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CHILDHOOD AND SPATIAL JUSTICE: INTER AND INTRA-NEIGHBORHOOD INEQUALITIES IN THE USES OF THE CITY BY CHILDREN FROM CURITIBA

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ABSTRACT: This study analyzes if there is inequality in the spatial experiences of children depending on where they live in the city and neighborhoods. It is a quantitative research study in which we analyzed 1060 questionnaires answered by families from 27 local schools in Curitiba, distributed in the nine regional coordination centers at the time. The data were analyzed based on authors from sociology, urban sociology, and geography. We observed that children who lived in the central-northern region of Curitiba and in the central regions of neighborhoods had more access to consolidated leisure and cultural places because they either lived near them or it was easier for them to go to these places (among other issues related to class, gender, race, time at the current neighborhood, family geographical origin). It demonstrates both a “residency effect”, responsible to generate opportunities, and spatial mobility that, as capital, pushed diverse experiences in the city. For children who lived in the poor and on the outskirts of the neighborhood and, further, living in south or extreme south Curitiba (when inter and intra-neighborhood data are crossed), the neighborhood did not present itself as a resource, but as a restriction and spatial mobility seemed to be a scarce urban capital. The configuration was one of a non-social mixture among children who lived in different parts of neighborhoods and the city. The city proved to be spatially unfair and the neighborhood presented itself as a model, teaching superior positions and status to some children and subalternity and sedentariness to others.

Keywords: child; neighborhood; city; Elias; social inequality.

INFÂNCIA E JUSTIÇA ESPACIAL: DESIGUALDADES *INTER* E *INTRABAIRROS* NO USO DA CIDADE POR CRIANÇAS DA REDE MUNICIPAL DE ENSINO DE CURITIBA¹

RESUMO: Analisa-se aqui se há desigualdade nas experiências espaciais de crianças a depender do local da cidade e do bairro onde moram. Trata-se de uma pesquisa quantitativa em que foram analisados 1060 questionários respondidos por famílias de crianças de 27 escolas municipais de Curitiba, distribuídas nas

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9 regionais da cidade, à época. Os dados foram analisados a partir de autores da sociologia, da sociologia urbana, da infância e da geografia. Verificou-se que crianças moradoras da região norte-central da cidade e de regiões centrais dos bairros tiveram maior acesso a locais consolidados de lazer e cultura, pois moravam próximas desses locais ou tinham maior facilidade de se locomover até eles (dentre outras questões relacionadas à classe, gênero, raça, tempo de moradia no bairro, origem geográfica das famílias), demonstrando tanto um “efeito residência” gerador de oportunidades quanto uma mobilidade espacial que, como capital, impulsionava experiências diversificadas na cidade. Já para as crianças que moravam na parte pobre e periférica do bairro e, ainda mais, se eram moradoras do sul e do extremo sul da cidade (quando se cruza dados *interbairros* com *intrabairros*), o bairro não se apresentou como um recurso, mas sim como uma restrição, e a mobilidade espacial pareceu ser um capital urbano escasso. A configuração foi a de uma não mistura social entre crianças moradoras de diferentes partes do bairro e da cidade. A cidade se mostrou injusta espacialmente, e o bairro apresentou-se modelar, ensinando posições e status superior a algumas crianças e subalternidade e sedentarismo para outras.

Palavras-chave: criança; bairro; cidade; Elias; desigualdade social.

INFANCIA Y JUSTICIA ESPACIAL: DESIGUALDADES INTER/INTRABARRIOS EN LOS USOS DE LA CIUDAD POR CHAVALS CURITIBANOS

RESUMEN: Se analiza si hay desigualdad en las experiencias espaciales de chavales según el sitio y el barrio donde viven. Mediante una investigación cuantitativa, fueron analizados 1060 cuestionarios contestados por familias de chavales de 27 escuelas de la intendencia de Curitiba, ubicadas en 9 departamentos regionales. Los datos fueron tomados bajo un marco teórico basado en la Sociología, Sociología Urbana, Infancia y Geografía. Se observó que los chicos que viven en la región norte-central de la ciudad y de las regiones centrales de los barrios tuvieron más accesibilidad a los sitios consolidados de ocio y cultura, pues vivían cerca o porque tenían más facilidad para desplazarse hacia ellos (de entre otras cuestiones como clase, género, raza, tiempo en la vivienda, origen geográfico de las familias), subrayando tanto un “efecto vivienda” generador de oportunidades como la movilidad espacial que, igual que el capital, estimulaba diversas experiencias en la ciudad. Sin embargo, para los que vivían en la zona pobre y periférica del barrio, incluso cuando vivían al sur o extremo sur de la ciudad (cotejando los datos interbarrios con los intrabairros), el barrio no se erigió como un recurso, sino como una limitación. La movilidad espacial se presentó como un capital urbano escaso. La configuración fue la de una no mezcla social entre los chavales que viven en distintos rincones del barrio y de la ciudad. Esta se manifestó espacialmente injusta, mientras que el barrio demostró adaptarse, enseñando posiciones y status superior a algunos chicos y subordinación y sedentarismo a otros.

Palabras clave: chavales; barrio; ciudad; Elias; desigualdad social.

INTRODUCTION

This text discusses some data from research that aimed to analyze the influence of the spatial dimension - in particular, the space of the neighborhood and the city - in the social configurations of children studying in the municipal education network of Curitiba. For this purpose, both quantitative data (questionnaires given to families) and qualitative data (conversations with children living in different neighborhoods of the city; drawings made by them; photographs of the neighborhoods; and observations made in different regions of the city) were produced.

The production of quantitative data was thought both to establish the first contact with the parents or guardians so that they would know more about the research and later accept that conversation with their children, as well as, aimed to obtain general data about the neighborhoods in which the research would be carried out. However, in the continuity of the analyses, such data already showed to contain some important clues about the children in “configurations”. This makes perfect sense, because, for Elias - an author who inspires thinking about children based on this theoretical-methodological construct-, the

study of a configuration should develop both an “aviator's gaze”, broad, historical, and also of a “swimmer”, of someone who is within the flow of everyday life (ELIAS, 1994, p.46), and it would be the fusion of these two perspectives that would offer a more complete understanding of a given configuration.

Thus, also seeking to approximate the children's daily lives, some analyzes are being carried out based on qualitative data and others already demonstrate, for example, some consonances and dissonances between what families said about the use that their children did about the neighborhood and the city (based on the questionnaires) and what the children expressed. An analysis related the drawings of the neighborhood that the children made with the data obtained from the questionnaires (FERREIRA, 2022). In any case, the hope is that to concatenate these different research data, a more integrative analysis of children's configurations in urban contexts will be achieved.

Thus, in this specific article, the objective is to discuss, based on quantitative data, whether there are inequalities both in the use of spaces in the neighborhood and in the city and spatial mobility by children living in different neighborhoods of the city (analysis inter-neighborhoods) and even within the same neighborhood, whether in the most central or the most peripheral part (intra-neighborhood analysis).

First, the research followed all the ethical aspects of research with children². In the quantitative part, 1600 questionnaires were delivered (with a return of 66.25%, 1060 questionnaires were answered), to families responsible for children in the 4th and 5th years of the municipal education network of Curitiba, from 27 municipal schools located in the 9 regions of the city at the time of the survey (today there are ten). We chose to work with children in this age group, as we wanted to get to know the children's perspective on their now more independent outings -alone or with friends- around the neighborhood. For the distribution of the questionnaires, a neighborhood of each region of the city was selected³ and three municipal public schools of the regular period that were located in different regions within the same neighborhood were chosen: a school that was in a central or well-valued region of the neighborhood (close to shops, major avenues, access to buses, and other important spaces in the neighborhood), called Profile 1 in the survey; a school located in a more remote part of the neighborhood (in a more distant or socially vulnerable region of the neighborhood), called Profile 3 in the survey; and a third school that would be intermediate between these two other situations, neither too close nor too far from the center of the neighborhood, called Profile 2 in the research⁴.

Regarding these data, it is important to say that the questions in the questionnaire that referred to spaces foreseen by adults and known by a large part of the city's residents will be analyzed here (shopping malls, theaters, squares, parks, etc.) or, even, of each neighborhood (fairs, pharmacy, bakery, aviary, etc.). In addition, families were asked to write down specific places where children played in the neighborhood, which had not been mentioned in the questionnaire. In this part, very interesting data were found, such as those of children playing skateboarding in the street, riding their bicycles in the grocery store parking lot, and flying kites in the vacant lot. These “micro-productions of the city space” (NAVEZ-BOUCHANINE apud REMY, 2015) are still being studied, but other data have already been analyzed, such as those related to gender, race, seniority of families in the neighborhoods and the

² First, authorization was requested from the Curitiba Municipal Department of Education to contact the schools and ask the directors if they would like to participate in the research. In a second moment, all the subjects involved (teachers, families, and children) were explained about the nature and objectives of the research and asked if they would like to participate in the research. At all times, the children were also talked about the possibility that, if they no longer wanted to participate, they could stop the conversation, the drawing, etc.

³ When choosing the neighborhoods and schools, in most cases (7 out of 9) three schools were found in the same neighborhood, maintaining the pre-established criteria (regular schools with 4th or 5th years in the morning), but, in two cases, it was necessary to cover 2 or even 3 nearby neighborhoods within the same region (this was the case of the Matriz region, geographically small, and Santa Felicidade, with schools chosen on the border or in the triangulation of two or three neighborhoods).

⁴ At first, the schools were chosen based on the general impressions that the researchers had of the neighborhood (most central location, furthest location, region of great poverty), but, subsequently, it was verified that such locations in the neighborhood also were consistent with the socioeconomic indices of the HDU (Human Development Units) corresponding to each part of the neighborhood. For the intra-neighborhood analyses (from the profiles), questionnaires from children who did not live in the school district or were very close to it were excluded from the data tabulation.

geographic origin of the families before living in the current neighborhood. These data, which have already been discussed in detail at another time, will be resumed here, in general, whenever necessary.

One of the analyzes of the quantitative data already carried out was called inter-neighborhood analysis⁵ (FERREIRA and FERREIRA, 2020), in which the data of the three profiles were grouped, allowing significant differences to emerge between the neighborhoods (and not within each neighborhood). In this analysis, it was clear that children living in neighborhoods in the north-central region of the city, neighborhoods that are generally older (and with families with better socioeconomic conditions, higher life expectancy, higher schooling, and a higher rate of families white, when compared to those in the south and extreme south), had at their disposal a greater variety of consolidated spaces for leisure and culture (parks, museums, cinemas, theaters, etc.) and broader spatial mobility outside the neighborhood housing. On the other hand, children from the South-Extreme South, having, in general, families with lower socioeconomic conditions, life expectancy, schooling, and a higher rate of black families, when compared to those from the North-Central (and being the Far South a region with many neighborhoods of more recent formation), had broader experiences in the part of the neighborhood where they lived, but few experiences in other neighborhoods and the city. These analyses will be resumed during the text when relating inter-neighborhood data with intra-neighborhood data.

To analyze these and other research data, as already mentioned, we started with the idea of Social Configurations (ELIAS, 1980; 1994), which was a solution found by Elias to resolve one of the existing dichotomies in social research, from an isolated subject, sometimes of a generic called “society”. In the case of a study with children, it would be the same as analyzing their actions in isolation (starting from a child-monad, closed in on itself) or, on the contrary, starting from a generic idea of childhood (FERREIRA, to be published). Elias starts from the idea that all individuals -adults, and children- are always in relationships, and all people are interdependent. In this way, the children's way of acting, their practices, their choices, and their questions are always understood in the tensions and power relations that exist in their networks. Thus, a complete degree of freedom, on the one hand, or a complete “social molding”, on the other, would be explanations that would not translate the complex interdependencies that occur in configurations, in each space and historical time.

The space is also not understood here as an autonomous category, as there is a fine line between spatial forms and social hierarchy. Its influence on people's lives is not deterministic, but probabilistic, unpredictable and, as it is relational, it always needs to be analyzed in a double movement, the space being socialized by people, but also socializing and imprinting its mark on societies (REMY, 2015). In this sense, the neighborhood is also understood, not as a simple scenario (REMY apud AUTHIER, 2006, p. 209), but as a “medium”, “a producing entity, having its properties that have effects on 'the course of human actions' and on the ways, individuals live and cohabit” (AUTHIER, 2006, p. 209, our translation). The neighborhood or the city can be, then, a “space resource”, “an important place of socialization” (LEHMAN-FRISCH, AUTHIER, and DUFAUX; 2012, p.15, our translation).

Thinking about the effects of space or nature on human life, we can think that the Earth - understood today as a political body with the power to act (LATOURE apud HAESBAERT, 2021) - has responded drastically to the irresponsible influence of homo sapiens in Planet. Thus, analyzing Brazil and the world from the perspective of the aviator, the look is desolate. The environment today is so degraded that it seems it will not be able to recover and the capitalism that destroyed this environment is the same one that also raised poverty to an alarming level, making inequalities - economic, social, racial, gender, environmental - persistent and abyssal. In this configuration, children, women, blacks, indigenous peoples, and immigrants are the ones who have the least access to water, food, basic sanitation, employment, and housing.

⁵ It was decided to group, in the data analysis, the Uberaba neighborhoods in Cajuru (southeast) and Vila Nossa Senhora da Luz, in the CIC (southwest) with other neighborhoods located to the south, when we wanted to analyze the city data in two large regions, and this separation was only possible because, as will be seen in this article, the data were very close in each of these large regions and very different between these two poles (named here, for convenience, as: north-central region, on the one side, and south-extreme south, on the other). Regarding the northern region, as we did not work with neighborhoods on the edge of the city (with the exception of profile 3 in Boa Vista), the data were close to data from the central neighborhoods, but it is necessary to consider that specific studies on children in the region north residents closer to the metropolitan region of the city demonstrated difficult realities in these regions as well (see, for example, FONSECA, 2018).

On the other hand, cities, wanting to differentiate in a sea of competition between metropolises, create representations and titles such as those of more technological, cultured, creative cities, etc. This is what Curitiba has been doing over the last few decades, building an image widely reinforced by the media, as a model city, ecological city, European capital, and urban solutions (MORAES and SOUZA, 1999; OLIVEIRA, 2000; FERREIRA, 2008, 2020).

In this way, thinking about the research discussed here is understanding that these data are woven with the same threads that sew world and national tensions, as well as those of the city. In other words, what could be understood as issues of macrostructure and microstructure, when viewed from the perspective of Social Configurations, cannot be analyzed separately. The consequences, for example, of this new capitalism in people's lives, can be seen in the daily lives of children and in the way in which some of them live in an inhumane way on the outskirts of the city. The consequences of the colonialist history of the world and of Brazil - which did not end with the end of colonialism, but continues in the form of global coloniality that reinforces center-periphery structures on a world scale (CASTRO-GÓMEZ and GROSFOGUEL, 20007) - give us still today on the outskirts of cities, as it was there that black populations were relegated, after what was called the "liberation" of the enslaved. The finding that the lowest salaries are still those of women, compared to those of men, implies recognizing the worsening situation of women and their children when they live in the periphery (and with homes increasingly maintained by women).

But if, from the perspective of the aviator, the scenario is desolate, when you land in the city, two issues of analysis stand out. One of them is that this serious and historic situation of inequality is also woven, as said, with the same threads that sew the daily lives of children in the city. Brazilian research on this has highlighted, for example, "the impact of socio-territorial inequalities, violence, circulation, and housing conditions on children's experience, as well as spaces, practices, and policies of culture and leisure in the daily lives of children in the city" (CARVALHO and GOUVEA, 2019, p. 151). The right to the city, in terms of access, appropriation, and participation remains a distant achievement from the contemporary experience of most of them (CARVALHO and GOUVEA, 2019).

Another aspect stands out from this swimmer's gaze. By bringing the lens closer to the children, not only live their lives amidst all these tensions but resist and change power relations as they can, also producing, in their way, the city. Thus, current research has captured this movement and has listened to children, their practices, tactics, representations, choices, desires, and dreams.

Gobbi (2021), for example, when researching families living in occupations in the city of São Paulo, struggling against the constant threats of repossession, evictions, and forced displacement, analyzes the different forms of occupation and resistance of children from these occupations, in situations activities, such as through playing, through the clues they leave on the walls filled with their drawings -a veritable art gallery-, through the festivities prepared by them and for them, and even accompanying the act of cooking by the women/mothers (GOBBI, DOS ANJOS E PITO, 2020). Gouvêa and Carvalho (2021) also discuss the broad participation of children in the spaces of organized social movements, both in the National Movement of Street Boys and Girls and the Sem Terra (children's collective linked to the Movement of Landless Rural Workers- *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra*). Finally, several studies have demonstrated, on the one hand, the complex and insistent inequalities experienced by many children in the country, on the other hand, have shown this movement of resistance. In the case of the research analyzed here, these movements were also clear in the drawings and conversations with the children, aspects that, due to the choice of this text -through a broader and more quantitative analysis-, it will not be possible to develop.

WHO IS THE RESEARCH AUDIENCE?

Regarding the income of families in Curitiba, in general, according to the 2010 IBGE data (IBGE, 2010), they had a median monthly income of permanent private households of 4.5 minimum wage. Observing the map created by IPPUC based on these data (IPPUC, 2012), it was noticed that the families with the highest income were located in the central and northern regions of the city, and also a little below the center (in neighborhoods such as Água Verde, Batel), and those with lower incomes were found on the outskirts of the city and, more markedly, in the south and, mainly, in the extreme south of the city. Data from the research families coincided with this situation. If the city is divided into two parts,

it is possible to say that, in general, families with higher salaries lived more in central neighborhoods and in the north of the city, and those with lower salaries lived more in the southern and extreme south neighborhoods. Analyzing the neighborhoods from the inside, it appears that the highest salaries were found in families from Profiles 1 and 2 (residents of the most central parts of the neighborhood), and the lowest, in Profile 3 (residents of the most distant parts and/or in territories with greater social vulnerability).

Regarding racial data, a map produced by the *Observatório das Cidades* (DIEESE, 2016, based on aggregated neighborhoods) showed that neighborhoods with a higher rate of black residents were in the south, extreme south, and also the southwest and southeast of the city. Inter-neighborhood data from the questionnaire also coincided with these data and, as for intra-neighborhood data, while Profiles 1 and 2 had the lowest rates of black children (19.4% and 17.9% respectively), Profile 3 presented the highest rates (25.2%). When the inter-neighborhood data are crossed with the intra-neighborhood data, inequality increases even more, that is, the higher rate of black children, in addition to appearing in the south and extreme south of the city, also appears in the most impoverished regions of each neighborhood, demonstrating that there is inequality in living conditions between black and white children (SANTOS, FERNANDES and FERREIRA, 2019).

Regarding gender differences, while the girls showed little autonomy and daily spatial mobility in the neighborhood and increased mobility in the city (although accompanied and only at events), the opposite occurred with the boys and, mainly, with the boys from the south-extreme south who, although they had greater autonomy in the nearby exits, were day-to-day very circumscribed to their residential neighborhoods (FERREIRA and FIORESE, 2021).

As for the education of the research families, while the north-central neighborhoods were the ones with families with the highest levels of education and the south-extreme south neighborhoods the lowest, in the intra-neighborhood relationship, the difference was also large. The school level of the two previous generations of children (parents and grandparents) is higher in Profile 1 and 2 families, compared to Profile 3.

Regarding the time of residence of the research families in the neighborhood (FERREIRA, FERREIRA, and SANTOS, 2018), it was found that the oldest residents (more than 15 years in the neighborhood) were in greater numbers in the south of the city (but not in the extreme south) and, above all, in profiles 1 of the neighborhoods. They had a higher rate of families living in their homes and their children used older and more institutionalized places in the neighborhood such as religious and some cultural ones (libraries, squares, theaters, and circus). The children visited more often the homes of grandparents and other relatives, neighbors, and friends, which indicates a supportive network of care and security -the “watchful eyes” of the street (JACOBS, 2011, p. 36) -, which was also observed in conversations with the children, in the qualitative part of the research, who mentioned being able to go out nearby, as there was always an aunt or grandmother who kept “an eye” on them. More recent residents (less than 5 years in the neighborhood) were in greater numbers in neighborhoods in the extreme south and profile 3 of the city's neighborhoods. They had a higher rate of families in rented houses (compared to the other profiles), frequented more administrative spaces, and their children rarely visited the homes of relatives, neighbors, and close friends, therefore having less of a support network for these outings. In conversations with children from these regions, many said that going out on Sundays was precisely to visit grandparents and relatives in neighborhoods far from their homes or in the metropolitan area of the city.

As for the geographic origin of the families, before residing in the current neighborhood, the oldest resident families (more from Profile 1) came, in greater numbers, from other neighborhoods in the city, while the most recent residents (more from Profile 3) came from other cities in Paraná and the Metropolitan Region of Curitiba. This makes us think that the families of the children in Profile 1 (and to a certain extent also in Profile 2) would already have their ways of living and using the neighborhood closer to the life of a capital city, but also, who knows, a part of them could be influenced by the imaginary reinforced by the media discourses of the last decades, about a model city and that insists on a representation of a white curitiban, ecological and of European descent, underrepresenting other people such as the black and the indigenous in the conformation of the city (MORAES AND

SOUZA, 1999; FERREIRA 2008, 2020). Those in Profile 3, coming from smaller cities, would still be trying to understand life in a big city and identifying less with this imaginary city propagated by the media.

Thus, these first data already demonstrate that how the city is organized produces complex and interdependent inequalities. Inequalities of race, gender, economic status, family education level, etc., intersect and increase even more the interdependencies that produce exclusion and oppression. Even if the identities produced in this configuration also provoke fissures, resistance, and changes in the networks (seen in more detail from the qualitative data), when analyzed from these quantitative data, they already provoke great indignation. By weaving their lives, therefore, in these intersections, in the sequel, the way children and their families move around the neighborhood and the city and how they produce their experiences will be described, further complicating the understanding of the inequalities they face.

HOW AND WITH WHOM DO THE CHILDREN GO TO SCHOOL?

In contemporary times, spatial mobility has been increasingly considered as a capital (VIARD, 2011), “a condition of social insertion” (KAUFMANN, 2008, p.101, our translation), but this mobility is not equal among children who live in different neighborhoods of the city and even within each neighborhood. In the first place, in general, the children in the research almost did not go to school alone (only 16% of them did), showing their little autonomy in these and other journeys, which was also verified in national and foreign research that found, for example, that “displacements and practices not accompanied by adults are happening increasingly later for children” (VALENTINE apud LEHMAN-FRISCH, AUTHIER and DUFAUX, 2012, p. 19, our translation). Or like Müller (2018), here in Brazil, who observed several problems in children's daily commutes between home-school-home related to traveling long distances, waking up very early, accompanying adults in their work, and facing risks and dangers.

In the research in Curitiba, children who did not go to school alone (84%) were more often accompanied by their mothers (28%) and fathers (14%). With siblings, grandparents, family, friends, and neighbors, the percentages were lower and equivalent. As for the intra-neighborhood data, we observed that the children from Profile 1 went to school more often accompanied by their parents (with the mother, the index almost doubles in favor of this profile), and those from Profile 3, the ones who went to school alone (almost twice as much as other profiles).

As for the means of transport, in general, they went to school on foot (38%), by family car and/or ride with neighbors (20%), with paid school transportation, the “man of the van” (13 %), among other possibilities with lower rates. Regarding the profiles, after the high rate of all of them walking, the children in Profile 1 were the ones with the highest rates for going to school with the family car and the school van; in Profile 2, for rides from neighbors and buses provided by the city hall; and those of Profile 3, paradoxically, the ones that presented the highest rates for the use of the paid line bus.

Regarding the use of the car, if on the one hand, it facilitates the spatial displacement of children through larger regions of the city, it also puts them in an attitude further away from their residential neighborhood. In this case, it is necessary to think more closely about the concept of mobility. Kaufmann (2008, p. 27, our translation) analyzes that “displacements in space become mobility when they also imply social change”. The author recalls that researchers from the Chicago School already opposed, in their pioneering research in urban sociology, mobility to fluidity. For them, mobility means a displacement experienced as a remarkable event, leaving its impression on the life, identity, or social position of the person who undertakes it”. Fluidity is defined as a displacement with no effect on the person. “In other words, mobility implies, at the same time, a change in the physical space and the social space, while fluidity refers to a movement in the physical space only” (KAUFMANN, 2008, p. 27).

Thus, if mobility is considered in this broad and complete sense, the automobile, by itself, is not always synonymous with mobility, since “getting into your car is closing yourself off. It is visibly protecting oneself from the unknown”, while “walking in public space is, on the contrary, permanently confronting oneself with otherness and, therefore, accepting immersion in a universe with a strong potential for mobility” (KAUFMANN, 2008, p. 104, our translation).

Specifically on the data of children from Profile 3, it is observed that they showed a certain independence in commuting to school, alone or with siblings, on foot or with the local bus. But if, on

the one hand, there was a certain autonomy of them in the neighborhood (as the subsequent data will also demonstrate) and, even, a very extensive territorial knowledge and analysis of the surroundings, the routes were carried out more in the surroundings of where they lived or restricted to the neighborhood. In this way, this “certain” autonomy is described because, for several of them, other issues such as those related to drug trafficking, and security problems, also appeared as impediments to a freer and extended movement through the neighborhood. This was insistently reported both in conversations with the children, in the qualitative part of the research, and in the drawings they made (FERREIRA, 2022) and even included by the families in the “observations” part of the questionnaires, such as, for example: “you can't leave or go to the playground, because security is terrible. Stay indoors...” (questionnaire n. 740, Tatuquara, Profile 2, mother of a white boy); “If you look at my answers, check why we don't go to many places, due to lack of security and violence against our children” (n. 796, Tatuquara, P3, mother of a girl/mixed race).

The displacements of children in Profile 1, on the other hand, are a little closer to those practiced by children from the upper classes described in the research by Mallon et al (2016), in which children moved around the neighborhood, by car, and by school van. But the data are even closer to children from private schools in Curitiba, analyzed at another time (a 4th profile was also included in the research, based on children from private schools with high monthly fees, in each of the neighborhoods studied).

Also on commuting, the fact that children from Profile 1 went to school more often by motor vehicle is related, in large part, to the choice of schools made by the families, with the easy location, but also the social prestige of the institution of great importance for many of them. A clue about these choices can be seen in the distance between the children's homes and schools. Only 47.4% of Profile 1 children lived in the same neighborhood where the school was located, against 65.3% of Profile 2 children, and 84.6% of Profile 3 children. Those who commuted to school from other neighborhoods came, on average, from six different neighborhoods, and those from Profile 3 came from three (CARDOSO and FERREIRA, 2018).

While only 45% of children living in the northern region of the city studied in their neighborhood, the rate for those in the extreme south was 80%. In the first cases, they came from 11 different neighborhoods, making the school a heterogeneous place in terms of the different neighborhoods where the children live, but also a more homogeneous place of socialization in terms of the profile of the families (with more white children, with families with greater capital economy and higher education, as already seen at the beginning of the text). In the extreme south, the children came from just three different neighborhoods, which made the school, most of the time, also an extremely homogeneous place of socialization, but, in this case, from children living close to the school and from a more impoverished region of the city (and with a higher percentage of black children, lower-wage, less-educated families).

Thus, what has been seen so far is that these displacement differences revealed strong socio-spatial inequalities in the use of the city, and it is not just because some children circulated more in various neighborhoods and regions of the neighborhood while others were restricted to the place of the neighborhood where they lived and studied, but also because this indicates both a lack of social mixing between them -since these children rarely met in the neighborhood (and subsequent data will reaffirm this)-, as well as that there is a confinement of the popular classes in regions periphery of the neighborhood and the city, as other sections will also analyze.

WHEN THE CHILDREN GO OUT, WHERE DO THEY GO?

Data from national and international surveys have been demonstrating that children are increasingly occupying their free time with institutionalized activities. Several authors have been denouncing that there is an “over-occupation of hours in multiple activities, usually under adult control” (SARMENTO, 2013, p. 17), while there is a restriction on their circulation in the urban space. Thus, Sarmento, in Portugal, verifies the almost “obsidian presence of organizations, companies, and institutions in children's daily lives, to take care of their 'free time'” (SARMENTO, 2013, p. 17), in the case of the research discussed here, although there also seems to be harassment of private institutions

offering activities for children, they are far from this wide possibility of carrying out extracurricular activities. Right from the start, it is possible to say that only 37% of the children returned to their school after school hours to complete them and on one or, at most, two days of the week (recalling that the research was carried out in regular and not full time), and only 29% of them did some activity in the neighborhood or the city.

The data of the children who were able to carry out such activities, on the one hand, demonstrate a great capillarity in the use of the school, the neighborhood, and the city. On the other hand, they also show wide territorialized educational inequalities. Children from Profile 1 and 3 were the ones who returned to school the most to carry out activities. Those in Profile 1 were the ones that most performed art and cultural activities (fanfare, ballet, Zumba, choir, painting, and theater), and those in Profile 3, sports activities (running, basketball, capoeira, athletics, soccer, volleyball). Football, for example, was practically only mentioned in the extreme south of the city, while tennis was much more mentioned in the north-central region.

The families of the children in Profile 2 were the only ones who mentioned activities related to science and technology (informatics, robotics) and also (with twice as many mentions as those carried out by Profile 3) those related to citizenship, such as the Guarda Mirim (in which a municipal guard in uniform carries out activities with the children, at school, outside of classes) or the PROERD (Educational Program for Resistance to Drugs- *Programa Educacional de Resistência às Drogas*), which leads to the hypothesis that a certain middle or lower-middle class, not so far inland from the neighborhoods and a resident of the south-extreme south of the city (who mentioned these activities much more than those in the north-central), is that she would be more concerned that her children would carry out activities closer to the world of work as well as civic activities.

Regarding activities carried out after school hours elsewhere in the neighborhood or in the city, children from Profile 1 were the ones who were most engaged in sports and varied activities, such as tennis, horse riding, swimming, and soccer. They also did calm activities, such as yoga, and related to self-defense, such as Muay Thai, Karate, Jiu-jitsu, Taekwondo, and MMA. The children in Profile 2, on the other hand, followed the same trend, but with a smaller variety of activities, but the most interesting thing is that the variety of activities related to self-defense has grown. In the case of Profile 3, the mentions were much smaller and the activities little varied. These data leave no doubt that, although differentiated or reassuring activities were carried out more by children living in the north-central and self-defense activities more in the south-extreme south (precisely in neighborhoods that have more regions with high rates of violence), families would need to have money to pay for these activities (when they are not offered by the public system or NGOs), so it is more logical that they appeared more in Profiles 1 and 2, profiles with higher family income.

Also, the increase in the variety of self-defense activities in Profile 2 may indicate that the further one enters the neighborhood, the more concerns with self-defense increase (“to learn to defend oneself”, says one of the girls in the research). Regarding many references to paid soccer schools, profiles 1 and 2 (mainly made by families from the south-extreme south region), can be interpreted as a form of investment similar to school investment, undertaken by families to “a social ascension” (RASERA, 2016). Thus, many children from the middle or lower-middle classes (closer to Profile 2) could be forced to build a civic and disciplined body, in addition to carrying out activities that could be converted into resources for a future world of work or social mobility.

As for activities related to greater pedagogical investment, families in the north-central region cited more than those in the south-extreme south, and those in Profile 1 more than twice as many concerning the other profiles. Families cited English, Kumon (mathematics and Portuguese classes), and the preparatory course for military schools (the latter most cited by families from the south-extreme south and Profile 2).

Regarding art and cultural activities, the inequality of opportunities seems to be much greater. Families in Profiles 1 and 2 mentioned this type of activity four times more than those in Profile 3 (mentioning theater, drawing, crafts, guitar, piano, recorder, guitar, choir, electronic organ, figure skating, music, ballet, artistic gymnastics, and dance). Those in Profile 3 cited only the last four mentioned. Profile 1 carried out such activities in specialized schools, but also renowned clubs and societies in the city (Três

Marias Clube de Campo, for example), and the three profiles also mentioned associations, unions, and federations.

Regarding activities related to Science and Technology, the neighborhoods in the south-extreme south had the highest rates (computer course, most of the time), in addition to mentioning activities related to the world of work or manual activities (for example: “course computer operator”, handicrafts, knitting classes). All of these were performed by children from Profiles 2 and 3.

Regarding the places where these activities were carried out, 62% of the families used private institutions (paid); 24.8% public spaces; 13.2% third sector institutions, such as NGOs or religious associations. This tendency towards an increasing multiplication of private spaces dedicated to children and their decrease in public spaces has also been verified in other studies (MACKENDRICK; BRADFORD; FIELDER; KARSTEN apud LEHMAN-FRISCH; AUTHIER; DUFAUX; 2012, p.19). Thus, the large rate of use of private institutions (especially by children in Profiles 1 and 2) shows how the small businesses in the neighborhood act, constraining and attracting money and people, surrounding and seducing children and their families on one side or the other. (Who would not be attracted by “*Fábrica do Corpo*”, “*Anjos Power*”, by “*Life Energy*”?). On the other hand, and more in the case of profiles 2 and 3, what subjectivities can NGO projects produce such as “*Projeto Refúgio*”, “*Associação de Defesa à Infância Vovó Vitorino*”, “*Centro de Integração Social Divina Misericórdia*”?

Another issue to think about is that most mentions of NGOs were made by the families of Profile 3, but also by those of Profile 2, which makes one wonder whether to participate in these NGOs, there are, within them, strong selections, a sieve that would further distance Profile 3 children from extracurricular activities, as they would compete for places with Profile 2 children.

Specifically regarding the displacement of Profile 1 children from the north-central regions to these activities in the neighborhood and outside it, it seems to follow the trend observed internationally: “Children tend to be escorted more and more from one (private) place to another in the city, most often by car, by their parents or other adults: this phenomenon leads to an archipelago of their territories and a disconnection from their neighborhood of residence” (LAREAU and ZEIHNER apud LEHMAN-FRISCH; AUTHIER and DUFAUX; 2012, p. 19, our translation). In Brazil, Müller, and Dutra (2018), analyzing the cities of Brasília and Florianópolis, also found that children moved “on or to islands”, in an “insularization of childhood” (ZEIHNER apud MÜLLER and DUTRA, 2018, p. 800). Guimarães and Lopes (2019), analyzing a medium-sized city, Juiz de Fora, also found that the displacement of children in the city occurred “between islands”: between home, school, grandmother’s house or “another fenced place, behind walls or bars” (GUIMARÃES E LOPES, 2019, p. 321).

Thus, from what has been seen so far, it can be thought that, since the current transformations of the urban environment are deeply marked by the progressive expansion of displacement possibilities (KAUFMANN, 2008, p. 61), people who achieve greater mobility end up accumulating significant capital. However, this mobility “brings into play power relations” (CASTRO, 2004, p. 72), as it shows that not everyone has access to important symbolic and material resources that the city offers, resources that are often concentrated in legitimized regions, more structured and central in the city. Thus, in the case of this research, while some children showed a territorial multipolarity that led them, in fact, to mobility as a capital -in the broad sense of the term, as previously discussed-, others had their spatial experiences less extended and less elastic in the territory.

Therefore, the neighborhood was presented as an important part of the daily life of many children. As a living organism, it offered *pari passu* with family and school, different types of learning, and, by operating as a large curriculum -and as every curriculum is power-, many neighborhoods ended up producing much more fractures than encounters within them, further reinforcing inequalities among its residents.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND THE CITY: SPACES OF CHILDHOOD CONFINATION OR POSSIBILITIES?

Historically, the city has been changing its functions, but among those that remain are, without a doubt, the circulation of people, information, creativity, and culture. If mobility is what gives life to the city, how can children participate in this life, increasingly locked in closed and private spaces?

In the research, this was also evident in several other ways. When asked about games and other activities carried out by children outside school hours, families generally marked the item “Play at home” and “Watch TV” more than other items, which demonstrates a lower rate of use of space beyond the walls of their homes. But again, there are differences in responses between regions and even within the same neighborhood. Families living in the north-central region registered a higher rate of games and activities related to the “school way of socialization” (VINCENT, LAHIRE, and THIN, 2001), such as reading, drawing, and studying; and those in the extreme south, a higher rate of activities related to technology, such as playing video games and watching TV. As for the intra-neighborhood data, it was observed that, while the children in Profile 3 had a slightly higher rate for activities such as drawing, watching TV, and playing video games, but also playing ball and playing outside - demonstrating that some of these activities took place in open places and less controlled by the adult universe-, those in Profile 1 were the ones who most indicated riding a bicycle, playing at home, studying and reading, more framed by families and closer to the school way of socialization. Profile 2 excelled in listening to music and using electronic equipment. Thus, already at home, there are different practices between the profiles that lead to greater inequality.

When asked about the children's outings around the neighborhood with friends or alone, commercial spaces were the most cited, with going to the bakery standing out in first place, followed by the grocery store and supermarkets. And 79.33% of the children went alone or with friends to at least one place in the neighborhood, but less than a third of them went to three places alone. If you think that a child who feels autonomous and safe in the neighborhood could go, for example, to more than three places in the neighborhood, few children would be able to do so.

Regarding intra-neighborhood data, we observed that the children in Profile 3, on the one hand, were the ones who most mentioned places, confirming an intense use of the part of the neighborhood where they lived, but, on the other hand, some of them reported concrete problems of lack of security that prevented an even more effective and extended use of the neighborhood. The departures were always related to a series of negotiations between adults and children. In the qualitative research, the children told about differences of opinion with their parents regarding the safety of the neighborhood and about the various attempts (some successful) to escape their watchful eyes in a game on the street, or to go beyond the agreed street when going to do some shopping, but most of the time, the problems of some regions of the neighborhood (fights between gangs, stray shots, drug dealing), mostly reported by families and children in Profile 3, or the “rumors and reports” (CERTEAU apud FERREIRA, FERREIRA and CABRERA, 2019) about the “man with a bag”, the “girl with a suitcase”⁶, the biker hanging around the school, mentioned more by the other two profiles, served as an impediment to many of the independent outings.

The children's use of squares and parks in the neighborhood where they live was also investigated, as well as visits to other places in the city (museums, shopping malls, cinemas, and other parks in the city). About the parks, it should be noted that, when talking about Curitiba, the first thing that comes to mind is the “ecological capital”, a city with more than 60 m² of green areas per inhabitant. But, although there are green areas from north to south of the city, the number of parks is much greater in the north-central region, in addition to being the best-equipped parks, with frequent maintenance, and, many of them, participate in the tourist route. from the city.

Thus, children in the north-central region, who had parks in their neighborhood or very close to it, used these spaces much more than those in the south-extreme south (up to 100% in the first case and up to 60% in the second). Another worrying fact is that it is precisely the families from the south-extreme south that, not having many parks in the neighborhoods, mentioned using paid leisure spaces (ball pool, pay-fishing). Regarding intra-neighborhood data, families in Profiles 1 and 2 said they used more parks than those in Profile 3.

Regarding visits to other parks in the city (and not those in the neighborhood where they live), the families that most indicated that they attended were, once again, those in the north-central region, coincidentally the same neighborhoods that registered high rates in the use of parks in the neighborhood, which demonstrates that, in most cases, to use parks, it is necessary to live close to them. Although it was

⁶ Case of a girl who, in 2008, was approached on the way to school, killed, placed in a suitcase and left at the bus station in the city; the case gained visibility again in 2019, with the arrest of the killer.

Profile 1 families who most said they used parks, when inter-neighborhood data were crossed with intra-neighborhood data, it became evident that being in a region of the Profile 1 type neighborhood (central, more valued) is not enough to use parks. If, for example, two profiles 1 are selected from two different regions of the city, one to the north, Pilarzinho (one of the greenest neighborhoods in the city), and the other to the south, Novo Mundo (a “grey” neighborhood⁷ that does not have any park), and considering that these neighborhoods are families with similar economic conditions⁸ that do not have any park), and considering that these neighborhoods are families with similar economic conditions, it can be seen that, while the families in Profile 1 of the “green” neighborhood 100% mentioned visiting parks (and 10 different ones), the Profile 1 family from the “grey” neighborhood mentioned 64% (and 5 different parks). This example clearly shows how the spatial dimension plays an important role in the children's experiences, that is, even though, with a similar financial situation, living in the north or the central region ends up transforming the neighborhood into an interesting resource for children in terms of green spaces in the form of parks.

On these parks located in the north-central part of the city, other constraints can also come into play. Many of these parks, in addition to green spaces, also have museums and cultural spaces inside, which end up reinforcing memories and stories of white European immigrants (descendants of Germans, Italians, Poles, Ukrainians, for example), causing little reflection on the total constitution of the people of Curitiba and Paraná (absent, for example, indigenous and black memories and histories). Although in 2010 a square was inaugurated, in the extreme south, in honor of black culture - Praça Zumbi dos Palmares -, while some parks contain information, spaces, and objects that tell stories and keep memories of European or Asian peoples, this is practically not the case of black and indigenous peoples. Parque Tingüí, for example, is a park with an indigenous name, it has a statue of the Indian Tindiquera at the entrance, but the memory is preserved in the form of a church museum, with clothes, antique pieces, *pysankas* (painted eggs), of Ukrainian culture. Thus, in the same way, that the need to include Afro-Brazilian and indigenous knowledge in school is defended, which is important to “break with a Eurocentric curriculum tradition” (DIAS, 2012, p.665), the same should be thought of in terms of a city curriculum. In this way, if, on the one hand, children from these central and northern regions have access to more parks, on the other hand, they may be being invited more insistently -by an invisible curriculum of the city- to approach a certain curitiban imaginary (white, middle-class, of European descent) propagated by a city project that does not include all its residents (FERREIRA, 2008; 2020).

Another important fact is that it is not enough to live in the north and central region to automatically use parks when other issues also prevent their use. In this case, an intra-neighborhood analysis makes all the difference. For example, while Profile 1 families from the central region of the city mentioned 72.4% visiting parks (and 12 different ones), Profile 3 families (from Vila Torres, an old occupation located in the central region of the city), cited only 24.1% of visits and 5 different parks. This means that, if the child lives in the most distant part of the neighborhood (far from the main avenues and bus access or if the region is related to drug trafficking or violence), this can impede its use, even if the neighborhood is in the central or northern region. Allied with this, children and families reported financial difficulties going out, transportation problems, and parents' long working hours, among other issues, and there is still the hypothesis that families do not recognize these places, in general, linked in advertisements, again, to a middle or upper class, white and with a *modus operandi* related to consumption (suitable clothing for hiking, bicycles, rollers, balls, dogs and their accouterments, etc.).

Thus, if the data from Profile 3 of the three neighborhoods in the north-central area are grouped, against the six in the south-extreme south, obviously respecting proportionality, there is no great difference in the use of parks, nor those of the neighborhood (if any), nor those of the city. That is, living

⁷ Tsoukala (2007) used the expression “zones grisés” (gray areas) to refer to the peripheral areas of contemporary cities. Fernandes (2016), analyzing satellite images of the Uberaba neighborhood, used the expression “grey zone” in relation to less wooded regions and fiber cement tiles, often used in the construction of popular houses, opposing the “green zone” of the neighborhood, and more wooded.

⁸ Although there is a distinction in per capita income between the northern and southern neighborhoods, as mentioned at the beginning of the text, income approximations were found between some northern and southern neighborhoods, which made it possible, in this case, to compare similar salaries and park uses.

in the most distant regions of the neighborhoods or a situation of social vulnerability, both in the north-central and the south-extreme south, in general, almost does not change the low use of these spaces. When analyzing profile 1 grouped in the same way (the three north-central neighborhoods against the six in the south-extreme south), the data show a great contrast, and it is verified that the spatial dimension stands out. Families in profile 1 of the three north-central neighborhoods, together, mentioned, proportionally, almost four times more parks in the neighborhood than the six in the south-extreme south. This also happened with the use of parks in the city, in which families from north-central neighborhoods cited, proportionally, almost twice as many parks as those from the south-extreme south.

As for the use of squares in the neighborhood, in general, only 43.4% of families said that their children used them (a much lower use than parks), and many families said they did not use them, due to safety problems and because these locations were often used for drug trafficking. Thus, in general, there was no difference in use between the profiles, but, again, when the data from Profile 1 of the north-central neighborhoods were grouped and compared with those from Profile 1 of the south-extreme south, the latter despite reports of violence and poorly maintained squares, they still used these places more. The same thing happened with profile 3 (those from the south-extreme south using almost six times more). This means that children living in neighborhoods in the south-extreme south, regardless of whether they belong to Profile 1 or 3, and having far fewer parks at their disposal, capitalized as much as they could on the squares they had in their neighborhoods.

Regarding visits to malls, in general, 72.9% of families said that children used to use them, with the highest frequency mentioned (greater than the 63.6% frequency of city parks or the 50.2% to neighborhood parks). The children who used it the most were those from Novo Mundo and Boqueirão, to the south; and those of Santa Felicidade, to the north, neighborhoods that have shopping malls or that are in nearby neighborhoods. Regarding intra-neighborhood data, Profile 1 was the one who said they attended the most (79.7% against 64.4% of Profile 3). The use of shopping malls, mainly by families and children from the south (Novo Mundo with 85.3% against, for example, Pilarzinho, to the north, with 57.7%), provokes reflection on how much these children from the south (but not the of the extreme south), having almost no parks and other leisure spaces available, may end up being co-opted for a type of socialization in private spaces, with repetitive architecture, diaphanous and that leads to little diversity (which public spaces, by nature, tend to provide). It is noticed that, where public spaces are absent, private places advance. In this sense, when it is said that children have the right to the city, it is in the sense that this right is linked to a “public culture”, because, if not, “it becomes susceptible, impossible to be effectively (and culturally) practiced” (TAVARES, 2020, p. 170). Another important issue is that certain shopping malls are used by children living in certain regions (for example, Shopping Barigui by children from the northern region and Shopping Palladium by children from the south), which can lead to thinking of a certain “physical escapism” (CASTELLS, 2009) by middle and upper-class families, a lack of social mixing with children from popular classes, including a higher rate of black children.

Regarding going to the cinema, in general, 64.4% of families said they go to the movies. Children from the Xaxim neighborhood to the south (which has the “shoppinho”, a small mall that offers cinema at low prices) and those from the north-central district were the ones who said they attended the most and, among the profiles, the families of Profile 1 were the ones that attended the most (71.8% against 51.7% of Profile 3). When inter-neighborhood data are crossed with intra-neighborhood data, the pattern, Profile 1 of north-central people frequenting more, is repeated.

Curitiba has several museums, most of them located in the northern region and mainly in the central one. Thus, in general, 50.6% of families said that their children visited, one of the lowest frequency rates for spaces in the city and, as for an inter-neighborhood analysis, the numbers were the most disparate among the places surveyed (around 80% frequency in the north-central region against only 10% in the south-extreme south). Among the profiles, Profile 1 was the most frequented, but, as an example of this wide disparity, 55.1% of Profile 1 families in the central neighborhood cited museum names (considering at least one citation made) and mentioned 8 different locations, only 2.4% of the families in Profile 1 in the extreme south mentioned museum names, and only one of them was mentioned (Museu Oscar Niemeyer). When the inter-neighborhood data are crossed with the intra-neighborhood data, the data show even greater inequality, but, again, only concerning Profile 1. The same did not occur in the families of Profile 3. These, regardless of whether they lived in neighborhoods in the north-central or the south-

extreme south, ended up almost not citing museums, which makes one think that, for families of these regions - even if they live closer to this hermetic space (for example, the families from Vila Torres who live relatively close to the Oscar Niemeyer Museum) - other issues may be at play, such as, again, not recognizing in these spaces that do not value their cultures. Porto, Moraes, and Carvalho (2021) also observed issues like these when analyzing the point of view of children who sometimes visited the Regional Museum of São João Del-Rei in Minas Gerais:

Perhaps because of the magnificence and the exhibited pieces, usually objects bequeathed by the elites, the children felt that the museum had as a reference social extracts different from their own. This finding makes it difficult to create a sense of identity between children and the museum, showing that the institution is directed to others, to 'important people' (PORTO, MORAES, and CARVALHO, 2021, p. 344).

On the other hand, regarding the practice of visiting museums, theaters, and concerts, today “it seems excessive to say that they are a symbol of the 'dominant' culture insofar as they are a minority everywhere, including among members of the dominant classes” (ETHIS and PEDLER, 1999; LAHIRE, 2004; apud COULANGEON, 2014, p. 136), even though they can still be used with an “ostentatious” logic (VEBLEN apud COULANGEON, 2014, p. 20) or of “distinction” (BOURDIEU apud COULANGEON, 2014, p. 21) by certain social classes. In the case of this research, these large differences in usage still seem to be saying something about disputes, tensions, and racial and class pressures.

From what was seen in this section, it was evident that the children of Profile 1 (and in some cases of Profile 2) carried out socializing activities closer to school logic, games, and experiences more controlled by parents and less use of the neighborhood, but, on the other hand, the biggest in the city. With the children of Profile 3, the opposite occurred, they had more experiences in the neighborhood and less in the city and performed some activities and games more freely. And, if they lived in more distant regions of the neighborhood, but also in the south-extreme south part of the city, the opportunities of using a variety of institutions and leisure and cultural spaces would be even more reduced, and in safe spaces for such (as in the case of squares).

Thus, on the one hand, the city does not distribute cultural and leisure spaces among the neighborhoods in the same way, nor does it facilitate displacement and accessibility to them (the price of transportation for everyone in the family; tickets; food, since families take hours to get to such places and then to return to their homes). On the other hand, the city seems to maintain unaltered institutions and places that promote a little culture recognized by black children and families from the peripheries.

On the differences between the city's neighborhoods, even if one might think that the central and northern ones are very old and that's why they have many of these leisure and cultural spaces, the neighborhoods to the southwest and southeast and the south are also old neighborhoods, but, after decades, they still do not have either the quantity or the quality of these spaces. In the extreme south, the situation is even worse.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this text, we observed that there is a geographic concentration of certain parks and consolidated spaces for leisure and culture in the center and north of the city, as well as in central regions of certain neighborhoods, causing the “residence effect” to generate opportunities for children living close to these areas. and placing, at the other extreme, those who live in distant and peripheral regions. In this way, the neighborhood, which proved to be a field of possibilities for some children, for others, meant restriction.

It was also found that children, in general, were increasingly isolated in their homes. But, of those who went out to carry out some extracurricular activity, those in Profile 1 used more private spaces, and those in Profile 3, more NGOs, and associations, demonstrating, in any case, an unfortunate withdrawal of them from the public spaces that are promoters, for nature, the diversity of people and the circulation of ideas.

Regarding spatial mobility, we also observed that, for some children, it was intense and generated an important capital that leveraged diversified experiences, while for others, it meant a scarce urban resource. If one considers that the possibility of mobility is one of the conditions for participation in the urban environment (REMY and VOYE apud KAUFMANN, 2008, p. 66), not all children and their families had this guaranteed participation. Thus, intersecting spatial inequalities related to children who lived in the most remote or devalued part of the neighborhood and the southern and extreme southern part of the city, with issues of race, class, and gender, it was found that, in the case of girls, and black girls resident of these impoverished places, inequality and inequality in spatial mobility became even greater.

We also noticed that there was no social mix between children living in different parts of the same neighborhood. The use of commerce was differentiated, and this was also the case with the use of different malls and cinemas. They also did not go to school in the same way (some went on foot, others by car) and, also, they did not go to the same institutions (some went to schools close to their homes, others to more distant schools and, who knows, most requested). Thus, the practices of different children in the same neighborhood were not only different but unequal.

Therefore, we conclude that because of the existing interdependencies between children, which generate inequality in terms of class, race, gender, and level of education of the families, others related to space emerged. The city was shown to be unfair, as it produced inequalities of opportunities in the spaces it offered to its children.

Thus, certain regions of the neighborhood and the city proved to be true “spaces of subordination” (CASTELLS, 2009) in which children were sedentary (VIARD, 2011), immobile, and more exposed to violence. On the other hand, there were regions where children could move more easily and have different experiences in the neighborhood and even outside it. There were still other places to which perhaps, even if they could go, they did not recognize themselves as an identity space.

Finally, work continues with other data from the research, and it is already known that, when these quantitative data are put concerning the qualitative ones, several nuances make these generalizations somewhat relative, but it is also understood that it is when more knowledge about the configurations of children in urban contexts. By diving, therefore, into the flow of the children's own daily lives, one observes, for example, how the issues discussed so far intersect with specific properties of them and their families. In this dive, space is more unpredictable, and time is used by them in a much more creative way.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST DECLARATION

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest with this article.