

SEGREGATED URBAN EXPERIENCES: HOUSING PLACES, TRAJECTORIES AND PERSONAL NETWORKS OF BLACKS AND WHITES IN SÃO PAULO-SP

EXPERIÊNCIAS URBANAS SEGREGADAS: LOCAIS DE MORADIA, TRAJETÓRIAS E REDES PESSOAIS DE NEGROS E BRANCOS EM SÃO PAULO - SP

EXPERIENCIAS URBANAS SEGREGADAS: LUGARES DE VIVIENDA, TRAYECTORIAS Y REDES PERSONALES DE NEGROS Y BLANCOS EN SÃO PAULO-SP

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ABSTRACT: Based on a critique of the ways in which the notion of residential segregation has been operationalized, we propose an approach that reveals to what extent the separation of residences is associated with differentials in social integration and access to the city based on the mapping of paths and places frequented by individuals in the city space and in the spatialization of their personal networks of relationships. We demonstrate that, to the extent that blacks and whites are residentially segregated, their personal networks and places are also segregated. Our results highlight the role of urban space in constituting barriers to the integration of blacks into the middle classes. Furthermore, we argue that the Middle and upper classes organize themselves as status groups whose boundaries are strongly based, not only on racial characteristics, but also on urban space (inhabited and frequented).

KEYWORDS: Residential segregation. Race. Trajectories. Personal networks.

RESUMO: *A partir de uma crítica das formas como a noção de segregação residencial tem sido operacionalizada, propomos uma abordagem que revele em que medida a separação das moradias se associa a diferenciais de integração social e acesso à cidade baseada no mapeamento de trajetos e locais frequentados pelos indivíduos no espaço da cidade e na espacialização de suas redes pessoais de relações. Demonstramos que, na medida em que negros e brancos estão residencialmente segregados, são segregadas também suas redes pessoais e locais frequentados. Nossos achados realçam o papel do espaço urbano para a constituição de barreiras à integração de negros nas classes médias. Ademais, argumentamos que as classes médias e altas se organizam como grupos de status cujas fronteiras são fortemente baseadas, não apenas em características raciais, mas também no espaço urbano (habitado e frequentado).*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Segregação residencial. Raça. Trajetórias. Redes pessoais.*

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RESUMEN: *A partir de una crítica a las formas en que se ha operacionalizado la noción de segregación residencial, proponemos un enfoque que revela hasta qué punto la separación de la vivienda se asocia a diferenciales en la integración social y el acceso a la ciudad a partir del mapeo de caminos y lugares frecuentados por los individuos en el espacio de la ciudad y en la espacialización de sus redes personales de relaciones. Demostramos que, en la medida en que negros y blancos están segregados residencialmente, sus redes personales y lugares frecuentados también están segregados. Nuestros resultados destacan el papel del espacio urbano en la constitución de barreras para la integración de los negros en las clases medias. Además, sostenemos que las clases medias y altas se organizan a sí mismas como grupos de estatus cuyos límites se basan fuertemente, no solo en características raciales, sino también en el espacio urbano (habitado y frecuentado).*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Segregación residencial. Raza. Trayectorias. Redes personales.*

Introduction

This text explores characteristics of segregation by race in São Paulo-SP, the largest Brazilian metropolis, through qualitative methods that are alternative to traditional ways of measuring the phenomenon. The objective is to demonstrate the importance of race and place of residence for the conformation of spatially segmented practices and relationships and of distinct urban experiences that, in turn, should contribute to the maintenance of a racialized social structure.

Residential segregation: definition and approaches

Segregation concerns the processes and circumstances in which certain social groups separate from each other, avoiding conviviality and interaction. Such separation is based, in general, on relations of inequalities, hierarchies and discrimination between the social groups involved. Its objective would be to avoid contacts, interactions and, mainly, mixing with subordinate groups (JOHNSON, 1943; BRUN, 1994; GRAFMEYER, 1994).

In sociology, this more general issue of segregation is usually investigated through residential segregation, that is, from the separation of dwellings from different social groups. Residential segregation has been the focus of public and academic debate in the United States since the beginning of the 20th century, when the Chicago school of sociology, interested in the assimilation processes of ethnic-racial and immigrant minorities, established the main premise that distances physical distances correspond to social distances (PARK, 1926). This gives rise to a first notion of segregation, which concerns the degree to which individuals and groups are “socially” distant from each other, considering the distances in which their homes are located



in the urban space (MARQUES, 2005). In the second half of the 20th century, with the influence of the political economy paradigm, the concentration of the poor and, in particular of certain ethnic-racial groups, in restricted residential spaces (the ghettos) came to be thought also through the perspective of reproduction of poverty and inequalities of opportunity (WILSON, 1987). This is a second conception, which refers to the differentials of access to public policies and the “material and symbolic goods offered by the city” (GRAFMEYER, 1994, p. 89). Both perspectives strongly emphasize the residential space and interactions in the context of the neighborhood, understood as a privileged sphere for sociability².

We can thus discern two dimensions that define the importance of residential segregation as a research problem. One of them is the dimension of integration, in which the distance between houses would imply different possibilities of contacts and social relations between members of different groups. The other is the dimension of access, according to which the location of residences would determine inequalities in access to resources and opportunities available in the city.

However, in most studies, the notion of segregation is operationalized from quantitative surveys of the differentials in the location of housing for different social groups. The measurement of the phenomenon is guided by the verification of the extent to which the distribution of social groups by areas of the city would be more or less uniform (MARQUES, 2005; MASSEY; DENTON, 1988; GRAFMEYER, 1994). In short, investigations on residential segregation are, to date, strongly linked to the assumptions of the Chicago School. Different groups' housing location differentials are understood as degrees of segregation and, from there, different possibilities of integration between social groups and access to the city and its resources are inferred. Thus, studies have given great emphasis to the local sphere and neighborhood relations as a privileged field of observation of segregation and its effects. The assumption there is that there would be greater contact and greater access to that or to those who are physically close, in this case, the neighborhood and neighbors.

Such assumptions are problematic as they do not provide explanations of how – under what circumstances, for which groups or classes, at what scales, etc. (SHARKEY; FABER, 2014) – the place of residence or position in the city space is important for access, social distances and racial relations. Bonilla-Silva and Baiocchi (2001), for example, point out that changes in the results of segregation indicators mask the different modes of manifestation of

² A ênfase na importância das relações e instituições sociais constituídas no contexto da vizinhança marca as pesquisas sobre os “efeitos de vizinhança”, que ocupam atualmente o *mainstream* da produção sociológica concernente às consequências da segregação nos Estados Unidos.



the phenomenon, and that “interracial contacts” do not necessarily mean substantive integration, since various forms of racism are compatible with physical proximity. In addition, urban studies have long shown that physical proximity does not necessarily imply access, interactions or social proximity (CHAMBOREDON; LEMAIRE, 1970), works in the field of network analysis have shown that, in general, urban individuals form more personal bonds at the metropolis scale than at the neighborhood scale (WELLMAN, 1979; FISCHER, 1995; MARQUES, 2010), and recent studies show that the consideration of mobilities through the city space would lead to significant changes in what is meant by segregation (KWAN, 2013; NETTO; PINHEIRO; PASCHOALINO, 2015).

In this sense, to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of segregation, we should study this phenomenon beyond quantitative indicators and beyond neighborhood relations. In this sense, we will employ methodologies that incorporate the dimensions of integration and access – once only presupposed – in the very operationalization of the investigation. We therefore propose a description of spatial practices and spatially located social relations of blacks and whites in the middle and upper classes. The premise is that different status groups and class fractions would make different uses of urban space so that the place of residence would be like a center of gravity that would order the paths, practices and social relations of individuals (in addition to neighborhood relations). Territories, in this sense, would not conform to the borders of specific areas of the city, but would overlap them, since they are “territories of practices and relationships” (TELLES, 2006)³.

Segregation by Race in Brazil and in São Paulo-SP

The production of quantitative analyzes of racial segregation in Brazilian cities dates back to the classics of the sociology of race relations such as Pierson (1971 [1942]), Cardoso and Ianni (1960) and Pinto (1998 [1953]). However, the study of racial segregation has not gained continuity in this field. It was only decades later that the topic gained prominence again from the work of Edward Telles (1993; 1995) who – when calculating indicators of residential segregation in 35 urban areas based on data from the 1980 Census – presented evidence that

³ “Nos eventos biográficos de indivíduos e suas famílias, há sempre o registro de práticas e redes sociais mobilizadas (ou construídas) nos agenciamentos cotidianos da vida, que passam pelas relações de proximidade, mas não se reduzem ao seu perímetro. Feitos de práticas e conexões que articulam espaços diversos e dimensões variadas da cidade, os territórios não têm fronteiras fixas e desenham diagramas muito diferenciados de relações conforme as regiões da cidade, as situações de vida e os tempos sociais cifrados em seus espaços”. (TELLES, 2006, p. 72).



racial segregation expressed itself strongly in the higher social strata and reintroduced this discussion in the context of Brazilian race relations (TELLES, 2012 [2004]).

Subsequently, researches were carried out interested in the measurement of residential segregation by race in metropolises such as Belo Horizonte-MG (RIOS-NETO, 2005; SILVEIRA, 2014), Salvador-BA (GARCIA, 2006; CARVALHO; BARRETO, 2007), Rio de Janeiro-RJ (GARCIA, 2006; RIBEIRO, 2007; PRÉTECEILLE; CARDOSO, 2008) and São Paulo-SP (TORRES, 2005; PRÉTECEILLE; CARDOSO, 2008; FRANÇA, 2010; 2015; 2017), as well as comparative analyzes such as that of França (2021).

However, despite the research mentioned above, important researchers of urban issues have underestimated racial segregation in Brazil. Villaça (1998), for example, carried out one of the most comprehensive studies on the structuring of urban space in Brazilian metropolises, in which he demonstrates the importance of segregation as a necessary mechanism for the viability of domination by the elites through space. The author, however, does not pay attention to racial differences in the production and appropriation of urban space, emphasizing class as the dominant variable to explain segregation.

The constant allusion to class as a preponderant factor in relation to race calls for studies that evaluate segregation from the consideration of both dimensions. In our previous research (FRANÇA, 2015; 2017), the demonstration that segregation by race is existent and specific in relation to segregation by social class is empirically carried out through a strategy in which we verify the degrees of separation between blacks and whites belonging to the same social class. After all, if there is no racial segregation, the segregation index between blacks and whites in the same social class must be zero.

Based on data from the 2010 Census, the dissimilarity index, the main measure of segregation, between blacks and whites resulted in a value of 0.29⁴. However, to highlight the racial component of segregation, the indicators were recalculated according to race and social class groups⁵. The results of the dissimilarity index demonstrate that, in addition to the well-documented segregation between social classes in urban space, it is also possible to observe a

⁴ The dissimilarity index (DI) captures the degree to which two social groups are not evenly or homogeneously distributed within a city. The index varies from 0 to 1, where 1 means total segregation and 0 means total uniformity in the distribution of groups. The result is usually interpreted as indicating the proportion of the population that would have to change area in order to obtain a uniform residential pattern.

⁵ The population of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo (RMSP) was classified, as suggested by Marques, Barbosa and Prates (2015), into social strata based on groupings of EGP occupational categories (ERIKSON; GOLDTHORPE; PORTOCARERO, 1979; BARBOSA; MARSCHNER, 2013). In the upper stratum are the categories of owners and employers and high-level professionals; the middle stratum is composed of low-level professionals, technicians and supervisors of manual work and high-level routine non-manual workers; the lower stratum comprises low-level routine non-manual workers, skilled manual workers, and semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers.



racial component in segregation. This becomes more evident when we compare the indicators of blacks and whites belonging to the same social stratum. The indicator of racial segregation in the lower classes is 0.18, rising to 0.31 in the middle classes and 0.40 in the upper classes.

The results showed low degrees of racial segregation among the poor and higher degrees in the middle and upper classes. In addition, middle and upper class whites are closer to each other and farther from the poor and blacks (of any class), conforming to a pattern of segregation by race and class. This evidence diverges from the thesis that, in Brazil, segregation would only be by social class, but they also present a very different scenario from North American metropolises, where segregation by race crosses all social classes. Such results impel us to devote special attention to segregation in the middle and upper social strata, in which racial differences stand out strongly.

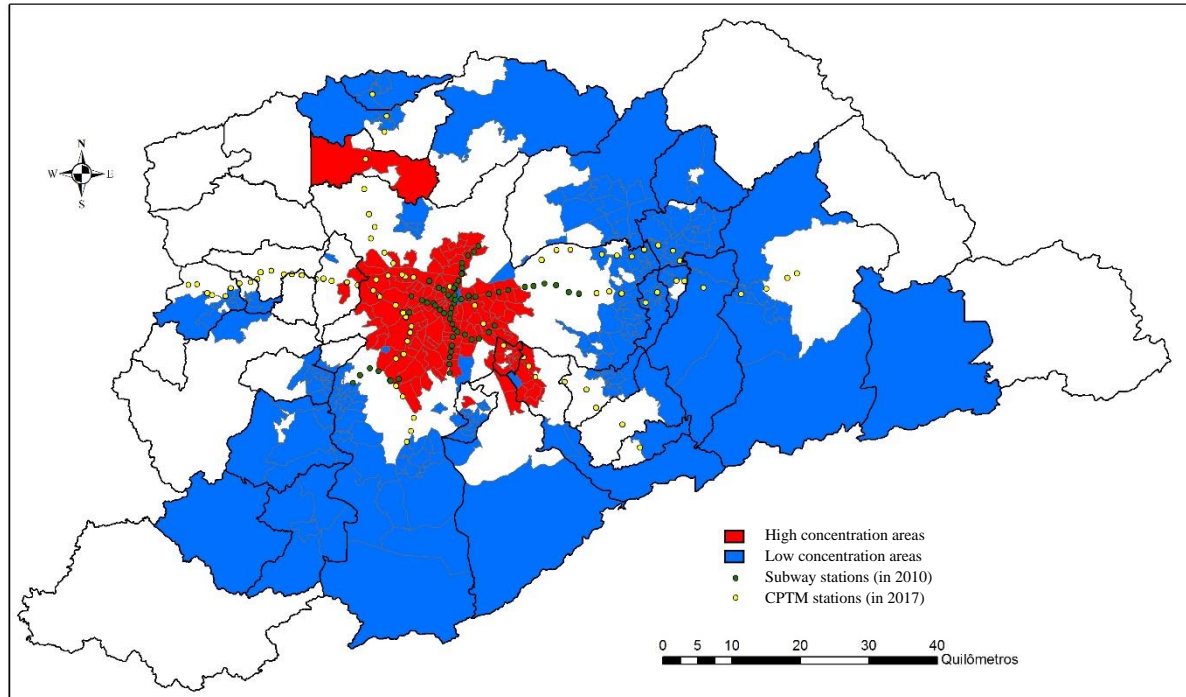
However, the indices do not reveal where each of the groups is concentrated. We will then expose details of segregation through LISA Maps (Local Indicator of Spatial Autocorrelation) of blacks and whites in professional occupations (high and low level). The maps represent the spatial autocorrelation of the groups we analyzed, that is, the extent to which the groups considered are highly concentrated in sets of neighboring areas (ANSELIN, 1995)⁶. The areas in red denote a high concentration of the variable in question in neighboring areas. The areas in blue express the contiguity of areas of low concentration of this variable. Areas in whites did not have a statistically significant result.

There is a large cluster of areas of concentration of white professionals in areas of the expanded center of São Paulo-SP (in the southwest quadrant and in the parts of the north and east areas closer to the center); and a smaller one in the ABC region of São Paulo (Santo André, São Bernardo, São Caetano) (to the southeast).

⁶ The LISA Maps derive from the Moran index, a measure of spatial autocorrelation that, in addition to the distribution of groups by area, considers the contiguity of the areas where the different groups are concentrated. The Moran index was calculated from the locational quotient of each of the six groups in the 633 weighting areas of the RMSP.



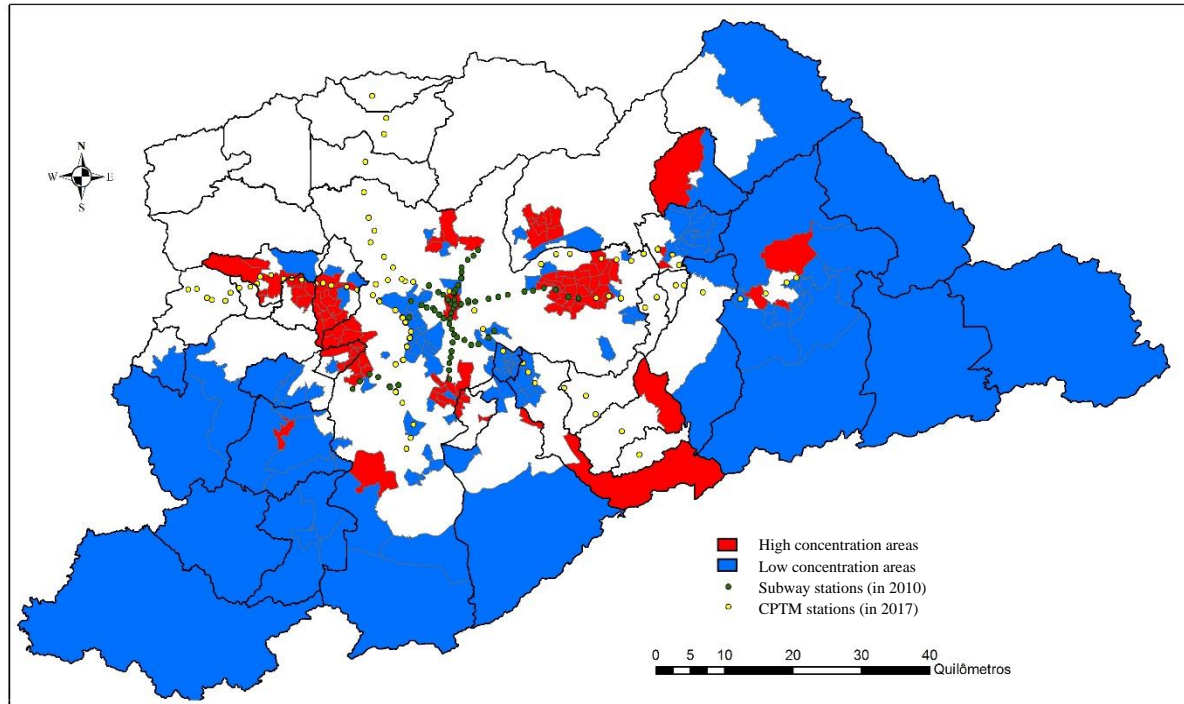
Figure 1 – White Professionals



Source: LISA Maps (Local Indicator of Spatial Autocorrelation)

Unlike whites, the map reveals several sets of spaces with a greater concentration of black professionals, most of whom are in peripheral areas. Among them, we highlight: a grouping in the old center of the city of São Paulo-SP that extends to the south, towards Vila Mariana; a large set of areas in the East Zone, around Itaquera; in the western portion of the metropolitan region there is a large agglomeration that extends from Campo Limpo to Barueri, passing through Taboão da Serra and Osasco; in the North Zone (Tucuruvi and Mandaqui) and in the South Zone, around Jabaquara.

In summary, quantitative analyzes of census data show that, in the metropolitan region of São Paulo-SP, residential segregation between poorer blacks and whites is low, but as we consider the middle and upper classes, segregation becomes more significant. It is particularly noticeable that whites from the middle and upper classes live in the most privileged areas of the metropolis, being very isolated and distant from all other groups, even from blacks with a similar position in social stratification.

Figure 2 – Black Professionals

Source: LISA Maps (Local Indicator of Spatial Autocorrelation)

Methods

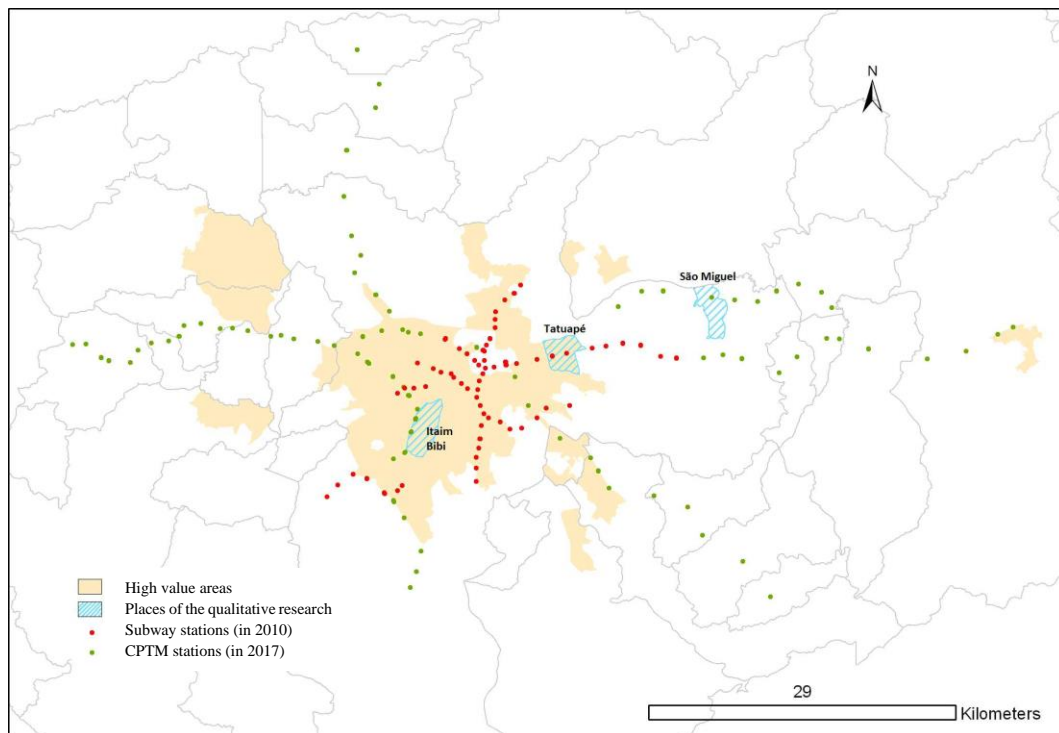
We carried out semi-structured interviews that surveyed individual trajectories focusing on the places in the city where life stories unfold, the identification of places frequented by individuals in the metropolis space, and the collection of the personal networks of the interviewed subjects, with their respective places of residence of the members of each network. The latter, as well as the frequented places, were mapped.

We interviewed 28 blacks and whites, men and women, with occupation classified in the professional categorie⁷s (high or low level) and who have a higher education level, living in three different areas of the metropolis: Itaim Bibi, São Miguel Paulista and Tatuapé.

Figure 3 presents the map with the location of the surveyed districts, also highlighting the set of “elite and upper-middle-class spaces” (MARQUES, 2015) – which tend to agree with the “general region” of the high income strata (VILLAÇA, 1998) – and will be an important reference for our analyses. We will henceforth refer to these simply as “noble areas”.

⁷ We chose to focus only on professional categories, failing to address owners and employers because the latter form a very heterogeneous category in terms of education and income..

Figure 3 – Location of the Districts where the Qualitative Research was carried out in the space of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo-SP



Source: Map generated during the research

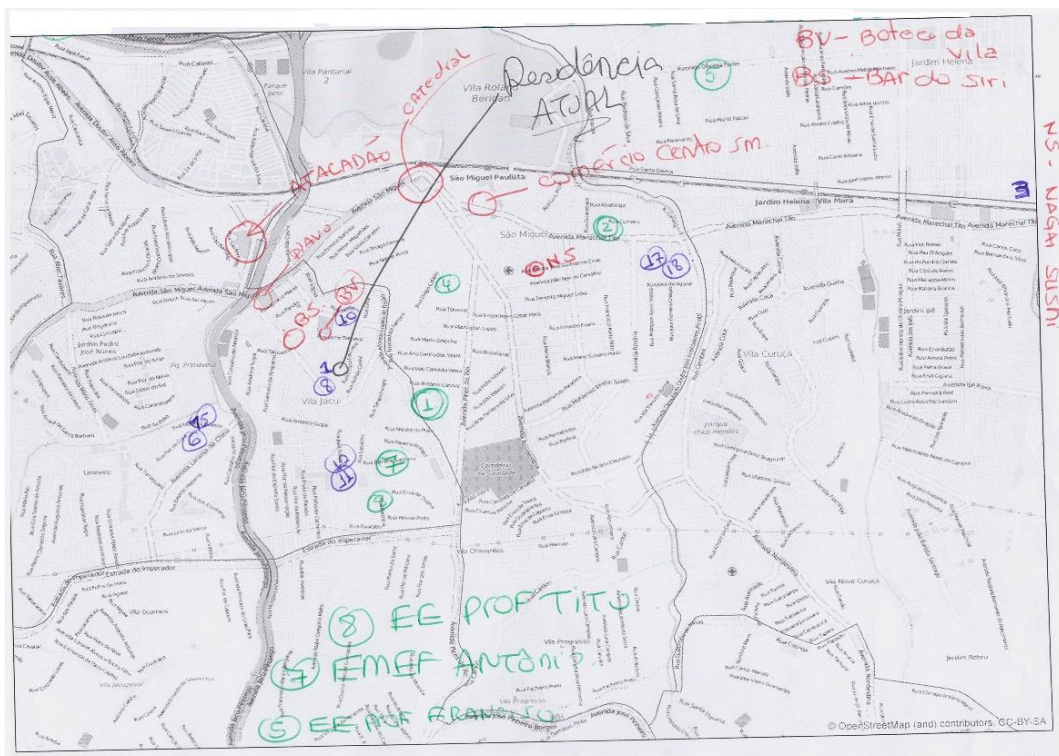
Itaim Bibi is located within the “noble areas”. The region of the São Miguel Paulista district was chosen because it is a peripheral area with a significant concentration of black professionals, for its distance from the main centralities of the metropolis, but also because there is an important sub-centrality of the East Zone, with a concentration of commerce, services and jobs.

The third location, the district of Tatuapé, came from the results of the fieldwork in São Miguel Paulista. When asked about which places in the metropolis the interviewees would want to live if they did not have material limitations, the preponderant answer was “Tatuapé or somewhere in the East Zone that is close to the subway”. This led us to believe that these areas are likely to be residential destinations for families on the rise from the more peripheral areas of the East Zone.

With qualitative research, we seek to describe how race and place of residence imply different possibilities of integration between different groups and access to the city. The fundamental questions are: Where do you live? Where you go? What do you do? With whom? In the interview, general socioeconomic characteristics and topics such as personal, family, school, residential and occupational paths, neighborhood characteristics and neighborhood

relations and frequented places in the city were addressed. Then, a name generator form is filled out so that the interviewee can inform the members of their personal network, some of their attributes and the places where they live⁸. From the beginning of the interview, the interviewed individuals are given a set of maps printed in black and white and colored pens with which they must mark all types of places mentioned (an example of filling is provided in Figure 4).

Figure 4 – Example of map filling provided in the interview



Source: Generated during the research

Thus, we intend to reveal urban circuits and uses of space in the metropolis, in order to demonstrate ways in which residential segregation, through the place of residence, would be related to different networks of relationships, experiences and urban trajectories of blacks and whites. The mapping of relationship networks and frequented places allows us to detach the segregation of neighborhood assumptions, demonstrating the articulations between the places where the subjects' practices occur and the possibilities of access to the city and the constitution of bonds between individuals with social attributes and similar or different dwelling places. In

⁸ To urge respondents to list the people closest to them, we adapted the battery of questions from a classic study of personal networks (FISCHER 1995). For example: Who are your best friends? Who do you usually hang out with? Who do you talk to when you have a concern? Who do you turn to when you need a favor? etc. Regarding each name mentioned, we asked age, sex, race/color, education, profession and sphere of sociability (family, work, etc.).

order to capture the dimensions of integration, we collected personal networks (with the respective places of residence of each component of the networks), and in order to observe access, we surveyed the frequented places. In other words, we seek to assess to what extent race and place of residence imply different possibilities of integration and access to the city.

Results

Personal networks

From the collection of the personal networks of the 28 interviewees, we raised a total of 362 links, resulting in an average of 12.9 components in each personal network⁹. Of this total, 166, or 46%, are related. Most of the close people mentioned by whites are outside the family, while for blacks, on the contrary, personal networks are mostly composed of relatives. This may point to the occurrence of difficulty in socialization and establishment of intimate ties outside the family for blacks, as well as may suggest that blacks depend more on intrafamily solidarity. Such possibilities, however, require further investigation.

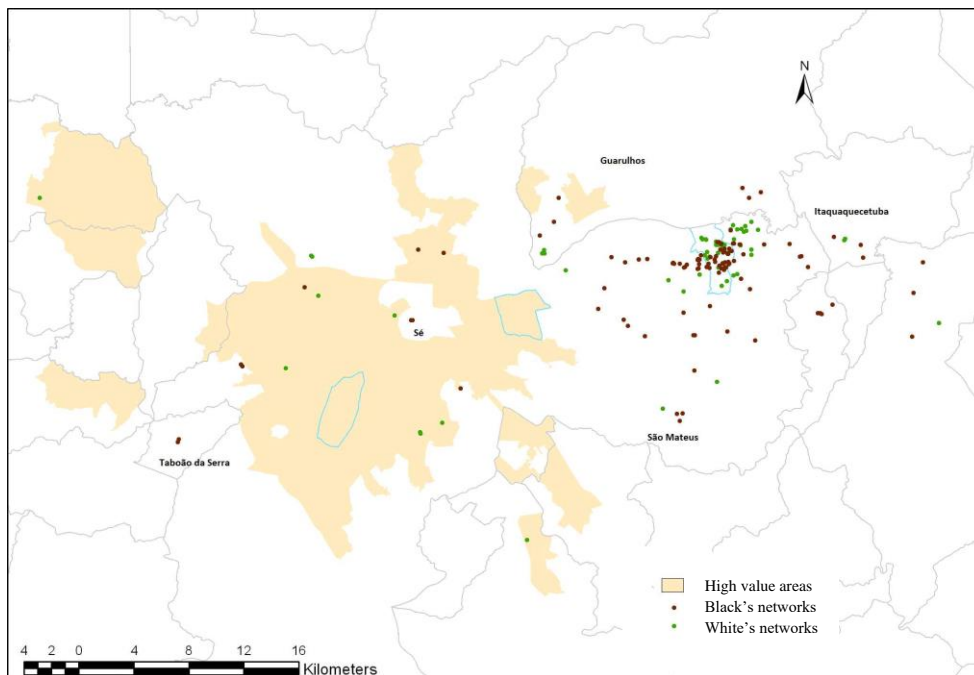
Considering the sociability context of each bond, only 22 people were classified as “neighbors”. However, we note that most of the relationships occur in the inhabited district and its surroundings. Of the network components, 58% reside in the same district as the respondent or in surrounding districts. This characteristic is more pronounced in São Miguel Paulista (68.4%), than in Tatuapé (52.4%) or Itaim Bibi (37.7%). Considering the interviewees residing in the latter, 74% of their links are located in “upscale regions” of the metropolis, while in São Miguel only 9% of links reside in “upscale regions”. In Tatuapé, located on the edges of the main cluster of prime areas, 51% of the bonds live in “prime regions” and 49% do not.

In São Miguel Paulista, almost all (or 84%) of the interviewees' links reside in the vicinity of the district or in peripheral areas of the east side, with few residents of noble regions in their networks. There are racial differences, not very large: blacks with more contacts in other districts of the east zone and municipality in the east of São Paulo-SP, while whites have more ties in other parts of the city of São Paulo-SP and in high value regions.

⁹ We do not intend, with such quantifications, to reach statistically representative conclusions about the characteristics of the networks of certain places and social groups in general. The idea is to present the aspects of our interviewees' networks in a synthetic way.



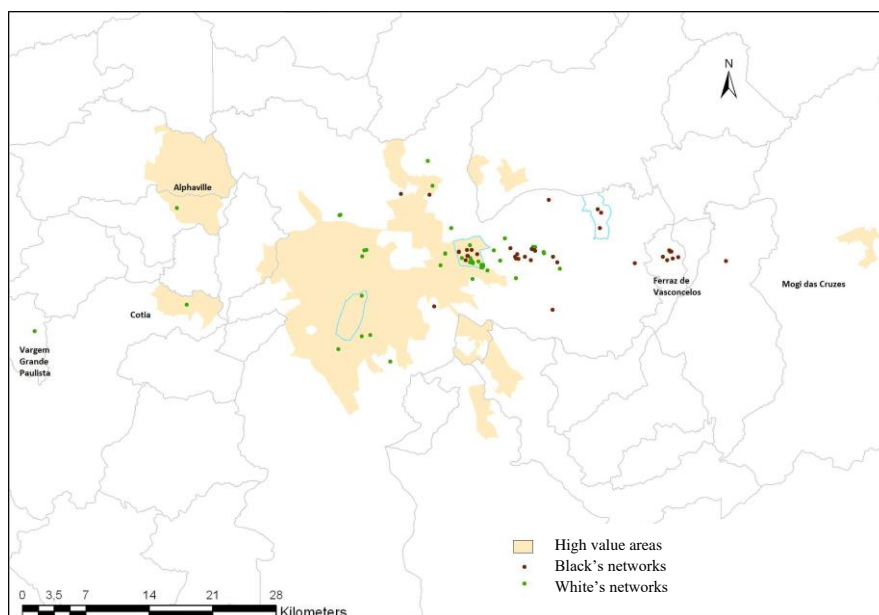
Figure 5 – Places of Residence of Members of the Personal Networks of Black and White Respondents in São Miguel Paulista



Source: Map generated during the research

Racial differences regarding the residences of the bonds are quite expressive in Tatuapé. While most black guests reside in other districts on the east side or municipalities east of the capital, most of the whites' contacts are in high value regions.

Figure 6 – Places of Residence of Members of the Personal Networks of Black and White Respondents in Tatuapé



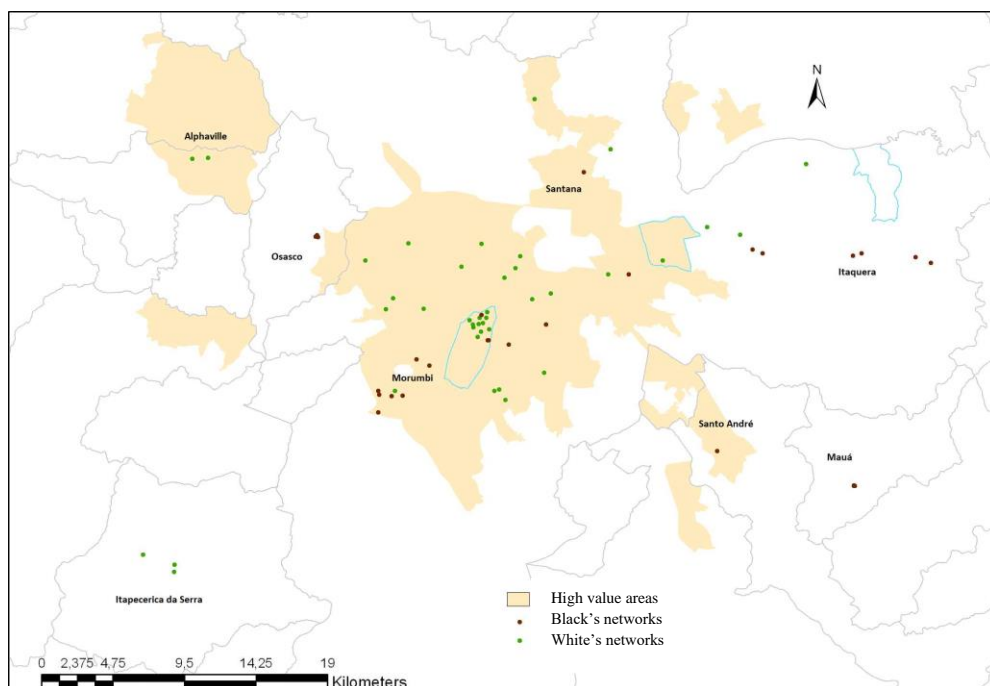
Source: Map generated during the research

In Itaim Bibi (Figure 7), most of the residences of the components of the personal networks (74%) are in noble regions. Most of the ties residing outside the noble regions are members of the networks of the two black women interviewed.

The results demonstrate that whites are much more racially homophilic¹⁰ than blacks, who have more racially mixed networks. It should be noted that in São Miguel Paulista, a place with a significant share of blacks in the population, whites are less homophilic and blacks are more. In Itaim Bibi and Tatuapé, there are almost no blacks in the whites' networks.

As we approach middle class individuals, and these classes are mostly white, it is reasonable to expect that there will be a majority of relationships with whites. That is, there is an expectation of high homophily for whites and low homophily for blacks, which is confirmed by the data. However, comparing whites and blacks from the same locations, there are always more whites in white networks and more blacks in black networks.

Figure 7 – Places of Residence of Members of the Personal Networks of Black and White Respondents at Itaim Bibi



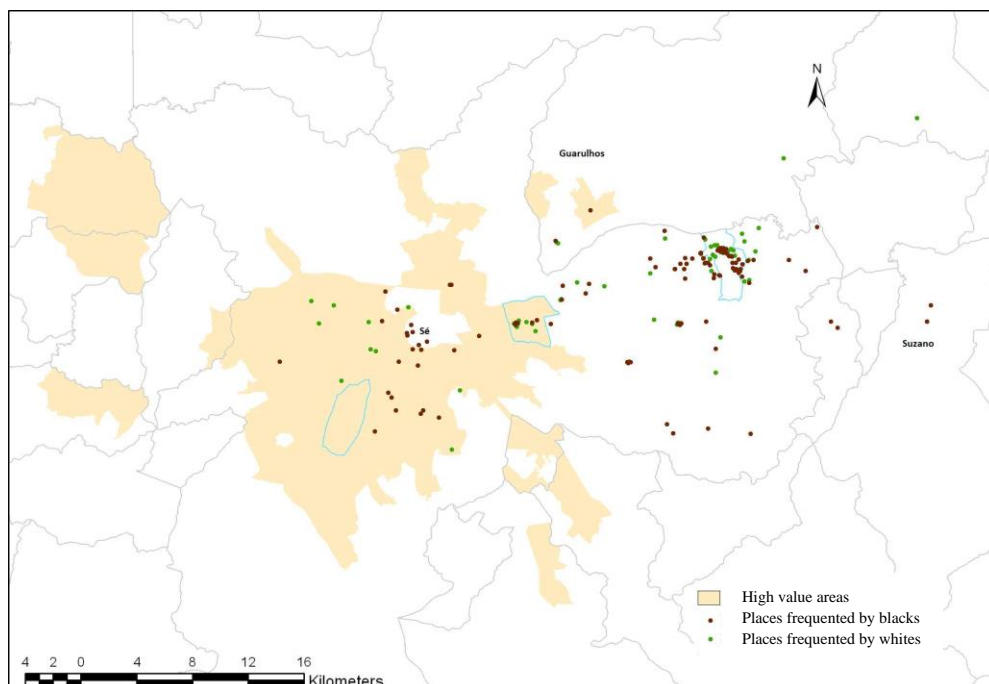
Source: Map generated during the research

¹⁰ Homophily concerns the similarity of attributes between pairs of individuals in a network. Thus, in the case of a woman who has a majority of women in her network, we say that it is a case of gender homophily. That is, we can have the most diverse types of homophily according to the considered attribute. A good review on the topic can be found in McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook (2001).

Frequented places

For respondents from São Miguel Paulista, most of the places they frequent are located in the district itself and in its surroundings. There is an expressive, but minority, number of places located in high value regions such as Tatuapé, Liberdade, Lapa, Vila Mariana, etc. The workplaces of most respondents are located in the east, while medical services are sought mainly in prime regions of São Paulo-SP.

Figure 8 – Places Frequented by Black and White Respondents in São Miguel Paulista



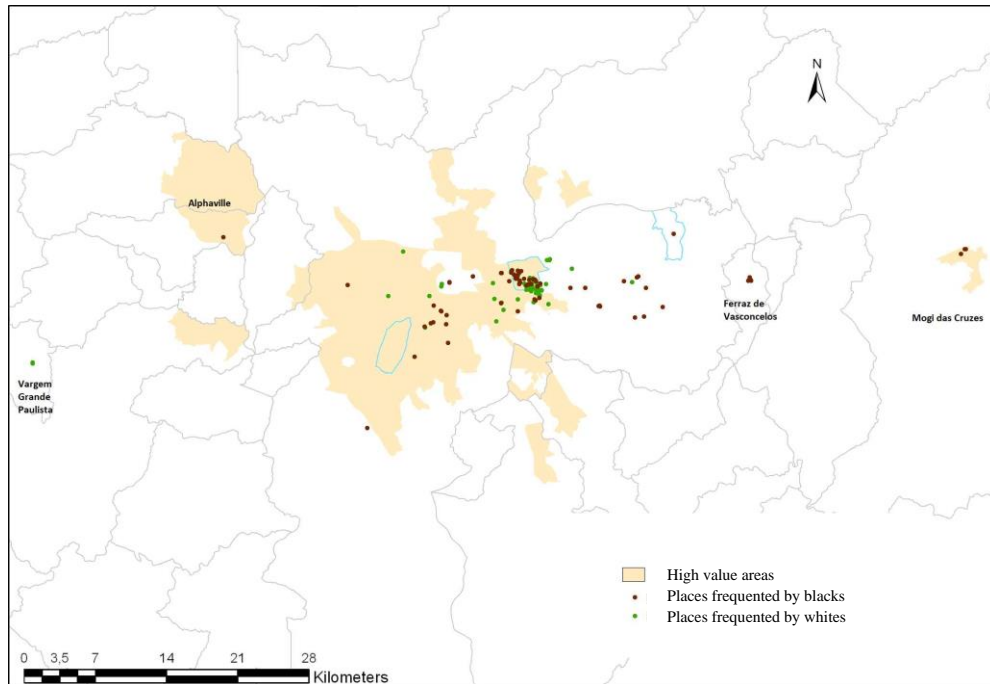
Source: Map generated during the research

Whites are more likely to go to places in their own district, while blacks are more likely to go to surrounding districts and other places on the east side. In upscale areas, blacks frequent more places located in districts of the south zone served by the blue line of the Metro, while places frequented by whites are more concentrated in neighborhoods of the west zone. There is a significant frequency of blacks in the districts that make up the “old center” of São Paulo-SP (Sé and República).

Regarding the interviewees from Tatuapé, the Map represented in Figure 9 shows that mentions of places in the district itself predominate, followed by allusions to places in high value regions nearby, such as Mooca or Jardim Anália Franco. The residents of Tatuapé travel much less than those of São Miguel Paulista, going mainly to high value regions. The blacks of

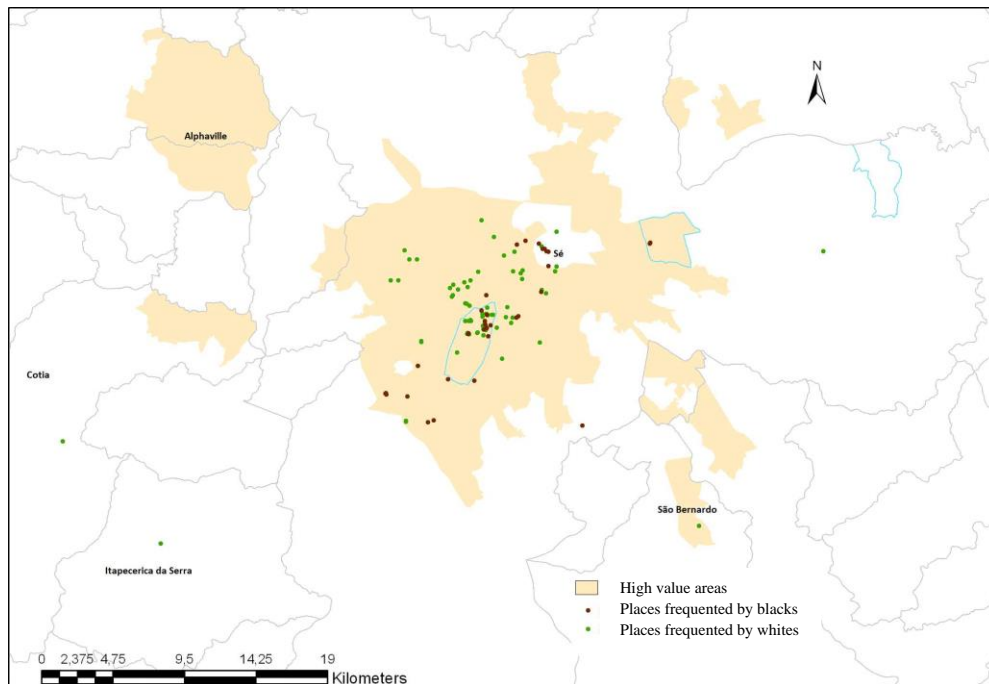
Tatuapé are more widespread, frequenting more places located in the eastern portion of the metropolis.

Figure 9 – Places Frequented by Black and White Respondents from Tatuapé



Source: Map generated during the interview

Almost all the places mentioned by the Itaim Bibi interviewees are within a 9km radius from the neighborhood and almost all the interviewees work in the district or surroundings.

Figure 10 – Places Frequented by Black and White Interviewees at Itaim Bibi

Source: Map generated during the research

In general, the paths and relationships have a “meso” pattern, that is, they orbit more or less on the district scale, or around certain centralities. This suggests that different classes or social groups from the same area have most of their relationships and places of frequency in certain “regions” of the metropolis, pointing to the need for research on the coexistence of different groups in certain fractions of urban space, not in the metropolis as a whole.

Typology and synthesis of interviews

In this section, we aggregate respondents into categories according to similarities in their personal networks, frequented locations, and other attributes. We will present a total of eight types: four from São Miguel Paulista (I, II, III, IV), two from Tatuapé (V, VI) and two more from Itaim Bibi (VII and VIII). The following table displays a summary description of the eight types.

Type I is composed of residents of São Miguel Paulista who have relationships with middle-class whites, many ties to high value regions, and who work and frequent places in high value regions. This does not mean that they do not have ties or that they do not go to places in São Miguel or the east side, but the fact that they have ties and frequent prime regions is the main feature that distinguishes them. In this type, the interviewees Amadeu, Marcela, Armando were

framed. All are white. They came from families whose parents were professionals or owners, having several relatives who completed higher education (in a previous generation or in the same generation). It is an older middle class of São Miguel Paulista. All of them even showing a strong sentimental bond with the region. In occupational trajectories, it is remarkable the fact that they have worked in different places in the city of São Paulo, beyond the east side. Being that, of these places, some are located in high value regions.

The main characteristic of Type II is the strong connection of these individuals with the region of São Miguel Paulista, their personal networks are concentrated in the district and its surroundings, as well as the frequented places. In their occupational trajectories, jobs located in the east side predominate. In addition, these were the interviewees whose descriptions of the neighborhood gave more emphasis to positive aspects, demonstrating that this is a place where they feel very comfortable. They highlight the commerce of São Miguel Paulista and the fact that the neighborhood provides easy access to several other areas of the metropolis (through the train, bus lines and expressways in the region), being an important point of reference in the east side. The interviewees of this group, by the way, are the ones that travel by public transport the most.

Frame 1 – Synthesis of the typology of networks of people and places

São Miguel Paulista			
Type	Interviewed	Relations	Locals
I	Amadeu, Marcela, Armando (Whites)	Relations with middle class whites	Locations in prime regions
II	Lucas (black), Regina, Luana and Glauco (Whites)	Relationships and places in São Miguel Paulista	
III	Jessé, Santiago, Livia (blacks)	Relations with Blacks in São Miguel Paulista and the East Zone	Locations in São Miguel Paulista and the east side
IV	Joaquim, Rebeca, Rita (blacks)	Relations with the poor (family) and middle class of the east side (non-family)	Locations in the east and prime regions
Tatuapé			
Type	Interviewed	Relations	Locals
V	Miriam, Fernanda, Alan and Diogo (Whites)	Relations with middle class whites in the Tatuapé region and high value areas	Locations in the Tatuapé region
VI	Milena, Sabrina, Nei and Orlando (blacks)	Relations in the Tatuapé region and east zone	Locations in the Tatuapé region and other parts of São Paulo (prime or not)
Itaim Bibi			
Type	Interviewed	Relations	Locals
VII	Olavo, Eliana e Elvira (Whites)	Relations with middle-class whites in Itaim Bibi and high value regions	Locations in Itaim Bibi and prime regions
VIII	Valter (White), Izilda, Ivana, Josué* (blacks)	Relations with the poor from the east side (family) and middle-class whites from prime regions (non-family)	Southwest quadrant locations (prime or not)

Source: Generated during the research

In this type, the interviewees Lucas, Regina, Luana and Glauco fit in. There are two white women and two men, one black and one white. Ties with poorer individuals, black and white, predominate.

Type III is composed of blacks whose networks of personal relationships are predominantly constituted by other blacks (strong racial homophilia), residents of São Miguel Paulista and other peripheral areas of the east side (or municipalities in the east part of the metropolis). Their frequency locations are also restricted to these areas. These are the interviewees Jessé, Santiago, Lívia. They are the only respondents whose families of origin did not own properties in São Miguel. In fact, the acquisition of a property in the district is part of a larger process of socioeconomic and residential stabilization of these individuals. Everyone says they would not want to live in São Miguel for the rest of their lives.

Type IV, in which three black interviewees fit (Joaquim, Rebeca, Rita) is characterized by a significant cleavage in the characteristics of family and non-family members in their personal networks. Of the group of individuals cited as closest, the relatives are from the lower class, while the ties outside the family are from the middle class. This must be a reflection of a trajectory of social ascension. Most of the components of the networks (family or not) reside in the east side, but the interviewees also have a significant frequency in locations in upscale areas of the city. In short, they are black people who, despite coming from poor families, have great sociability among middle-class people, but are restricted to the east side in their relationships. Most of their occupational trajectories took place in jobs located in the east side of São Paulo-SP. They travel primarily by car. They emphasize commerce as a positive aspect of São Miguel Paulista and, as negative points, all mentioned violence on the part of “*the police and the bandits*”. They have relationships with neighbors, but they point out that disagreements in opinion and political positions are an important factor in their differences with the residents of the neighborhood. The interviewees, expressing left-wing political opinions, complain about the difficulty of dialoguing with the neighbors.

Tatuapé, located on the edge of noble areas, and being the place surveyed with the greatest racial inequalities in income (in general and in the middle class), also presents important racial segmentation regarding the networks of people and places. The whites are facing the more central prime areas, while the blacks are facing the more peripheral east, this is reflected in the two built types.

Type V is composed of white respondents from Tatuapé (Miriam, Fernanda, Alan and Diogo). They have relationships with middle-class whites, mainly in the vicinity of Tatuapé and in high value areas of São Paulo-SP. Workplaces and other frequented places are located



in and around the district itself. Two of the interviewees in this group were raised in Tatuapé itself and complain that the neighborhood has reached its limit of construction and growth. However, they all seem to like the place very much, they would not like to move and, if they did, they would go to nearby areas such as Mooca or Jardim Anália Franco.

Black respondents from Tatuapé (Milena, Sabrina, Nei and Orlando) fall into Type VI. They have close relationships with people from Tatuapé and from more peripheral areas of the east. They work in places further away from the city of São Paulo-SP (such as Socorro and Vila Mariana), always using public transport to travel to work. With the exception of work, the frequent places are mainly concentrated in Tatuapé and surroundings, but there is also access to prime regions, mainly for those who transit through these regions for professional reasons or on the way to work.

Three of the members of this group (Milena, Sabrina and Nei) come from more peripheral areas of the east side or from municipalities east of the metropolis (Ferraz de Vasconcelos, Vila Matilde, São Miguel Paulista). They moved to Tatuapé, in part, to facilitate access to work. They attended higher education years later than the age group considered “ideal”. Orlando, on the other hand, comes from a middle-class family from Tatuapé itself. In this case, attention is drawn to the fact that their relationships outside the family are with people of lower social class who live in areas further east (Vila Matilde and Artur Alvim).

At Itaim Bibi, the absence of two black men among the interviewees hampered the formation of types segmented by racial differences. The main cleavage that distinguishes the two types of Itaim Bibi is the origin. Type VII individuals come from well-established middle-class families, coming from upscale neighborhoods such as Granja Viana, Pinheiros and Itaim itself. Type VIII individuals are originally from the east side of São Paulo, from poor or recent middle-class families.

Type VII is composed of interviewees Olavo, Eliana and Elvira. All white. Its networks of relationships and frequency locations are located in Itaim Bibi itself and in high value areas of the southwest quadrant. They relate to middle-class whites residing in these same areas. They come from well-established middle-class families and studied in private schools.

Type VIII is also marked by a segmentation between kin and non-kin (like Type IV). They have ties to lower-class family members from the east side and non-family ties to middle-class white individuals living in upscale regions. They frequent locations in the southwest quadrant, prime or not. The main difference with Type IV is the fact that they cultivate close relationships with residents of prime areas.



Coming from poor or recent middle-class families, they studied in public schools and worked in the most diverse places in the city of São Paulo-SP. The properties where they reside were acquired through financing. They have few relationships with neighbors, who they consider “*distrustful*” and “*arrogant*”, but they enjoy living in a neighborhood considered “*upscale*”. They severely criticize their places of origin, in the east, mainly regarding the distance from centralities, the inferior “cultural level” of the people who live there and for seeing themselves stigmatized when they lived there.

This group includes the interviewees Valter (white), Izilda and Ivana (black) from Itaim Bibi, but also the interviewee Josué, from São Miguel Paulista. The latter, in fact, lived for a long time in the district of Consolação and in other pime regions, returning to São Miguel Paulista because his parents, who were very old, needed special care.

Discussion

In general, the analyzes confirm the hypothesis of the importance of the place of residence, but without going through the neighborhood. In other words, the Chicago school's assumption that physical distances are an important factor for social relationships is maintained, but the idea that there would be great relevance in face-to-face interactions between neighbors is not confirmed. The analysis of personal networks points to space as a factor of homophily. Most of the components of the interviewees' networks reside in the district itself or in the vicinity of the respondent's district, the same is true for the frequented places. This means that, despite having a car and material resources that would favor locomotion, their daily routes are located relatively close to their residence. They are not restricted to the neighborhood, to the immediate surroundings of the house, but to wider areas in the vicinity of this. That is, when it comes to access and frequency to different places, the location of the residence is of significant importance. We could therefore speak of a “segregation on a medium scale”.

The assessment of racial homophily in personal networks indicated a trend of racial segmentation in the relationships of individuals. The types constructed in the previous section confirm this tendency, highlighting racial differences in the networks of people and in the places they frequent. In the cases analyzed by this research, middle-class whites have more homogeneously white circles of relationships, exhibiting a characteristic of social closure. In addition, considering both the networks and the frequented places, we noticed that whites are more focused on prime areas than blacks. This finding should be better investigated in larger



studies, since our qualitative survey does not meet the requirements of statistical representativeness.

Considering that segregation can be conceived as the opposite of integration and access, the most segregated types would be those whose networks were constituted by individuals very similar to the ego and the places were restricted to the surroundings of the residence. Types III (relationships with blacks from São Miguel and the east zone, frequency to places located in these regions), V (relations with middle-class whites from Tatuapé, frequency to places in this district and noble areas) and VII (relationships with middle-class whites from Itaim Bibi, attendance at places in this district and upscale areas). However, saying that these types are similar in terms of segregation hides important differences in terms of opportunities: having networks and locations restricted to São Miguel must imply greater limitations and disadvantages than in Tatuapé or Itaim Bibi. In fact, Type III, as opposed to Types V and VII, represent polar opposites.

Type III blacks are not only restricted to peripheral circuits, far from locations of greater material and symbolic value and from the centralities best provided with public policies, but also have the most homogeneous networks of all respondents, which can lead to disadvantages in the information, opportunities and perspectives that tend to circulate more through heterogeneous social ties.

Types V and VII reveal similarities between the whites of Tatuapé and Itaim Bibi: both groups cultivate social relationships predominantly with other middle-class whites, frequenting places in their own neighborhoods and in other high value areas of the metropolis. These manifest the greatest possibilities of appropriation of the most valuable locations in the metropolis, they are easy to travel (with less time) to the main centralities and live with people who enjoy these same conditions of enjoyment of the urban, sharing practices and lifestyles.

Conclusions

The most general consequence of the findings mentioned above is that, given that the analysis of quantitative data demonstrated the spatial segmentations in the location of white and black residences, and the qualitative research pointed out that the place of residence limits circuits of paths and social relationships, hence spatial segmentations in the circuits and relations of blacks and whites. In other words, the long physical distances between the residences of middle-class blacks and whites in the RMSP are reflected in significant differences in the personal networks and places frequented by the individuals interviewed.



The whiter personal networks and the greater frequency in prime areas, combined with the residential concentrations revealed in the quantitative analyses, present a picture of reinforced evidence of isolation – spatial, social, racial and of paths – on the part of middle and upper class whites from São Paulo-SP. Middle-class whites inhabit predominantly white and middle-class spaces, interact with middle-class whites and move through noble areas where middle-class whites predominate. That is, to the extent that blacks and whites are residentially segregated, their personal networks and frequented places are also segregated. It has therefore been shown that blacks are kept at a distance, physically and socially, even when they belong to the same social class as whites.

Furthermore, given the evidence that the appropriation and use of urban space is racially differentiated, it is important to note that the areas where we identified the main concentrations (of residences, paths and networks) of whites from the middle and upper classes have great correspondence with the “general region” defined by Villaça (1998) and called by him the Area of Great Concentration of High Income Layers, where not only the residences are located, but also all the daily practices of these layers. However, something that Villaça (1998) does not take into account is that these spaces of the city concentrate identity references that mediate the mutual recognition of members of a group that is not only characterized by its position in the class hierarchy but is also characterized by its white color. In other words, the appropriation of the most valued locations of urban space excludes not only the poor. It excludes blacks, even if they are not poor.

This research raised strong evidence of social cohesion on the part of middle-class whites and limitations on the possibilities for blacks to share spaces and social circles with middle-class whites. Such differences in residential locations, as well as segregation in networks and routes, are evidence of the limits for the insertion of blacks in the middle and upper classes. Several interpreters have pointed out that racial inequalities in Brazil exhibit a cleavage between “white upper classes” and “multi-racial poor classes”, in the words of Edward Telles (2012 [2004]) or, in more classical Weberian terms, between the estates (or status groups) “rich-white” and “poor-black”, according to Thales de Azevedo (1966 [1956]). Therefore, since status honor is always based on distance and exclusivity, the locational differentials observed in the segregation data exhibit the cleavage between groups defined by the overlap between class, race, and space. This perspective gives segregation in urban space very significant importance for the creation of barriers that structure racial relations in Brazil. In addition, it points to the need for more research on racial segregation in Brazilian cities, given the large regional differences.



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