

The interference of social vulnerability on educational opportunities in urban territories

A interferência da vulnerabilidade social sobre as oportunidades educacionais nos territórios urbanos

La interferencia de la vulnerabilidad social sobre las oportunidades educativas en los territorios urbanos

Silvana Menegoto Nogueira Di Giusto² 

Vanda Mendes Ribeiro³ 

Abstract: This article comes from research that aimed to identify in the literature factors of contexts of social vulnerability that interfere in the school and can influence the educational opportunities in those localities. For that, a search was made at Scielo, in 2017, on the subject. The analysis of the referential denoted that there are a set of external and internal elements to the school institution, arising from the vulnerability of the territory, which influence its administrative and pedagogical activities, such as: greater lack of instruments promoting social welfare in the region; homogeneity of the student body; selection of students and teachers; turnover of professionals; insufficient vocational training; negative representation of students; simplification of content and less time dedicated to educational practices. It is concluded that these elements interfere and hinder the development of the functions of the school as a promoter of knowledge and end up creating or reinforcing educational inequalities.

Keywords: Territory social vulnerability. Educational inequalities. Educational opportunities.

Resumo: Este artigo advém de pesquisa que visou identificar na literatura fatores de contextos de vulnerabilidade social, que interferem na escola e podem influenciar as oportunidades educacionais nessas localidades. Para tanto, fez-se busca no Scielo, em 2017, sobre o tema. A análise do referencial denotou que há um conjunto de elementos externos e internos à instituição escolar, advindos da vulnerabilidade do território, que influenciam suas atividades administrativas e pedagógicas, como: maior carência de instrumentos promotores de bem-estar social na região; homogeneidade do corpo discente; seleção de alunos e professores; rotatividade de profissionais; formação profissional insuficiente; representação negativa dos alunos; simplificação de conteúdos e menor tempo dedicado às práticas educacionais. Conclui-se que esses elementos interferem e dificultam o desenvolvimento das funções da escola enquanto promotora de conhecimentos e acabam criando ou reforçando desigualdades educacionais.

Palavras-chave: Vulnerabilidade social no território. Desigualdades educacionais. Oportunidades educacionais.

Resumen: Este artículo proviene de investigación que apunta a identificar en la literatura factores de contextos de vulnerabilidad social, que interfieren en la escuela y pueden influenciar las oportunidades educativas en esas localidades. Para ello, se hizo una búsqueda en el Scielo, en 2017, sobre el tema. El análisis del referencial denotó que hay un conjunto de elementos externos e internos a la institución escolar, provenientes de la vulnerabilidad del territorio, que influyen sus actividades administrativas y pedagógicas, como: mayor carencia de instrumentos promotores de bienestar social en la región; homogeneidad del alumnado; selección de alumnos y profesores; rotación de profesionales; formación profesional insuficiente; representación negativa de los alumnos; simplificación de contenidos y menor tiempo dedicado a las prácticas educativas. Se concluye que estos elementos interfieren y dificultan el desarrollo de las funciones de la escuela como promotora de conocimientos y acaban creando o reforzando desigualdades educativas.

¹ **Submitted:** 22 Oct 2018 - **Accepted:** 19 Mar 2019 - **Published:** 20 Dec 2019

² City University of São Paulo (UNICID) – Email: silgiusto@uol.com.br

³ City University of São Paulo (UNICID) – Email: vandaribeiro2@gmail.com

Palabras clave: Vulnerabilidad social en el territorio. Desigualdades educativas. Oportunidades educativas.

Introduction

This article comes from research that aimed to identify in the literature factors of contexts of social vulnerability, especially in large urban centers, which interfere with school activities and may exert influence on the educational opportunities of children and young people who study in these localities. The reference frame used was based on a search in the Scielo database, carried out in 2017, with the keywords “School Inequalities”, “Educational Opportunities” and “Social Vulnerability”. Other references from disciplines included in the Unicid Graduate Program (Universidade Cidade de São Paulo) were also used¹.

At the end of the 1960s, Coleman (2008) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) marked the discussion about school education by asserting that the school reproduced social inequalities, expressing this reproduction in the educational inequalities, in school trajectory and in the of individuals social insertion. Their studies revealed that most students with lower socioeconomic status had more troubled school life, with disapprovals and evasions, and their professional choices did not differ greatly in terms of social insertion from those of his parents. Experts say that the “discovery” of the correlation between school inequality and socioeconomic status or family background has generated a new perception about what is the justice in the school. Dubet (2009) reiterates that this discovery has occurred due to the massification of the school. For Meuret (1999), since then, reflecting about the distribution of skills that individuals learn in school has become a matter of justice, since the inequality has produced by the differences in skills acquired in the school is a consequence that has consequences on the relations social rights.

Making use of the discussion about justice and school in Brazilian education networks, Ribeiro (2014) emphasizes that competences and learning not acquired at school in an egalitarian way compromise the acquisition of other valued social goods, as advantageous positions in the society or in the labor market. Consequently, young graduates of institutions that do not offer satisfactory cultural preparation tend to present unfavorable life trajectories, occupying less recognized jobs or with lower salaries, reproducing and perpetuating the processes of inequality.

If the correlation between school inequality and socioeconomic status was perceived in the 1960s, investigations that deal with the interface between social vulnerability in territories or socio-spatial and schools’ inequalities are more recent. According to Ribeiro, Mello and Batista (2015), in Brazil, these studies have begun in the 2000s, as well Ribeiro and Koslinski (2010), Érnica and Batista (2012), Koslinski, Alves and Lange (2013), that detected worse performance among students from schools inserted in territories of greater social vulnerability.

The concept of social vulnerability that supported the research analysis was based on Kaztman (2000), Ribeiro (2010) and Ben Ayed (2012). Through the analysis of the theoretical reference, it is denoted that there is a set of external and internal elements

conferred to the school institution, arising from the vulnerability in the territory, that exert influence on the school, interfering in its activities administrative and pedagogical routines. It is possible to emphasize greater lack of instruments promoting social welfare in the territory; homogeneity of the student body; possibility of selection of students and teachers; higher turnover of professionals; insufficient vocational training; negative representation of students; simplification of content and less time dedicated to educational practice.

They are elements that add up and overlap in multiple and mutual influences that can make difficult the construction of successful school trajectories. In this way, deficient resources are created to take advantage of opportunities and negative stigmas are also increased, feeding beliefs about students such as the inability to learn, lack of interest of their families or the existence of difficulties or deficiencies inherent to the student, which in a competitive society it means practically to condemn children and young people to remain in poverty.

This article aims to highlight these elements, explaining the findings of a set of recent research in Brazil about their influence on educational opportunities in contexts of social vulnerability. For this purpose, it was organized in order to initially present an overview of the discussion on social vulnerability in large urban centers, their causes and main characteristics. Next, it deals with the relation between this context and the educational opportunities. Finally, the final considerations are made.

The Social vulnerability in the territories of large urban centers

Ribeiro (2010) points out that, with the rapid and intense growth of populations, in addition to opening up to the international market, not only in Brazil, but throughout Latin America, the peripheries of large urban centers have been occupied mainly by individuals and families with lower economic status, usually excluded from the richest and most favored regions of the country. Ben Ayed (2012) adds that the physical distancing of poor populations associated with the difficulty of public power to consolidate the universalization of rights, including the privatization of services such as education and health, leads to a real spatial segregation and a social isolation in large urban centers.

According to several researchers, such as Kaztman (2000), Cunha *et al.* (2006), Ribeiro (2010), Stoco and Almeida (2011), segregated populations in large urban centers have difficulties to own or use tangible and intangible assets that allow them to cope with the situation of poverty, besides, the access to opportunities that promote improvement of well-being are restricted. For Ribeiro (2010), while the poverty is seen as something static, as income insufficiency, the vulnerability is dynamic, being able to incorporate different combinations of elements of individuals' life and, in addition, to be associated some way with a territory.

According to Seddon (2014), the people themselves are not necessarily vulnerable, but their living in unfavorable conditions can generate or aggravate personal or family vulnerability. The territory, on the other hand, can concentrate people in situations of

vulnerability, transforming it in a vicious circle that feeds itself. For Kaztman (2000), there is a combination of factors present in some localities that characterize the social vulnerability of an individual or a group, such as: fragile ties with the labor market - with a lower level of stability and exclusion in high-quality jobs; sociocultural and political isolation; social homogeneity of neighborhoods; low level education of its residents; low access to public and private service, as well as precarious services, among other factors.

Considering these notes, experts have pointed out that social vulnerability in the territory cannot be captured by a single variable, like income, for example. In order to characterize situations of social vulnerability, it is necessary to consider, in addition to the indicators of family income, other referents, such as: schooling, health, conditions of insertion in the labor market, access to services provided by the State and opportunities for social mobility.

In order to identify and search better ways of confrontation with these situations, as well as to measure and monitor government interventions, several states have developed methodologies to characterize populations that face problems of overlapping inequalities, usually on the outskirts of large cities. In the state of São Paulo, specifically, the State System of Data Analysis Foundation (SEADE) developed the Paulista Social Vulnerability Index (IPVS), calculated by combining the socioeconomic dimension and the family life cycle. It is considered the average income of the head of family, his age and his years of formal study, as well as the territorial issue, which acts as a cause and consequence for inequality issues. Combined, these dimensions generate seven distinct classificatory groups ranging from very low to very high social vulnerability (ÉRNICA; BATISTA, 2012).

It is determined that, the lower these indexes, the lower is the quality of life and the greater the social vulnerability. Research has indicated that in these contexts there is greater difficulty in accessing or taking advantage of opportunities of all kinds, including those related to Education. Thus, individuals or social groups in these conditions live in a fragile and precarious situation, distant or even excluded from the benefits and conditions of dignity and basic rights of citizenship (SEADE, 2010; COSTA; MARGUTI, 2015).

The social vulnerability and the educational opportunities

Schooling is considered, in the specialized literature, one of the resources that most influence the insertion of people in the ways of obtaining goods and services, and one of the social benefits that bring most changes to families, including social mobility. Authors like Heyneman and White (1986) and Carnoy (1986) reiterate that these statements are especially true when it comes from developing countries. The lack or the deficit functioning of schools, understood as agents of transmission of cultural capital, affects, significantly, children and young people of school age, bringing impacts present and future to these individuals.

Ribeiro and Koslinski (2010) refer that the context of social vulnerability is one of the factors that can impact negatively the educational opportunities of populations segregated in urban spaces. They deal specifically with the so-called influence of the neighborhood on the

individual or neighborhood effect, in other words the impact of the place of residence and the social characteristics of its population about the living conditions and social mobility of its residents. This effect, for the authors, occurs by three different mechanisms.

The first would be the social disorganization present in these contexts, even with traces of violence, which generates a tendency to repeat risk behaviors in part of its residents. The second would be the process of socialization influenced by the environment, with norms and behavior patterns being learned according to the frequent interaction. Many times, in these segregated localities, there is disconnection of interactions with the welfare standards of society, especially with successful adult models through schooling. Finally, the third would be the institutional factor, the quality of the goods and services offered in the social environment would affect the individual. Normally, the most vulnerable places are private or poorly equipped with resources that improve quality of life, such as hospitals, schools, safety, transportation, and culture, interfering with opportunities for personal and collective growth.

According to Érnica and Batista (2012), the impact of the Neighborhood Effect would be especially significant in regions marked by socioeconomic and educational inequality, socio-cultural segregation and/or contexts where the Welfare State presence is not consolidated and capable of universalize rights. Specifically, the Neighborhood Effect on Education refers to the impact of the territory on the school destination of its individuals. In general, it is understood that schools inserted in places whose populations are very vulnerable socially, tend to present difficulties to maintain satisfactorily their primary teaching functions. Thus, it is understood that the production and reproduction of school inequalities would also be associated with social stratification and the conditions of educational offerings. Érnica and Batista (2012) summarize five main factors that may justify the emergence of this effect on Education:

1 - Lack of benefits promoting social goods in the region, such as: transportation, basic sanitation, educational institutions, health centers, hospitals, security, cultural offerings, among others. The non-existence or unequal distribution these elements, it leads the school, when present to a scenario of isolation and, sometimes, to deal with adverse situations outside its preparation and without the support of public services, as in cases of violence within or against institution.

2 - Low registration offer for early childhood education. This situation can greatly affect the educational success of individuals. This is because, frequently, families in regions of high vulnerability have less cultural resources, considering, here, the schooling and the contact with formal environments of education. Flores (2008) affirms that the family is responsible for bringing educational strategies that propel the student in his or her trajectory inside one formal system of schooling, such as the transmission of cultural capital; encouraging study; the stimulation of school interests, among others. Therefore, when these factors are absent or weakened, the child preparatory period plays important role, introducing the children into the student environment, providing the first contacts with the codes and knowledge of school culture.

3 - The sociocultural homogeneity of the students of these establishments, usually presenting low cultural family resources and residing near to the school. The behaviors

presented are quite similar, sometimes, manifesting itself in an intense way and in proportions of difficult control because they are almost unanimous. It is thus promoted, almost an isolation of customs, which reproduces the different conditions of the environment, making school development difficult and generating negative stigmas both for the institution and for the students of these localities.

4 - Possibility of choosing students and professionals. The schools located in less vulnerable territories end up being disputed by professionals and students who want to participate in them. Therewith, they have the possibility to make an automatic selection at the time of enrollment, usually carried out by the administrative agents themselves. The tendency is to accept those who are better qualified and interested in the school process and reject students who are considered “not suitable” because they do not present an ideal profile, such as the suspicion of indiscipline, for example. For the authors, while some schools can “outsource” students who are considered undesirable, other places of greater social vulnerability are resigned to receiving rejected individuals. In this way, it contributes to the public around them, to the cultural homogeneity of the students and greater disinterest of the faculty and administrative staff.

5 - Precariousness in following the institutional model that guides the school. Every school institution acts in the sense of taking its participants in a certain direction, therefore, it requires that the student body and teacher be prepared and be engaged in their educational proposals. It's necessary organization and planning administrative and pedagogical. However, in the midst of an unfavorable environment, with poor public prepared for the school routines and with great absenteeism and professional turnover, many obstacles arise, and may even make the execution and continuity of educational projects unfeasible.

Alves *et al.* (2014) complement this scenario with data indicating that, more experienced teachers opt, as a rule, for schools in less vulnerable places. In this sense, Torres *et al.* (2010) confirm in their investigations that there are more effective and more experienced teachers in central regions and less in poor regions of the city. Thereby, teachers with less experience or professional qualification end up being assigned to schools in poorer regions and, generally, with greater pedagogical and disciplinary difficulties. It was also observed by the authors, that in schools of more vulnerable locations, there is a greater number of absenteeism and licenses. In this way, the high employee turnover, with frequent relocation of workplaces, makes it difficult for experienced professionals to remain, impairing the team integration and the continuity of educational programs and the educational planning.

Researchers have sought to show that, besides to the effect of socioeconomic origin of the family and school, the neighborhood or neighborhood, as external instances, are also capable of influencing the school environment in different ways and generate inequality of educational opportunities. Then arise studies that seek to understand better institutional factors influencing education, such as the performance of teachers, their representations and their practices when in contexts of social vulnerability.

According to Érnica and Batista (2012), the vulnerability of the territory greatly affects the school. Their investigations in vulnerable regions of the city of São Paulo have found that children from families with low cultural level when studying in schools from less vulnerable regions have better school performance. And the opposite has also been true, students in more vulnerable schools tend to present worse school performance. Thus, apparently, the precariousness of the social organization of the territory can limit the effectiveness of the school and its role of democratizing the access to educational opportunities.

Ribeiro and Koslinski (2010) also have found similar results in their investigations in the city of Rio de Janeiro. However, the city has some specific characteristics, with middle and upper-class neighborhoods close to poor communities (slums), combining a panorama of physical proximity, but of social distance. They identified that the performance of children in schools very close to poor communities, even when inserted in wealthy neighborhoods, it was worse when compared to the results of students from institutions further away from places where social vulnerability was most striking.

Complementing this data, Koslinski, Alves and Lange (2013), in another study also in Rio de Janeiro, found that schools located in peripheral areas or in poor communities, even close to affluent neighborhoods, presented worse conditions of school infrastructure and greater absenteeism and turnover of professionals, which directly compromised the performance of schools and their students. In addition, they also identified differentiated or even prejudiced behaviors of some professionals in relation to the students, such as low academic expectations, discredit in educational performance and continuity of studies to the higher level, factors that end up affecting the dynamics of teaching and learning, leading to adaptations not always positive of school practices.

Flores (2008) studied schools in peripheral communities in the city of Santiago de Chile and states that, in addition to the neighborhood effect on education, there is still another factor that would be the way each individual deal with the adversities presented to him, a process constructed in ways different according to individual factors, family and lived experiences. The author draws a reflection on the situations experienced by lower class students in schools, identified as negative stigmas associated with the territories. It refers to the judgment of children's ability according to their socio-cultural level, influencing practices and behaviors, such as, considering young people from segregated areas unfit for university education. It states especially when such behaviors come from teachers that end up lowering the individual's self-esteem, affecting their perceived opportunity filter. Thus, the person tends to think that their goals are distant or are unattainable, such as believing to be unable to achieve a successful school trajectory or more advanced studies. This factor associated with the places where the opportunities are already lower can lead to increased inequalities.

Ribeiro (2010) discusses the vulnerability factors that block or hinder the acquisition of these resources, material or immaterial, that endow the bearer of a future inheritance for integration in society. São fatores adquiridos e apreendidos nas relações familiares, sociais, escolares e de trabalho. In contexts of social vulnerability, these factors occur in a weak or insufficient way, making access to the cultural, the economic or the social capital difficult.

Batista and Carvalho-Silva (2013), after studying a segregated neighborhood in an area of high vulnerability in the city of São Paulo, observed frequent conflicts between the families studied and the schools. Families feel stigmatized, devalued and “invisible” to the school, meanwhile, school officials claim omission, little support and lack of collaboration with the children's educational process. The authors realized that these families value the schools and have great expectation about them. They expect their children to achieve better schooling than theirs and that they can enter the job market more easily. The great expectation about schooling was also observed by Barbosa and Sant'Anna (2010) in a survey carried out in the city of Rio de Janeiro. They show that the families that more value the school education are those that have children with the worst performing, such as: slum dwellers, poorer jobs or less education. And this valuation is linked to the expectation of reaching more advantageous social positions for their children through the school. These families live in communities more distant from institutions with better working conditions, so they are in conditions of territorial segregation, which makes it even more difficult to overcome, through the Education, the precarious situation in which they live. However, according to the authors, the schools seem to be unable to recognize this value attributed to education by these vulnerable and segregated families.

Other studies add important elements to the capacity of school institutions that may interfere in the educational opportunities in these territories, which would be the training of professionals and the adaptations of their pedagogical practices.

Breches (2015), in his study about continuing education of educators and their difficulties of professional performance in a region of high social vulnerability in the city of São Paulo, found the existence of teachers of the literacy cycle that do not participate in the moments of continuous formation. For these professionals, the author affirms, the exchanges of experiences between peers, relevant characteristic of the continuous formation, are circumscribed, in many cases, to the informal moments (in the coffee, in the corridors, during the ride etc.) and carried out of brief form and concise. These practices are insufficient to meet the needs of teachers, since they express difficulties in the face of literacy requirements and the behavior of students, a fact that can jeopardize the teaching offered in a context that requires more attention.

Christovão and Santos (2010) highlight the low pedagogical investment and the simplification of curriculum in regions of high social vulnerability, after studying in the city of Rio de Janeiro. They noticed discrepancies between the official curriculum and real curriculum applied by teachers. They observed that the educators, usually from the middle class, feel themselves distant and disassociated from the reality of students from more vulnerable places. This factor leads to stigmatizing attitudes, with students being treated as “slum dwellers” and to simplification of curriculum, since they are not “educable” (CHRISTÓVÃO; SANTOS, 2010, p. 292). They also point out that the most vulnerable families, in general, are also depreciated and blamed for their children's low school culture, presenting characteristics such as indiscipline, lack of interest in the school and lack of incentive to study, among others.

Marcucci (2015) analyzed pedagogical practices in vulnerable territories in the city of São Paulo, based on observation data in the classroom, student notebooks and teachers' lesson plans. She identified curriculum simplification; reduction of the time for schooling of students, both in the number of school days and in the time devoted to learning, besides the little variation of teaching material. The author suggests that these factors can result from the lack of teacher training or working conditions, with insufficient classroom planning. Or, it's due to the low expectations of students from the most vulnerable places, interfering with the way they organize their classes.

Specialists that researching school inequality have argued that a fair way of dealing with inequality of educational opportunities is through policies and teaching practices designed and implemented based on the principle of equal justice. A perspective that requires basic equality, that is, all students learn in Basic Education what the State considers and determines as necessary (CRAHAY, 2000; DUBET, 2009; RIBEIRO, 2014). In his study, Pereira-Silva (2016) denotes that social vulnerability in the territory greatly challenges justice as equity in school, because there is an overlap of internal and external factors that make it difficult and not allow the full development of the institution's functions as a promoter of knowledge and end up imposing limits on the fair distribution of knowledge in basic education.

Ribeiro (2012; 2014) in his studies about justice at school, considers that the basic education networks of compulsory education should act to reduce educational inequalities that affect children's educational attainment of discriminated social groups or with less social resources - which generates reproduction of social inequalities. Based on Crahay (2000) and Dubet (2009), the author ponders that the principle of fairness at this stage of schooling would be the basic equality or acquired knowledge, aimed at equity. Thus, the State ensures that all students achieve the skills defined as necessary since this stage is compulsory and subjective right. According to Crahay (2000), the school practices considered for the achievement of equity would be: definition of learning content at each school stage; monitoring the implementation of processes of educational policies and results; respect to the distinct time of acquisition of contents of each child and the untying with the criterion of merit.

As we have seen, several studies show that the social vulnerability present in territories carries characteristics that directly or indirectly provoke educational inequalities. The school inserted in these regions is influenced by external and internal elements that hinder the development of its functions that promote knowledge and transformation and may lead to unequal offers of educational opportunities to students. Externally it is influenced by the lack of welfare-promoting social facilities (such as hospitals, transportation and security); low vacancy opportunities for early childhood education; negative stigmas on relations to schools and students in these regions; and families with lower cultural levels and distant from school culture. The internal elements would be the homogeneity of the student body; higher turnover of professionals; the possibility of the selection of teachers and students; professionals with insufficient training; low school expectations in relation to students; simplification of the content and less time dedicated to educational practices.

The confrontation of these conditions could be reached, according to the analyzed references, through public policies that promote effective changes on these conditions, based on the principle of justice and equitably considering the equitable distribution of knowledge. The literature on the implementation of public policies brings evidence that the objectives of a policy are not always achieved due to human, cultural and social factors present in this process. These are elements that merge and overlap, exerting influence on the implementation processes and on the performance of the agents that execute it, interfering with the implementation of the guidelines. Lipsky (2010) emphasizes that the agents of the implementation perform their functions using their discretion, which allows a certain degree of freedom of action determined, according to the different contexts that present themselves, as well as their references and personal and professional conceptions. Lotta (2014) emphasizes that the performance of the implementers is basically a relational activity, largely dependent on the relations established between agents, their peers and the public. Hill (2003) defends the need for organized and effective training in order to align knowledge, minimizing the diversity of interpretations and actions that arise, especially when there is poor or contradictory communication. Ham and Hill (1993) emphasize that investigating this phase of the policy contributes to the achievement of objectives and, by regularly measuring the performance of the guideline, allows for adjustments in order to make the program more efficient and effective.

It can be affirmed that social vulnerability in the territory impacts the capacity of the educational institution to act, and the possibility of reaching results through policies that seek changes and improvements in education. Thus, in order to improve the levels of equality of educational opportunities in the country, in search of equity, it is primordial that the processes of educational policy formulation and its implementation consider the conditions of social vulnerability in the territories, with the development of forms of education, monitoring of educational processes and results, to support schools and professionals working in these regions.

Conclusion

Based on the literature, this article searched identify factors present in contexts of social vulnerability, especially in large urban centers, which interfere with school activities and may influence the educational opportunities of children and young people in these localities. The reference used was based on research carried out in the Scielo database in 2017, with the keywords “School Inequalities”, “Educational Opportunities” and “Social Vulnerability”. And also, in texts coming from disciplines studied in the Unicid Master's Program in Education.

According to the literature treated here, social vulnerability brings several elements, external and internal to the school institution, that interfere in its activities, both administrative and pedagogical. It is possible to emphasize greater lack of instruments promoting social welfare in the region; homogeneity of the student body; possibility of selection of students and teachers; higher turnover of professionals; insufficient vocational

training; negative representation of students; simplification of content and less time dedicated to educational practices. These elements can aggregate and overlap in multiple influences not to favor equal educational opportunities or to achieve equitable outcomes, creating or reinforcing negative stigmas and low expectations for students and their families.

It is also evident, from the analysis of the referential, that it is relevant that educational policies consider such challenges at the moment of their formulation. And that the implementation processes adopt follow-up forms to prevent the emergence of situations that negatively influence educational opportunities, such as: the selection of students - that occurs vehemently at the time of enrollment, privileging those with a better school profile; the great turnover of professionals - who can request constant transfers; or the presence of students distant from the school culture because they not attending early childhood education. The adoption of public policies that integrate several areas is also urgent in these contexts, because the literature points to the absence or lack of State structures for the promotion of social welfare, such as health, education, culture and security establishments. A situation that overloads schooling, often concentrates on isolation, placing itself as a single structure to support the region, or even having the task of not being prepared, as external cases of violence.

The relevance of public policies focused on education, as well as educational practices in these contexts, are developed and implemented, considering their specificities and needs, promoting actions that effectively seek to minimize or eliminate difficulties that generate losses and inequalities of opportunities to achieve a distribution of knowledge fairer and more equitable for all students.

References

ALVES, Luciana *et al.* Remoção de professores e desigualdades em territórios vulneráveis. **Cadernos Cenpec**. São Paulo, v. 4, n. 2, p. 122-145, dez. 2014.

BARBOSA, Maria Lígia de Oliveira; SANT'ANNA, Maria Josefina Gabriel. As classes populares e a valorização da educação no Brasil. *In*: RIBEIRO, Luiz Cesar de Queiroz *et al.* (org.). **Desigualdades Urbanas, Desigualdades Escolares**. 1 ed. Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital, 2010, p. 155-174.

BATISTA, Antônio Augusto Gomes; CARVALHO-SILVA, Hamilton Harley. **Família, escola, território vulnerável**. 1 ed. São Paulo: CENPEC, 2013.

BEN AYED, Choukri. As desigualdades socioespaciais de acesso aos saberes: uma perspectiva de renovação da sociologia das desigualdades escolares? **Educação e Sociedade**. Campinas, v. 33, n. 120, p.783-803, jul./set. 2012.

BOURDIEU, Pierre; PASSERON, Jean-Claude. **A reprodução: elementos para uma teoria do sistema de ensino**. Tradução de C. Perdigão Gomes da Silva. Lisboa: Ed. Vega, 1970.

BRECHES, Bryann. **Formação continuada em uma escola de território vulnerável do município de São Paulo**. 2015. 117 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação). Universidade Cidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, SP, 2015.

CARNOY, Martin. **Educação, Economia e Estado: Base e superestrutura, relações e mediações**. 2 ed. São Paulo: Cortez Autores Associados, 1986.

CHRISTOVÃO, Ana Carolina; SANTOS, Mariana Milão. A escola na Favela ou a Favela na escola? *In: RIBEIRO, Luiz Cesar de Queiroz et al. (org.). Desigualdades Urbanas, Desigualdades Escolares*. 1 ed. Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital, 2010, p. 277-297.

COLEMAN, James Samuel. Desempenho nas escolas públicas. *In: BROOKE, Nigel; SOARES, José Francisco (org.). Pesquisa em eficácia escolar: origens e trajetórias*. Belo Horizonte: Ed. UFMG, 2008. p. 26-32.

COSTA, Marco Aurélio; MARGUTI, Bárbara Oliveira (ed.). **Atlas de vulnerabilidade social nos municípios brasileiros**. Brasília: IPEA, 2015.

CRAHAY, Marcel. **L'école peut-elle-être juste et efficace?** De l'égalité des chances à l'égalité des acquis. Belgique: De Boeck, 2000.

CUNHA, José Marcos Pinto da *et al.* A vulnerabilidade social no contexto metropolitano: o caso de Campinas. *In: José Marcos Pinto da (org.). Novas Metrôpoles Paulistas: população, vulnerabilidade e segregação*. 1 ed. Campinas: Editora Unicamp, 2006. p. 143-168.

DUBET, François. Les dilemmes de la justice. *In: DEROUET, Jean-Louis; DEROUET-BESSON, Marie-Claude (éd.). Repenser la justice dans le domaine de l'éducation et de la formation*. Lyon: Peter Lang, 2009. p. 29-46.

ÉRNICA, Maurício; BATISTA, Antônio Augusto Gomes. A escola, a metrópole e a vizinhança vulnerável. **Cadernos de Pesquisa**. São Paulo, v. 42, n. 146, p. 640-666, maio/ago. 2012.

FLORES, Carolina. Segregação residencial e resultados educacionais na cidade de Santiago do Chile. *In: RIBEIRO, Luiz Cesar de Queiroz; KAZTMAN, Ruben. A Cidade contra a Escola? Segregação urbana e desigualdades educacionais em grandes cidades da América*. Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital, 2008. p.145-179.

GIUSTO, Silvana Menegoto Nogueira Di. **A implementação do PNAIC na rede de ensino do município de São Paulo em territórios vulneráveis**. 2018.152 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação) –Universidade Cidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, SP, 2018.

HAM, Christopher; HILL, Michael. **The policy process in the modern capitalist state**. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993.

HEYNEMAN, Stephen P.; WHITE, Daphne Siev. **The quality of education and economic development**. Washington, D. C.: World Bank, 1986.

HILL, Heather. Understanding Implementation: Street-Level Bureaucrats' Resources for Reform. **Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory**, v. 13, n. 3, p. 265-282, 2003.

KAZTMAN, Rubén. Notas sobre la medición de la vulnerabilidad social. *En: Quinto Taller regional sobre la medición de la pobreza: métodos y aplicaciones – documentos presentados*. México: BID-BIRF-CEPAL, 2000. p. 275-301.

KOSLINSKI, Mariane Campelo; ALVES, Fátima; LANGE, Wolfram Johannes. Desigualdades educacionais em contextos urbanos: um estudo da geografia de oportunidades educacionais na cidade do Rio de Janeiro. **Educação & Sociedade**. Campinas, v. 34, n. 125, p. 1175-1202, out./dez. 2013.

LIPSKY, Michael. **Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services**. Original ed. 1980. Russell Sage Foundation. New York, 2010.

LOTTA, Gabriela Spanghero. Agentes de implementação: uma forma de análise de políticas públicas. **Cadernos Gestão Pública e Cidadania**. São Paulo, v. 19, n. 65, p. 186-206, jul./dez. 2014.

13

MARCUCCI, Fernanda. **A educação nas grandes metrópoles: ensino de Língua Portuguesa em São Miguel Paulista**. 2015. 217 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação e Saúde na Infância e na Adolescência) – Universidade Federal de São Paulo, Escola de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Guarulhos, SP, 2015.

MEURET, Denis. **La justice Du système éducatif**. Paris: De Boeck & Larcier, 1999.

PEREIRA-SILVA, Célia. **Vulnerabilidade social nos territórios das grandes cidades, educação e o princípio de justiça como equidade na escola**. 2016. 97 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação) – Departamento de Educação, Universidade Cidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, SP, 2016.

RIBEIRO, Luiz Cesar de Queiroz. Desigualdades de oportunidades e segregação residencial: a metropolização da questão social no Brasil. **Caderno CRH**. Salvador, v. 23, n. 59, p. 221-233, maio/ago. 2010.

RIBEIRO, Luiz Cesar de Queiroz; KOSLINSKI, Mariane Campelo. Fronteiras Urbanas da Democratização das Oportunidades Educacionais: o caso do Rio de Janeiro. *In: RIBEIRO, Luiz Cesar de Queiroz et al. (org.). Desigualdades Urbanas, Desigualdades Escolares*. 1 ed. Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital, 2010, p. 121-153.

RIBEIRO, Vanda Mendes. **Justiça na escola e regulação institucional em redes de ensino do estado de São Paulo**. 2012. 489 f. Tese (Doutorado em Educação) – Faculdade de Educação, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, SP, 2012.

RIBEIRO, Vanda Mendes. Que princípio de justiça para a Educação Básica? **Cadernos de Pesquisa**. v. 44, n. 154, p. 1094-1109, out./dez. 2014.

RIBEIRO, Vanda Mendes; MELLO, Hivy Damasio Araújo; BATISTA, Antônio Augusto Gomes. La Vulnérabilité sociale du territoire dans les grands centres urbains brésiliens et l'inégalité scolaire. **Diversité**. Montrouge, v. 3 Tri, p. 93-100, 2015.

SEADE. Fundação Sistema Estadual de Análise de Dados. **Índice Paulista de Vulnerabilidade Social – IPVS**. São Paulo, 2010. Disponível em: https://www.seade.gov.br/analises_estudos/indice-paulista-de-vulnerabilidade-social-ipvs-versao-2010/. Acesso em: 20 out. 2018.

SEDDON, Danielle Santos do Nascimento. **Vulnerabilidade social no Espírito Santo: conceito e mensuração**. 2014. 104 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Economia) – Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, Vitória, ES, 2014.

STOCO, Sergio; ALMEIDA, Luana Costa. Escolas municipais de Campinas e vulnerabilidade sociodemográfica: primeiras aproximações. **Revista Brasileira de Educação**. São Paulo, v. 16, n. 48, p. 663-694, set./dez. 2011.

TORRES, Haroldo da Gama *et al.* Perfis do professorado da rede pública de São Paulo: a interação entre espaço, regras institucionais e escolhas individuais no resultado de uma política pública. **Dados – Revista de Ciências Sociais**. Rio de Janeiro, v. 53, n. 1, p. 125-158, jun. 2010.

Notes

¹ The text is a cut of a larger research, which aimed at obtaining the title of Education Master's Degree, which investigated the implementation of the PNAIC - National Pact for Literacy in the Right Age, in the education network of the city of São Paulo, in a context of social vulnerability [processo n.2018/11257-6] (GIUSTO, 2018).

