

Padrões locacionais de escolas públicas e particulares e relação com áreas com diferentes níveis de renda em Presidente Prudente - SP

Patrones de localización de escuelas públicas y privadas y relación con áreas con diferentes niveles de ingresos en Presidente Prudente - SP

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Abstract

The unequal production of cities emerges as a reflection of the differentiated performance of agents producing the space, each of which is distinct interests. The reflection of this, among others, is a differentiated distribution of equipment, such as educational establishments. The aim of this article is to identify locational patterns of public and private schools in Presidente Prudente and the relationship with areas classified according to income. The methodological procedures used were the locational survey of public and private schools, extracted from SEDUC, and classification of areas according to monthly income, information collected in IBGE – 2010 census. Public schools have a pulverized distribution in the city, private schools are concentrated in a few areas, especially those in which city dwellers have higher incomes.

Keywords: Urban Space Production. Space Producing Agents. Schools. Locational Patterns. Presidente Prudente - SP.

Resumen

La desigual producción de las ciudades surge como un reflejo del desempeño diferenciado de los agentes que producen el espacio, cada uno de los cuales es un interés distinto. El reflejo de esto,

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entre otros, es una distribución diferenciada de equipos, como los centros educativos. El objetivo de este artículo es identificar los patrones de ubicación de las escuelas públicas y privadas en presidente Prudente y la relación con las áreas clasificadas según los ingresos. Los procedimientos metodológicos utilizados fueron la encuesta local de escuelas públicas y privadas, extraídas del SEDUC, y la clasificación de áreas según los ingresos mensuales, información recopilada en el censo IBGE – 2010. Las escuelas públicas tienen una distribución pulverizada en la ciudad, las escuelas privadas se concentran en algunas áreas, especialmente aquellas en las que los habitantes de la ciudad tienen mayores ingresos.

Palabras clave: Producción de Espacio Urbano. Agentes Productores de Espacio. Escuelas. Patrones de Ubicación. Presidente Prudente - SP.

Resumo

A produção desigual das cidades surge como reflexo da atuação diferenciada de agentes produtores do espaço, cada qual interesses distintos. O reflexo disso, dentre outros, é distribuição diferenciada de equipamentos, como estabelecimentos de ensino. O objetivo deste artigo é a identificação de padrões locacionais de escolas públicas e privadas em Presidente Prudente e a relação com áreas classificadas de acordo com rendimentos. Os procedimentos metodológicos utilizados foram o levantamento locacional das escolas públicas e privadas, extraídos da SEDUC, e classificação de áreas de acordo com rendimentos mensais, informação coletada no IBGE – censo de 2010. As escolas públicas possuem uma distribuição pulverizada na cidade, as escolas privadas situam-se concentradas em poucas áreas, principalmente aquelas nas quais os citadinos possuem rendimentos maiores.

Palavras-chave: Produção do Espaço Urbano. Agentes Produtores do Espaço. Escolas. Padrões Locacionais. Presidente Prudente – SP.

Introduction

Urban spaces are produced daily by the various social actors that compose it; these spaces are strongly marked by inequalities, initially social (CORRÊA, 2004), derived from disputes and conflicts of interest between the actors, but which are also expressed spatially, so these spaces are marked by socio-spatial inequalities. Also for this author, the cities are produced by the different active agents, who, in turn, have different objectives and actions, according to their respective interests.

Among these, Lojkine (1981) cites the State as an important agent in the production of urban space. From the action of this agent, urban public policies

emerge, among other consequences resulting from its action, which are "[...] práticas e discursos ligados a ações de responsabilidade do Estado sobre o espaço intraurbano em cidades brasileiras [...]." (VILLAÇA, 2010, p. 175)¹. Thus, the State, in the local instance, is mainly the agent responsible for bringing infrastructure, basic services, urban equipment and collective consumption to various areas of the city, especially to the areas most deprived to these demands.

We also highlight the performance of private agents in the production of urban space, these are commonly aligned with particularist and individual interests, oriented and arising from the "neoliberal subjectivation" (DARDOT and LAVAL, 2016). Following this neoliberal logic, these private agents have as a common aspiration the profit and the accumulation and concentration of capital, as Singer (1975) explains. Geography, for these private agents, becomes fundamental for maximizing their gains, especially in the attempt to obtain locational advantages in the implementation and dynamics of their business.

The appropriation of cities by these different agents, such as the State and private agents, which, as already said, have different aspirations, end up producing urban space in an unequal way. The asymmetric distribution of public equipment in cities, whether of public initiative or deprived, is an example of the differentiated action of the actions of the producing agents in the cities.

This unequal distribution of consumption media and equipment end up intensifying sociospatial differentiation, here understood as "às variações espaciais de fenômenos sociais e diferenciação de áreas." (CORREA, 2007, p. 61-62)²; the result of this is the worsening of socio-spatial inequalities.

In Presidente Prudente, public and private schools have very different localization patterns that have relationships with the income level of city dwellers in certain areas. Thus, the central objective of this work is to identify possible patterns

¹ (In free translation): "[...] practices and discourses related to actions of state responsibility on intraurban space in Brazilian cities [...]." (VILLAÇA, 2010, p. 175).

² (In free translation): "to spatial variations of social phenomena and differentiation of areas." (CORREA, 2007, p. 61-62).

between the spatial distribution of public or private schools and areas with different income levels in Presidente Prudente/SP.

Metodology

An initial literature review was carried out, mainly aiming to conduct reflections about public and private schools, a debate developed in the section "Asymmetries between public and private schools".

For the analytical cartographic productions, Maps 2 and 3, the methodology consisted of the crossing of data referring to the areas of the city by monthly income and location of private schools, Map 2, or public, Map 3. Data on the social variable income were extracted from the electronic site of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), 2010 census, through the tool for analyzing social variables by census tracts³; here, the social variable "Population living in permanent private households, with nominal monthly household income of up to 70 reais (People)" was selected for the city of Presidente Prudente. Through this, it was possible to map areas of the city according to this indicator, which were used in both maps.

The location of private or public schools, state and municipal, had data collected on the electronic site of the Department of Education of the State of São Paulo (SEDUC)⁴. The addresses of these schools were georeferenced and located in an overlapping way the information about the areas by monthly income. On Map 2, private schools were located, while public, state and municipal schools were located on Map 3.

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 For private schools, available at: http://www.educacao.sp.gov.br/central-de-atendimento/Relat_Escola.asp?ID_DIR=066&ID_MUN=562&ID_DIST=&NM_MUN=PRESIDENTE%20PRUDENT_E&NM_DIST=&CD_ADM=3&Nova=1. Accessed: December 2020.

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 at: <a href="http://www.educacao.sp.gov.br/central-de-http://www.edu

atendimento/Relat Escola.asp?ID_DIR=066&ID_MUN=562&ID_DIST=&NM_MUN=PRESIDENTE%20PRUDENT <u>E&NM_DIST=&CD_ADM=1&Nova=1</u>. Accessed: December 2020.

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³ Avaliable at: <u>https://censo2010.ibge.gov.br/painel/?nivel=st</u>. Access: March 2021

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 ADM=2&Nova=1.
 Accessed: December 2020.
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The software used for the elaboration of cartographic products was ArcMap 10.5. The geographic coordinate system adopted on both maps was the GCS_SIRGAS_2000.

Asymmetries between public and private schools

In addition to understanding the localization patterns of public and private schools of Presidente Prudente, São Paulo, Brazil, based on different parameters, especially the income of these subjects, it is also necessary to problematize the difficulties and challenges existing in the Brazilian territorial educational context, which impacts education at different scales and intensities , thus, President Prudente's schools would not be left out of this socio-spatial contextualization that presents enormous inequalities and challenges.

The historical contextualization of Brazilian education (public and private) is necessary, from it one can know a little about the structures built (or not) around education, as well as the educational instruments and projects created in our territory, projects that today are increasingly close to the educational market strongly influenced by neoliberalism and its economic practices, political, cultural and social (RIKOWSKI, 2018; PERONI, 2015, 2018; MORAES, 2001).

One of the striking elements of neoliberalism is the strengthening of life and individual practices, the safeguard of private property, institutions, markets and free trade. For Diel and Chuquel (2018), the founding element of neoliberal theories and practices is the freedom of the individual to freely agree within the market, leaving the state the responsibility to maintain the monopoly of violence, the preservation, at any cost, of these such freedoms.

It is for this reason that to think about neoliberalism it is necessary to decomposition of scales, it is observed from authors such as Adrião (2018) who study the impacts of neoliberalism on Brazilian education, that education has been

constantly affected by neoliberal policies, reverberating, above all, in the individual scale. To think of education as a public policy as opposed to a commodity, it is also to reflect on some existing dualities, especially when comparatoring the structure and content of public schools and private schools.

Estudar o papel que cabe à educação na construção de sociedades mais justas é uma preocupação que instiga há pelo menos um século a intelectualidade latino-americana. Essa tarefa vem se tornando cada vez mais difícil, uma vez que a ascensão do neoliberalismo, por uma parte, tende a desencorajar qualquer empreendimento que possa colocar em risco a ordem social e, por outra parte, procura retirar os temas educacionais do domínio público para circunscrevê-los ao privado. (PRADO, 2021, p. 1)⁵

If on a national and even global scale, education has been disputed by ideologies and paradigms, on the regional and local scale these contradictions are also manifested, in the specific case of this article, the arguments are erected from an analytical and geographical approach, starting from the localization patterns of public and private schools in the municipality of Presidente Prudente - SP, it will be possible to observe that the poorest students study, mainly in the most peripheral schools, with low infrastructure and different structural issues that go beyond the classrooms, at the same time, private schools occupy a centrality, especially, social and economic, evidencing a latent inequality.

The distance between public school and private school in Brazil is not only about the economic, political, cultural aspects, but also and, mainly, by the geographical distance that, in addition to being a material distance, can also be understood as a symbolic distance that materializes territorial and educational inequalities. Thus, "ao situar o embate entre o ensino público e o ensino privado é

⁵ (In free translation): "Studying the role of education in building fairer societies is a concern that has instigated Latin American intellectuality for at least a century. This task is becoming increasingly difficult, since the rise of neoliberalism, on the one hand, tends to discourage any undertaking that may jeopardize the social order and, on the other hand, seeks to remove educational themes from the public domain to circumscribe them to the private." (PRADO, 2021, p. 1).

necessário ressaltar que seus desdobramentos efetivos se vinculam às determinações estruturais e conjunturais de uma dada realidade." (SOUTO, 2012, p. 20)⁶.

At the same time that the public and the private materialize the unfolding of political, economic and cultural practices, its intersection can be read and understood as originating and specific categories of the modern era as Souto points out (2012).

In Brazil, the instructions until the 18th century were given mainly in schools maintained by religious orders and financed by the Portuguese kingdom, tied to private preceptors. As Souto (2012) points out, it is from 1759 with pombaline reforms that a type of state education represented by the Royal Classes emerges, thus, "It is therefore a collective school, private initiative, which at that time is considered as a public school." (SOUTO, 2012, p. 21).

O advento das aulas régias, a partir do alvará de 28 de junho de 1759, extinguiu o sistema de ensino baseado nos princípios sustentados pela Companhia Jesus, que vigoravam a dois séculos, tornando obrigação do Estado a garantia da educação gratuita à população, o estabelecimento de suas diretrizes e o pagamento dos professores, todos subordinados a uma política fortemente centralizadora. A partir de então a educação tornava-se leiga, conduzida por organismos burocráticos governamentais e não mais sob a diretriz dos jesuítas, sem, contudo, abolir o ensino da religião católica nas escolas, que permaneceu obrigatória. (SOUTO, 2012, p. 22)⁷.

It is worth mentioning an interesting point and which also expresses this mixture between the public and the private, the regal classes were taught in the teacher's own house, so there was no need for a school building. The institutional act promulgated in 1834 positioned primary education under the jurisdiction of the provinces, this act again exempted the State from taking responsibility for managing

⁶ (In free translation): "by situating the clash between public and private education, it is necessary to emphasize that its actual consequences are linked to the structural and conjunctural determinations of a given reality." (SOUTO, 2012, p. 20).

⁷ (In free translation): "The advent of the royal classes, from the charter of June 28, 1759, extinguished the education system based on the principles supported by the Jesus Society, which had been in force for two centuries, making the State's obligation to guarantee free education to the population, the establishment of its guidelines and the payment of teachers, all subordinated to a strongly centralizing policy. From then on, education became a layman, led by government bureaucratic bodies and no longer under the Jesuit guidelines, without, however, abolishing the teaching of the Catholic religion in schools, which remained compulsory." (SOUTO, 2012, p. 22).

the Brazilian educational system, however, the provinces were not equipped and did not have sufficient financial resources.

It is observed that after the proclamation of the republic some reforms were engendered, the first reform was made by the Minister of Instruction, Benjamin Constant, held in 1890, focusing on higher education. At the same time that there was this advance, the basic schools did not enter into the priorities of the first Republican governments.

Thus, it is observed that:

Uma das heranças do período imperial brasileiro na Constituição Republicana de 1891 foi a manutenção da dualidade do sistema escolar: boas e poucas escolas para as elites e escolas de qualidade duvidosa para os demais. Basicamente, as escolas mantidas pelo governo federal eram destinadas aos mais ricos. Sobravam para as camadas mais pobres os colégios do sistema estadual, que, mesmo com um investimento maior após a lei republicana, eram locais com composto por professores baixa estrutura carente e de qualificação. (AZEVEDO, 2018, p. 1)8.

The first steps to change this reality were from the impulse of the 1920s, in this sense, the New School gained strength and strength in educational environments inspired, mainly, in school-noivist ideals, thus, "nomes como do educador Anísio Teixeira despontaram como lideranças do movimento." (AZEVEDO, 2018, p. 2)⁹.

Thus, it was with the advent of the Republic that public schools began to be thought and built, occupying a centrality in the history of Brazilian education. It is from this moment that the public authorities assume the task of organizing and maintaining schools, thus spreading teaching to the entire population, we know that

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⁸ (In free translation): "One of the legamens of the Brazilian imperial period in the Republican Constitution of 1891 was the maintenance of the duality of the school system: good and few schools for elites and schools of dubious quality for the other. Basically, the schools maintained by the federal government were aimed at the wealthiest. The poorest classes of the state system were left over, which, even with a larger investment after the Republican law, were places with a needy structure and composed of low-skilled teachers." (AZEVEDO, 2018, p. 1).

⁹ (In free translation): "names such as educator Anísio Teixeira emerge as leaders of the movement." (AZEVEDO, 2018, p. 2).

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this process has highlighted enormous contradictions, however, it was an important step in the history of education in Brazil.

In 1961 the Law of Guidelines and Bases of Education (LDB) is promulgated, thus, the document establishes a nucleus of disciplines common to all branches, however, it is in the second version of this document that a more capillarized, democratic and consequently universal education system is built and engendered. This structure remains in force until LDB 1996, when the name of Elementary School and High School comes into force, thus, "a mudança ocorrida naquele ano incluiu ambos os períodos como etapas da educação básica e, integrou, oficialmente, a educação infantil, que ganhou mais relevância no cenário nacional." (AZEVEDO, 2018, p. 3)¹⁰.

These multiple transformations in basic education, as briefly presented in the previous paragraphs, demonstrate a plurality of the idea of what education is and how these policies are territorialized in Brazil. However, the social inequalities existing in this field of action and verification is latent and worrying, while the inequalities between public and private education are also observable.

The bibliography points out that the teaching staff active in public education sees the student as disadvantaged in learning, mainly because it is inserted in a social, political, economic and territorial context of inequalities and disadvantages (NAIFF *et al.*, 2010, p, 58). At the same time in relation to private schools, the teacher presents a feeling of intimidation from the powers that students have, thus, "os ensinos público e privado no Brasil apresentam características muito díspares e provocam, consequentemente, representações diferenciadas, tanto na relação dos professores e alunos, quanto do professor com sua prática." (NAIFF *et al.*, 2010, p. 58)¹¹.

¹⁰ (In free translation): ""the change that occurred in that year included both periods as stages of basic education and officially integrated early childhood education, which gained more relevance in the national scenario." (AZEVEDO, 2018, p. 3).

¹¹ (In free translation): ""public and private teachings in Brazil have very different characteristics and consequently provoke differentiated representations, both in the relationship of teachers and students, as well as the teacher with their practice." (NAIFF *et al.*, 2010, p. 58).

O sistema privado recruta seu alunado em setores médios e altos, propiciando desta forma um fenômeno circular: alunos dotados de melhores backgrounds familiares recebem uma oferta escolar caracterizada por equipamentos e pessoal adequado, obtendo resultados mais altos que os produzidos pelam escola pública. (TEDESCO, 1991, p. 36)¹².

About private education Tedesco (1991) points out that there are 4 main reasons that generated the growing interest in the expansion of private education in Brazil: 1) the role of religious institutions that remained in action in the educational sphere even after the state has assumed its role; 2) need to improve the quality of the service offered by the State; 3) the need of parents to have a greater participation in school decisions; 4) the greatest revaluation of education in the production of skilled labor (NAIFF *et al.*, 2010).

The gulf between public and private schools can be observed from some numbers and evaluation parameters, we understand that some of these parameters are problematic because they do not take into account the singularities, particularities and political, economic and cultural contexts of the Brazilian educational system. At the same time, it is possible to observe from the data of the MEC, which considering 10% of the schools with higher grades in the National High School Exam (ENEM) in 2017, 18% were public and 82% private schools.

In addition to grades as a criterion used to evaluate public and private education, it is also important to highlight the lack of encouragement of young people who study in public schools as opposed to young people from private schools, thus, it is observed that only 38% of the country's 19,490 public high schools had more than half of students in Enem in 2017 at the same time, of the 8,271 private schools, 75% reached the level.

¹² (In free translation): "The private system recruits its students in medium and high sectors, thus providing a circular phenomenon: students with better family backgrounds receive a school offer characterized by adequate equipment and personnel, obtaining higher results than those produced by the public school." (TEDESCO, 1991, p. 36).

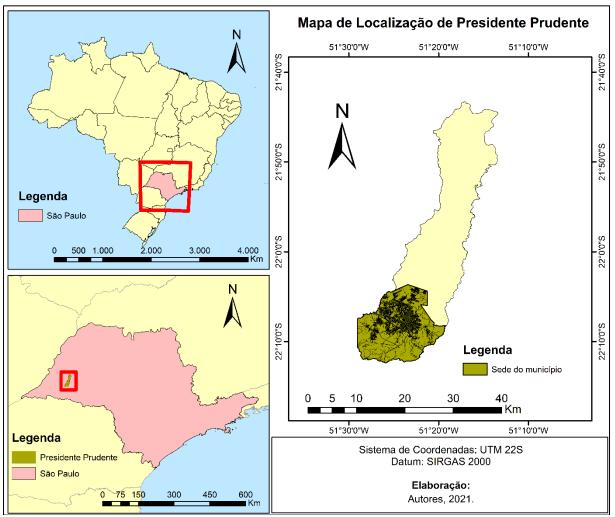
In relation to infrastructure, students and public school teachers face overcrowded classrooms, few resources for infrastructure, lack of teachers, lack of training, lack of stimulation, among other issues that present themselves as serious problems and that directly impact the training of these students.

This data and information serves to help us understand reality at its different scales. The schools of Presidente Prudente - SP, are also inserted in this concept of inequality and precariousness, given information presents itself as an ongoing and active project, the school comes to be seen not as a space of plurality and potentiality that values cultural heterogeneity, politics, etc., but as a space for training the workforce to supply a market that already has a huge reserve army (MARKET, 1998).

Study area

Presidente Prudente is a municipality located in the western part of the state of São Paulo, approximately 550 kilometers from the state capital, São Paulo (Map 1). The municipality had an estimated population of 230,371 people in 2020, according to IBGE (2021).

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Map 1. Presidente Prudente. Relative location of the municipality. 2020.

In the study of urban hierarchy conducted by IBGE (2018), present in the book "Regions of Influence of Cities" (REGIC)¹³, the city is classicized as "Regional Capital C (2C) - Municipality integral to the Population Arrangement of Presidente Prudente/SP". Thus, the importance of the city in the urban hierarchy occurs mainly at the regional level. The main economic activities of the city refer to the tertiary sector of the economy, concerning commercial activities and service provision.

Other relevant social variables and indicators are presented below in Frame 1.

Frame 1. Data and variables related to the municipality of Presidente Prudente /SP

Data and variables	Values
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¹³ Available in: <u>https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/index.php/biblioteca-catalogo?view=detalhes&id=2101728</u>. Accessed: March 2021.

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Elaboration: the authors, 2021.

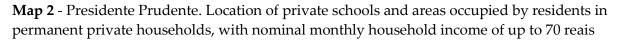
Municipal Human Development Index – IDHM (2010)	0,806
Average monthly salary of formal workers (2018)	2,7 minimum wages
PIB per capita (2018)	R\$ 35.207,07
Percentage of the population with per capita monthly nominal income of up to half minimum wage (2010)	29,8%
Schooling rate from 6 to 14 years old (2010)	97,8%
Infant Mortality (2017)	10,2 deaths per thousand live births
Adequate sanitation (2010)	98,1%
Afforestation of public roads (2010)	95,9%
Urbanization of public roads (2010)	34,6%

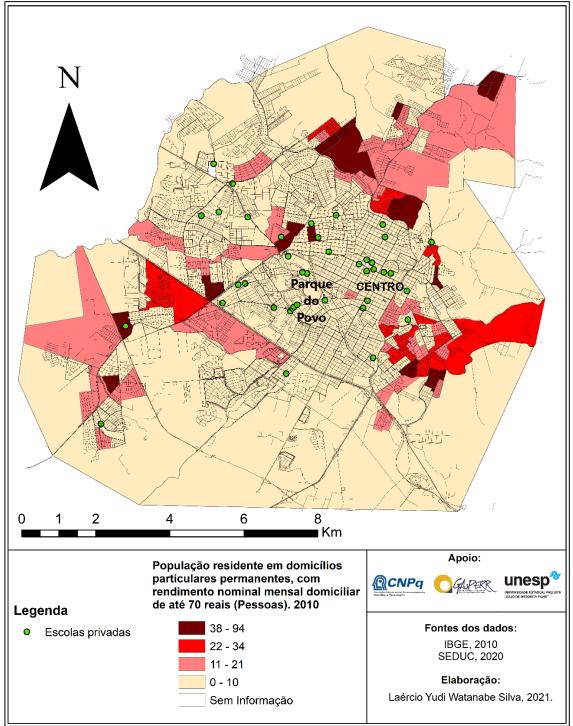
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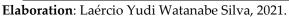
Source: IBGE, 2021. Organization: the authors, 2021.

Identification of locational patterns in the spatialization of public and private schools in Presidente Prudente/SP

The survey and mapping of schools in the city took place within the limits of the urban perimeter of the city. The analytical cartographic products, Maps 2 and 3, are divided based on the criterion related to the administration and management of schools, carried out by the government, in state and municipal schools (Map 2), or by private agents, in the case of private schools (Map 3).







It is noted that the spatial distribution of private schools does not comprise all areas of the urban space of Presidente Prudente, some areas do not have private schools in their vicinity. The main concentration of schools managed by the private

sector occurs in the vicinity of the main center and the Parque do Povo, areas with low amounts of people with monthly household incomes of up to 70 reais, classified from category 1 in this analysis, which comprises from 0 to 10 individuals in this situation. Of the mapped schools, 37 of the 39 are located in areas classified in category 1, which corresponds to 94.87% of private schools. These are areas that do not comprise residents located in the smallest income groups and with too low incomes.

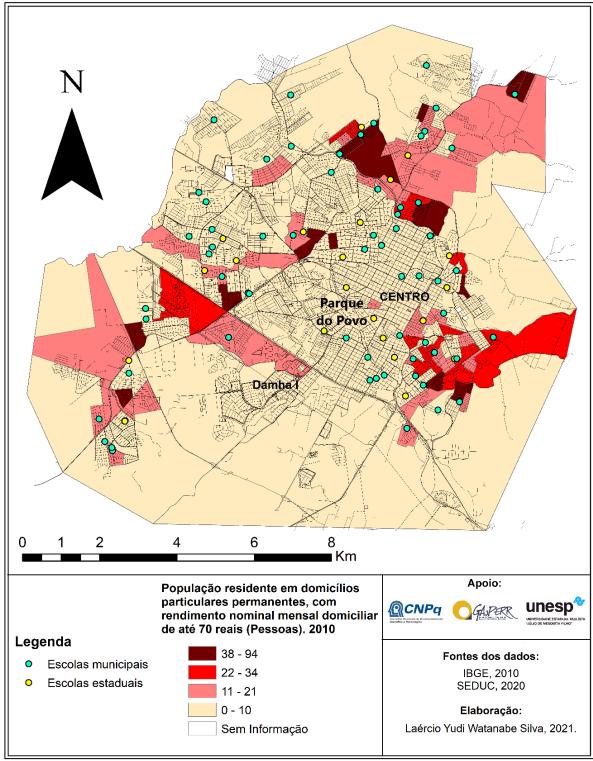
A reasonable concentration of private schools is also identified on the western outskirts of the city, it is a much less unequal peripheral area compared to the northern and eastern peripheries. In the western part of the city, too, residential residences of high standard are beginning to emerge, especially after the 2000s, reinforcing the hypothesis that private schools are located in areas where individuals have higher levels of income.

On the other hand, the areas with the highest concentrations of people with monthly household nominal incomes of up to 70 reais, especially categories 3 and 4, referring to 22 to 24 and 38 to 94 individuals, respectively, have very low concentrations of private schools, or even do not have in some of these areas, such as in the peripheries of the north and east of the city.

Thus, a pattern is identified in the places of implementation of private schools in Presidente Prudente: they are areas occupied by city dwellers with better income conditions and mainly located in the vicinity of the main center and the Parque do Povo, two of the main centralities of the city and which are areas valued by the real estate market.

For comparative purposes and as a way to achieve the central objective of this work, the same investigation is presented below, however now in relation to public, state and municipal schools.

Map 3 - Presidente Prudente. Location of public schools and areas occupied by residents in permanent private households, with nominal monthly household income of up to 70 reais



Elaboration: Laércio Yudi Watanabe Silva, 2021.

Public schools are located in a pulverized manner in virtually all areas of the urban space of Presidente Prudente, except in part of the southern periphery, in the

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vicinity of the Damha Residential Park, it is a concentrating area of closed residential spaces of high standard or self-segregated spaces, as corrêa (2004) defines. Still for the author, self-segregated spaces are occupied by the richest, who choose of their own will to live among the like and distance themselves from the different ones, for this reason they occupy these spaces and segregate them. Catalão and Magrini (2019) also adjected these high-standard enclosed residential spaces as an enclave, expressed by the enclosing of these spaces from the idea of security that these spaces offer.

Generally, children and adolescents living in these closed residences on the southern periphery study in private schools; thus, the demand for public schools in this area is virtually nil.

Roughly speaking, all areas and sectors of the city have public schools in their vicinity, which can be found, more or less homogeneously, by various neighborhoods and areas of the city. Thus, public schools are better distributed in the city of Presidente Prudente and, consequently, are less conceived in few sectors of the city, as with private schools.

Final considerations

In Presidente Prudente, as well as in the most diverse cities, the differentiated performance of the State and private agents, motivated by different interests, produce spaces marked by asymmetries and unequal distributions of establishments, public or private, conditioned by the duality of space-society.

The location of private and public schools in Presidente Prudente reflect this unequal distribution. The first are largely concentrated in the vicinity of the main center and the Parque do Povo, two of the areas most valued by the real estate market, so are areas occupied by individuals with high incomes. Some others are located in the western periphery, an area with recent implementation of closed allotments of high standard. Another pattern identified is that schools managed by

private administration are located, almost in their entirety, in areas with very low absolute amounts of people with small monthly incomes, which helps explain that generally private schools are established in areas with positive emphasis of the city, close to important centralities, and that concentrate subjects with higher monthly incomes.

Public schools, on the other hand, have a more equitable spatial distribution, comprising almost all areas of the city, except for the southern periphery, where several gated communities of high standard are concentrated, revealing that the local state, in relation to the policy of implementing public schools, had its actions conditioned by collective interests, unlike private agents.

Roughly speaking, all areas and sectors of the city have public schools in their vicinity, which can be found, more or less homogeneously, by various neighborhoods and areas of the city. Thus, public schools are better distributed in the city of Presidente Prudente and, consequently, are less conceived in few sectors of the city, as with private schools.

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