
**The incorporation of the concept of segregation
in assessing the effects of policies to reduce human deprivation in Brazil**

**A incorporação do conceito de segregação
na avaliação dos efeitos das políticas para reduzir a privação humana no Brasil**

**La incorporación del concepto de segregación en la
evaluación de los efectos de las políticas para reducir de la privación humana en Brazil**

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Summary

Aims the work to dissert about the importance of the concept of segregation, in the evaluation of policies for reducing human deprivation. He argues that the production of discursive counter-hegemonies by formulators and evaluators of the action of the Brazilian State in history is in substance a political action. It then shows the evolution of indicators of human deprivation in Brazil, Recife/PE and Natal/RN, highlighting the disparity between the reduction of poverty and inequalities between 1991 and 2010. The work makes final considerations about the concept of segregation to conclude that its incorporation in the actions of evaluation would imply the expansion of the political power and enjoyment of the cities by the target groups of the actions of the Brazilian State for the reduction of poverty and inequality.

Keywords: Segregation; Deprivation; Right to the city

Abstract

The aim of this work is to discuss the importance of the concept of segregation in the evaluation of policies to reduce human deprivation. It argues that the production of discursive counter hegemonies by formulators and evaluators of the action of the Brazilian State in history is fundamentally a political action. It then demonstrates the evolution of indicators of human deprivation in Brazil, Recife/PE and Natal/RN, highlighting the disparity between the reduction of poverty and inequality between 1991 and 2010.

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Summary

The objective of this work is to discuss the importance of the concept of segregation in the evaluation of policies to reduce human privation. He argues that the production of discursive

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counter-hegemonias by formulators and evaluators of the action of the State of Brasileño en la historia is fundamentally a political action. Luego se demuestra la evolución de los indicadores de privación humanen Brazil, Recife / PE y Natal / RN, highlighting the disparity between the reduction of poverty and the inequality between 1991 and 2010. Finally, el trabajo hace considers sobre el concepto de segregación to conclude that su incorporación en las acciones de evaluación implicaría la expansión del poder política y el uso de las ciudades por parte de los angeles addressarios de las acciones del Estado brasileño para reducir la poverty y la inealdad.

Palabras clave: Segregación; Privación; Derecho a la ciudad

Introduction

When the doctor from Pernambuco, Josué de Castro, brought the issue of hunger into the national debate in 1946, he was also carrying out an enterprise with political developments. The work *Geografia da Hungry* (Geography of Hunger), which best synthesizes the investigative effort of Josué de Castro, is in this sense the enunciation of a question that at the time of its first disclosure, can be considered as one of the first discourses against hegemonics of a period in which the national vocation for modernity was celebrated.

Josué de Castro, constructing a spatial representation of a phenomenon resulting from socio-historical processes, will then feel to this production, reactions that will sometimes put it as a bearer of geniality - this incontestable - sometimes as the main target of conservatism.

One of the most significant examples of this experience will be when, after his appointment as agriculture minister in the João Goulart government, sectors within his own party, the Brazilian Labor Party (PTB), will block his choice and appointment to the post. Thus, the most reactionary sectors of the country will avail themselves of their incrustations in the institutes of the political representation of the State, to prevent an intellectual who denounced the forbidden theme of hunger from assuming a position that fatally jeopardizes the bases for sustaining the regional agrarian and oligarchic power.

José de Castro was not victimized, but only by this conservative action within the country, having been in the following years, after the coup of 1964, exiled from Brazil to live in France, where after depressive period, he dies at the age of 65. The brief account of this passage from the life of this physician who undertakes a geography of hunger is part of the brief discussion that will be presented here with the purpose of illustrating three fundamental aspects.

The first aspect refers to the fact that issues similar to hunger, poverty, inequality and other related issues cannot be treated as arising only from economic processes after the work of Josué de Castro. Such themes escape by their very nature, the departmentalization of academic knowledge and epistemological closure. In other words, those who dedicate themselves to the treatment of these themes will be directed, by the more mature statements that preceded them, like that of Josué de Castro, to a search for perspectives beyond unidisciplinary.

Secondly, the political developments that will be designed after the results of these investigative efforts and even those that are developed before the research is carried out on these dedicated themes, will mean beyond a field dispute (BOURDIER, 2005), an inseparable dimension of these studies. It was not the work of Josué de Castro, merely an unpretentious or even neutral cartographic elaboration, it could also be taken as a stage in the deconstruction of a development model that took hold of Brazil and avoided confrontation with themes that put it in the face of perverse paradoxes.

As a last aspect, one must consider that even the results of academic research will be confronted in Brazil by conservative forces that will fatally exclude their proponents, if necessary to them, from the pragmatic instances and perhaps from the debate itself. Josué de Castro, besides being barred from spaces of national political protagonism, was also exiled in the service of the "dictatorship of big capital" (IANNI, 2000).

It is the work of Josué de Castro that his time placed in "check" the entry of Brazil in the paths of modernity, besides manifesting the intellectual excellence of his

proponent, it is believed to be the foundation on which all subsequent research on related themes, indispensable and inspiring. He will deal with this work with pre-established social representations founded during centuries in the Brazilian socio-spatial formation.

Social representation even predominant at the time at least within the main technical staff of the State was by means of Castro's propositions, hard hit and thus, found in the power structures its maximum expression. In other words, to be problematic and to set out in search of their elucidations as well as academic imposition for obtaining degrees reveals itself within this context in a confrontation also of a political order and why not to say class.

At another moment in the history of national development, Celso Furtado in 1973 advocated that development would only be a reality when it metamorphosed itself into the improvement of the living conditions of the Brazilian population. Furtado makes this statement at a time when the country was celebrating economic growth rates in the order of 10% a year on average.

Thus, it is believed that it is possible to identify in Brazil today a certain celebration of the success of overcoming absolute poverty and of exiting the world map of hunger. The merits of this overshoot are unquestionable, especially those relating to the affirmative nature of many of the social policies currently under way. However, it is also possible to see that power structures based on the concentration of income, land and capital have ensured during the last 12 years, through the use of instruments of political representation of the State, the conservation of social inequalities, although they have not opposed the reduction of poverty.

This movement between 1991 and 2014 in Brazil manifests itself as a clear disparity between the intensity of the reduction of poverty and of inequalities in the period. Geography cannot avoid the debate on these issues, just as physician Josué de Castro did not exempt himself from the face of the issue of hunger that went beyond the department of his conventional academic training.

In fact, the belief in state planning, which rules in the post-second world war period — in chronological proximity to the geography of the Castro famine — responsible for the exponential appreciation of the geographer's role vis-à-vis the Brazilian State, was one of the foundations that was shaken by the propositions of Josué de Castro. The famine is disregarded in the state plans drawn up by the bureaucratic state apparatus of the time.

Hence the validity and the importance of Castro's point to the question of hunger, for showing it as a persistent nuisance in the Brazil that was being modernized. Likewise, the question of poverty and inequality in Brazil cannot be understood without availing itself of the notion of socially constructed processes and for this very reason crossed by subjective and political dimensions.

If they are not addressed in this way, these issues will fall again on the spectrum of naturalization and of economical solutions that have left one-dimensional understandings of socio-spatial phenomena. The relationships between the structures of private power based on the concentration of income, land and capital, and the Brazilian State have always been valid during the periods of historical rupture in the country, although they have always done so in the direction of conservation of their bases.

To consider the influence of these in the examination of the major social questions cannot be taken in this sense as an epistemological flight, but as an imperative for constructing even more valid assumptions of research in geography, for being capable of spatial representation.

Beyond income, choices

The phenomenon experienced by Brazil between the years 1991 and 2014 of poverty reduction, besides conferring, as said before, merit the actions of the State in this country, also fulfills a fundamental role in the production of an extremely effective political discourse. Such a discourse that arises both in the academic world

and in the spaces for the management of these social policies, seems to credit the confirmation of the exit of more than 30 million people from the poverty line in Brazil to the increase in the consumption power of this same contingent.

According to Martins (2003), the great social change experienced in countries like Brazil would be the fact that "the rise of the poor no longer goes through (...) rooting. Now it's about consumption and property: The car, the clothes, the appliances". (JOSÉ DE SOUZA MARTINS, 2003, p.54). Without any room for contestation, such entry into the circuit for the consumption of goods is unequivocally one of the greatest conquests experienced by the country between the years 1991 and 2014.

However, it could not be for a real emancipating perspective in the only goal of social policies to combat human deprivation, considering that among the many dimensions of this deprivation, politics emerges as one of the main ones. This question can be better understood when one focuses on the question of poverty, seen by Sen (2000), as the deprivation of capacities and not just of income. Although important, income would have an instrumental character that would only make sense in senile theory if converted into functionals.

It is crucial here that we consider two aspects that cannot be overlooked. The first concerns the real dimensions of poverty in both developing and developed countries. This is because, according to this perspective, income, although high, may not be converted into an expansion in the capacities of the social subjects.

Sen (2000), will say that the relationship between low income and low capacity will vary according to age, sexual roles, social roles, customs and even family obligations. The conversion of income generated or received by a given agent will therefore depend on conditions that would escape the quantitative view. This is undoubtedly one of the greatest contributions of this conception of development, because it has the virtue of shifting from the center of attention of the thinkers of the theme, of the fatalistic belief that the higher the income, the lower the poverty.

Sen concludes (2000), therefore that "the elimination of income poverty should not be the main target of public policies". (AMARTYA SEN, 2000, p. 24). Poverty is also about opportunities, achievements and more broadly freedom of choice. Choose even, not only from the spaces that have already been institutionalized, such as the suffrages for elective positions, but also from the spaces in which to circulate, what to wear, what to think and even what to be. In this, Amartya Sen's statements will unequivocally distance themselves from the reductionist bias of neoclassical economics.

The second aspect, referring to the planned actions of public policy managers, is that which ends up reinforcing the indispensable role of the State in promoting development. When looking at the reduction of mortality rates from malnutrition in Britain during the Second World War: Amartya Sen distinguishes between two types of success in the rapid reduction of mortality, which he respectively calls processes "mediated by growth" and "conducted by public expenditure". (AMARTYA SEN, 2000, p. 65).

The second type, conducted at public expense, operates through a program of skillful social maintenance of health services, education, etc., even in situations of slow economic growth [...] (VEIGA, 2006, pp. 39-40). The consequences of this analysis, which focuses on improving the living conditions of the populations, despite a period of reduced growth, are not difficult to predict. On one, however, one should draw attention.

The premise that it would first be necessary to make investment in economic growth and then to distribute its gains, finds here difficulties in sustaining. There is evidence in Sen's (2000) studies, both on data from Great Britain and in the emblematic case of Kerala province in India, that the improvement of living conditions of populations through state intervention is responsible for creating conditions favorable to growth and not the reverse. In order to reduce income poverty, Kerala Province did not wait for the growth of its economy, but instead invested in basic education, health care, and equitable land distribution.

It is from this perspective that one is characterized by the privileged analysis of the improvement or not of the living conditions of people that all of a theoretical effort of thought on the question of development has derived today.

Brazilian reality of poverty and inequality reduction

Brazil today has elements of an environment that prove that the reduction of inequalities does not necessarily accompany, in the same intensity, the reduction of poverty. As long as poverty is tackled, aiming at increasing the income and consumption power of a population, the structural conditions of inequality will run the risk of its recovery in time even after a brief retreat. It would then be possible to state that the action of the State to eradicate poverty has in confronting the structures of inequality, both its virtue and its fragility. Virtue if, among the interventions, 8 fundamental restructuring actions are identified, as, for example, in the Brazilian case, agrarian, urban and political reforms. Fragility, if such actions are not accompanied by reforms of this nature and constructions of counter-ideological hegemonies.

The dispute, therefore, also shifts to the field of social representations, which today figure as determinant variables, including in more recent urban studies such as the master's dissertation of David Tavares Barbosa (2014) *New Reefs, old political business of the landscape in the contemporary process of transformation of the Pina basin. Reef/PE: An analysis of the New Recife project in the year 2014. Social representations that are constituted as a reflection of class values and found/legitimized specific socio-spatial relationships.* For Barbosa (2014):

It is understood that the study defended here, is close to the debate promoted by Raffestin about the "underlying axiomatic", where it is interpreted that the social actors act by means of representations in which actions and behaviors manifest themselves in historically

conditioned territorial production (RAFFESTIN, 1993). For this author, "every axiomatic is historical, and to achieve its meaning one must construct, or reconstruct, the socio-historical context in which it originated and from which it proceeds" (Idem, p. 149)

In this manner, it is important to analyze in a coordinated manner the evolution of the indicators of poverty (and variations), and inequalities - in order to attest the validity of the statement that the redistributive model of income in force in Brazil, which reduced poverty in the period between 1991 and 2014, finds in the structural obstacles founded on the concentration of income and power, the first signs of exhaustion, limiting the scope and mitigating the reduction of inequalities.

It will also guard such a model important consequences for fragmentation and/or even, deprivation of the experience of public spaces in the big cities and their areas of influence. In other words, poverty and inequality, besides being manifested in the field of pure abstract relations, are reflected in the use of urban spaces. The use of space in this sense is also a dimension that should be considered when making evaluations about the effects of social policies.

However, it should be reaffirmed that the focuses of the analyzes that take place about poverty and inequalities in Brazil fatally take into account, but only variations in income and its distribution in time. From this perspective, almost all of the results of these analyzes will end up concluding on the success of redistributive policies for combating poverty.

The path pointed out by this article, for the relativization and evaluation of the impacts of this choice of the redistributive model of income adopted by Brazil, passes through the incorporation of new dimensions that show historical structural conflicts in the country, even if it does not deny those already used. Among these is the socio-spatial dimension, the role of unveiling the way in which the evolution of indicators of poverty and inequality have been reflected in urban spaces is perfectly fulfilled.

Indications of the evolution of poverty and inequality in urban areas between 1991 and 2014: Recife/PE and Natal/RN.

In order to illustrate briefly the argument that the evolution of the indicators of inequality and poverty have spatial manifestations that are reflected in the way the population enjoys the spaces where they live, two capitals of the Northeast can be used that synthesize in great measure what happened in the region as a whole.

The cities of Recife in Pernambuco and Natal in Rio Grande do Norte demonstrate, in an exemplary manner, the discussion here still at the stage of maturing, about this relationship between the reduction of inequalities and the experience of urban space. Obviously, what is expected here in this article is the survey of questions that may even go through reelaborations and better conceptual approximations dedicated to the theme of urbanization.

This is due to the complexity of the theme and the enormity of high-maturity studies already produced today available. In this way, a brief comparison was made of the evolution of some indicators of poverty and inequality in the cities of Recife and Natal between the 10 years of 1991 and 2014 made available in the Atlas of Human Development 2013. The indicators of poverty were: Absolute poverty and income from work. The inequality indicator: GINI income index. The survey of data concerning the indicators of poverty and inequality selected for demonstration in this article, in the cities of Recife (PE) and Natal (RN) covers the interval of years between 1991 and 2010.

During this period, especially between 2003 and 2010, the Brazilian state was guided by a policy to combat poverty centered, above all, on increasing the monetary income of families. Programs such as scholarship for families (PBF) have fulfilled in this sense a fundamental role in carrying out the process of breaking up the poverty line in the country during this period. According to INTERNATIONAL POLICY CENTRE FOR INCLUSIVE GROWTH (2008), when referring to the importance of the GFP

between the years 2004 and 2007, in the light of its increase greater than that experienced by the Brazilian economy in the same period:

It was observed that since the implementation of the Bolsa Família Program in Brazil, investments in this program have increased, resulting in an average growth of 12.46% between 2004 and 2007 (2004 - R\$ 5,592,873,817, 91; 2007 - R\$7,953,895,227, 18). This takes on greater relevance when comparing the average growth rate of the Brazilian economy, below 5%. Thus, spending on the Bolsa Família Program has grown twice the level of the Brazilian economy (INTERNATIONAL POLICY CENTRE FOR INCLUSIVE GROWTH, 2008, p.10).

However, what is argued in this work is that, despite the merit of these social policies, there still persists in Brazil, an unequal income distribution structure that is fed by traditional power and class relations that block actions that in fact reduce inequality to the same intensity as what has been seen in poverty. When, for example, data on the reduction of poverty in Brazil, Recife and Natal are available between 1991 and 2010, it is clearly demonstrated the effectiveness, to a large extent, attributed to social programs of income transfer in the reduction of this indicator as shown in Table 01.

Table 1- Evolution of absolute poverty rate in Brazil, Recife/PE and Natal/PE between 1991 and 2010. **Source:** Author based on human development atlas data 2016 (2020)

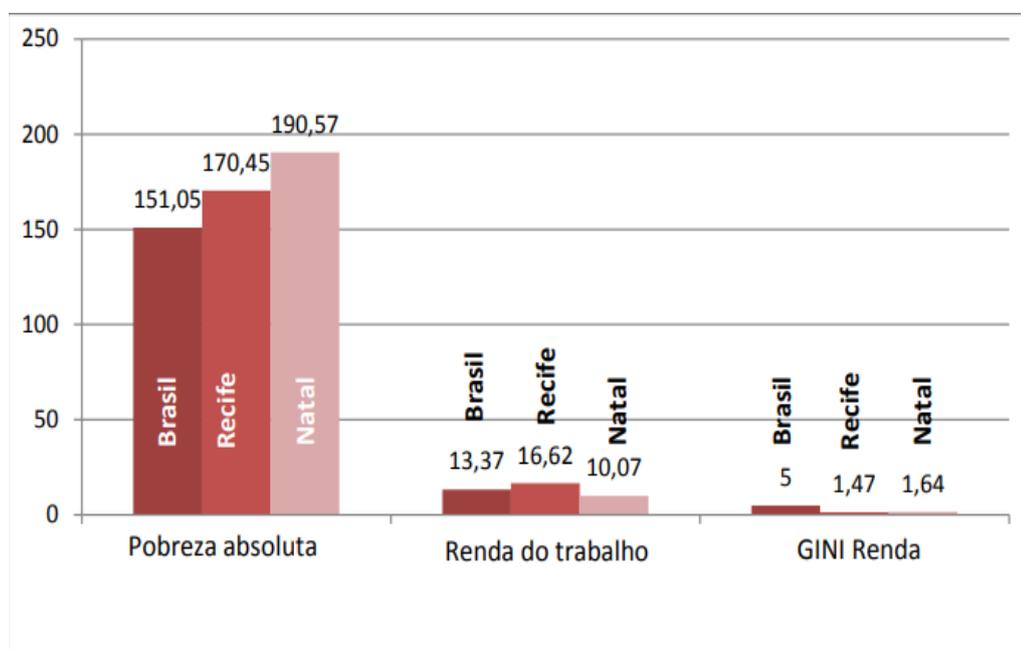
Spatiality	1991	2000	2010	Change 91/00
Brazil	38.16	27.9	15.2	-151.05
Recife (PE)	35.7	25.67	13,2	-170.45
Christmas (RN)	30.51	24.1	10.5	-190.57

In all three spatialities, poverty has experienced a significant and intense reduction in twenty years. The city of Natal achieved the largest reduction in the period with 190.57% difference between 1991 and 2010. The city of Recife 170.45% reduction and Brazil as a whole 151.05%.

Of course, in addition to the above-mentioned factors, social programs, others went hand in hand to enforce this intense reduction, but in no way could consideration of the importance of direct policies aimed at reducing poverty be undeserving.

It is believed, however, that there are limitations in the scope of these policies in the reduction of other dimensions of human deprivation less vulnerable to the actions undertaken by the Brazilian State in the period. If, for example, the evolution of the poverty indicators in comparison with the indicators of concentration of income and percentage of income from work between 1991 and 2010, it is possible to attest that the intensity between the reduction of income poverty and other indications was rather disparate (Chart 01).

Chart 1. Chart 1. Data on percentage change in absolute poverty reduction, increase in income from work and reduction in income concentration between 1991 and 2010 in Brazil, Recife/RN and Natal/RN



Source: Author (2020)

It remains to be understood, therefore, that one of the marks of the evolution of the more conventional social indicators as absolute poverty and gave in an intense manner without, however, having other dimensions of human privation with the same speed of improvement. Issues such as the distribution of income and the percentage of income from work, although they kept pace, were much lower than what happened with regard to income poverty.

Amongst the dimensions customarily disregarded in the analyzes that are carried out by policy managers and even by the academic world with regard to the gains in emancipation experienced over the last twelve years in Brazil, the experience and enjoyment of urban spaces by the populations of Brazilian cities would reveal important aspects about the unfolding of social policies over the last twelve years.

This dimension is of crucial importance because the increase in consumption power by the poorest strata of the Brazilian population was significant in the last twelve years and that according to Martins (2003), this social rise was based less on rooting than on the possession of goods.

Among the questions that can be raised about this disparity - related to the use of urban space as a dimension to be incorporated - one can in this sense explain: 1) What are the effects of poverty reduction on the way the Brazilian state conducted its urban planning actions in the period from 2003 to 2014? and 2) what is the correspondence between poverty reduction and increased possibilities for living and using Brazilian cities as a democratic space?

Obviously, this brief work is not being done to find an answer to these questions. These are questions that are being asked nowadays by various works in the academic world and others that may result in the inauguration of other lines of investigation after due maturity. In this work, only a few points referring to the second question presented above are outlined in an initial way: what is the correlation between poverty reduction and increased possibilities for living and using Brazilian cities as a democratic space? To this end, it is useful to consider the notes

of SPOSITO (2008) about an extremely useful concept, the elucidation of this issue, that of segregation.

The concept of segregation in opening up research horizons on inequality

SPOSITO (2003) initially in the elaboration of a concept that comes close to what can be operationalized for the related research, the notion of segregation makes five fundamental points for discussion. Among these, the first two listed by the researcher, definitely fits into the present discussion, which is: the concept of segregation is polysemic and a distinction needs to be made between this concept and those of differentiation, social exclusion and the production of inequalities.

As for its polysemy, it must be considered that like any other concept manipulated by the most varied fields (BOURDIER, 2000), this will also imply a dispute. Thus, considering that the concept of segregation is "closed" and finalized, for this perspective, besides not working for its validity, immobilizes it. The Brazilian socio-spatial reality is not only complex but also metamorphoses according to the historical determinants present. "Close" a concept for this article, ended by compromising the understanding of Brazilian reality and of any other space.

To distinguish between the concept of segregation and inequality, for example, is also to distinguish between approaches to reality. Although approximate, its implications are too diverse. While segregation can be assumed to be made real by state policies, as in the case of Germany in the period between the thirties and forties with respect to Jews, inequality occurs on other grounds. It is still important to consider what Vasconcelos says (2014):

Social inequalities are reflected in urban space and the resulting forms differ according to each specific context. Thus, the spatial structures of American cities are completely different from those of European and Latin American cities, for example, (VASCONCELOS, 2014).

That is why there is the necessary caution when it comes to dealing with the probable relationship between the disparity between poverty reduction and inequalities and the experience of urban spaces. A task that is too complex and that should be taken up in another work of greater scope and theoretical capacity. For the purposes of this work it is sufficient to consider that segregation to be operated as an elucidative concept about social spatial phenomena should not be confused with inequality or social exclusion.

Even if it should be considered that:

Social product, spatial segregation is also a means in which the existence of different social groups becomes effective. As a product and a half, segregation is an integral part of the processes and forms of social reproduction, since the relative internal homogeneity of each social area creates conditions for the reproduction of the social existence that occurs there. There is, in reality, a deep connection between segregation and social classes, as Harvey points out in the 1970s (Harvey, 1985). Thus, social fragmentation and spatial fragmentation are correlated (VASCONCELOS, 2014, p.09).

SPOSITO (2003) offers six principles in the treatment of the notion of segregation that deserve to be followed. They are described below in the words of the proponent of this work: 1) Forms of inequality are not necessarily forms of segregation; 2) There are a multiplicity of forms of its adjectivation; 3) Its nature is essentially spatial; 4) It is the result of a historical process; 5) It is a mixture of objective and subjective conditionings and 6) It is linked to the social subjects located by it.

It is with respect to the sixth aspect - linking to social subjects - pointed out by SPOSITO (2003) that it is believed that the research of Norbert Elias (2003) in an industrial district in England in the 1950s, can be inserted in order to illustrate one of the concrete developments of the idea defended here in this article.

The idea that suggests the search for an understanding of inequalities between social groups is outlined by this research effort undertaken by Norbert Elias (2003). This study finally presented a theorizing that even if there is proof of quantitative data suggesting a trend of homogeneity in the quality of life of social subjects, there will be a probable maintenance of heterogeneity in access to power resources.

In the Brazilian case on screen, this would correspond to the fact that even if it is proven that there is a greater homogenization of income and an increase in the power of consumption of its population, this would not be equivalent to an increase in its degree of empowerment. Carrying this conclusion to the problem of the use of the city, it would also be equivalent to say that even if there were a greater circulation of the spaces of consumption would not imply this expansion in a greater experience of the urban space and of its democratic instrumentalities.

The less favored could have higher income, but even so they could see themselves blocked from use and circulation in certain urban spaces, still exclusive to a privileged stratum for origins and subjectivities and not just for income. That would be a form of segregation that would survive even in the face of poverty reduction. It would not be enough, therefore, to speak of full social equality if the sources of a population's power differentials were not reduced in the same way. The position of power and prestige is assured for the established groups, through the conservation of non-economic inequality structures.

Which in the long run, may result in later years in income reconcentration. A backward scenario in the advance of policies to combat social inequalities that is not visible by a strictly economic analysis. Power differentials according to the argument of this work would emanate in this way, from aspects other than the economic, income and other measures that quantify wealth. Such differentials would emanate from the substantive aspects of human deprivation and the matrix of social opportunities offered with a view to empowerment.

The formulations of public policies to combat poverty and even their evaluations, should be focused on the substantive aspects, and not only monetary

ones, even if these are valid. The perpetuation of these power differentials would be guaranteed by the non-visualization - the fruit of a deficiency of tools for analysis or of programmed action - of these aspects, since in spite of the increase in access to forms of consumption of goods being redistributed, the forms of access to the power mechanisms are not so.

Increasing the income of the population contingent of a space will not necessarily alter the power structures that exercise their role there, and may even be desired by the favored groups. What would in fact potentialize, the change in this balance of power is according to the assertions of this work, would be the reduction of poverty in its substantive aspects, by making possible the creation of new forms of access to power with a view to the protagonism of the excluded agents. To the extent that there is poverty reduction in its substantive aspects would operate in the direction proportional to the expansion of access to the mechanisms of power in space by the vulnerable populations.

From the point of view of the experience of space in urban centers in countries like Brazil with recent success in reducing poverty and from the socio-spatial perspective to which this work is dedicated, the increase of power by the population with greater possibilities for consumption would manifest itself in the expansion of its participation in the democratic mechanisms available in the cities. This increase of power is also manifested through: 1) Increased capillarity in urban access routes connecting peripheral areas to urban centers; 2) Greater sharing of public spaces previously restricted to certain income strata and 3) Influence on urban planning decisions by social movements and spontaneous manifestation initiatives.

Alongside the reduction of poverty and the improvement in the quality of life of the urban populations, these three factors would indicate either a reversal of power in favor of the outsiders, or at least a beginning of a deeper and still not very clear transformation that would be under way in Brazil. For this reason, the consideration of the dimension of the experience of urban space in the analyzes dedicated to the effectiveness of social programs in Brazil between 2003 and 2014,

besides revealing the greater power of consumption of the favored populations, is also revealing of the greater or lesser social empowerment by these bands experienced. The concept of segregation, although distinctly separate from the notion of inequality, holds for this article very close relations.

Obviously, the notion of segregation, as it defines SPOSITO (2005), redefines itself in time and is subject to history. The challenge in this direction is, above all, the operationalization of this approach in the study of urban spaces, and of how to relate this approach to the evolution of the indicators of poverty and inequality in Brazil and in the northeast.

What constitutes an important line in this discussion for this work will therefore be the notion that the persistence of social inequalities in urban spaces manifests itself in the reduction of public spaces and the paradoxical expansion of private spaces for consumption. In other words, the poverty that is reduced has its spatial correspondence in the expansion of consumer spaces as well as the persistence of inequalities is reflected in the deprivation of the city's experience of these same subjects regarded as emancipated.

It is important consequences for fragmentation and/or even the deprivation of the experience of public spaces in large cities and their areas of influence that one should analyze. In other words, poverty and inequality, besides being manifested in the field of abstract relations, are reflected in the use of urban spaces. The use of space in this sense is also a dimension that should be considered when making assessments about the effects of social policies.

Preliminary considerations and questions for future research

The urgency of the debate revolves around the issues of inequality, poverty in Brazil is currently accompanied by an interest also in the categories of spatiality of social phenomena, which have been mobilized for their understanding. There is in

the midst of this discussion a renewed interest in the spatial dimension of these phenomena (SCHNEIDER, 2009).

Renewal of interest that can be justified by the fact that such spatial notions would house the basis of projects and the targeting of policies (ALBUQUERQUE JUNIOR, 2009). Movements made by society, its idiosyncrasies, its symbolic production, meanings, representations of itself and its surroundings, among other components, are also conditioning of the way human groupings relate to nature, modify their substrate and exercise protagonism.

Castro (2002) further confirms the understanding that:

Alongside the social practice that organizes the space, an imaginary based on this practice develops that has in scientific, literary and political discourse a form of expression and visibility (CASTRO, 2002, p.67).

The society that through its agents leads its actions in space, does not do so evidently in an ethereal and impalpable reality of its existence. Material is required to achieve this. Thus, one must pay attention in this sense that space is the lived face of power and that is why it would be important to study it also from the point of view of its agents. Both this identification with the physical space and the association with the State, as the only sovereign power, have found in the last decades of the twentieth century, within geography itself, reaction movements referring to the one-dimensionality attributed to these categories (SOUZA, 1995) and its exclusive relationship with this agent falsely called "rights universalizer".

In space, there would be not only the manifestation of the power of the state, but also the manifestation of other forms of power, arranged in a multivariate origin of emanation points (FOUCAULT, 1984). There are, besides conflicts between nation-states, other conflicts (RAFESTIN, 1993) that have been conveniently covered up by this totaling idea of the single central power. This idea is also useful for the expansion of capital in national spaces. It is therefore important to consider that, by

flanking all the results coming from the policies of State in Brazil or in any other spatiality on the planet, the spatial dimension should be incorporated for the purposes of their respective analyzes.

In this respect, going on to consider the action of the State in creating the structural conditions that favor the institutionalization of segregations in urban centers can be considered as one of the main consequences of this proposed incorporation. In countries such as Brazil that have proven to still have high rates of concentration of income and ownership, this operation constitutes for this work, a powerful tool for instrumentalization for the exercise of the political protagonism of the strata favored by the increase in income that occurred over the last twelve years. At this point it is possible, therefore, to confirm what was said at the beginning of this work about the political nature always present in formulations supposedly devoid of ideological intention.

The fact that the spatial dimension has not been incorporated - at least in a predominant way - in the evaluations of policies to combat poverty undertaken by the Brazilian State may mean not in a technical deficiency, but in a deliberate choice. Conforming to the expansion of private consumption spaces to these ones, the expansion of public spaces ends up being put in a secondary position in the agendas of urban policies under way.

By not considering the effects of the reduction of poverty and persistence of the various forms of inequality in Brazilian urban centers, one would therefore operate the legitimization of the way of thinking - hegemonic - of such centers as fragmented between living spaces destined to the most favored strata - Establishment - and spaces destined to the portion now with higher income, but still outsiders.

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