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University of San Francisco
Cartographies of Power:
Unequal Urban Development and the Racialization of Space in São Paulo
An honors thesis submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the distinction of
Honors
in the International Studies Department
in the College of Arts and Science

by

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January 2019

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ABSTRACT

This work aims first and foremost to add to the literature on urban politics and race in Brazil. Where other scholars have not so explicitly addressed the ever present ideology of whiteness in regards to spatial organization and displacement in Brazil, this piece aims to do so. I build off of the work of past scholars in reinforcing that the belief in the racial democracy of Brazil is in fact a myth. I do so by illustrating the processes of the racialization of space that occur in São Paulo's *favelas* and their development. The right to the city—a Brazilian federal statute,—insecure land and housing rights and its consequences, as well as an analysis of the São Paulo transit system and bus fares will help me to explore how racial politics affect urban space in Brazil, specifically in the *favelas* of São Paulo. These three objects will then be analyzed through a critical space and race studies approach that will enable the reader to link the two concepts, thus operationalizing the racialization of space. This will prove that legacies of *mestiçagem*, the whitening of Brazilian society, informs whiteness manifested in the unequal urban development that spans the nation. This unequal development is evident in the creation and maintenance of São Paulo's *favelas* as racialized spaces with unequal access to opportunity and infrastructure.

KEYWORDS

Favela, Racialization of Space, Urban Politics, Whiteness

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Figure 1: São Paulo transit and *favelas* projected onto Google Maps. (Yellow: transit, blue: *favela*.)

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Figure 3: Households in subnormal clusters across the state of São Paulo. Red circles indicate households occupied in subnormal clusters. IBGE maps, Atlas of the Demographic Census 2010.

INTRODUCTION

The legacies of Portuguese colonization and historical use of slavery are ever present in Brazilian society and inform social and economic opportunity as well as the perpetuation of Brazil's myth of racial democracy. The planning of Brazilian cities, the laws behind housing policy and accessibility to land as well as transit, inform the spatial creation of the *favelas*, known as the shanty towns of São Paulo that are evident throughout Brazil. While there has been extensive research into Portuguese colonization in Brazil as well as the racial myth of Brazil there is little scholarly work that aims to explore the history of slavery in relation to whiteness. Whiteness has become a means of exclusion and has led to the belief in the inherent superiority of the white race. This has huge impacts on developing urban space in the country. Racial politics therefore have a profound impact on Brazilian urban space. This will become evident in my literature review and findings as I explore the intersections of race and space in Brazil. These intersections are complex and informed by Brazil's colonial history, which includes slavery, as well as identity making that has occurred throughout the nation. The result is the privileging of whiteness and the spatial and social exclusion of Brazilians of color.

This research, which I formally began as part of my goal to achieve honors in international studies, was a couple years in the making. My initial study of Brazilian society was in the context of Afro-Brazilian female protest movements in the *favelas* of Gamboa de Baixo in Bahia, Brazil and continued as I studied the economic disparities evident throughout the nation. The coupling of these topics led me to this critical space and race analysis of urban space in Brazil. While the spatial dynamics of Brazilian cities have been studied extensively, its interrelated nature with race is often ignored. This thesis will make these connections evident by analyzing my three objects, a federal statute known as the right to the city, insecure land and housing rights and its consequences, as well as an analysis of transit and bus fares in São Paulo. This work therefore has the potential to spur new research and analysis on the influential power that racial and political ideology can have on city planning and accessibility to resources.

BACKGROUND

Portuguese colonization and slavery in Brazil

Before trying to understand how racial politics affect urban space in Brazil, it is important to contextualize the history of Portuguese slavery in Brazil. Portuguese colonization in Brazil began in 1500 and by the 1530s sugar plantations were established. As many native indigenous populations died from European disease, it became clear that using native populations on plantations was impractical. Furthermore, the belief that indigenous peoples could be converted if they became wage earning workers as opposed to slaves, created a new need for labor throughout Brazil. After regulations were in place restricting indigenous populations from enslavement, the Portuguese looked to the Atlantic slave trade for labor. African slaves first arrived in the mid 16th century and they continued to flow into the country until 1850. According to maps created by Philip D. Curtin (1969), between 1451-1600 18% of Brazil's total imports were slaves. The demand for sugar between 1550-1675 exacerbated this demand and during 1601-1700 41% of Brazil's total imports were slaves. Gold mines then became a main destination for slaves between 1675-1775, further intensifying the slave trade's impact throughout Brazil. During the 18th and beginning of 19th century, 1701-1810, the need for slaves continued as did the demand for gold. Before slavery ended in Brazil, between 1811-1870, 60% of Brazil's imports were slaves from the Atlantic slave trade (Curtin 1969).

Comparative slavery scholars often look to the United States and Brazil in their studies on slavery. Frank Tannenbaum (1946) a prominent scholar in this field, believed that U.S. slavery was much harsher than slavery in Brazil and this was the reason why race relations looked so different post-slavery between the two nations. Carl Degler (1986) eventually disproved this claim, asserting that it was rather politics, class, and demographics that lead to varying post-slavery race relations in the two nations. Degler also showcases the reality of the intense cruelty against slave populations, illustrating that sugar plantations were essentially death camps for African slaves. Degler's claim that class played a prominent role in Brazilian racial stratification will become evident in this literature review. Class and race have intersected in Brazilian society, leading to complex social hierarchies, dynamics of power, and further determining who has access to land and resources.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review will address the prominent debates within the race and space scholarly communities, while contextualizing the history of *favela* development in São Paulo, Brazil. My hope is to address how racial politics in Brazil affect urban space.

The history of slavery in Brazil has left a profound legacy. This legacy plays out both socially and economically, as it was the slave trade that bolstered Brazil's economy, and it is now the exploitation of Afro-Brazilian performance that makes up the modern tourism industry. Socially, this legacy is manifested in what Smith (2016) terms 'palimpsestic embodiment.' A palimpsest is a manuscript that has been re-written over time, again and again, yet still holds traces of the original. It also means to have many layers that show evidence of extensive use and activity (Smith 2016:155-176). The Afro-Brazilians in areas like São Paulo are a visual and physical embodiment of this palimpsest-acting as proof of the history and legacy of slavery, proof of the current police brutality, anti-black sentiment, and marginalization, as well as proof of the strength of Afro-Brazilians to persist, with the pains of the past and present clinging to their bodies.

Land and space politics

Space and land have played an extremely important role in the development of this palimpsest, Brazilian society, and stratification on account of class and race. In this section, I seek to explore and synthesize the work of scholars in the field of space, place, and land in order to understand its significance in society and its impact on social organization and marginalization. I will also explore the politics of inclusion and exclusion, as well as the right to land through the lens of these scholars.

Key space and place authors Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, along with Setha Low and Henri Lefebvre, help to set up my theoretical framework for tackling the complexities of space and place theory. I will look at the work of Ferguson and Gupta in relation to the racialization of space in another section of this review of the literature.

Henri Lefebvre challenges the notion that space is a "social morphology" a "'frame' or container" that has the sole goal to preserve what is placed in it (Lefebvre 1991:94). He takes it a step further by explaining that social space in particular "implies actual or potential assembly at a

single point, or around that point” in which urban space provides the clearest evidence in support (Lefebvre 1991:101). Urban space thus reveals the conditions of social space. He claims that “urban space gathers crowds, products in the markets, acts and symbols” and it accumulates them into a center (Lefebvre 1991:101). Urban space is therefore bounded in its “centre” or “centrality” (Lefebvre 1991:101). He concludes that social space is “work and product - a materialization of ‘social being’” (1991:104). Teresa P.R. Caldeira provides further explanation of urban public life and space with two notions: “city space is open space to be used and enjoyed by everyone, and the consumer society it houses is accessible to all,” further exploring Lefebvre’s concept of social being (Caldeira 2000:299). I will continue to explore this in my section on space in Brazil. It will become clear that this accessibility does not exist throughout São Paulo, but rather exclusion does.

Part of Lefebvre's (1991) work is also the connection and development of space in post colonial settings and its implications for capitalism. He explores Marx’s concept of the ‘political economy of space’ and takes it a step further by stating that the political economy of space corresponds “to the self-preservation of space as a worldwide medium of the definitive installation of capitalism” (1991:104). The *favelas* of São Paulo illustrate this. Pushed to the peripheries the *favelas* are exacerbated by a modern capitalist, neoliberal system that has failed. In summarizing Lefebvre (1991), David Harvey states that “revolutionary movements frequently if not always assume an urban dimension” (2013:xiii). Once again the *favelas* exemplify this. The social dimension of the *favelas* is a revolt against — and in spite of — failures by the Brazilian government with the growth of its neoliberal political framework. In critiquing Lefebvre (1991), Harvey (2013) takes note that Lefebvre did not dwell on, or critique, the dismal conditions of his case study on Paris. Furthermore, Lefebvre’s lack of acknowledgement of these conditions throughout the other cities he analyzes is a failure on his part. The marginalization that manifested itself in the Paris Lefebvre studied illustrates the problematic ways in which governments organize their space. Harvey uses the example of Paris and its poor infrastructure to highlight the issue that occurs when space is “bureaucratically organized” without “democratic input” and that what becomes made of this space is a manifestation of “class privilege and domination” etched “into the very physical landscape of the city” (2013:xiv). The same could be said for the *favelas* of Brazil. The *favelas* have become physical reminders of the failures of the

government, the deviant side of Brazil's neoliberal policy and a failure to care for poor, marginalized, populations of color.

James Holston's (2008) "insurgent citizenship" deals with the fight for access and ability to shape and inform urban space and urban life. This brings us to the concept of "the right to the city" or right to the land. Harvey (2013) in conversation with Lefebvre (1991) further explores what it means to have access to urban space and land. Harvey states

only when it is understood that those who build and sustain urban life have a primary claim to that which they have produced, and that one of their claims is to the unalienated right to make a city more after their own heart's desire, will we arrive at a politics of the urban that will make sense (2013:xvi).

It becomes evident there is a link between space and citizenship; and this relationship has the potential to create a political imaginary that influences political identity and forms of resistance throughout spatio-temporal changes. (Harvey 2013:xvii). The right to the city is a collective right that can pose a threat to the "conditions of capitalist urbanization" (Harvey 2013:137), proving the instrumental political power that land and space can hold — especially in a country like Brazil that is reeling from its horrid past and finding its place in an extremely globalized world.

Saskia Sassen (1999) looks at this globalized factor in the development of centrality and marginality. She states that global cities and metropolitan centers receive investments and growth while low-income areas are deprived of resources (Sassen 1999:184). Her exploration of the global economy in cities highlights the deviant side of neoliberal policy, something Harvey has acknowledged. While the *favelas* of São Paulo existed before the rise of neoliberalism, neoliberal policy has worsened problems in these areas. When growth and development become the most important principle, spatial dynamics in a city change, creating areas of inclusion and access to capital, and areas of exclusion and the denial of capital. This will be exemplified in my findings on accessibility to transit in São Paulo.

Harvey (2013) states that the quest for the centrality of the city that Lefebvre (1991) desired is destroyed, and that what has become manifested is a huge political effect. Even though Lefebvre didn't come out and say it so bluntly, for Harvey, it is only once "exploitative class and state power" is "overthrown and replaced" that citizenship and relationship with land and space can be changed (2013:xviii). However, he warns that attaining the right to the city be not the end goal, but an instrumental step in the right direction. I hope to further analyze Brazilian policy in regards to the right to the city in my findings, later in this work.

While Lefebvre (1991) didn't touch upon race in relation to these topics, other scholars have. David Theo Goldberg, for example, explored in his section on race and urban location, that urban structure (i.e. space and the city) magnifies "the social hierarchies of power" and that the "rationalities of social space" have instrumental "influences upon the social relations of power" (1993:185). This understanding is instrumental in conceptualizing how the *favelas* of São Paulo illustrate larger societal and structural issues of inequality. Goldberg continues that this inside-outside dichotomy and its racial influence leads to continued marginality and lack of rights and access to land, similar points explored by Sassen (1999). Goldberg's work is influential in my understanding of the racialization of space, however in order to keep this review of the literature organized thematically, his work will be addressed in my section on race and the racialization of space.

Space in Brazil

Caldeira (1999; 2000) explores key components of space theory, including spatial segregation, security, and public space in the context of São Paulo. Caldeira states "segregation-both social and spatial is an important feature of cities," and that urban planning rules take on social differentiation and separation patterns (2000:213). In the context of São Paulo she explores three different manifestations of social segregation. The first urban form of São Paulo created "a condensed city" where "different social groups were packed into small urban areas and segregated by housing type"(Caldeira 2000:213). The second formation is the "center-periphery" wherein space and distance play a key role in social stratification and access to resources, in which "middle and upper classes concentrated in central and well-equipped neighborhoods, and the poor exiled into the hinterland" (Caldeira 2000:213). Many scholars still address São Paulo in terms of this second spatial formation, but since the 1980s, that has begun to change. Caldeira calls it "fortified enclaves," the "new pattern of spatial segregation," in which the center-periphery pattern still does exist, however "social groups are again closer to one another but are separated by walls and technologies of security" where less interaction takes place in the public space (2000:213). The development of the "fortified enclave" is in response to a fear of crime as well as changing conceptions of the public sphere and urban space.

Fortified enclaves and city walls become means to magnify “social hierarchies of power” (Caldeira 2000; Goldberg 1993:185). These enclaves are then purposefully advertised to the rich, further segregating the city by class. Additionally, the walls that separate these enclaves conceptualize insider versus outsider status, creating spaces that allow rich Brazilians to “avoid the city’s problems and enjoy an alternative lifestyle with people from the same social group,” in other words “rejecting the city” and creating a sense of security for those on the inside (Caldeira 2000:274).

As stated earlier, urban public life has two key related notions, but the development of these enclaves and walls changes the concept of urban life in this area. Privatized communities become the opposite of urban space and further develop concepts of interiority and exteriority (Goldberg 1993:186). This type of segregation and social organizing “denies many of the basic elements that constituted the modern experience of public life” such as free and open streets and the free circulation and movement of people and things, proving that conceptions of urban space and life are being drastically altered by physical dividers on account of notions of security and privacy (Caldeira 1999:125). Furthermore the manner in which people attach meaning to cities and space has “bound people's lives and determine[d] types of encounters possible in public space” (Caldeira 1999:134). This idea of attaching meaning to space and cities will be re-explored in conjunction with the racialization of space later in this review of the literature.

Setha M. Low (2010) explored fear in relation to the building of walls and processes of inclusion and exclusion. As Caldeira (2000) explored this idea of security, Low stated that “urban fear encodes other social concerns including class, race and ethnic exclusivity as well as gender” and “reinforces, the visual landscape of fear created by walls, gates and guards” (2010:142). Low’s analysis is far more intersectional than that of Caldeira, whom Valle (2017) states lacks an analysis of race in her applications of space and segregation.

While Low is not speaking in the context of Brazil or specifically the *favelas* of São Paulo, her argument is applicable and bolsters the claim that these physical divisions of space and urban life have the possibility to alter social perceptions of “others” thus creating and intensifying social divisions, animosity, and fear. Lipsitz expands on this notion: that to create these “pure and hegemonic spaces, impure populations had to be moved” and displaced (2007:14). “Communities of color” therefore “experience social subordination in the form of spatial regulation,” a key component in understanding the racialization of space (Lipsitz

2007:17). While Lipsitz focuses on the U.S. his concepts are applicable to Brazil. Lipsitz argues that blacks in America are “required” to “take places” for themselves since they have been excluded and denied access and rights, the same can be said for those living in the *favelas* (2007:17). These residents have been pushed to the periphery and the color of their skin is clearly part of the reason for that.

Addressing transportation in Brazil is equally important in analyzing spatial dynamics and the racialization of space. Derek Pardue states that one way to understand city spaces is to look at how people move around space by analyzing transportation (2010:157). São Paulo is a “network of centers and peripheries” and one of the key marks of the periphery is “that these places and their residents are disenfranchised from varying levels of state support,” including infrastructure (Pardue 2010:161). Through his study, Pardue showcases that the buses and transportation in São Paulo represent the possibility of “urban engagement” but more often “displacement” and separation, often, but not always, on account of race (2010:162). The concept of the periphery being defined by its access to resources will continuously be built upon in this work. A lack of access to transportation for *favela* residents further distances them from access to capital and full rights, and the city center. I will explore this idea further in my analysis when addressing transportation and bus lines in São Paulo.

Race theory

Before discussing the process of the racialization of space, it is important to address scholarly work on race. I will use the work of Franz Fanon as the main theoretical framework for tackling the racialization of space in the following pages along with other scholars. Through this work it will eventually become clear to the reader how the process of racializing space occurs.

Frantz Fanon’s (1952; 1963) racial theory has three elements: race as being historically situated, race as culturally maintained, and racial constructions as embedded in human ontology. Nazneen Kane’s (2007) analysis of Fanon (1952; 1963) looks at race theories in regards to globalization theories. In Fanon’s (1952; 1963) work, class and race are intricately tied and race acts as an organizing principle in society. Kane reiterated Fanon’s points that class and race do not act as independent determinants but rather that they are “each dialectically co-produced” (Fanon 1952; 1963; Kane 2007:355). This validates the claim that blacks in São Paulo don’t

know if discrimination against them is on account of race, color or class, or perhaps a mix (Degler 1986:178). It is certainly racial, however individuals in Brazil have co-opted and internalized the myth of racial democracy to inform how they see themselves discriminated against in society. In other words, they would rather acknowledge their class discrimination than the racial discrimination they face. Fanon refutes scholars who have failed to acknowledge this social context and its relationship with consciousness and identity. Kane summarizes this point that “racial inferiority is often felt and realized economically... it is not merely conceptualized as a dependent variable of the economy” (Kane 2007:355).

Fanon’s (1952; 1963) concept of race is not biological “but, rather, a historically constructed phenomenon and culturally mediated artifact” (Kane 2007:356). Fanon (1963) looks at decolonization in regards to the construction of power relations. Once again, class and race go hand and hand. It is the colonizer who is white and wealthy, who exists solely from his or her relationship amongst the colonized; the poor populations of color (Fanon 1963:2). The following quote highlights this: “for not only must the black man be black; he must be black in relation to the white man... his inferiority comes into being through the other” (Fanon 1963:110). This “ontological polarization” that occurs plays a huge role in the racialization of space (Kane 2007:356). Kane explains that “wealth exists in relationship to poverty, indeed is predicated upon poverty and whiteness exists only through the social construction of blackness” (2007:356), further illustrating the complex intersections of class and race.

In Fanon’s discussion of race in historical contexts it becomes clear that civilization is bound to colonial understandings of racial interpellation and reification. He explains this through his discussion of the “historico-racial schema” (1967:84) which is a correction to the scholarship of Maurice Merleau-Ponty. This schema illustrates how white society, the “white man,” has crafted the narrative that equates black to inferior (Fanon 1963:84). Kane states that “it is through socio-cultural institutions that the racialized hierarchy becomes materially and discursively intertwined” (2007:356). Race is therefore culturally maintained and plays a role in normalizing “the social construction of race as a system of hierarchical power relations,” (Fanon 1967; 2004; Kane 2007:357). This process then becomes a “system of power legitimating white supremacy” (Kane 2007:357).

Fanon provides scholars with an important reminder, that race is a myth, but racism is a social fact, a concept that scholars Edward E. Telles and Michael G. Hanchard agree with. While

Fanon is a prominent scholar in racial theory in some regards he lacks an intersectional approach by not incorporating gender and orientation. He succeeds though in clearly distilling through the use of his socio-historical schemata, that the creation and maintenance of blackness is scripted and controlled by the white, dominant class.

Intersections of race in Brazil

Understanding intersections of race in Brazil is instrumental to the development of racialized space throughout São Paulo. Fanon looked to race and class as “co-produced,” an intersection evident in the racial dimensions in Latin America and more specifically in Brazil (Kane 2007:355). Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Roseblatt address how “tensions between sameness and difference and between equality, and hierarchy” have impacted “Latin American nation building” (2003:1). Edward E. Telles continues to explore this concept, along with race in Latin America by addressing the concept of *mestizaje*, the Spanish word for race mixing (Telles 2004:4). In the coming pages I will explore the work of Jan Hoffman French who applies the concept of *mestizaje* to Brazil.

Understanding the concept of “racial democracy” in Brazil is essential to understand the race dynamics and stratification that takes place in the country and manifests itself in the *favelas*. “Racial democracy is a phase in the historical development of racial exceptionalism” which has helped to explain Brazilian racial identity, and kept “racial difference from becoming a politically charged issue” (Hanchard 1994:56). Gilberto Freyre (1970) was the Brazilian sociologist that coined the term “racial democracy.” For him Brazil is a racial democracy in which racism is essentially un-Brazilian, and class divides and stratifies. This concept is widely accepted in Brazil and around the world. However, the reality is that this concept is a racial myth informed by miscegenation that took place in Brazil, in which the King of Portugal in 1755 told his subjects to auto-populate and mix with the goal to whiten “the black out of Brazil’s population” (Telles 2004:29). The truth is, “race is a salient category of difference,” that informs private and social life (Valle 2017:1237). The fact that mixing between various identities occurred does not negate racism and white supremacist attitudes, rather it illustrates they exist. In Latin American society there is a promotion of “racial discrimination while simultaneously denying its existence,” reproducing inequality on account of race and “promoting a false premise of racial

equality” (Hanchard 1994:6). Valle (2017) assesses the work of Gross (2000), in discussing *Blanqueamiento* [whitening] which

is a belief in the innate racial and biological superiority of those considered white and conditions that esteem and progress in Latin America be achieved through an infusion of European people, descendants and culture (p. 4).

What came out of Freyre’s racial myth was the idea that miscegenation is “an important symbol of Brazilian culture” that illustrated the “smooth blending of European, Indian, and African peoples and cultures,” however, it also illustrated the scientific racism held by the Brazilian state (Telles 2004:33). This mixing was a process of cleansing the blood of blackness (Degler 1986:192), and “was contingent on the process of whitening,” (Telles 2004:34, Freyre 1970). Brazil’s anti-racist vision and ideology of non racism is therefore more of an assimilationist one, in which whitening was the means of achieving equality, clearly illustrating white supremacist ideology. The mulatto in Brazil is an example of this and “reflects the national belief in whitening” and the simultaneous stigmatization of blackness which has both social and economic disadvantages (Telles 2004:114). While the mulatto of Brazil is held as the national standard of identity as a result of miscegenation, they are still marginalized similarly to those who are black in Brazil (Telles 2004:218).

French defines *mestizaje* as the “(ethno racial and cultural mixing) in the Spanish countries of Latin America” and argues this concept and identity “can be refigured and clarified by broadening it to include such Brazilian experiences” (French 2004:663). While French acknowledges the different colonization experiences of Brazil and other Latin American nations she aims to incorporate Brazil into this debate. The Portuguese word for *mestizaje* is *mestiçagem*. In defining *mestizaje* French uses the work of Alonso (in press) to explain that the term acknowledges both cultural mixing but also impacts social and political imaginaries (2004:665). French continues with the sentiments of Telles (2004) in explaining the role of *mestizaje* is to “whiten” and “Westernize” illustrating intense racist attitudes in Brazil (French 2004:665). Additionally, French states that the identity of being mixed “might also be imagined as a space within which people can move, a concept that provides openings for choices about self identification” and allowing for “political identity making,” which is especially true and evident amongst Afro-Brazilian political groups (French 2004:665).

To further understand the intersections of class and race in Brazil it is important to know that “non-whites in Brazil are more than three times as likely as whites to be poor... and white

men... earn more than twice as much as black and brown men” (Telles 2004:213). Even though the racial myth of Brazil persists Brazilians still find ways to classify one another “depending on social situation” and class (Telles 2004:217). Telles explores what he has identified as three factors that lead to racial inequality: “hyperinequality, a discriminatory glass ceiling, and a racist culture” (2004:220). Brazil's hyperinequality is manifested in its income disparities, power relations and the ways in which Brazilians of all races interact in social life. While Brazilians love to believe that race is not the predominant factor in the stratification of society it plays huge roles in “determining who gets into the middle class,” meaning that “socioeconomic positions of nonwhites in Brazilian society is due to both class and race” (Telles 2004:220). While class can make someone “whiter” in Brazil, middle class blacks and browns can’t always “benefit from their class privilege” because they suffer on account of race (Telles 2004:221). According to Telles, race thus becomes “an easy marker for class exclusion, creating a class structure in which blacks and browns are kept in the lower ranks” (Telles 2004:22). These inequalities in Brazil have stemmed from its “uneven development across the region” illustrating its growing problem of classism (Layton, Smith 2017:55). Furthermore skin color and phenotype are important classifications in Brazil, and categories include “white, brown (*pardo*), black (*preto*) (Layton and Smith 2017:57) as well as *moreno*, *mulatto*, *sarará* (Sheriff 2001:29) amongst others, in which one drop of white blood makes you not black. “Skin color is strongly correlated not only with... racial discrimination but also with ... discrimination on the basis of class and gender” (Layton and Smith 2017:61). Carl Degler explains this phenomenon with the concept coined by Charles Wagley, “social race,” in which a “person is located in the social hierarchy on the basis of both color and class” (Degler 1986:104-105).

The reality is, Brazil is home to anti-black police violence paralleled with black struggles for equity, and the dichotomy between enjoying Afro-Brazilian culture and the simultaneous killing and displacement of black people (Smith 2016). Brazil has largely claimed black culture as its’ own, thus erasing black contributions to things like Carnival, food and dance. It is this separation of black intellect and culture from black bodies that dismantles the belief in the Brazilian myth of racial democracy. Race and class intersections in Brazil make up a large part of the process of self identification, political mobility, as well as spatial segregation and discrimination. However, it is essential to recognize that while classism does exist it does not replace racism, rather the two inform one another. Next we will coalesce the above work into the

concept of the racialization of space to help us understand how racial politics have affected urban space in São Paulo.

Racialization of space in theory and in practice in Brazil

In order to understand the concept of racialized space it is essential to recognize that “racial identity and property are deeply interrelated concepts” (Harris 1993:1709). Harris explains that “the emergence of whiteness as property” and “the evolution of whiteness from color to race to status to property” is a “progression historically rooted in white supremacy” that I argue is evident in São Paulo, Brazil (1993:1714). In order to assess the outcomes of this interrelationship we must address the racialization of space that impacts communities of color in Brazil. This will help us uncover how race and space intersect to create inequity. Lipsitz discusses how “the lived experience of race has a spatial dimension, and the lived experience of space has a racial dimension” (2007:11). He continues that race can be delegated to physical locations, and when these areas have one racial demography the system becomes one of inclusion and exclusion. Furthermore he clarifies that “racial inequality today flows directly from the racial and spatial heritage” of the past, meaning that Brazil’s colonial history has played a role in Brazil’s current socio-economic state. (Lipsitz 2007:17). Fassin (2011) discusses this racialization, contending that objectification is part of the process of subject production in which racial meaning becomes attributed to places and locations. It is thus the ascription of assigning race that creates spaces that become racialized (Fassin 2011). It is a similar process that leads to racial embodiment in which “races are embodied and bodies racialized” (Fassin 2011:420-421). Fassin states that “ascription is the foundational act through which racialization is produced,” in this process people and spaces become “racially othered” (2011:422). Objectification becomes a part of this process in regards to “subject production” and is “performative (it makes racialization exist)” (Fassin 2011:425-426).

Smith (2016) sheds light on the Afro-Paradise which makes up the layered and multifaceted picture of race, violence, and space as it reacts with the body in Brazil. The application of “race’s centrality in the (re)production of Latin American urban space,” is essential in understanding this concept of the racialization of space in our contexts (Valle 2017:5). It is clear that race contributes to processes of displacement and influences the lived

experience of Brazilians. Civic spaces where these black Brazilians live — arguably forced to live in — are used to challenge socially accepted ideals about who has rights to what land; forcing these protestors to manifest themselves as physical agents for change; further racializing the space they inhabit (Khan 2013).

Addressing Khan's work which looks at the region of Salvador, Brazil to contextualize the racialization of space is imperative. Her insights are applicable to other spacial dimensions that exist in Brazil. The *favelas* have become a space for the racially displaced. Salvador, once a capital for the Brazilian economy in sugarcane and slaves, is currently wrought with intense divides. Khan discusses the physical manifestation of this divide as evident in Contorno Avenue, contending that the avenue "has also shaped the neighborhood's identity within the city and solidified socio-spatial hierarchies" contributing to separation, as "it created a literal wall between Gamboa de Baixo and the upper-class neighborhoods of Gamboa de Cima (Upper Gamboa)" which is home to wealth, affluence and a less present Afro-Brazilian population (2013:6-7).

The level of displacement and anti-black police violence experienced by *favela* residents is striking. Literal wars are being waged against black and brown civilians in the *favelas*, and harassment continued in the wake of Brazil's preparations for the Olympics. Many of these residents have no land titles and without those titles their community and home is continuously threatened. Khan's study showcases that these *favelas* have thus become actual racialized spaces that are both literally and figuratively walled off and separated from the rest of the city, simultaneously cut off from opportunity and upward mobility (Khan 2013). Raids against black populations illustrate the extent to which the Brazilian police and government aim to hide the racial divide that plagues their nation.

To further illustrate the processes of inclusion and exclusion that are a result of this racialization of space, it is necessary to realize "race configures why particular groups are excluded from some neighbourhoods and driven to inhabit others" (Valle 2017:1236). Valle introduces her conceptual framework *Racial Attachment Process* (RAP), "the addition or removal of race as a constitutive component in the interpersonal, organizational and/or structural processes and relations that stratify social life" (2017:1236). RAP illustrates the "relational process" of race, building off of the work of other racialization scholars (Valle 2017:1237). Spatial transformations have persisted in Brazil since its establishment, but scholars still have

failed to address the racial element of these spatial changes, specifically claiming that Cladeira has failed to explore the key role of race in these intersections (Valle 2017:1239). “The politics of race, development, and identity are deeply intertwined in urban space” and while many Latin American and specifically Brazilian discourses chose to not look at race as “a primary stratifying principle” the evidence of racial hierarchies “counter such discourses” (Valle 2017:1249).

“Space and place” become locations for “displacement, community, and identity” (Ferguson and Gupta 1992:6). In summarizing Anderson (1983), Ferguson and Gupta argue that “as displaced peoples cluster around remembered or imagined homelands, places, or communities in a world that seems increasing to deny firm territorialized anchors in their actuality” marginalization continues, and space continues to be socially constructed (1992:11). The two state that “discussions of nationalism make it clear that states play a crucial role in the popular politics of place making and in the creation of naturalized links between places and people,” proving that identity informs place making and power relations (1992:12). The “‘difference’ of places becomes... part... of a global system of domination” (Ferguson and Gupta 1992:17), influenced by factors such as “class, gender, race and sexuality” (p. 20) that perpetuate marginalization through processes that racialize space and impact “social relations of power” (Goldberg 1993:185).

It becomes evident that Kane’s (2007) “ontological polarization” that explains class and race intersections are manifested spatially in the *favelas* of Brazil. Thus proving that racial democracy in Brazil does not exist, but rather spatial exclusion and racism do. While Brazil would rather call itself classist than racist, the reality is that race informs all aspects of life, including the development of law and urban planning policy.

Contribution to the Literature

In this sense, true racial democracy can only occur when Brazilians realize the false premise they have been living under has been informing the racial and social dynamics of the country. Then they must work to undo them. Prejudice will persist in Brazil as it does in nearly every nation I can imagine, however, there is no reason that this prejudice should go unchecked. A step in the right direction for Brazil will be to guard against, and acknowledge racial prejudice

and discrimination. The Brazilian myth of racial democracy need be dismantled. My hope is this work builds off of the growing scholarly knowledge on this topic and further illustrates this need.

In the following pages I will address the objects of my study: the right to the city, housing policy and insecure land and housing rights, and transportation routes and bus fares to help me explore the racialization of space in Brazil. It is my intent to disprove the Brazilian concept of racial democracy and label it a myth. Ultimately my goal is to illustrate that the failure to accommodate the historical needs of Afro-Brazilians is a manifestation of whiteness that has permeated into law and city development, influencing urban planning and the persistence of the *favelas* of São Paulo.

METHODOLOGY

Methods

By outlining the process of the racialization of space, my literature review demonstrates how racist and whiteness ideology informs racist policy and urban planning. It is essential to understand and reiterate that racism informs all aspects of life in Brazil, especially since the myth of racial democracy still persists. My work builds off of the many scholars before me that have worked to disprove this myth. My primary objective is to demonstrate how historical legacies and race politics affect urban space. While many scholars acknowledge that Brazil has a race problem that is manifested in the *favelas*, none that I have engaged with have made the leap to claim that Brazil has a problem with white supremacy. I aim to make this connection evident through the operationalization of the concept of racialized space to my objects, the right to the city, insecure land and housing policy, as well as transportation and access to transit, and bus fares.

In order to answer my research question I will analyze City Statute, Federal Law # 10.257, known as the right to the city, as well as insecure land and housing rights, and transportation routes. Isolating these three objects as variables is my method, as will be the application of the concept of racialized space to my three objects in São Paulo. This will help me illustrate how race politics affect urban space. Furthermore, looking at law, its implementation, as well as transportation and bus fares, will offer me qualitative insights to bolster my claim. I

will look at these three variables through a critical space and race studies approach that will enable me to link the two concepts, thus operationalizing the racialization of space. This process will also require I utilize cartographic methods that enable me to map transportation and transit accessibility for *favela* residents in São Paulo. For my analysis I will use first and second order research to bracket my variables which aim to see how these concepts play out in São Paulo. These three areas of analysis will help me understand how whiteness permeates into Brazilian law and has implications on the creation of urban space and the *favelas* of São Paulo.

Analysis

A critical discourse analysis will help me to understand the interdependence between Brazilian discourse and law, and society as well as how bus fare protests media coverage is representative of the growing issues of race and inequity in Brazil. While analyzing City Statute, Federal Law # 10.257, known as the right to the city, as well as insecure land and housing policy, I hope to dissect how these discourses are influenced by social phenomena. I hypothesize that the social order of Brazil—its racial hierarchy and inequity—sustains constructions of discourse evident in São Paulo and Brazilian law. When addressing law in Brazil I must acknowledge how institution and ideology affect structures of discourse that permeate through all areas of life. In the Foucauldian sense, I want to analyze how power has produced discourse and knowledge — as evident in my findings — that further maintains unequal power relations in Brazil, that manifest in the *favelas* of São Paul.

Limitations

My hope is that my research and study offers insights into the complexities of race and space in São Paulo. I do not make any claim to know more than others, and as a white women in the United States I can only come to know and understand things at the epistemological level. Being unable to visit São Paulo, Brazil, and my inability to speak Portuguese have limited me in some areas. Largely my work aims to acknowledge the invisibilization of race from Brazil, however I recognize that I have not delved extremely deeply into the invisibilization of gender which does occurs. Additionally, my focus is centered on white and black populations of the

country, additional research should be done to analyze how other communities of color, for example the growing Japanese population, deals with the racialization of space. Furthermore, based off of the time frame for this study and research I acknowledge that this type of work is never done and requires further inquiries and analysis.

FINDINGS

Development of the *favelas*

Important in the processes that led to *favela* development was the chaotic land tenure that existed in the social development of Brazil after the end of slavery (Holston 2008:134).

“Urbanization of the periphery was left mostly to private initiative...until the 1970s” when the government tried to promote home ownership and city planning (Caldeira 2000:221). At this time, and originally from the 1940s onward, the selling of periphery space simply became too “chaotic” (Caldeira 2000:221).

The segregation of low income São Paulo citizens later impacted periphery construction. In the 1950s São Paulo’s central districts had been completed, ushering in a great migration into the city and leading to the displacement of poor populations who “had no choice but to live in the peripheries” (Holston 2008:165). “These forces of expulsion, exclusion, attraction and dispersal” created peripheral urbanization in which “millions of workers... put up single family shacks,” illustrating that “the development of São Paulo’s peripheries, is thus a story of constant displacement and transformation” in which residents on average travel “three to four hours round trip” on their daily commute to the city center (Holston 2008:165-167). Of São Paulo’s some 20 million inhabitants, “one out of ten Brazilians lives in... the metro area” of which “50 percent of these dwellers lived in something called the periphéria” that is “defined as some sort of slum,” the *favelas* (Pardue 2010:159).

Merriam-Webster dictionary defines *favelas* as “a settlement of jerry-built shacks lying on the outskirts of a Brazilian city.” While this definition, and many definitions of the terms *favela* are often problematic this is generally the concept used to describe the *favelas* of Brazil. It is important to recognize though that *favelas* have evolved over the years and while they are displaced to undesirable parts of a city they do not always fall on the outskirts. The definition of

favela could have its own review of the literature in which its definition is debated, but I will not enter that debate any further.

The *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro are seen as “Brazil’s worst urban nightmare” and this statement can be applied to those in São Paulo as well (Sheriff 2001:17). The *favelas* are connoted as unsafe neighborhoods where crime and drug use run rampant. People of color make up the *favelas* of Rio, as is largely the case in São Paulo. Interestingly, “black militants [in Rio de Janeiro] often rhetorically compare the *favela* to the *senzala*, or slave quarters” of colonization, highlighting the acknowledgement of the social and racial makeup of these spaces as well as their place in Brazil’s social hierarchies (Sheriff 2001:18). This spatial segregation and its social and economic implications manifested throughout Brazil and in São Paulo will continue to be explored in the coming pages. It is essential to note that while the *favelas* are described in such ways that they are also places of community, and are hotbeds for activism and leadership, especially within the Afro-Brazilian community.

City Statute, the Right to the City

The primary focus of this section is the 2001 federal law that recognizes the right to the city, known as City Statute, Federal Law # 10.257. However it is important to contextualize the development of this law in Brazilian history. During Brazil’s “20-year dictatorship, social movements in Brazil gained force during the 1970s and 1980s, culminating in a robust urban reform movement” that led to processes that aimed to re-democratize the nation through the creation of the new “Citizens” Constitution of 1988 (Friendly 2013:158). The 1988 Constitution for the first time recognized the right to the city, as well as defined the social function of property. At this time, Brazil’s unequal and unplanned development grew, as did its social inequity. Urban reform movements defined the 90s and ultimately led to the 10 July, 2001 Statute of the City. The concept of the right to the city was derived from the work of Henri Lefebvre; Friendly defines it as a “process and a struggle in the realm of everyday life... as a right to participate in the production of urban space” (Friendly 2013:158). In other words, the goal of this law was to promote the democratic development and management of cities as well as democratic access to services. Scholars have praised the law for its innovation but also recognize its failures that have led to the maintenance of issues of unequal development, unequal access to

housing, and unequal resource dispersal throughout Brazil. In theory the law was great and aimed to create “mechanisms to redress some of the most evident patterns of illegality, inequality, and degradation in the production of urban space” (Holston 2008:292). In addition the Statute formalized the protection of land occupied by the “urban poor” through “special zones of social interest (ZEIS)” (Friendly 2013:165). However, scholars have come to realize that the “implementation of the law is far from its original intent” and that in large part, municipalities ignore the City Statute’s regulation of urban space and land use (Friendly 2013:167, 171).

Cities Alliance in collaboration with National Secretariat for Urban Programmes and the Brazil Ministry of Cities define the three guiding principles of the City Statute as:

- The concept of the social function of the city and property;
- The fair distribution of the costs and benefits of urbanisation; and
- Democratic management of the city (2010).

The reality is that the Statute states that cities should be abiding by the directives of the federal law, however cities are granted the power to do so only if they chose. Without cities being forced to follow the directives of the Statute that aim to create participatory master plans for urban development, the law is essentially non-binding (Friendly 2013:172). Fortunately, some municipalities and states have been able to implement some variation of the Statute, however without legal force behind the Statute its success is widely based on the will of the people to fight for the implementation of the law and its directives. The Statute has tried to define and lay out the social function of urban space and the city and to this day still tries to do so, however without the proper implementation of the right to the city the Statute will always face problems of implementation.

Given the information supplied in my review of the literature I hope as a reader you are beginning to analyze and assess the ways race play into concepts of urban space. In the long text of the City Statute not once is race mentioned, yet the *favelas* of São Paulo and Brazil are largely made up on non-white, Afro-Brazilian, or mixed race populations. It is my belief that we cannot address urban renewal plans and unequal development and unplanned housing without addressing the politics of race and space and their legal implications. Whiteness and blackness both have implications on the racialization of space. Harris’ analysis of race and property in the U.S. is applicable to our understanding of Brazil. She argues that “whiteness and property share a

common premise - a conceptual nucleus - of a right to exclude” that has been legitimized through the law (Harris 1993:1714).

Looking at racial and spatial segregation in this context is no easy task but is required. Segregation should be defined as the gathering or displacement of a specific group to a specific area. The insecure housing and land rights of Brazil pose obstacles, primarily for non-white, Afro-Brazilian populations, further disproving the myth of racial democracy. What is most startling in the Brazilian context is the often violent displacement of communities of color in the wake of urban renewal programs, therefore illustrating that urban renewal plans in the country are based on racial exclusion and lack democratic involvement (Perry 2004). This makes sense in the context of the City Statute. Law creates the infrastructure of inclusion and exclusion, and if the City Statute does not address the historical displacement of black, non-white communities in its goals to democratize urban planning and management, it will continue to fail. Therefore, “the dominant and subordinate positions within the racial hierarchy” of São Paulo have been “reified in law,” (Harris 1993:1731). This failure to be willing to recognize the needs of non-white Brazilians, specifically in the housing context, represents the desire of Brazilian society to ignore its race problem while simultaneously promoting its myth of racial democracy. Furthermore, it illustrates the maintenance of the issues revolving around race in the country. The absence of race from the City Statute means there are no protections or goals to address the growing housing problems amongst Brazil’s non-white population, making it extremely difficult for the goal of democratization of urban planning to come to fruition. “When the law recognizes... the settled expectations of whites built on the privileges and benefits produced by white supremacy, it acknowledges and reinforces a property interest in whiteness that reproduces Black subordination” (Harris 1993:1731); meaning these citizens are therefore “controlled through the spatial confines of divided space” that inform inclusion and exclusion on account of race (Goldberg 1993:186). Therefore it is evident that racial politics affect urban space in São Paulo.

In my research I have seen no analysis that links the City Statute and its failures to the problems of race in Brazil. This illustrates that not enough research has been done on this topic, something that this work aims to change.

Paulista identity is the regional identity of São Paulo citizens and is based on origins of modernity, progress, and European origins, i.e. whiteness (Weinstein 2015). This identity has had a huge impact on regional identity and has created “others” within Brazil. In São Paulo I

believe it plays a role in racial stratification as well. Modernity and the paulista identity are intertwined. Paulista identity grew out of the historical contexts of the 20th century and still holds implications to this day. While the paulista identity is connected to pride in São Paulo and the region, I believe it has social and racial implications within São Paulo as well. If São Paulo identity revolves around whiteness and European origins, Afro-Brazilians and non-white Brazilians differ, and therefore may be excluded from São Paulo identity making. Weinstein (2015) explores how paulista identity was informed by racialized stereotypes that created the concept of “paulista exceptionalism” which was foregrounded in whiteness and modernity. Additionally, the text offers insight into the antithesis of paulista progress which is considered traditional, black, and backward (Weinstein 2015). This further illustrates how Afro-Brazilian and non-white Brazilians are socially excluded, which can influence their political agency and access to rights. Further research should be done into how Afro-Brazilians may identify or be excluded from paulista identity. However, it is clear that if São Paulo hopes to bolster its identity as a place of modernity and progress they will do so by socially excluding those who do not fall within the identity they associate with European and white origins. What then occurs is the association of “Brazilian culture... with... whiteness and a particular narrative of Brazilian history that marginalize[s] the role of Afro-Brazilians in the construction of nation” (Weinstein 2003:238). Therefore race has divided how Brazilians see themselves in society at the social and spatial level. “Spatial boundaries” are therefore “constructed by racialized ideas of progress and modernity,” informed by paulista identity (Appelbaum, Macpherson, Roseblatt 2003:10), proving that race in São Paulo is historically situated and culturally maintained (Fanon 1952, 1963). The City Statute aimed to democratize and urbanize development and management of the city, as well as access to resources, however it is fundamentally flawed because it lacks an analytical approach to addressing how race and space influence the development of urban space in the region. Without the understanding that “racial distinctions were created and reinforced through allusions to how place determined or shaped the racial characteristics of individuals and groups” urban planning initiatives, such as the right to the city, will fail (Appelbaum et al. 2003:11), and communities of color will further “experience social subordination in the form of spatial regulation” (Lisitz 2007:17).

Displacement during times of mega-events in Brazil further illustrate how the City Statute in Brazil fails to uphold the goals of the right to the city of democratic organization and

urbanization, as well “as a right to participate in the production of [ones] urban space” (Friendly 2013:158). While mega-events are often sought after and desired by countries they have huge impacts on urbanization and consequently lead to displacement. Displacement, that is often forced, occurs when citizens occupy desired land that the government hopes to develop (Vico, Uvinha, Gustavo 2018). In analyzing the impact of the 2014 FIFA World Cup on the Itaquera region (East Zone) in São Paulo, Vico et al. illustrate the negative viewpoints that community members held regarding the development and displacement that occurred. In a discursive analysis of his text the authors fail however to introduce the intersections of race and space with city planning and urban renewal. However, they do offer the voices of *favela* residents who share their negative sentiments on this non-democratic urban renewal. The City Statute aims to produce democratic development, however without a democratic approach, one that considers inequity on account of race as well as gender, it will continue to fail. Without the inclusion of Itaquera region *favela* residents in the urban renewal programs that took place they were subsequently displaced and their livelihoods threatened. This illustrates an obvious lack in the tenets of the right to the city that aimed to ensure democratic involvement of the urban space one occupies.

The significance placed on European origins and whiteness signify the racial hierarchy present in São Paulo is based on a preference for whiteness. This ideology then impacts the organization of urban and social space and “increasingly solidifies the dynamics of the intolerance of poverty, builds a city of walls and fuels urban apartheid” (Ferreira 2011:84). If you recall the history of slavery in Brazil, as well as its myth of racial democracy, its racial discrimination and the simultaneously denial of racism, it is not surprising whiteness and white supremacist ideology permeate into concepts of who has a right to participate in urban planning and development, i.e. the right to the city, throughout São Paulo (Hanchard 1994:6).

The silence of race from discourses surrounding the failures as well as successes of the right to the city and City Statute are its fundamental failures. These failures then maintain inequality on account of race, exemplifying the need for real implementation as well as societal and infrastructural change. This invisibilization of race in urban planning programs further racializes the space of São Paulo and acts as proof of how racial politics influence urban space.

Insecure land and housing rights and its consequences

According to the Climate Policy Initiative secure land rights are a significant indicator of economic growth. As of 2015, Brazil ranked 64th on the International Property Rights Index and ranked 95th for secure property rights according to the World Economic Forum's Global Competitive Index (2016). These astounding statistics shed light on the growing problems of secure housing and land rights in the country. The same report lists five main consequences of Brazil's insecure land rights: conflicts and violence, lack of tenancy markets, increased deforestation, unconventional land use decisions, and production inequality in small farms. I am particularly interested in conflicts and violence, and unconventional land use decisions. The Climate Policy Initiative states that "land related conflicts are the most profound consequence of insecure property rights" which makes sense given the yearly increases in violence and deaths in São Paulo's *favelas* (2016).

When discussing violence in São Paulo's *favelas* once again I want to make clear to my reader that while *favelas* are often marked by violence and drug use, that they are also places of community, art, family, and resistance. It is essential to be aware of the implications that talking about these topics can have on the proliferation of negative stereotypes about these areas. That being said, for my analysis I will be looking at these land related conflicts. The same Climate Policy Initiative reports that legislation plays a huge role in the uncertainty of property rights as well as the violence and conflict that takes place over housing disputes. The "social function of property" explored in Brazilian federal law creates uncertainty when compared with Civil Code that allows titleholders to evict squatters, which leads to violence among all parties involved. And who are the victims? According to a New York Times report, the "young, black, male and poor" who make up *favelas* are the ones facing the consequences of insecure land rights and housing policy (Darlington 2018). Unfortunately women are often ignored from this discourse although they must deal with discrimination on account of race and gender, and often form large protest and resistance groups to fight against insecure housing and poor housing policy in the country. Unreliable land records, and the complexity of the bureaucratic systems that governs land and property rights continue to aggravate the problem. It is once land rights become secured that Brazil will have a better chance at positive social development.

Once again, race and space intersect in this case. The impermanence and informality of many São Paulo *favelas* is intrinsically linked with race and how space is racialized. This fight

for recognition, land rights, and permanence amongst the *favelas* is linked with black and Afro-Brazilian protest movements. The silence of race in discourses on these protests illustrates a lack of intersectionality and poor analysis. Protest groups amongst the *favelas* of Brazil use resistance “in defence of citizenship rights for use and control of urban land by... inhabitants” (Perry 2004:834). In essence these citizens are trying to live up the goal of the right to the city, to have a say in the democratic development of the space they inhabit. In Perry’s case study of Gamboa de Baixo she showcases the significance of “native rights” in discourses surrounding land security. *Favela* residents reject the notion that they are “an ‘invasion’ of marginality or an illegal ‘squatter settlement’” (Perry 2004:825). Of course Brazilian governance and policy surrounding land rights and housing policy see these citizens as such, leading to the violent clashing, anti-black police violence, and displacement that occurs. It is therefore evidently true that insecure housing policy erupts into violence and displacement, particularly hurting communities of color and the poor, further racializing *favela* space and access to resources in São Paulo and throughout Brazil.

Tourism and a desire to rid Brazil of its poverty in the wake of large mega-events has played a huge role in this anti-black police violence and has fueled evictions in *favela* communities. Historically a lack of legal documents and land titles has been capitalized on and used to displace citizens. Pinheirinho, a *favela* on the outskirts of São Paulo exemplifies the violent manifestations of police force used on *favela* inhabitants. In 2012 some 6,000 people were evicted from Pinheirinho *favela*, “by armored cars and helicopters, some 1,800 state and municipal police” who used weapons to disperse the residents (Achtenberg 2012). Achtenberg reported on a Global Voices account that stated the assault on land rights and São Paulo citizens took place on a “long-abandoned 250-acre site [that] has been occupied since 2004 by more than 1,500 landless worker families,” where community members erected churches and shops, forging their own access to resources that the state originally denied them (Achtenberg 2012). The chaos that unfolded was a result over land disputes and a failure by the São Paulo and Brazilian government to uphold its promises to protect land rights and vulnerable populations. In essence, when land is precarious in Brazil, the government owns it. Atila Roque, the director of Amnesty International in Brazil vehemently opposed these actions, stating they violated “‘a raft of international standards’ that require Brazil to protect residents from forced eviction;” Roque continued that an estimated “tens of thousands of poor families are being removed to make way

for infrastructure and private development projects, without receiving adequate protection” (Achtenberg 2012). It is clear that “the affirmation of race” to spaces in São Paulo, has bolstered inequality that has “lead to violence” (Appelbaum et al. 2003:22). The concept of the city of exception, or state of exception is at play here and can be seen in the wake of Brazilian mega-events in other cities like Rio de Janeiro as well, “in which government power increases to dictate the exception and go above any laws, reducing or entirely dismissing constitutional rights” (Agamben 2005). This helps to explain how the right to the city and City Statute have fundamentally failed at protecting land rights.

Rodrigo Nunes a Brazilian philosopher blames ““gargantuan developmentalism”” in light of the World Cup and Olympics in which urban renewal meant demolitions and evictions of *favela* communities (Achtenberg 2012). According to the National Coordination of World Cup Committees, up to 170,000 people through Brazil were to be evicted to create space for development of the Olympic games, with others setting the number much higher (Achtenberg 2012). The reality is that during these mega-events Brazil hopes to hide its growing race and poverty problems to inform their myth of racial democracy, using spatial exclusion and displacement to do so. The racial makeup of these communities can not be ignored; as it is their race and economic status that inform their initial living situations in the *favelas*, their displacement, and their violent clashes with police. It is clear that police action is used to hide inequality through forced displacement of communities of color and the poor. By hiding the problem through the erection of walls and displacement, Brazil and specifically São Paulo are able to bolster their myth of racial democracy while simultaneously exacerbating race issues in the country.

The concept of the racialization of space is fundamentally at play here. *Favelas* that have popped up along the coasts of Brazil and along city peripheries were developed because citizens, typically of color, or of African descent were looking for both community and a place to reside in. Massive gentrification, unequal development, and the racial myth of Brazil have turned the *favelas* into racially defined quarters that lack general access to resources and are often inundated with pacification police officers that have the capacity to cause more harm than good. An over policing of these communities further fuels racial and social divisions and illustrates a failure to manage urban space democratically. The violent clashes that took place in Pinheirinho, illustrate this and showcase how economic policy to develop, coupled with a lack of upholding of land

rights, and the insecurity of vulnerable populations, leads to the racialization of space in São Paulo.

More recent national shifts towards neoliberal policy in Brazil also has implications, as such policy and development often leads to initiative without restraints for actions. The commons have been eradicated and the concept of public space has been forever changed. Increased privatization of land has occurred without protections for the populations previously enjoying them. Accelerated urban transformations in Brazil have therefore had positive and negative impacts. Housing policy in a neoliberal framework often means a switch towards “private market provision of housing and land and removing impediments to land markets,” which can also lead to “pricing the poor out” and creating inequity (Krueckeberg, Paulsen 2000:28). In fact, the World Bank estimates in 2015, reflect such inequality. In 2015 Brazil had a Gini score of 51.3 which reflects income distribution and inequality throughout the region. The Council on Hemispheric Affairs (2015) contends that “people living in metropolitan areas enjoy greater access to education and a healthier infrastructure [while] many still residing in rural areas do not have the same opportunities,” a fact that will be explored in our section on accessibility to transportation. This proves the *favelas* have become physical reminders of the failures of the Brazilian government. The racialization of space in São Paulo is therefore indisputable, and insecure land and housing rights make the problem worse.

Furthermore, a joint 2009 report on urban policy and the right to the city explores how accelerated urban transformations hurt Brazil’s most vulnerable, stating that “urban transformation took place in a context that largely denied rights to low-income populations, particularly people living in the favelas or urban slums,” largely Brazilians of color (Brown, Kristiansen 2009:22). The informality of these communities meant they were “absent from maps and city records, resulting in territorial exclusion that denied the poorest people access to the development opportunities of cities” (Brown, Kristiansen 2009:22). Even with the City Statute and growing realizations of the need to make these informal communities formal, inequality persists. The Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics¹ (IBGE) in 2010 released some of the most up to date statistics on *favelas* and their inhabitants of São Paulo, where the population of the *favelas* is listed at 1,280,400 people, with numbers even higher in parts of Rio de Janeiro (Hurrell 2011). Of course any statistics about the *favelas* of Brazil must be taken with a grain of

¹ Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE)

salt; as the informal nature of the communities makes them increasingly hard to collect data on. That being said, this number is telling. Rapid urban transformations in the country left poor, non-white Brazilians vulnerable to insecure land and housing. Even with new measures and initiatives the reality is that over one million people lack secure housing and land rights as well as access to opportunity, and it can't be a coincidence that these communities are largely made up of Brazilians of color.

The BBC also offers us a quantifiable assessment of the intersection between race, class, and opportunity in Brazil, it states “in 2012 the average income of a white worker in Brazil's six main state capitals was 2,237 reais (\$701.63) a month; for a person of African descent it was 1,255 reais (\$393.63)” (Carneiro 2013). All of which proves race has served and will likely continue to serve as a component of economic insecurity for Afro-Brazilians. The unfair dispersal of resources between areas like the *favelas* of São Paulo and the city center clarifies that race and class intersect in Brazil, racializing the space of both the whiter Brazilians and the Afro-Brazilian, non-white populations, contributing to the increasing epidemic of racial discrimination in Brazil. These numbers on income dispersal across race help illustrate the racial make up the *favelas*. Without equitable paying standards and income gaps on account of race, a clear correlation exists between access to affordable, secure land and housing, and one's monthly income, an income based on race.

Insecure land rights are in part to blame, as is the failure of the Brazilian government to properly enforce the City Statute and the right to the city. Development throughout Brazil should not mean the displacement of poor communities of color. Democratic management of urban space is possible, but only when and if the Brazilian government and leaders of São Paulo come to realize that their economic agenda is influenced by whiteness, the desire to exclude, evident in their maintenance of the myth of the racial democracy of Brazil. As long as racist ideology and the maintenance of whiteness as property is ignored as a problem in Brazil, their will be action to erase communities of color through violent displacement and the continuance of insecure land and housing rights for these citizens.

Interestingly, the Brazilian government has made recent pushes in the last few years to offer land titles to *favela* residents and analysts believe that these titles can offer residents security from eviction. That being said, according to Tais Borges an urban planner who has worked with the Brazilian government, “getting formal titles is not a high priority for (*favela*)

residents’,” but rather sewage and parking are (Arsenault 2017). This illustrates the connection between insecure housing and insecure access to plumbing and other positive health indicators. Additionally, it highlights another fundamental failure of the government, that without democratic involvement by *favela* residents, government propositions will fail at upholding the tenants of the right to the city. For progress to be made these vulnerable populations need to be included in discourses around the law that impact them directly. Until these communities are given that right, it is fair to say that insecure land rights and their consequences will persist, the greatest consequence being the unequal racialization of space informed by racist and white supremacist ideology throughout São Paulo and the nation. The “dual construction” of the visibility and invisibility of race perpetuates the racialization of space in these contexts (Perry 2013:36). In discussions of Salvador, Brazil Perry states that a formalized “legal system and... local bureaucracy determines what the city is, what the city should look like” while at the same time “hid[es] the things, places, and people that do not belong to the new social order” (2013:36). This concept is evident in São Paulo’s inability to uphold the right to the city which demands democratic input in urban development and planning. São Paulo government has worsened the housing crisis for Brazilians of color, specifically in the *favelas*, all of which proves that racial politics can have a profound impact on urban planning.

Access to transportation

“Access to just about everything associated with upward mobility and economic progress—jobs, quality food, and goods (at reasonable prices), healthcare, and schooling—relies on the ability to get around in an efficient way, and for an affordable price’,”² (White 2015). Let that sink in. Access to transportation is therefore an important indicator to access to other forms of capital and resources. A lack of access to transportation makes periphery life in the *favelas* even more difficult and further distances *favela* residents from the city center and opportunity in these areas. As Pardue stated, transportation has the possibility to create new urban engagement, however in this context it has fueled urban displacement (2010). Google along with non-profits and other organizations have begun movements to map *favelas*. As Brown and Kristiansen

² Originally quoted from Rosabeth Moss Kanter, a professor at Harvard, specializing in infrastructure in America who was interviewed by White in a 2015 Atlantic piece.

(2009) stated, *favela* communities are often absent from maps, illustrating their further displacement and desire to be erased. Mapping projects are difficult to come by; the informal nature of *favelas* and the lacks in statistical information in these areas means maps lack 100% accuracy, however they can still provide powerful insights.

In my desire to better understand access to transportation I used data collected by Google on transportation routes and *favelas* in São Paulo to create a map. I then electrically drew the bus lines to visualize access to transit for *favela* residents, and using Google Maps software I was able to measure in miles the distances between *favelas* and the nearest transit system.

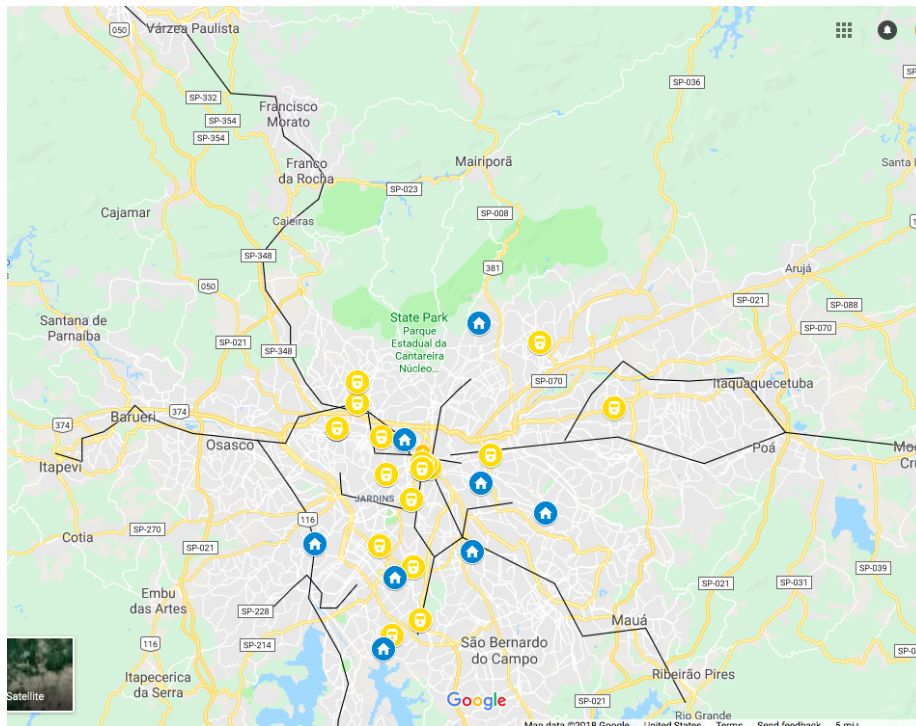


Figure 1: São Paulo transit and *favelas* projected onto Google Maps. (Yellow: transit, blue: *favela*).

I found that on average transit depots were at least three miles away with some closer to five miles away from *favela* residents. This map provides information that accessibility to transportation is failing in São Paulo, meaning access to “jobs, quality food, and goods (at reasonable prices), healthcare, and schooling” is lacking in the city periphery (White 2015).

The Guardian story following São Paulo *favela* resident, Alcione Santos, offers us insights into life on the São Paulo periphery. “The vast sprawl and decades of underinvestment in public transport mean many face daily commutes of three, four, even five hours to get to low-paid jobs in the centre,” sometimes facing commutes of 25 miles that require four modes of

transportation (van Mead 2017). The same article reports that transportation is not only over crowded, but passes over poorly maintained roads and is a place of constant harassment and assault, specifically for women of color. Bus stops to get residents to main stations are also unreliable with no time table for when to expect the bus to return. This constant state of uncertainty makes getting to work on time extremely difficult and threatens the meager earnings these *favela* residents can make.

Interestingly the article touches upon something that has yet to come up in any of my other research; that the rich and the poor navigate the city of São Paulo in vastly different ways. While the poor spend hours navigating to the city center by various modes of transportation, the rich have the ability to use Voom, an airbus company, think “‘uber for helicopters’,” that enables the super-rich to navigate the city by helicopter. With more than 450 helipads sprawling the tall skyscrapers of São Paulo’s city center the rich are able to distance themselves from the growing problems with transportation as well as the populations that rely on city transit the most (van Mead 2017). In essence, offering the rich opportunities to deny the problems plaguing the city.



Figure 2: Helipads in the Itaim Bibi district of São Paulo. Photograph: Bing Maps/Guardian Imaging Van Mead 2017.

The Figure 2 graphic creates a startling image and illustrates the immense infrastructure that exists in the city center, starkly contrasting from that of the peripheries. It further showcases the gross inequality evident amongst the richest and poorest of São Paulo. São Paulo’s centrality is partially to blame. The city center is home to capital and all resource access, meaning that *favela*

citizens are constantly needing to travel to the city center to retrieve access to capital and opportunity.

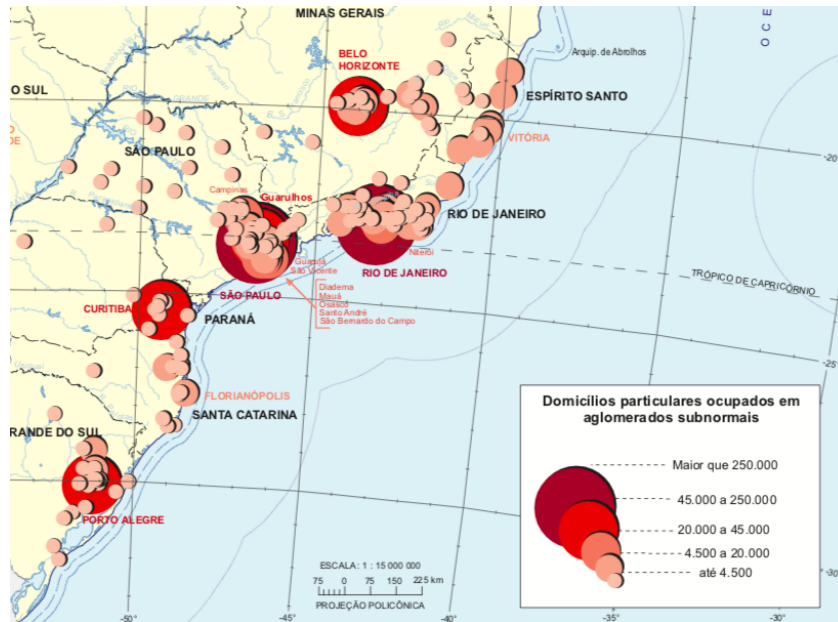


Figure 3: Households in subnormal clusters³ across the state of São Paulo. Red circles indicate households occupied in subnormal clusters⁴. IBGE maps, Atlas of the Demographic Census 2010.

This figure offers more insights into accessibility to transit and resources, as well as the sheer number of *favela* inhabitants. The figure indicates that *favelas*, or households in subnormal clusters (term used by IBGE maps and census), are plenty along the coast of São Paulo, but are just outside of the city center. Development of these *favelas* in these locations illustrates how *favela* residents have either been pushed out of the city center through displacement, or were essentially forced to live on the periphery because housing was inaccessible to them. This has huge implications for access to transit and infrastructure. Once again, the centrality of the city of São Paulo is in part to blame, as citizens are forced to make the trek to the city center for work and opportunity, however poor infrastructure and lacks in access to transit and transportation to take *favela* citizens to the city center is the main culprit.

This paper has made clear that race informs lack of access to opportunity in São Paulo’s *favelas*. That being said, Brazilians, and São Paulo citizens still fail to see the myth of racial democracy for what it is. The intersections of class and race certainly impact accessibility to

³ Original text taken from IBGE map, “Domicílios em aglomerados subnormais,” another term for *favela*.

⁴ Original text taken from IBGE map, “Domicílios particulares ocupados em aglomerados subnormais.”

transit and Brazilians perception of inequality in the country. Brazilians would rather use discussions of class to bypass the need to acknowledge the ways race informs urban planning and displacement. While *favelas* are not 100% Afro-Brazilian, non-white populations, these communities make up the majority and that fact can not be ignored. While some white Brazilians or white immigrants may live in the *favelas* of São Paulo, we can't dismiss the role of race in this displacement. The role of class is still significant though; there is no denial that classism exists in Brazil and immense income inequality as well. This has implications for Brazilians of all races and is of concern. The goal of this research though was to ensure that the proper discussions of race in the context of Brazil and São Paulo occur due to a lack of acknowledgement of this topic. By no means do I dismiss the issue of class inequality, in fact it exacerbates the inequality non-white Brazilians face. The intersections of class and race are therefore co-produced.

A lacking of reliable transportation and a general lack of desire to renew these communities through democratic urban planning programs shows how little the government seems to care for these marginalized citizens. It is no wonder that protests over poor transit systems and bus fares have swept the city.

Bus fares and protest

Protests over increases in bus fares were lead by Movimiento Passe Livre (MPL) also known as the Free Fare or Free Pass Movement. The movement aims to support new transport initiatives in Brazilian cities and fights for the democratization of access to urban space, in essence, championing for the goals of the 1988 Constitution and the City Statute to come to fruition (MPL). The MPL aims to discuss “urban aspects such as disorderly growth of metropolises, relation to city and environment, real estate speculation and the relationship between drugs, violence and social inequality”⁵ (MPL). This movement is revolutionary in its intersectional approach. Most interestingly is they “fight for the defense of freedom of manifestation, against the repression and criminalization of social movements,”⁶ therefore

⁵ Original text taken from organization website: “O MPL deve fomentar a discussão sobre aspectos urbanos como crescimento desordenado das metrópoles, relação cidade e meio ambiente, especulação imobiliária e a relação entre drogas, violência e desigualdade social.” Translated with the use of automatic google translation tools.

⁶ Original text taken from organization website: “O MPL deve lutar pela defesa da liberdade de manifestação, contra a repressão e criminalização dos movimentos sociais.” Translated with the use of automatic google translation tools.

critiquing the militarization of police forces and the police violence that they, along with other social movements, have endured. Even with their intersectional analysis of inequity in Brazil and its major cities the MPL still lacks the inclusion of race in its conversations, proving that to some extent, even the most revolutionary of movements of Brazil are still locked within the concept of a racial democracy. The Free Fare Movement brought thousands into the streets during protests in 2013 but statistical data and analysis still lacks regarding the role that Brazilians of color played in the movement. My inability to travel to São Paulo and analyze the makeup of the MPL is a disadvantage but illustrates a lack in research that upcoming scholars can come to fill.

In 2013 protests over increasing bus fares throughout São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro highlighted growing issues facing the country. Inflation, a recession, and a lack of understanding for poor communities of color lead to spikes in bus fares in major cities that faced huge backlash from citizens. In 2016 it happened again. A discursive analysis of news reports during the 2013 and 2016 protests highlight the continued absence of race from discussions in Brazilian Society. From the New York Times to Reuters to popular Latin American news sources, protestors were seen as violent, with immense focus placed on their actions while protesting rather than the social and economic implications of increased bus fares. The journalists writing on the bus fare protests also lacked an analysis of the implications of the intense militarization of Brazilian police forces, as well as anti-black and anti-poor sentiment in igniting violence amongst citizens.

A New York Times piece, “Bus-Fare Protests Hit Brazil’s Two Biggest Cities” uses negative descriptions of MPL protesters, calling them “forcefull” (Romero 2013). While this article offers some historical context into the 1870 protests over transportation fares it still lacks an analysis of the racial intersections within the movement. Interestingly it does provide insight into the motives of Brazil’s governments who aim to “promote Brazil as a safe and stable destination” in advance of the mega-events that soon followed (Romero 2013). While the article discusses the tactics used by the police forces, which included tear gas and rubber bullets, it lacks an analysis of the reasons why militarized forces exist in Brazil and why they are employed when Brazilian citizens are protesting.

A Reuters article, “Bus Fares in Brazil's biggest City turns violent” follows the 2016 protests that occurred in São Paulo (Doce 2016). In this piece the protests themselves are described as “violent” with no critical analysis given to the role that police forces may have played in that violence initially erupting. The history of anti-black police violence is also omitted

from the article as is the fact that low income Brazilians of color are likely the ones hurt most from these bus fare spikes. Therefore, it becomes more and more evident that media reporting on these topics lacks an analysis of the ways in which race and class intersect in Brazilian society and within law and policy making. While this article also explores the use of tear gas and stun grenades on São Paulo citizens it doesn't critique this violent response to city wide protests or the common occurrence of the militarized police forces in Brazil and its major cities. Interestingly an analysis of Venezuelan news publication Telsur offers a bit of a more critical analysis of the occurrences of the 2016 protests. The article, "Bus Fare Protest in São Paulo Turns Violent" describe the protests as initially "peaceful demonstrations" that were met with riot police and their violent use of tear gas and stun grenades (Telsur 2016). This article seems to be hinting at the possibility of Brazilian police forces as being partially to blame for the violence that broke out during the protests, although it is not extremely explicit. Furthermore, the article still ignores discussions of race and class, but does offer a list of other grievances held by protesters which included discontent regarding corruption, the amount of money spent on development for the FIFA World Cup, and the eight percent increases to bus and transit fares (Telesur 2016). That being said it was the only article that connected grievances over the bus fares with other failures of the Brazilian government. Given the displacement and violence that erupted during the development of locations for Brazil's mega-events, it is no wonder that lower or middle class Brazilians are fed up by their mistreatment and the erasure of the issues that threaten their already vulnerable statuses.

The denial of the implications of increased bus fares on São Paulo citizens is astonishing. The reality is that communities of colors are those typically relying on these forms of public transportation. It cannot be a coincidence that the communities impacted most by these increases to bus fares are Brazilians of color, Alcione Santos being one of them. It is evident that the politics of exclusion are at play here and further influence the racialization of urban space in São Paulo.

Discussion

The invisibilization of race from discourses surrounding the right to the city, secure land and housing rights, and poor accessibility to resources and transit, illustrate the ways Brazilian

society has ignored race. It is this very invisibilization that disproves their belief in racial democracy. Between the lack of enforcement and failures to protect the right to the city for São Paulo *favela* inhabitants — predominantly citizens of color, — a denial of democratic involvement in urban planning to bolster secure housing rights, poor transit, and a blatant disregard for the negative implications of increasing bus fares tells me multiple things. One, that Brazil likes to ignore race, something I already knew, but second, and more importantly that the erasure of black lives and citizens is much more insidious than I initially believed. This erasure and desire to displace is connected to the historical implications of *mestiçagem* which I deem to represent white supremacist ideology, whiteness.

The myth of racial democracy in Brazil is informed by the “theory that Brazil’s population was ‘improving’ because of the whitening effect of miscegenation” (Appelbaum et al. 2003:163). Early racist theorists spewed hateful rhetoric that along with a veneration for European culture and whiteness informed a renewed faith in eugenics as a means to improve the “Brazilian race” after the first world war. Interestingly miscegenation wasn’t the first choice for many theorists who wanted to whiten Brazil. Renato Kehl a leader in the Brazilian eugenics movement lobbied for increased “‘Aryan’” immigration and was against miscegenation due to the belief it would “result in degeneracy, disorder, crime and vice” (Appelbaum et al. 2003:164). Francisco de Oliveira Vianna held the belief that the innate inferiority of African and “Indian” blood was believed to have “hindered the European colonizers’ civilizing mission” in the country, only to be “improved” as it “whitened through natural selection” (Appelbaum et al. 2003:164). Then along came Manoel Bomfim who stated the “key to progressive biological evolution” is “cross-racial sexual relations,” and Freyre’s myth of racial democracy was born (Appelbaum et al. 2003:164). What has come of this is the contradiction of the simultaneous enjoyment of black culture and the biological whitening that has occurred across the nation.

These ideas and myths mirrored political changes in the country, and the work of Freyre and Vianna influenced the national regime of Getúlio Vargas, who served as President of Brazil and later dictator through the 30s and 40s (Appelbaum et al. 2003). The influence of these beliefs in whitening the black out of Brazil therefore informed policy during Brazil’s rapid development and left lasting ramifications. These legacies play out in the failures of the implementation of the right to the city, poor and insecure land and housing rights throughout the nation, and a lack of accessible, affordable, and reliable transportation. All of which occur in São Paulo and influence

the maintenance and persistent lack of rights and accessibility to capital and upward mobility for *favela* residents of color. The ramifications of the cultural and political maintenance of the myth of racial democracy in Brazil constructs “race as a system of hierarchical power relations” (Fanon 1967; 2004; Kane 2007:357), that legitimate white supremacy (Kane 2007:357). “Whiteness” in this sense has created a “legal legitimization of expectations of power and control that enshrine the status quo... while masking the maintenance of white privilege and domination” that further propels the myth of racial democracy throughout Brazil, and the world (Harris 1993:1715).

CONCLUSION

I have been very forthcoming regarding the limitations of my research however it is my hope that Brazilian society and the racial dynamics of the country continue to be critiqued and analyzed. This work has the possibility to offer insights and encourage further analysis and study into the persistence of racial myths throughout Latin America where race is seen second to class as a signifier of inequality, if seen at all.

It is clear, that São Paulo urban renewal, city planning, and modernity goals are informed by paulista identity and are evidently based in racial exclusion. The historical legacies of *mestiçagem* are essential to understand this. The belief in whitening the black out of Brazil during and after slavery, while an assimilationist attitude, is also founded in the concept of whiteness. The following development of paulista identity in the 20th century that connected modernity with European and white aspirations, further illustrates the white supremacist attitudes evident in São Paulo. What has become clear to me in this research is that Brazil sees development as a way to push out vulnerable communities of color. This association of progress with racial exclusion is founded in whiteness and the desire and right to exclude others.

This has huge consequences. My work has aimed to further research on Brazilian society and its racial dynamics. While scholars that came before me clearly debunked the racial myth of Brazil, little research exists that associates racism and racial ideology in Brazil to white supremacist beliefs. My intent was to explore this association, which I have done in part. However, further work is certainly required in this area and offers me the potential for future research on this topic.

It is my aspiration that this work has provided a means of understanding how the history of slavery in Brazil and attitudes of whiteness have informed urban space, and “thwarted not only conceptions of racial justice but also conceptions of property that embrace more equitable possibilities” (Harris 1993:1791). It is the application and influence of racist attitudes and the privileging of whiteness to the development of law and city planning that has further racialized space throughout Brazil and in my case study of São Paulo. Simultaneously, it is the denial of addressing the needs of vulnerable communities of color in the creation of law and policy that is another crucial failure of the government. This acts as evidence of the maintenance and use of whiteness to inform accessibility to rights throughout the city of São Paulo. It is once Brazilian society can come to grips with their myth of racial democracy and the persistence of whiteness in the nation, that as a people and government, they may be able to have real, democratic, and equitable implementation of the right to the city. However, for now concepts of whiteness continue to exclude non-white Brazilians from access to resources, capital, and their rights, further racializing space in São Paulo. Brazil’s history of *mestiçagem* and São Paulo’s paulista identity make up the white supremacist ideology that has informed unequal development and urban planning. These legacies lead to the creation of the *favelas*, and simultaneously maintains them as racialized spaces, pushed to the peripheries, with unequal access to São Paulo’s social space. Therefore it is clear that racial politics impact urban space in São Paulo and throughout Brazil.

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