

Authors Meet Critics

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Participants:

Barnum, Anthony Justin	Millington, Nate
Bird, Lawrence	Rousseau, Max
Caselli, Davide	Santos, Rui
Coppola, Alessandro	Skodra, Julita
Field, James	Tanulku, Basak
He, Huang	Turkmen, Hade
Lefteris, Theodosis	Wachsmuth, David
Lonergan, Gwyneth	
Marzorati, Roberta	

Moderators:

Giovanni Torrissi
Yuri Kazepov

<Torrissi, Giovanni> Welcome to everybody.

<Marques, Eduardo> Hi, everybody.

<Torrissi, Giovanni> Welcome Professor Marques.

<Marques, Eduardo> Thanks, Giovanni.

<Torrise, Giovanni> Normally we begin right on time, but not before.

<Marques, Eduardo> Should we wait for the others?

<Torrise, Giovanni> Yes. Let us do that. In the meantime, if the people present would like to begin posing their questions in our system, they are welcome to do so.

Today we are going to talk with Eduardo Marques about: "Social Networks, Segregation and Poverty in Sao Paulo". Since I see that there are already some questions, I officially open the floor to our scientific dance, with the first question by Barnum, Anthony Justin:

<Barnum, Anthony Justin> I was curious as to whether the origin of migrants played a role in the analysis or if it just assumed that all migrants are from the Northeast?

<Marques, Eduardo> Good morning, Anthony. The large majority of the urban poor in Brazil today are native born. There are poor migrants from other Latin American countries, but they are very few. And the large majority of the poor migrants are from the North Eastern part of the country.

<Barnum, Anthony Justin> Is it necessary, or even possible, to separate race of migrants in Brazil?

<Marques, Eduardo> It depends on the city, in fact. The racial composition of Brazilian cities really varies substantially from city to city.

<Barnum, Anthony Justin> I was curious because of the supposed racial democracy in Brazil and work I've seen detailing discrimination based on association with being from the Northeast. Thank you.

<Marques, Eduardo> In Rio and Salvador, for example, race plays an important role in identity formation, political activism and also in living conditions, but not in São Paulo. Racial discrimination is important all over Brazil and there is a racial divide in poverty in all cities. But this is combined with class and migration in quite complex ways. In São Paulo, these two latter elements tend to be more prominent.

<Barnum, Anthony Justin> Why the difference for Sao Paulo?

<Marques, Eduardo> The difference is not only for São Paulo. It is in the different historical formation of each large metropolis. Brazil is quite large, as you know, and there were very different historical processes of territorial occupation, which led to different ethnic compositions. In Salvador and Rio you have a strong heritage from slavery, but São Paulo and other cities of the South were not important economically until the 20th Century. When São Paulo became important (with the coffee plantations since 1880), State led European immigration was at its peak.

<Barnum, Anthony Justin> True. Thank you.

<He, Huang> Professor Marques: would you mind commenting on how to measure the association between poor people's social network and segregated labour market, please?

<Marques, Eduardo> I don't think the labour market is segregated. Social groups are segregated in space and job positions tend to be highly concentrated, resulting in the presence of strong job mismatches. So, what we can measure is the association between network characteristics and: a) to live in a segregated neighbourhood; b) to have a job; and c) the quality of this job. We can do this quantitatively (as in the IJURR article), or by using qualitative methods (as in my book - Opportunities and deprivation in the Global South published last year by Ashgate).

<Field, James> I was wondering if there was any evidence that the social networks you studied were based upon utility? For example, those experiencing severe poverty might build networks that serve their immediate needs and would therefore be smaller and more localised than someone who has their basic needs met.

<Marques, Eduardo> Yes, you are right. There is for sure the use of the networks to solve problems, but I would not use the term 'utility' since networks are created and mobilized for several reasons at the same time. This appears only in the qualitative part of the research, which is not in the article. The poorer among the poor tend to have smaller networks, and these networks are mainly associated with daily activities. In fact, the people who are not so poor (and also the middle classes) also have this 'part' of their network, but they manage to build longer-term parts of the networks also. In fact, there is a mechanism of network formation which I call the 'economy of ties', which makes the poorer among the poor lose (or drop) a significant part of their networks periodically, since they do not have the resources to maintain them. So, the mechanisms of network formation and transformation work for everybody, but some of them impact the poorer more strongly, since they have much less economic resources to face several situations.

<Torrise Giovanni> Thanks. Let us now go back to He, with a new comment.

<He, Huang> In urban China, migrant workers were excluded by residential registration system (Hukou) which depends on parents' Hukou status: urban Hukou or rural Hukou. In this case, rural migrant workers can hardly access high value jobs in cities, even they have lived in the cities for decades. Although their children have grown up in cities over two decades, they are still constrained by their household registration status in urban labour market.

<Marques, Eduardo> This is for sure a major factor in durable inequalities in China. We do not have any institutional barrier in Brazil to territorial or social mobility similar to this Chinese institution, although there are strong educational and status inequalities, which make upward mobility very difficult. But the absence of an institutionalization of inequality structure (in law) is for sure positive.

<Barnum, Anthony Justin> Since Brazilians are always associated with their place of birth on national registration wouldn't this serve as an institutional barrier?

<Marques, Eduardo> I don't understand what you mean by 'associated'.

<Barnum, Anthony Justin> for example: someone born in Bahia is always known as from Bahia even if they live and reside in Sao Paulo.

<Marques, Eduardo> There are marks of status and privilege. Race is sometimes central and the absence of racial divides in some cities does not mean the absence of social hierarchies. There are physical markers for the North Easterners and these are also used to rank, attribute prestige (or not), and create barriers based on prejudice. But these elements are not institutionalized. So, these 'frontiers' may be contested in ways they could not be, if they were written in some formal rule (as in law).

<Torrise, Giovanni> There is now an intervention by Davide Caselli. Please Davide:

< Caselli, Davide > If I can just add a problem, the question raised about "utility" recalls the big sociological question about the "rationality" of choices made by social actors. Maybe Professor Marques could tell us something about his theoretical standpoint on the relation between individual behaviour and social constraints, rational choice or habitus or...

<Marques, Eduardo> That is a very good question, but difficult to answer shortly. People build ties for several reasons – intentional and non-intentional. Several ties which later become very important for someone are sometimes created by chance (such a short chat in a bus or a square). Additionally, people use their networks as they perceive them, but their use is different from the network itself. So, methodologically, I mapped the networks, investigated their structure and connectivity and later returned to some of the interviewees, and asked them several questions about how they use their networks to solve day-to-day problems. The narratives about the uses of the networks show clearly that people may solve problems by mobilizing ties, which were created with very different purposes or by chance. So, there is rationality, but it is mingled with several other kinds of behaviour.

<Torrise, Giovanni> Thanks a lot. Now there are two connected questions by Davide and Nate:

< Caselli, Davide > I'd like to ask a quite general question, to start could you tell us something about the broader context of urban policies against segregation in Brasil/São Paulo?

<Millington, Nate> Hi, Professor Marques. A very general question: Could you comment on the broader policy context in the city as it relates to inequality and segregation/precariousness? Especially with the recent mayoral change, are there policies in place to reduce inequality in the city that may strengthen the kinds of social networks that you detail in your article?

<Marques, Eduardo> I believe it is profitable analytically to separate inequalities, networks, poverty and segregation. These elements may be superposed empirically, but they may also build separate trajectories (inequalities may be reduced, but without changing poverty and segregation, for example). Poverty and inequality (both inequality of access to services and inequality of income) are declining in Brazil recently, mainly due to federal policies.

Segregation depends on local policies and is stable in São Paulo. To be more precise, the general structure of segregation is really stable, but the peripheries of several cities (not only São Paulo) are

becoming more heterogeneous. There are almost no policies to reduce segregation, since they would depend on stronger land control, which is very costly to implement in Brazil. Land is a very important asset - home ownership is around 80% (although including several forms of illegality), and the capture of land surpluses is an important strategy for both the elites and the poor. So regulating land is at the same time both a key issue and a very difficult task. This is the most important challenge for urban policies in Brazil, in my opinion. The new mayor of São Paulo has several challenges and this is for sure among them. However, the moment is also very promising for changes, since the Master Plan of the city will be renewed this year.

I just want to add something about precarity, which was also mentioned in Nate's question. Brazil has been advancing substantially in slum upgrading since the 1990s, as an effect of strong political pressures from below and also from technical communities. It is fair to say that a policy learning process to promote slum upgrading programs has started at the local level in the 1990s, and since the creation of the Ministry of Cities entered the federal sphere of government.

<Torrisi, Giovanni> Now another general question by Lawrence Bird, which makes an interesting comparison between two author participants of "authors meet critics":

< Bird, Lawrence> Thanks for this very rigorous paper, it is much-appreciated. My question is very general, and ties your observations back to the discussion in an earlier seminar: Can we assume the non-local networks, which you demonstrate are so important, include virtual or media-based networks? A couple of seminars ago Andy Merrifield proposed that in our time the urban condition is defined by an interpenetration of local, "real" places and virtual spaces, global flows. Might your evidence suggest, more accurately, two kinds of citizens (well, these would be the extremes of the relational conditions you identify): those for whom real and virtual spaces interpenetrate (supporting non-local networks), and those who are still bound to local, spatially-embedded networks. Is this a fair characterization?

<Marques, Eduardo> This is a very good observation. I believe this argument about the digital world must be specified in terms of country, social group (class if you prefer) and age. The large majority of my poor interviewees are disconnected, due to both class and age. The teenagers are in part connected, but not the older social groups. I imagine that in poorer countries of Latin America or Africa this would be even more pronounced. So, we could be experiencing at the same time a trend to a more connected future (when almost everybody would be connected, considering the demographic transition), and a durable divide (since the poorer would stay disconnected). Consequently, ties constructed in the digital world will continue to enlarge their importance, but a considerable part of the connection between poverty and networks will continue to rely on personal, face-to-face contacts.

However, I believe there is also an additional element to be accounted for. Being connected (and being less local) is not similar to having a heterophilic pattern of relations. The poor individuals of my research who are connected to the digital world tend to build and maintain virtual and non-local ties with other poor similar to them. The iron rules of homophily still hold, although the cost of building and maintaining ties may be reduced when someone embraces digital sociability. So, I do believe that some debates are confusing non-locality with heterophily. These elements are different and the

digital world may be creating new forms of homophilia.

<Torrise, Giovanni> Lawrence, would you like to add something?

<Bird, Lawrence > So we're connected digitally to people similar to us -- one of the criticisms of digital media, in some ways they narrow our networks. To backtrack to your observations on teenagers -- how about cell-phone use, does this connect the poor -- or might it if smart phones become ubiquitous? Same caveat though, about connecting homophilically?

<Marques, Eduardo> The important elements are not associated with the platform of connection, but with fact that it is easier to create and to maintain ties with people who are similar to us.

<Skodra, Julita> Professor Marques, do you suggest that fragmentation of urban space, as a result of environmental inequalities and segregation of urban poor next to the gated communities, can be overcome by developing wider networks and providing better cohesion?

<Marques, Eduardo> No, because unfortunately you can have spatial proximity and social distance, due to homophily. In fact, gated communities do exactly this in Brazil. They create enclaves in poor places where rich people do not interact with the area.

<Skodra, Julita> You have collected data for 30 members of the middle-class. What is the percentage of the middle-class in São Paulo?

<Marques, Eduardo> Julita, the middle class networks were not intended to study deeply the middle classes, but only to create a benchmark for study of the poor, in order to understand what could be considered large, small, local etc. But to answer your question, the poor may be considered as 60%, depending on how you define them.

<Tanulku, Basak> I did field work in gated communities in Istanbul, the largest city in Turkey, which might have similarities with Sao Paulo. I studied the wider relationships of gated communities (with the local political actors and villages) such as charity work, volunteer work, which (to a certain extent) helped the local people to get a job, and for female children to pursue education. Did you notice a similar thing in Sao Paulo, which can go against the mainstream, but be related to the context (in my case Turkish society), how charity and help has always been a part of the daily life? These can also increase the social network which can be converted in job opportunities.

<Marques, Eduardo> Basak, there are for sure connections between the gated families and the neighbours, but they tend to be confined to the people who work in the gated condominiums. I do not think charity plays an important role in Brazil for creating this kind of interaction.

<Torrise Giovanni> Thanks. Basak, would you like to add something?

<Tanulku, Basak> OK, I was trying to understand better the effect of social cohesion, due to the impact of charity (church), which can be converted into social networks

<Marques, Eduardo> The effect of charity in Brazil is small in this respect. In fact, the importance of the church in elite condominiums tends also to be residual. Gates condominiums do not become 'communities' such as in the US, where special purpose settlements are common. In Brazil they tend to be high status settlements, where rich people live and from where they commute to work. The level of 'civic' life is very small and only the children use public spaces and facilities.

A last remark would be that the presence of the church among the high middle classes tends to be very small.

<Torrise, Giovanni> Very good. Let us go on with a question by David Wachsmuth:

<Wachsmuth, David> Hi Eduardo, thanks for an interesting paper. I was curious about how you interpret the directionality of your findings. For example, one could imagine employment status (and hence income) to have an important effect on social networks (by introducing you to new people), as well as the opposite relationship. How can we tell the difference between social networks as a cause and social networks as an effect?

<Marques, Eduardo> This is a very good one, David. There is a large degree of endogeneity in networks and sociability. People build both their networks and their attributes in daily activities and actions through their life trajectories. Consequently, both their attributes and their networks were constructed together (and with mutual influence), which makes the issue of rationality very complex, as I have already mentioned.

<Torrise, Giovanni> Now, two connected questions:

<Lefteris, Theodosios > Hello professor Marques. I was wondering if your study takes into consideration the role of transportation networks, either in enhancing the options for sociability or segregating parts of the city. Is there a direct relation of transportation networks and high localism? Could this - and the result of your paper - imply specific planning strategies?

<Marques, Eduardo> There are consequences to the connections between transportation policies and poverty, which come from my study. Making transportation policies better, cheaper and more efficient would lower the cost of making and maintaining ties and enhancing network formation, especially for the poor, who depend on public transportation policies.

<Marzorati, Roberta> Good morning Eduardo. I was wondering: why consider people living in different poor neighbourhoods, without taking into consideration the characteristics of these neighbourhoods? In terms of presence of services, urban policies etc.?

<Marques, Eduardo> The neighbourhoods of the research were chosen considering exactly their characteristics in terms of segregation, housing conditions and forms of space production (by the State, by developers, by an occupation, etc).

<Marzorati, Roberta> Ok, thank you

<Torrise, Giovanni> Now Hade:

<Turkmen, Hade> Professor Marques, your article is fascinating and I imagine you have more to say about the networks of poor in Sao Paulo. Your argument about networks has a 'positive' side, since you argue that networks provide bridges for the poor and promote better social situation. However, in my research, which is about taking collective action decision-making processes in one of the poorest area of Istanbul, I observed some 'negative' aspects of networks in building bridges with other networks. Due to the cliental and political relations, networks could form a close community and be limiting to building bridges with other groups. Your research is based on individual networks but I guess you have observed inter-network relations in your study. So, how do you conceptualise the impact of political (and also cliental) relations in poor's networks? Have you observed challenges within the networks to build bridges with other networks and be integrated the other groups?

<Marques, Eduardo> Turkmen, the networks I studied do several things, good and bad, but the role of clientelism has been strongly exaggerated in the literature about Brazil, in my opinion. There are several recent studies about the access of the poor to services, which have showed very little influence of clientelism in service provision. Clientelism is a concept which already defines the content of the tie before studying it empirically. I prefer to define what is exchanged after the study, and not before it. But you are right that there is a 'dark side' of social networks. Sometimes it is in the structure of the network itself, but in the majority of the occasions it is in the kind of tie, or in the content of the relationship which is mobilized using that tie.

<Torrise, Giovanni> Thanks a lot for the very quick yet deep answers. Max Rousseau:

<Rousseau, Max> Many thanks for this deep analysis of social segregations and poverty Professor Marques. In France, the localism and homophily of the networks of some the poor populations living in the deprived peripheral neighbourhoods has been officially identified as one of the main causes of the high rates of unemployment in the *banlieus* since the late 1990s. One of the consequences of this new vision was a political wish to bring individuals of the middle-class back into these neighbourhoods through operations of urban renewal. Both the central state and the local authorities claimed that the poorest could then imitate the habitus of these new, wealthier inhabitants and therefore find an easier access to the employment market. However, today the results seem rather mitigated. I was wondering what you think of this, and if you could imagine an efficient policy aiming at tackling the problem of segregation and poverty through an action on social networks.

<Marques, Eduardo> *Mixité sociale* is really one of the policies which appears as a possibility to enhance heterophily. They are not present in Brazil. The effect of social mixture policies appears to be similar to the one of positive discrimination in the university system. Individuals who enter using quotas tend to interact more with other quota students. But at the end, there is a gain in the connections of the ones who entered using quotas, not to mention the educational and status attainment gains. So, this may not solve the problem, but is much better than letting the situation stay as it is, or enhancing segregation.

<Torrise, Giovanni> Alessandro Coppola:

<Coppola, Alessandro> Hi, thank you for this wonderful occasion. I was wondering what you think about deconcentration policies. The outcome of your research could be naively used to justify the implementation of policies aimed at dispersing the poor, bringing them to some sort of socially mixed environment. We know that the outcome of such policies has been at best mixed in the US case. Is there any conversation on the topic in Brazilian context?

<Marques, Eduardo> Similarly to Max I would answer to your question that even if the results of programs such as Moving to Opportunities in the US were not as predicted, the results were for sure better than implementing the opposite urban policy or not doing anything about segregation. In Brazil we don't have any serious effort to tackle this problem, although some local governments are changing their housing policies and starting to build small project in mixed places. I believe mixed neighbourhoods are better in terms of sociability and in the promotion of heterophily, even if they do not solve the problem or poverty (which is multidimensional and is reproduced through several mechanisms).

<Kazepov, Yuri> Thanks Eduardo. Alessandro do you want to add something?

<Coppola, Alessandro> I fear there is not enough time! I would have many more questions.

<Kazepov, Yuri> Let's post the last question by Gwyneth.

<Loneragan, Gwyneth> Professor Marques, did you research which particular associations, churches, etc., promoted heterophily? Would the people an individual meets through regular attendance at a church in a particular locality, for example, tend to be different to the individual? Or very similar, in that they live in the same impoverished locality, share the same faith, etc.?

<Marques, Eduardo> I did not research in details the different institutional places where ties are built. Probably details of the sociability within them make a difference, such as shown by Mario Small recently. This could be the subject to a future interesting research.

<Kazepov, Yuri> Dear all, we are over 4pm gmt+1 and I would like to thank Eduardo very much for being here with us and for his very interesting answers to your - sometimes quite challenging - questions. We'll meet next time on March 5th with almost a whole research team on "Shrinking Cities: Urban Challenges of Globalization". Bye to all and thanks again!

<Marques, Eduardo> It was a pleasure. Bye.