

SPATIAL FRACTURES: TOPONYMY AS A TYPOLOGY OF SOCIAL DOMINATION

FRATURAS ESPACIAIS: A TOPONÍMIA COMO TIPOLOGIA DE DOMINAÇÃO SOCIAL

FRACTURAS ESPACIALES: LA TOPONIMIA COMO TIPOLOGÍA DE LA DOMINACIÓN SOCIAL

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ABSTRACT: The primacy of housing is articulated with the territory, scrutinized in neighborhoods, whose very names may reflect the concepts of luxury, privileges, poverty and submission, as the fabric of asymmetries of political and social power. With this premise, this article presents the symbology of urban space through its toponymy, as a concrete representation of the rigid traditional, conservative and excluding structure of cities. Two medium municipalities were selected for the study – Araraquara and Taubaté. Taking the toponymy as a reference and classifying the set of names based on Maria Vicentina de Paula do Amaral Dick taxonomy, the symbolic contrast of the names between the housing projects aimed at the poor population and the condominiums and neighborhoods aimed at the rich population is pointed out, in both cases having the dominant classes as holders of the power of naming space and creating meanings.

KEYWORDS: Toponymy. Symbolic power. Social domination. Urbanism. Cities.

RESUMO: *A primazia da moradia articula-se com o território, esquadrihados em bairros, cujos próprios nomes podem refletir os conceitos de luxúria, privilégios, pobreza e submissão, como sendo a urdidura das assimetrias de poder político e social. Com essa premissa, o presente artigo apresenta a simbologia do espaço urbano através de sua toponímia, como representação concreta da rígida estrutura tradicional, conservadora e*

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excludente das cidades. Para este estudo, foram selecionados dois municípios médios – Araraquara e Taubaté, no estado de São Paulo. Tendo o toponímio como referência e classificando o conjunto de nomes a partir da taxinomia de Maria Vicentina de Paula do Amaral Dick, aponta-se o contraste simbólico dos nomes entre os conjuntos habitacionais voltados para população pobre e os condomínios e bairros voltados para a população rica, em ambos os casos tendo as classes dominantes como as detentoras do poder de nomeação do espaço e criação de significados.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Toponímia. Poder simbólico. Dominação social. Urbanismo. Cidades.*

RESUMEN: *La primacía de la vivienda se articula con el territorio, repartible en los barrios, cuyos propios nombres pueden reflejar los conceptos de lujo, privilegios, pobreza y sumisión, como tejido de asimetrías de poder político y social. Con esta premisa, este artículo presenta la simbología del espacio urbano a través de su toponimia, como representación concreta de la rígida estructura tradicional, conservadora y excluyente de las ciudades. Elegimos dos municipios de tamaño mediano para el estudio: Araraquara y Taubaté. Considerando como referencia la toponimia y clasificando el conjunto de nombres con base en la taxonomía de Maria Vicentina de Paula do Amaral Dick, se señala el contraste simbólico de los nombres entre los proyectos habitacionales dirigidos a la población pobre y los condominios y barrios dirigidos a la población rica, teniendo en ambos casos las clases dominantes como detentadoras del poder de nombrar el espacio y crear significados.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Toponimia. Poder simbólico. Dominación social. Urbanismo. Ciudades.*

Introduction

With modern architecture and urbanism, a new model of the city emerged in the first decades of the 20th century. Such cities are already born marked by socio-territorial fractures inherited from a process of excluding urban production and reinforced in the new dynamics, first, of the industrial city and, later, of the commercial and financialized city. The diffusion of steel allowed new constructive structures, as well as the increase in the production of housing as a result of research carried out by dominant institutions, which instrumentalize science and technique in forms of production that reproduce and expand the asymmetry of power and the unequal occupation of space. As an example, we can mention the architect and urban planner Walter Gropius (1887-1965), director, from 1919 to 1928, of the Bauhaus school, which had renowned professors in the field of arts such as Klee, Kandinski, Shelmme and designers of objects that started to form the modern environment, from the furniture to the neighborhood (BENEVOLO, 2009). Gropius conceived a standardized urbanistic perspective, of prefabrication that dialogued with the synergy generated by the progressive movement of modern architecture. Assumptions that, in Brazil, were applied in several cities, mainly in the



portion destined to the working class. These are cities with neighborhoods that designed housing in series, in a type of prefabricated house, which could provide internal functionality and, in its relationship with the outside, the rest of the urban fabric. Cities that, therefore, had to reflect the regulation of standard types of buildings from the point of view of the materials used, with normative guidance of the template of these constructions.

In the post-liberal city, the functions that gained prominence were the productive ones, such as commerce and circulation. It appears in the West, especially in late industrializing countries, from the mid-19th century onwards, with the challenge of transforming the “chaotic” urban space into a place that would allow its functioning. The initiatives were aimed at meeting the needs of mobility, sanitation, infrastructure and urban equipment. Popular residential areas were behind capital, that is, public administrations built working-class neighborhoods as a way of correcting the distortion caused by the private market, which did not target the lower income classes (FELDMAN, 1996; TOLEDO, 2017). At the same time that there is the material production of cities, as a whole, there is also their symbolic transformation with different signs of space denoting their reproduction, albeit formal, under fragmented and class pillars. As Santos (2014, p. 59, author's emphasis) well points out, “left to the almost exclusive game of the market, the lived space enshrines inequalities and injustices and ends up being, for the most part, *a space without citizens*”. It is clear that the physical production of cities goes hand in hand with their social and symbolic production.

As a rule, residential areas with public services, parks and access roads, as well as urban mobility structures, come from the cities disciplined by master plans, disciplining and legitimizing socio-territorial distances. However, in addition to this disciplinary aspect, it must be noted that there are regions of the regular city, which applied methods of modern architecture and urban planning, which differentiated them from the others. Luxury techniques to improve the living conditions of a minority created and still create privileges and asymmetries of political power, as well as fractured spaces and deep socio-territorial inequalities. As Santos (2014) highlights, the housing of the poor is already subnormal. Here we highlight both the structure of the housing unit itself, as well as the peripheral location in the cities, the deficient urban infrastructure available, reaching the consolidated spatial stigmas.

Considering these aspects, the present article brings to the debate the dynamics engendered in the production and reproduction of cities, whose background is supported by the market, creating a luxury city contrasted with a worker's city and with the wounds of an illegal city, with impacts of different orders on the urban fabric, on the dynamics of the city



and the sociability created in these spaces. The focus here is on the toponymy of these spaces, which, beyond the nomenclature that identify a place, reveal relations of power and subalternity, identities and project struggles and claims for rights in cities.

In the first section, we present the theoretical construct that formed the empirical basis of this article. We will present the two São Paulo municipalities that will serve as a reference for the analysis of toponymy, of the study of the origin of the names of some of their neighborhoods. In the second section we bring a reading about the conformation of new spatial morphologies originated from the socio-spatial fragmentation, which impacts on sociabilities and (re)organizes the urban experience through the concrete and symbolic production of social distinction, expressed in the toponymy of the rich neighborhood in compared to the poor neighborhood. In section 03, we present the conceptual filigree on toponyms that will allow us to identify a set of tensions around the symbolism brought by the name of neighborhoods/housing complexes aimed at the poorer population, contrasted with neighborhoods and condominiums aimed at rich people.

Clearly, the definition of the names of spaces brings with it a set of submerged meanings and power strategies, whose identification is essential to understand a subtle cleavage in the production of cities.

Methodology: research design to unravel the urban

The empirical basis of the study has as a sample two municipalities, from 26 previously selected that, historically, relied on urban advisors reproducing the modernist conceptions of the city in the elaboration of their master plans from 1957 to 1973, by the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism, of the University of Sao Paulo. Specifically, we had the work of a Center for Research and Urban Studies, CEPEU, created in 1955. Architects and Urbanists worked in assisting the municipalities, supported by a link to the Instituto de Arquitetos do Brasil, IAB, which, in turn, had close relations with teaching and research centers, such as the aforementioned CEPEU. The different urbanistic conceptions were mobilized through the centers to produce regulatory plans for the use and production of urban space. It should be noted that such linkages contributed to the urbanization institutionalization and the professional performance of the architect, as a conductor of the process of elaboration of the master plan for the cities. (FELDMAN apud TOLEDO, 2017).

The diffusion of urban design to face the urban issue generated critical mass that guided the formulation of instruments that generated norms and, above all, an *intelligentsia*



that was put to the test in the 26 municipalities initially listed. In a technicist view, it is worth questioning the extent to which such technical projects were concerned with the greater integration of the different social strata present in the cities, having as a concern the fight against the deep socio-spatial inequalities historically constituted. In the 20th century, the activities of financial and real estate capitalism migrating to several cities in São Paulo, evidence the technocratic concern with the reproduction of cities under the financial bases, ignoring their contradictions already strongly present in the struggles for the right, above all, to housing. A type of “colonization” of the interior that demanded the requalification of municipal public administrations, with the master plan being an important piece to pave the sedimentation of new economic cycles, which advocated the extraction of rent from urban land, fundamentally, in projects aimed at the real estate market in effervescence.

From the universe of 26 municipalities, we selected two because they constitute Regional Service Centers, or regional offices created by the Housing and Urban Development Company of the State of São Paulo, CDHU-SP.

Table 1 – Municipalities in São Paulo established as Regional Service Centers – CDHU-SP

Municipality	1st Year PD	Population	Parties	2nd Year PD	Population 2020	Parties 2020 election
Araraquara	1963	58.076	PTN	2005	238.339	PT
Taubaté	1957	65.911	PTB	2015	317.915	MDB

Source: CDHU (2015), IBGE (1969; 1970; 2000; 2010)⁴, IBGE Cidades ([s.a.])⁵, IBGE São Paulo (1960)⁶, SEADE ([s.a.])⁷ and Toledo e Kerbauy (2017)

Araraquara and Taubaté present similar characteristics, such as: economic diversity, demographic size, function, intra-urban dynamics, intensity of inter-urban and rural relations, quality of life indicators, infrastructure, external relations and regional command. However, such variables must be linked to their insertion in urban networks in concrete and historically defined territories. Despite each city having its singularities, established from the regional

⁴ Censo IBGE, 1969. Available: https://seculoxx.ibge.gov.br/images/seculoxx/arquivos_download/populacao/1969/populacao_m_1969aeb_036_1.pdf. Access: 20 Feb. 2022. Censo IBGE, 1970. Available: <https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/biblioteca-catalogo.html?id=769&view=detalhes>. Access: 20 Feb. 2022. Censo IBGE 2000. Available: <https://www.ibge.gov.br/estatisticas/sociais/administracao-publica-e-participacao-politica/9663-censo-demografico-2000.html?=&t=microdados>. Access: 20 Feb. 2022. Censo IBGE 2010. Available: <https://censo2010.ibge.gov.br/apps/atlas/#/home>. Access: 20 Feb. 2022.

⁵ Disponível em: <https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/>. Access: 20 Mar. 2022.

⁶ Censo IBGE São Paulo, 1960. Available: https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/periodicos/68/cd_1960_v1_t13_sp.pdf. Acesso em: 20 fev. 2022.

⁷ Available: <https://www.seade.gov.br/>. Access: 20 Mar. 2022.



reality that is connected, there is a historical urban relationship that, early on, made these territories have actions aimed at urban planning from a Research Center.

In addition to housing developments from the CDHU, aimed at low-income groups, projects from the *Minha Casa, Minha Vida* Program (PMCMV) aimed at low-income groups were also selected for the analysis in these municipalities.

The PMCMV, created by the federal government in 2009, was a housing policy for low-income and vulnerable social groups, especially when considering group 01. It is important to highlight that the PMCMV, despite its multiple qualities, was a housing policy whose dialogue with urban policy more broadly was neglected or took place in a very incipient way (ORSI, 2018). At this point, it is important to highlight the role of municipal master plans, so that the production of housing projects is not just mechanisms of financial reproduction through urban space, reproducing the deep socio-territorial impacts, unfortunately, characteristic in our cities.

It is undeniable that the cities selected for this research, despite their planning history and the existence of master plans since the second half of the 20th century, belong to a broader picture of urban problems. Mutilating forces affect the territories and mutilate subjects through a socio-spatial practice formatted by interdictions and norms. Therefore, a subject emerges stripped of his identity, as there is the imperative of consumption that overlaps with the right to the city and the social function of property. A non-subject condition manifests itself in forms that are segregated from the lived plane, giving this concreteness. Capitalism prints the logic of spatial production as a source of deprivation of life by capturing the world of life through the limitless development of the commodity universe (CARLOS, 2015).

Tables 1 and 2 present data referring to the CDHU Housing Complexes in the municipalities of Araraquara and Taubaté as well as the PMCMV complexes in these cities.

Frame 1 – Systematization of CDHU housing projects. Municipalities of Araraquara and Taubaté

Municipality	Company or Program	Housing Developments	Current name	Delivery date
Araraquara	CDHU	Araraquara G	C. H. Hermínio Pagotto	19/09/1997
		Araraquara H01	C. H. Manoel Rodrigues	19/09/1997
		Araraquara H02	C. H. Manoel Rodrigues	18/04/1997
		Araraquara II / III	C. H. Zenken Nakazato	28/02/1998



		Araraquara K	Jardim São Rafael II	27/10/2005 14/02/2007 14/11/2008
		Araraquara L	Jardim Altos Pinheiros	29/12/2005
		Araraquara M	Jardim Paraíso	24/11/2006
Taubaté	CDHU	Taubaté A03	Taubaté A03	14/03/1998
		Taubaté A04	Taubaté A04	14/03/1998
		Taubaté D	Taubaté D	01/11/2001
		Taubaté D02	Taubaté D02	16/08/2003
		Taubaté E	Taubaté E	19/12/2008

Source: CDHU (2021)⁸

Frame 2 – Systematization of MCMV housing projects. Municipalities of Araraquara and Taubaté

Municipality	Company or Program	Housing Developments	Current name	Delivery date
Araraquara*	MCMV	Jardim São Rafael	Jardim São Rafael	28/11/2010
		Dos Oitis	Dos Oitis	20/10/2011
		Romilda Taparelli Barbieri	Romilda Taparelli Barbieri	24/01/2014
		Anunciata Palmira Barbieri	Anunciata Palmira Barbieri	08/04/2014
		Maria Helena Lepre Barbieri	Maria Helena Lepre Barbieri	30/09/2014
		Valle Verde	Valle Verde	06/05/2016
		Jardim do Valle	Jardim do Valle	25/08/2015
Taubaté**	MCMV	Empreendimento Habitacional Benedito Capeleto – Bairro Barreiro	Benedito Capeleto	26/05/2015
		Empreendimento Habitacional Sérgio Lucchiari – Bairro Barreiro	Sérgio Lucchiari	03/12/2015
		Empreendimento Habitacional Francisco Aves Monteiro	Condomínios: Ipê; Jequitibá; Jacarandá	31/01/2017
		Empreendimento Habitacional Vista das Palmeiras	Condomínios: Angelina; Jatobá; Palmeira	08/03/2018

Source: Housing Coordination of the Municipality of Araraquara and Department of Housing of the Municipality of Taubaté

Evidently, the logic of the reproduction of cities based on their commodification and financialization is not restricted to just the production of housing projects aimed at the impoverished population and allocated in areas that are commonly fragile in cities. On the contrary, investments in high-end developments, in a way as designer products, impact the urban fabric in its physical and structural sense as well as in its symbolic issues. Therefore, if it is possible to think of toponymy as a factor for identifying housing projects coming from

⁸ Prefeituras Municipais de Araraquara e Taubaté. Available: <https://www.cdhu.sp.gov.br/>. Access: 20 Feb. 2022.

government programs for the economically vulnerable population, it is also possible to identify toponymy of subdivisions, notably closed subdivisions, which refer to signs of exclusivity and sophistication. Frame 3 shows a list of projects in upper-middle class neighborhoods and/or condominiums in the cities of Araraquara and Taubaté.

Frame 3 – The names of the rich neighborhoods of Araraquara and Taubaté

City	ENTERPRISE
Araraquara	Residencial Altos do Jaraguá Buona Vita Jardim Bouganville Jd. Residencial Quinta dos Oitis Portal dos Oitis Portal das Tipuanas Quinta das Tipuanas Residencial Damha Residencial Village Damha I Residencial Village Damha II Residencial Village Damha III Residencial Village Damha IV Portal das Araucárias Residencial Salto Grande I Salto Grande Campo Belo Quinta do Salto Salto Grande Cedros do Campo Condomínio Volpi Jardim Residencial Maggiore
Taubaté	OuroVille Terrazzo Di Italia Residencial Colinas Chácaras Cataguá Residencial Green Park Residencial Tecoara Residencial Terras de San Marco Taubaté Village Condomínio Vale dos Príncipes Jardim dos Estados Jardim Oasis

Source: Devised by the authors

It is not the objective of this article to establish a comparative analysis between the different realities presented, on the one hand, by popular developments whose promotion originates in government programs, and, on the other hand, high-end real estate developments. However, the logic of capitalist reproduction in the financialized city is present in both cases, as well as the urban planning mechanisms linked to them, reflecting on the dynamics of cities and on the particularities of each of these spaces, whether in their physical structure or in its symbolic dimensions. The tragic is manifested in the alienations experienced in basically three spheres of life realizations. First, in the design of policies that,



by advocating overcoming the crisis of social reproduction, by fighting inequalities, reinforces them. Second, the centralization of social wealth collectively generated in the hands of the highest-income individuals, reverberates in alliances formed with the aim of opposing the political and economic plan to the social. In other words, there is no constituted democratic force that can control, for the good of the community, the capital surpluses that are converted daily into products of the real estate market.

Finally, capitalism becomes the rub of social reality, as it allows coexistence in the modern world, of alienation and, at the same time, insurgencies that transform territories into disputes. Urbanization, therefore, becomes a phenomenon that takes effect through the social production of the world, in specific historical conditions. As it is a new form of capitalist accumulation, it will bring symbologies that hierarchize the territories, including by the name of the places. These, in addition to reflecting the capitalist market perspective, split the urban space in a relationship of social domination manifested in the words that designate the names of the neighborhoods, their toponymy.

Lefebvre (1978) points out that the State dominates society as a top. Firstly, by determining or mastering the codes that guide economic growth, as it constitutes a decision center that protects the functioning of social organisms, by placing them under its tutelage. Contradictorily, it guarantees the multiform exploration of space and equality in mutual and reciprocal exploitation. On the other hand, the law guarantees equality, while perpetuating, within it, the reproduction of inequality. The State, through the law, guarantees conditions of domination as its main function, even if camouflaged in social policies. In this sense, it is essential to look at the space of cities and their conflicting socio-spatial configurations.

Spatial fractures: the neighborhood of the rich and the neighborhood of the poor

The socio-spatial character of all urban inequality and the role of space within the capitalist dynamics of social (re)production, shows that space is, in one direction, produced by social relations of production and, in another direction, a product of these (LEFEBVRE, 2006). In his famous theoretical essay, *The Situation of the Working Class in England*, from 1845, Engels (2008) analyzes the condition of urban workers not only from their position as a social class, subjected to certain relations of exploitation that occurred during the process of production of goods, but it also sheds light on the issue of housing, of working-class neighborhoods, where there were poor hygiene conditions, lack of basic sanitation, narrow streets, crowded houses, unhealthy conditions and the proliferation of diseases. The working-



class neighborhoods were classified by Engels (2008) as real spaces of misery, in contrast to the illuminated neighborhoods, with wide streets and luxurious housing, in which the bourgeoisie resided. Thus, Engels' text becomes a point of reference for urban studies precisely because it links, in a pioneering way, the relations of exploration of the productive process to the process of production of urban space in English industrial cities, demonstrating, for example, how the Disease mortality rates were higher among urban workers than among rural workers.

Benjamin's work (2015), based on his interpretations of Baudelaire's poetry, constitutes another founding reference in thinking about the modern city. Baudelaire describes disenchantment with the side effects produced by technological progress. It is from there that Benjamin (2015) sees the birth of new forms of existence brought by historical time: the question of experience will become matter for the author. Benjamin (2015) operates from a heroic figure of modernity, the *flanêur*, an urban botanist, who is enchanted by the city lights and lives an experience detached from social ills and inequalities, thus being able to absorb all the meanings of the new historical experience, closely related to modernization and urbanization.

If the *flanêur* represents the vivacity of an irresistible and endless walk affected by the city, in Simmel (2005) we will find the opposite example: the inertia of the *blasé* subject. In *The great metropolises and the life of the spirit*, he analyzes the effects of the monetary economy on the subjectivity of individuals. Such effects are a consequence of the stimuli of nervous life, produced from the nascent urban environment, ranging from the increase of intellectuality in large cities, to the dullness and inability to distinguish between things, the so-called *blasé* character. "The *blasé*" is not exactly linked to the lack of perception, but to the indifference and the inability to react to things. *Blasé* activity is then marked by inexpressiveness, by the indistinction derived from the reduction of the plurality of objects to a determined quantum – to money as a common denominator (SIMMEL, 2005).

The intersection of Benjamin's (2015) and Simmel's (2005) analysis points to the very paradox of the modern city, part of an irresolute mismatch of capitalism: if modernization and urbanization expanded the possibilities of circulation, contact and material and symbolic appropriation of city for different social groups, on the other hand, solid structures of segregation, isolation, differentiation and social disaggregation were recreated and as discussed here, they can be, and almost always are, present in the names of places in cities, whether in neighborhoods, squares, public places, monuments etc.



The richness of such classic readings of the city and the urban also resides in the fact that they point directly to their opposite: the playful experience of the *flanêur* contrasts with the non-realization of human emancipation through technological and scientific progress. The Simmelian figure of *blasé* activity, the maximum representation of inertia and indifference in the face of a world dominated by merchandise, rivals the agency and inescapable spontaneity that Simmel attributes to social actors, who are capable of producing unpredictable actions with their own ends, giving rise to new ways of “playing” society, which gives rise to a particular phenomenon that is that of sociability (MAIA, 2001).

With the strong urbanization known in the 20th century, for the countries of late industrialization experienced in the second half of the 20th century⁹, there is a strong remodeling of the working class. Urban workers are multiplying, active in the most diverse types of activities. This process engenders the formation of new spatial morphologies. Socio-spatial inequalities become even more complex than those known by the modern city, giving rise to an urban scenario that inverts the old logic of cities divided into a rich center and a poor periphery (CALDEIRA, 2011). In the current context, rich and poor can inhabit areas in proximity, but their social distances, which have racial and class cuts, remain, materially and symbolically renewed by new structures of segregation and confinement.

In the contemporary city, whether in the context of medium-sized cities or in metropolitan scenarios, there is a radicalization of the old forms of socio-spatial segregation. The segregation of groups and social classes, previously territorialized in the traditional “ghettos”, erupted in the face of the growth of cities. The new territorial realities also gave rise to a new socio-spatial segregation, which is more precisely translated from the concept of socio-spatial fragmentation.

New epistemological guidelines are needed to understand a polymorphic and multiscale reality. The Lefebvrian diagnosis of an urban society was accomplished. The separation between rural and urban does not correspond to the empirical reality, since the technologies used in the “field” are products of urbanization. The networks that connect the “countryside” and the “city” are also part of an urban logic of circulation of people and goods, expansion and acceleration of markets and, consequently, the accumulation of capital. However, as highlighted by Brenner and Schmid (2016), the planetary phenomenon of the urban arises from the production of fragmentations, differentiations, variables and distinct dynamics. Unstable and sometimes unforeseen geographies are the product of the urban

⁹ In the 1970s, Brazil began to have the largest portion of its population living in cities, according to IBGE data.



phenomenon that, despite its totalizing character, can only be understood through a set of analyzes attentive to the specificities that unfold within the microscales.

This fragmented space of cities, shaped mainly from the interest of the dominant classes, ideologically and concretely expresses the existence of “two worlds” that are only interchanged from hierarchical relationships conditioned by economic and symbolic power. The city's mosaic, full of ruptures, discontinuities and urban fractures, is reinforced on the symbolic level by the phenomenology of bourgeois forms and by the nomenclature that certain spaces assume. Thus, one can speak of a contrast between the “neighborhood” of the rich and the “neighborhood” of the poor, accentuated, shaped and legitimized by the discourses and the intentional action of the actors that intervene in the urban space.

We point to the existence of "two worlds" in the environment of cities that are distinguished both in the morphological plane, through spatial fragmentation, and in the social and political plane, in a model of separation that hierarchizes spaces, as we seek to demonstrate, through the use of symbolic power. Such rupture also provokes a reorientation of the subjects' activity through space, since they are ordinarily faced with rigid segregation structures and sophisticated surveillance and monitoring mechanisms. In the spaces of the wealthiest layers, such structures are verified from the private security, from the guardhouses that control the entrance and exit accesses, in the cameras, walls and fences that divide and segregate. In the spaces of the poor classes, social control is carried out through punitivism and the criminalization of poverty driven by the forces of the State.

The contemporary city, instead of solving it, exacerbated the presence of certain social affections typical of the modern city, such as fear and insecurity, and fought them according to the market prescription, which directs social exclusivity, privilege and promise of social homogeneity as commodities available only to the upper classes of society. Thus, the possibilities of apprehension of the city and the urban by groups and individuals are modified. The city of socio-spatial fragmentation is also the city of restriction, inaccessibility, non-places and the absence of encounter. In this set, the symbolic mismatches of places and their elements, including their nomenclatures, are also forms of exclusion, stigma and domination in cities.

The contemporary city, marked by spatial fractures and by the symbolic forms of production of social distinction, operates in a direction contrary to the construction and expansion of democratic forces and, consequently, of the possibilities of renewal and invention of the urban.



The socio-spatial asymmetries established from a model of urban reproduction that accentuates and aggravates, at the symbolic and morphological level, social inequalities, are a reflection of the patrimonial character of urban management. The possibility that certain groups, highlighted as representatives of economic power, interfere in the urban space, modifying it according to their own interests, represents a challenge for the public administration. In this sense, the collective, democratic and horizontal management of cities competes with the urban demarcation of privilege and social distinction.

In the next section we will address some aspects of the symbolic incorporation that hierarchized the territories, in a typology of social domination and also of different strategies and references of identification and connection with the space, that is, the toponymy of the places of the cities.

Space symbology: toponymy as a form of socio-spatial disputes

The studies and knowledge around the names of places bring important elements to understand the history of the places, their relations of forces, the symbology and the tangible and intangible interests present in the naming of each space. As Souza and Martins (2017, p. 02) point out, “Toponymic studies present themselves as a powerful instrument for the knowledge of socio-historical-cultural aspects of a people, thus, it is possible to unravel linguistic, ideological, historical facts, beliefs and different feelings”. The unequal gender relationship placed in the nomenclature of public places in cities, the names of military figures from the period of military dictatorship in Brazil who baptized important urban infrastructure constructions¹⁰ or the omission of names of blacks and indigenous people in these spaces are examples of how it produces and reproduces narratives across the city, reinforcing or diluting, telling or retelling its history and the history of society. There is a constant dialogue between the city and its population through their places, names, monuments, works etc. The pedagogy placed in this constant dialogue can be oppressive or emancipatory, reinforcing the socio-historical order or contesting it.

A fundamental issue in defining the name of a place is the motivational aspect present in the choice. Certainly, as Seide (2020) indicates, when analyzing Dick (1999), there are toponymic archetypes, in which geographical accidents are key to understanding the names, however other aspects related to motivation are extremely relevant. Still anchored in Dick

¹⁰ An illustrative example for this case is the Elevado Presidente Costa e Silva (minhocão in the city of São Paulo) renamed Presidente João Goulart by the Strategic Master Plan approved in 2014.



(1999), Seide (2020) works in the field of motivational psychology, highlighting motivations by affiliation, which can be linked to corotonyms and antrotonyms and those motivated by power, linked to axiotonyms. All categories developed by Dick (1999) are present in a taxonomic system of 27 taxos. The table below presents a summary of the 27 taxos.

Frame 4 – Typology of toponymic taxonomies

Toponymic Taxonomies	
Physical Nature	Anthropocultural Nature
Astrotoponyms: toponyms relating to celestial bodies in general	Animotonyms: toponyms related to psychic, spiritual culture.
Cardinotonyms: toponyms of geographical positions in general.	Anthropotonyms: toponyms relative individual proper names.
Chromotonyms: place names related to the chromatic scale.	Axiotonyms: toponyms related to the titles and dignities that are accompanied by individual proper names.
Dimensiotonyms: toponyms related to the dimensional characteristics of landforms, such as extension, length, width, thickness, height, depth.	Chorotonyms: toponyms relating to the names of cities, countries, states, regions and continents.
Phytotonyms: plant-based toponyms.	Chronotonyms: toponyms that contain chronological indicators, represented, in Toponymy, by the adjectives new/ old.
Geomorphotonyms: toponyms relating to topographical forms.	Dirrematonyms: toponyms consisting of phrases or linguistic utterances.
Hydrotoponyms: place names resulting from hydrographic accidents in general.	Ecotonyms: place names related to housing in general.
Lithotonyms: mineral toponyms, related to the constitution of the soil, represented by individuals	Ergotonyms: toponyms elements of material culture.
Meteorotonyms: toponyms relating to atmospheric phenomenas.	Ethnotonyms: toponyms referring to ethnic elements, isolated or not (peoples, tribes, castes).
Morphotonyms: place names that reflect the sense of geometric shape.	Hierotonyms: toponyms relating to the sacred names of different faiths: Christian, Hebrew, Mohammedan, etc. It is subdivided into: a) hagiotonyms: placenames related to the saints of the Roman hagiology. b) Mitotonyms: toponyms related to mythological entities.
Zootonyms: topônimos de índole animal.	Historiotonyms: toponyms related to social-historical movements and their members, as well as the corresponding dates.
	Hodotonyms: toponyms relating to rural or urban communication routes.
	Numerotonyms: toponyms relating to numeral adjectives.

Source: Dick (apud SOUZA; MARTINS, 2017)

The toponymy of places, in these terms and in the assumptions presented in this article, classify spaces and reveal sources of power. A dimension that goes beyond the field of planning analysis. When we refer to places and their names, we are revealing antagonistic sociopolitical meanings. There is no neutral word and we understand that urban studies lack



an analysis of the discourse involved in interventions on space. When studying social space, it is essential to analyze the producers of space. When analyzing the social space, the spatial organization in its relationships and social practices, it is essential to consider concrete men and women, in their expectations, their values, their fears and their words (SOUZA, 2019). There is a symbolic dispute around some words, fundamentally those loaded with strong political and ideological meaning. The name of the neighborhood, the toponymy, is the place that shows in its epidermis the networks of meanings, emotions and motivations of the social actors that inhabit it, however it has deep roots marked by the process of formation of society.

Moving on to the analysis of housing projects, as we can see in Table 3, the housing projects built by CDHU, from 1997 to 2006, in the city of Araraquara, were classified by the Company with the name of the city followed by the letter of the alphabet and, in some cases, cash. Subsequently, the sets were named after local personalities, that is, they were renamed. The Araraquara-G, received the denomination of Housing Complex Hermínio Pagotto, former councilor of the city that exercised mandates from 1952 to 1960, for the National Democratic Union, UDN. Araraquara H01 and H02, renamed Housing Complexes Manoel Rodrigues, refers to the well-known pharmacist in the city in the 1980s. Araraquara II and III, renamed Housing Complexes Zemken Nakazato, pays deference to the founder of the Okinawa Foundation, over 60 years ago, by Japanese who immigrated from Japan to Brazil at the end of World War II. The Okinawa foundation had, among its objectives, to gather resources to send to victims of the war in Japan. Araraquara K, current Jardim São Rafael, reference to the archangel of the Catholic Church. The name means one who heals, being considered an angel who overcomes diseases. Araraquara L is on the outskirts of the neighborhood next to the Pinheirinho Ecological Park, on the extreme outskirts of the city, close to the Araraquara State Penitentiary. Given its proximity to the Park, it is called the Altos Pinheiros Housing Complex. Finally, Araraquara M, refers to a garden that resembles paradise. Etymologically, the term Paradise, the name of the Housing Complex, according to the Bible, is the pleasant garden where God placed Adam and Eve after creation. Also known as Eden, it is the place where happiness reigns.

When we move on to the PMCMV projects, we find tree names, such as the Oitis, a species originally from the Atlantic Forest, but present in the city, we also find references to geographic features such as Valle Verde and Jardim do Vale. As for the others, there are female names, all from the same family, in the case of the Barbieri family (Romilda Taparelli, Anunciata Palmira and Maria Helena Lepri). The three projects in question were launched during the administration of Mayor Marcelo Barbieri (2009-2016), so the references are clear



to the tribute paid to members of the politician's family at the forefront of the executive power at that time. We still find a development in the São Rafael garden, already explained earlier about the meaning of the name.

In the city of Taubaté, according to information from the Housing Department, all CDHU projects remained with the Company's original name, that is, the alphanumeric classification of the delivery of units in the period from 1998 to 2008. The PMCMV projects in the city of Taubaté, received different names, mixing relevant names in local politics with noble trees of Brazilian fauna. In 2015, the Benedito Capeleto project, of social interest, refers to the figure of the politician with a long local tradition. In the same year, the Sérgio Lucchiari Complex, a prominent figure in the city's political history, was handed over. In 2017, the Francisco Alves Monteiro housing project implemented three condominiums named after noble trees of the Brazilian fauna, namely, Ipê, Jequitibá and Jacarandá. The latest development, Vista das Palmeiras, from 2018, is also divided into three housing projects: Angelina, Jatobá and Palmeira. They follow, as we can see, the previous pattern of naming trees and palm trees that are portentous and that represent strength and resistance to name the sets of social interest. Applying the classification from the taxonomic model of Dick (1999) we find the following distribution, frame 5.

Frame 5 – Synthesis of the Frequency of Occurrence of names of popular neighborhoods/housing complexes based on Dick's taxonomy

Toponymic Taxonomy		Frequency
Physical nature	Phytotoponyms	07
	Geomorphotoponyms	02
Anthropocultural nature	Anthropotoponyms	10
	Hierotoponyms	03

Source: Dick (apud SOUZA; MARTINS, 2017)

As can be seen in the summary table, there is a greater frequency in names that refer to the anthropocultural nature, notably to proper names (anthropotoponyms). It is worth noting that the names refer to tributes to families, present in local politics at certain times or belonging to local elites. In fact, such toponymic references do not seem to dialogue or express identities of the low-income populations that live in these housing projects, but rather express the unequal relationship and power asymmetry. Keeping due proportions, they can indicate living on someone else's land, common in the conservative relations of rural life of peasant work on farms and housing in the colonies. Nomenclatures of a physical nature, more impersonal, are less present in these enterprises.



Among high-end enterprises, there is a tendency to adopt names in a foreign language.

It must be considered that the historical process of formation of Brazilian society privileged the European immigrant to the detriment of the enslaved and egressed from slavery. The choice of immigrants as free labor, occupants of the most dynamic sectors of the economy, was part of a project of whitening policies that prevailed from post-abolition until the end of the Old Republic. In the following decades, there was no effective plan to integrate blacks into class society to overcome historically established injustices.

The presence of foreign terms in the nomenclature of high-end enterprises can be interpreted not only by the migratory past that occurred in the regions of São Paulo, but also by the way in which such foreign terms aim to produce a link, at the level of belonging, with a reality experienced in first world countries. In this sense, such name choices are subject to a cultural hierarchy, which values customs, habits and practices of nations historically established as civilized (ELIAS, 1994). Thus, the offer of a place separated from the social ills and needs of a socioeconomic context marked by underdevelopment is promoted. Above all on the symbolic level, what these foreignisms aim at is the affirmation that one is linked to a different, distant and privileged reality.

Another constant in the names of high-end developments is the use of the term “quinta”. As an example, we have “Jardim Residencial Quinta dos Oitis”, “Quinta das Tipuanas” and “Quinta do Salto Residencial”. In Portuguese-speaking countries, the word “quinta” usually designates a large rural property or even a productive unit, as in the case of wineries.

In the Renaissance, the Renaissance-style farms, called Quintas de Recreio, appeared in Portugal. Characterized for being bucolic spaces, with delimited productive units, the farms appeared as versatile places, linking enjoyment and tranquility - the playground, to the production space. The origin of farms dates back to the history of large elite rural properties. Quinta da Bacalhoa, or Palácio dos Albuquerque, for example, was a former property of the Portuguese Royal Family, sold in 1528 to Brás de Albuquerque, son of Afonso de Albuquerque, governor of Portuguese India (1509 – 1515).

In Brazil, the most traditional Quinta is the old mansion ceded to the Portuguese Royal Family in the context of the Napoleonic wars, Quinta da Boa Vista. The property was built at the behest of the slave trader Elias Antônio Lopes, in 1803, at the top of the hill, with a beautiful view of Guanabara Bay. Hence the name “Quinta da Boa Vista”. In 1808, with the arrival of the Portuguese Royal Family to the capital, Elias Antônio Lopes ceded the Casarão to the Crown, receiving another property in exchange.



It is observed how the term “quinta” was traditionally linked to rural properties of the aristocracy. Bucolic spaces, endowed with a landscape design, conducive to a stay with comfort and leisure. The offer of leisure linked to nature has always been present in the advertising of contemporary high-end closed subdivisions, as verified by Caldeira (2011). The advertising was the promise of an environment that combines the comfort and tranquility of the countryside without being detached from urban centers. The summer resort of the farms becomes the house itself, involved in the fabric of the city.

In the case of high-end subdivisions, it is common for their names to convey a power associated with the privileged trajectories of the elites. This is the case with the use of foreign words and also the use of the term “quinta”, referring to a product that does not typically correspond to the model of traditional farms. An Urban Farm is created, in an attempt to alleviate, in the context of nuclear, family and, therefore, private life, the conflicts and misfortunes that mark the urban experience. The table below shows how the toponymy is distributed according to the taxonomic set adopted in this article.

Frame 6 – Synthesis of the Frequency of Occurrence of Names of Upper Middle Class Neighborhoods / Condominiums from Dick's Taxonomy

Toponymic Taxonomy		Frequency
Physical Nature	Chromotoponym	01
	Phytotoponym	08
	Geomorphotoponym	02
	Hydrotoponym	03
	Lithotoponym	01
Anthropocultural Nature	Animotoponym	02
	Anthropotoponym	07
	Axiotoponym	01
	Corotoponym	04
	Hierotoponym	01

Source: Dick (apud SOUZA; MARTINS, 2017)

The analysis of the table shows that, considering the sets of a physical and anthropocultural nature, there is balance in the distribution. There are fifteen in each of them. In physical nature the emphasis is on phytotoponyms and in anthropocultural nature anthropotoponyms stand out. As they are commercial ventures for the wealthier classes, the link of the name to natural physical elements, in addition to impersonality, shows a narrative of environmental concern, a way of living closer to nature and some value that may be close to the post-materialistic, even if all this is in fact a smokescreen for commercial appeal. In the case of proper names, seven in total, it is important to point out that the Damha brand, with



five occurrences in total, constitutes a “brand” of real estate developments. Therefore, it is dissociated from a person, but linked to a luxury product.

Such toponymy behaviors are quite enlightening for understanding the different strategies and logics present in the production process of cities that create physical spaces and at the same time distinct symbologies that express different social fractures crossed by and in space.

Final considerations

The act of naming a space involves a set of motivations and elements that are not always distinguishable in a simple and direct way. However, such dynamics should not be ignored, as it subtly brings symbolic elements of distinction, domination and exclusion. Obviously, emancipation and resistance are also part of this field and constitute another side of the same coin. What is very clear, in this exploratory study with the names, on the one hand, of rich neighborhoods and condominiums and on the other hand, of poor neighborhoods and housing complexes, which were presented in the article, is that the motivations are different in projects aimed at the more affluent classes from those aimed at the more impoverished classes. If, for the first case, the great importance is given to references that translate into socioeconomic distinction, quality of life, proximity to nature (perhaps even as a trailblazer and pioneer) and post-materialist values (although concretely this issue highlights a contradiction in its own origin), for the impoverished spaces of the housing projects, notably, the references are people linked to the local economic and political elites, bringing a constant reminder of who was or still is the persona to be a reference for their importance for local life. It is the dialogue with the city that tells and reinforces its history from a single point of reference.

We conclude that in both cases, the domain in the process of naming spaces in the cities studied here is in the hands of the wealthiest and most influential classes in the cities. The great real estate entrepreneurs seek, through the chosen names, to add value to the ventures and leverage their sales, intimately interfering with the desires of the richest people. The dominant local political class, on the other hand, points out choices valuing the names of local elite figures, telling and materializing their own history in the city's structures, personalizing it. When it comes to high-end developments, the identity of residents with their space, in principle, already has a reference in the name itself. Regarding the residents of housing projects, such identification is non-existent.



This article focuses mainly on two main axes that are related to the names of housing spaces in cities, obviously, there are other cleavages that could be explored. In any case, it is essential to emphasize that the process of naming the spaces of cities, which is far from discussions about the urban planning process, presents important elements of production and reproduction of cities and urban life.

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