Women, the City, and Spatial Citizenship
Examining Identity Formation and Employment Amongst Afro-Brazilian Women in Rio De Janeiro and Belo Horizonte

by

Obiamaka O. Ude

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University of California, Berkeley
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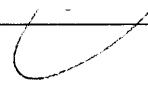
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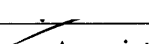Department of Urban Studies and Planning
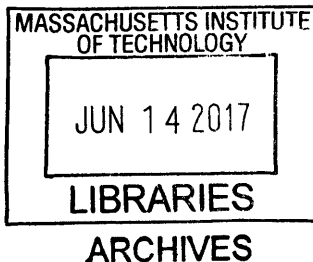May 24, 2017

Signature redacted

Certified by
_____
Assistant Professor Jason Jackson
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
Thesis Supervisor

Signature redacted

Accepted by
_____
Associate Professor P. Christopher Zegras
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
Chair, MCP Committee

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Abstract
This thesis explores the way that experiences of citizenship are specifically shaped at the city level in urbanized environments. The way that people navigate the city is often contingent upon varying degrees of access and justice in different areas of life activity. I argue that access to citizenship is as much an economic endeavor as it is a civic endeavor. With public space as the realm of social interaction and exchange, this research illustrates how citizenship, belonging, and identification is formed in the city space and is reflected in employment outcomes for Afro-Brazilian women.

Thesis Advisor: Jason B.R. Jackson
Assistant Professor of Political Economy and Urban Planning

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KEY TERMS

Se assumir - to represent; self acceptance; to self actualize and self realize

Mulher negra – black woman

Mulher parda – brown or mixed woman of African descent

Mulher branca – white woman

Negritude – Blackness; beyond people, used to describe all cultural artifacts, gestures, and behaviors associated with blackness

Branquitude – Whiteness; beyond people, used to describe all cultural artifacts, gestures, and behaviors associated with whiteness

Embranquiar/embranquecimento - to become racially white through miscegenation, to become white figuratively by possession by the qualities, physical attributes, or access to capital associated with whiteness.

Padrão/padronizar - uniform; referring to conformity to normative social standards.

Padrão de beleza –beauty standards reflecting the standards of hegemonic society

Boa aparência – good appearance, typically refers to a respectable and or professional presentation. Requests for boa aparência in job advertisements are now illegal on the basis of job discrimination.

*Black powe*r – term used to describe the hairstyle, the Afro

Cabelo crespo – kinky, tightly coiled, Afro textured hair

Alpinismo social – social climbing

Raça Brasileira – Brazilian race; referring to Brazil as a one-race nation

Movimento Negro – Black Movement; referring to the black cultural, political, and artistic movement in Brazil

Preconceito – bigotry; discriminatory attitudes or beliefs

Mercado de trabalho – the labor market

1 INTRODUCTION

Directly or indirectly urban planning is concerned with the following question: *What does it mean to be a citizen in a city?* When we consider citizenship we consider things such as documentation, civil rights, and other protections offered by a sovereign nation as birthright. We think of benefits offered by virtue of legally belonging to a nation and a governing apparatus beholden to its populous. What is less discussed however is what it means to exist as a denizen in a city. Denizen refers specifically to one's inhabitance, frequency, or occupation of space. While all citizens can be denizens, not all denizens are citizens. All people do not experience the aforementioned benefits equally. When we think about cities, we think of the confluence of many peoples, cultures, and operations in an urban space. We also consider the problems inherent to urbanization in cities such as urban poverty, wealth inequality, income disparity, social and sexual violence, racism, spatial segregation, political, environmental, and infrastructural instability. Our experiences with citizenship depend upon access to the rights that ought to be inalienable. Our experiences as citizens and denizens are specifically shaped at the city level in urbanized environments. The way that people navigate the city is often contingent upon varying degrees of access and justice in different areas of life activity. Citizenship as an unfolding civic experiment is not readily thought of to include economic democracy because it is a subjective discreet area of life activity, but the pursuit of safety, stability, and salubrity hinges upon economic participation. Access to the wealth that exists within a city determines where people reside, the quality of the education that they and their children have access to, health outcomes, and their safety. Some systems of government structure the distribution of

wealth in such a way that the benefits of the wealth existing within a municipality touch the majority of the denizens in the forms of complete infrastructure, quality social services, and high environmental health. In many cities, particularly that with a high degree of heterogeneity within the population and geography however, often is the case that there are more asymmetrical distributions of resources. This is evident in spaces of high racial and economic heterogeneity, and especially in places embedded in a legacy of enslavement, caste systems and a colonial past. Although much of the labor produced under these systems occur in rural environments (as is the case in agrarian slave economies), the wealth produced from these circumstances are responsible for the urbanization that occur in those regions.

Brazil is an excellent case study in the question of citizenship for the fact that it is a country that possesses the legacy of enslavement, caste, and a colonial past yet has laid claim to not only democracy in the civic sense, but also in the context of race based on the high level of heterogeneity in the country. When considering this heterogeneity amongst Afro-Brazilian women, hair is arguably one of the most important and significant social markers of identity for women, particularly women of African descent. Second to only skin color, hair texture is the most powerful indicator of race and consequently class amongst black women with afro-textured hair. In the country of Brazil, there are over one hundred terms used to classify one another based on phenotypic traits.[1] These classifications also extend to hair texture, some of which include Sarará a person of African descent with light skin and kinky, tightly coiled hair, and Cabo-Verde, a person of African descent with dark skin, straight hair and light

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[1] Htun, Mala. "From" racial democracy" to affirmative action: changing state policy on race in Brazil." *Latin American Research Review* 39, no. 1 (2004): 64.

eyes.[2] In the case of Brazil, where the marginalization of Afro-Brazilians challenges the concept of the racial democracy,[3] the intrinsic understandings of hair—as a surrogate indicator for race—codifies the reproduction of the same racialized class hierarchies. While there are similar instances of this within the United States, only in Brazil is there the discourse of racial fluidity unlike any other place in the African Diaspora. There exists the need to explore the ways hair texture influences the employment opportunities of Afro-Brazilian women, who sit at the bottom of racial and gender work-based hierarchies.[4] Although in recent decades attention has been paid to developing studies around women in Brazil, information on the socioeconomic status of Afro-Brazilian women is limited.[5] There is a need for further exploration into the implications of hair as a marker of black women's labor opportunity and mobility qualitatively. Taking advantage of hair being euphemistic of black women's labor opportunities and social mobility, we may begin to enter a dialogue regarding the racialized and gendered hierarchies that ultimately limit their experience of citizenship in the spaces where they work and reside.

Throughout Brazil, the cultural impression of enslavement on labor configurations has persisted. Though labor and employment are subjective areas of activity, they are also subject to popular discourse and political discourse informed by common sense cultural sensibilities formed by various phases in history. One such

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[2] Baran, Michael D. "Race, color and culture: Questioning categories and concepts in southern Bahia, Brazil." PhD diss., 2007.

[3] Htun, Mala. "From" racial democracy" to affirmative action: changing state policy on race in Brazil." *Latin American Research Review* 39, no. 1 (2004): 64.

[4] Beato, Lucila Bandeira. "Inequality and human rights of African descendants in Brazil." *Journal of Black Studies* 34, no. 6 (2004): 775

[5] Caldwell, Kia. *Negras in Brazil: Re-envisioning black women, citizenship, and the politics of identity.* Rutgers University Press, 2007

example of these discursive constructions is census data that expand and contract with who produces the data. For instance, during the 1940 nation general census "well-educated and well-mannered people of mixed race were also considered white, even if clearly brown in appearance."[6] The 1940 census did not include racial identification beyond black and white, whereas for example, the 1970 general census excluded race as a question all-together "as a clear illustration of the 1964 military regime's adoption of the racial democracy."[7] Just a few years later in 1976, the Annual National Household Survey (PNAD) included a supplement with two questions about color. "One was an open-ended question that asked respondents to identify their color, without providing any options to choose from. The other asked respondents to select their color on the basis of the traditional census options (branco, pardo, preto, or amarelo)."[8] The results of the open-ended question were 136 different color descriptions.[9] Brazil is a compelling case because in many ways, the history of a racial democracy has illustrated that there remains a conversation to be had about national identity away from the presuppositions of the 20th century. Discrimination and social segregation persist in Brazil (as in many other places in the world) and especially with regards to economic opportunities within the country. In order to engage with the multifariousness of race, class, and gender we begin by asking, *how can the construction of counter-hegemonic identities illustrate inequalities in labor and employment in Brazilian cities?* To answer this, we must explore how the residuals of the colonial past impact the present and how these asymmetries of power reify themselves through time. Although we can study race class

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[6] Nobles, Melissa. *Shades of citizenship: Race and the census in modern politics*. Stanford University Press, 2000. 100

[7] Telles, Edward. *Pigmentocracies: Ethnicity, race, and color in Latin America*. UNC Press Books, 2014. 187

[8] Ibid

[9] Ibid

and gender as they stand on their own, it is imperative to conduct research on the subversive ways they manifest themselves that have material consequences on the livelihood of Afro-Brazilian women. While ample work has been produced around blackness in Brazil there remains the need to explore the embodied experience of citizenship amongst members of society whose profile falls outside of dominant narratives of citizenship. The personal experiences of Afro-Brazilian women who identify as *negra* or black are invaluable when considering this question in the Brazilian context. They are a population who has been excluded from many official narratives of the formation of the nation in both biographical and historical time. Their identity as black is not a hegemonic identity. Yet simultaneously, they have been central to the narrative of a racial democracy as the sexually objectified population who would give birth to the modern Brazilian nation through miscegenation.

The orientation of this work is that access to citizenship is as much an economic endeavor as it is a civic endeavor. The thesis also argues that access to citizenship can be valuably observed through a qualitative lens that can provide richer descriptions of the financial consequences of deviating from the boundaries of proper social behavior.

I hypothesize that a potential shift could be occurring in the social discourse around race in the public realm. With public space as the realm of social interaction and exchange, this research seeks to investigate how citizenship, belonging and identification is formed in the city space and is reflected in employment outcomes for this population. If we can accept Teresa Caldeira's definition of spatial citizenship as the space in a modern city where "different citizens negotiate the terms of their interactions

and socialize despite their differences and inequalities,"[10] this thesis will explore how a public negotiation of spatial citizenship does not always stop in the public realm, but continues into more discreet sites of activity and social engagement. This thesis discusses the social expressions of Afro Brazilian women as a case for understanding spatial citizenship.

1.1 Why is this important to planning?

It is incumbent upon planners to think of belonging to a place beyond of the paradigm of land ownership and state documentation and more so in terms of the quality of life in cities. Henri Lefebvre asserts that "specialized works keep their audience abreast of all sorts of equally specialized spaces: leisure, work, play, transportation, public facilities -- are all spoken of in spatial terms. Even illness and madness are supposed by some specialists to have their own peculiar space. We are thus confronted by an indefinite multitude of spaces, each one piled upon, or perhaps contained within, the next: geographical, economic, demographic, sociological, ecological, political, commercial, national, continental, global. Not to mention nature's (physical) space, the space of (energy) flows, and so on."[11] In this case, the specialized space of work is contained within geographic, sociological, demographic, commercial and national spaces and will be described in further in this work.

Brazil is a rich case for study with regards to the question of spatial citizenship as a nation built upon the history of a racial democracy that has informed the national

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[10] Caldeira, Teresa PR. *City of walls: crime, segregation, and citizenship in São Paulo.* University of California Press, 2000. 303

[11] Lefebvre, Henri. *The production of space.* Vol. 142. Blackwell: Oxford, 1991. 12

identity for decades and is on going. The dominant narrative of a racial democracy in Brazil as a whole is scrutinized in this body of work because racial equality is not a fact of the everyday existence of all members of society in Brazilian cities. There exists a sizable collection of texts that demonstrate this fact.[12]

Planners have often been concerned with deepening democracy at the city scale for socially, and economically marginalized citizens. Some of the mechanism by which they have worked to achieve this has been through advocacy in the political process, through increasing access to quality affordable housing, producing quality transportation as a means of increasing access to all spaces in the city, and through designing physical locations to be enjoyed by the public. Brazil's urban population was 85.7% of the total national population.[13] The country is rapidly urbanizing and it is critical to examine the nation and social participation in the context of cities. "Towns, cities --urban space-- are the bailiwick of the discipline of urbanism. As for larger, territorial spaces, regional, national, continental or worldwide, these are the responsibility of planners and economists."[14] The production of space has always been addressed within the field of planning. What most readily comes to mind would be the production of physical space such as public plazas and green spaces. In this project, the concept of space is examined from the perspective of how citizens are able to occupy spaces of varying degrees of power at the city scale.

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[12] Some of these authors will be included throughout this work.
[13] "The World Factbook," United States Central Intelligence Agency, accessed May 6 2017,
https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2212.html
[14] Lefebvre, Henri. *The production of space*. Vol. 142. Blackwell: Oxford, 1991. 12

In order to understand why this is consequential for the population interviewed, this project is concerned with the material consequences of access to labor and employment. Considered a more discrete and subjective area of activity, employment as a means towards income is a factor that dictates the spaces in the city that people can access. Income also determines one's ability to generate wealth. Hence, in order to understand the experiences of this population, labor and employment allows us to explore the research question through the lens of class in addition to race and gender.

1.2 Cities as Modernizing Systems

The creation of the modern Brazilian man and woman is at the heart of the construction of social hierarchies. This is based on the process by which Modernity is synonymized with civilization. Implicit in this notion is that what is to be civilized is the primitive and disorganized elements in society, marginalized where and when civilization is not possible.[15] The ideological journey towards Modernity depends upon the rejection of blackness as the fulcrum.[16] This assertion is made on the premise that cities are the site of major economic activity, political influence, and technological innovation (primarily in the form of infrastructural development). Subscription to the myth of racial democracy was integral to the collective progression of a modern people, and the city is the scene for this ideological expression. This is evident when we examine who is allowed to occupy space and under what economic and social conditions. The presence Afro-Brazilian women in public space is historically coded by the manner of labor they provided in urban areas. Gendered expectations of their presence in streets

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[15] Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the other: How anthropology makes its object*. Columbia University Press, 2014.

[16] Nakagawa, Scott. "Blackness Is The Fulcrum." *From the "Race Files: A Project of CHANGELAB" website: http://www. racefiles. com/2012/05/04/blackness-is-the-fulcrum* (2012).

and outside of their home were created based on the notion that they were always expected to work in service outside of their own households or in the households of their employers in the case of domestic workers.[17] Thinking of the city as a system is a helpful method in planning used to understand the individual functions of a given place. This research seeks to examine how populations generally marginalized by dominant society exist within cities. Where discourse on national identity does not include these members of society, there are opportunities to understand where and how subjects are understood as citizens and where and how they are understood as denizens.

2 METHODOLOGY

2.1 Study Context

This research took place in the cities of Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and also in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, Brazil. The qualitative data used for this research was collected in 2013 as part of a film project while on a Fulbright Fellowship in both cities. The original purpose for the interviews was to examine how amongst Afro-Brazilian women, hair (both style and texture) is one of the most important and significant social markers of identity. The premise of this project was that I had observed little exploration into the implication of hair texture—as an indicator of race, gender and class—affecting the employment of Afro-Brazilian women. My hypothesis was that changing the appearance of their hair texture would allow space to transcend color categories, and the implicit understanding of those identities because of Brazil's reputation as a racially fluid nation. The desired outcome of these interviews was to

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[17] Gillam, Reighan. "The help, unscripted: constructing the black revolutionary domestic in Afro-Brazilian media." *Feminist Media Studies* 16, no. 6 (2016): 1043-1056.

understand whether there were material consequences of this phenomenon in the lives of these women. The question and hypothesis have remained the same, but have gone further to engage the larger theme of citizenship in practice. I have come to this connection because citizenship is the primary current through which we discuss national belonging. As the question of belonging zooms in to the city scale, it becomes challenging to discuss citizenship in practical terms that go beyond civic engagements such as voting or protest. For many, the majority of the day is spent working and I argue that citizenship can still be evidenced in those mundane processes.

2.2 Literature Selection

I collected the literature used for this project based on searches in the university library catalog. By searching with keywords such as spatial, democracy, geography, citizenship, I was able to find texts from varying epistemological frameworks that had perspective on what these terms meant in the context of the city. When searching for texts on the subject of race, class, and gender amongst Afro-Brazilian women, I had one text that addressed the topic of identity formation and body politic from my initial trip to Brazil. I utilized the bibliography of that text as a guide to find other books and articles that would be useful. After reading and annotating the texts, I then created a matrix of the theoretical orientations of the authors I found most helpful. I began grouping authors on the basis of the themes that they wrote about. For each author, I delineated their theory or opinion on my subject alongside the theories and opinions of other authors. Taking care to highlight their academic field, I placed the authors in theoretical "camps" and explored the places where they concurred and diverged, and then explored whether their theory was reflected in what I had gathered in interviews.

2.3 Data Collection Method

The primary method employed to collect interviews was the snowballing method, gathering the names and contact information of potential informants from relationships that I built before leaving the United States to Brazil. I initially set up appointments with acquaintances from the two cities that I would stay in and shared with them my initial questions and observations that I would explore once in the country. I held preliminary conversations typically lasting for one hour where I would explain who I was, where I came from, what inspired my desire to conduct the research and my thoughts on what I was observing in Brazil during my time here if they asked. They in turn would decide whether they wanted to participate in an interview and we would arrange a time and place to meet and film. For each interview I provided a list of questions that I might ask. I also provided a release form for filming as well as a document detailing who I was, my contact information, and clarifying that these interviews would be used for the purpose of understanding their experiences with identity formation and employment experiences in their country. Interviewees were free to respond to questions in whatever manner they felt comfortable, go on tangents to the question, or skip the questions all together. I encouraged tangents in order to allow space for nuance and so the interviews were semi-structured in nature.

Other data utilized during the research process was print copies of census records from the year 1920 to 1990. This data was found in the Harvard University collection on Government Information and Data Services housed in the Lamont Library. This collection includes a variety of government texts as reference for the United States and international countries. As an MIT student, I had library privileges at Harvard

University and was able to access these census documents. With the assistance of the Government Information and Data Services librarians, I was able locate the appropriate documents and examine census records from throughout the 20th century. Through these documents, I was able to examine the changes in census data that reflected the varying political climates and relationship to the question of race in Brazil. Through census documents I was able to examine for myself the degree to which race class and gender were discussed and decipher comparatively how discourse regarding race changed over time. Some census years, included appended texts with information on the census, and notable facts on the nation during that period. One year in particular 1940 included a larger text entitled, *A Cultura Brasileira* which was a larger work detailing the Brazilian culture, religions, agricultural traditions, authors, artists, indigenous populations, flora and fauna and other aspects of culture that was perceived to be relevant at the time. While the census itself was remarkable in that it counted the race and gender down to the neighborhood level in some cities (Rio de Janeiro was particularly detailed), the text on culture involved very little with regards to the contributions of the Afro-Brazilian population to culture, art, or the foundations of the nation.
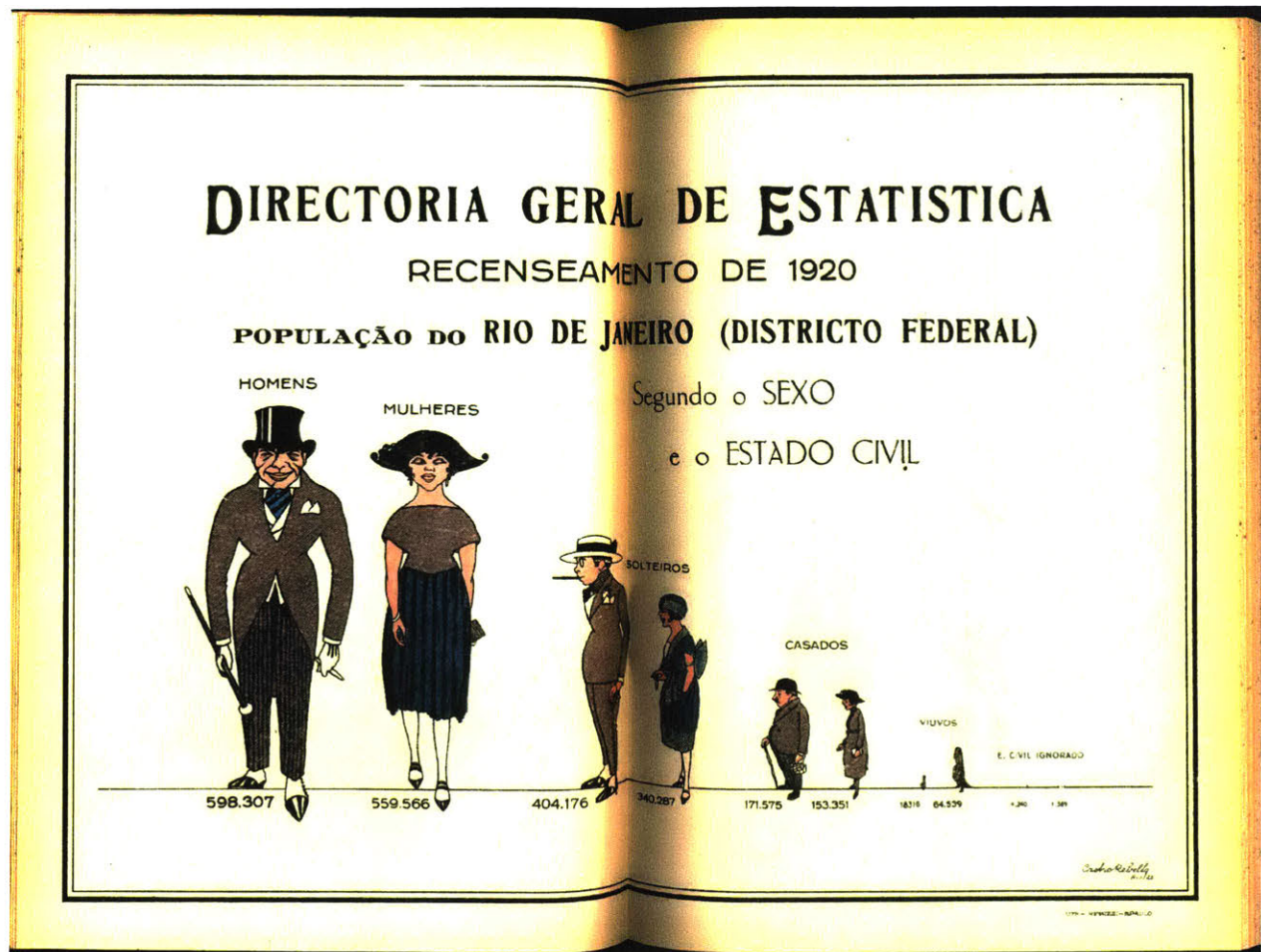
Figure 1 graphic of population count, 1920 Brazilian general census

2.4 Data Analysis Method

Of the twenty-one interviews that I filmed, I selected five to transcribe on the basis of whether they discussed space, place, employment, race, and gender in my field notes. From these five interviews, I coded them extracting recurring phrases and themes that spoke to the topic of the research. From there I analyzed the perspectives and explored connections to the themes in the literature review. The historical analysis portion was created because of what I had discovered in the literature review and in the transcription of the interviews. My informants had referenced the history of

enslavement on several occasions and also their formative years in order to answer some of the interview questions. Likewise, many of the authors who theorized about spatiality theorized about historicity and the relevance of time in the construction of Modernity and racial 'Others'.

2.5 Research Design

This thesis is an ethnographic project and employs qualitative research methods to understand spatial citizenship. Afro-Brazilian women in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and Belo Horizonte are used as a case for understanding what spatial citizenship meant in places where democracy is assumed to extend beyond civic engagement.

2.6 Participants

The interview participants of this project are mothers, artists, domestic workers, students, psychologists, and artists. Each of these informants identified as negra. During my time in the field, I rarely heard people openly discussing race in public spaces and the people willing to engage openly in the conversation of race and gender would tend to be people who also were of the opinion that there were great socio-economic disparities along racial lines in Brazil. Hair was used as a strategy to address the question of race based on the observation that talking about hair was commonly employed euphemistically when discussing black woman. I specifically sought out participants whom identified as female to interview because in my preliminary research I had found very few bodies of work that discussed the economic lives of Afro-Brazilian women in their countries. The hair textures represented in my informants were primarily kinky,

tightly coiled textures but three of the informants had very loosely curled hair. Four of the women interviewed were women who might not be phenotypically classified as negra when compared to the other informants, but identified as negra because of their personal politics as Afro-descendent people. The women in my sample were in the age range of 18 years old to 45 with a few exceptions. From the 21 interviews, I selected five to transcribe that spoke directly to the question of space and citizenship in addition to hair and blackness. Through this narrowing, more women with 'cabelo crespo' or kinky hair made these connections, than those with looser hair textures. As I was stationed at the Federal Universities of Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro this age range was a population most accessible to me initially and from these interviews I was able to access informants with no formal affiliation to the universities. Several of the interviews were conducted in the homes of the informants, which allowed me to travel to their side of the city and speak with them in environments that they felt most comfortable.

2.7 Data Collection Instruments

To collect the interviews I used an HC-V180K Full HD Camcorder and a tripod, which I would set up before the interview, and then position myself with a pen and notepad across from my informants out of the shot. In each interview my informants are seen facing me as they speak. In addition to creating notes for things I would revisit in the footage, the pen and paper also served to distract from the camera and help set the informants at ease while on camera. I observed that setting up the camera on the tripod beforehand would allow me to present myself fully engaged with them and maintain eye contact without fidgeting with the camera. I did not have camera support during interviews and there were moments of pause in order to check and reset the equipment.

After interviews, I would remove the memory cards from the cameras on-site and place them safely in a small case. When I returned home after each shoot, I would upload the footage to an external hard drive and label each interview. As I uploaded the footage I would take the time to write any notes that I had observed, from body language, to the location of our meeting, to their temperament. Each of these notes aided in the analysis process for the interviews.

3 LITERATURE REVIEW

James Holston refers to Brazilian citizenship as a regime of legalized privileges and legitimated inequalities" in his text *Insurgent Citizenship.*[18] Holston explains, "as working classes democratized urban space and its public, new kinds of violence, injustice, and impunity increased dramatically" such as the "criminalization of the poor."[19] Part of the resistance to political transformation has been what he refers to as the differentiation of citizenship where members of society are treated variably based on social status. This idea is rooted in de facto social arrangements of power and privilege asserted in public and social settings. Teresa Caldeira states, "In a democracy, the basis of power, law knowledge, and social interactions is indeterminate, and the public space is the locus for negotiation about the meaning of the social and the legitimate."[20] If the public space is the site for the negotiating social covenants, these agreements do not

[18] Holston, James. "Spaces of insurgent citizenship" in *Making the invisible visible: A multicultural planning history,* ed. Leonie Sandercock Vol. 2. Univ of California Press, 1998. 37-56.
[19] Ibid
[20] Caldeira, Teresa PR. *City of walls: crime, segregation, and citizenship in São Paulo.* University of California Press, 2000. 303

remain in the public space but enters the private spaces with us. I argue that we can see the effects of social discourse in various areas of life activity.

Identifying the inequality that Holston and Caldeira are referring to is quantitatively challenging. In the text, *Shades of Citizenship* Melissa Nobles demonstrates this dynamic in the political lives of Brazilian citizens in which she "argues that censuses help form racial discourse, which in turn affects the public policies that either vitiate or protect the rights, privileges, and experiences commonly associated with citizenship."[21] Because census data informs discourse around race, "...racial discourse influences both rationales for public policy and its outcomes. Public policies not only use racial census data; these data assist in the development of public policy."[22] Nobles further states that "...census bureaus are not politically neutral institutions, employing impartial methods, but state agencies that use census methods and data as instruments of governance."[23] I push this argument further to say that in addition to its influence on public policy and governance this data bifurcates to common sense notions about legitimacy and competence in the labor market. It is necessary to explore citizenship and democracy beyond public policy and governance because these alone cannot illustrate a complete view of the quality of citizenship that policy and governance seeks to produce. As one area of social activity, labor and employment can elucidate economic participation (whether formal or informal) and financial access to opportunities facilitated (or not) by public policy.

Race is inextricably linked to citizenship. "If race is a vexing but salient social identification, citizenship is the most fundamental political identification. A citizen is

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[21] Nobles, Melissa. *Shades of citizenship: Race and the census in modern politics.* Stanford University Press, 2000. 1
[22] Ibid 2
[23] Ibid 1

formally a member of a nation-state, but citizenship is more than a mere formality; it entitles a person to a set of rights, imposes obligations, and engenders lived experiences."[24] In Shades of Citizenship, Nobles indicates that "the Brazilian state not only ignored deep inequities compounded by color discrimination but obscured the existence of such discrimination by deliberately promoting a racial democracy."[25] The concept of racial democracy was developed by Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre where he promoted the idea of one Brazilian race rising from racial mixture amongst the descendants of Europeans and formerly enslaved Africans.[26] Nobles asserts that the expansion and contraction of color terms used in the Brazilian census had obscured the usefulness of census data because race in Brazil "depends largely on how such terms are understood and defined."[27] Although an important source of data, the use of census data is limited in its ability to clearly illustrate where and with whom more access to resources should be placed. Capturing the scope of racial minorities in the country and the lack of representation in formal and medium to high-income employment necessitates a qualitative lens in order to grasp social fluidity.

Racial identification has always been a subjective process in Brazil based on color classification.[28] Several shifts in color and racial categorization have taken place on two planes: official civic channels such as the Brazilian census and but also in the public realm through activism determined to transform discourse on color and race. The phenomenon of young Afro-Brazilian women with 'cabelo crespo' (coily hair) opting to wear their hair in its natural state could be observed as a phenotypic assertion of their

[24] Ibid 4
[25] Ibid 128
[26] Freyre, Gilberto. *Casa-grande e senzala*. Vol. 351. Univ of California Press, 1986.
[27] Nobles, Melissa. *Shades of citizenship: Race and the census in modern politics*. Stanford University Press, 2000.
[28] Ibid

identity as black women in public space. For decades the census has guided the discourse on race and the configuration of citizenship in the country. Historically in the 19th and 20th century, Brazilian social theorists have posited that as the country matured and developed into a modern republic, the nation would progressively become whiter through miscegenation.[29] Considering this, the makeup of Brazilian citizenship has been discursively negotiated in statistical data and also in the public arena.[30]

In several disciplines, space has been defined in a variety of ways. Perhaps the most in-depth explanation of space as a concept is explored by Henri Lefebvre in his text, *The Production of Space*. He interrogates the epistemological trajectory of space. "Not so many years ago, the word 'space' had a strictly geometrical meaning: the idea it evoked was simply that of an empty area. In scholarly use it was generally accompanied by some such epithet as 'Euclidean', 'isotropic', or 'infinite', and the general feeling was that the concept of space was ultimately a mathematical one. To speak of 'social space', therefore, would have sounded strange."[31] Lefebvre posits that there has been a protracted debate on the theory of space in the field of philosophy as a "transcendental and ungraspable structure."[32] We consistently experience space as the "engendering of like by like in a set of places, the logic of container *versus* contents, and so on. We are forever hearing about the space of this and/or the space of that: about literary space, ideological spaces, the space of the dream, psychoanalytic topologies, and so on and so forth."[33] When imagining a term such as spatial citizenship, we engage in this process once again. Lefebvre's critique of this epistemological process is that in the academy, his

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[29] Ibid
[30] Ibid
[31] Lefebvre, Henri. *The production of space*. Vol. 142. Blackwell: Oxford, 1991. 1
[32] Ibid 2
[33] Ibid 3

contemporaries do not often bridge the gap "between the theoretical (epistemological) realm and the practical one, between mental and social, between the space of the philosophers and the space of people who deal with material things."[34] This criticism corroborates Nobles' critique in that technocratic remedies to dealing with governance are susceptible to producing information and knowledge that is disconnected from material impacts on the lives of citizens. "The scientific attitude, understood as the application of 'epistemological' thinking to acquired knowledge, is assumed to be 'structurally' linked to the spatial sphere. This connection, presumed to be self-evident from the point of view of scientific discourse, is never conceptualized. Blithely indifferent to the charge of circular thinking, that discourse sets up an opposition between the status of space and the status of the 'subject', between the thinking 'I' and the object thought about."[35] He goes further to state that the "philosophico-epistemological notion of space is fetishized and the mental realm comes to envelop the social and physical ones. Although a few of these authors suspect the existence of, or the need of, some meditation, most of them spring without the slightest hesitation from mental to social. What is happening here is that a powerful ideological tendency, one much attached to its own would-be scientific credentials, is expressing, in an admirably unconscious manner, those dominant ideas which are perforce the ideas of the dominant class."[36] In structural theory and in technocratic accounts of citizen participation (census, labor data and statistics, etc.) in the various areas of social activity, there is no engagement with embodied knowledge as a means of articulating the experience of citizens as social subjects. This point underscores the importance of

[34] Ibid 4
[35] Ibid
[36] Ibid 5

qualitative analysis rooted in embodied knowledge. To access a deeper understanding of citizenship, it is insufficient to focus solely on documentation status, tax status, land ownership, but the quality of interaction with these metaphysical or physical spaces that Lefebvre discusses. Moreover, Lefebvre points out that authors of the "philosophico-epistemological notion of space" often tend to come from the dominant class and may unconsciously represent the ideologies from which they come from rather than those of the subjects they intend to represent. His point essentially discredits the idea of objectivity within fields of study and opens the space to interrogate elite configurations of knowledge production, enabling knowledge to come from the margins. Kia Lilly Caldwell reinforces this stating "discourses and practices of embodiment provide a crucial basis for understanding the construction of boundaries between groups that enjoy the rights of full citizens and those that occupy a status of de facto non-citizens."[37] While Melissa Nobles illustrates this through census data, Caldwell argues "the relationship between physical bodies and citizenship merits close discussion since bodies form the material substance of citizen-subject, and normative notions of acceptable and unacceptable bodies are used to determine who belongs to the nation" (Caldwell, 106). The notion of Raça Brasileira, (the hybrid mixture of white, black, and indigenous) offers no answer for social and economic inequality. With this foundation, marginalization must continue to be examined and defined through embodied knowledge. "Some would doubtless argue that the ultimate foundation of social space is *prohibition*, adducing in support of this thesis the unsaid in communication between the members of a society; the gulf between them, their bodies and consciousnesses, and

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[37] Caldwell, Kia. *Negras in Brazil: Re-envisioning black women, citizenship, and the politics of identity*. Rutgers University Press, 2007. 106

the difficulties of social intercourse; the dislocation of their most immediate relationships (such as the child's with its mother), and even the dislocation of their bodily integrity; and, lastly, the never fully achieved restoration of these relations in an 'environment' made up of a series of zones defined by interdictions and bans."[38] Social space is interpreted by its borders. I argue that socially marginalized persons experience borders that delineate social and economic access. These bodies are prohibited based on positions they are allowed to occupy and at worst these bodies are criminalized as Caldeira articulates in *City of Walls*. When discussing public space, in the realm of architecture and planning, J.B. Jackson remarked that today we believe that we become citizens by certain experiences, private as well as public. He claims that "our variety of new specialized public spaces are by way of being places where we prepare ourselves—physically, social, and even vocationally—for the role of citizen."[39] While Lefebvre asserts that space is a social product needing to be embedded, Geographer Allan Pred also asserts that observable human actions and institutional activities are always and everywhere complexly embedded in interpenetrating processes that stretch over temporal periods of different duration and over areas of different geographical extent.[40] Geographer Edward Soja diverges from this just slightly when he emphasizes that thinking spatially is now more critical than "social historicism" (temporality) because societies will always be geographically unjust. In his piece "The City and Spatial Justice" he states that it is crucial in theory and in practice to emphasize explicitly the spatiality of justice and injustice, not just in the city but at all geographic scales, from the local to

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[38] Lefebvre, Henri. *The production of space*. Vol. 142. Blackwell: Oxford, 1991. 35

[39] Jackson, John B. "The American public space." *The Public Interest* 74 (1984): 55

[40] Pred, Allan, and Michael Watts. *Reworking modernity: Capitalisms and symbolic discontent*. Rutgers University Press, 1992. 107.

the global. His assertion is that "[spatial thinking] can uncover significant new insights that extend our practical knowledge into more effective actions to achieve greater justice and democracy" (The City and Social Justice, Soja, 1). In his view there is a 'spatial turn' in fields beyond Geography and Planning and that this turn is the primary reason for the attention that is now being given to the concept of spatial justice and to the broader spatialization of our basic ideas of democracy and human rights. While Soja asserts that space is socially produced and can therefore be socially changed, he also argues that "perfectly even development, complete socio-spatial equality, pure distributional justice, as well as universal human rights are never achievable. Every geography in which we live has some degree of injustice embedded in it, making the selection of sites of intervention a crucial decision."[41] Soja's point definitively questions the pursuit of equality as it pertains to normalizing the experiences in different geographic locations. This orientation is one that specifically deals with the role of justice in the case of Afro-Brazilian women. Though it would be incorrect to turn away from historicity when considering why injustice exists in Brazilian cities, selecting "sites of intervention" is important in order to address injustice substantively. Targeted interrogations of injustice assist in concretizing the effort to produce justice.

Allan Pred states that "culture is one with the meanings and values which arise amongst distinctive social groups and classes on the basis of their given historical and geographically specific conditions and relations" and that through these relations meaning is constructed by others. Through these constructions "those groups and classes (re)make themselves."[42] In order to understand the socially produced roles that

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[41] Soja, Edward. "The city and spatial justice." *Spatial Justice* 1.1 (2009). 1
[42] Pred, Allan, and Michael Watts. *Reworking modernity: Capitalisms and symbolic discontent.* Rutgers University Press, 1992. 108.

women are subject to we must interrogate the cultural constructions that produce socio-economic asymmetries. In order to do this, temporal analysis is necessary in addition to spatial analysis. While Soja argues for the primacy of spatial thinking, historical constructions must be examined simultaneously, especially when these constructions establish the foundations of the present.

Race and "ethnicity may be self-identified but it is also regularly defined by others."[43] A 2010 survey conducted by the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) lead by Telles measured perceptions on racial identity by comparing the self-identification responses to the interviewers' classification of the informant when looking at skin color. The survey found that over 80 percent of the interviewee's responses matched the responses of those being interviewed. While some of their survey informants indicated that other phenotypic traits like hair, culture, tradition, and family origin were factors in their identification, skin color was central in their findings. Further, the perception of color amongst the interviewees overlapped significantly with the official racial categories from the *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatísticas* (IBGE; Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics). The PERLA survey is effective in clarifying the question of color perception, however the survey was not necessarily designed to lend greater understanding to the gender and racial identity of those informants. Examining identity at the intersection of race, class, and gender is necessary to grasping the nuanced experience of Afro-Brazilian women. The qualitative data collected for this project corroborates the findings of the PERLA study with regards to color in that the informants were generally unequivocal about their skin color. Rather

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[43] Telles, Edward. *Pigmentocracies: Ethnicity, race, and color in Latin America.* UNC Press Books, 2014.

they recognized that color mattered but also came from hair as a marker of blackness, demonstrating that their pressures were simultaneously gendered and racialized. To the contrary, they generally chose to speak less of their color (irrespective of skin tone) and more about race as a political identity.

4 HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

In the context of this thesis, race is not used to exclusively describe black people but to describe it as a concept "which pertains to everybody, as a fundamental organizing principle of politics and society."[44] To begin the conversation of race, we first recognize that race is a social construct. The formation of 'racial Others' has been based on the ideological and social denigration of non-white peoples through various processes of social stratification. In the case of Brazil, there have been several permutations of the racial discourse observable through documents such as national censuses as alluded to in the literature review. "While race and racism are often described as modern concepts, the word raza (race) had actually begun appearing in Iberian documents from at least 1438 and, in its earliest manifestations, developed into a term that described the degree to which a person's lineage was free from Jewish or Muslim heritages. The need to distinguish these elements originated from the Castilian and Portuguese conquests in the Old World...It became common to speak of people as being of *buena o mala raza*, meaning good or bad race, given their specific religious orientation. A person of "good" race was interpreted as having the blood of a Christian,

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[44] Nobles, Melissa. *Shades of citizenship: Race and the census in modern politics.* Stanford University Press, 2000. 8

while that of a "bad" race was either a Moor or Jew."[45] Herbert Kline and Ben Vinson explain race in the Iberian perspective as such:

> "In the New World, the complexity of phenotypes that were produced as a result of miscegenation added to the notion of *raza*, stretching it beyond the Old and New Christian framework from which it originated. The term *casta* (caste) gradually emerged to explain human differences in ways that moved away from the concerns over purity that governed the notion of *raza*. *Casta* sought more to understand *naturaleza*, or one's inner nature and disposition. In the process, phenotype was emphasized as an indicator of one's inherent qualities. By these means, blackness could be interpreted as signaling a propensity toward shiftlessness, vice, laziness, or intellectual inferiority. Through the interchange of the concepts of race and caste, elaborate human taxonomies were created in Latin America that categorized individuals into multiple groups--mestizos, *castizos*, mulattoes, coyotes, Indians, and so forth. Eventually notions of class factored into caste hierarchies...human rankings could be evaluated through a calculus that involved social, economic, and phenotypic elements."[46]

As early as the 15th century the intersection of race and class had been established and demonstrates how race and phenotype signal inherent qualities amongst human beings. This is the cultural basis of prejudice. Appearance and racial expression has been used to measure the rank and category of members of society predating enslavement.

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[45] Klein, Herbert S., and Ben Vinson III. *African slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Oxford University Press, 2007. 194

[46] Ibid

Although the concept of race is a social construct, the material consequences that race and eugenic ideology have had throughout the globe is irrefutable. This pseudo-scientific movement also referred to as social Darwinism, grew with the popularity of Mendelian and neo-Lamarkian genetics.[47] It established categories of human beings positing European/Aryan people as racially pure and developmentally progressed, whereas other peoples were coded as degenerative on the basis of physical, social, and cultural traits such as phrenology, temperament and presumed culturally primitive practices.[48] These

Figure 2: Modesto Brocos, *Redenção de Cam*. 1895. Oil on Canvas.

categorizations operated in service of producing scientific knowledge on the assumed health and fitness of segments of the population using whiteness as the standard of cultural and physical health and modernity. Brazil was also a nation instrumental to the presence of eugenicist science in Latin American through organizations such as the Sao Paulo Society of Eugenics operating in tandem with the public health movement of the

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[47] See Anadelia Romo's article "Eugenics and the Rockefeller Foundation in Brazil: health as an instrument of national regeneration" for more on eugenics.
[48] See works of Renato Kehl, founder of Sao Paulo Society of Eugenics.

20th century.[49] The question of miscegenation between the races of the nation was estranged from what eugenicist social scientists deemed suitable for a national future. "Prior to abolition, rather than training blacks and preparing them to enter the free labor economy, widespread European immigration was encouraged," a process commonly referred to as *embranquecimento*.[50] Some intellectuals of the time like Sílvio Romero and Euclides da Cunha were optimistic about the prospect of a fully miscegenated nation.[51] "Two of Brazil's most influential twentieth-century thinkers, [Francisco José] Oliviera Vianna (1883-1951) and Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987) argued respectively that this mixing would lead to whiter Brazilians and to a "new" Brazilian race."[52] "Where Vianna spoke of Aryanization," Freyre spoke of "Brazilianness."[53] Both held the notion that miscegenation would ultimately lead to the whitening of the nation. This undergirded the obstinate theory of *embranquecimento*, which was the idea that through generations of miscegenation, the nation would whiten phenotypically and culturally. While Vianna's perspective of a nation becoming more Aryan aligned with embranquecimento, it did not materialize. Freyre's orientation towards a Brazil so mixed that there would be no racial stratification did not materialize either, however, the idea of embranquecimento as the means towards a modern national subjectivity would continue. Ultimately, the most influential advocate for a hybrid Brazilian nation was anthropologist Gilberto Freyre. Freyre's theory of racial democracy and *Luso-*

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[49] To see more about the eugenicist history in Brazil see Hochman, Gilberto, Nísia Trindade Lima, and Marcos Chor Maio. "The path of eugenics in Brazil: Dilemmas of miscegenation." In *The Oxford Handbook of the history of eugenics*. 2010. Also. see Eugenics and the Rockefeller Foundation in Brazil: health as an instrument of national regeneration by Anadelia Romo.

[50] Caldwell, Kia. *Negras in Brazil: Re-envisioning black women, citizenship, and the politics of identity.* Rutgers University Press, 2007.

[51] Romo, A. (2014, February 24). Brazil. Retrieved April 30, 2017, from http://eugenicsarchive.ca/discover/world/530b92ae76f0db569b000002

[52] Nobles, Melissa. *Shades of citizenship: Race and the census in modern politics.* Stanford University Press, 2000. 98

[53] Ibid

tropicalism ideology was deployed as an alternative to the ideology of eugenics, championing Brazil's reputations as an open and fluid nation.[54] [55]

In Freyre's text, Casa Grande e Senzala (or The Masters and the Slaves in the English translation), he says of the Portuguese: "no colonizing people in modern times has exceeded or so much as equaled the Portuguese in this regard. From their first contact with women of color, they mingled with them and procreated mestizo sons; and the result was that a few thousand daring males succeeded in establishing themselves firmly in possession of a vast territory and were able to compete with great and numerous peoples in the extension of their colonial domain and in the efficiency of their colonizing activity."[56] Throughout this text, his description of the sexual mingling and exploitation of indigenous and black enslaved women buttressed his case for the existence of a culture of miscegenation and harmonious coexistence. One of his observations in particular described common notions of the role of the different women in the lives of men: "With reference to Brazil, as an old saying has it: *"White woman for marriage, mulatto women for f--, Negro woman for work,"* a saying in which, alongside the social convention of the superiority of the white woman and the inferiority of the black, is to be discerned a sexual preference for the mulatto."[57] To begin, the reference to work when addressing the role of the Negro woman is a reference to domestic labor, what was understood as women's work during that 20th century period.

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[54] Weinstein, Barbara. *The color of modernity: São Paulo and the making of race and nation in Brazil.* Duke University Press, 2015.

[55] *Luso-tropicalism* was Freyre's theory that refers to an innate ability of the Portuguese to adapt to the tropics and rule their colonies in a manner mutually beneficial to them and their colonial subjects alike. See Fernando Arenas' *Lusophone Africa: Beyond Independence and also Amilcar Cabral's preface in Basil Davidson's A Libertaçao da Guíne, 1975.*

[56] Freyre, Gilberto. *Casa-grande e senzala.* Vol. 351. Univ of California Press, 1986. 11

[57] Ibid

These ideas of the role of women have endured not only in popular discourse steeped in patriarchal normativity, but have transformed just as labor has transformed from the industrial age into the information age. What has persisted is labor stratification on the basis of race and gender in that the positions with the least social prestige are allocated to people with the least social value.

In the 19th century, labor stratification in urban centers was present in the same period as enslavement. In the state of Minas Gerais, for instance, the free colored population had out-grew the enslaved population becoming the largest single group in the province.[58] The state of Minas Gerais as the hub of mineral extraction established an economy "which supported a highly developed urban lifestyle based heavily on skilled and unskilled slave labor ...one-quarter of all the slaves were to be found in the plantations and mines...The rest [slaves] were spread widely through the cities and rural areas of the nation engaged in every type of economic activity."[59] Kline and Vinson go further to say:

> "Unlike British North America and its proverbial black-white binary, the Iberian system of classification became rather complex, so much so that it enabled a certain fluidity, as individuals could move between caste categories. Some even solidified changes in their caste status through highlighting impressive economic accomplishments, or through underscoring other social achievements...Yet as fluid and negotiable as the system may have been, at it's core was finding ways to distinguish among, and ultimately discriminate against, populations that were not white. The system's primary aim was to preserve a privilege structure that benefited the colonizers. It was in this world that the free colored population was compelled to operate and carve out space for its survival. Unsurprisingly, from the earliest days, local and metropolitan legislation began to attack the rights of the free coloreds. Sumptuary laws denied free women the right to wear the clothes and jewelry worn by free white women; free colored persons were denied the right to a university education and the practice of a liberal profession, and

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[58] Klein, Herbert S., and Ben Vinson III. *African slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean.* Oxford University Press, 2007. 67
[59] Ibid 67-75

even some of the skilled occupations such as gold smithing were denied to them."[60]

Kline and Vinson's passage illustrate the juxtaposition of race, class, and gender simultaneously through the legal framework. The manner of dress, educational access, liberal profession and skilled occupation are all markers of or avenues towards acquired wealth. Sumptuary laws illustrate that as early as the 19th century, there has been legal precedent for policing the race, gender, and sexuality of free women of color. Women's appearance remains an indication of their class and social status. The notion of *boa aparência* or good appearance amongst women is a term that is used to articulate a politic of respectability and legitimacy in her proximity to power. In the context of labor this phrase has been used discriminatorily in advertisements for employment: "Classified advertisements in Brazilian newspapers frequently list boa aparência as a job requirement. While such advertisements do not openly state that only white or lighter-skinned women are qualified to hold these positions, the implicit message is that women without good or white appearance should not seek employment in certain professions."[61] Maria Aparecida Silva Bento states "it is not always that companies and their representatives make explicit their racial criteria. This type of discriminatory practice in the work environment occurs in a systematic manner and dramatically determines the living situation of black women today. These practices visibly block black women's access to specific types of companies or jobs and imped professional mobility..."[62] Although today, it is illegal to request that applicants submit photographs

[60] Ibid 195

[61] Caldwell, Kia. *Negras in Brazil: Re-envisioning black women, citizenship, and the politics of identity.* Rutgers University Press, 2007.

[62] Bento, Maria Aparecida Silva. "A mulher negra no mercado de trabalho." *Estudos feministas* 3, no. 2 (1995): 479-487.

when seeking employment eliminating the request does not necessarily eliminate the motivation behind the request, or indicate that the dynamic is not occurring.

5 ON QUANTITATIVE DATA AND AFRO-BRAZILIAN WOMEN

The primary data in this work is qualitative but quantitative data also tells a story. Investigating demographic census data for Brazil revealed patterns of aggregate data formatting for public consumption as opposed to a more granular data presentation that would reflect the categories for development in neighborhoods or regions *within* the city. In some cases I located multistate regional comparisons for categories of development such as administrative expenses and infrastructure spending. When data for one municipality is aggregated the narrative it creates is a big picture overview of the current state of affairs. What it may omit however is any information on inequality within the city and leave the impression that resources and development are distributed equally. Therein lay the conundrum of the value of city level examination versus a regional level examination of the development in urbanism. In the case of Brazil, the aggregation of data reinforces a narrative of oneness and shared context for things that are geographically specific. For instance public census data is available online as a simple count with little nuance or context. This presentation of the data conforms to the politics of *raça Brasileira,* the Brazilian race[63], inferring that changes are experienced uniformly throughout the city. We observe low earned incomes for Afro-Brazilian women but often little is explained as to why. This necessitates the

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[63] Raça Brasileira stems from the concept of racial democracy in that the universal heterogeneity of the nation is the foundation of a common and shared experience.

reliance on external and secondary resources to understand the geographic and economic outcomes for women in the city.

The Executive Director of the Center for the Study of Labor Relations and Inequalities (CEERT), Maria Aparecida Silva Bento states "the principal characteristics of black women workers are extremely low pay compared to other racial and gender groups and concentration in specific sectors of the labor market and in activities where the salaries are inferior.[64] According to the 2016 World Bank report entitled *A Snapshot of Gender in Brazil Today: Institutions, Outcomes, and a Closer Look at Racial and Geographic Differences*, "aggregate advances by women often mask racial or geographic differences in every dimension of gender equality. Even in areas where progress has been made on average, large groups of women are being left behind due to their racial, ethnic or geographic identities. And where inequalities do remain, these same women face disadvantages for being female as well as those brought about by their other identities."[65] The report critiques the dynamic illustrated above, where data is presented in blanket terms that do not reflect the realities of cities. Further, the report states that "Over the past decade, gender gaps in labor force participation and employment in Brazil have changed little, signaling persistent obstacles to equitable access to economic opportunities." While female labor force participation rose from 54% in 1995 to 59% in 2014 the share of employed women increased from 50% to 54% over the same timeframe.[66]

With regards to income, the report indicates that "wages paid to Afro-Brazilian women are lower than those paid to men as well as white women with the same

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[64] Bento, Maria Aparecida Silva. "A mulher negra no mercado de trabalho." *Estudos feministas* 3, no. 2 (1995): 479-487.
[65] Gukovas, Renata, Miriam Muller, Ana Claudia Pereira, and Maira Emy Reimao. "A Snapshot of Gender in Brazil Today." (2016): 3-4.
[66] Ibid

education level" where "among those who have completed secondary school, Afro-Brazilian women earn wages that are less than half the wages of white men." [67]

Table 1.

Average Hourly Wage (in Brazilian Reals)

Group	Wage
white men	$15.6
white women	$12.5
Afro-Brazilian women	$7.7

Brazilian Reals
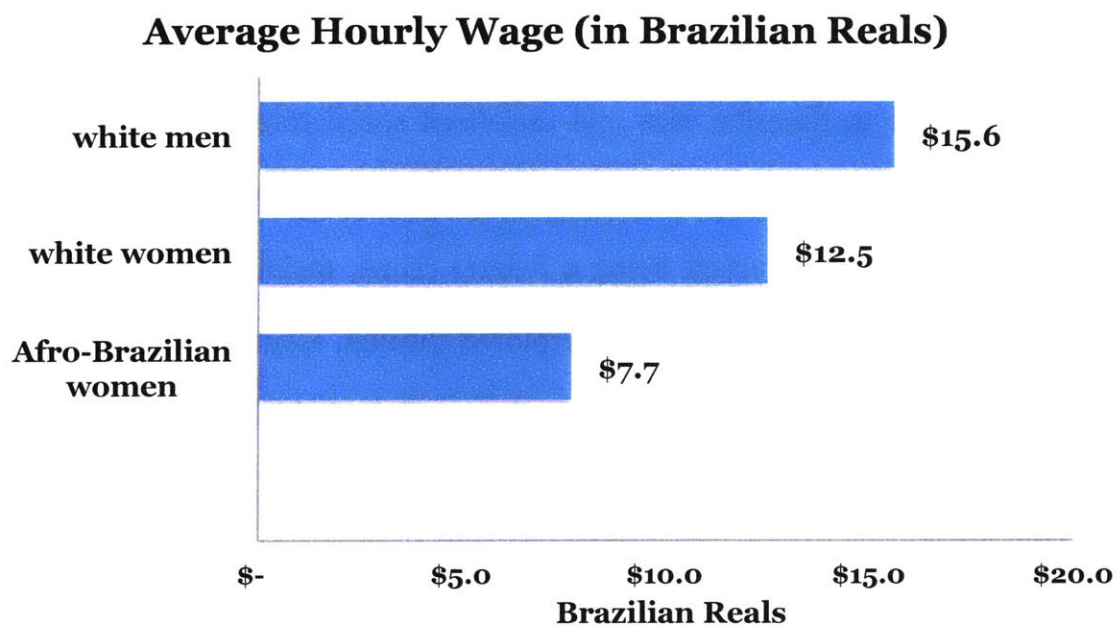
Source: The World Bank report "A Snapshot of Gender in Brazil Today" 2016.

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[67] Ibid

6 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

"If the local spoken word and other symbolic forms are embedded in local practices and their associated power relations, and if conflict over locally occurring practices and power relations almost always involves some linguistic or symbolic expression, then there will be some (repeated) impact on local representation, some active cultural response, some (re)making or (re)invention of culture, wherever the workings of modern industrial capitalism extend, wherever the actions of entrepreneurs, corporations, investors, and other profit-seeking, accumulation-oriented agents are implemented." - Allan Pred, Capitalisms, Crises, and Cultures II, 112.

In the process of collecting interviews, it became very apparent that people often used coded language to describe race and racialized social roles. This should not be understated especially in the case of Brazil. Euphemisms are used to signify racialized labor. Overt and verbalized racism being a federal crime, racial discrimination is not always named explicitly. Rather, racism is explored through assumptions, euphemisms, music, and cultural truisms. Phrases such as *pé na cozinha* (which literally translates to having a foot in the kitchen, implying that a family member is black) have long been employed to describe blackness through the proxy of service work. This is done under the operative assumption that race is irrelevant because race is democratically constructed.[68] This is pertinent to this project because this practice shows the way that labor is racialized particularly with Black women. The informants of this project discuss the question of race more directly and explicitly but did address the question of euphemisms such as *boa aparencia, embranquecimento,* and *black power.* With regards to amorous relationships, the participants discussed it from the perspective of heterosexual relationships for the purpose of describing the heteronormativity as it exists in dominant society and also that they were engaged in heterosexual relationships. Although some informants were in queer relationships, this perspective

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[68] Freyre, Gilberto. *Casa-grande e senzala.* Vol. 351. Univ of California Press, 1986.

was not discussed from a personal perspective on camera. This was a sensitive aspect of identity formation that participants were reticent to address.

6.1 Race, Gender, Legitimacy, and Power – Interviews

"There are three oppressions, black, poor, and woman. The more North you go, the more you want to take off one of the oppressions." (Informant 21) Informant 21 lay out the intersectionality of identity that in her view is the black women's experience in Rio de Janeiro. Implicit in her analysis is an understanding of how race, class and gender operate in the geography of the city. Each of these conditions referenced are not conditions that are literally transcended but are figuratively based on those social covenants established at the turn of the 20th century as mentioned in the literature review. She continues, "If you are in Zona Sul (Southern zone of the city), you have the money, if you live in Zona Norte (Northern zone of the city) you do not have the money to get your hair done." The observation that she shared is exemplary of the geography of wealth and poverty in the city of Rio de Janeiro. In this quote, she is simultaneously indicating that there are implicit assumptions about how one looks when they live in a specific neighborhood. This quote exemplifies Soja's argument about the geography of inequality. Her inference indicates that from a normative perspective, it is matter of economic conditions that one does not have their hair straightened or processed in some form or fashion. It also implies that wealth and prosperity are in the affluent neighborhoods in the southern part of the city, and that there is less wealth in the northern part of the city. She conceptualizes space in Rio de Janeiro as wealth concentrated in the southern zone of the city and poverty concentrated in the northern zone. Because much of the day and movement throughout the city is under the premise of work, she believes it is necessary for Afro-Brazilian women to create space for

themselves: "You have to negotiate your space." Negotiating the space one occupies is often a nonverbal form of communicating one's presence in a particular space, at a particular time, and under a specific set of conditions. These communications are often delivered through social cues and rewards for physical presentation as participation in dominant or hegemonic culture. In other cases, the negotiations of appropriate physical presentation in any given space are delivered verbally in the form of euphemisms. Rules of what is acceptable are rarely made explicit but are communicated through verbal cues that codify cultural standards informed by Brazilian hybrid-yet-homogeneous notions of femininity. This normativity under the banner of professionalism must be examined in the Brazilian context.

The notion of negotiating one's own space in society is often posited as one dependent on gender presentation. As hair simultaneously represents both race and gender, it becomes a token for much more at stake. "For me it is credibility on the job. Your image speaks more than words. A person has a lot to lose." She is a teacher and says that she has to straighten it for credibility. Needing to straighten her in order to attain credibility at her place of employment demonstrates that presenting herself with straight hair lends itself to her legitimacy as someone who possesses knowledge and as the authority in her classroom. She has come to the conclusion that her straight hair reads as professional in the eyes of her students. This informant in particular is a language instructor for adult professionals in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Because she works with executives, she shared that her boss might comment to her, "be well groomed" as a way to say 'fix your hair'. While she is a qualified employee, there remains an explicit yet euphemized assertion of a professional aesthetic.

Some informants also shared their experience of the consequence of not subscribing to the tenets of professionalism. "...When I assert my identity in an administrative hospital, I was discriminated against there as well. At a few meetings people with executive power did not call me for the meeting because I wear tennis shoes, jeans, and wear my hair natural. They didn't call me [to the meeting]. They excluded me. In the labor market in Brazil, you cannot wear your hair kinky depending on the position you occupy. In the arts, you can still be respected and even accepted, but in other positions of power, medical doctors, lawyers, administrators,--no. You have to have hair...the hair characterized ideologically as white, straight, pressed, understand? You cannot have braided hair of kinky hair. *You are rejected in the country.* This is reflected in our children. In our adolescents, in the favelas,--because young girls can wear their hair natural, they don't want to have natural hair..." (Informant 16). Informant 16's strong assertion is that blackness (and black hair as a proxy representation of blackness) is rejected socially and by extension in professional workspaces. Additionally, her perspective makes a distinction between segments of the labor market where non-conformist or non-conventional appearances are accepted and segments of labor where they are not. This insight into the types of work that women with similar identity formations access is a critical perspective on where they find themselves engaging with labor markets. She describes the dynamic that is referred to as *boa aparência* or good appearance.

When asked, Informant 16 explained what the term meant to her: "In Brazil, the term 'good appearance' is used as a process of elimination. For many years, the newspapers would use the phrase, "Needed: a young woman of good appearance." This term 'good appearance' is pejorative and discriminatory when speaking of the labor

market...here in Brazil they say it this way, "only those with good appearance" it is a term that is used to classify a white phenotype, not a black phenotype."

On a separate interview, Informant 2 reflected a similar perspective: "In Brazil for a long time when people wrote in an announcement "we need a person for the function of such and such, with good appearance" it means that it needs to be a white person. 'Good appearance' means that you have to have straight hair, be white, be thin, have characteristics that do not read as of the periphery or of blackness...the Black Movement fought this and today it is against the law that people enforce these questions." Today it is illegal to request or ask questions about boa aparência when searching for employees. The issue for many informants when asked about boa aparência is that in spite of the fact that it is illegal, their responses indicate that it persists, primarily with reference to their hair: "The first characteristic that will come up in this social construction is kinky hair like this, as a symbol, as a passport. It is a passport between whiteness and blackness." Informant 2 makes the connection between economic access and her identity as a black woman with a profile that heralds blackness. In her own analysis, her blackness is made visible by traces of her presentation that read as black from her clothing to her phenotype. She also refers to being read as coming from the periphery, which in her city refers to a geography of poverty and marginality. This informant speaks from her perspective in Belo Horizonte where economically disenfranchised people are understood to exist. Similar to the analysis of Informant 21, she indicates that there is a geographical orientation to what she observes in her city, what Edward Soja refers to as the geography of inequality. In her purview, hair is what she believes to be the passport between the boundary of access and marginality for women who identify as black.

Some women such as Informant 14 corroborate this perspective and goes further to indicate that she sees less of a resistance to the force of the social norms around hair, particularly for women with higher level employment: "Is there a fight to use braids and afros? I find that I do not see this...I do not see that this is a fight but something very personal...when you say fight that means to be accepted in the labor market, if you are a doctor with an afro, or a nurse with an afro...it is a fight for society to accept you how you are. I don't see much of that, no. I see that the people who have afros, the people who have braids, who have dreads, the majority are in alternative labor. Normally they are in one or another alternative store, tattoo shop... In very alternative labor markets where they are more accepted. If it were a more formal service, they would not be that way. He would not be in a necktie wearing an afro. She would not be in a pantsuit being the executive secretary. Executive secretaries do not wear afros or braids. It is likely that she will be wearing her hair straightened and pulled back in a ponytail. So, I don't see a struggle, not for this. I see a question of style and that people who use alternative hair work in alternative places" (Informant 14). This informant's opinions were unequivocally clear that the type of work that people occupy defines the limits of how they might present themselves in professional settings. On one hand, there are standards of professionalism that go beyond the Brazilian context. Often it is the case that hair should be pulled back and that clothes be muted and follow a broadly accepted uniform of professionalism. However, when discussing the profiles of black women, there is the additional facet of racialized forms of work and fixed notions of what professionalism is. This nuance is important because one may juxtapose this with the assumed fluidity of culture and racial identification that exists in the Brazilian context,

and see the spaces of fixed social inscription. Further, this informant has also demonstrated a sense that there is also a distinction in the site of resistance to conformity. It is not present in the administrative/white collar professions. This resistance finds itself in the other segments of labor.

The Robert Erikson, John Goldthorpe, and Lucienne Portocarero 1979 article "Intergenerational Class Mobility in Three Western European Societies: England, France and Sweden"[69] illustrates a chart organizing class stratification and occupational grouping. Although the context of this table is Europe, this system of organization is applicable to Brazil as labor is similarly stratified. The employees Informant 14 refers to would be characterized by class III and below.

Table 2.

The Class Schema by Erikson, Goldthorpe, and Portocarero

I	Higher-grade professionals, administrators and officials; managers in large industrial establishments; large proprietors
II	Lower-grade professionals, administrators and officials; higher-grade technicians; managers in small business and industrial establishments; supervisors of non-manual employees
III	Routine non-manual employees in administration and commerce; sales personnel; other rank-and-file service workers
IVa	Small proprietors; artisans, etc., with employees
IVb	Small proprietors; artisans, etc., without employees
IVc	Farmers and smallholders; self-employed fishermen
V/VI	Lower-grade technicians; supervisors of manual workers; skilled manual workers
VIIa	Semi-and unskilled manual workers (not in agriculture)
VIIb	Agricultural workers

Source: Erikson, Robert, John H. Goldthorpe, and Lucienne Portocarero. "Intergenerational Class Mobility in Three Western European Societies: England, France and Sweden."

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[69] Erikson, Robert, John H. Goldthorpe, and Lucienne Portocarero. "Intergenerational Class Mobility in Three Western European Societies: England, France and Sweden." *The British Journal of Sociology* 30, no. 4 (1979): 415-41. doi:10.2307/589632.

When discussing the *padrão de beleza* or beauty uniform Informant 14 chose to begin by redefining the notion of sensuality by defining it outside of notions of normative beauty standards. While she believes that women should follow whatever standards of beauty they want, she noted that if women "are always trying to adapt to whatever society wants, until when will she follow this? Because to enter the uniform is also capital. It is a form of spending as well. The more natural you are the less you spend, the less you correspond with the labor market. The less you correspond with the market that sells product 'X' to woman 'X'. If you are natural, you do not have this pattern of consumption...You do not create capital for society. You don't generate money for society." Informant 14 has made several connections between the market of consumption, labor market, and a culture of exchange. Entering into the *padrão* as accessing a form of capital is a critically important observation to the point that renegotiating one's presentation is a form of social currency that yields access to various spaces. She illuminates the perspective that there is a process whereby market systems and the way we consider our participation is not only our labor but also our consumption, and that the two work together where our consumption is rewarded with access to participation in segments of labor markets that yield higher financial returns. Her analysis essentially condenses the process that several informants have alluded to in their commentary. It is apparent to them that the process of consumption and extraction of monetary rewards go hand in hand towards the end of articulating value in their society. What this informant is suggesting is that women like herself benefit from the process of re-inscribing value for one's self. A process of creating value for one's self is a process that many of the women interviewed have begun where they posit that the

results of that process of self-reconstruction does not yield results in spaces that require social conformity as a marker of professional legitimacy. They have identified these places such as administrative or white-collar positions. "...However close you are to what the media upholds the better your social position. So, if you have hair that the media upholds--straightened hair and such...the chances that you would date a man that is in a social position, hierarchically greater than you is much better...it appears--*appears*--that you have more power" (Informant 14). In addition to accessing power through labor, it is also important to note that the ability to attract social power is still conceptualized through hypergamy or 'marrying up' in social class. Informant 14 is describing what she believes is the motivation for this, which is economical: "in truth she needs financial stability and this financial stability her family is not going to give it forever." The pursuit of marrying above one's class or social caste is a process referred to as embranquecimento because it involves assuming traits racialized as belonging to whiteness. This informant offering this explanation as to why these patterns exist are indicative that ideas of social climbing by accessing higher earning jobs are not typically understood as an easier possibility. Informant 21 states that when it comes to romantic relationships, it is the 'padrão de beleza...Someone with authority has to sign off on who you are" (Informant 21). The *padrão de beleza* or the hegemonic edict of beauty is often a driving factor in how women are expected to navigate society. She shared this observation when discussing how one negotiates how much liberty they have to be themselves. She shared that in her life, when her hair is un-straightened, she tells her grandmother that her boyfriend likes it like that and it ends debates about her presentation. She pointed out that it is a question of who has "voice and authority" over how things should be. In her case and in the eyes of her relatives, her boyfriend is the

voice of authority because of his subjectivity as a white male with blond hair and blue eyes. To members of her family, it is sufficient to indicate that her physical appearance is in service to her amorous relationship. What is less evadable is the impact of her presentation on her economic life. Although she acknowledged that things are beginning to transform and become different these social norms persist. When asked about whether she was able to push back against normative notions about who has the social authority to assert a perspective on respectable presentation she responded: "You can speak up, women can have a voice, but go and find a job." It is under these conditions that her boss may make comments like "be well groomed." She asserted that women are "discursively constructed." Their subjectivity is a product of social dialogue and that dialogue constructs a reality that informs their experience in their city.

For nearly all of my informants, the discursive construction of identity began early on in life: "I had a patriarchal upbringing...It is a mainstream construction. I need to think about the young girls developing this way. How many times have I reproduced the oppression? Your research is one of memory. You are making me think back" (Informant 21). This informant discovered in the process of our interview that although she is subject to the ideas imposed upon her that impact her earning potential (among other things), she considers whether she reproduces the very oppressions that she is pointing out in society. In the process of our conversation it also occurs to her that it is important to be an example to younger women. Representation was a recurring theme amongst informants. This informant referred to her formation as a woman as a mainstream construction, stating, "We have to rewrite our histories, to go forward you have to go back." This self-examination is something articulated by several informants

as an important process to undergo in order to understand themselves outside of mainstream constructions of black female identity.

"To be black in Brazil and have natural hair, which we call *Black Power,* is very important because we begin from there to discover our identity" (Informant 16). The notion of natural hair as a gendered signifier of race is a critical starting point to understanding the experiences of women of African descent in a country where social theorists have heavily prescribed that a positive progression in the life of women of African descent is their fecundity towards the project of a whiter nation.

The manner in which people come to a sense of who they are as individuals and members of society is critical to understanding the way in which they engage with demographic data and statistics. National projects for defining the populace are constructed discursively just as one's self-concept is discursively constructed. For women whose identity in dominant society is externally defined by their sexuality gender and proximity to whiteness, redefining who they are as Black women is a critical aspect of regaining subjectivity after experiencing racial trauma in their more formative years. This is inherently internal work. The trace that this work is occurring is the presence of natural and kinky hair. The phenomenon of women wearing their hair in its natural, tightly coiled, kinky texture is exposing a polemic that exists within society. Informant 16 had come to an understanding about who she was in many regards.

"Many years ago in my childhood, I had many problems identifying as *negra*, as a woman, and as a black child in that moment because I lived in a small city where part of the people there were white. There was a minimal--two, three percent of the population there was negro. The minimum. When I studied in a selective school, a municipal school I had a very shocking experience. Every day when I arrived at school, I was ridiculed.

The people there laughed at me because of the tone of my skin and the braids that my mother put in my hair. I had too much shame to take part and study. I did not want to study. I was afraid to go to school there were nicknames and insults. One day, my mother did braids in my hair and tied red ribbons on them and a Japanese child and a little blond child grabbed me and cut my hair. A part of my hair, the part of the braid was there in my hands and even today, when I tell this, I feel the shock. It hurts me to tell this memory. There were many racial acts carried out by these children that marked me for life. It was the braids, the tone of my skin, the way I dressed. These two children followed me through fifth and sixth grade studying with me, always insulting, always talking about my hair. When they cut my hair, they had yelled, *"Get out! Get out you black girl! Get out ugly hair! You shouldn't exist! You don't need to be here! Because you are very ugly and your father and mother are to blame for that!"* This grew inside of me in a manner...um...very terrible. It was in this horrible way that I came to know the Movimento Negro (Black Movement), and so I came to perceive that I really was an important woman, I was a black woman, I came to self-identify in this place that I was beautiful and that my hair was a part of my identity, part of my life. At 15 years old, I no longer used chemicals in my hair because I discovered myself as a woman, as an activist in a social movement, and also as an example to children, youth, adolescents, and even people in the third age what we refer to as old age here in Brazil" (Informant 16).

In this excerpt from her interview, she uses the phrase, "eu me encontrei..." translating to I encountered myself. This manner of self-description reveals that she had been in a process of searching out her identity beyond what was projected upon her in school and beyond representations of power and femininity that did not look like her. The impact of her experiences in her formative years led her to understand who she wanted to be in

the world outside of the things projected upon her by her peers. In a sense, she discovered what she needed to do --or rather stop doing--in order to grasp a firm sense of self.

During our interview, Informant 21 indicated, "Women with hair more like yours [she points to my hair] suffer more. In my opinion, hair is more powerful than skin even though when you are darker, you suffer more." Although her hair was not straightened at the time of our interview, she illustrated the different perception of curly hair as compared to hair like mine which she identified as a tighter 'crespo' by virtue of the fact that she pointed to my head as opposed to her own natural hair. She is a lighter skinned woman with a hair texture more loosely curled than my own. She indicated that a normative assumption about kinky hair is that it is "the hair of those who don't have the money to straighten their hair." As a woman who shared that she lives *"dentro do padrão"* or conformed to dominant culture, she still perceives that it is more difficult to navigate space in the world with cabelo crespo. While acknowledging a combination of hair and skin color as markers of race, in her opinion hair is a stronger indicator amongst women of African descent in spite of skin tone. This point is also indicative of the fact that she recognizes the power of perception around her own hair as a lighter-skinned, sandy-haired woman. Implicit in this opinion is the fact that she recognizes these pressures in her own life, in society in general, but specifically for the sake of her employment.

From the point of view of Informant 14, "Whoever is conscious exists in suffering. Who has consciousness, whoever is good with themselves or their style...the style of a *black power* or having braids, or having dreads, or having a connection to their body and hair, I think when they go into society they are obliged to suffer. Because I have said

before, people with dreads, a person with braids, she does it as an option... " This perspective complicates the conversation about racialization. They assert that ultimately, to wear characteristically black hairstyles is a choice, yet begins by stating that if one has a certain social and racial consciousness, they resign themselves to suffering. This indicates that the option to not suffer is one that involves conforming to societies standards of professionalism, beauty, and femininity. This differs from the perspective offered by other informants where they still suffered racism when trying to conform to standards of beauty that required that they straighten or chemically process their hair because it was a marker of their blackness. One may interpret that this perspective operates under the assumption that the experiences of exclusion and racism do not exist as long as potential targets of racism are unconscious of it. At the same time, Informant 14 went on to say:

"Whatever includes the *negro*, includes humiliation. Theoretically, if a person sees you, they will see you with the sense that everyone will see you with as your superior--inferior because you are in the service of cleaning--and it shouldn't be--that you are in the service of cleaning, domestic work, because you are in work that is not valued. Black people have achieved very little, at least in Brazil, understand? The struggle is not well supported. I don't know about today, but it is a question of identification, because if you do not identify as black, you don't have a reason to fight. If [black people] continue in this situation of being subjugated, it will just go on. There needs to be clarity around identity. There needs to be clarity that mulato, negro, pardo, are the same thing. One is not better than the other. There needs to be an understanding that their ascension is not the whitening of their skin..." This informant's perspective is to gain ascendance through social equality and not a superficial equality as she implies it is constructed. In her view,

clarity in identity formation is the way to achieve that. She further indicates that the process of *embranquecimento* or becoming white as a means of achieving social value does not actually yield positive results in the struggle for social equality. In her perspective the pursuit of equality and full citizenship are unsustainable when operating from the logic of a racial hierarchy, as it exists in their country today.

7 DISCUSSION

"the 'White' symbolizes capital as the Negro, labor...Among the black men of his race, it is the struggle of the world proletariat which he sings." -Franz Fanon, Black Skins White Masks, 94

Roberto Mangabeira Unger posits that as societies become heterogeneous, money cannot be seen as a basis of social solidarity. As ethnic homogeneity decreases social fragmentation is exposed.[70] This theoretical concept is pertinent to Brazil because this is one country unique in its official efforts towards addressing the question of social solidarity through developing a unified national identity. In spite of the intentions of creating social solidarity, the narrative of a racially integrated nation was not one that served the economic, racial, and gendered interests of all members of the population, and specifically for Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous women, for whom the process of miscegenation depended upon. Instead, efforts towards social solidarity historically have depended upon the erasure of blackness from shared cultural relevance and sites of power, only embracing the fruits of social heterogeneity as it benefits the economic and/or sexual exploitation of Afro-Brazilian women. What was not included in the narrative and efforts towards Brazilian social solidarity was specifically the production

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[70] Unger, Roberto Mangabeira. "American Democracy." Lecture. April 6th, 2017. Harvard University.

of economic justice that is concerned with addressing barriers to income inequality. Sueli Carneiro refers to access to labor as "the primordial condition for the reproduction of life and exclusion from this access is also the first form of negation of this basic right of citizenship."[71] Access to gainful employment beyond is necessary to the production of social equality. Spatial citizenship relies upon deeper democracy and respect for the subjectivity of all bodies present in the city regardless of race, class, gender, sexuality, and documentation status. This is not to diminish the importance of employment, income, and wealth generation. Rather, this is to indicate that employment, income, and wealth generation are at stake when heterogeneity is not accepted in higher echelons of labor segments. Women such as those interviewed in this research make decisions about how they present themselves at work and in public space. They make decisions about whether they will use hair --a marker of race-- as social currency in a society by *padronizando* (assuming the uniform) and wearing it in a way that conforms to an aesthetic of straight hair, hair extensions, and other looks that enable the body to be read as white, *mulata*, or racially ambiguous. More than it should, presentation defines one's legitimacy in a position in the case of these women. The experiences shared by the informants indicate that being a credentialed or skilled worker outside of the normative aesthetic may be sufficient for 'alternative' types of employment as described by Informant 14, but not well accepted in jobs considered administrative and white-collar. Official and national data on labor are not publicly available through an online search of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), however amongst the informants who identify as *negra*, labor is perceived to be racialized, corroborating adages regarding the inherent place of black women in service work, with the exception

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[71] Carneiro, Sueli. *Racismo, sexismo e desigualdade no Brasil: consciência em debate.* Selo Negro, 2011

of those signaling mulata-ness or whiteness by manner of hair style. There are aspirations that people have for themselves and their lives that do not involve interactions with the *mercado do trabalho* specifically because they offer limited possibilities for their lives. These informants have gone through a process of self-discovery that had began earlier on in their lives and at a time not common for many of their peers as they indicated. This process is what Kia Caldwell refers to as *torna-se negra* or turning black. In her text she describes this as the way by which Afro-Brazilians begin to understand themselves as black beyond the social and economic limitations dictated by hegemonic society[72].

This research sought to explore how the construction of counter-hegemonic identities illustrates inequalities in labor markets. The qualitative data suggests that the more that these informants lean into their identity as preta or negra through their presentation, the more social exclusion they may encounter. This project also illustrated inequalities that are discursively hidden in official documentation by way of omission. Much of the census data is inaccessible to the general public through the online database and is much more accessible through third-party entities such as the World Bank and the Center for the Study of Labor Relations and Inequalities (CEERT). While this is inconvenient for the purposes of this work, one might imagine that it is more difficult for Brazilian citizens to access information that reflects the conditions of their cities, state, and country. In her work "A Mulher Negra No Mercado De Trabalho" (The Black Woman in the Labor Market) Maria Aparecida Silva Bento specifically credits the

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[72] Caldwell, Kia. *Negras in Brazil: Re-envisioning black women, citizenship, and the politics of identity.* Rutgers University Press, 2007.

Movimento Negro for applying pressure on the IBGE to make data available to produce statistics on inequality.[73]

When considering the question of how citizens interact with cities, understanding who these citizens are is a critical aspect of understanding why they fair the way that they do in the various areas of social activity. There is a dearth of research on how Afro-Brazilian women experience spatial citizenship and how labor is a reflection of this. When we consider democracy we often think about it in the context of political democracy but this research is meant to illustrate what it means to be a citizen on the basis of the space that one occupies in their city. Labor is a major organizing factor in society as well as in the flow of people in an out of the city daily. Labor is also a central factor in choosing (or having no choice over) where we live. Each of the informants had discussed themes of social exclusion not only in the workplace but also in other areas of life activity. A reoccurring theme amongst some of the informants was of them was them needing to find the *Movimento Negro* or black movement in order to come to an understanding of who they were and to respect and identify with themselves whilst in the company of people who do not. Building intentional community with likeminded people was critical for many of these women in order to find a way of belonging in the city. Some had chosen to align with more normative standards of presentation for the sake of employment. Others had chosen work and lifestyles that did not require that they conform to normative standards of presentation. The vast majority of the women had discussed how attempts at conforming to societal standards that had not stopped them from being estranged and ostracized from peers because of their primary marker

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[73] Bento, Maria Aparecida Silva. "A mulher negra no mercado de trabalho." *Estudos feministas* 3, no. 2 (1995): 479-487.

of marginality--their hair. While we are examining the issue of labor in modern day Brazil, individuals in cities experience labor discrimination rooted in antiquated notions of the role of women in the workplace that dictate the places they feel allowed to occupy. The manner in which they create space for themselves takes on a temporal quality because when they are able to occupy space with one another, it is through space that they have created themselves for counseling, comradery, and artistic expression. None of the informants indicated that any of their processes of self-actualization have changed the rest of the city or have improved their experience of citizenship, but it has created avenues for them to be themselves without succumbing to external pressure to perform gender in a manner that reflects white dominant culture. For most of the informants, the question of citizenship is unresolved; or rather the resolve is that they are excluded. Racial stratification as a political and economic construction in Brazil has resulted in the ongoing subjugation of the Brazilian underclass. Appearance and racial expression has been used to measure the rank and category of members of society, and according to the narratives of my informants, they continue to be even when the official government produced data makes no allusion to these claims. Their coping strategies do not necessarily yield or produce jobs that result in the financial access that would allow them to live in, circulate, and occupy more spaces of power in cities. Their perspective does however orient them towards a knowledge of self that allows them to live on their own terms. As Allan Pred states, "The local appearance of new forms of capitalism is also... about the (re)shaping of subordinate cultures in the face of new conditions of domination, in the face of newly shaped hegemonic discourses. It is about the meditation of new experiences by past experiences, about the conflicts and struggles that thereby emerge. It is about the experience of, and open or covert resistance to, that

which was not before"[74] For Black women in Brazil, their past is prologue. The process of democracy is ongoing, and so too is the process of resistance to socio-economic subordination.

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[74] Pred, Allan, and Michael Watts. *Reworking modernity: Capitalisms and symbolic discontent*. Rutgers University Press, 1992. 113.

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