



## **"Race " and Class Dynamics in Metropolitan Contexts**

**Marcia Lima (USP/CEM/CEBRAP)**

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## ***“Race” and Class Dynamics in Metropolitan Contexts***

Márcia Lima<sup>1</sup>

### ***Introduction***

In the last ten years, Brazil has undergone important transformations that have, in a way, reset the agenda both for studies on inequality in general and on racial inequality in particular. These transformations are associated with changes of a structural nature and changes to the ways in which inequality is tackled through social inclusion policies.

Chief amongst the structural changes are those of a demographic character – such as a continuous decrease in fecundity, even among the poor, new family arrangements and alterations in the configuration of the working-age contingent of the population. In the economic field, special mention must be made of economic growth and its significant effects on the labor market, such as an increase in formal employment and pension contributions, a higher minimum wage and a generally improved level of schooling among the workforce.

In the case of social inclusion policy, though its effects are associated with these structural changes, the expansion and reformulation of social inclusion policies have proved extremely important in reducing the number of people living below the poverty line and to ameliorating social inequality (Paes & Barros, 2005).

The general outlook for racial inequality began to change over the last decade thanks to the as yet incipient effects of affirmative action, but also because of wider-ranging policies to combat poverty and inequality, especially through Cash Transfer Program. However, the impact of these two policy models for addressing racial inequality still needs to be properly ascertained. This is so mainly because studies on race relations and racial inequality in Brazil tend to concentrate much more on the pertinence and models of affirmative

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<sup>1</sup> Lecturer at the Sociology Department at USP. Associate Researcher at the Centro de Estudos da Metrópole (CEM), part of the Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento (CEBRAP), working on the CEPID-FAPESP project, which is part of the INCT-Estudos da Metrópole (CNPq).

policies than on their actual effects. Secondly, these policies tend to be too recent to allow for reliable measurement.

However, an important qualification has to be made concerning this panorama of change. The recent advances need to be welcomed with a certain caution, given the enormous initial equality deficit they have attempted to redress. Forecasts concerning the reduction of social and racial inequality in Brazil estimate that this same pace of mitigation would have to be sustained for a long period of time for a genuinely egalitarian society to consolidate (IPEA, 2007).

This article takes the abovementioned changes as its backdrop and sets itself a dual task. Firstly, it aims to reflect upon the field of racial inequality studies and reaffirm the importance of an articulated analysis of “race” and class based on the literature and these recent changes. Secondly, it purports to cross-reference studies on racial inequality with others on poverty and segregation in an attempt to ascertain the extent to which the “race” variable is relevant to investigations focused on the phenomenon of metropolitan poverty. To this aim, data is analyzed from two surveys – conducted in Cidade Tiradentes in São Paulo city and in the Bairro da Paz neighborhood of Salvador –, both part of the project *Association and Social Networks – Conditions and Determinants of Access to Social Policies among the Low-income Population*<sup>2</sup>. The guiding aim of this investigation was to analyze the mechanisms for the production and reproduction of poverty in metropolitan contexts, with emphasis not only on the economic aspects, but on the political, cultural and social sides as well. The questionnaire covered such specific topics as type of residence, conditions and determinants of access to collective services by low-income families, the job market, the importance of social networks, religion and association. While the questionnaire did not contain any specific questions about race relations, the idea behind this analysis is precisely to test the race variable in some of the situations investigated.

### ***Inequality, race and class***

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<sup>2</sup> Study conducted by teams from the Centro de Estudos da Metrópole (CEPID-FAPESP) and the Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento (CEBRAP). This study was part of a broader investigation entitled: “Regional Development and Socio-productive Inequalities”. The survey was funded by FINEP.

The theme of inequality rallies a range of different disciplinary fields pursuing explanations as to its origins, causes and effects and presenting a diversity of possible adumbrations. The issue has a bearing on economic development, poverty and social stratification, while in the field of political philosophy, reflections on inequality broach its relationship with freedom and the concept of a just society.

The theme remains dear to these disciplinary fields of study, particularly because of the analytical challenge of understanding its stability and durability in spite of recent economic transformations. Though an answer to this question has been sought via various analytical and methodological routes, they all share a common denominator in breaking with a perspective that not only approaches inequalities in terms of differences of individual capacity and performance, but also takes income as its sole measure in gauging the phenomenon.

In dialoguing with this perspective, Amartya Sen (2001) devised a theory that takes as its platform a fundamental distinction between what is meant by welfarist "individual satisfaction" (evaluated as per income) and what he calls "individual advantage". "Individual advantage" is a broader category for assessing well-being that allows us to consider "individual goods" (in the wider acceptance of the rational interests of the individual) as comparable and orderable. Well-being attained through income alone is not a sufficient measure of individual advantage.

The work of Charles Tilly (2006) extols the importance of an historical and relational approach to transformations in social issues in the contemporary world. According to the author, inequality is a relationship between people or groups of people in which interaction generates more advantage for one over the other. However, the big questions to be addressed are how, why and with what consequences life-opportunity inequalities distinguish socially different categories of people? (Tilly, 2006:50).

It is in this interpretive scope that the so-called adjoined variables come to the fore in explaining social inequalities. First off, because they are variables not related to differences in attributes or performances, but which are consolidated in the disadvantages historically produced among social, ethnic and gender groups, thereby becoming predictive of an individual's chances of

success (Grusky 1995, Therbon, 2000, Sernau 2000). Secondly, because they help us understand the mechanisms and processes that produce and reproduce inequalities insofar as they evince the relationship between individual characteristics and social structure; between biographical experience and societal order.

In the case of Brazil, the relationship between race and class is a formative theme in the field of the sociology of race relations, in which the analytical concern with identifying the “race” variable in the configuration of class inequality has always prevailed. According to Guimarães (2004), scholars in this field are doomed to move between theories of class and theories of social identities; between “class” and “race”. The recent transformations in Brazilian society, especially in the adoption of affirmative policies, have roused a debate never before seen in the public space in the manner in which it has expanded its visibility in the academic world. The kingpin of these discussions has been heavily characterized by the debate on the need for specific policies to tackle racial inequalities, in other words, a debate on race and class<sup>3</sup>.

These practices are robustly supported by studies in racial inequality that use aggregate data sets to identify if “race” is a significant variable on the unequal distribution of wealth and opportunities (Hasenbalg, 1979, Hasenbalg & Silva, 1988, Hasenbalg & Silva, 1992, Telles, 2003). The core thesis of these studies is that racial prejudice and discrimination are intimately linked to competition for space within the social structure, reflected in differences between color groups in the appropriation of positions in the social hierarchy.

Recent studies employing sophisticated statistical models have succeeded in corroborating part of the core argument of these studies. Firstly, they indicate the existence of strong social rigidity in Brazil, regardless of race or color. Secondly, they show that this social rigidity becomes a racial rigidity in attempts to acquire and retain high status. Racial rigidity is reflected in chances of upward mobility, starker racial discrepancy among the better-educated and professionally empowered and greater or lesser likelihoods of losing social

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<sup>3</sup> It is important to highlight that the affirmative policies currently underway in Brazil are not designed with the exclusive aim of tackling social inequalities. However, given the scope of this text it will not be possible to go deeper into the debate of other items on the agenda of these policies.

standing. In other words, they reveal racial rigidity (Ribeiro, 2009; Santos, 2005; Osório 2003)<sup>4</sup>.

The relationship between “race” and poverty is approached from two perspectives: the way studies on race treat the issue of poverty and how studies on poverty handle the variable of race.

In studies of racial inequality, the emphasis is placed both on the over-representation of the Black population among the poor and on the proportion of the poor within different racial categories. There are more Blacks (Negroes and Mulattos) among the poor, just as there are more poor people in the Black category than in the White. Another important aspect is that these differences have abided despite considerable changes in poverty prevalence. National Household Sample Survey data (PNAD), in 1999, show that 68% of the nation’s poorest 10% were black (Negro and Mulatto) and, in 2008 this percentage was 70.8%.

Recent studies on poverty have highlighted its heterogeneity, with special emphasis on the importance of other variables besides income in measuring its prevalence. In this sense, these studies have sought to dilute the dichotomy between poor and non-poor and call attention to differences in terms of both the concentration (degree) and characteristics of poverty. Ethnographic studies, network analyses and quantitative analyses conducted over recent years by the Center for Metropolitan Studies, initially on São Paulo, but more recently on the cities of Salvador and Rio de Janeiro, have shown considerable differences between poor areas. These differences can be seen both in access to State-offered and private market opportunity structures and in the importance of non-economic attributes to understanding situations of poverty. Furthermore, there is a dynamic in place between inequality and segregation through which instances of inequality generate segregation just as surely as segregation produces or aggravates inequalities (Almeida &

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<sup>4</sup> While the scope of this article does not permit the presentation of qualitative analyses of the theme, it is worth remembering that the existence of racial rigidity in mid and upper social strata is corroborated by qualitative studies. Differences in social position generate differences in experiences and perceptions of prejudice (Lima, 2001]. In this sense, qualitative studies that approach how individuals perceive and name situations of prejudice and discrimination, as well as their accounts and experiences of them, demonstrate the importance of the social aspect in the study contexts (social ascension processes, the jobs market, university environment, inter-racial emotional relationships, etc.). For more on this discussion see Sansone, 2004, Moutinho 2004, Figueiredo, 2003, Teixeira, 2003.

D'Andrea, 2004, Marques et alli, 2007, Marques e Torres 2008, Bichir, Torres & Marques, 2005).

Among the issues raised by these studies, the one that has proved most central to the discussion of race and poverty is the high concentration of Blacks and Mulattos in poorer areas. For Torres (2004), the most generic definition of residential segregation is the degree of agglomeration of a given social/ethnic group in a particular area. The places analyzed in the following section are characterized by a strong predominance of Blacks and the very poor. Are they, therefore, a matrix of racial inequality? Could we say that these places are racially segregated?

### ***Cidade Tiradentes and Bairro da Paz and metropolitan poverty***

The surveys conducted in Cidade Tiradentes and Bairro da Paz focused on the mechanisms by which poverty is produced and reproduced in metropolitan contexts and sought to emphasize not only the economic aspects traditional to studies on poverty, but the political, cultural and social aspects as well. The survey range included residents of between 20 and 60 years of age. 800 interviews were conducted in as many households in each neighborhood<sup>5</sup>.

Cidade Tiradentes is located twenty-five kilometers from the center of São Paulo. The neighborhood began to form in 1975, with the construction of a large housing estate to relocate the poor from other neighborhoods and reduce the housing deficit. In administrative terms, it comes under the municipal jurisdiction of São Paulo, though the media and public opinion tend to treat it as a "separate city", a perception that ended up being absorbed by the neighborhood population itself. According to a study carried out by Almeida (2008), the residents of the region refer to the state capital as another city, and can often be heard saying that they are 'going into São Paulo'. Cidade Tiradentes, fruit of a State-implemented segregation project to relocate poor families, is a region with intense poverty and a reputation for violence (Almeida e D'Andréa, 2008)

Bairro da Paz in Salvador, by contrast, is located in a region of highly-valued real estate (known as Avenida Paralela). Derived from successive land-

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<sup>5</sup> In the case of Cidade Tiradentes, the sample was randomly picked from a two-stage sampling plan, while in Salvador the sample was picked as per simple random sampling with systematic selection of households. The difference in method is justified by the demographic characteristics of the two neighborhoods.

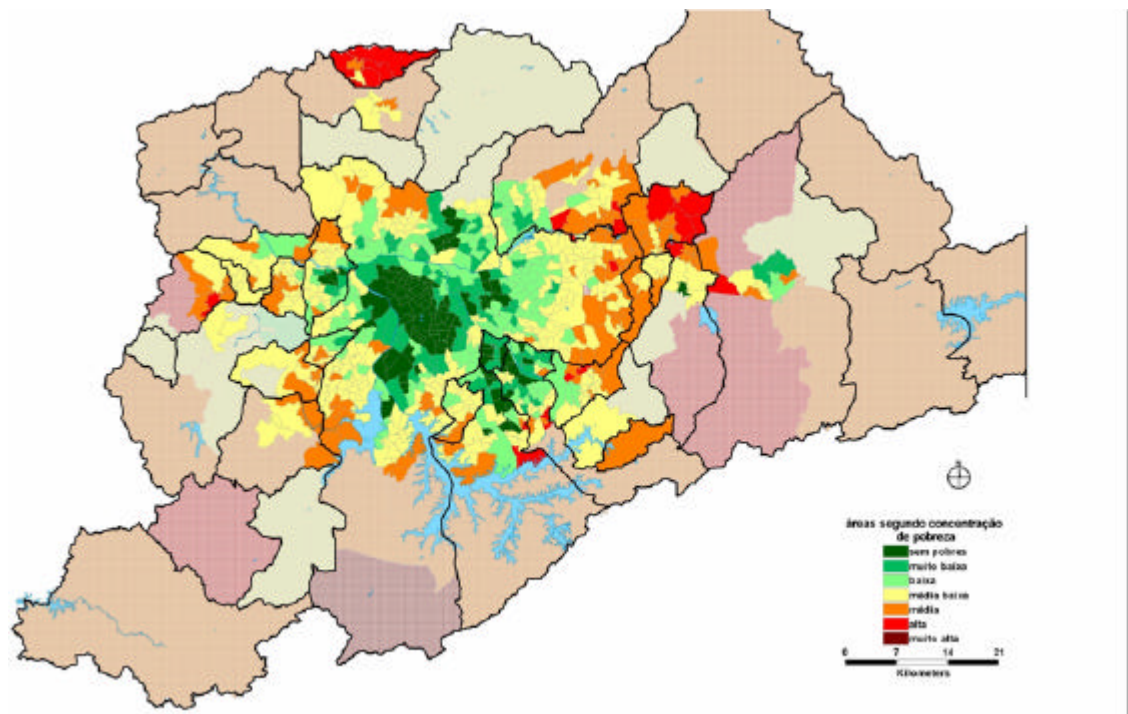
grabs, the region has a history of intense conflict. First established in 1982, the name Bairro da Paz was only coined in 1987 as a replacement for the original name 'Malvinas', a reference to the Malvinas or Falklands war, which began that same year (Hita & Duccciini, 2008).

Lavalle and Komatso (2008), checking the demographic variables of the surveys in Cidade Tiradentes and Bairro da Paz against the census data for their respective municipalities, found that Cidade Tiradentes, compared to the municipality of São Paulo as a whole, presents a very similar distribution in terms of gender, has more married people and fewer singles, an average age almost four years lower than that for the municipality and the same average number of years of schooling. On the other hand, Bairro da Paz, if compared to the municipality of Salvador, has a slightly lower proportion of males (3.5 percentage points), very similar numbers in terms of married couples and single individuals, and an average number of years of schooling nearly two years less than the city. However, the most glaring data discrepancy concerned racial composition. While in São Paulo Whites account for 68.0% of the population, this percentage falls to 35.4% in Cidade Tiradentes. In Salvador, the city-wide proportion of Whites is 24.2%, but only 11.1% in Bairro da Paz, thus corroborating the importance of White/Black population ratios as an indicator of poverty.

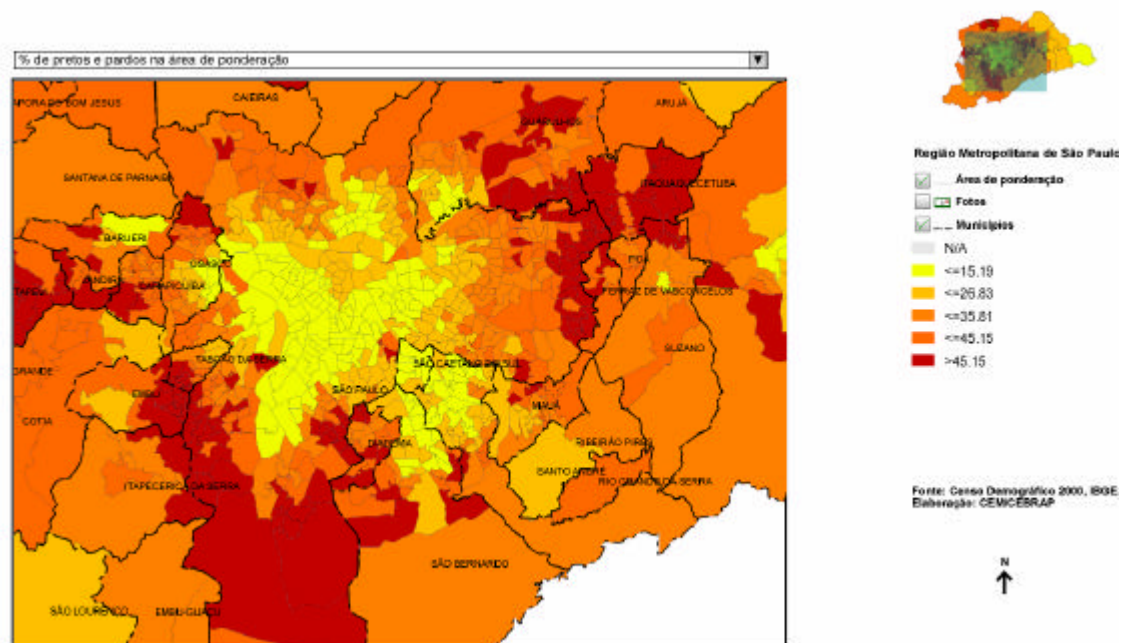
The maps below, drawn from data from the 2000 Census, present the proportion of Blacks and Mulattos in the cities of São Paulo and Salvador and show how their distribution is concentrated and superposed in poorer areas.



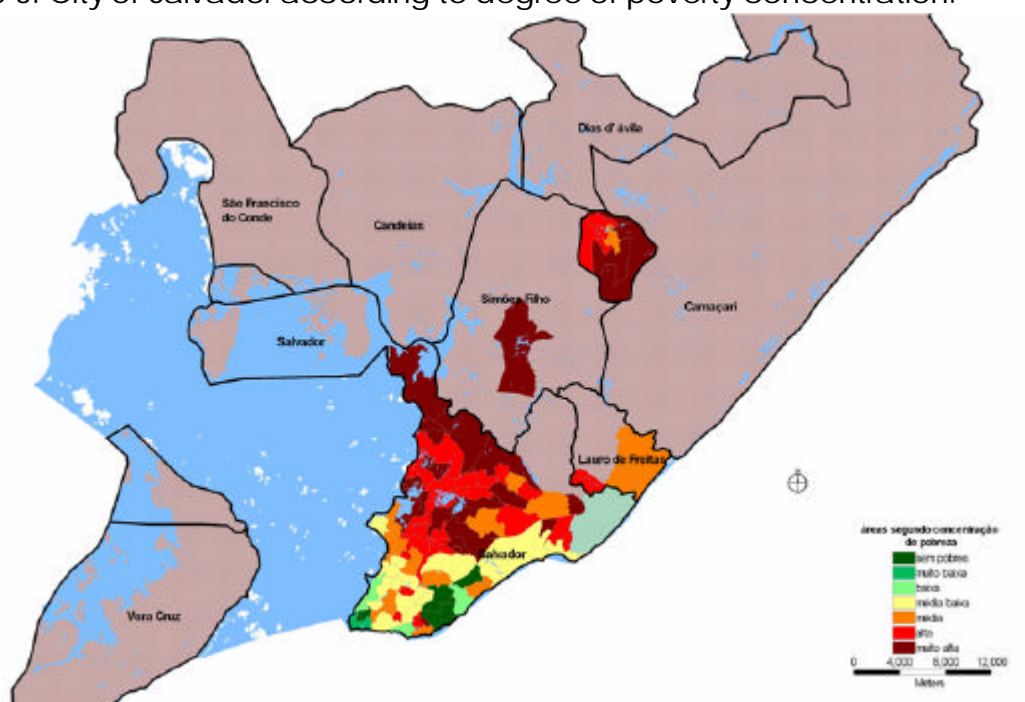
Map 1: City of São Paulo according to degree of poverty concentration.



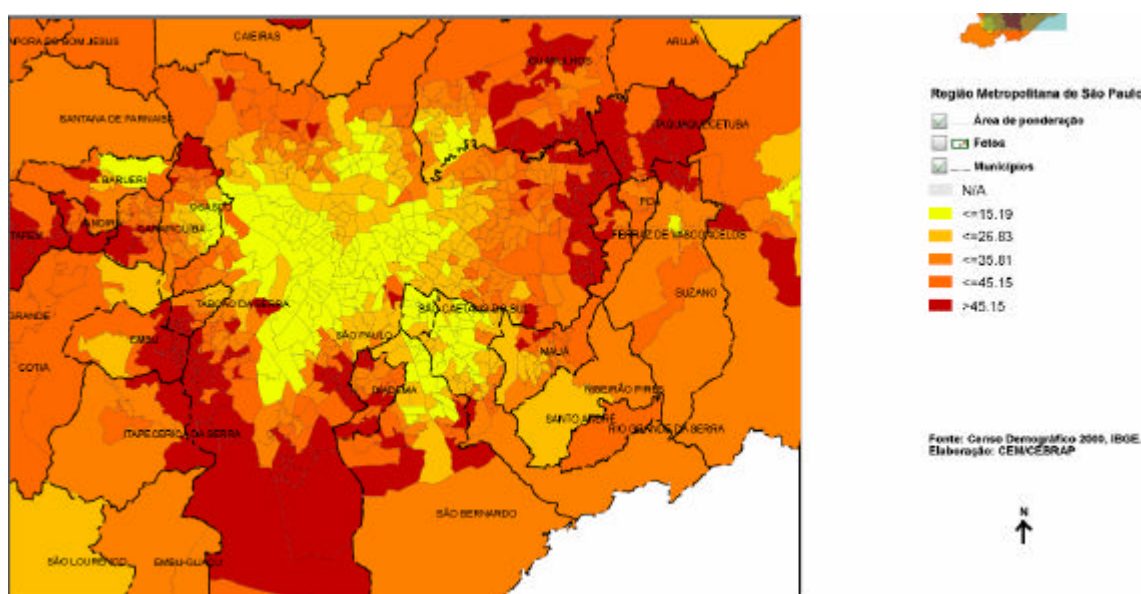
Map 2: Proportion of Blacks and Mulattos in São Paulo City.



Map 3: City of Salvador according to degree of poverty concentration.



Map 4: Proportion of Blacks and Mulattos in Salvador.



Data: 2000 Census.

The maps above allow us to visualize the overlap between race and poverty in both of the study regions. However, as previously said, while Cidade Tiradentes is located in the outskirts of the municipality of São Paulo, Bairro da Paz is considered an atypical area insofar as it has a predominantly Negro

population in an inner-city region of high-end real estate (*Garcia, 2006: pag. 112*).

The level of poverty of the populations of these neighborhoods is evinced by the numbers of people receiving government stipends: 87.5% of the interviewees in Cidade Tiradentes and 54.4% in Bairro da Paz receive some form of government assistance. This could be somewhat explained by the lack of employment opportunities, with unemployment featuring heavily in the study areas. 41.2% of the respondents in Cidade Tiradentes and 44.9% of those in Bairro da Paz to be out of work at the time of the survey.

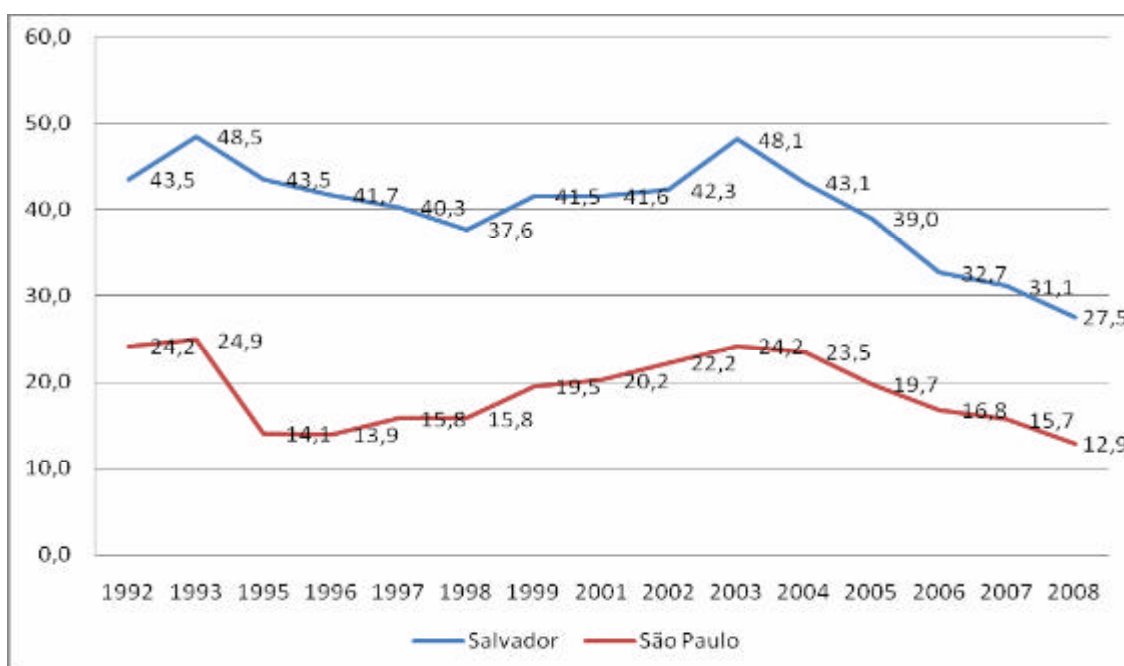
Before proceeding to the specific analysis of the neighborhoods under study, two important considerations on the phenomenon of poverty in the study cities need to be made<sup>6</sup>. The year the surveys were conducted, 2006, belongs to a cycle of poverty reduction and extreme poverty abatement begun in 2004. Furthermore, another important aspect was the metropolitanization of poverty that occurred during the 90s. While they have not lost their centrality in terms of economic and social dynamism, the Brazilian metropolises, which together house over 40% of the national population, have seen their capacity to generate employment diminish in the wake of a respatialization and decentralization of production (Comin, 2005).

The second point for consideration is the difference between the two study regions. Though Metropolitan Salvador presents a higher rate of poverty than Metropolitan São Paulo, it has recently enjoyed a better economic performance in terms of poverty reduction. The following graph compares poverty-reduction performance in the two metropolitan regions.

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<sup>6</sup> The aggregated data used to contextualize the poverty in the cities of São Paulo and Salvador dates to the year 2000 (census information) while the surveys were conducted in 2006. As, in terms of analyzing the situation, this time lapse was considerable, we opted to take as a reference the *National Household Sample Survey* figures for the year in which the surveys were made. However, these data refer to the metropolitan regions of São Paulo and Salvador, not the cities.

**Graph1. Poverty proportions in the Salvador Metropolitan Region and Sao Paulo Metropolitan Region.**



Fonte: National Household Sample Survey data.

Analyzing metropolitan poverty from census data for 2003 and 2004, Rocha (2006) found that metropolitan regions (MRs) in general and the MR of São Paulo (SP) in particular, present more adverse results when it comes to poverty reduction. However, she highlights Salvador as the metropolitan region that obtained the best poverty-reduction performance. For Rocha, weak job creation, declining productivity, a relatively strong increase in costs of living for the poor and a lower positive impact of fixed values based on national parameters (such as revenue transfer programs) are all factors that have contributed to the unfavorable situation in the nation's largest metropolitan region (Rocha, 2006: 274-274).

### ***Color and class dynamics in Cidade Tiradentes and Bairro da Paz***

This section discusses the possible dynamics between race and poverty in the study neighborhoods. The idea is to ascertain whether, in these extremely poor neighborhoods with predominantly Black and Mulatto populations, there are any differences between race/color groups<sup>7</sup>. Does the data presented thus

<sup>7</sup> It is important to ensure that the low number of cases for individuals classified as white does not invalidate the analyses between race/color groups.

far enable us to say that these areas are racially segregated? To what degree does the super-representation of Negro populations living in conditions of poverty constitute a racial issue?

Some aspects of the way in which this analysis was conducted need to be clarified. First of all, the race/color variable is treated as explicative of the phenomena under investigation. In other words, as the questionnaire did not address the theme of race, the data presented herein constitutes an empirical exercise that aims to test this variable in a specific context.

In relation to racial classification, the questionnaire had two means by which to collect information on this variable: the observations of the interviewer and self-classification by the interviewee. Both forms of collection used IBGE racial classifications: White, Black, Oriental, Indigenous, Mulatto and "other".

The table below presents the racial/color self-classifications of the interviewees. The first thing to notice is the difference in the use of racial classifications in the two neighborhoods. In Cidade Tiradentes, 42.9% of those surveyed used the "other" category to describe themselves as "moreno" (literally 'brown' or 'tanned') or "Negro". In Bairro da Paz, this category was used by only 9% of those interviewed, and almost always to identify themselves as "moreno".

**Table 1: Composition of the resident populations as per race/color (self-designation)**

	São Paulo	Cidade Tiradentes	Salvador	Bairro da Paz
Branca	68,0	35,4	24,2	11,1
Preta	5,4	4,0	21,4	35,0
Amarela	2,4	0,2	0,3	2,2
Parda	23,2	16,6	52,7	41,5
Indígena	0,2	0,0	0,8	1,1
Ign./Outros	0,8	43,7	0,6	8,9
Moreno	-	24,6	-	7,6
Negro	-	18,3	-	1,1
Outros	-	0,8	-	0,3

Data: Lavalle, Adrian and Komatso (2008), page 8.

Studies that deal with the issue of color classification in Brazil underscore the importance of the social character of racial classification. The contexts of class and social position tend to alter patterns of both self-designation and heteroclassification. In relation to the category "Moreno", the specialist literature shows that, though widely used and propitious to ambiguity, the

designation, when reclassified, tends to oscillate between White and Mulatto, basically varying in accordance with the phenotype of the interviewee (Silva, 1996). The more frequent use of the category “moreno” in Cidade Tiradentes may have something to do with the migratory characteristics of São Paulo city, where the term “moreno” is sometimes used to distinguish in-comers from the local Negro population. Some studies on race relations in low-income areas register an attempt on behalf of certain non-whites to distinguish themselves from the Black population by introducing “color gradients” (Kofes, 1976, Teixeira, 1984).

For the sake of analysis, the self-classification by race/color was re-codified in order to ensure a sufficient number of cases in each color group by narrowing the categories to White, Black and Mulatto. This re-codification was made by crossing the answers to the self-classification question with interviewer observations. The result was that most of those self-designated as “Moreno” were placed into the “Mulatto category”, while those self-designated as “Negro” were re-codified as “Black”. Moreover, prior analyses showed that the grouped categories were statistically very similar.

As the survey did not collect information on the color of other members of the selected households, it was not possible to work on this aspect in relation to family conditions. In other words, the fact that the interviewee declared him/herself to be white, black or mulatto was not sufficient reason to infer that all members of that individual’s family shared that self-designation. Even so, various tests were carried out with variables that encompassed household characteristics (living conditions and durable consumer goods) and, considering the racial self-designation of the interviewed member, no significant racial/color difference was found among the respondents. One could therefore affirm that, in those extremely poor areas, there is no discernable racial inequality among sample households, nor is there any race/color-based discrepancy in terms of access to State resources, such as revenue transfer programs.

But how does this individual “race/color” attribute associated to poverty function outside these areas? Taking into consideration the vast literature on racial inequalities, we explored variables on the questionnaire that could detect the manner in which mechanisms of social insertion for residents of these



two study areas were altered by the effects of the interviewees' belonging to this or that racial group. The literature indicates that educational level, unemployment, job market insertion and income serve as characteristics that both reveal and produce inequality. These analyses sought, wherever possible, to compare interracial inequality detected in the study areas to similar inequalities on a metropolitan level.

In relation to level of schooling, bivariate tables for Cidade Tiradentes showed that there are differences in average years of schooling among racial groups, though these cease to be significant when controlled by gender. In Bairro da Paz, no difference in educational level between racial groups was detected. Interestingly, the Blacks and Mulattos in Cidade Tiradentes fare far better on this score than their metropolitan São Paulo counterparts. However, when we compare the borough to the metropolitan region of Salvador, we see that the former presents a lower average number of schooling years across the racial spectrum.

**Table 2: Average schooling years for the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo and Cidade Tiradentes. 2006.**

	RMSP	Cidade Tiradentes
White	7,6	8,3
Black	6,5	7,5
Mulatto	5,9	7,3

Data: SPMR-IBGE, PNAD, 2006 e Survey Cidade Tiradentes: CEBRAP, 2006

**Table 3: Average schooling years for the Metropolitan Region of Salvador and Bairro da Paz. 2006**

	RM-Salvador	Bairro da Paz
White	8,0	5,9
Black	6,4	5,9
Mulatto	6,4	6,0

Data: SMR-IBGE, PNAD, 2006 and survey Bairro da Paz. CEBRAP, 2006

In terms of unemployment, the rate for Cidade Tiradentes is 18.3% and 28.2% for Bairro da Paz, both being higher than for their respective Metropolitan regions (12% and 16.5%). The situation is more critical in Bairro da Paz, where the unemployment rate is 70% higher than for metropolitan Salvador. In relation to racial inequality, Blacks and Mulattos in Cidade Tiradentes and Mulattos in Bairro da Paz are the worst affected. When it comes to job-seeking, the

association between color and poverty seems to complicate matters for the Negro population, especially in Salvador.

**Table 4: Rate of Unemployment per Color – Metropolitan Region of São Paulo and Cidade Tiradentes. 2006.**

	MR Sao Paulo	Cidade Tiradentes
White	10,6	15,5
Black	15,2	22,4
Mulatto	14,5	18,5
Total	12,0	18,4

**Table 5: Rate of Unemployment per Color – Metropolitan Region of Salvador and Bairro da Paz. 2006**

	MR Salvador	Bairro da Paz
White	12,4	28,8
Black	17,7	22,9
Mulatto	17,1	32,3
Total	16,5	28,3

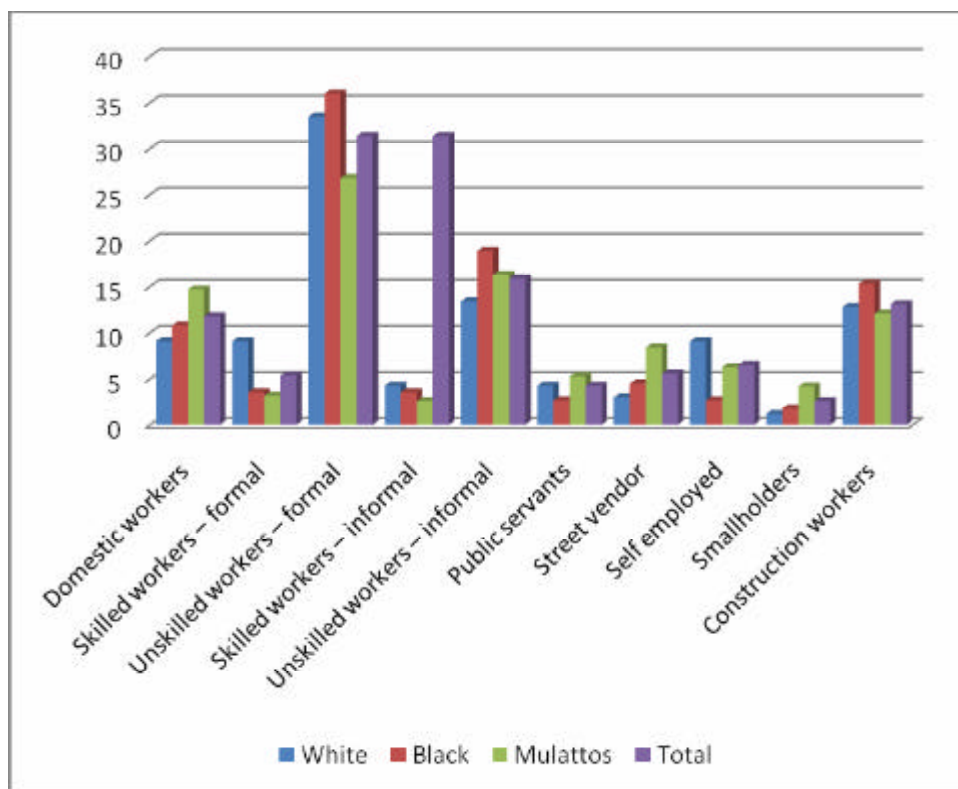
In terms of occupation (see graph 2 and 3), the distribution of individuals per occupational group was different in the two shantytowns<sup>8</sup>. While both areas share a higher incidence of domestic and construction workers, these occupations are far more prevalent in Bairro da Paz than in Cidade Tiradentes: the proportion of domestic workers in Bairro da Paz is 22.1% against 11.7% in Cidade Tiradentes. As for construction workers, the respective percentages are 18.2% and 13.0%. In Cidade Tiradentes, the percentage of non-specialized registered laborers is 31.0%. Without controlling for other variables, the difference in the distribution of individuals as per race and occupation is not statistically significant.

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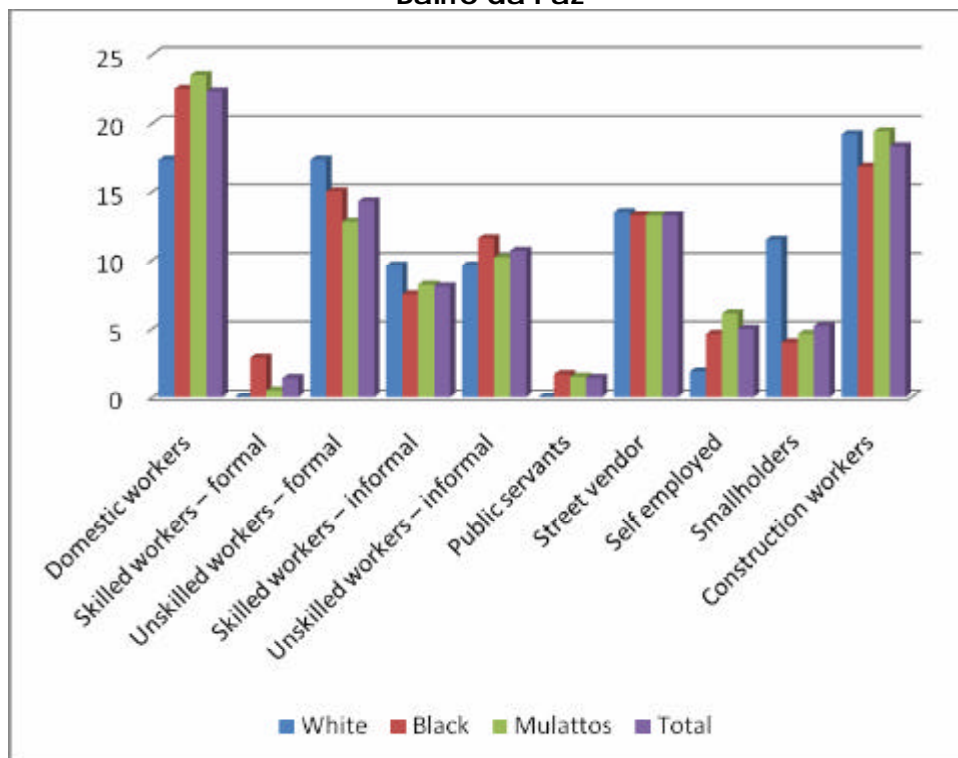
<sup>8</sup> Due to the peculiar characteristics of the spaces investigated, in terms of labor market, we constructed a specific occupational classification for these surveys based on the Brazilian Classification of Occupations.



**Distribution by race and occupation –  
Cidade Tiradentes.**



**Distribution by race and occupation -  
Bairro da Paz**



Source: Surveys Cidade Tiradentes and Bairro da Paz. 2006

Comparing the distribution of wealth (for occupied people) in the study neighborhoods with their respective metropolitan regions, based on PNAD-2006 data, it was observed that in Cidade Tiradentes, as in the MR of São Paulo as a whole, the distribution is asymmetric to the right (as we can see from the differences in the average and median values). Average incomes for Cidade Tiradentes are practically half those for metropolitan São Paulo. Another interesting point is the comparison between the variation coefficients: distribution of wealth in Cidade Tiradentes is much more homogeneous than in the MR of SP. That said, there is little difference between their respective lowest tenths: the poorest 10% in the São Paulo MR has an income very similar to that of the poorest 10% in Cidade Tiradentes. The “floor” for incomes in the two samples was relatively similar. This would imply that there is a reasonable contingent of residents in Cidade Tiradentes that does not rank among the poorest 10% of the MR. The big difference lies in the upper 10% strata.

**Table 7: Characteristics of Labor Income –São Paulo Metropolitan Region and Cidade Tiradentes**

	MRSP	Cidade Tiradentes
<b>Valid</b>	8.983.367*	461
<b>Average</b>	R\$ 1.172,22	R\$ 645,20
<b>Median</b>	R\$ 700,00	R\$ 570,00
<b>Std. Deviation</b>	R\$ 1.696,23	R\$ 415,09
<b>Variation Coefficient</b>	1,447	0,643
<b>Lowest Decil</b>	R\$ 300,00	R\$ 250,00
<b>Average of lowest decil</b>	R\$ 164,73	R\$ 150,15
<b>Highest Decil</b>	R\$ 2.500,00	R\$ 1.200,00
<b>Average of highest decil</b>	R\$ 4.734,99	R\$ 1.756,33

The distributions of wealth (for occupied people) in Bairro da Paz and metropolitan Salvador were also asymmetric to the right. The average income in this shantytown was slightly less than half that for the Salvador MR as a whole. As in Cidade Tiradentes, the variation coefficient indicated a more homogeneous distribution than for the metropolitan region, though there is a stark contrast between incomes for the poorest tenth in Bairro da Paz and the poorest tenth in metropolitan Salvador. In Bairro da Paz, the top and average incomes within this bracket are practically half those identified for the MR.

When we compare the wealthiest tenths for Bairro da Paz and the Salvador MR, the disparity becomes even more glaring. Bairro da Paz ranks among the poorest shantytowns in Salvador – something that cannot be said of Cidade Tiradentes in São Paulo.

**Table 8: Characteristics of Labor Income –Salvador Metropolitan Region and Bairro da Paz**

	RM-Salvador	Bairro da Paz
<b>Valid</b>	1.521.968	406
<b>Average</b>	R\$ 795,55	R\$ 355,07
<b>Median</b>	R\$ 400,00	R\$ 350,00
<b>Std. Deviation</b>	R\$ 1.349,11	R\$ 216,22
<b>Variation Coefficient</b>	1,696	0,609
<b>Lowest Decil</b>	R\$ 150,00	R\$ 80,00
<b>Average of lowest decil</b>	R\$ 85,20	R\$ 45,51
<b>Highest Decil</b>	R\$ 1.600,00	R\$ 700,00
<b>Average of highest decil</b>	R\$ 3.577,45	R\$ 828,03

In the metropolitan region of São Paulo there is a huge income difference between Whites and Blacks, with the average income of the former being almost twice that of the latter. In Cidade Tiradentes, however, the difference is not all that wide. Whites still earn more, but when other variables are factored in, such as gender, for example, no statistically relevant difference can be ascertained. The income differences encountered in the metropolitan region of Salvador (and subsequent White, Mulatto and Black hierarchy, in that order) are not repeated in Bairro da Paz, where no significant difference was detected between the incomes of different race/color groups.

#### Multivariate Analysis

Given the socioeconomic and racial specificities of the sample, we opted to run a multiple regression model based on individual incomes (models in appendix).

The model for Cidade Tiradentes proved highly explanatory, estimating 42.1% of income behavior<sup>9</sup>. Interpretation of the coefficients reveals that there is no significant difference in income between Whites, Mulattos and Blacks when we control for years of schooling, working hours and occupational group

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<sup>9</sup> The residuals are arbitrary and normally distributed (with slight asymmetry to the left), The residual variance is a little higher than the predicted below-average values.

(not to mention gender). However, gender discrepancies are considerable, with men earning 38.72% more than women. The highest-earning occupational group is the civil servants, followed by registered specialist laborers and registered non-specialist laborers.

This leads one to believe that, among the residents of Cidade Tiradentes, formal employment carries great weight in terms of improved income. This conclusion cannot be carried over to domestic help, as this occupational group tends not to be formally registered.

The model for Bairro da Paz was less explanatory than that for Cidade Tiradentes<sup>10</sup>. Analysis of race variables detects no significant income differences between Whites and Blacks. However, gender discrepancies are considerable, with men earning 55.3% more than women. As with Cidade Tiradentes, public servants were the highest earners in Bairro da Paz, followed by registered specialist and non-specialist laborers (in that order). Once again, the findings reinforce the hypothesis that formal employment is an important factor in improved incomes among the poor.

### ***Final considerations: do we have a racial issue?***

This text sought to raise a number of topics in order to deal with the relationship between racial and social inequality and show the weight the race issue carries in discussions on social inequality. Recent literature on the theme has attributed increasing importance to this variable, underscoring that additional variables such as race and sex, in conjunction with class, comprise the Gordian knot of inequality studies (Sernau, 2005).

In the Brazilian case, changes wrought by affirmative action have reinvigorated the race and class dichotomy. This debate has led Brazilian scholars from different fields and disciplines to address the race/class dynamic. While they recognize that prejudice and discrimination do exist, many categorically affirm that universalist policies or focal policies without a racial

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<sup>10</sup> The value of the adjusted coefficient of determination was 0.270, in other words, the variables considered explain 27.0% of income variations. The analysis of residuals indicates randomness. However, there is asymmetry to the left and residual variance is higher than the predicted below-average values (heteroscedasticity). This indicates that the model is a slightly better predictor of above-average than below-average incomes. Nevertheless, this does not render the model invalid.

vein are effective in combating racial inequality insofar as race is not relevant to understanding inequality.

Souza (2005) discusses the issue of race and class and draws attention to something important, namely the limitations of studies that emphasize the over-representation of Negroes in negative social indicators. For Souza, the concomitance of the two phenomena shows, beyond shadow of doubt, that there is a correlation between them, but does not “explain” why or how this correlation is drawn, much less elucidate the role of the race variable in producing inequality. Moreover, affirming that, in the Brazilian case, “skin color” is a secondary datum in relation to class habitus, he says:

*“it is precisely because racial prejudice is “relative” under modern conditions, seen as it is dependent upon and secondary to the primary and most important datum in the internalization of the emotional economy that characterizes the productive and useful social classes within the context of modern capitalism, which is that, in a society like ours, it is literally possible to whiten”.* (Souza, 2005: 62)

Well, if money not only enriches, but also “whitens”, then there is certainly a relationship between the two and the racial attribute – like the gender one – is an important analytical component in understanding class structure.

How far this attribute can explain inequality? On the weight of this attribute in explaining inequality, some studies show that of the composition of variables that explain highly complex phenomena, race is considered to possess relatively weak explanatory power. However, many of the issues presented in this article derive from an accumulation of earlier findings that allow us to assume that socio-economic contexts are crucial to an understanding of racial inequality: the analytical potential of the race variable should be measured in relation to the context under study.

In the case of the present article, the focus was on situations of extreme poverty in two neighborhoods, one in São Paulo and the other in Salvador. In relation to Cidade Tiradentes, it was revealed that the neighborhood, though far below the socio-economic standards, is not one of the poorest areas of the Metropolitan Region. The same could not be said of Bairro da Paz in Salvador, whose very location is an aggravator of its penury.

Drawing profiles for the two areas based on their socio-economic attributes and characteristics, one could say that in Cidade Tiradentes, men tend to be Mulatto or White, have primary-level education and work as non-

specialist, but registered laborers earning roughly 730 reais per month (US\$ 405). The women, on the other hand, tend to be Mulatto or White, with incomplete primary level education, and mostly work as domestic help earning in the region of 350 reais a month (US\$ 194). In Bairro da Paz, the men are Mulatto and Black, with incomplete primary-level education (up to 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> grade), and are mainly building site workers earning roughly 340 reais per month (US\$ 188). The women are largely Black, with incomplete primary schooling (5<sup>th</sup> grade), and work as domestic help earning an average wage of 180 reais a month (US\$ 100). In both cases, the working week for women is roughly 10 hours shorter than it is for men.

The results of these studies show that, in the case of a situation of extreme poverty, the racial attribute does not feature heavily, except in relation to unemployment – an important factor in understanding how color-stigma affects the job-seeker. Furthermore, though not a subject of analysis in this paper, the gender variable would seem to be pivotal in establishing income hierarchies in contexts of poverty.

As for the over-representation of Blacks and Mulattos (64% in Cidade Tiradentes and 86.7% in Bairro da Paz), it was observed that, in the case of Bairro da Paz, despite this over-representation, the distribution of individuals per color/racial group was basically proportional to the rest of Salvador. In Cidade Tiradentes, on the other hand, the distribution was more discrepant in relation to greater São Paulo. That said, in both cases the predominance of one population in a socially segregated space could contribute to their stigmatization as Black neighborhoods.

Wilson (1996) stresses the need to introduce a wider set of issues in order to understand the ghetto, particularly the lack of jobs and its effects on aggravating ghetto conditions. Hence he defines social structure as “the ordering of social positions (or status) and networks of social relations based on arrangements of mutually dependent social institutions (economy, family, politics, education)”. In this case, race, according to the author, reflects both individual standing (in the sense of social status as defined by skin color) and the relationship network of society, thus configuring a social/structural variable. Of course, there are clear differences between residential segregation in North-America and residential segregation in Brazil. Nevertheless, returning to Wilson’s

argument that inequality and segregation are distinct but interrelated phenomena in the United States, it would seem that segregation produces inequality and that, in turn, in Brazil at least, racial inequality breeds segregation.

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## Appendix 1

### Modelos de Regressão Múltipla (a) (b) (c) Variável dependente – Logaritmo natural da renda do trabalho do entrevistado. Cidade Tiradentes.

	Modelos				Efeito Percentual do Modelo 4 <sup>(d)</sup>
	1	2	3	4	
Intercepto	6,260***	5,973***	4,926***	4,830***	
Cor (brancos = 1)	0,156** (0,115)	0,135* (0,100)	0,064 (0,048)	0,075 (0,055)	
Cor (pardos = 1)	-0,080 (-0,061)	-0,070 (-0,053)	-0,070 (-0,054)	-0,071 (-0,054)	
Sexo (masculino = 1)		0,475*** (0,360)	0,371*** (0,281)	0,327*** (0,248)	38,72
Anos de estudo			0,058*** (0,269)	0,033*** (0,151)	3,34
Horas que trabalha por semana			0,016*** (0,336)	0,015*** (0,315)	1,49
Grupo 1 –Trabalhadores Domésticos				0,280** (0,140)	32,30
Grupo 2 –Trab. Especializados – CT				0,544*** (0,189)	72,21
Grupo 3- Trab. Não- Especializados – CT				0,478*** (0,345)	61,21
Grupo 4 - Trab. Especializados – SCT				-0,018 (-0,005)	
Grupo 5 - Trab. Não-Especializados – SCT				0,244** (0,138)	27,57
Grupo 6 - Funcionários Públicos				1,095*** (0,349)	198,81
Grupo 8 - Conta Própria				0,222 (0,085)	24,88
Grupo 9 - Pequenos Proprietários				0,408** (0,102)	50,36
Grupo 10 – Trab. Construção Civil				0,316*** (0,167)	37,11
N	455	455	452	452	
R	0,160	0,393	0,586	0,663	
R <sup>2</sup> Ajustado	0,021	0,149	0,337	0,421	
Erro Padrão da Estimativa	0,638	0,595	0,525	0,491	
Anova (Fisher)	5,891***	27,303***	46,747***	24,454***	

\* Significativo a 90% de Confiança / \*\* Significativo a 95% de Confiança / \*\*\* Significativo a 99% de Confiança

Entre parêntesis e em itálico estão os coeficientes padronizados da regressão.

(a) Foi excluído da análise o caso 572, por apresentar valor estimado muito distante do observado (resíduo padronizado a mais de 4 desvios-padrão)

(b) Foram excluídos da análise os casos 34, 348 e 522 devido a inconsistências na variável J3.

(c) o efeito percentual foi calculado somente para as variáveis que apresentaram coeficientes estatisticamente significantes

**Appendix 2**  
**Modelos de Regressão Múltipla** (a) (b)  
**Variável dependente – Logaritmo natural da renda do trabalho do**  
**entrevistado. Bairro da Paz**

	Modelos				Efeito Percentual do Modelo 4 <sup>(c)</sup>
	1	2	3	4	
Intercepto	5,593***	5,198***	4,696***	4,482***	
Cor (brancos = 1)	0,108 (0,045)	0,053 (0,022)	0,040 (0,017)	0,062 (0,026)	
Cor (pardos = 1)	0,031 (0,019)	0,032 (0,020)	0,004 (0,003)	0,025 (0,015)	
Sexo (masculino = 1)		0,661*** (0,394)	0,575*** (0,343)	0,436*** (0,260)	54,64
Anos de estudo			0,041*** (0,167)	0,025** (0,100)	2,50
Horas que trabalha por semana			0,008*** (0,187)	0,007*** (0,172)	0,75
Grupo 1 – Trabalhadores Domésticos				0,347*** (0,180)	42,45
Grupo 2 – Trab. Especializados – CT				0,908*** (0,128)	147,91
Grupo 3- Trab. Não- Especializados – CT				0,788*** (0,347)	119,91
Grupo 4 - Trab. Especializados – SCT				0,512*** (0,160)	66,92
Grupo 5 - Trab. Não-Especializados – SCT				0,429*** (0,153)	53,55
Grupo 6 - Funcionários Públicos				1,101*** (0,155)	200,69
Grupo 8 - Conta Própria				0,088 (0,022)	
Grupo 9 - Pequenos Proprietários				0,278 (0,077)	
Grupo 10 – Trab. Construção Civil				0,481*** (0,229)	61,76
N	387	387	373	372	
R	0,042	0,396	0,465	0,546	
R <sup>2</sup> Ajustado	-0,004	0,150	0,205	0,270	
Erro Padrão da Estimativa	0,821	0,755	0,730	0,700	
Anova (Fisher)	0,327	22,793***	20,168***	10,805***	

\* Significativo a 90% de Confiança / \*\* Significativo a 95% de Confiança / \*\*\* Significativo a 99% de Confiança

(a) Entre parêntesis e em itálico estão os coeficientes padronizados da regressão.

(b) Foram excluídos da análise os casos 828, 834, 867 e 1369 devido a inconsistências na variável J3.

(c) o efeito percentual foi calculado somente para as variáveis que apresentaram coeficientes estatisticamente significantes