is a consequence of mass media's role in the construction that common citizens make about certain populations, mainly from 6

minority groups, influencing beliefs and reinforcing opinions; for many people, mass media is their only source of information about other realities (Gomes, 2013). The media portrayal was accompanied by police interventions, reinforcing the ideas of 'danger' and 'crime' related to the neighborhoods and its inhabitants (Raposo & Varela, 2017). Afro-descendant populations from the regions of Amadora and Sintra have suffered from police violence and abuse of power since the focus of the public debate on these territories (Alves, 2016; Marcelino, 2019; Raposo et al., 2019). This abuse of power is not oblivious to the international community: in 2021, a commission from the United Nations to investigate abuses of power from the authorities, stressed their "surprise and shock" with the narratives of violence from the African descendant population (Lusa, 2021). Amnesty International recommended the Portuguese government to "establish without delay an independent external oversight mechanism to investigate misconduct by law enforcement officials, including torture and other ill-treatment and excessive use of force" (Amnesty International, 2019, pp. 1-2). Additionally, a report from the European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance included in their recommendations, to combat racism in Portugal, the creation of a separate body from the police to investigate racial aggressions from this institution, it was further recommended to the police to intensify the dialogue and cooperation with racialized minorities (see recommendations 8 and 9 from ECRI, 2018).

The disproportion of police vigilance (Raposo et al., 2019) is also reflected in the rates of incarceration: when it comes to male subjects from African Portuguese speaking countries, 1 in 78 people are incarcerated, in comparison to 1 in 736 in the native Portuguese population; the number increases in areas densely populated by African people, such as Sintra and Amadora, taking into consideration the male population, in both cities, 1 in 50 men are incarcerated, in contrast to 1 in 392 in the Portuguese nationals (Henriques, 2018).

The aim of this section was to give some socio-historical context to the conditions of African immigrants and their descendants in Portugal. The line of thought presented here is that social and racial discrimination do have negative consequences in racialized minorities (Hammond, 2012; Guerra et al., 2015; Schwartz, 2015). According to Dovidio and colleagues (2010), discrimination is any "inappropriate and potentially unfair treatment of individuals due to group membership. Discrimination may involve actively negative behavior toward a member of a group or, more subtly, less positive responses than those toward an ingroup member in comparable circumstances" (Dovidio et al., 2010, p 8). The assumption of this study is that Portuguese colonial history and narrative is accompanied by negative stereotypes, ideas and beliefs about the African and African descendant population (Henriques, 2019; Vala, Lopes & Lima, 2008; Vale de Almeida, 2006). Ideas that, built in opposition of "the other", define the positive "us" of Europeanness/whiteness (Maeso & Araujo,

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2015). Those ideas, fueled by the media and the public discourse (Alves, 2016; 2021) have also conditioned the self-image of who "we" are, in African and Afro-descendants (Vala & Lopes, 2004).

The consequences of stigma can be perceived in how the African and Afro descendant people identify or not with Portuguese society (Vala & Lopes, 2004). A study by Morais, Monteiro and Feddes (2012), showed that Portuguese white children, at the age of 10, consider their black peers to be "less Portuguese" (Rodrigues, Monteiro & Monteiro 2012b). Central to the context of this study is the literature proposing that the self-perception of the African descendant population is influenced by the vision that the large society holds about them (Vala & Lopes, 2004). In this sense, Afro-descendants seen as "the other" do not identify with Portuguese society, even when they have Portuguese nationality (Gomes, 2019). Another study conducted by Seabra and colleagues (2011) reflected that reality, showing that only 56% of immigrant descendant students felt "very Portuguese", compared to 90% of the white native population. Additionally, a survey by Vala and colleagues (2002) revealed that only 4% of black youngsters stated that they identified themselves with the white Portuguese society, out of a sample of 400 participants.

In addition to this, Guerra and Rodrigues (2019) stress that the feeling of belonging to the school is lower in Afro-descendant students in comparison to Portuguese native students. Not feeling to belong to the national body can have an influence in losing the interest to perform well in the educational system, since the educational system shapes and creates national consciousness (Taliaferro, 2012). Afro-descendants who do not see themselves represented in the school curriculum and integrated in the country might have more chances to disengage from academic practices (Roldão et al., 2016).

2.3 Subtle forms of discrimination

Many authors have called attention to the shift of discriminatory practices based on racial membership, since the horrors of the II World War, the creation of the United Nations and the Human Rights Declaration as well as the rise of civic anti-racist movements in the United States and the decolonization movements in Africa and in the Middle East (Gartner & Dovidio, 1986; Ramos, Pereira & Vala, 2020; Vala et al., 2002); this shift is characterized by the change from overt prejudice to more subtle and hidden forms that would hide the same old ideas of hierarchization and inferiorization of human groups (Pettigrew & Marteens, 1995). This is explained by the social norms that consider prejudiced expressions as something negative to be shown in public, since, nowadays, being openly racist is a socially punished behavior (Rodrigues, Monteiro & Rutland, 2012a).

The shift in language, replacing the category of "race" for "culture", serves to perpetuate what is known as 'modern' or 'cultural racism' (Pettigrew & Marteens, 1995; Vala & Pereira, 2018). Cultural

racism predicts the perception that immigrants, perceived to belong to a different ethnic group, are a threat for the national identity of European countries (Pereira, Vala & Leyens, 2008). Portugal is not an exception to these countries, whose national identity seems to be threatened by immigration: a study from the European Social Survey in 2015, amongst twenty European countries, showed that Portugal rated the 5th in cultural racism and the 3rd in biological racism (Ramos, Vala & Pereira, 2020).

Despite the regulation of prejudiced attitudes in the public sphere, the negative beliefs and stereotypes do permeate, not only individual's minds — moderating their attitudes and behaviors towards racialized groups — but they also influence institutional discrimination, that can perpetuate inequalities without the awareness, or the intentions, of the actors involved (Dovidio et al., 2010). Stereotypes and social representations might as well permeate the public institutions, such as the educational system.

Stereotypes, according to Fiske (1998), are automatic mental images that serve to categorize and to establish differences between groups, reinforcing ingroup favoritism and amplifying the differences with the outgroup (Fiske, 1998). Stereotypes facilitate the process of understanding reality. They allow us to have quick access to information about the object or person to be perceived (Hilton & Hoppel, 1996), this information stems, on many occasions (and especially in the case of minority groups), from mass media sources (Allport, 1954; Gomes, 2013).

According to Dovidio and colleagues (2010), stereotypes act like a cycle: they generate discrimination and inequalities by influencing people's beliefs and attitudes about certain groups and, at the same time, people justify the inequalities basing their opinions on stereotypes about the discriminated groups. Jost and Banaji (1994) state that stereotypes serve to justify the system: common sense often makes use of stereotypes to blame the disadvantaged communities for their situation (Hilton & Hoppel, 1996; Jost, Banaji & Nosek, 2004).

Afro-descendant students, stereotypically seen as not being competent for academic practices (Noguera, 2003; Ogbu, 2003), can be affected by what Steele and Aronson (1995) named "stereotype threat". The authors suggest that being aware of one's group negative stereotype can interfere with the performance, in part, due to the anxiety stemming from being at risk of confirming the stereotype (Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele, 1997). In addition to this pressure, long exposure to negative stereotypes about one's group can lead to internalization of the social representation, therefore, the stereotypes, despite not being adequate, do become part of the personality of the stereotyped subjects (Steele, 1997), this phenomenon is known as "self-fulfilling prophecy", or "Pygmalion effect" (Hilton & Hippel, 1996).

Thus, in social behaviors, individuals are inclined to behave in accordance with the stereotypes of the group they belong to, without necessarily being aware about it (Dovidio et al., 2010). Students who belong to groups that are perceived as "less competent" may internalize those ideas and withdraw

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from academic practices (Ogbu, 2003; 2004). Stereotypes do not only permeate students' notions about themselves, but also, the idea that teachers create about them. Much importance has, to this study, the role of teachers in the development of minority group members. Research has suggested that teachers' expectations and beliefs about their students moderate their instructional practices (Brown & Chu, 2012; Mckown & Weinstein, 2007).

Teachers' expectations are defined by Good and Nichols (2001, p 113) as "inferences (based on prior experiences or information) about the level of student performance". When it comes to minority groups, the information that teachers have about these students can derive, on many occasions, from the stereotypical social representations mentioned above. Previous research has shown some evidence about the differences in teachers' treatment between African American and white students (Rubie-Davis, 2010). The difference in treatment is also linked to the difference in expectations, teachers often hold lower expectations towards Afro-descendant students than towards white students (Landsman, 2004; Rubie-Davis, 2010). Additionally, studies in Brazil (França, 2018) show that teachers do not evaluate black and white students the same way. Research by Wright (1992), cited by França (2018), suggests a similar phenomenon in the United Kingdom. Although Portugal lacks extended research on this topic (Vala, 2021), a study by Andrade (2015) showed that grades from Afro-descendant students increased when they were evaluated by teachers who did not know them (Andrade, 2015).

We can conclude that, teacher's characteristics can have an influence on students' experiences of discrimination, as well as on students' sense of ethnic identity (Brown & Chu, 2012); therefore, intercultural training in teachers can improve their relation to their students from minority groups (Landsman, 2003). This is confirmed by Brown (2004), who states that improvement in teachers' cultural diversity awareness — that is, being more aware of their own cultural frameworks as well as of the frameworks of their students — can significatively improve teachers' expectations and attitudes towards students, therefore, they can improve the engagement of students with the school since, as McKown and Weinstein (2007) point out, stronger teacher-students' relations, imply more engagement and participation of students in school context.

2.4 Integration policies and educational achievement gap in Portugal

The educational system is a fundamental institution for integration and to achieve economic stability (Seabra et al., 2011), as well as for personal development and fulfillment (McKown & Strambler, 2008), in this sense, Portuguese legislation grants and protects the rights for immigrant and immigrant descendant children to be integrated through the school (Guerra & Rodrigues, 2019).

The different waves of immigration that Portugal received in the last decades of the 20th century, that turned Portugal into a country of immigrants (Malheiros, 1998), drove the government to create, in 1991, a body to give response to the integration of 10 immigrants through the educational system, under the responsibility of the Minister of Education (Seabra et al., 2011; Seabra et al., 2016). Portugal has increased the initiatives for integration of immigrants in the last decades, reducing the differences in academic results between the native and the immigrant or immigrant descendant population (Guerra & Rodrigues, 2019). Furthermore, in 2020, it ranked 10th in the MIPEX index of the world's best countries in educational integration policies, considering as such the policies that foster integration by supporting the migrant community in school context and encouraging the large society to interact with the immigrant population (Solano & Huddlstone, 2020).

Despite the positive changes in the Portuguese educational system regarding immigrant and immigrant descendants, there is still a salient gap concerning the differences in academic success between the immigrant and immigrant descendant students and the native peers, specifically, between the African and Afro-descendants, and the white Portuguese peers (Guerra & Rodrigues, 2019). As research has shown (Roldão et al., 2016; Seabra et al., 2011), Afro-descendant students have lower rates, when compared to their white native peers, of academic achievement and school engagement in every cycle of Portuguese education. The failure rate in the Afro-descendant community is, in some periods of the educational trajectory, three times higher than in the Portuguese native community (Seabra et al., 2016).

Students from African Portuguese speaking countries represent the 50% of foreign students in the basic and secondary cycles of the educational Portuguese system and their rate of school under achievement and abandonment is 24% above the mean of Portuguese native students (Gomes, 2019). In addition to the disparities in the educational system, according to Abrantes and Roldão (2019), 80% of students from any African Portuguese speaking country, who follow academic paths, do it by vocational tracks instead of higher education. These courses prepare the students for the labor market and not for the national exams to access university; thus, they refrain students from continuing their academic path and leading them to more precarious working conditions (Roldão et al., 2016), a fact that increases the inequality between the white majority and the ethnic minority groups (Guerra & Rodrigues, 2019). The differences in orientation to vocational tracks, between African descendant students and Portuguese native, are salient even when the comparison is made between students from similar socioeconomic background (Abrantes & Roldão, 2019). Those facts contradict the generalized idea that Afro-descendants fail in education due to their lower socioeconomic status — an idea that excludes race and institutionalized racism from the equation (Henriques, 2018) — in fact, a study by Seabra and colleagues (2016) shows that 13% of Afro-descendant students whose parents

have completed until the third year of education, repeat at least three times throughout the basic education, in comparison with 4% of white Portuguese with the same parent's educational level.

Socioeconomic status is typically measured by a combination of parent level of education, income and job status (Mckown & Strambler, 2008). Low socioeconomic status has a direct effect on low academic achievement as well as on well-being and health (Adler et al., 1994; Duncan et al., 2006). Although it is one of the main predictors for academic success (Hattie, 2008), it partially explains the gap. The academic achievement gap between Afro-descendants and white students could not be simplified to economic difference since transnational evidence has shown that white students from low socioeconomic status perform better than black students from the same social status (Mckown & Strambler, 2008). Furthermore, Steele (1997) indicates that the academic achievement gap in the United States increases between minority and white students from middle and upper class, compared to the gap in low classes. In the Portuguese context, students with immigrant backgrounds present lower levels of academic achievement than their native peers who come from the same social status (Hortas, 2013).

While low socioeconomic status does play a role on the academic underachievement of African and Afro-descendants, other forms of systemic discrimination affect students from minority groups in a way that they do not affect the white population from the same social status (Henriques, 2018). In addition to class, the beliefs and emotions that individuals hold about African descendant people — in many ways unconsciously — contribute to exclusion and marginalization. Marginalization is justified by the large society using of the same stereotypes that contributed to minorities being marginalized (Dovidio et al., 2010). The stereotypes might blame the cultural minority groups for being "lazy" or "incompetent" (Ogbu, 2003). The educational achievement gap between Afro-descendant and white communities is interpreted by common sense with the "cultural deficit hypothesis", stressing that cultural traits are inherited and some cultures are more endowed to academic practices than others (Mckown & Strambler, 2008), as we have seen above, this is explained by the theory of modern racism (Pettigrew & Marteens, 1995), implying a shift in language and social behaviors, but not in beliefs or unconscious attitudes (Vala et al., 2002).

It is, additionally, important to point out that African and Afro-descendant students are mainly enrolled in schools in marginalized territories that do not benefit from the same resources as the urban schools (Seabra et al., 2016). Although the answer to the academic failure and disengagement in African and Afro-descendant students is not simple and clear, transnational research has aimed to explain this phenomenon by the dynamics of subtle discrimination that have been described above (Steele & Aronson, 1995; Mckwown & Strambler, 2008; Ogbu, 2003). The exclusion of students, the high rates of school failure and school abandonment cannot be separated from the social and historical context of African and Afro-descendant populations in Portugal, or said in other words, it cannot be

separated from the consequences of colonialism (Abrantes & Roldão, 2019). Until now we have focused on the discrimination that African and Afro-descendant immigrants are subjected to and its consequences in education. The following sections aim to understand how African and Afrodescendant youngsters might cope with stigma and discrimination, shifting the focus to the strategy of empowerment through rap music.

2.5 Coping with stigma: rap music as a strategy

In 1954, the social psychologist Gordon Allport already suggested that affiliation to groups that are familiar is "the indispensable basis for our existence" (Allport, 1954 p 29). Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1981) complemented Allport's theory by showing that a positive self-esteem is interconnected to positive ingroup identification (Rubin & Hewston, 2002; Steele, 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Ingroup identification does not necessarily lead to outgroup derogation (Allport, 1954), however, studies have shown that derogation of outgroups is related to an increase in collective self-esteem when there is a perception of threat (real or imagined) from the outgroup (Branscombe & Wann, 1994); thus, this psycho-social theory might shed some light on the relation between Portuguese national identity and derogation of African and Afro-descendants, as exposed throughout the previous sections.

While identification with the ingroup is shown in children from majority groups, the same does not happen in minority children, who tend to show less identification towards their group when compared to the majority group (Clark & Clark, 1947; Feddes, Monteiro & Justo, 2014; Vala & Lopes. 2004). These findings suggest that minority children are aware of their group's lower social status compared to the majority group (Dunham, Baron & Banaji, 2007). Furthermore, previous studies have shown (Liu & Conception, 2010) that the experiences of racial discrimination can drive the targets to avoid identification with their cultural heritage. Discrimination experiences are also linked to symptoms of depression (Hammond, 2012) and to lower self-esteem (Brown et al., 2000) or drug consumption (Schwartz et al., 2015). Croker and Major (1989) named 'oppressed social categories' the social identities that are targeted by negative stereotypes and/or receive less resources from society in relation to the majority group.

Minority children who experience discrimination might protect their self-esteem and well-being by disengaging from academic practices (Major et al., 1998; Osborne, 1995; Steele, 1997), this might be explained by a minority students' awareness about the likeliness to fail; disengagement is, therefore, a way to avoid future failure and the shame that is associated to it (Motti - Stefanidi, Mastfen & Asedorpf, 2014).

However, stigmatized individuals are also active seekers of positive self-esteem (Oyserman & Swim, 2001). According to the Rejection-Identification model (Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999),

members from minority groups may strengthen their group identification when the discrimination is perceived to their ingroup, and not to themselves as individuals. In this sense, disadvantaged groups might cope with discrimination by intensifying the identification with their ingroup (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2011). Often, minority group members use the strategy of "passing", identifying with the majority group and detaching themselves from their ascribed group (Allport, 1954; Steele, 2010). Individuals who cannot "escape" to be associated with the minority group due to phenotypic or linguistic reasons (among others), might adapt counteracting strategies, theorized by Fordham and Ogbu (1986) as 'oppositional culture theory'. According to this theory, minorities develop practices that oppose the image the majority group holds about them, in order to achieve status in society (Ogbu, 2004).

Other authors state that different strategies to counteract stigmatization include the selective valorization of the domains where the ingroup socially performs well, resting importance to the ones where the group socially performs badly (Crocker & Major, 1989). According to Shih (2004), the strategies that stigmatized individuals use, when facing discrimination, should not be perceived as coping strategies, but as empowerment strategies.

In addition to this, research has shown that positive parental racial socialization — defined by high level of racial pride and healthy preparation for prejudice that parents transmit to their offspring (Mckown & Strambler, 2008) — moderates the relation between perceived discrimination and self-esteem; individuals with lower racial socialization appeared to show less self-esteem when experiencing racial discrimination (Harris-Britt et al., 2007). Consistent with this, Vala and Lopes (2004) found that black youngsters in Portugal show stronger ingroup favoritism when they strongly identify with their African roots and heritage.

To conclude, social identification does not work the same way for majority and for minority group individuals. Opposed to majority group members, individuals from minority groups who perceive their group's status as lower compared to the majority members', might refrain from identifying with their ingroup. However, if the group is socially seen as performing well in a particular domain, performing well in that domain can strengthen the identification with the ingroup (Steele, 1997). Discrimination from the mainstream culture can be counteracted in the form of sub-cultures that challenge the social representations about who they are (Ogbu, 2003; 2004). Rap music is one example of this, and the main focus of this study.

As we have seen throughout the first section of the literature review, the 1990s was a time for change in the demographic and social reality of Portugal. Portuguese youth from African origin were not Portuguese under the law. The images in the media and the public discourse portrayed them negatively, reinforcing and fueling the negative beliefs upon this population and the places they inhabited. However, the 90s was also a time where rap music, produced mostly by Afro-descendant

youngsters, started to gain some focus on the public sphere; lyrics in Creole were starting to be heard by the Portuguese white society (Raposo & Aderaldo, 2019) and rap music became a tool for the youngsters to denounce their living conditions and the discrimination from different sectors of society (Lupati, 2016), establishing a connection between individuals from different socio-cultural contexts, such as class, immigration, race, and gender (Souza, 2011).

Although Portuguese music has been influenced by African rhythms since the 15th century, the development of rap music is central to the emergence of African immigrants, mainly from Cape Verde, in the 70s (Varela, Raposo & Ferro, 2018). As stated by Campos and Vaz (2015), Portuguese rap music has an important ethnic component, highly salient in the neighborhood of Cova da Moura, in Amadora, where communities of African descendants have created a whole subculture that challenges the discrimination they have been subjected to since the emergence of the neighborhood. Contador (2001), states that rap music is for Afro-descendant youth a vehicle to create a connection between their Africanness and their Portuguese identity, helping them to navigate between different realities and to express their duality of living among two different cultural frameworks. Thus, Creole rap in Portugal serves to create a dialogue between diasporic bicultural identities (Souza, 2011).

When the movement of hip hop emerged in suburbs of New York, in the 1970s, it became a tool for empowerment to marginalized black African Americans (Lupati, 2019; Kobin & Tyson, 2006), although Hip Hop has partly become a product for consumerism, it is still today used to denounce social issues like racism and police violence (Mozie, 2022). The same process of emergence occurred in the favelas of Brazil, where black youth was, like in Portugal, dehumanized by the media and public discourse in the 1980s, and rap music became a tool to contestation and reaffirmation (Oliveira, 2010). In this sense, the emergence of Portuguese rap music and its importance for the racialized youth can be equated to other post-colonial societies (Juan, 2008), and contexts of marginalization, where racialized populations find ways of mutual help (or djunta - mon) to counteract the discrimination they are subjected to, reinforcing the cultural resistance (Cuberos-Gallardo, 2019).

Music's potential to unite people from different contexts and cultural frameworks relies on its capacity to generate empathy at a neurological level (Futterman, Lorente, & Silverman, 2005). According to Baker, Dingle and Gleadhill (2012) the story-telling character of rap music allows marginalized youth to identify themselves with the experiences of others and to express emotions, including anger and resentment. Additionally, in accordance with Delgado (1989), rap music can be a vehicle for marginalized groups to narrate their own story, counteracting the mainstream and hegemonic narrative, influenced by negative representations about those groups. In this sense, psychological interventions with racialized youth who identify with rap music, could improve the self-efficacy and empowerment of those youngsters by making use of music therapy focused on rap music (Kobin & Tyson, 2006).

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Some research has been done on the positive effects for psychological well-being of rap music in marginalized communities (Baker, Dingle & Gleadhill, 2012), as well as on the oppositional cultural character of hip hop culture, perceived for some authors as a culture of resistance (Martinez, 1997). However, while rap music offers the place to belong, where African and Afro-descendants in Portugal reinvent and recreate themselves (Campos & Vaz, 2015) and counteract discrimination (Lupati, 2019), it is important to de-essentialize this movement and not only see it as a response to the systematic oppression, since rap music also expresses the different identities and realities of the youngsters that differ in contexts, background or in their forms of cultural expression (Raposo, 2010).

2.6 The present study

The aim of this study was to conduct a qualitative analysis, through individual interviews and focus groups, about the trajectories and perspectives of African and Afro-descendant rappers from the cities of Amadora and Sintra, tracing a line since the experience in school context — exploring the reasons that might have interfered with the academic trajectory as well as the relation with the territory—. Grounded on existing literature (Noguera, 2003; Steele, 1997), it was expected that experiences of discrimination might interfere with the academic trajectory of the targets and with the feeling of belonging, either to the school or to the country. The goal was to explore any possible associations between discrimination and psychological well-being, as well as the associations between discrimination, immigrant background, and sociocultural identifications. Furthermore, we aimed to explore the use of rap music as a coping strategy. What previous studies suggest (Cobbet, 2009) is that music serves to maintain psychological balance and the engaging in hip hop culture counteracts discrimination (Ogbu, 2004), providing the space of belonging and a positive ingroup identity. Hence, the study's design aimed to answer the following research questions: a) What kind of discrimination is perceived by the African and Afro-descendant youngsters in Portugal? b) What are the reasons behind their academic disengagement? c) How do they navigate through their diverse cultural and social identities? and d) What are the outcomes of engaging into rap music?

The following model represents the expected associations:

Figure 1

Model of the Study
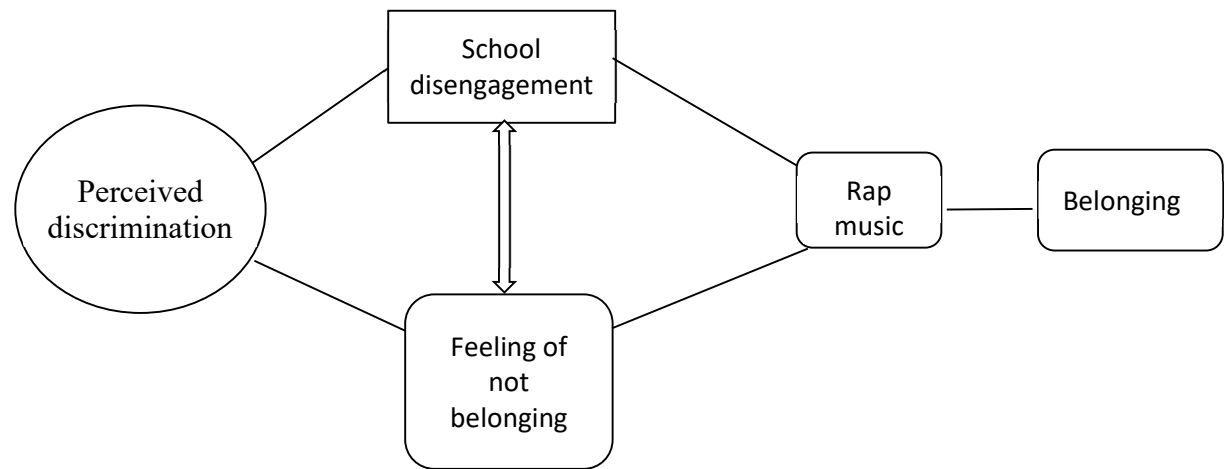
CHAPTER 2

Methods

A total of eleven male individuals participated in the study (N = 11), who were residents of the cities of Sintra and Amadora, in Lisbon. The sample had two age ranges: between eighteen and twenty-three years old, and twenty-eight to thirty-two years old. The purpose of this division was to explore differences amongst perspectives within different generations or life developmental stages.

Six participants (I1, I2, I5, I6, I7 and I8) were part of a social project located in the neighborhood of Pego Longo, in the Municipality of Queluz, Lisbon. The project develops social initiatives for the youngsters from the area, including a music studio.

The conditions to participate in the study were: a) Being from African-descent, or from any African Portuguese speaking country, b) having studied at least a year in the Portuguese educational system, c) being a resident in the cities of Sintra or Amadora and d) identifying themselves as rappers.

Four participants (I3, I4, I7 and I10) were immigrants from Angola (I7), Guinea Bissau (I3 and I4) and São Tomé (I10), although I4 also had Portuguese nationality. All Portuguese participants (7/11) were second generation Portuguese immigrants, born in Portugal, whose parents were from Angola and Cape Verde.

The participants differed in terms of level of education completed, although all of them, except for one (I8) had repeated at least one academic year. Three of them had the 12th degree of Portuguese educational system completed (I2, I6 and I8), while two of them (I3 and I4) were still studying. All participants came from a low socio-economic background.

In terms of occupation, six participants (I1, I2, I7, I9, I10 and I11) were not employed, in education or training; two of them (I3 and I4) were coursing the 9th grade of education and four of them (I3, I5, I6 and I8) were employed. Only one of the employed ones (I4) was working in civil construction, whereas I5, I6 and I8 were profiting with their music. I6 worked as a music entrepreneur and community leader at the social project.

The following table gives an overview about the participants' socio demographic data:

Table 1

Socio Demographic Data from the Interviewees

Participant	Age	Occupation	School level	Nationality	Parents background	Residence
I1	21	NEET	11th year	Portuguese	Angola	Pego Longo, Queluz
I2	21	NEET	12th year	Portuguese	Angola	Pendão, Queluz
I3	23	Construction/ student	9th year	Guinea Bissau	Guinea Bissau	Carenque, Amadora
I4	18	Student	9th year	Guinea Bissau/PT	Guinea Bissau	Sta Filomena, Amadora
I5	21	Musician	9th year	Portuguese	Cape Verde/ Portugal	Queluz
I6	32	Community leader/ Musician	12th year	Portuguese/Cape Verde	Cape verde/Angola	Pego Longo,Queluz
I7	27	NEET	10th year	Angola	Angola	Pego Longo, Queluz
I8	29	Musician/ Entrepreneur	12th year	Portuguese	Angola	Monte Abraão
I9	19	NEET	7th year	Portuguese	Cape - Verde	Queluz
I10	18	NEET	9th year	São Tomé	São Tomé	Rio de Mouro

Note. NEET stands for Not in Education, Employment or Training

2.2 Materials

The interviews were guided by a script of eighteen questions that allowed the participants to trace a line from their childhood to their encounter with rap music. The questions were grounded on theory about the school abandonment and disengagement in African-descendant communities (Abrantes & Roldão, 2019; França, 2018; Mckown & Strambler, 2008). Since much literature has pointed out the importance of teacher-student relations (Mckown & Weinstein, 2007; Rubie-Davis, 2010), some questions were directed to the relation of the interviewees with their teachers during their academic trajectory (e.g.: "Do you remember a teacher from your school that had influence on you?") as well as open questions about their relation to the school (e.g.: Do you remember how things were when you used to go to school?"). The second part of the script aimed to get a glimpse of the participants' relation to the territory; built on previous sociological literature about the life conditions of African immigrants at the periphery of Lisbon (Alves, 2016; Malheiros, 1998). Here, participants' perceptions were explored in questions like "how is it, for you, to live in Queluz/Amadora?" Furthermore, the study aimed to explore meta-perceptions, inspired by research that has shown the importance of such cognitive processes in influencing the views of minority groups about the large society — for example, Vala and Lopes (2004) — questions like "what do you think people out of the community think about this zone?" were included. The last section of the script aimed to get to know the participants' views, opinions and feelings about the use of rap music. This section was drawn on literature from diverse academic disciplines, such as Anthropology, Sociology and Psychology, about the use of rap music in Afro-descendant communities settled at the periphery of cities from post-colonial societies. Research from various countries — such as Portugal (Contador 2001; Raposo, 2010), Brazil (Oliveira, 2009), or the United States (Delgado, 1989; Taliaferro, 2012) —, was used to develop questions like "what is the meaning of rap music in your life?"; "is there a connection between rap music and Afro-descendant cultures?"; "how and why did you start producing music?". The entire interview script can be found attached to this study on the Appendix A.

2.4 Procedure

2.4.1 Study Design

For the purpose of getting a nuanced narrative and detailed content, the research approach chosen was qualitative analysis. Qualitative research is any research that does not indicate numerical values (Guest, MaQueen & Namey, 2014), giving the opportunity to get a highly contextualized and descriptive data set (Levitt et al., 2018). Context, description and details are needed to understand experiences of perceived discrimination and coping strategies. Such personal information would be

difficult to access by quantitative methods. Grounded on existing theory and previous data, the research was designed to be confirmatory. According to Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2014) confirmatory research allows to establish an expectation of possible associations that might be explored with the participants' data. What was expected is that perceived discrimination, on its multiple forms, might drive to academic disengagement and a feeling of not belonging, which would itself reinforce the disengagement from school. Engaging into rap music and hip hop culture would occupy that empty space and enhance the feeling of belonging and self-esteem, therefore, contributing to a positive well-being.

2.4.2 Context and territory

This study took place within the context of the researcher's work in an Association for immigrant support, located in the municipality of Queluz, in the city of Sintra. The Association was created in the late 80s to provide support to the immigrant and immigrant descendant population of the city of Sintra, in terms of regularization, education, health and housing. The researcher's work at the Organization included mentoring sessions with the youngsters, guiding them to find work or education. It was observed that rap music was central to the lives of some. An observation that was confirmed with the literature previously exposed in the first chapter of this work. This is how the study emerged and it was conducted in the territory covered by the Organization. Bordering with the city of Amadora, Queluz is at the heart of what is known as "Linha de Sintra", an area that has been historically populated by immigrants from the former Portuguese colonies, mainly from Cape Verde, Guinea - Bissau, São Tomé & Príncipe and Angola (Alves, 2016). It is also a place with a long history of hip hop culture (Raposo & Aderaldo, 2019), where it is not uncommon to pass by groups of youngsters casually rapping while hanging out at the station of Queluz. Some youngsters make their living profiting with the music they produce, thanks to the democratization of social media (Raposo & Aderaldo, 2019). Some Organizations aiming to support the youth from the region provide a music studio where anyone can record their music. Those music studios serve, for many youngsters, to avoid being on the streets. They bring the community together, encouraging artistic creations and civic participation.

2.4.3 Recruitment process

Six participants (I1, I2, I5, I6, I7 and I8) were recruited from one of the social projects developed by the Organization where the researcher works. The recruitment was done by frequent visits to the music studio, approaching the community and supporting some of its members with the search for employment. Those visits and interactions served to strengthen the confidence between both the researcher and the community. The proposal to participate in the study was made verbally and accepted by all participants from this specific social project. Other participants (I3 and I4) came as

clients asking to be supported with work search. After the session of orientation, where they showed their interest in rap music, it was proposed to them to participate in the study. After a detailed explanation of what was about, their participation was accepted. Three participants who participated in the last focus group were recruited from the train station of Queluz, where they sometimes hang out and frequently improvise some rap lyrics. After a verbal approach explaining the goals of the research, their participation was guaranteed, and the interview was conducted right after the recruitment.

2.4.4 Ethical considerations

Before starting the interviews, all participants were given a consent form which stated the aim of the research, the context of it and the possible eventual publication in scientific magazines. It was made clear that the participation in the study could be canceled at any moment during the interview, having the possibility to stop the recording, and afterwards, by sending an email to the researcher or to the supervisor, both email addresses were provided in the consent form. The consent form made it clear that the interview was anonymous, and the names of the participants wouldn't be shown in the transcription. Two copies of the consent form were signed, one for the participant and another one for the research. The consent form can be found attached to this study, in Appendix B.

Additionally, in the interview script it was avoided to mention topics that might trigger emotional reactions, such as race or class. Only when the participants mentioned those topics, they were followed up by the researcher. Before sensitive questions, it was emphasized that the interviewee had the option of not answering.

2.4.5 Incentives for participation

A 5 euros voucher for LIDL supermarkets, provided by CIES from ISCTE, was given to the participants as a gift for their time and collaboration.

2.5.6 Trustworthiness

To ensure the trustworthiness of the study, all interviews were recorded using a mobile device. Notes were taken during the interview. After the recording the interviews were manually transcribed using Word. The transcription included every word that was said, either from the interview or from the interviewer throughout the interviews.

2.5.7 Data collection

The goal of the research was to get access to participants' experiences, opinions, thoughts, and feelings; therefore, in-depth semi-structured interviews were chosen. According to Lambert and Louise

(2008), this research method to gather data allows the researcher to collect personal opinions and knowledge from participants around a given phenomenon. During the process of data collection, the decision of including focus groups was taken, aiming to have a richer discussion that would allow participants to exchange ideas and find commonalities. Focus groups are, in the words of Lambert and Loiselle (2008, p 229), "a social space where participants construct their experiences based on how the discussion evolves and how participants interact."

The process of data collection started with individual interviews. The first focus group, counting with three participants, was organized after the fourth individual interview, when there were already some common personal experiences gathered. The decision to combine focus groups with individual interviews was taken in order to enhance the interaction between participants and foster the opinions about the topic of the research (Lambert & Loiselle, 2008). Another individual interview was conducted in the neighborhood of Alameda, in Lisbon. For the purpose of comparing experiences and opinions and experiences on a similar setting, another focus group was organized with the same number of participants (3) as the first one. This second focus group took place in the headquarters of the Association for immigrant support, in Queluz. In total, seven interviews were conducted between the months of May and July of 2022, five participants were interviewed individually, and six participants were interviewed in two groups of three. The following table gives an overview of the interviews.

Table 2

Description About the Interviews

Nº	Type	Participants	Place	Length	Date
1	Individual	I1	Pego Longo, Queluz	21'10"	2/04/2022
2	Individual	I2	Pego Longo, Queluz	34'32"	7/05/2022
3	Individual	I3	Queluz	29'15"	12/05/2022
4	Individual	I4	Queluz	46'31"	14/05/2022
5	Group	I5, I6 & I7	Pego Longo, Queluz	1h15'	21/05/2022
6	Individual	I8	Alameda, Lisbon	43'31"	25/05/2022
7	Group	I9, I10 & I11	Queluz	1h7'	19/07/2022

2.4.8 Data Analysis

As it has been previously mentioned, this study was constructed on existing theory. From this theory, certain variables emerged (such as perceived discrimination, school trajectory, sense of belonging or music engagement). Those variables aimed to be explored using thematic analysis with a top-down approach which, according to Braun and Clarke (2006), requires the researcher to have previous knowledge and theoretical background about the phenomenon to be studied.

The thematic analysis was conducted using the software NVivo. The unit of analysis was the participants' discourses, that were manually transcribed word by word. The transcripts of the seven interviews were coded, resulting in eighty-one codes that conceptualized the commonality of the experiences expressed in the participants' discourse. Coding is, in the words of Ryan and Bernard (2000, p 780), "the heart and soul of whole-text analysis". Coding implies judgments and interpretations from the researcher in order to generate the themes that are analyzed in qualitative research (Ryan & Bernard, 2000).

The research approach taken was constructionist, an approach to the content analysis that focuses on the social construction of experiences, giving much importance to the external factors in the creation of meaning, opposed to the essentialist vision that focuses on the individual experience, without acknowledging the social environment and conditions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Despite having conducted a thematic top-down approach, the analysis was open to generate some themes from the data, and hence it combined bottom-up and top-down approaches. This research method, where the variables that are analyzed stem from the data and not from the theory, is conceptualized in qualitative research as 'grounded theory' (Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2014).

To conclude, the thematic analysis conducted with the goal of analyzing the discourse resulted in five categories (themes) that emerged from both the existing theories and the data from the interviews. The themes that stemmed from the theory were given the following names: a) Perceived Discrimination (PD); b) Factors That Influenced the School Trajectory (FIST); c) Consequences of Low Socioeconomic Status (CLSES) d) Sociocultural Identifications (SCI). The discourses related to the engagement in rap music, that is: outcomes, expressions, life changes, and so on, were conceptualized in the fifth theme: Music Engagement (ME). This theme was data driven, its subcategories and the importance it appeared to have for the participants' life will be analyzed in the next chapter.

Results

This chapter aims to give a general view of the study's themes. Five main themes were coded: Perceived discrimination (PD); Factors that influenced school trajectory (FIST); Consequences of low socioeconomic status (CLSES); Sociocultural identification (SCI) and Music Engagement (ME). The following figure represents the thematic map with their respective sub-categories.

Figure 2

Thematic map and Sub-categories
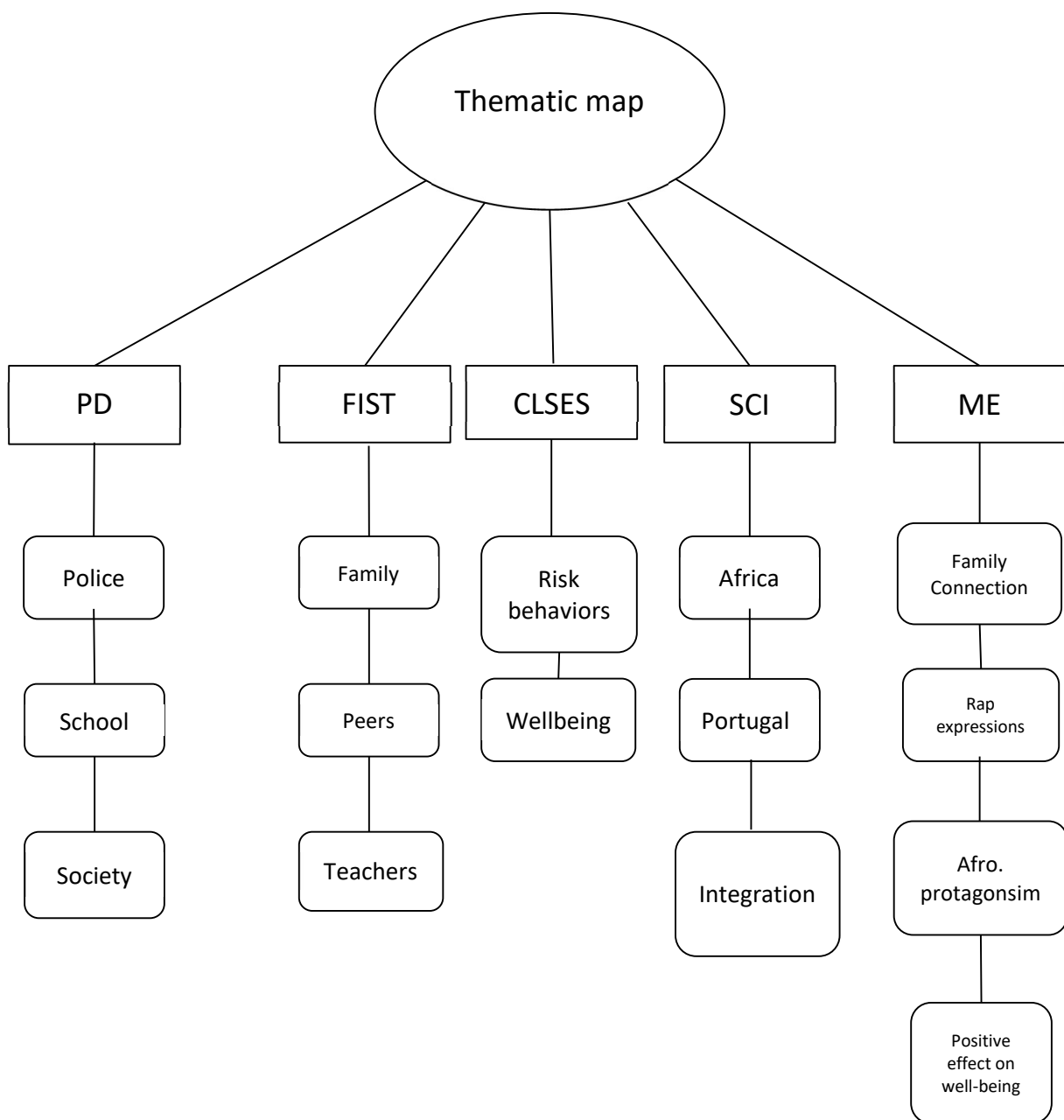
3.1 Theme 1: Perceived discrimination

The situations in which discrimination was reported differed in their forms and sources. For this reason, the theme was divided in three sub-categories: Perceived discrimination by the police, perceived discrimination by Portuguese society, and perceived discrimination in the school context.

3.1.1 - Discrimination by the Police

Two participants expressed the discrimination that, either they themselves or the community, suffers from police interventions. In both cases, discrimination was explicit and reported to be part of the daily routine for Afro-descendant youngsters living in Amadora (I3) and Sintra (I9).

The interviewee number 3 immigrated four years ago from Guinea Bissau, he is 18 years old and he enjoys living in his neighborhood, Santa Filomena. When he is asked about the difficulties of living in Portugal, he does not hesitate in referring to the police abuse, associating the abuse to his skin color:

"Here the only difficulty is the police, and some people. Like, to us, of dark skin color, we are put down, they put their heads over us, like it happened to me recently: I was talking to a guy on the streets, the police arrived and they said I was stealing… they took me (...) and they left the whites there. They said that the others are not thugs, that we are thugs." [I3].

Police seems to be also a problem for the youngsters of Queluz:

"[People go to prison] For a phone, you see? (...) The police arrive, and they put the people against the wall, they approach people without even asking if they have a house" [I9]

In addition to the experiences of discrimination the words "police" and "prison" were recurrent during the interviews. The following table represents the frequency of those words in the text

Table 3

Frequency of the Words "Police" and "Prison" (codes).

Reference to the word "prison" (4)	Reference to the word "police" (6)
"I was imprisoned, they gave me five years" (I7)	"My neighborhood is quiet… it is, you see, here in Amadora, it's one of the quietest areas, because here police doesn't pass" (I4)
"Hum, some of them [his friends] are in prison" (I2)	
"[People who] Steal a phone on the streets or whatever, brother, take these people and, instead of sending them to trial or to prison, they have to take care of them" (I9)	"At that time, and I believe even today, I am registered with the police" (I1)
"I just opened my eyes when I saw I was going to prison" (I5)	

3.1.2. Discrimination by Portuguese Society

This theme refers to the various forms of discrimination that were perceived by the participants, by Portuguese large society. Allusions of discrimination were referred to beliefs (4), behaviors (3) and legal practices from the State (2). In total, 8 participants reported incidents of different kinds of discrimination. The following table represents this variety:

Table 5

Forms of perceived discrimination from society

Form of discrimination	Example
Beliefs (4)	"For them, Sintra's Line is a war zone" (I9) "There are people who live outside [the neighborhood], some of them say that it's a place for thugs" (I4)
Behaviors (3)	"I don't want to be walking on the sidewalk, and another person coming on my sidewalk, in my direction, and because the person saw I am from African ethnic, cross... Cross the thing." (I8) "Sometimes you can walk on the streets and you notice that the person is changing sidewalks because you are dressed that way." (I2)
Legal practices (2)	"Everything was okay until I had to do the national exams [for University], and they didn't allow me to do the national exam because I didn't have documents, and they forbid me to study" (I6) "How is it possible that us Africans, who were colonized by the Portuguese, have so many difficulties in having our documents, [...] Portugal without immigrants goes bankrupt, but they continue to despise us." (I7)

As we can observe on the table, the forms of reported discrimination differed among participants. The word "thug", referring to the perception that others have about the Afro-descendants, appeared three times, for I3 the insult came from the police. I2 reported having a notion that, wearing sports clothes, he can be perceived as a thug. The perception of societal beliefs appeared to be regarding beliefs about the area of residence (e.g., Sintra's region or the neighborhood) in addition to beliefs

about Afro-descendants. Legal discrimination was referred by I6, who was affected by the Law of Nationality (mentioned in the literature review) and was not allowed to do the national exams for university for not having Portuguese nationality despite having been born in Portugal; when he was asked whether he was still interested in studying he replied, "it is too late" (I6).

3.1.3. Discrimination in School Context

According to Mateus (2019), discrimination in school context includes policies, practices, perceptions, and expectations from teachers and other members from the educational community. Experiences of explicit discrimination in school context were reported from six participants. The allusion to teachers' mistreatment appeared in five interviews, being coded nine times. Three participants declared physical aggression from a teacher. In this sense, the experiences of discrimination were divided in two: a) beliefs, including the narratives that showed awareness of the youngsters' social portrayal in school context; and b) behavioral, considering the allusions to behaviors, mainly from teachers, that affected the participants in a negative way. Those processes are expressed in the following table

Table 6
Discrimination in School Context

Type of discrimination	Example
Beliefs	"Teachers are afraid to speak to black students" (I2)
	"I felt that she [the teacher] didn't like me" (I8)
	"It was the school of the thugs because it was the school of the repeaters" (I5)
Behavioral	"[A teacher] hit me with the board eraser" (I5)
	"She was a teacher who didn't ask me anything, she didn't want to know about me, she used to teach for the others [...] she used to avoid talking to me" (I2)
	"They broke my tooth, I have this tooth here broken and it was a teacher" (I9)

Contrasting the narratives of teachers' discrimination, three out of four participants born out of Portugal (I3, I4 and I11) stated feeling more free than in their countries of origin (Guinea Bissau and São Tomé) to talk to the teachers, the following statements exemplify it: "here you can speak up

everything you want" (I3); "They [the teachers] here they don't beat you up (...) in São Tomé, you speak, you are beaten up straight away" (I11).

3.2 Theme 2: Factors That Influenced the School Trajectory

The codes that constitute this theme are references to the variables that had an influence on the participants' school performance. It was split into two sub-categories: positive and negative factors. The positive ones are those allusions to what helped the participants to be more engaged with school or to finish the studies; the negative factors are those which, from the perspective of the participants, impaired the performance or contributed to school disengagement.

3.2.1 Negative Factors That Influenced School Trajectory

Although teachers' discrimination might as well have influenced academic disengagement, for what concerns this theme, only explicit references to the impact of teachers on the school performance were included. The factors are divided into: Family (1), peers (3) and teachers (2).

The following table represents the relation made by the participants.

Table 7

Examples of Negative Factors that Influenced the School Trajectory

Family	Peers influence	Teachers
"I never failed much, but I failed three times in the 4th year and they [his parents] took football away from me, from that moment on [...] I lost the interest for everything" (I7)	"On the 5th year I failed, I had to repeat [...], I had a group that was bad company" (I1) "I think I failed like three times [...], the last period I started to hang out with people who were more rebel, I myself became more rebel" (I2)	"From the 1st to the 4th year I used to be a good student, but I had a teacher who had a problem with me, and she sent me to trial [...] for them to take me away from my mother. And after that period that I saw that happening, in that 4th year my father died, what happened? I became such a revolted child, but I didn't tell anyone [...] I stopped going to school, I failed for five years in a row" (I5)

3.2.2 Positive Factors that Influenced the School Trajectory

This sub-category refers to the positive relations established by the participants that shaped their academic trajectory. Family (4), peers (2) and especially, teachers (6), were referred to as positive

influences that, in some cases, such as the case of I1, helped him to conclude the studies when he was thinking of quitting.

Table 8

Positive Factors that Influenced the School Trajectory

Family	Peer influence	Teachers
"My father, he is more than motivation [to study], it is obligation" (I2) "My mother and my stepfather, they always told me to not give up" (I1)	"There were some problems, and I wasn't thinking of finishing [school], because of the strength of some friends, they told me to finish school" (I1) "My friends too [influenced to change attitude towards school]" (I3).	"I changed school, and it was different, because they [the teachers] believed in what we liked [...], so I managed to pass to the next year" (I5) "I had the help of my French teacher, I had her support, I had classes at the library with her [...] and it went well, I passed from the 8th to the 10th year" (I7)

3.3 Theme 3: Consequences of Low Socioeconomic Status

This theme was categorized based on what the literature suggests about the relation between low socioeconomic status and mental health problems as well as with engagement into risk behaviors (Duncan et al., 2006; Adler et al., 1994). The aim was to identify key experiences where a relationship between lack of economic resources and those two variables was established by the participants. Thus, two sub-categories emerged to frame the participants' responses:

a) Low well-being: This category included the references made by the participants to the effects of not having enough economic resources in their well-being. Six participants were included here.

b) Risk behaviors: Interviewees who narrated having been involved or knowing people from the community who have been involved into risk behaviors due, partially, to their economic condition were included in this category. A total of three participants reported risk behaviors because of low socioeconomic status.

The following table represents the relationship.

Table 9

Examples of Consequences of Low Socioeconomic Status

Low well - being	Risk behaviors
"You go to school; you see your friends with Nike sports clothes that your mum doesn't manage to give you. You will always think that you want more" (I9)	"At that time, it was a period that, well, I didn't have many things [...] and here, in Portugal, black people have a lot of this, we start to get into trouble because we want what the others have [...] we look for validation, you understand? looking for what we don't have at home" (I2)
"We are all children that came from the bottom, from poverty [...], as we grow up, we begin to take the bitterness out of ourselves" (I3)	"My life, wanting or not, wasn't easy [...] my mother was always working, my father died early, I was always on the streets, I just wanted to get into trouble [...] I just opened the eyes when I saw I was going to prison" (I5)

3.4 Theme 4: Sociocultural Identifications

The goal of this theme was, rather than establishing relations, to describe the youngsters' cultural and social identification. Seven out of eleven participants were born in Portugal, they are the second generation of African immigrants. Having grown up in the Portuguese society, it was expected that their identities might have been shaped by their family's cultural background, as well as by the Portuguese society. The complexity of the reported identifications is analyzed through the discussion chapter of this work.

3.4.1 Identification with African Background.

Participants who, when asked about their identification, indicated that they identified themselves with their African heritage, not including their Portuguese identity here. Two participants specified feeling Angolan, despite being born in Portugal. The following excerpts represent this sub - category:

I2: I don't have white friends, maybe one or two acquaintances, all my friends are African.
E: Do you identify more with Angola than with Portugal?
I2: Yes, exactly [...] I prefer to live here, but in terms of connection I prefer to connect with black people.

"When you live in a neighborhood [...] that has a lot of people from [...] the African community, it seems like a piece of Africa, people sometimes joke and say that Amadora is a bit of Africa" (I6)

"I was born in Portugal, I have Portuguese nationality, but I will never stop being African, Angolan." (I9)

3.4.2 Identification with Portuguese Society

This sub-category includes the testimonies that evoked an identification exclusively with Portugal. One participant expressed this type of identification, without acknowledging further identification with his African background.

> **I1**: "I believe it was stranger for my mother [...] because she was more used to Angola.
> **E**: Do you identify more with Portugal or with Angola?
> **I1**: with Portugal, always with Portugal"

3.4.3 Integration of Identities

In this sub-category, testimonies that established a relation between Portuguese and African heritage were included. Two participants (I5 and I6) expressed a valorization of having grown up amongst both communities: Portuguese and African, whereas the other two (I9 and I11) declared not thinking much about the topic. The following quotations give us a glimpse of this integration of identities and cultures:

> "I got to know two worlds [Cape Verde and Portugal] that are the same and different at the same time, so I liked to get to know them" (I5)

> "You are here, in Portugal, you also absorb from the Portuguese education and through my mother I absorbed education from Angola [...] I also have education from Cape Verde. I absorbed, without a problem, the three cultures" (I6)

What those excerpts reflect is that the participants' identification with Africa and/or with Portugal is not restricted to the nationality they or their parents hold. Having mostly African friends or growing up among many African people can enhance the identification with African roots. Nonetheless, as it is seen in the example of I6, identifying with the African background does not exclude identification or, as the interviewee states "absorption" of Portuguese society.

3.5 Theme 5: Engagement into Music

This theme was exploratory; therefore, its codes and subcategories are data-driven. The theme aims to expose the outcomes of engaging into music for the youngsters' lives, as well as to describe different forms of musical expressions that are the product of different life experiences and personalities.

It was divided in four sub-categories: a) connection with the family, b) the different styles and expressions, c) protagonism to Afro-descendants and d) the positive effect of rap music for well-being. For the purpose of properly disentangling each sub-category, they are separately analyzed.

3.5.1 Connection with the Family.

Engaging in rap music was reported to have brought a connection with relatives in six different participants. Some of them started to do rap music with a relative, for some others, music gave them some protagonism in the family.

Table 10

Connection with the Family

Participant	Example
I1	"Since I started to sing, more people came to talk to me [...], even from my family, when there are festivities, like Christmas or New Years, they talk about me"
I2	"[My brother] since the beginning followed my path, when I used to play football, he used to play too, when I started to sing, he started too"
I8	"My interest in music is because, since a young age, I always had a strong connection with my parents [...] and my older brother always listened to rap, that's how it started"

3.5.2. Expressions of rap music

This theme aims to give a representation of the different contexts and life perspectives of the youngsters. While some youngsters use rap music to express their feelings and their own narratives, for others it is a vehicle to connect with the public and gain fame. The preference for *drill* rap emerged in some interviews. *Drill* rap was born in Chicago in 2011, it is a genre that makes use of violent lyrics and threats. It is socially associated with *gangs* and stereotyped in the media as a social problem (Lynes & Kelly, 2020). A more profound analysis of this type of music will be considered in the Discussion chapter of this work.

The following table represents some examples of the diversity of expressions:

Table 11

Subcategory Expressions of Rap Music

Participant	Example
I4	"Rap, in general, for me it's more violent [...] violence about life on the streets"
I3	"In my lyrics I speak about party, I speak about reality, I speak about drill rap [...], drill is rivalry [...] we sing drill to show our rivals that we are more than them [...], drill leads to death [...] if you get out of drill, your group is not going to defend you"
I6	"Getting older, sometimes I feel a bigger responsibility, to launch a social critic"
I8	"At this moment, my goal is to continue to give voice, to continue to give empowerment to us, as rappers [...]. Mainly, my goal is the empowerment of African culture"

As we can see, the expression of rap music reflects the diversity of the participants, who differ in perspectives about music, but mostly all of them believe that rap is about freedom of expression, highlighting that there is not a unique way of producing rap music.

3.5.3. Protagonism to Afro-descendants

This sub-category refers to the testimonies that established a connection between rap music and the positive social representations of Afro-descendants. We saw through the first chapter of this work that in the 1990s the focus in the media was directed to the youngsters from African origin populating the periphery of Lisbon (Alves, 2016), and at the same time, the music produced by those youngsters began to be heard by the public society (Raposo, 2010). The testimony of some youngsters' match with the expectation that, in some cases, there is a notion that rap music gives voice to the Afro-descendant communities in Portugal.

The following table reflects the sub-category:

Table 12

Sub-category Protagonism to Afro descendants

Participant	Example
I8	"My culture was never a very privileged culture and rap was something that gave us a voice, that brought us, to say so, a power that we didn't have [...] it is clear that an African person is going to fit in much better in a style of music that welcomes him or her. To say so, it is the safe space, to say so, for the African culture, it is rap music"
I7	"Afro - descendants took rap music to a high level"
I6	"Afro culture will always be linked to rap music [...], rap is seen for many people as the voice, right? as that intervention thing, and Afro - descendants pass the message that they are also on the struggle, to fight for the rights, to grow up in equality"

3.5.4. The Positive Effect of Rap Music for Well-being

This theme aims to reflect the youngsters' testimonies that associate the process of engaging into music to an improvement in their general well-being. Here, social and psychological variables are involved. The sub-category is divided according to the different domains where the effect of rap music was, for the participants' perspective, positive for their psychological well-being. In this sense, six main domains stemmed from the narratives of the participants:

a) Identification of feelings: Participants expressed that they could identify and express what they felt, sometimes by listening to other rappers' lyrics and understanding that they feel the same.

b) Relief: Some participants mentioned the relieving effects of producing music, making them feel lighter and better with themselves.

c) Recognition: The youngsters expressed the positive outcomes of being recognized because of their talents, either from family members or from friends. Social media plays a role here, serving as a tool to get the recognition of unknown people.

d) Self-esteem increase: Positive self-image increased in some participants, declaring to have improved their self-confidence thanks to rap music.

e) Prosocial behaviors: In some cases, it was stated that the encounter with rap music helped participants to not to take risk behaviors, or, as I2 and I5 stated, to avoid ending up in prison.

f) Inspiration for others: Having reached status and a feeling of self-worth through rap music, participants showed a will to be inspirational and influential for other people, using their lyrics as a tool to transmit their messages. The following table gives a glimpse of some examples of quotations reflecting those psychological domains.

Table 13

The Positive Effect of Rap Music for Well-being

Psychological domain (Codes)	Example of quotation
Identification of feelings (9)	"With rap music you manage to get youngsters to feel your message, and even you get to feel what they are feeling" (I9)
Relief (5)	"As we grow up [...] we begin to take the bitterness out of ourselves, to sing that bitterness" (I4) "I just manage to truly open up through music" (I7)
Recognition from others (6)	"Since I started more people have been coming to talk to me [...] my cousins support me, and they ask me when I am going to release" (I1)
Self - esteem increase (4)	"Sometimes I had many problems of insecurity, and I used to say: «no, I'm going to the studio»" (I2)
Pro - social behaviors (3)	"I just opened my eyes when I saw I was going to prison, and rap opened the doors to a new life" (I5)
Inspiration for others (6)	"The messages I leave in music, I want others to take them into consideration" (I3)

CHAPTER 4.
Discussion

The focus of this study was directed to get an overview if, and to what extent, the experiences of racial discrimination influenced the academic trajectory and the feeling of belonging and inclusion to the country, and/or to the institutions in African and Afro-descendant youngsters from the cities of Amadora and Sintra. Additionally, this research aimed to explore the role that rap music has in counteracting discrimination and stigma. To do so, eleven rappers — African born, or from African descent — were interviewed through semi-structured interviews about their life trajectories, focusing on their relationship with: a) the educational system, b) the territory and c) music. The thematic analysis, conducted through a combination of top-down with bottom-up approaches, resulted in five themes — 1) Perceived discrimination; 2) Factors thar influenced the school trajectory; 3) Consequences of low socioeconomic status; 4) Sociocultural identifications and 5) Music engagement —, those themes give us an idea that racial discrimination is, indeed, perceived by the participants. Although it is not clear that such discrimination impacted the academic trajectory, some evidence — based on the testimonies from the interviewees — bring us a clue that it might have had some influence on academic disengagement. The findings indicate other variables that, according to the participants, moderated the school trajectory, such as peers, family and teachers. Low socioeconomic status appeared to play an important role in undermining the well-being and in the engagement into risk behaviors. Identification with Portuguese culture and feeling to belong to the country differed amongst participants and, in some cases, Portuguese born participants preferred to identify themselves as Africans. Rap music showed to be a practice that brought a positive individual and collective identity to mostly all participants by allowing the youngsters to express themselves, to connect with others — including relatives —, gaining a societal status through the recognition of their talents. This section aims to discuss the main findings, interpreting them and establishing connections with previous studies as well as to expose the limitations of the study and to suggest further research and interventions.

From the data gathered in the study. we can infer a high familiarity of the youngsters with police and authorities. Matching with the literature (Alves, 2016; Gomes, 2013; Marcelino, 2019; Raposo et al., 2019; Raposo & Varela, 2017), the participants expressed a notion of the presence of police in their lives. Although experiences of discrimination were not always reported, the appearance of quotations with the word "police" and "prison" in their testimonies reflects this reality. Furthermore, bad treatment from the police officers was narrated, including insults based on ethnic membership and violent aggressions. This evidence is consistent with the various international reports that have called

attention to the abuse of enforcement law agents towards racialized communities (Amnesty International, 2019; ECRI, 2018).

Discrimination also seems to be perceived from the social image that Portuguese large society holds about youngsters from African origin and the territories where they live. As Vala and Lopes (2004) found in their study, Afro-descendant youngsters in Portugal are aware of their negative social representation; Mateus (2019) shows similar results in a different context. Consistent with these findings, some participants interviewed in this study expressed such meta-perception. A total of eight interviewees expressed having some notion of the negative social image, either related to the territory (e.g., "people say that the neighborhood [Santa Filomena] is a place for thugs"[I4]; "for them Sintra's Line is a war field" [I9]), or ethnic membership (e.g., "black people have that image [...] for the look of others I'm dressed like a thug" [I2]). According to Rodrigues, Monteiro and Rutland (2012b) this meta-perception is related, in stigmatized minority groups, to higher levels of depression and devalued self-esteem.

Although it was not possible to have a clear view of the effects of this meta-perception on participants' well-being, we do have some evidence about the negative feelings stemming from those social representations (seven participants expressed a negative emotion related to the perceived stereotypes or discrimination), we could identify the following emotions: a) sadness (e.g.:"Sometimes I feel bad because I live there right? There are thugs everywhere" [I3]; b) a general feeling of injustice ("here there are people, these people matter and we want equality, we don't want neither more nor less, we just want to have our space to live freely, nothing more [I8]"; c) hopelessness ("imagine, feeling in that complicated world and not having anybody to help you, to lift you up, you know? [I9]") and d) anger ("I sometimes feel a revolt because of the way we are treated, and there are people who have nothing to do with the culture, they are more accepted than us" [I7]. Research reviewed through this work connects the experiences of discrimination to mental health problems (Brown et al., 2000; Hammond, 2012; Guerra et al., 2015; Schwartz et al., 2015). Those negative emotions, derived from the awareness of the stigma, give us an idea that the participants are, in a way, psychologically affected by the negative social representations.

The latter above's statement, from I7 (born in Angola and living in Portugal for twenty-three years), stating that he feels a revolt for how African people are treated, came after the participant acknowledged that he feels Portuguese, but the State does not perceive him as such. This example reflects a notion that the feeling of belonging — in this case, to be *seen* and treated as an equal Portuguese citizen — is undermined by the perception, from the large Portuguese society, that Afro-descendants are not Portuguese. Another example of this complexity can be found in I9's testimony, a Portuguese youngster, 19 years-old, born in Portugal, with parents from Cape Verde:

"I happened to be born here, if you look, my parents are African...they were born there but I was already born here, I was born pure here, I am already a Portuguese, supposedly to say, nobody to me...there will be someone who points the finger at me, «you are not Portuguese», you see? It's complicated...this world here is complicated" (I9)

What these testimonies reveal is a struggle to be included in the country and to be equally perceived and treated. While Interviewee 9 considers himself to be "born pure here", he automatically compares the *identity contingencies* — defined by Steele (2010, p 3) as "the things you have to deal with in a situation because you have a given social identity" — of black identity, with those of a foreign identity:

"You, being a black... You even... You don't even need to be black, because it's enough to be a foreigner from another country, even people who come from another country, have discrimination, are discriminated, no... Yeah, Portugal is good, it's a good country, but it's a country that discriminates a lot, it doesn't like help" (I9)

Vala and Lopes (2004) state that the perception of Afro-descendant Portuguese youngsters about Portuguese society is constructed based on how they think they are perceived by such society. In this sense, this data is consistent with previous international research that links perceived discrimination with a lower feeling of belonging and inclusion (Guerra et al., 2019; Jasinskaja-Lathi, Liebkind & Solheim, 2009). The findings related to identification, additionally, match with Seabra and colleagues' (2011) research: As the authors state, immigrant descendants' identification only with one country is rare. Territorial identification is common in comparison to national identification (for example, feeling "very Portuguese") that, in the author's study, was widely shown in native Portuguese (90%) but not so much in immigrant descendants — only 56% of this population stated feeling "very Portuguese" — (Seabra et al., 2011). Territorial identification was also present in the sample of this study, even in participants who stated identifying exclusively with their African background. A good example of that is I2's statement: "I prefer to live here. It's a cool country here, but sometimes I feel that in terms of connection I prefer to connect with black people." (I2).

Although the data can suggest that the feeling of belonging to the country might be undermined by discrimination, the association between experiences of discrimination and school disengagement could not be clearly identified in this study, since some participants who reported experiences of discrimination had the 12th year of education completed (although all of them, except for one, had repeated at least one academic year). However, we do have some findings about what might be behind the academic disinterest that can be related to previous studies in this field.

In line with the literature (Mckown & Strambler, 2008; Parker & Asher, 1987; Ogbu, 2003), peer relations appeared to be highly influential in the interviewees' academic trajectory. Three participants (I1, I2 and I5) mentioned their friends in their explanations about the loss of interest in school (e.g., "I

failed the 5th grade and had to repeat [...] I had a group that was bad company" [I1]). Parker and Asher (1987) establish a relationship between problematic peer relationships and maladjustments in future behaviors, including criminality. In fact, the same three participants referred to 'prison' and 'police registration' in their testimonies about past behaviors.

While peers seem to have been a reason to engage in risk behaviors and devalue education, in the narratives of I1 and I2, the positive relation with the family appears to be an important fact to continue studying. Both participants had expectations of continuing their academic trajectories and both referred to the support of their families: "My mother and stepfather always told me not to give up" (I1); their narratives are consistent with previous studies that show the importance of positive family relations for academic achievement (for a review, see Mckown & Strambler, 2008). Baumrind (1966) considers 'authoritative parenting style' the one that affirms the child's qualities but orients his/her behavior in a rational way, establishing limits and guidelines. Interestingly, I2's statement reflects that style: "my father is more than motivation, I think he is more of an obligation" (I2). Some studies have shown that, in high-risk communities, this is the parenting style that leads to better academic results (Mandara & Murray, 2002). This parenting style is different from 'authoritarian parenting', that involves punishment. Parental punitiveness is associated to school withdrawal and mental disturbances, especially in working class families (Baumrind, 1966), although we do not have much data about parenting styles in this study, we can find an example of the consequences of authoritarian punitive approach in I7's statement: "My parents took football away from me and I lost the interest for everything". What this participant narrated is that, after the loss of interest, "things happened" in his life and he was incarcerated. Although we cannot simplify the situation by parents' punitive behavior, it can be inferred — from his allusion to this episode in an explanation about school withdrawal — that it did have an impact in his life.

The two participants who were still engaged in school, aiming to finish the 12th year, also mentioned the support of their families in their academic trajectory: "thanks to the tips of my teachers and my parents, I started to work more on school, to focus more, because I'm growing up, without school there is not future" (I3).

Teachers, just like peers and family, showed to be an ambivalent factor in school performance: they influenced for positive or for negative the trajectories of the interviewees. Previous research has pointed out the importance of a positive relation between teachers and students, for example, Burchinal and colleagues (2002) found that stronger teacher-students' relations in elementary school predicted more positive outcomes in development.

Narratives about perception of discrimination from teachers were found in participants who had dropped out of school before completing the 12th year (I5, I9 and I11), this finding suggests some evidence, in this study, of the association between perceived discrimination and academic

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disengagement, as stated by previous studies (França, 2018; Guerra et al., 2019). The perception that teachers have a different treatment towards Afro-descendant students was, indeed, widely felt. Claude Steele's (1997) evidence about African descendant students being aware of their negative stereotype in school context and performing worse due to that awareness, can be identified in I2's words: "Teachers are afraid to talk to black students". For this participant, the lack of attention from his teacher was related to his group membership. Diverse studies have shown that stereotype threat negatively influences academic achievement (Mckown & Strambler, 2008; Ogbu, 2003; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Additionally, three cases of physical aggression were narrated; in one of them (I5), the aggression was accompanied by racist insults, and the racial group membership of the teacher was highlighted accompanying the narration of the episode, ("he was white" [I5]). The same participant made references to problematic past behaviors, including having been close to go to prison. Although there are not clear associations in this case, previous research has suggested that teachers with lower expectations towards students might increase the risk of those students engaging in aggressive behaviors (Fonseca, Moleiro & Sales, 2009). Some studies have shown that teachers' bias towards Afro descendant students starts already in preschool and has an effect in bad treatment towards those students (Gilliam et al., 2016). What our data suggests is that teachers, indeed, contributed to diminish the motivation in participants, matching with the literature about the effect of teachers' expectations in students' performance (França, 2018; Mckown & Weinstein, 2007; Rubie-Davies, 2010) and with previous studies in Portugal showing that Afro-descendant students are aware of the image the educational community holds about them (Mateus, 2019).

However, the results also showed some positivity towards teacher-students' relations. Five participants remembered a teacher for a positive reason. Proximity to the students seemed to be something valuable (e.g.: "He is not like the rest of the teachers [...] he jokes with us, he gives us tips" [I3]) and the notion that teachers believe in the students was linked, from two participants (I5 and I7), to positive academic outcomes: "They [the teachers] believed in what we liked, and that's how I managed to pass the year (I5)". These findings are consistent with the literature stating that teachers who believe in their students contribute to improve the students' academic performance (Grehenson, Holt & Papegore, 2015).

In addition to those relations mentioned above, the findings of this study suggest that school segregation might be present in the peripheral areas of Lisbon. Two participants (I11 and I5) made reference to having gone to schools that are for students that do not perform well, furthermore both participants — who were in different focus groups — made reference to a stereotype associated with those students (e.g., "I went to a school in Cova da Moura that was for problematic children" [I11]; "my school was a school of thugs because it was the school of the repeaters" [I5]) showing, once more, some perception about the negative social image associated to them. Segregation, according to Roldão

and colleagues (2016), happens in marginalized contexts where students from lower social classes and with immigrant context are put together in the same schools and classes. School segregation has been previously pointed out as having an effect in the academic gap between black and white communities (Ogbu, 2003); this practice involves poorer teacher instruction and poorer material resources, previous literature indicates that immigrant descendants and minorities are the groups most affected by this unequal distribution of resources (Lucas & Berends, 2002).

As it has been already stated, the data shows a generalized perception of discriminatory beliefs and practices from the large society. While research has shown that minority group members internalize the negative image of their group (Dunham, Baron & Banaji, 2007; Jost & Banaji, 1994), another line of research states that stigma does not necessarily imply lower self-confidence (Armenta & Hunt, 2009; Crocker & Major, 1989). In fact, although low self-esteem was mentioned in three interviews (I2, I5 and I11), it was associated with the past and, in all of them, rap music appeared to be the practice that had helped to enhance their positive self-image (e.g., "I used to have a lot of problems of insecurity, and I used to think, «no, I'm going to the studio»" [I2]). We cannot simplify the discrimination narrated in the previous lines as the only reason for low self-esteem or risk behaviors. As the results show, low socioeconomic status plays a role, matching with the studies that connect a negative relationship between low socioeconomic status and psychological well-being (Adler et al., 1997), as well as other variables that might have to do with individual differences.

However, since references to "blackness" or "Africanness" were made by the participants, there is some evidence that there was a general consciousness of a lower societal status due to their ethnic membership. This is represented in I8's words: "My culture was never a very privileged culture and rap was something that gave us a voice, that brought us, to say so, a power that we didn't have". This consciousness about 'unprivileged culture' is consistent with previous studies in Portugal that show similar results (Feddes, Monteiro & Justo, 2014, Rodrigues, Monteiro & Rutland, 2012b), as well as with research in other contexts (Dunham, Baron & Banaji, 2007).

In this sense, as it was expected, rap music showed to be the tool for most participants to reinforce a positive ingroup identity. In accordance with Branscombe, Shmitt and Harvey's (1999) Rejection-Identification model, engaging in rap music served to counteract an unprivileged societal status and to bring a sense of a positive collective identity (Ogbu, 2004). Some examples of this process can be found in the following excerpts: "I was never a child with many opportunities, so this is my opportunity to win" (I5); "Rap came to fill a gap in my life [...] when I had nothing, rap was the only thing I could hold on to" (I6). Taking Croker and Major's (1989) distinction between collective and individual self-esteem, we could say that rap music seems to serve, for the interviewees, as a vehicle to both increase of individual self-esteem (e.g., "I sing beautifully, when I sing my friends are scared [I3]) — highly influenced by the recognition of others, such as family, friends or social media ("And then you have

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that feedback from the public, that's love, right? [I6]) — and increase of collective self-esteem, by bringing a positive perception of belonging to a minority group. This connection between the positive self-image and the collective image of group belonging can be identified in this excerpt:

> "[Rap] for me it's identification. Because, just like the way of dressing...it's everything...it's a lifestyle for me...Rap for me is a lifestyle. And that's it, it's identification...I listen to rappers who sing...and go through the same things that I'm going through. And hearing that is like feeling that somebody understands me. That's it, that's the feeling. And so...that's good, and I like to feel good. I like to dress like they dress and stuff. I think that's it, a lot, the importance of rap...is to transmit that dynamic...yeah" (I2)

Matching with Oyserman and Swim's (2001) "insider's perspective", the participants appeared to actively search to be recognized, focusing to succeed where their group performs well. Thus, we could state that Fordham and Ogbu's (1986) oppositional culture theory can be applied to the participants' narratives. This might be explained by the high status of rap music within the musical industry. Perceived stigmatization and discrimination, analyzed in the first part of this discussion, might impulse an active seeking of *something* where African and African descendant people are positively socially seen. That symbolic space is rap music. The following dialogue, between I9 and I11, further represents the importance of rap music for Afro-descendants.

> **I9**: There should be more help, like, inside the neighborhoods, like, us...That's why sometimes we take rap music, you see? Music is something that…
> **I11**: Has a way out
> **I9**: We express ourselves more, you see? Like…Even if it's in our language

While discrimination towards the peripheral areas of Lisbon is denounced in the words above, rap is described as a way to cope with it and to find a better life. Furthermore, language appeared to be a meaningful variable for some participants in this study. Matching with the literature (Contador, 2001; Raposo & Varela, 2017), rap in Creole might be a vehicle to navigate through the different cultural identities previously exposed here. The two participants from Guinea - Bissau felt, as expected, more comfortable to sing in Creole from Guinea, but what was interesting is that two Portuguese born participants with Cape Verdean parents (I9 and I11), used Creole as a way to express themselves in rap music:

> "[W]hen you sing in Portuguese you get the message across...but when you sing in Creole, or when you sing in this world, as they say, of the street, neighborhoods, this here, they pass the message very much...it's a message they pass very much...it's a very sentimental message" (I9)

According to Souza (2009), rap in Creole in Portugal expresses the common experiences of class, race, biculturalism and discrimination related to growing up in the periphery of Lisbon within a family of African immigrants. It is the expression of a common identity intersected by those variables. Thus,

it might be what allows the youngsters to pass that "sentimental message" that cannot be passed on in Portuguese, despite Portuguese being their native language.

We can conclude that recognition and status through rap music seems to have two dimensions for the youngsters: the individual dimension that fuels the individual self-confidence, and the collective dimension that enhances positive ingroup belonging and identification.

In terms of psychological well-being, the testimonies show some evidence that rap music serves, for the participants, as a means to achieve emotional balance. Expression of emotions — either by identifying what they feel, sharing it, or realizing that they are not alone — was mentioned by all participants. In relation to those findings, it is accurate to point out that music therapy has been proved to be a successful alternative therapy for unprivileged adolescents who have not resources for traditional therapy (Cobett, 2009), additionally, research has shown that therapy with rap music for youngsters who identify with this movement has positive effects in reducing risk behaviors and protecting psychological well-being (Baker, Dingle & Gleadhill, 2012).

As the variables of 'class' and 'racial/ethnic membership' have had much attention until now, 'gender' should not have less importance. Previous literature has shown that, while men do suffer from mental health equally as women, beliefs in traditional masculinity refrains them from seeking help (Liu & Concepcion, 2010; Seidler et al., 2021); in addition to this, studies with African American men suggest that the endorsement of traditional masculinity is associated with depression (Hammond, 2012). African-descendant males might as well be affected by the stereotype of black men as being emotionally restricted and more prone to violence (Allport, 1954; Challenger, Duquette & Pascacio, 2020). The awareness of this stereotype can be perceived in I2's words: "people think that black men don't need psychological help". In this sense, it comes as no surprise that rap music seems to be a safe space for the expression of feelings and emotions for Afro-descendant males. This safe space is represented in I6's description of how the process of becoming a rapper started:

> "We were writing for hours and hours, and sending out improvisations, and it was something that brought us together, a way for us to talk about problems that maybe we weren't going to talk about directly... So, right from the beginning it was a thing that brought us together" (I6)

These findings give some evidence that Afro-descendant males from working class neighborhoods, who experience discrimination, might struggle to share the painful experiences of stigma — stemming from class, race, immigration and others — willing to conform to the codes of masculinity identity and, at the same time, they might be affected for not conforming the Eurocentric ideal of the majority group (Hammond, 2012), in this sense, an intersectional approach that takes into consideration the contradictory messages of having dominant and oppressed social identities (Croker and Major, 1989), is needed to understand the importance of rap music in protecting psychological well-being.

In some cases, rap music expresses the "violence of the streets" (I3), here, *drill* rap emerges to be a popular genre amongst some of the youngsters. *Drill* rap is a music style with violent lyrics and threats (Lynes & Kelly, 2020), however, the youngsters who made use of this genre also gave testimony of having experienced violent situations, including abuses from police or teachers. While drill music has a focus in the Portuguese media that portrays it as a social problem, linking the (Afro-descendant) rappers with crime, little attention is given to the causes of this violence. An analysis of the narratives in this study shows that engagement in drill music is preceded by experiences of social and racial discrimination.

As rap is a tool for counteracting discrimination in many forms. The youngsters manifested their conviction that rap is "freedom of expression" (I6) and any lyrics and expressions are valid. What these testimonies tell us is that rap music, as stated by Raposo (2010) is not a homogeneous music genre, on the contrary, it represents the diversity and the multiple identities of the African-descendant youth in Portugal. While most participants (7/11) revealed the will of being an inspiration for others, the ways in which they wanted to be inspiring differed from participant to participant. Interestingly, the oldest participants (I6 and I8) expressed a responsibility in denouncing discrimination and empowering the community. Although more differences between age groups could not be identified, this can suggest that age and a sense of empowering the others could be related.

4.1 Limitations of the Study

This study presented some limitations that might have refrained from obtaining better results. The intention to address several issues hindered, in a way, the understanding of how the different variables involved in the research interfered with the life of the youngsters. The benefits of qualitative analysis are in the same way, limitations to get to know what we were looking for.

A fundamental limitation was the heterogeneous sample's composition, that included participants born in Portugal, and others having immigrated to the country. This fact resulted in the need to adapt some questions of the script that could not be applied to everyone. Moreover, the sample differed in level of education and working conditions. Another limitation regarding the sample was the impossibility of forming two age groups with the same number of participants. In this sense, the younger group (eighteen to twenty-three years-old) was composed of eight participants, while the older group (twenty-seven to thirty-two years-old) had three participants.

Concerning the combination of individual and group interviews, while in the individual ones the participants had a private space that could enhance the sharing of intimate information, in the group interviews there was, somehow, a lack of privacy (although, compensated by the benefits of putting experiences in common) that might have refrained some participants from sharing intimate details, being also limited by having less time for themselves to share their views.

As a final point, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of a theory-driven approach that did not leave much room for the exploration of other meaningful psycho-social experiences touched by the participants, such as the experience of immigration — either from the interviewees or from their families — or the family relations. The previously set script with a defined direction (school, territory and music), guided the participants in a certain direction that might have influenced, in a way, their discourses. Additionally, the script presented some lack of questions about the youngsters' living conditions as well as about labor expectations, resulting in a lack of information about socio demographics and about employment perspectives.

4.2 Suggestions for Future Research

Taking into consideration the limitations presented above, together with the narratives about the contribution of rap music to well-being, that emerged in this study, it is appropriate to suggest the conduction of a quantitative study that might shed light on the association between rap music and positive individual and collective self-esteem. Such a study might be constituted by the development of a scale capable of measuring the sub-categories that emerged within the theme "Music Engagement", in this study. Quantifying the level of feelings like "relief", "recognition", "positive self-esteem", and others, could bring some understanding of the importance of this type of artistic practice for youngsters that are socially stigmatized and, on many occasions, believed to *not care* about personal growth.

Future research might as well consider the role of rap music in compensating for the disengagement from academic practices. Additionally, the well-functioning of the Portuguese academic system might benefit from research on teachers' views, beliefs and treatment of students, especially students from minority groups. To conclude, research aimed to decrease inequalities might also be directed to the role of mass media in shaping the perceptions of the majority group about minority group individuals.

4.3 Study Implications

Although the study had some limitations that made it difficult to establish associations, the space for open narratives allowed the participants to share experiences of discrimination that should not be oblivious to the social actors and institutions that have a responsibility in improving or protecting the citizens' lives. In this sense, it is accurate to suggest that multicultural training is highly needed in the educational community. The same applies for law enforcement actors. The data on police violence towards Afro-descendants is not unique to this study, although this study has contributed in giving a detailed description of how some police agents act towards Afro-descendant youngsters. Therefore,

multicultural training that could tackle the biases in educators, teachers, police officers, judges, and so on, would be favorable to reduce the experiences of racial discrimination.

Additionally, schools should consider the needs of male adolescents who do not fit into the standards of the majority group. Understanding cultural frameworks and gender norms should be a must for the educational system to make all the students feel included. Psychoeducational interventions based on an intersectional approach that understands the impact of stereotypes as well as of group norms, might foster the sense of belonging and perceived self-efficacy of minority students (Howard, 2013), such an example is the intervention named "Black boys: Invisible to Visible" by Challenger, Duquette & Pascacio, (2020), which shows that the feeling of self-worth can be enhanced and promoted by school interventions. In this sense, the importance of artistic means — mainly rap music — in Afro- descendants, should be considered by the school curriculum in order to create bridges with the community and refrain adolescents from disengaging from school. Previous school interventions using rap music have appeared to foster adolescents' life meanings, improving their relations and shifting their expectations about the future (see Souza & Neves, 2019).

Finally, school should consider the struggle of male adolescents to deal with their feelings and experiences of discrimination and act consequently, providing spaces where students could talk, write or sing about the painful experiences in order to liberate themselves from that pain. These initiatives will help to shift the youngsters' perspective about school. The Ever Forward Club, founded by the educator Ashanti Brunch in 2004, provides this emotional support for black and Latino students from underprivileged contexts, evidence shows that 90% of the students that went through the program managed to graduate in high school (Fraley, 2015).

Conclusion

This study's goal was to understand the experiences of discrimination in African and Afro-descendant youngsters from the cities of Sintra and Amadora. The expectation was that perceived discrimination would undermine the engagement into school as well as the feeling of belonging to the national body and its institutions, including the school itself. It was further expected that psychological well-being would be affected by discriminatory experiences. The second part of the study aimed to analyze the role of rap music to counteract discrimination; it was expected that engaging in rap culture would enhance well-being and would bring a sense of belonging to the community, resulting in positive ingroup identity. The results indicate that experiences of different forms of discrimination were common among participants. The thematic analysis suggested some evidence about the negative effects of discrimination in the feeling of belonging, as well as on academic engagement. The latter was highly influenced by teachers, peers and family relations. Although the relation between discrimination and lower well-being is not clearly explained due to the qualitative nature of the study, we do have some evidence that rap music helped the interviewees to achieve some degree of status and positive self and group perception. In addition to this, rap music was reported to serve as a tool for maintaining emotional balance for the participants of this study.

This research aimed to establish a connection between social historical facts, such as colonialism and nationalism, with present social behaviors regulated by psychological dimensions. What was proposed here is that colonialism created a psycho-social infrastructure — borrowing the term from Bar - Tal (2007) — that subtly interferes with the beliefs of Portuguese society, enhancing the positive collective identity of some, while undermining the feeling of belonging/inclusion of others.

Psychology has, since long, stressed the fundamental human need of belonging, as well as of self-realization. Not acknowledging and identifying the remnants of colonialism in Portuguese collective identity might have as an implication the perpetuation of unconscious attitudes and behaviors that hinder non-majority conforming individuals' feeling of inclusion. *Despite* the circumstances, some minority group members manage to maintain their psychological well-being and to gain some sense of societal status. This study has tried to bring some evidence that rap music could be a gate for Afro-descendant youngsters to be recognized and to have a sense of control over their narratives. Many other narratives and stories are to be heard. It is urgent, for the well-functioning of a democracy for all, to decolonize our history and to identify our biases and internalized ideas of white superiority, in order to actively *listen* to those stories, and to do something to change the narrative.

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Appendix A

Interview script

1) Podes falar um pouco do teu percurso de vida, onde nasceste, de onde são os teus pais? Qual era a profissão deles? recordas-te como eram as coisas quando andavas na escola?

2) Os professores que tivemos na escola podem influenciar o nosso caminho, lembras-te de algum professor que te influenciasse, e por que motivo?

3) Como era a tua escola em termos de diversidade: em relação às diferentes etnias, descendências, origens, orientações sexuais…qual era a abertura?

4) Os teus pais vieram de [Cabo Verde/Angola/Guiné…] como é que foi para ti, durante o período escolar, crescer em Portugal com família de outro país?

5) que idade tinhas quando a deixaste a escola, quantos anos completaste? Podes falar um pouco do processo?

6) Podes falar um pouco sobre o lugar onde cresceste, como é que foi crescer lá?

7) Como é a tua experiência, hoje em dia, em relação ao espaço onde resides?

8) Qual é que achas que é a perceção das pessoas de fora da comunidade em relação aos residentes desta zona?

9) Podes descrever a altura em que começaste a ter interesse pela música, como surgiu, quais eram as tuas referências?

10) Como é para ti processo de escrita, o que é que te inspira, o que queres transmitir aos outros?

11) Qual é o significado que a música rap tem hoje em dia na tua vida?

12) Quais é que são, ao teu ver, as coisas menos positivas da música rap tal como ela é hoje produzida?

13) Existe, ao teu ver, alguma ligação entre a música rap e as comunidades de jovens afrodescentes, nomeadamente no concelho de Sintra?

14) Há diferentes estilos de música rap: mais comerciais ou mais de intervenção (outros?), que tipo de género faz mais sentido para ti e porquê?

15) Qual é que achas que é a visão geral da sociedade portuguesa sobre a música rap?

16) Podes identificar alguma relação entre os temas que falamos nesta entrevista: a escola, a zona de residência e a música?

17) Gostarias de adicionar mais alguma coisa sobre as questões que temos falado?

18) Para concluirmos, gostava de saber a tua opinião pessoal sobre a entrevista, como é que te sentiste com as perguntas? Qual é a relevância destas perguntas?

Appendix B
Informed Consent

Declaração de Consentimento para participação em estudo académico

Quem está a realizar o estudo?

Este estudo realiza-se no âmbito da dissertação no Mestrado em Psicologia das Relações Interculturais no ISCTE - IUL, desenvolvida pelo estudante Jonatan Israel Benebgui, e orientada pelo Professor Doutor Ricardo Borges Rodrigues.

Qual é o objetivo do estudo?

Este estudo foca-se nas experiências de vida de jovens residentes no Concelho de Sintra, e explora o papel que a música tem nas suas vidas.

A quem se destina este estudo?

O estudo destina-se a jovens do sexo masculino, nascidos em Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa (PALOP) ou descendentes de imigrantes de países de PALOP, com idades entre os 18 e os 23 anos ou entre os 27 e os 32 anos, que se encontrem a residir nos Concelhos de Sintra ou de Amadora e que tenham contacto com a música Rap.

A participação é voluntária?

A participação é voluntária e o participante terá total liberdade para, sem qualquer prejuízo,abandonar a entrevista, se assim o desejar.

Qual será a duração da entrevista?

O estudo inclui 18 questões abertas, sem limite de tempo previsto, estimando-se uma duração aproximada de 30 minutos. A entrevista será efetuada em grupo.

A entrevista é gravada? O que acontece com as minhas respostas?

As entrevistas serão gravadas em formato áudio e posteriormente transcritas. Serão ainda tomadas notas escritas durante a entrevista. Apenas o entrevistador e o orientador da dissertação terão acesso a estes registos. Após a gravação proceder-se-á a uma análise de

conteúdo e, concluída esta análise, as gravações serão eliminadas. O anonimato das respostas é assegurado em absoluto. Os resultados do estudo serão incluídos na dissertação de mestrado do estudante Jonatan Israel Benebgui e poderão ser publicados em revistas científicas. Na apresentação dos resultados poderão ser apresentadas breves citações diretas das respostas dos entrevistados como forma de ilustrar uma determinada afirmação, assegurando-se, em todo o caso, o anonimato do entrevistado.

Os entrevistados têm o direito de aceder ao conteúdo das entrevistas a qualquer momento após a gravação e solicitar a sua eliminação se assim o desejarem, bastando, para tal, o envio de um email para Jonatan Israel Benebgui (Jonatan_Israel_Benebgui@iscte-iul.pt) ou Ricardo Borges Rodrigues (ricardo.rodrigues@iscte-iul.pt)

Quais são os benefícios que eu tenho ao participar nesta entrevista?

O participante neste estudo recebe um voucher LIDL no valor de 5 euros.

Eu,_____declaro que li e aceito as condições deste estudo antes de participar nele.

Lisboa, _____