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'Expats' in a global city: Race, migration, and segregation in Brazil

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Abstract

This article looks at how racial hierarchies manifest in material ways through the operation of housing segregation in Sao Paulo. Whiteness is central to the analysis of race hierarchies and this article discusses the migrations of white migrants to the city of Sao Paulo. An overview of Sao Paulo's complex racial politics drawing on social, historical and political discussions on race allows for an in-depth understanding of the geopolitical location on which this article is based. White migration and privilege are at the core of this inquiry. The critical lens is directed toward white migrants and the relation between racial privilege and the migratory experience. Provoking a discussion about white racialised identities and their movements and locations in complex racially structured societies, this article problematises our normative understandings of migration as a phenomenon which is typically reserved for bodies of colour. A disruption of normative conceptions and imaginings of migrants focuses on the white gaze, which sees oppression more readily than privilege. Amalgamating a combination of qualitative research methods including participant observation, photovoice and narrative interviews, this article draws from visual and aural data.

Keywords: whiteness; white privilege; racialised hierarchies; Sao Paulo; segregation; photovoice

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Introduction

This article looks at how migrants are represented in migration studies and focuses on Sao Paulo as a geopolitical location. Racialised hierarchies in global migration flows are explored while looking at white ideation in Brazil specifically focusing on the migrations of white bodies from wealthy nations to Sao Paulo. Sao Paulo is the chosen geopolitical location for the exploration of white privilege in migrations, due to the positioning of whiteness in the race hierarchy in Brazilian society. This article provides an overview of historical, political and social factors which demonstrate the privileging of whiteness in Brazil. The geopolitical context allows for an exploration of the upward mobility white migrants experience in their migration from the global north to the global south. In the literature in the field of migration studies, there are accepted terms used to categorise privileged white migrants. These terms are: skilled migrants (Kofman 2012); privileged migrants (Croucher 2009); expats (Knowles and Harper, 2010); lifestyle migrants (Benson, 2015). A concise definition of who is categorised under these terms is hard to find. The terminology often alludes to migrants from the U.K, Northern Europe and North America. Sometimes the definition is broader and categorises these migrants as those from wealthy countries to poorer countries. Sometimes the terminology is used to discuss migrants who migrate temporarily, although what is temporary is rarely defined, and sometimes it is used to define migrants who migrate with a multinational company and with a relocation package. Lundstrom states in her article 'The White side of Migration: Reflections on Race, Citizenship and Belonging in Sweden' that:

> The fact that the concept of migration is often reserved for bodies of colour, rather than white bodies (who tend to be seen as tourists, expatriates, guests, development aid workers), makes race implicit in the very conceptualization of migration [Erel et al. 2016] (Lundstrom, 2017, p.80).

Blackledge argues that: "English language dominance is conflated with a racialised "white" dominance" and that for most migrants it operates as a gatekeeping device (Blackledge 2006, p.77). In this article I use the term white migrant. I define this term as a migrant who is a native citizen of a wealthy nation, who self-identifies as white, and who is proficient in English. These indicators are phenotype, nationality and language. Here, I am aiming to use this term specifically to look at migrants who have several indicators of white privilege. Gated communities and segregated spaces are discussed with a focus on participant-produced photographs.

The categorisation of migrants: racialised hierarchies

In this article I argue that hierarchies in migration processes are racialized. These hierarchies are intricately linked to power imbalances among racialized groups which is structured in the inclusionary and exclusionary policies on migration in a global context. Erel et al (2016) point out that there is an absence in the body of literature on migration regarding white migrants. These power imbalances are influenced by white privilege, white supremacy and white fragility. The concept of white privilege is central to understanding the asymmetrical experiences of raced bodies in migratory positions. Lundstrom argues that:

> 'The migrant' tends to be imagined as a non-privileged, non-white, non-western subject in search of a better future in Europe or the United States and as such is a pre-constituted subject shaped by notions of marginalization and poverty (Lundstrom, 2017, p.79).

In Lundstrom's perspective this image of the migrant hampers "the analysis of privilege, belonging and white normativity within studies of migration" (2017, p.79). She asks her readers:

> Why are some individuals not regarded as migrants despite their migrant status? Why are other individuals seen as migrants and thus denied their national belonging in spite of their formal status as national citizens? (Lundstrom, 2017, p.79).

This article explores questions of privilege, belonging and white normativity in migration processes. Erel et al (2016) argue that scholars need to consider the relationship between migration and race to better understand racism against migrants who, as Lundstrom points out are imagined as non-white, non-privileged subjects. One of the objectives of the research study that informs this article was to problematise whiteness and invert the lens when looking at migration. Rather than looking outward, the gaze is inverted to the centre of the race paradigm. The migrants who participated in the research study in which this article is drawn upon defy the imagined subject as non-privileged, non-white and non-western. Additionally, these migrants defy the imagined subject as that of seeking a better future in Europe or the United States and are not shaped by notions of marginalisation and poverty, which Lundstrom argues is typical for migrants. These migrants are shaped by notions of privilege and wealth even though in reality some of their migratory journeys are motivated by economic drives. These migrants are from Western Europe or the United States. They are questioned by Brazilians,

by taxi drivers for example, who ask them why they have left their home countries for Brazil.

Material-discursive borders

Migrants who are labelled as refugee, migrant or asylum seeker often live at the margins of social, economic and political life and, at the geographical margins: at borders, refugee camps or in illegal housing zones (Sassen, 2017). Some migrants are rendered to "the margins of belonging" (Lewis 2004, p.25) while other migrants experience "a *surplus* of rights - in particular, a world right to circulate unhindered" (Balibar 2002, p.83). Fortification of borders in Europe and the U.S are examples in which a policy of exclusion operates to maintain resources and exclude 'others' from accessing those resources through the refusal of citizenship rights. World leaders deploy large amounts of resources into immigration bans, high technology security surveillance at borders and separating migrant children from their parents in detention centres to control global migration flows. Grant. J. Silva argues that the maintenance of privilege requires the maintenance of a white racial self, a white identity based on the premise that "foreigners are the threat" (2015, p.77). The rhetoric that 'Americans' are safer when border control is increased, first, implies that whiteness translates to 'American' and second, that the threat is the migrant which has been imagined as the non-privileged, non-white, non-western subject searching for their better future in Europe or the U.S. Securitisation and militarisation of borders[2] reinforce the ideology that citizens (white people) need protection from migrants (non-white people). This ideology is based on the maintenance of white privilege. The white racial self, fears the loss of privilege, therefore supports tightening restrictions on who gets access. This has been clearly demonstrated by world leaders by promises of strict border controls, gaining a lot of political support. Mose and Wreidt argue that the processes of "segregating the desired from the undesired" (2015, p.303) operates globally. Balibar (2002) describes borders as having a 'polysemic character' which operate asymmetrically for different social groups.

The Myth of Racial Democracy

In this section I draw attention to Brazilian race relations to provide some historical, social and political context for the location of this article. Brazil has a complex racial politics and a history of slavery and colonisation. Although I do not intend to provide an in-depth discussion or analysis of Brazilian race relations, for that would far exceed the scope of this article, I do intend to outline some key points highlighting the most salient discussions from the literature on Brazil's racial politics.

[2] Trump's wall at the Mexican border or refugee camps in Greece.

Campos de Sousa and Nascimento (2008) describe racial democracy as an oversimplified depiction of race relations in Brazil which has masked racism and maintained racial hierarchies. *Mestico,* which translates into mixed race, is a large racial category in Brazil. In Brazil, the fact that most Brazilians grow up in mixed race families is linked to the belief in a 'racial democracy'*.* However, it is argued by anti-racist activists and scholars that racism and discrimination is a problem in Brazilian society, despite being a multi-racial society. They argue that black and *mestico* people in Brazil are discriminated against because of the colour of their skin which is based on phenotype rather than genotype (Kent & Wade 2015). These activists and scholars dispute the myth of a 'racial democracy' which postulates that all Brazilians are mixed therefore there is no racism. It is argued that this thinking downplays racial-stereotyping, deconstructs blackness and promotes colour-blindness (Kent & Wade 2015).

By the time slavery was abolished, the white colonisers in Brazil struggled with what to do with the large population of slaves who had been captured, brutalised, dehumanised and were now 'free'.[3] The elites and politicians at this time viewed the situation as a predicament that was called by one Brazilian elitist the 'race problem' (Skidmore 1993). In Brazil, miscegenation was not outlawed and Winant argues miscegenation in Brazil masked the character of racism. He argues that it has been "little more than a fig leaf covering widespread racial inequality, injustice, and prejudice (Hasenbalg and Silva 1992, Hanchard 1994; Andrew 1991)" (Winant, 2004, p.103). Skidmore also points out that strict segregation was practically impossible in Brazil as it had been a multi-racial society for so long. He states that: "Brazil's historical racial balance had led to widespread miscegenation, touching even the oldest families." (Skidmore, 1993, p.29).

The Whitening Ideal

The Brazilian elite believed in the myth that miscegenation would whiten the Brazilian race, therefore ridding Brazil of its 'race problem'. It was called "the whitening solution to the 'Negro problem'" (Skidmore, 1993, p.72). The idea was prevalent among abolitionists during the abolitionist movement in Brazil. Skidmore states that, "although worried about the 'ethnic factor', the abolitionists shared the predominant Brazilian belief that their society harboured no racial prejudice" (Skidmore, 1993, p.22).
Many in the Brazilian elite worried about Brazil's future and expressed a desire for a whiter Brazil. In response to the problem of 'the colour line' in Brazil, a popular idea emerged and took hold for a long time. This was the

[3] "From the conquest of Brazil until abolition, it is estimated that some 10 million blacks were brought from Africa; there are no precise figures for the eighteenth century, but the gold cycle absorbed slave labour in prodigious quantities" (Galeano, 1973, p.52).

ideal of whitening, the belief that the white gene was stronger than the black and would eventually become the dominant gene in Brazilian society.

> The ideal of whitening, as well as the traditionalistic social system, helped to prevent dark-skinned men from being such active progenitors because females, wherever possible had powerful conditioning to choose lighter partners than themselves. In short, the system of sexual exploitation which gave upper-class (indeed, even lower-class) white men sexual license, helped to make the social reality conform increasingly to the ideal of 'whitening' (Skidmore, 1993, p.46).

At the time this idea was popularised, biological race theories were salient. Social darwinism had an influence on Brazilian social thinkers and philosophers. Skidmore argues that Brazilians saw white races as the 'stronger and more 'civilised' and that Africans were doomed to extinction or at least domination by white races (1993, p.53). Garner points out how the ideologies of social darwinism and eugenics believed that stronger genes overcame the weaker and that white European genetics were the ideal. He highlights how strategies for whitening the nation involved European immigration (Garner, 2001, p.93). At the beginning of the twentieth century, the idea that European immigration would enhance Brazilian culture and genetics was influential in Brazil. Many social thinkers believed that European immigration would whiten the race and therefore make Brazil, more 'civilised'. Skidmore cites Brazilian elite Oliveira Lima who believed:

> Such immigration would help to 'correct the extreme miscegenation begun by the Portuguese' and would 'reinforce the actual supremacy of the whites', who still face the anger of being 'drowned by the spreading of inferior races' (Skidmore, 1993, p.32).

Brazilian anthropologist, Gilberto Freyre wrote the famous novel *Casa Grande e Senzala,* which translates into *The Masters and the Slaves.* This novel challenged the racist biological ideologies prevalent among Brazilian social thinkers and elites. Freyre argued that Brazil's "ethnic potpourri" was an immense asset (Skidmore, 1993, p.191). According to Skidmore Brazilian elites initially believed that people of colour were being absorbed by the white race but eventually came to regret miscegenation fearing "It will take us perhaps three hundred years to change spiritually and to bleach our skin so that we become, if not white, at least disguised" (Skidmore 1993, p.196). Skidmore points out that after 1930 new scientific theories about race influenced and changed thinking about race. The challenges in Latin America to scientific racism led to a shift in

discourse about race in Brazil. A new discourse emerged which positioned Brazilians as non-racist as they had not segregated minorities through anti-miscegnation laws. The Brazilian elite took satisfaction in comparing themselves to other countries where white supremacism was more visible:

> For approximately two decades after 1930, this Brazilian satisfaction of the discrediting of scientific racism led to the argument that Brazilians' alleged lack of discrimination made them morally superior to the technologically more advanced countries, where systemic repression of racial minorities was still practiced (Skidmore, 1993, p.209).

In the 1960s, social scientific thinking had progressed to making correlations between social class and skin colour. Skidmore states that "it seemed clear that the darker a Brazilian the more likely he was to be found at the bottom of the socio-economic scale" (Skidmore, 1993, p.216). In the most recent census in Brazil (Census 2010, IGBE), the wealthiest and most powerful group in Brazil were whites despite the black population exceeding 50% of the total population. Whites also earned double what black and mixed-race groups earned and had higher mortality and literacy rates.

The intersections between race and class are complex and since Brazilians are an intra-racial society, racial categories are not stable. Kent & Wade argue that in Brazil the idea of 'racial democracy' or a national identity transcends racial differentiation. This has proved challenging to affirmative action programs and to black activists as they have been confronted with geneticists who argue that they are not genetically black. This debate was popularised when Neguinho da Beija-Flor, a Black Brazilian celebrity took a DNA test and it came back as 67% European. Kent & Wade argue that genetic data has been used to revive the myth in 'racial democracy' with scientific authority (Kent & Wade, 2015, p.825). The most prominent arguments by geneticists who argue for a de-racialised Brazilian society, and which are flouted in the media are:

> […] 'according to genetics we are all equal'; 'genetics has proven that race does not exist, therefore it is impossible to have racial quotas' and 'if even Neguinho da Beija-Flor is 67% European, it is impossible to define who is black in Brazil' (Kent & Wade, 2015, p.825).

Kent & Wade discuss how many black activists were mocked in the wake of the Brazilian roots project in which Neguinho da Beija Flor's ancestry was revealed. They cited Ana Honorato of the *Movimento Negro Unificado* who said "'people started telling us 'you're not black, you're just a bunch

of white guys'" (2015, p.825). Kent &Wade noted that some public figures started downplaying their own blackness using genetic arguments, apparently seeking to avoid the stigma attached to being black (2015, p.825). Additionally, *The Globo*[4] newspaper published a front-page feature with the title 'a more European country', redefining Brazilians as 'Brazipeans' (Globo, 2011b). Kent & Wade make the point that "As European origins are closely related to whiteness in Brazil, such uses of genetics turned it into an additional avenue for strategies of whitening" (Kent & Wade, 2015, p.825). By drawing your attention to these arguments my aim is to highlight the importance given to whiteness and European origins in Brazilian culture. The privileging of whiteness and its positioning on the top of the race hierarchy indicates that white privilege is a powerful form of capital in Brazilian society.

Global Cities: the demand for service workers in gated communities

Saskia Sassen (2000) uses the concept of 'global cities' to highlight the service economy facilitating skilled worker's lifestyles in the context of a major city. As Sassen wrote,

> By focusing on the global city, for instance, we can study how global processes become localised in specific arrangements from high-income gentrified urban neighbourhoods of the transnational professional class to the work lives of the foreign nannies and maids in those same neighbourhoods (Sassen, 2002, p.257).

The concept of 'global cities' is useful when looking at the interactions between white people in Sao Paulo and the workers who provide security, childcare and other services.

Massey et al describes 'global cities' as having a great deal of wealth and a concentration of a highly-educated workforce which creates a strong demand for services from unskilled workers (Massey et al 1993, p.447). This is demonstrated by the high migration flows from the northeast of Brazil to the economic capital which is Sao Paulo.

In Sao Paulo, the availability and usage of domestic labour is one of the highest in the world, according to the International Labour Organisation (ILO 2013), one in every six female workers is employed as a domestic worker in Brazil, making Brazil one of the largest employers of domestic workers worldwide with up to seven million domestic workers. Brazilian domestic workers earn an average of 489 Brazilian Real per month which in today's currency is 100 euro per month (ILO report 2013). Caldeira

[4] The Globo newspaper is one of the largest newspapers in Brazil.

(2000) points out that in large, gated communities in Sao Paulo, service is highlighted in their advertisements to potential buyers and that the apartments and complexes are designed to facilitate these services. Caldeira argues that:

> Services are an obsession among the Brazilian middle and upper classes. One of the most common reasons people give for moving into apartment buildings is the impossibility of finding "good services"; that is, the impossibility of having live-in maids who take care of the house and children (Caldeira, 2000, p.268).

Caldeira points out that, in gated communities in Sao Paulo, these services are managed by the administration of the gated communities making the relationship between households and domestic workers impersonal and informal (2000, p.268). Caldeira draws attention to the tradition of separating 'social' and 'service' entrances in Sao Paulo's apartment buildings. She argues that the objective is to separate social classes from mixing or interacting in public areas. Caldeira states that,

> The middle classes may give up their single-family houses, they may abandon central areas […] but they do not give up the separation between their families and the people providing services (Caldeira, 2000, p.270).

According to Patricia De Santana Pinho who carried out qualitative research with domestic maids in Sao Paulo, "middle- and upper-class identities in Brazil are grounded in the habit of having others do manual labour" (2015, p.110). De Santana Pinhos argues that attitudes and relations to domestic workers stems from the history of slavery in Brazil and that the blacker the maid, the less threatening she was to the white employer. Caldeira argues that the middle and upper classes:

> Give guns to poorly paid working-class guards to control their own movements in and out of their condominiums. They ask their poorly paid "office boys" to solve all their beureaucratic problems, from paying bills and standing in line to transporting astronomical sums of money. They also ask their poorly paid maids- who often live in the favelas outside the condominium wall-to wash and iron their clothes, make their beds, buy and prepare their food, and frequently care for their children all day long. The upper classes fear contact and contamination by the poor, but they continue to depend on their lower-class servants. They can only be anguished about finding the right way to control these people, with who they have such ambiguous relationships of dependency and avoidance, intimacy and distrust (Caldeira, 2000, p.271).

The political divide in Sao Paulo

Jair Bolsonaro, president of Brazil, infamously stated that PT congresswoman Maria do Rosário Nunes was "not worth raping", that "under some circumstances, an authoritarian government might be preferable to a democratic one". He also said: "For people like me, it doesn't matter whether we have a democratic government or an authoritarian one," that he "would be incapable of loving a homosexual son" and would prefer that his son "died in an accident" before "show(ing) up with some bloke with a moustache" and he claimed that *quilombolas* (residents of communities formed by descendants of escaped slaves) were "not even good enough for procreation" (Hunter & Power, 2019, p.76).

According to Hunter & Power "Bolsonaro won among all income groups except for the poor and very poor" (2019, p.77) and "despite Bolsonaro's frequent contention that Brazilian universities are hotbeds of "leftist psychos" (*esquerdopatas*), he scored an overwhelming victory among college graduates" (Hunter & Power, 2019, p.77). Chagas-Bastos (2019) and Hunter & Power (2019) argue that the fear of violence among the Brazilian public was one of the biggest contributing factors in Bolsonaro's election. In 2018, 63,880 people were murdered in Brazil (Hunter & Power 2019).

Fig 1: Photograph taken by the researcher. This photo show police officers on *Paulista*

Avenue (large avenue in the centre of Sao Paulo) during a protest against then presidential candidate Jair Bolsonaro.

Fig 2: This photo was taken by the researcher. This shows the police in front of an anti-Bolsonaro protest held during elections in Sao Paulo 2018.

Fig 3: This photo was taken by the researcher. This is a photo of protesters. The banner

reads: "To defeat Bolsonaro, the coup and the reforms calls for thousands of fighting committees".

Fig 4: This photo is a stock photo from the BBC. This photograph shows a couple attending a pro-Bolsonaro protest with their nanny. A woman of colour accompanies them pushing their children (www.bbc.com).

Fig.4 shows a white couple wearing pro-Bolsonaro t-shirts attending a pro-Bolsonaro protest. This photograph encapsulates the racial hierarchies maintained in Brazilian society. The couple, who are white Latinos, are attending a pro-Bolsonaro protest alongside their maid who is a woman of colour, and who is wearing a maid's uniform while pushing their children in a pram. This photo reflects sharp class definitions which are also defined by racial status in which wealthy Brazilians, who are predominantly white, are seen on weekends or on holidays accompanied by a woman of colour in maid's attire. This type of socialisation in which maids who are statistically women of colour accompany their white families to public events or places while the family is involved in recreational activities demonstrates a social custom. This custom conveys the ways in which status and wealth is exhibited, through the embodied presence of domestic workers demarcated by a uniform which ranks their social status as lower than the family. Additionally, this photograph in particular, demonstrates the normalisation of this custom since the couple in the photo are attending a pro-Bolsonaro rally, in support of a politician who abhors the legitimisation of service workers and their rights.

City of Walls: Housing Segregation in Sao Paulo

Teresa Caldeira researches racial segregation in Sao Paulo. She carries out in-depth research into the housing arrangements in the city which she argues, cements social segregation. Caldeira argues that public space is rejected by white *Paulistas* who reject the heterogeneity of the city. Caldeira does an extensive history of Sao Paulo's chameleon character. She demonstrates how the city changed and shaped itself to the ideological and transformed to accommodate the discursive power of white privilege, status symbols and class and race segregation.

Jamie Alparo Alves (2013), a Brazilian scholar who grew up in one of Sao Paulo's favelas wrote a succinct article titled 'Necropolitcal Governance and Black Spatial Praxis in Sao Paulo, Brazil' in which he argues that a "racialised regime of citizenship" and a "racialised urban governance" (2013 p.4) operates in Sao Paulo. Waiselisz describes how blacks in Sao Paulo suffered violent deaths at 70% higher rate than whites (Waiselisz 2012, p.5). Alves argues that "racialised/ gendered geographies of opportunity and exclusion" (2013, p.5) function in Sao Paulo.

A brief history of Sao Paulo's housing

This section explores the evolution of housing in Sao Paulo and draws extensively on the work of Caldeira (2000) which presents a detailed analysis of the segregation systems inherent in the development of the city. Caldeira (2000) argues that social and spatial segregation is an important feature of cities and "indicate how social groups relate to each other in the space of the city" (p.213). In chapter 6 of her book she identifies three forms of social segregation expression in the city of Sao Paulo which take form in a chronological order:

> The first lasted from the late nineteenth century to the 1940s and produced a condensed city in which different social groups were packed into a small urban area and segregated by type of housing. The second urban form, the centre-periphery, dominated the city's development from the 1940s to the 1980s. it has different social groups separated by great distances: the middles and upper classes concentrated in central and well-equipped neighbourhoods and the poor exiled into the hinterland. Although residents and social scientists still conceive of and discuss the city in terms of the second pattern, a third form has been taking shape since the 1980s, one that has already exerted considerable influence on Sao Paulo and its metropolitan region (Caldeira, 2000, p.213).

Caldeira describes how the city's landscape has evolved over the twentieth century from an industrialised city in which wealthy inhabitants resided in the centre to a centre-periphery paradigm to 'fortified enclaves'.
Caldeira identifies three patterns of spatial segregation have operated in Sao Paulo. She names these three as:

1. The Concentrated City of Early Industrialisation
2. Centre-periphery: The Dispersed City
3. Proximity and Walls; Closed Condominiums; Fortified Enclaves

1.The Concentrated City of Early Industrialisation

According to Caldeira, from the 1890s until the 1940s, urban space and social life in Sao Paulo were characterised by concentration and heterogeneity (2000, p.215). By the 1930s, unsanitary conditions in the city centre led the rich to move to a new development in the city called *Higenopolis,* literally Hygiene city (p.217). The expansion of the city occurred around the 1930s with the *Plano de Avenidas* (the plan of avenues) which would see large avenues "radiating from the centre to the outskirts" (p.218). During this time, working-class workers moved further from the centre to be able to participate in home ownership. This period of urban segregation in Sao Paulo encouraged distance between rich and poor.

2. Centre-periphery: The Dispersed City

Caldeira analyses a new pattern of urbanisation called the centre-periphery model and dominated Sao Paulo's development since the 1940s until the 1980s when condominiums (gated communities) were popularised. This model is characterised by the rich living in central neighbourhoods, and the poor on the precarious and mostly illegal periphery (2000, p.230). During this period of urbanisation, development was not planned by the government but through private investors who bought land in remote areas to build factories and then developed bus services for its workers. This lack of urban planning meant a chaotic expansion of the city and its bus services. Home ownership proved almost impossible for poor workers therefore a phenomenon known as 'autoconstruction' occured. According to Caldeira:

> This is a lifetime process in which the workers buy a lot and build either a room or shack at the back of it, move in, and then spend decades expanding and improving the construction, furnishing, and decorating the house (Caldeira, 2000, p.222).

Caldeira details that by the 1970s, Sao Paulo had become a city in which people were segregated by large distances and radically different housing arrangements which affected the quality of life too. The Plano Urbanistico Basico (PUB Basic Urban Plan), studied disparities in housing in 1968 which showed that many people lacked water, sewage services and garbage collection. Additionally, it found streets were unpaved and had no street lighting. The distribution of infrastructure and public services were uneven among wealthy and poor areas:

> Whereas in the central district 1.3 percent of the domiciles lacked water 4.5 percent lacked sewage treatment, 1.7 percent lacked paving and 0.8 percent lacked garbage collection, in Itaquera, a new district in the eastern periphery lacked 89.3 percent of domiciles lacked water 96.9 percent lacked sewage treatment services , 87.5 percent lacked paving, and 71.9 percent lacked garbage collection (Caldeira, 2000, p.228).

Caldeira points out that the above living conditions in these poor peripheral neighbourhoods led to increased mortality rates, especially infant mortality rates and a decrease in life expectancy (2000, p,228). During this time, there was considerable inattention in discourse around social segregation due to physical distance which meant lack of frequent encounters, an economic boom which inspired a belief in class mobility and a military regime which oppressed any political dissent (2000, p.230).

3. Proximity and Walls

Caldeira argues that the city began to change in the 1980s. Caldeira describes this model as the one in existence today and argues that "social inequalities are now produced and inscribed in different ways" (p.231) and that Sao Paulo today "is a more complex metropolitan region that cannot be mapped out by the simple opposition of centre-rich versus periphery-poor" (p.231). She argues that Sao Paulo is, "a city of walls, with a population obsessed by security and social discrimination" (p.232). She describes how the centre-periphery model which has dominated Sao Paulo's development since the 1940s has been replaced by the construction of vertical buildings leading to more proximity and walls since the 1980s. Many sociologists still conceive of the urban space as divided by long distances which she argues is problematic in challenging the city's problem of segregation:

> Unless the opposition of centre and periphery is revised, and the way in which we conceive of the embodiment of social inequality in urban form is modified, we cannot understand the city's present predicaments. Second, the spatial changes and their instruments

> are transforming public life and public space. in cities fragmented by fortified enclaves, it is difficult to maintain the principles of openness and free circulation that have been among the most significant values of modern cities. With the construction of fortified enclaves the character of public space changes, as does the citizen participation in public life. The transformations in the public sphere in Sao Paulo are similar to changes occurring in other cities around the world, and therefore they express a particular version of a more widespread pattern of spatial segregation and transformation of public space (Caldeira, 2000, p.214).

Gated communities: 'Fortified Enclaves'

Caldeira uses the term closed condominium or 'fortified enclave' to describe self-segregated residential arrangements. I will use the term 'gated community' instead. This housing model, the most prevalent in Sao Paulo today, is the most technologically advanced to date. The gated community inscribes racial and social segregation whilst also operating through new forms of technology. These communities exist alongside *corticos*[5] (tenements) or *favelas*[6]. These living spaces can be alongside each other creating tension between groups of inhabitants driven by a sense of fear of being a victim of crime. Caldeira describes this living condition as a city of walls due to the proximity to poor, overcrowded, often illegal housing and the nature of gates, armed guards, intercoms and security which segregate and keep undesirable (poor) people outside. Caldeira argues:

> Superimposed on the centre-periphery pattern, the recent transformations are generating spaces in which different social groups are again closer to one another but are separated by walls and technologies of security, and they tend not to circulate or interact in common areas. The main instrument for this new pattern of spatial segregation is what I call 'fortified enclaves'. These are privatised, enclosed, and monitored spaces for residence, consumption, leisure and work. Their central justification is the fear of violent crime. They appeal to those who are abandoning the traditional public sphere of the streets to the poor, the marginalised, and the homeless (Caldeira, 2000, p.213).

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[5] **Cortico**- this housing arrangement is typically a house divided into rooms to rent. They are usually run-down and lack services. They are often over-populated with families living in one room.

[6] **Favela-** this is a housing arrangement in which shacks are built on top of each other, densely populated and lacking infrastructure.

Caldeira argues that "enclosure, isolation, restriction, and surveillance" have been turned into status symbols (p.259). She highlights how real estate adverts for gated communities emphasise seclusion, security and services. She describes this as "a secure environment in which one can use various facilities and services living exclusively among equals" (p.264). Caldeira notes that these advertisements present the image of "an island to which one can return every day to escape the city and encounter and exclusive world of pleasure among peers". This, she argues, creates an opposition to the city, which is "represented as a deteriorated world not only of pollution and noise, but, more important, of confusion and mixture, that is, social heterogeneity" (2000 p.264).

The desire to live homogenously in white communities is imposed onto the physical material space, and the space, including the material modes of technology which monitor and exclude, entangle with the cognitive racial biases. As a result, the city is a hodge podge of skyscapers, vertical enclosures, designed to exclude, alongside illegal housing areas which are designed ad-hoc, illegally and without durable infrastructure. Sao Paulo's buildings, in their incongruity, are a visual display of the material world and the cultural world in which whiteness builds vertical enclosures in its attempt to segregate itself, isolate itself and therefore include whiteness whilst excluding blackness. Marques describes these 'fortified enclaves' as places of self-segregation. Drawing on the concept 'homophily' (McPherson et.al 2001), Marques argues that:

> Homophily is produced and maintained by intrinsic dimensions of sociability – practices, tastes, language, and so on – it tends to be reinforced by space and segregation. As segregation groups socially similar individuals, homophily is provoked primarily by a numerical effect related to the greater availability of similar individuals to construct contact (Marques, 2013, p.26).

Marques argues that social segregation in spaces not only groups middle and upper-class people together, it also reproduces social vulnerability by grouping poor people together, therefore reproducing poverty. Marques argues that inequality of access reproduces segregation as social segregation and spatial segregation combine to inhibit access of opportunity and reserve social capital among self-segregated groups who are privileged.
Caldeira describes large gated communities offering a wide range of services including "psychologists and gymnastics teachers for children, classes of all sorts for all ages, organised sports, libraries, gardening, pet care, physicians, message centres, frozen food preparation, housekeeping, cooks, cleaners, drivers, car washing, transportation, and servants to do the grocery shopping" (2000, p.266).

Racial Social Geography

'Racial social geography' (Frankenberg 1993) is a concept which can be understood by the way in which the physical landscape is peopled racially. According to Frankenberg:

> Racial social geography, in short refers to the racial and ethnic mapping of environments in physical and social terms and enables also the beginning of an understanding of the conceptual mappings of self and other operating in white women's lives (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 44).

This concept is worth mentioning here as it relates to the ways in which racial mapping of environments operates in Sao Paulo in the relationship between white people and service workers. Caldeira discusses in-depth the advertisements for gated communities which she analysed closely in her research. She points out that advertising for gated communities in Sao Paulo emphasises "a place of residence for homogenous social groups" (2000, p.275). She discusses a television advertisement of an American gated community in which racial integration is pointed out as an advantage, as this advertisement is broadcast in Brazil, Caldeira notes how this is suppressed in the Portuguese subtitles:

> Another revealing scene is an interview in English with a resident from a U.S edge city. He cites as one of his reasons for moving there the fact that he wanted to live in a racially integrated community. This observation is suppressed in the Portuguese subtitles, which say instead that his community has "many interesting people". In Sao Paulo, the idea of a racially integrated community would jeopardize the whole development (Caldeira, 2000, p.273).

Caldiera argues that the idea of a racially integrated community is bad for business when trying to sell homes in gated communities. This argument exemplifies how 'racial social geography' operates in Sao Paulo. The ways in which the physical environment, the gated community, is mapped, positions racial groups differently.

Sao Paulo: Street art as a form of social cohesion in a city divided by walls

Jeva Lang in an article in the Week, titled 'The star of *Joker* is New York city as Gotham' writes "In attempting to make the *Joker* feel recognizable, Phillips and his team discarded Gotham as a backdrop in favour of Gotham as a character" (Lange, 2019). In Vice, Giaco Furino titles his article 'Sorry Joker: Gotham is the most important character in Batman' and he cites

Nerdwriter who says "the city itself started to breathe like a character" (Furino, 2017).

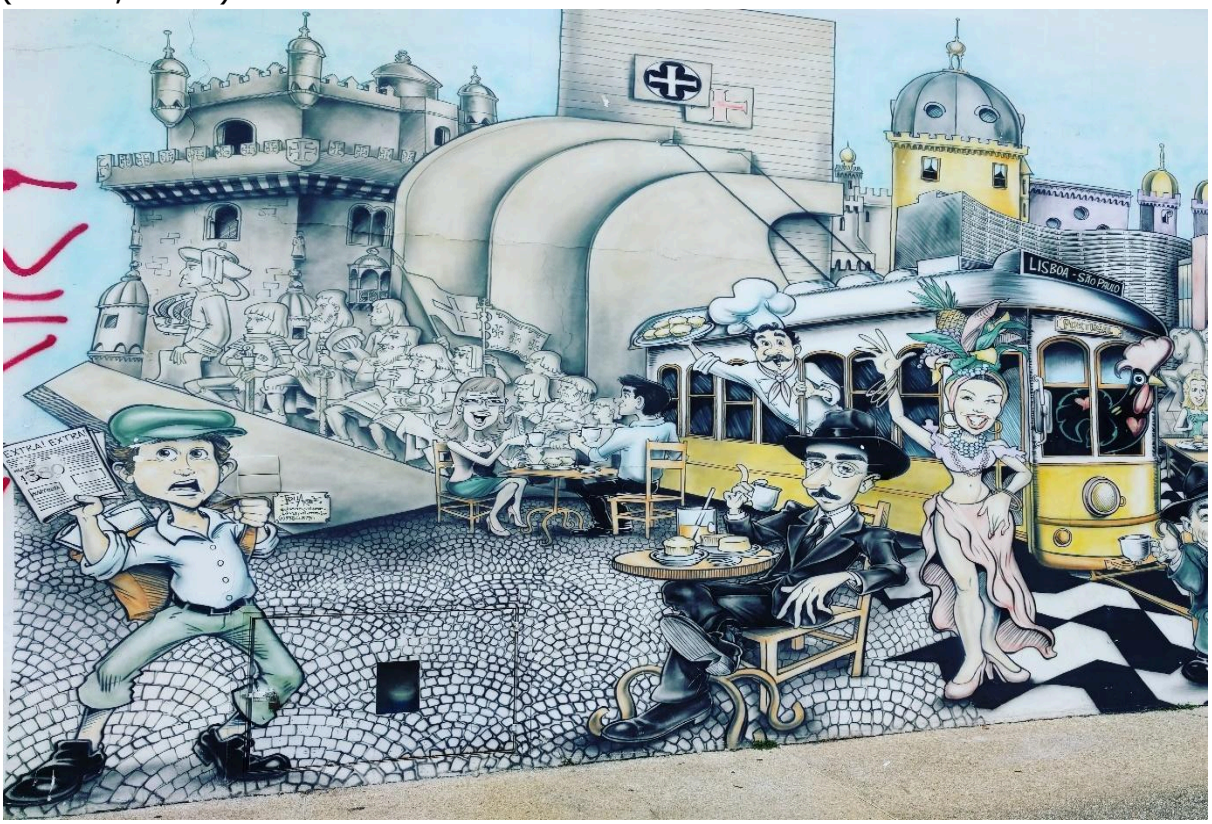

Fig 5: Mural in Vila Madalena which shows a woman dressed in a carnival style outfit, a tram, groups of people sitting outside and Portuguese colonial style buildings in the background.

Sao Paulo is well-known as a city in which buildings are covered in graffiti. There is a famous street in Vila Madalena (a Bohemian, creative and wealthy neighbourhood), called *Batman* which attracts tourists who capture photos of the artwork on display. Art is not confined to this space. Graffiti and murals are everywhere in Sao Paulo and often large murals are painted on the side of high- rise buildings. One type of graffiti which is unique to Sao Paulo is a kind of hieroglyphics which is seen on buildings and bridges - these symbols are a language specific to graffiti artists. The concrete slabs that construct this city are a canvas and available for everyone to see. This is contradictory to some of the ways in which this city operates socially. It is a city with firm social and residential segregation and one in which many of its residents have rejected the concept of free open public space. Therefore, this is of interest because of these dichotomous attributes.

According to Dewey, in 'Art as Experience' (1934), art is not remote from daily life and that the function of art is in relation to other modes of experiences (p.10). He describes how fine art is segregated into museums in most rich developed countries. In Sao Paulo, art is primarily part of the

architecture. The art that is so very much a part of the city, describes so much about Sao Paulo and its entanglements between life, experience, social constructs, nature and environment. Dewey argues that "life goes on in an environment; not merely *in* it but because of it, through interaction with it" (p.12) Dewey aims to connect aesthetic experience with normal processes of living, and sees art is about everyday experience and not just works of art that are niched apart and compartmentalised. Sao Paulo is an interesting place for Dewey's exploration of art and its connectedness to experience. Dewey focuses on the aesthetic pleasure we experience from everyday living, like making a life for oneself and how that is expressed in art, which according to Dewey, is created in the everyday tasks we engage in. Dewey criticises the ways in which art is often segregated from common life and compartmentalised, physically, into museums and intellectually as 'fine art', segregated culturally among classes. Dewey's critique is interesting in the Sao Paulo context, since art is expressed through the architecture of the city and open for all social classes to view. At the same time, this is in sharp contrast to other ways the city is organised and segregated. Is this access to art and its 'intra-action' with the city a device for social cohesion in a city divided by walls?

Siegesmund (2004) argues that emotional resonance with art happens through 'concept formation', through which the perceiver constructs metaphor and personal meaning, at first through perception, in a non-linguistic awareness. I see Ella's choices of images of street art, which she brings to the group, as an act of expression about her feelings of living in Sao Paulo. Sao Paulo to Ella is alive and pulsing. She tells how she can go out at any hour she wants and describes an outgoing social life to the group. In contrast, her description of her small hometown describes a situation of loneliness and isolation. She states:

> I grew up in a very small place, lots of times after 9 o clock there was absolutely nothing to do and it was just me and myself under the stars and maybe me and a friend. That's okay but it's nice to see the city pulsing, it's alive. (Ella, 5 years in Brazil).

She also tells me about how her life in the U.S was characterised by conflict and problems. Ella does not elaborate on the problems she experienced in the U.S, however she does tell me that she does not like the identification with whiteness there because of its negative associations to white supremacy. Ella is also from a working-class rural background which might indicate why she has experienced the U.S as a place which did not provide her with opportunity. She tells me in her narrative interview how she would never return unless there was a serious reason to:

> I didn't have a great life growing up in the states honestly, not that my life was terrible, but I had lots of problems and lots of conflicts and going back to the states just reminds me of all that. It doesn't feel like I can start over again. (Ella, 5 years in Brazil).

Siegesmund (2004) describes an artist thinking of an expansive sky and asks what emotions does that sky evoke? Siegesmund draws on Eisner (The Arts and the Creation of Mind, 2002) and argues that, perception is the first sensory attention to the world and that feelings, not language are evoked through our visual perception and that it is a non-linguistic state of awareness which leads to the development of concept formation (2004, p.83). He goes on to describe this process as such:

> […] the second stage, is also a state of non-linguistic mental activity. It is associative. In this state, sensory perception is linked, compared, and contrasted to current feeling as well as feeling evoked from the past or imagined. For Eisner's painter, a feeling of horizontal expansiveness of the Kansas sky might be contrasted with her first impressions as a child walking in the vertical man-made canyons of Manhattan. The former might be associated with loneliness, the latter with nurturing feelings of home. The artist has begun to construct metaphor and personal meaning. Still she has not entered the realm of language. It is a felt response. Her achievement of mind continues to be non-linguistic (Siegesmund, 2004, p.83).

For Ella, perhaps the perception of being under the stars alone in her hometown has developed a 'concept formation' in her mind, and perhaps it is now associative - the large sky at night, linked with her feelings of loneliness. The image of home is:

> […] drenched in feeling, of immense emptiness. What does immense emptiness look like? To communicate this swirling kaleidoscope of conceptions - to stabilise the play of meanings that is being generated - requires Eisner's third stage: an act of expression (Siegesmund, 2004, p.83).

I see the photos of street art as a device to express, non-linguistically, the associations of aliveness, and of extroversion that Sao Paulo has come to be associated with, in the concept formation process. The street art is sensory. It is visually full of colour and has the power to evoke feelings. It appears that the street art chosen expresses the aliveness of the city and, in contrast to the small hometown with the large sky, evokes sociality and connectedness. Ella describes the city itself as being the conduit of these feelings.

Fig 6: Graffiti: Here is an example of the semiotics painted on buildings, walls and bridges by graffiti artists.

> Ella: this is just a simple graffiti cos it looks like an ogre and it's mad at the bird for eating its food. I just think people put a lot of effort into their animals, their dogs.

Here we can see 'concept formation' happening as Ella introduces the photograph of graffiti which she describes as the image of an ogre. In the material world, a bird is eating food. Ella describes how it looks as though the ogre is mad at the bird for eating its food, and here we see how the material and the imaginative cognitive 'intra-act' with one another. Ella then makes a statement that she thinks people take care of their pets here, namely, their dogs. Here, I employ Siegesmund's idea of 'concept formation' evoked through imagery and I argue that Ella demonstrates this in how she moves from discussing the ogre and the birds in the photo to making a statement that people take care of their pets in Sao Paulo. The image appears to evoke associations of animals and care and perhaps that the ogre is menacing in contrast to the small bird in front of it. In this sense, the image evokes an association leading to a cognitive observation about how people treat their pets in Sao Paulo.

Fig 7: Photograph taken by the researcher. This photo was taken on a main motorway near my home there called *Vinte tres de Maio* (23rd of May), and the writing says: *"No one is so small that they cannot be important. So help me do the best I can with where I am and what I have".*

Fig 8: Mural depicting an Asian dragon in Liberdade, the Japanese quarter of Sao Paulo

> Ella: This is in Liberdade. I was trying to do the looking up thing. This is kind of like a dragon in a street window and one of the things I thought was really interesting is this mixture of old traditions mixed with modern graffities and kind of the unique melting pot that blends a lot, it blends a lot more than the US. The US is very, very segregated and here the cultures have kind of blended with these very different ideas and I really think the segregation between the US and here is different, like the races in the US did not blend hardly at all. Whereas here they did but the economic wealth was really really different, and people ignore that because people have family where they are Japanese and black and everything else, so they forget about this. This is the most traditional Japanese area in town.

This photograph evokes strong feelings in Ella about segregation in the U.S. The photograph was taken in a Japanese district and the vivid colours seem to evoke the idea of 'blending'. Ella begins with the inspiration of how old traditions, such as the dragon (an ancient Asian symbol) and modern graffities, such as the medium and its surface, blend into what she describes as "the unique melting pot that blends a lot". Ella then asserts that "it blends a lot more than the US", and Ella emphasises her perception of the U.S. as "very very segregated" but claims that "here the cultures have blended". Ella further states that "I really think the segregation between the US and here is different". First, what is interesting here is how the image itself ignited these feelings and then thoughts for Ella, the verb *blend* is most prevalent in her linguistic expression. It seems that the strong contrast of colour and the symbolic traditional dragon imposed onto a modern building evokes her feelings about racial segregation, and as she expresses racial 'blending'.
Like Sarah (see below who is also from the U.S) Ella expresses strong claims about segregation in Brazil, and Sarah compares the two nations, positing Brazil as a 'less segregated space'.

> Sarah: And Rio, one could argue is very integrated, […] And just the fact that Brazil on the whole is much more a colourful country, much more afro percentage wise than the US, right.

It is noteworthy to explore their feelings about segregation and their position as white within the U.S. and to explore their attraction to Brazil as what they perceive as a more 'blended' society or as Sarah, says, 'colourful'. These remarks about Brazil resonate with the idea of a 'racial democracy' in Brazil. It appears that Ella and Sarah see Brazil as a more racially integrated place. Their feelings about segregation appear to be informed by their own socialisation growing up in a racially segregated country in which categories of race are demarcated and racial categories

are profiled. However, it has been argued by Calderia that Sao Paulo's housing arrangements *are* places of segregation and that even *favelas* end up being treated as private enclaves since only residents and acquaintances venture inside (2000, p.310).

Fig 9: Mural on the side of a building and an advertisement for a new apartment complex in Reboucas, a middle to upper-class neighbourhood.

> Miriam**:** Where is it?
> Scott: Reboucas just before Oscar Freire I think
> Sarah: Yeah it is, there's a construction site going on there, like multi-fancy apt condos there. Condominiums are being constructed in that space. (Group discussion, main photovoice session 2018).

This image frames a mural on the side of a building. What is interesting about this image is it evokes a conversation about the affluent neighbourhood it is located near. Several of the participants offer knowledge about property development in the area, namely gated communities. The mural on the side of this building draws my attention to the way in which art is merged with architecture and therefore signifying a collective enjoyment of such art. Dewey describes this as buildings having a social purpose. Dewey argues that capitalism contributes to the ways in which art is designated to museums and that "economic conditions are […] relevant to perception and enjoyment, or even to interpretation of individual works of art" (p.9). The ways in which art is displayed and

merged on and with architecture in Sao Paulo contradicts the idea that capitalism designates art to museums. Despite housing segregation in Sao Paulo and transport segregation, art appears to be one medium of cohesion operating in the city. I suggest that art in this context serves as a form of resistance to segregation in Sao Paulo, that it acts as a "safety valve"— a permissible form of public critique that creates a semi-functional public sphere. Murals and graffiti, whether intentionally or not act as an antidote to the implicit symbolic violence of systemised segregation.

Fig 10: Artwork displayed in a museum

> Ella: Following the art thing is this idea of street art. Every single corner has it, there's tonnes of criticisms of social inequality. The idea of fine art in museums and street art is free for the public, both of them together being free is not something you see in many cities in the world. The fact that both of them are really famous and accessible to everyone is really cool.
>
> Scott**:** In general, that is one thing that is very distinctive of SP is the graffiti, sure you've got the batmans (famous graffiti) in the designated areas but just in general you have really great artwork around the city.
> (Group discussion, main photovoice session 2018).

According to Dewey, "Where works of art is placed in a directly human context in popular esteem, they would have a much wider appeal than

they can have when pigeon-hole theories of art win general acceptance" (1934, p.10). According to Caldeira, public space in Sao Paulo is not a space in which interclass relations thrive. Caldeira argues that the nature of self-segregated residential living in which separation and isolation is valued, and the lack of pavements surrounding these gated communities, enforces the idea that the streets are for the poor and the homeless. Caldeira points out that public transportation hubs like subway and train stations, are utilised mostly by working class people and argues that public space in Sao Paulo is not valued as a place in which heterogeneity is tolerated. Instead she points out how security guards will often stand in front of gated communities surveying the public, in what she calls a private army. What is interesting about Caldeira's research into public space in Sao Paulo, which is extensive, is how it contrasts with the way in which art is so accessible to the public. In a city in which so many pleasures are reserved for the rich, the aesthetic pleasure of art is abundant in Sao Paulo. Ella highlights this point when she says that "it is not something you see in many cities in the world" and Scott concurs with this in adding "in general you have really great artwork around the city". Caldeira states that "The distances between buildings are large. Walls are high, out of proportion to the human body, and most of them are topped by electric wires" (2000, p.310). And despite this landscape, art thrives as a superimposition onto the concrete itself. It might appear that in spite of segregation, one form of cohesion in this metropolis is street art.

Fig 11: old building covered in graffiti next to a new building.

Ella: Ok so this is downtown. One of the things I think is amazing here is the layering of the really really old architecture which has

> been sort of destroyed and painted over with graffiti and how the new and the ugly mix. I think that is one of the most beautiful things about SP. You just have this mixture of everything.

Ella describes how Sao Paulo is a mixture of old and new and uses the term layering to describe how these materials 'intra-act' with each other. Here, the city's architecture is shown and we can see how the old building is crumbling and derelict. Next to it, something new is being constructed to be inhabited. Sao Paulo may be seen as a space in which old buildings are neglected, a place where people with money want to build new and build up. Ella says that one of the most beautiful things about Sao Paulo is how the new and the ugly mix, I suggest Ella is articulating the ways in which new and ugly are entangled producing something else.

Fig 12: Participant produced photograph. A car repurposed as a plant bed against an urban background of buildings made of different materials.

> Sarah: I'm big into nature and I'm always trying to find small pieces of it in this city. And this is amazing. It's been there for a while, it's a couple of different cars. It says a lot, by a photo, the fact that it's a car, it's old, it's art but at the same time it's saying so much about the juxtaposition between urban and nature and I think it also to me, shows, the fragility of what we have here. Ultimately, our urban, our creations, man made things ultimately won't last, but nature will, and I don't know why I find this so poignant to the topic but more or less it's the urban.

Sarah makes the point that there is a fragility in what we have in our "urban creations", that "man-made things ultimately won't last, but nature will".

Conclusion

In this article I looked at the ways in which racialised hierarchies operate in migration processes. I drew attention to the 'polysemic character' of borders which operate differently for different migrants. I discussed the asymmetrical experiences of migrants in global migration flows and emphasised the importance of race when addressing migration.

I also drew attention to racial politics in a Brazilian context touching on historical ideas about race and contemporary stratification in Brazilian society because of race.

Drawing on 'global cities' my aim was to draw your attention to the service economy in Sao Paulo and the relationship among service users and providers. The phenomenon of spatial segregation emerged as a facet of the way in which residential life is structured in Brazil and participants integrated into this structure in ways which were reproduced through their race and class privilege. For instance, it appeared that some participants were housed through their location packages granted by their decision to migrate to Sao Paulo, while others had accrued financial capital which enabled them to live in particular neighbourhoods. One of the most salient aspects in my analysis of residential segregation through the lens of whiteness, was how visual and textual representations of homelessness were most prevalent. For white people, it seemed as though recognising oppression and giving examples of marginalisation was more common than presentations of privilege and affluence. Even though this study aimed to look at privilege, the focus and the participants' gaze often located oppression rather than privilege. I suggest that this tendency reflects a culture in which the racial mappings of environments are distorted so that white people see oppression but not their own privileges. Borrowing from Frankenberg's concept of racial patterning of environments, in which white people give meaning to the material realm through discourse, I see racial mappings of environments as influenced by discursive socio-cultural processes. It appeared in the way in which segregation is perceived and discussed. Segregation was often something the 'other' experienced or else through a colour-blind prism, it did not exist at all.

I propose that segregation is very much experienced by white people and in how white people experience the world, except that the absence of people of colour is either not acknowledged or awareness of this absence

is very limited. In some ways, this absence was replaced through commodification of black culture and of poverty. This was also suggested through street art, in which colour is inserted into the culture and habitus of white people, through popular street graffiti. Perhaps even the migratory journey itself indicates this desire that some white people have to add colour to their lives, since many reported growing up in white segregation. In participants' descriptions of Brazil as 'colourful', 'pulsating', 'alive', 'vibrant', as compared to more bland descriptors of their home countries, I see these descriptors as indicating an embrace of diversity.

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