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The case of Sao Paulo

– A study of poverty and social exclusion in the urbanization process.

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper was to see how poverty and social exclusion has been defined, measured and understood together with the urbanization process in a mega-city like Sao Paulo and also to look upon and analyze the connection and importance of policy correlated with these notions in the last decades, especially from 1990s until present.

The questions that have been answered in order to fulfil the purpose were:

- How does the urbanization process affect urban poverty and social exclusion in Sao Paulo?
- How are poverty and social exclusion understood and measured both international and in the case of Sao Paulo?
- Is Brazil and Sao Paulo showing an improvement in social indicators according to the developing process
- How are poverty and social exclusion connected with the policy in Sao Paulo?

This paper has been a non-experimental case study, based on literature and statistics. By looking at the international understanding of the notions poverty and social exclusion it has been possible to correlate these notions to the case of Sao Paulo.

The result of this paper verified the hypothesis presented, that poverty and social exclusion are complex and multidimensional notions that need to be understood from a comprehensive viewpoint in an urbanization process, considering the social and political constructions in the society and also the political actions taken. This paper showed that this hypothesis was suitable for the case of Sao Paulo.

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Foreword

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Moreover, I hope that the paper lying in front of you will be useful to get a deeper understanding of poverty and social exclusion in Brazil and Sao Paulo.

1. Introduction

1.1. Problem formulation

One of the oldest and most vulnerable social problems that affect human beings is still on the political agenda these days. International and national organisations, national governments, NGOs and voluntaries are constantly trying to locate and combat the existing poverty around the world where the worst of are starving to death. United Nations functions as an organ in which almost every country in the world is represented, in order to work together to reduce the poverty. But still, in this modern society the old notion of poverty is on the top of the agenda in many countries around the world, a world that is increasing in population and where the natural and material resources have to be shared. This is also a world that has been literary divided into North and South, East and West, Left and Right, excluded and included; and ranked as developing countries and developed countries or rich and poor. These notions seem to be consequences of social, economical and political constructions. Scientists are trying to measure the existing poverty and locate patterns in the society that will explain poverty and its components. Today, poverty seems not only to be a matter of income or hunger, but instead other life quality factors play a crucial role for the human well-being. Today's discourse and analysis of the notion of poverty tries to look upon how notions such as social exclusion, segregation, underclass, inequalities etc. are correlated with the notion of poverty.

In an international point of view, the general agreement concerning poverty is primarily to reduce the rate of people living in extreme poverty or suffering from hunger. For instance, this is the primary goal for international institutions like UN and its organs and The World Bank. UN has put a deadline in the year of 2015 where eight goals aim to be achieved. These goals are 1) eradicate extreme poverty and hunger 2) achieve universal primary education 3) promote gender equality and empower women 4) Reduce child mortality 5) Improve maternal health 6) Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases 7) Ensure environmental sustainability 8) Develop a global partnership for development. In the official website of UN the secretary-general Kofi A. Annan states:

"We will have time to reach the Millennium Development Goals – worldwide and in most, or even all, individual countries – but only if we

break with business as usual. We cannot win overnight. Success will require sustained action across the entire decade between now and the deadline. It takes time to train the teachers, nurses and engineers; to build the roads, schools and hospitals; to grow the small and large businesses able to create the jobs and income needed. So we must start now. And we must more than double global development assistance over the next few years. Nothing less will help to achieve the Goals." (UN, 2005).

These goals include not only the income measure, but also several social indicators that need to be measured in order to look at the development process. UN and several social scientists in countries around the world have constructed certain indexes based on census data of the social indicators, in order to combine and measure poverty and other social processes. Having this international view in mind, this paper aims to look at the situation of Brazil, with a particular focus on the largest city Sao Paulo. The general understanding of poverty will be explained, as well as other relevant notions that are related or included in the notion of poverty. Furthermore these notions will be compared to the case of Sao Paulo and the rapid urbanization process that has marked this city the recent decades.

Brazil is a country with approximately 185 million inhabitants in 2005 (IBGE, 2005). The poverty in Brazil has before been defined as located in rural areas. This might still be the case but a recent trend shows that there has been a great migration to larger cities, municipals and metropolitans (Beall, 2004). There has been an increase of the population in urban areas in Latin America. Since the 1970s the urban population has showed a rapid growth and in 1999 the urban population corresponded for 65% of the population, a trend that has been defined as "*the urbanization of poverty*" (Torres, 2002, p.2). In 2000 UN-HABITAT (2004/2005) estimated that 77.2% in South America lived in urban areas which show the continuing urban migration. *Folha de S.Paulo* (Soares, 2006) presents new data from IBGE, showing that in 2004 the poverty rate in rural areas for the first time is less than the poverty rate in the metropolitans. This is due to that since 1992 there has been a faster decrease of poverty in rural areas than in metropolitan areas. In metropolitans areas the rate of poverty fell from 44.3% in 1992 to 38.7% in 2004, while in the rural areas the rate of poverty fell from 52.7% in 1992 to 35.4% in 2004.

Sao Paulo is the largest city of South America and it is the city of Brazil that has been affected mostly by the urbanization. Since the city have an important industrial status and even if this city is considered modernized there are social groups that are negatively affected by the

urbanization process (see for instance Arantes, Fix, Tanaka, 2003; Torres et al., 2002; Torres 2002; Barone & Rebelo, 2003). It is therefore my intention in this paper to correlate this urbanization process with the notion of poverty and its components in Sao Paulo. This is done by looking at different social indicators and indexes and also to look at how the policy is connected to the notion of poverty and social exclusion, which makes some social groups more disadvantaged than others in a society.

The hypothesis presented in this paper is that poverty and social exclusion are complex and multidimensional notions that need to be understood from a comprehensive viewpoint in an urbanization process, considering the social and political constructions in the society and also the political actions taken. In other words, poverty and social exclusion must not be seen only as a state that poor people happen to be in; these notions also need to be seen as social and political consequences. The paper seeks to understand the historic construction and the policy impacts that have formed the city of Sao Paulo, as well as whether social indicators have improved in order to contribute to the development.

1.2. Purpose and questions

The purpose with this paper is to see how poverty and social exclusion is defined, measured and understood together with the urbanization process in a mega-city like Sao Paulo and also to look upon and analyze the connection and importance of policy correlated with these notions in the last decades (especially from 1990s until present).

Some relevant questions need to be answered for the purpose and as a base for analyze:

- How does the urbanization process affect urban poverty and social exclusion in Sao Paulo?
- How are poverty and social exclusion understood and measured both international and in the case of Sao Paulo?
- Is Brazil and Sao Paulo showing an improvement in social indicators according to the developing process?
- How are poverty and social exclusion connected with the policy in Sao Paulo?

1.3. Methodology

This study is a non-experimental case study aiming to collect primary empirical data and information for the case of Sao Paulo. However, in order to do this and to fulfil the purpose and questions, primary data and information are also collected from international and national sources, in order to get a more comprehensive insight of the phenomena and processes that will be studied. In other words, there is a need to look at the understanding, measuring and combating of poverty and social exclusion both at an international, national and local level and relate this to the case of Sao Paulo. For instance, data and statistics from international organizations like UN and The World Bank give us a good overview over the situation and development process for Brazil compared with other countries around the world, whilst the national data and information of Brazil gives us a deeper insight into the different regions and cities of Brazil. International understandings of notions such as poverty, social exclusion, underclass, inequalities etc. will be defined in this paper. These are definitions that in many cases are controversial depending on whether we are talking about developing countries or developed countries and in order to test the hypothesis presented in this paper, it might be necessary to make an international comparison of these notions in order to see which of these notions that is/are suitable for the case of Sao Paulo. There is also a need to make a comparison over time, or at least look at the development of Brazil the last decades, in order to test the hypothesis, and particularly to get a grip over the political and social constructions that might be correlated with poverty and its related or included factors. This hypothetic-deductive approach will be useful in the analysis, to either falsify or verify the hypothesis presented in this paper.

1.4. Reliability of the results

The hypothetic-deductive approach mentioned above might be objective when data are presented from different international, national and local statistical bureaus. These are, for instance, population counts concerning certain indicators. However, one should be aware of that these results could be skewed since these numbers are estimations and do not necessarily draw a parallel with the reality. In addition; further investigations based on statistic might not be objective since social and subjective factors and elements affect the result presented; factors and elements that i.e. have political, organizational or social purposes. On the contrary, results from or based on the main well-known statistical sources (i.e. UN, World Bank, IBGE and SAEDE) would help us to get closer to the reality, since they use computing methods that tries to include as many as possible to get a more precise estimation. These

sources also present annual reports and statistics which makes it possible to make a comparison over time. This will be useful when one looks at the progress of social indicators in the case of Brazil and Sao Paulo. However, this paper tries not only to focus on statistic data when looking at poverty and social exclusion; the intention is also look at other aspects, elements or processes that could be observed in order to explain the phenomena studied.

1.5. Selection methods

Since this paper focus on Sao Paulo, Brazil, most of the literature can be found in Portuguese, especially when looking at the case of Sao Paulo. This paper will include very little information written in Portuguese (the information included has been translated into English) and therefore this paper is relatively limited since there might be loads of interesting information and research results made in Portuguese. On the other hand, some interesting and relevant earlier researches and works made by Brazilian scientists will be presented that might give us a closer understanding of the case of Sao Paulo. These are works that have been translated from Portuguese to English in order to reach the international audience or for other purposes, such as papers for international conferences etc. The limitation of this paper lies in the available works that have been found in English which function as arguments in the empiric framework and brings forward several political, social and environmental aspects necessary for the analysis. It is also worth to mention that most of the works adapted in this paper are in most cases based on statistic data from the same sources (i.e. UN, The World Bank, IBGE, SEADE) but brings forward different aspects of poverty and social exclusion.

Another limitation of this work is the concentration of the processes of Sao Paulo in the 1990s. There are some arguments for this approach. First, the 1990s processes might still affect the Brazilian society these days. Second, it could be interesting to look at the consequences of the hard decade of 1980s (as will be described further on in this paper) that marked the Brazilian society. Third, the Millennium Development Goals were set up by UN in order to achieve the goals between 1990 and 2015 and for this purpose it can be interesting to look at the development process so far. Fourth, the earlier studies presented in this paper focuses on the 1990s. Finally, much of the statistics found about Brazil and Sao Paulo can be find in the 1990s and the initial years after the Millennium.

As was mentioned above, the main general international, national and local understanding of poverty and social exclusion will be presented with the intention of getting a comprehensive

understanding of these notions around the world and then compare what is suitable for the case of Sao Paulo. This is done mainly because there are social and cultural differences between the countries and when talking about poverty and social exclusion in Sao Paulo one need also to know how social and cultural factors interplay with these notions.

1.6. Critique of the sources

This work presents literature, different reports and research papers, as well as statistical information and other relevant information from Internet. Firstly, the statistical data in this paper is mainly collected from well-known international, national and local websites on Internet, because they present tables and graphs etc. about social indicators. As was mentioned before these statistics can be skewed since parts of the population might not be counted, especially in a huge country like Brazil. Second, there are loads of different statistics that might be analysed in different ways depending on what the purpose of the study aims at, which should thoroughly be considered when looking at earlier researches from different organizations with different interests or purposes with the study. These studies could be formed for a political, social or economic reason. However, most the sources used in this paper aims to be connected, as far as possible, to the main international, national and local statistic bureaus (UN, The World Bank, IBGE, SEADE etc.). For instance, if data is not directly collected from these bureaus, the next step will be to look at other information that has used data from these bureaus. The reason why these bureaus are chosen is mainly because they are well-known, but also because they are the only sources with large amount of data presented concerning social indicators and development processes. These are also sources that show monthly, annual and decadal data that is useful in comparison purposes. This doesn't mean that the data correlates with the reality but gives a good view over the processes of the phenomena studied since the same yardsticks are used in order to collect the data monthly, annual or decadal.

1.7. Further approach

Chapter one tries to sum the general, international understanding of poverty and social exclusion. The international discourses of these notions have their disagreements which also will be explained. Concerning the notion of poverty, different factors and dimensions will be explained as well as some differences between developing countries and developed countries. The different factors are whether poverty should be measures by certain income poverty lines, namely *absolute* or *relative* poverty, or if poverty should be seen as a multidimensional social

problem, including several social indicators that need to be measured when looking at poverty. After the argumentation about different views of poverty *social exclusion* will be defined, mainly from a Western Europe point of view, but it will also be shown that the European understanding might be adoptable even for other countries around the world.

Chapter two looks at the migration and urban growth of Sao Paulo. The history of Sao Paulo will be explained briefly, as well as how Sao Paulo were growing from a small city to one of the largest cities in the world and the most important industrial city of Brazil during the 20th century. By this rapid urban growth the city government of Sao Paulo faced a hard time with the growing social problems within the city, social problems like housing solutions for the growing urban population.

Chapter three tries to describe the different types of settlements in Sao Paulo that are defined as the slums. These are deprived areas, often with a lack of public services and with inadequate standard of living. The characters and standards of these settlements will be described as well as the differences between them in order to explain the different regular, irregular or illegal housing solutions for the poor and excluded in Sao Paulo.

Chapter four focuses on some researches made in and about Sao Paulo. This chapter will only bring up some of the earlier researches in order to, firstly demonstrate how poverty and social exclusion in Sao Paulo can be measured, and secondly to bring forward different aspects of the notions of poverty and social exclusion. This part of the paper will demonstrate how statistic data is used by combine social indicators into single indexes to measure social problems and processes in Sao Paulo. However, there will not be any in-depth accounts of how these indexes are constructed; instead these indexes should be seen as what they measure. This part of the paper also argues about the consequences of the urbanization in Sao Paulo as well as the urbanization is or is not connected to poverty and social exclusion.

Chapter five shows trends and signs of improvement in Brazil and Sao Paulo. When looking at the progress of poverty reduction and the social and economical development of Sao Paulo through the years, it might be necessary to look at some international, national and local trends and statistics to get a deeper understanding of how the urban situation in Sao Paulo looks like these days. The general understanding of poverty and social exclusion includes some or many dimensions that need to be measured, depending on how the notions of poverty

and social exclusion are defined. The intention of this part of the paper is to present some trends in Brazil and Sao Paulo concerning social and economical development, and also to look at the existent poverty, social exclusion, segregation and inequality within Brazil, the Metropolitan of Sao Paulo and the municipal of Sao Paulo. This will be done by looking at income levels, social indicators and indexes, and other viewpoints (such as policy impacts) that could be necessary for the analysis.

The conclusion will be presented separately after the empirical framework and after a brief summary of the work. This part aims to give answer to the hypothesis presented and to fulfil the purpose of this paper. In order to do this there will be a comparison between earlier researches and the statistic data of social indicators, as well as the developing process in Brazil and Sao Paulo. The conclusion seeks to understand the notions of poverty and social exclusion in Sao Paulo by looking at international, national and local factors. This comprehensive viewpoint will hopefully get a deeper insight in the notions and the hypothesis of this work. However, the conclusion will mainly be focused on the connection between the urbanization process, the policy and the notions of poverty and social exclusion in Sao Paulo.

2. Poverty and Social exclusion – an international view

Even though the notion of poverty has been known and discussed through centuries, the first systematic approaches to define, measure and understand poverty dates back to the 19th century. The methods used were quantitative studies (census data) and qualitative data (i.e. interviews) in order to measure and get a deeper insight in the lives of the poor and these methods are also widely used nowadays. Information about income together with expenditures, housing conditions and studies about the family situation has been, and still are, factors that measures poverty. However, nowadays the controversial discourses of poverty have disagreements whether notions such as *social exclusion*, *underclass*, *inequality*, *deprivation*, *standard of living* etc. should be considered when talking about poverty and what these notions stands for in different societies. The discourse today also considers the link between poverty and the policy processes in the society (Hall & Midgley, 2004).

There are several ways in which poverty can be defined and measured. Common ideas defines and measures poverty by setting up international or national poverty lines in either *absolute* or *relative* income criterions linked to prices:

“Definitions of poverty based on income reflect the idea that human beings require a minimum level of consumption of food, water, shelter and clothing to survive. By defining these minimum needs, and linking them to prices, it is possible to construct an absolute minimum poverty line which can then be used in social surveys to determine how many people have incomes that fall below this line” (Hall & Midgley, 2004, p. 46).

2.1. Absolute poverty

Absolute poverty therefore refers to those people in the world who lack these minimum needs and this definition is used today in international comparison to estimate how many of the poor people live under this line (Hall & Midgley, 2004; Fitzpatrick, 2001). A measure for international comparison is the *one dollar a day* yardstick that has been set up by *United Nations* (UN) and has been a measure for international and national developments comparisons and also a tool for poverty reduction. By the one dollar a day yardstick, UN set up *The UN Millennium Development Goals*. Those are eight goals, with the first goal aiming to halve the proportion in the world living on less than one dollar a day and also reduce by the half the people suffering from hunger between year 1990 and 2015. The other goals focus on improvement in education, equality, health, environment and international cooperation between countries. This work in progress allocates for affirmative action from the national governments in order to achieve these goals (UN, 2005).

2.2. Relative poverty

Critique has been pointed out for the absolute poverty line, especially in wealthier countries, with the argument that it is unrealistic that people could survive on these minimum criterions. Therefore, in wealthier countries another type of criteria has to be used, a criterion taking in account social expectations and standards of living among the people. This criterion is known as a *relative* criterion and has been explained as determine the average income and standard of living among the people. From this point the relative poverty line can be set up, linking income with social benefits and social security available in the society, in order to decide how many people fall below this line. One example is European Union, which uses a relative poverty line of 50% of the average income of a country within the union (Hall & Midgley,

2004). A person who is below the relative poverty line can be explained as being excluded from the society's measure of acceptable living standards (Fitzpatrick, 2001).

Torres et al. (2002) claims that poverty lines can be useful in international comparisons but these definitions are controversial. This statement is based on three arguments. First, national poverty lines might not consider that there are higher rents in large urban cities which affect the urban poor. Second, there are non-monetary incomes in rural and poor areas that might not be counted when setting up national poverty lines. Third, poverty lines might not consider the multi-dimensional aspects of poverty, i.e. people who are excluded from certain benefits in the society. Hall and Midgley (2004) signify definitions of poverty as income definitions, inequality definitions (including relative poverty and deprivation) or a multiple definition that measure the combination of material needs and non-material needs. Hall and Midgley further claim that poverty lines are can be useful as political manipulation tools, meaning that they are adjustable and useful as political starting points for political purposes.

2.3. A multidimensional approach of poverty

In the 1960s UN allocated that more insight was needed to understand the notion of poverty. Income poverty lines told a little about other conditions among the people, such as education, housing, health and other aspects of the life of the poor. Therefore it was needed to look at social indicators that explained by census data the social conditions among these social groups. As the income poverty lines looked at the economic development within the countries, the social indicators was supposed to look at the social development. Nowadays, social indicators have been widely used to measure the lives of the poor. By collecting census data it is possible to look upon many aspects, such as health, education, housing, birth and deaths and it is also possible to correlate different aspects with each other in order to create more detailed profiles about i.e. a countries well-being. It is also possible to correlate income information with social indicators to get a wider definition of poverty. Since UN's allocation of social indicators a variety of composed or aggregated indicators have been constructed, meaning different social indicators combined with the outcome of a single index. Perhaps the most well- known indicator is the *Human Development Index* (HDI) that was created by UNDP, *United Nations Development Programme* (ibid.). The HDI is a composite index that summarize and measures development for a country, taking three social indicators into count; longevity (life expectancy at birth), knowledge (education rates) and decent standard of living by GDP per capita (UNDP, 2003)

2.4. Social exclusion

The notion of *social exclusion* seems to have getting more influence in recent times, especially in Western Europe where the notion was born and it is also there that this notion is most developed (Estivill, 2003). The discourse, whether the notion of social exclusion is a part of the older and more comprehensive concept of *poverty* have its disagreements. On the one hand social exclusion can be seen as another expression for *relative* poverty, with its material deprivation and an unequal distribution of resources in the society that makes a person excluded from social contacts, networks and other benefits given to most of the people. On the other hand, social exclusion and poverty can be seen as two different notions of the same phenomena. Social exclusion in this case can be seen as a process of separating from labour market and social institutions and can be defined as a lack of participation. Poverty can be seen as an income indicator, where one person that lacks income tends to be excluded because of unequal distribution of resources (Fitzpatrick, 2001).

There are also behavioural arguments of *social exclusion*. These arguments refer to a certain social group's lifestyle or behaviour. The exclusion is a matter of individual actions of choosing to not live by the norms of the society. The behavioural aspect has through the centuries defined the excluded as lazy social groups with immorality (Fitzpatrick, 2001; Hall & Midgley, 2004). The excluded have also been identified as violent people with social problems that lived in ghettos. This formulation has also brought forward another concept, the concept of *underclass*, that stands for the lifestyle and spatial areas where the excluded lives. Social exclusion have also been linked with racial arguments in the 1970s, claiming that poverty, race and low intelligence are linked and that coloured people in welfare states has showed the highest rate of dependent of the welfare benefits. The spatial factor of the underclass has also been challenged by researchers trying to find causes of the spatial concentration of socially excluded groups. This has led to the explanation of social exclusion caused by structural factors within the society (Hall & Midgley, 2004). Estivill (2003) defines social exclusion as structural factors and processes that are working together and even if the notion was born in Europe these processes occur worldwide and look different and affects everyone:

Social exclusion may therefore be understood as an accumulation of confluent processes with successive ruptures arising from the heart of the economy, politics and society, which gradually distances and places persons, groups, communities and territories in a position of

inferiority in relation to centres of power, resources and prevailing values (Estivill, 2003, p.19).

Estivill (2003) pinpoint that this definition of social exclusion is stated through European experience but is applicable also for other countries. However, when establish a definition beyond the European experience, there might be a need for comparison with this definition and additional adaptations of other relevant concepts of reality.

When looking at the concepts *poverty* and *exclusion* it might be relevant to see what these two concepts could have in common. Spicker (2000) brings in the moral view when comparing these two concepts. He claims that poverty is a moral issue, since poor people are considered poor when their social situation and standard of living is below that what the society's norms had set up as acceptable. Social exclusion is a moral issue because the person is excluded from the moral obligations formed by society as well as he or she isn't able to participate in the society's common social network that structures the society. Spicker (ibid.) also means that moral obligations seem to diminish with social distance in a society.

3. Migration and Urban growth

Poverty in developing countries has long been explained as a rural problem. However, with the growing urban areas, poverty has also grown in these areas. Since many of the growing cities in developed countries have showed a rapid growth, governments have had a hard time combating the risen poverty rates and sometimes also been unaware of the processes and factors that come with rapid growth in urbanization and its poverty. With rapid urban growth, rapid social demands come along and notions like social exclusion or social disadvantages can be expressed if the government fails to satisfy these demands (Beall, 2004).

Sao Paulo was until the middle of the 19th century a small city with little importance compared to other major cities in Brazil in that time, such as Rio de Janeiro and Salvador that since the 17th century were the main political centers of Brazil. In these days, the recently built up city Brasilia is the political center and also nowadays the capital of Brazil. Sao Paulo, however, started to gain importance in the 19th century because of the increasing coffee exportation. The growth of Sao Paulo started to increase together with the industrialization in

the beginning of the 20th century and in 1950s the city turned into a metropolis. Sao Paulo, Brazil, is today the largest city of South America and the fastest growing city in Brazil with an important industrial role (Arantes, Fix, Tanaka, 2003). Sao Paulo is today one of the largest cities in the world, a mega-city with approximately 11 million inhabitants in the city of Sao Paulo and about 19 million people in the governmental Metropolitan region of Sao Paulo (SAEDE, 2005)

The Industrialization era of Brazil started around 1930 and has been called the “*National Development*” era which marked its date between 1930 and 1980. Initially, in the 1930s, Brazil had to reduce the important exportation trade of crops due to the economic crises that affected Brazil. Instead, the government introduced an import replacement policy and the money was transferred from the agriculture to the industry and Sao Paulo became an important city in this political change. In the National Development era a large number of migrants moved from rural areas to the city to take part of the industrialization process and the job opportunities, and this is one of the main reasons of Sao Paulo’s rapid population growth during the 20th century. Under the industrialization social indicators such as infant mortality and life expectancy were improved. The infant mortality decreased from 149 per 1000 to 34.6 per 1000 between 1940 and 1999 and the life expectancy between 1940 and 1999 rose from an average age of 42.7 years to 68.4 years (Arantes, Fix, Tanaka, 2003). In the 1980s Brazil faced a hard decade having foreign debts. The economic growth showed in this decade little progress which led to inflation and growing poverty within the Metropolitans (Arantes, Fix, Tanaka, 2003; UNDP, 1996) It is also in this decade that the *shantytowns* (in Brazil these settlements are known as *favelas*, as will be explained further on in this paper) sprung up in the city of Sao Paulo as a new type of deprived housing solution for the poor. With worse conditions for the poor and greater challenges for the government other medium-sized cities of Brazil and the outsides of the Metropolitan of Sao Paulo began to grow (Arantes, Fix, Tanaka, 2003). Beal (2004) mentions the notion of *counter-urbanization* in large western cities like Birmingham and Detroit, explaining that these cities at a certain point stops to grow or even decrease in population and that this phenomena also might happen in some cities in the South, i.e. *The United Nations Human Settlements Programme* (UN-HABITAT, 2004/2005) reports Mexico City as one mega-city that in 1970 was estimated to grow up to 30 million people until the year 2000, but in fact this city stopped growing when it reached 20 million inhabitants, due to that people searched for better opportunities in other cities. Arantes, Fix, Tanaka (2003) claim that the center of large Metropolises of Brazil

showed a reduced rate of growth in the 1980s, while the peripheries continued to grow rapidly. People tended to move to other cities or suburban areas where the cost of housing and living were lower. However, the Metropolitan of Sao Paulo is still growing in population and according to Beall (2004) the UNDP estimates Sao Paulo to grow to a population size of 20.3 million people until the year 2015. Torres (2002) presents census data from IBGE which shows that the capital cities of Brazil doubled with 1.88 in growth rate between 1970 and 2000 and, more remarkably, their suburban towns have more than tripled with a growth rate of 3.8 (ibid.).

Sao Paulo was before 1920 characterized as a city with an important production and export of coffee. However, in the 1920s, the capital was transferred from the agricultural production to the industries. With the increasing working-class areas spreading over the city, the areas of the wealthy coffee-producers started to lose its character which made the wealthier class seek other attractive areas. Their left over tenements, that was before attractive, soon became deprived by the occupation of the working class or migrants from the north and later on classified as a type of slum called *cortiços* (as will be defined further on in this paper when looking at the characters of slums in Brazil and Sao Paulo). With this kind of movement Sao Paulo saw some signs of spatial segregation (Arantes, Fix, Tanaka, 2003).

The military regime in the 1950s contributed with a further rapid industrial expansion which increased the economic growth even more. However, the benefits seem to have gained the upper classes which made the working class become a disadvantaged social group. The expansion in industrialization further contributed to the great migration and the growth of urban slums and the infrastructure and social service could not support all the citizens since the urban areas were growing faster than political actions (UNDP, 2005).

By looking at the urbanization process in Brazil it is possible to argue that there also is a need for the policymakers to be aware of and adopt suitable policy strategies for this trend. The decrease of the economic growth in 1980s in Brazil, led to new economic adjustments and a reform of the state. A more open market within the country proceeded and also the opening up for the international arena. Privatisation and flexibility in the labour market took place as well as a process of de-industrialization opening up for a more financial-focused society. As a consequence of this Brazil experienced an increase in unemployment and violence in the large cities (Arantes, Fix, Tanaka, 2003).

Torres (2002) argues that the migration from rural areas to Metropolitans isn't the main reason for the consequences of the urban sprawl. Instead, the migration process and the consequences should be seen as two separate phenomena. For instance, migration can happen without urban sprawl, producing compact urban settlements. Urban sprawl might also happen, not because of the migration but because of land-use regulation and re-arrangement of the population distribution. In other words, the urban sprawl can be a consequence of political arrangements and policies, such as land use regulation, infrastructure and housing.

It is interesting to note that in the middle of 19th century in England, in the era of industrialization, there was a great migration from the rural areas to the large cities. People from rural areas searched their opportunities in the "new" society in the larger cities that was growing, although, many of the migrants ended up in deprived dwellings with lack of sanitation. People in these areas were characterized as unemployed, or if they had a job their incomes were below the minimum criterion. As these deprived areas was growing several social problems emerged, such as high crime rates, violence, substance abuse and illegitimacy and the wealthier class saw the slums as problematic (Hall & Midgley, 2004). One hundred years later, in the 20th century in Brazil the history repeats itself, with poor migrants moving from the rural areas in order to search for better opportunities in the large growing cities that was going through an industrialization process. Also here, many of the migrants ended up in deprived areas with bad housing conditions. Unemployment or jobs with an unacceptable income characterized these areas, as well as violence, crime, substance abuse and illegitimacy. And as in England in the 19th century, poor and rich people in Brazil are two social groups that lives in the same cities but with very little contact between them (Arantes, Fix, Tanaka; 2003)

According to Barone and Rebelo (2003) Brazil has a new poverty profile which they call the *Metropolization of poverty*. Since Brazil nowadays have about 78% of its people living in urban areas and cities the Metropolization poverty process has been seen, firstly because of the concentration of poverty reduction in rural areas in the Northeast of Brazil and secondly because the poverty rates has been de-orientated, with the migration from rural areas to the Metropolitan areas of Brazil.

4. The Slums

Various types of slums have been identified in Sao Paulo. Perhaps the two most well-known slums are the *favelas* and the *cortiços* as will be explained below. Two other housing solutions for the poor can also be recognized that doesn't need to be characterized as slums but described as either marked illegal plots for sale in the periphery or housing project sponsored by the government. However, the *favelas* and the *cortiços* characterize the slums of the city, with its social problems, such as crimes and deprivation (Arantes, Fix, Tanaka, 2003).

Favelas are relative young phenomena in Sao Paulo and have become an illegal and often self-constructed type of housing solution where the dwellers pay no rent. The *favelas* can be explained as the process of land invasion on unprotected land-own lots, which mean a squatter settlement on somebody's land plot with no security of tenure. The invaded plots are often areas where public housing is difficult or not of interest for the market. These squatter settlements create small dwellings that spread irregularly and fail to reach an expected or required level of standard. The dwellings are often built of materials, such as old wood, tin, cans and other inadequate materials, lacking urban service and equipments. The size of the *favelas* can vary from between 10.000 to 15.000 families in one single *favela* (ibid.).

Cortiços can be explained as collective dwellings for several families that shared sanitary installations and other spaces. The *cortiços* are dominantly private buildings constructed in urban, generally inner-city, spaces with precarious circulation and infrastructure. The standard of the houses are often decayed, but legal rental accommodations, which means that the dwellers in *cortiços* pay the rent and the service for their accommodations to their landlord. The *cortiços* are often over-crowded with several families, due to that the dwellers sublet spaces to others in order to increase their monthly income. The size of the *cortiços* varies a lot, from 3-4 families up to 30-40 families in the same buildings or even more in vertical *cortiços* (ibid.).

Loteamentos is a term used for public and private regular settlement spaces, which unlike the *favelas* are more organized. However, there are also irregular spaces (*loteamentos irregulares*) which can be explained as planned subdivision spaces that are not registered or have failed to receive a final authorization from the Municipal. *Loteamentos clandestinos* is another type of

planned subdivisions, but these settlements have been developed without official acceptance and the standards of these settlements often don't follow the development norms and standards within the Municipals and they also lack urban services (World Bank, 2002).

In the end of 1970s the traditional urban form with a wealthy center and poor peripheries started to change with poor migrants spreading all over the city, forming different social groupings of poor and rich living closely to each other. Until the 1980s the cortiços were the dominant housing solution for the poor in Sao Paulo. After this the favelas began to grow rapidly and are in these days considering outnumber the cortiços. Favelas spring up everywhere, whether it is in the center or in the periphery. Favelas can be seen growing in any unprotected space of the city and this phenomenon also breaks the traditional spatial segregation of the wealthy center and the poor peripheries. However, public policies have tried to repress and remove many of the favelas from the wealthy center to the peripheries (often to poor and environmentally fragile areas). The removal several favelas in the wealthy areas has improved, even though the two largest favelas in Sao Paulo, Heliópolis and Paraisópolis, remains (Arantes, Fix, Tanaka, 2003).

5. Research made in and about Sao Paulo

5.1. A multiply approach by mapping urban poverty

Torres et al. (2002) claim that urban poverty in Sao Paulo includes not only status of social groups or income differences. Poverty is a complex notion that needs to be measured in a multiply way. Poverty is also a matter of social and spatial concentrations, including inequalities and segregation that can be measured through mapping these areas. Torres et al. (2002) therefore present in their paper analyzes based on a research tool GIS (Geographic Information System), an advanced computing system that is used to get a spatial geographic view over the phenomena (input data) that will be studied (GIS-CENTRUM, 2003). The input data that Torres et al. use is the 2000 census from IBGE (Brazilian Geographical and Statistical Institute). By this systematic approach they want to identify poverty heterogeneity and locate extreme “*hot spots*” within the Metropolitan of Sao Paulo. In additional, their aim is not only to locate the spatial components, but also micro-components that are connected with social indicators.

Torres et al. (2002) state that the urban form of Sao Paulo was planned to be radial in its form, meaning spreading from the center and outwards in a concentric way. The plans were also to allocate for common economic activities in the entire city. However, Sao Paulo showed a different evolution and setting with its urban sprawl. Even though Sao Paulo in some ways shows a wealthy center and poor peripheries it is possible, according to Torres et al. to argue that poor areas mustn't be concentrated in the peripheries.

One of their argument claims that rich people have moved to the western region of the metropolitan area, an area that traditionally have been occupied by poor people. This movement breaks the radial-concentric understanding of the urban geometry and shows that both rich and poor people lives in the western area, even though there is little contact between these two social groups. In the spatial Deprivation map (Map 1) there are also, according to Torres et al. (ibid.) several subcenters in Sao Paulo with wealthy social groups (quintile 1 in Map 1), which have recently been built up by the development industry, areas where also *favelas* are present in the surroundings.

Another argument showing that poor people isn't concentrated to the peripheries is the spreading of *favelas* all over the city that mix poor people with wealthy people. Finally, one argument refers to the policies within the city. In the 1980s the state tried to improve social indicators with financial support in the peripheries of Sao Paulo and other cities of Brazil. This resulted in improvement in environmental issues, such as water supply and garbage collection (these two environmental public services became almost universal in 2000) even though sewage collection still is a problem in some poor areas. However, even if some poor areas of the city showed improvement in some social indicators, the financial support from the state didn't cover all the areas in the peripheries and those areas where services and equipment were introduced showed a low quality. Even if improvement was done in environmental public services a lack of other social indicators where shown, such as access to other services or infrastructure (Torres et al., 2002).

Barone and Rebelo (2003) try to pinpoint the importance and relevance with an improvement of infrastructure within Sao Paulo (their suggestion and analysis is based on possible impacts with a new metro line 4 in Sao Paulo, reaching suburban areas). They claim that the lack of urban services and public transport tends to "*imprison*" people in these disadvantaged areas

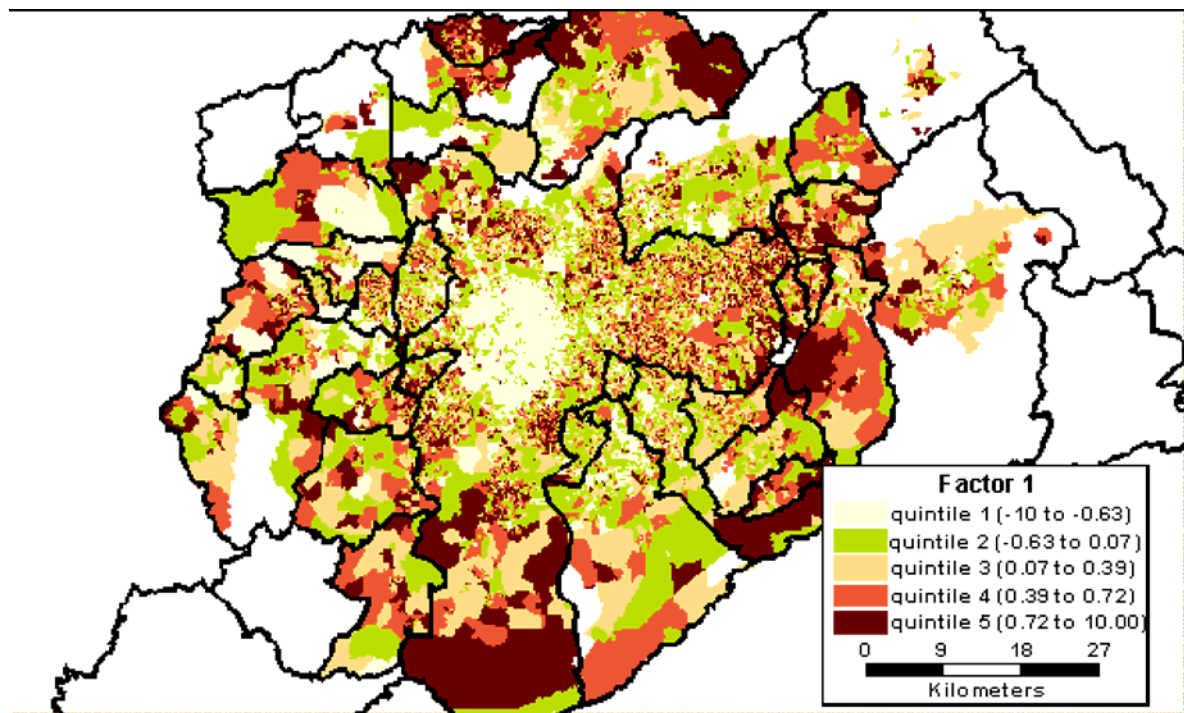
and this is highly a matter of social exclusion. With an increasing infrastructure to the most disadvantaged areas a social inclusion process can be promoted for these social groups, especially the low-income families that need the public transport but also to create opportunities and accessibility for other poor people to reach the labour market with shorter and cheaper trips.

Câmara et al. (2004) wants in their study to show the use of different maps in order to locate social exclusion and inclusion. The maps will not only locate these phenomena, but will also function as a tool for the city governments. Zoning policy within the city is a great challenge for the urban planners when it comes to the decisions of where to distribute the sources. The distribution of resources could lead to great socio-economic inequalities if they are not well planned and carefully divided to different urban spaces. Also regional administrations must be aware of the differences and changes within the city that might not match the historical and political strategies.

Torres et al. (2002) have in their research tried to locate vulnerable social groups in Sao Paulo and also tried to conclude different dimensions of poverty. Their analysis with the GIS-technique brought forward two different factors which they call “*Deprivation Index*” (factor 1) and “*Family Cycle Index*” (factor 2) and together with quintile tables (ranking deprivation in five clusters) they could map deprivation within Sao Paulo (Map 1).

The Deprivation Index includes social indicators such as education, gender and income and it aims to catch the multiply dimension of poverty while the Family Index considers education, age and family structure. Notably, housing conditions is not counted in these indexes (with the argument that water supply and garbage collections became almost universal in 2000 and with problems in the IBGE, *Brazil's Geographical and Statistical Institute* database with data of sewage collection). Torres et al. also analyse data on homicides and student scores for the national language in order to find “*hot spots*” of high rates of homicides, which shows “*the existence of different levels of segregation even within the poorest areas*” (ibid. p. 2).

Map 1:
Spatial distribution of the Deprivation Indicator.
Census Tracts of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, 2000



Source: Torres et al. (2002) *Poverty and space: Patterns of Segregation in São Paulo*.

Studies from the Deprivation Index shows that people with high levels of deprivation, such as people with low income, low education levels, poor families, big families, families with a high proportion of teenagers or families with low educated women as head of the household are the most vulnerable groups. These groups are fragile because of different social constructions. Low educated women as head of the household are fragile not only because of the discrimination of women in the labour market, but also if they are the single source when it comes to family incomes. A higher rate of inhabitants in the household means sharing of the resources and possible consequences of this can affect other aspects of life negatively, such as health, nutrition or education (this statement is controversial though, since a higher rate of inhabitants in a household also can have positive effects). Finally, lower income affects the housing and nutrition conditions and can be fatal when diseases hit the family (ibid.).

The fifth quintile (see Map 1), as Torres et al. points out as the social group with highest rate of deprivation, has a high proportion of children and low educated women head of household and the fifth quintile also includes most of the people living in favelas. Another aspect is that when looking at “average income of the head of the household” (ibid. p. 10) a remarkable difference of income can be seen when comparing the first quintile (social groups with the lowest deprivation status) with the second quintile. The social group in the first quintile

earned in 2000 almost three times more than the social group in the second quintile, which shows the gap between the very rich and the rest of the population in Sao Paulo (ibid.).

In an earlier study, Torres and Oliveira (2001) try to find the difficulties to locate the most vulnerable groups' possibilities to access social service in Sao Paulo. Some general statements are made. First, people living in the peripheries are less educated and organized, therefore is it more problematic for these groups to demand public service. This can also be due to the lack of contacts and connections to the public arena but also that they are unaware of their possibilities to demand these needs. The peripheries are also areas where many recently settled migrants are located and they tend not to participate politically in the initial time of residence. Second, public investments seem to be concentrated to high-income areas, due to the connection between the political and economical power to this social group. A third argument also refers to policy, claiming that social groups with lower income are not target for preferential public policies. Lower income groups seem to be victims for prejudices from the upper classes. However, this is an argument more significant when relate it to right-wing policies. A fourth argument claims that infrastructure is not preferential in invaded areas. Illegal occupation and land use areas are hard to locate and analyze and tend to be excluded from public services and investments since they are not recorded in the statistics.

5.2. Mapping social exclusion and inclusion

Câmara et al. (2004) pinpoint the difference of the notion *social exclusion* in urban areas in developing countries and developed countries. In wealthier countries and welfare societies the notion *social exclusion* tends to be a matter of *social disqualification*, meaning people in the society whom had good living conditions might be disqualified from social and economic benefits due to structural problems that strikes urban areas combined with individual problems, i.e. unemployment and poor skills. On the contrary, excluded people in developing countries might never had acceptable living conditions and therefore *social exclusion* must be measured looking at an universal standard of living, or in other words consider what *would* be an acceptable standard of living for the excluded.

From this point Câmara et al. (2004) uses spatial analytical techniques in their research, in order to map *social inclusion* and *exclusion* in large urban areas in developing countries. With the use of different maps, they claim, it becomes a new way of thinking about urban issues

and they want to demonstrate this in their research by mapping *social exclusion* and *inclusion* in the municipal of Sao Paulo during the 1990s.

One of the techniques used, based on GIS-techniques, is the *Social exclusion/inclusion Index* (IEX), including measure dimensions of *autonomy, life quality, human development* and *equality* and each of these dimensions with a measure of a basic standard inclusion. This method is, according to Câmara et al. (2004), different from the *Human Development Index* (HDI) produced by *United Nations Development Programme* (UNDP). While HDI is a ranking indicator that measures and compares human development in the world and doesn't provide "*an objective measure of whether a country's citizens have achieved an acceptable standard of living*" (ibid. p.4), the IEX is created to demonstrate the gap between rich and poor within urban areas. The study with IEX uses data from four different sources. First, the *IBGE* (Brazil's Bureau of Census) that measures population issues, second *Companhia do Metropolitano de São Paulo* that measures living conditions, third homicide rates is used from *SEADE* (Sao Paulo State Statistics Bureau) and fourth information is used from *PROAIM* (Public Safety Secretariat of the Sao Paulo city) showing information on infant mortality (ibid.).

Câmara et al. (ibid.) presents some trends in the 1990s in the municipal of Sao Paulo, using two different maps, one map from 1995 (using data between 1987 and 1995) and one map from 2000 showing trends in the 1990s on population, employment and quality of life. The 1995 map shows a remarkable gap between the socially excluded and included in the municipal of Sao Paulo, where the most of the socially excluded is concentrated in the south part and in the east part of the city and with an estimation of two thirds of the population in the city being below acceptable standard of living. The 2000 map shows similar results, with the addition of some population trends that shows a significant increase of population in the poorest regions of the city between 1991 and 1996. The population during this time didn't increase remarkably, but showed a paradox in the poor regions. While in some poor areas the increase of population more than doubled, the increase of population among youths between ages 15 and 24 years was small. One explanation is the increase of the violence and the homicide rates of youngsters in the city in the 1990s.

Another index (the local Moran index) is also used in addition with IEX, to identify "*hot spots*" of inclusion and exclusion. This method focuses on finding the extreme significant

"spots" of inclusion and exclusion in the city. The result shows that the significant spot of inclusion is to find in the center, with less significant areas of inclusion in the surroundings. The extreme "spots" of exclusion is to be finding in the south and the east part of the city with less excluded areas also in the south and the east parts, but closer to the core city (ibid).

Torres (2002) claims that the urban sprawl in Metropolitans generates environmental consequences, meaning the destruction of the natural environment, such as forest and water resources in the fringes and that poor people are the first to be affected by these consequences, due to that the poor areas in the outskirts of the Metropolitans are less protected against environmental hazards. The peripheries are showing a rapid growth and mostly poor people are settled in these areas. For instance in Sao Paulo in 1970s, the law of protection of water sources was meant to restrict the urban sprawl and protect the environment, but an unexpected response from urban dwellers led to occupation of these areas and the enforcement from the government of upholding the law was weak. This process led to environmental destruction of important water resources and together with low sanitation and garbage collection, these areas turned into hazardous areas for the inhabitants concerning their health since absent garbage collection or sewage collection created pollution of the water resources.

6. Trends and signs of improvement in Brazil and Sao Paulo

6.1. The Millennium Development Goals

According to UNDP's (2005) case study of the development progress of Brazil, and especially the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Brazil is now ranked number 72 in the development ranking of the UN country members. The case study presents some selected MDG Indicators which shows that in 1990 the population living on a monthly income of less than half a minimum wage per capita (which defines people living in poverty) was 39.7% and in 2002 this percentage fell to 30.6%. Extreme poverty is by UNDP (2005) defined as the percentage of the population living on up to one quarter of a minimum wage per capita and in the case of Brazil the percentage of people living in extreme poverty 2002 was 11.6%. The primary school attendance has also shown an improvement, with an increase from 78% in 1992 to 90% in 2002. Participation in the labour force has showed little improvement for women, with 47.2% participating in 1992 rising to 50.3% in 2002. For men's participation in the labour force there has been a small decrease from 76.6% in 1990 to 73.2% in 2002. Child mortality rates have decreased from 53.7 deaths per 1000 births in 1990 to 33.7 deaths per

1000 births in 2002. Concerning the housing issue for Brazil one can also see that the rate of people living permanent in private housing with no sanitary sewer has decreased. In urban areas 6.2% had this living condition in 1992 compared with 2.9% in 2002. In rural areas 49% of the population had this living condition in 1992 and 32.9% in 2002. The number of people in urban areas that lived permanently in private housing and with adequate living conditions have also increased with 50.5% in 1992 and 59.5% in 2002 (UNDP, 2005).

The result of this report shows an improvement in almost every indicator, even if some of the indicators show a slow process. For a country like Brazil, with one federal government, a lot of state governments and municipals, the actions taken might not always be effective and straightforward since there are many strong leaders and the processes from a federal level down to the local levels can take time. Economical factors (i.e. foreign debts) also contribute to make the political actions limited in either the federal level or the local level (ibid.).

The Brazilian Monitoring Report on the Millennium Development Goals (IPEA/IBGE, 2004) reveals that Brazil has made a great progress in some of the Millennium Development Goals, but that inequality within the country still is a challenge for the Brazilian government. The inequalities remain between black and white, poor and rich, rural and urban areas and also between men and women. The report also clarify that stronger efforts have to be made to accomplish the goals before the year 2015. There is also some unavailable data from different parts in the country and this need to improve to get a more fair view over the Brazilian progress. An overview shows that since the 1980s there has been an improvement in many of the selected indicators that are included in the eight Millennium Development Goals. The second Goal set up by UN was to achieve primary education for all children and this social indicator seems to have been accomplished already. UN's first goal was to half the population living on less than one dollar a day and this goal seems, according to the report, to be achieved until 2015. The people living under the poverty line decreased from 8.8% in 1990 to 4.7% in 2000, meaning that a decrease of 0.3% more will accomplish this goal. However, even if the percentage seems to be low it needs to be seen in comparison with the great population of Brazil, then it is possible to see that many people still live in extreme poverty.

The President of the Republic of Brazil, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, clarifies the strategy connected with the MDGs in *The Brazilian Monitoring Report on the Millennium Development Goals* (2004). Concerning the first goal, Brazil has implemented the *Fome Zero*

programme on the political agenda of Brazil. This programme contributed, according to Lula, that 17.000 water tanks were built to collect rainwater to the dry places in Brazil which i.e. improved the school meals in schools and charity organizations showing that since 1993 the pupils who were given school meal increased 40%.

6.2. Family structure and family income

The family structure trends can be useful to look upon before looking at income levels and trends, since the members in the family might ensure the family's wellbeing and because relevant income indicators measures the gathered family income. (This might not be the case as was argued before by Torres et al., when a large family means sharing of the resources) In general, the Brazilian family has decreased in size. In 1980 the family size showed an average rate of 4.5 members, in 1992 this rate showed an average rate of 3.7 members and in 2001 this number dropped to 3.2 members. The predominant type of family, consisting couples with children, is still the highest proportion of family structure in Brazil. However, women as head of the household and people living alone have been increasing. The Southeast region of Brazil shows the lowest rate of the predominantly family structure (52.3%) which opens up for a higher rate of other family structures. In Brazil, 41.5 percent of the estimated people living alone are 60 years or older and single mothers with children increased from 15.1% in 1992 to 17.8% in 2001 (IBGE, 2002).

Having the family structure trends in mind we can look upon the families income trends through the last decade. Generally, since the 1990s the income inequality trend shows that there still is a high rate of inequality comparing the richest with the poorest in Brazil and this trend has been relatively firm. In 2000, 22.9% of the families in Brazil had a monthly income per capita corresponding to half of a minimum wage. However, when having the case of Sao Paulo in mind which is located in the Southeast it might be notable to add that the families in Northeast region of Brazil had 42.2% of the families living on the minimum wage and nearly 50% in some areas of this region. The income distribution between richest and poorest families also shows the inequality within the country. While the richest 10% of the families in 2001 earned 13.4 minimum wages, the poorest 40% earned roughly 0.45 minimum wages. Another firm trend is that families with a higher numbers of persons and children in the family have less income per capita. Additional is that families with higher rates of minimum wages and women with higher education have fewer children (ibid.).

6.3. Race and ethnicity:

Herringer (2002) argues that statistic data of race and ethnicity reveals the racial inequalities in Brazil. With this inequality, black people's capacity to integrate into the Brazilian society is small and these inequalities prevent the democratic process for an equal society with opportunities for all. The inequalities for the black people appears in certain moments in their lives, such as in school, access to infrastructure and in the labour market making this social group more disadvantaged than the average. Data from IBGE (2002) presents some relevant data confirming the inequalities between black and white. In 1999 54% of the Brazilian population were white and 45.3% were black or mulattos while the rest 0.7% of the population were of other ethnic origin. In 2001 the average income of employed blacks or mulattos was half of the average income of whites. While blacks earned in average 2.2 minimum wages per month, the average monthly income for whites was 4.5 minimum wages and not even the increasing school attendance in the 1990s have decreased the inequalities between the races. In the labour force the racial discrimination has been stronger than the gender discrimination, i.e. black mulatto men earned 30% less than white women. Approximately half of the black and mulatto workers had up to four years of schooling and when comparing blacks, mulattos and whites with 12 years equal education, the percentage in labour force shows 4.5% for blacks, 4.4% for mulattos and 16.4% for whites. In 2002 the percentage for functional illiteracy 15 years or older was 36% for blacks and 20% for whites. The primary school (7-14 years old) attendance has improved until 2002 with almost a universal percentage, even for black and mulattos. School attendance for 15-17 years old demonstrate a percentage of 84% for whites and 78% for blacks, while the continuing attendance to secondary school decreased the percentage for blacks and mulattos students (32% attended) compared with 60% for the white students.

When measuring the national income between black/mulattos and white one can also see a high grade of inequality. 1% of the richest population of Brazil corresponded in 2002 14% of the total income and in this group 88% where white. In the group of the poorest 10%, which corresponds for 1% of the total income, 68% were black or mulatto in 2002 (ibid.).

6.4. Education:

Statistics shows that higher educational attainment increases the rate of participation in the labour market in Brazil, but doesn't mean a guarantee for employment, i.e. economically active people with three years of schooling or less showed in 2001 an unemployment rate of

5.4%, while economically active persons with more than 8 years of schooling showed an unemployment rate of 6.4% in the same year. In the 1990s the overall school attendance in Brazil has improved and the rate of illiteracy has decreased (IBGE, 2002). Torres and Oliveira (2001) confirm this trend, explaining that in the 1990s there has been an increase in the coverage of basic education of the age group between 7 and 14 years old with an almost universal coverage (96% in 1999). In Sao Paulo this figure reached 99%. However, they also argue that segregation still remains when looking at the provision of public services given to non-white and lower income individuals which often is given in low quality. IBGE census also shows that the school attendance for the poorest 20% of the children has increased, from a rate of 74.5% in 1992 to 93.7% in 2001 and that even in rural areas the children between 7 and 14 years old attended school. The ages 15-17 years also showed an increasing rate of school attendance with 59.7% in 1992 compared to 81.1% in 2001. The other age groups (0-6 years and 18-24 years) showed a smaller rate of attendance with only one third attending school in each group. When further on looking at those students between 18 and 24 years old, only one fourth of the students continued in higher educations. This is mainly due to the trend that the public universities show a higher rate of rich people affording these studies (ibid.).

6.5. Labour market and gender inequality

Sao Paulo Metropolitan Region showed in the 1990s the highest growth rate of poor comparing to all Metropolitan Regions of Brazil. In 1990 the rate of poverty was estimated to 20% and in 1999 this rate increased to 39%. The increase of poverty during the 1990s can partly be explained by the increase in unemployment during the same period. The unemployment rate of economically active in the Metropolitan of Sao Paulo increased rapidly in the 1990s, reaching a percentage of 20.4% in 2002, which is relatively high comparing to the rate in Brazil, showing 15% the same period (Barone & Rebelo, 2003). In the municipal of Sao Paulo the annual medium unemployment rate increased from 12.4% in 1995 to 18.7% in 2003 (SEADE, 2005). In Brazil, the statistics shows inequalities between men and women in the labour force in 2001. Even if men and women attend work with the same average numbers of years in school, the women earns less than men and this is the case of all states and regions in Brazil. For instance in 2001, women with 3 years of schooling or less earned 61.5% of the income of men with the same years of schooling and even women with 11 years of schooling or more earned 57.1% of the income of men. Most of the women are also concentrated in the low income classes with 71.3% of the women and 55.1% of the men earning up to 2 minimum wages per month. In Southeast of Brazil this percentage decreases to 61.1% of the women and

41.8% of the men earning up to 2 minimum wages per month. 70% of the employed women are concentrated in the service sector and there is also a larger rate of women than men in the military, due to the different health and educational tasks.

6.6. Health

Since the beginning of the 1980s a health reform was set up in order to reach those people who were outside the social security system. This led to an increase in health programmes (from 10% to 15% in the municipal level and from 23% to 33% in the state level) between 1985 and 1990. With the *Constitution of 1988* and the *Organic health law* of 1990 the medical care contributed to universal access and the health service was decentralized from the federal organization to the state and municipal levels. The purpose with the Constitution was to give all citizens the possibility to obtain free medical care. This *Single Health System (Sistema Único de Saúde)* was divided between the public and the private sector. The public sector stood for basic and preventive health care, whilst the private sector dealt with the greater part of the medical services where a part of this sector was subsidized by the government. Between 1985 and 1990 the municipals health spending showed remarkable increase in hospital-based spending (from 44% in 1985 to 77% in 1990) and a decrease in primary care (from 35% in 1985 to 3% in 1990). This means that therapeutically treatments dominated this period and the basic and preventive health service seemed to diminish for the population, whilst high-technological and costly treatments gained the wealthier part of the population. Even though there was an increase in hospital coverage, inequalities were also shown between the northeast part of Brazil and the southeast part when looking at medical consultation. In the 1980s private health care system gained more influence, especially in the cities of the Southeast of Brazil. The state stood for one part of the total expenditures even though the rapid growth of private sources were shown, due to the inefficiency of the governments repayment to private sources and the low quality of the public health systems (Country Studies US, 2003-2005).

ILO (2005) reports from *International Conference on Social Health Insurance in Developing Countries*, claiming that in most developing countries the health care system are not so affordable and effective as the intention might be. Even if governments provide basic health care for low-income workers and poor, the “*out-of-pocket payment*” for medicine and treatments is enough to push these social groups into poverty when a disease strikes the family. However, participants in the conference stated that there is a change in the mentality

in developing countries showing the awareness that universal health care is of interest within the countries and that there is a link between access to health and economic development.

According to IBGE (2002), the infant mortality in Brazil has showed a decrease between 1990 and 2001, with 47.5 infant deaths per 1000 births in 1990 and 28.7 infant deaths per 1000 births in 2001. A reason for this improvement is the prenatal and newly born programmes that have been introduced in more developed areas. In 2001 the main cause of death has been cardiovascular diseases that strike women in a higher grade than men in every region and state of Brazil. When we further on look at the external causes of death, there has been an increase in mortality of youths and adults. Death of violent causes is the second main cause of death in 2001 for youths and men between 15 and 29 years in Brazil (175 deaths per 100.000 inhabitants in Brazil). In the Southeast region these numbers rises, with Rio de Janeiro showing 285 deaths per 100.000 inhabitants and Sao Paulo with 260 deaths per 100.000 inhabitants. 5% of the death causes corresponds for the violence death among women, while for men it is 20%. Death causes by violence and accidents are costly for the society with all the hospital expenditures, but also counting in the relatively short lifetime investments for the youths and young men who have been victims for accidents and homicides and that after their deaths are invalid. In 2000 the life expectancy for men was 64.8 years and for women 72.6 years and one can assume that the high percentage of deaths among young men has contributed to this great difference in life expectancy.

6.7. Housing

Census data for favelas and cortiços in Sao Paulo have been diffuse and sometimes different. However, the favelas have improved a lot in recent years when looking at the structure and materials, due to political changes the past 20 years. With a political view one can notice that the housing policy have gone from “*slum removal*” to “*slum upgrading*”. However, even though improvement has been made another phenomena has been showed, especially in Sao Paulo; showing that with the rapid growth of population and the slums, the health conditions for the inhabitants have been worse (Arantes, Fix, Tanaka, 2003). This might not be the case when looking at the electricity installation in some favelas that has improved the last decades. Initially, when favelas sprung up in Sao Paulo, the connection to electricity often were illegal or sporadic connections. However, in 1979 the municipal authorities of Sao Palo came with an agreement to connect some favelas with simple installations paid by public funds and giving the consumers a limited use of electricity per month. This subsidised action was

enough to run a couple of lamps and the most necessary commodities in the households. In 1983 a number of approximately 100.000 dwellings were connected with electricity and this improved the life quality for those inhabitants, since with electricity it was possible to keep the dwellings clean and with the consequence that the health improved in these dwellings. The installation of electricity also made more people use commodities like refrigerators and televisions. The inhabitants also received their own bills which for many was a social benefit since their name was on the bill confirming their social recognition. In the 1990s the kWh increased for the inhabitants and the service have been more reliable in these areas (World Commission on Dams, 2000).

The rapid urbanization in the last decades is a major challenge for the Government of Brazil. In 2001 Brazil's congress made a minor improvement guaranteeing the rights for all Brazilians to have an adequate housing, however there were in 2002 an estimated number of 5.4 million households in Brazil living with inadequate housing conditions, meaning that they are homeless, living in deprived or overcrowded dwellings, lack of basic infrastructure such as unsafe drinking water or sewage collection. Of these 5.4 millions households 65% earns less than three minimum wages and 46% are estimated to live in the Northeast of Brazil. The effects of the today's housing problems reach back to 1960s with the failure of the national housing finance system, but also with the high inflation that has been a problematic issue until recently, even though foreign debts with high interests still are present. The challenge for Brazil today concerns the increasing shortening of housing for the annual population growth of 3.2 million people. The market might satisfy some of these needs, but public interventions are also needed to address the needs for the very poor. Low income housing is necessary because of some main reasons; First, the inability for poor people to access the open market of housing and instead they are ending up in shantytowns (*favelas*), informal subdivisions (*loteamentos*), tenements (*cortiços*) or in overcrowded spaces (Table 1). Second, the high costs in the formal housing market, where only families with four minimum wages or more can afford the low average price of these settlements. The group that can afford this cost is estimated to less than half of the population in Brazil. The third argument refers to the market failures with the recent regulation in land use together with the monopolization of land ownership and construction industry which put a stop to the falling housing prices (The World Bank, 2002).

Table 1.
Housing Types
Metropolitan Area of São Paulo, 1999

	No. of households (in thousand)	Population (%)	Structure (%)
Standard Housing	1,245	43.6	49
Irregular settlements (<i>loteamentos</i>)	1041	37.5	25.5
Favelas	379	13.3	19.4
Tenement housing	161	5.6	6.1
Total		100.0	100.0

Source: The World Bank (2002). *Report No.22032 BR, Brazil, progressive Low-Income Housing: Alternatives for the poor.*

As was mentioned before in this paper, favelas in Sao Paulo are relatively new phenomena (less than 50 years old) and the major increase of favelas took place after 1980. In 1980 the estimated population living in favelas was 5.2% and in 2003 this rate increased to 19.8% (Arantes, Fix, Tanaka, 2003). The appearance of favelas in Sao Paulo is, according to Arantes et al. a result of the end of urbanization for the working class and the decline of the economic growth that has contributed to the impoverishment in Sao Paulo. It was also mentioned before that there has been a lot of improvement in the favelas because of the slum upgrading initiative by governments. Access to treated water and garbage collection is almost universal in the favelas since 2000 (Arantes, Fix, Tanaka, 2003).

Summary

The main hypothesis presented in this paper is that poverty and social exclusion are complex and multidimensional notions that need to be understood from a comprehensive viewpoint in an urbanization process, considering the social and political constructions in the society and also the political actions taken. The purpose of this paper is to see how poverty and social exclusion is defined, measured and understood together with the urbanization process in a mega-city like Sao Paulo and also to look upon and analyze the connection and importance of policy correlated with these notions in the last decades, especially from 1990s until present. In

order to fulfil the purpose and to either verify or falsify the hypothesis it might be necessary to find out how the urbanization process affect urban poverty and social exclusion in Sao Paulo, how the poverty and social exclusion understood and measured both international and in the case of Sao Paulo, if Brazil and Sao Paulo are showing an improvement in social indicators according to the developing process and how are poverty and social exclusion connected with the policy in Sao Paulo.

Poverty is and old and controversial notions where the first systematic approaches were done in the 19th century in order to define measure and understand this notion. There are several ways in which poverty can be defined and measured, i.e. by collecting quantitative (census) data or through qualitative (i.e. interviews) methods. Poverty can either be measured by setting up income poverty lines, either with an absolute criterion or a relative criterion. An absolute criterion defines the minimum needs for survival and links this to prices in order to construct an absolute poverty line of which those who fall below this line are considered as poor. A relative poverty line counts the average income and standard of living among the people in order to create a poverty line. From this average yardstick it is then possible to decide who falls below this defined poverty line. Poor people might for instance be defined as those living on less than half of the average income and who lack an adequate standard of living. Furthermore another way of measuring poverty is to look at the multidimensional phenomenon of poverty. This can be seen by looking at social indicators presented by census data of different dimensions, such as education, health, housing, birth and deaths etc. that seems as necessary indicators in order to measure human well-being. If social exclusion is included or related to the notion of poverty is controversial in the international discourse. The notion social exclusion was born in Europe but can also, according to some definitions be adoptable even in developing countries. Social exclusion might be seen as another aspect of relative poverty with its material deprivation and unequal distribution of resources in the society. Social exclusion can also be seen as two different notions of the same phenomenon, either as a process of separating or as a lack of participation. Behavioural theories of social exclusion refer to a social group's behaviour or lifestyle. This lifestyle, together with spatial areas where the excluded lives, brings up the notion underclass to discussion. Finally social exclusion also can be defined as structural factors and processes that are working together which places certain group into inferiority.

The migration and urban growth dates back to the early 20th century when Sao Paulo was growing in size and population. From being a small trade town this city increased to a city and later on, in the 1950s to a metropolis and today Sao Paulo is counted as one of the largest city in the world. Between the years 1930 and 1980 there was a great migration to this city because the city's rapid urbanization. When jobs were created in the industries people from all of Brazil, mostly poor people from Brazil, migrated to Sao Paulo. The city government have had a hard time to satisfy the growing needs from the growing population which led to growing social problems within the city.

One of these social problems, the housing solution for the increasing population, has been and still are a problem in Sao Paulo and this has led to the increasing numbers of inadequate dwellings and slums in Sao Paulo, spreading all over the city and social disadvantages for certain social groups.

These social advantages have been measured by social scientists within the city of Sao Paulo. Their researches show that Sao Paulo formed an urban sprawl that was not meant to be, according to the policy strategies, with social disadvantaged groups mostly concentrated in the periphery in the south and the east of the municipal of Sao Paulo. However, there has also been a spreading of poor people all over the city living in squatter settlement known as favelas. These settlements have sprung up everywhere, in any unprotected land plot within the city, even in wealthier neighbourhoods with little social contact between these groups. Therefore, according to Torres et al. (2002), poverty is not only a matter of income or social status, poverty is more complex and need to be measured in a multiply way, considering the social and spatial concentration that creates inequalities and segregation between social groups. Torres et al. also refers to the policy strategies and implementation within Sao Paulo. Even if policy implementation improved some areas within the city the financial support was not enough to cover all the areas. Also, some social groups where public services were introduced showed a low quality, while other social groups lacked other social indicators such as infrastructure or access to important services.

Barone and Rebelo (2003) further claim that a lack of infrastructure tends to imprison certain social groups. According to Torres et al. the most disadvantaged and vulnerable groups in Sao Paulo are people with low income, low education levels, poor families and big families, families with a high proportion of teenagers or families with low educated women as a head

of the household. Torres et al. pinpoint the inequality in income between the wealthiest group and the rest of the population which shows a remarkable gap. According to Torres and Oliveira (2001) disadvantages to access public service can be found in the periphery. Those people are often less educated and have fewer connections with the public arena or they are migrants recently located in Sao Paulo who tend not to participate in the political activity under the initial years. These groups seem also to be victims of unequal distribution of public services implemented by the government or victims for prejudices of the people. The implementation of infrastructure could also affect those living in illegal settlements since they are not administratively recorded.

Torres (2000) further claims that the urban sprawl of Sao Paulo had led to destruction of the natural environment in the fringes of the city. Important forests and water resources have been destructed and together with the low sanitation and garbage collection these areas has turned into hazardous zones which primarily has affected the poor people living in these areas.

Statistic trends of the social indicators and the development progress have showed an improvement during the 1990s, except for that there still are inequalities in income, gender and race. The very rich are still much richer than the rest of the population; women still earn less than men; and even more unequal is the distribution of income between black/mulattos and white. The unemployment rate has increased since 1990 to a rate of 20.4%. Social indicators have been showing improvements, especially the primary education that in 1999 became almost universal, which was the second goal of the Millennium Development Goals.

Also the primary Millennium Development Goal, to reduce by half the people living in extreme poverty and those who suffer from hunger, seems to be accomplished by the year of 2015. The housing conditions in the slums have improved due to political actions, but there has been an increase of these settlements the last decade together with the urbanization and population growth. The Health Care System has through legislation been universal even though there is a significant cost for poor if they need to buy medicine, a cost enough to push these families into poverty if a disease strikes them. Finally, the infant mortality has decreased in Brazil during the 1990s but the mortality for youths has increased mainly because of the increasing violence within Sao Paulo.

Conclusion

First, when looking at the percentage of the statistics of Brazil and Sao Paulo, one should have in mind that Brazil has approximately 185 million inhabitants and 10% of this population live in the metropolitan of Sao Paulo. Even if the percentage seems low the absolute number of people will show many thousands or maybe millions of people.

As we have seen, the urbanization process has contributed to a significant change of Sao Paulo in the 20th century. The city has increased in size and population and at the same time the rate of poor people has increased, a phenomenon called the urbanization of poverty. However, this urbanization process showed in 2004 for all the metropolitans of Brazil that the rate of poverty in metropolitans have declined slower than in rural areas and therefore poverty these days is showing a higher rate in the metropolitans. It is possible to argue that the rate of poor people within Sao Paulo has increased because of the unemployment increase during the same period that shows 20.4% of unemployed in the metropolitan of Sao Paulo in 2001 and 18.7% of unemployed in the municipal of Sao Paulo in 2003 (compared to 12.4% of unemployed in the municipal of Sao Paulo in 1995). This might be the most obvious argument for the growing poverty. With the rapid urban growth social demands becomes more present for the government and the distribution of available sources might not be sufficient for the growing population which leads to that certain social groups will not take part of the distribution and risk to be excluded from benefits that is distributed. However, the consequences of the historical, social and political construction might also have contributed to the increasing poverty in Sao Paulo. One argument refers to the land regulation and replacement of poor groups to other areas. While some wealthier social groups with more social and political participation and people who contributes with the industrialization seem to have been advantaged by benefits of the land regulation, other social groups (mostly poor people or with little social and political participation) seem to have been pushed out to the fringes of the metropolitan as political consequences. Another consequence of the hard decade in the 1980s for poor people might refer to the foreign debts. An increasing population in the same time as inflation and decreasing economic growth as a consequence of foreign debts seems to have contributed to the increasing pressure for the policy-makers, making it harder for them, especially economically, to combat the rising social problems and the demands from the citizens. A response from the citizens might have been the counter-urbanization where

people were seeking better opportunities in other medium-sized cities. The economical crises in the 1980s might also have contributed to the lack of basic services in the fringes of the metropolitan of Sao Paulo, since these areas seems to not have been the primary political target, due to that the economical limitation was not enough to satisfy the needs for everyone and those areas in the fringes that got basic services showed a lower quality. In additional, the economical crises together with the increasing population have led to an increase in the adequate housing standards within the city. Since the policy wasn't enough to create housing solutions for everyone, the citizens of Sao Paulo needed to find their own housing solutions which in many cases have been classified as deprived dwellings, often illegal or irregular, with a lack of basic services given by the government. Another historic trend that could explain the poverty within Sao Paulo is the de-industrialization, where a more financed-focused society has appeared in Sao Paulo. This affects firstly the blue-collar social group in Sao Paulo which have grown during the industrialization era but also the poor and unemployed. Since many of them are migrants and with low education, the de-industrialization contributed to less jobs for this social groups as well as the financial-focused society increases the requirement for a higher educational level to enter the labour market.

According to the general understanding of poverty, there is a need at both international and national level to look at poverty and social exclusion in a multidimensional way. However, income poverty lines is useful, first by international organizations to eradicate the extreme poverty and also to set up different income poverty lines in order to measure how many people are below this line. This is showed in the statistics presented in this paper, where the measures looks at a minimum wages and correlates this to different measures, such as how many percent that earns less than i.e. half a minimum wage or two minimum wages. This is useful when statistics wants to estimate the income situation, for instance the inequalities of different social groups in Brazil. However, other dimensions are also presented in the statistics, dimensions that are relevant to measure to look at the human well-being. It is also with this understanding that different indexes have been constructed in order to measure social phenomena, such as poverty and social exclusion. These measures can be very useful in estimation but, for instance if social exclusion is a behavioural matter, how can this be measured?

When looking at certain indexes and measurements of the development process of Brazil and Sao Paulo, one can see that there has been an improvement in most of the indicators. The

primary education has been almost universal and the rate of people living in extreme poverty, which is people who lives on one dollar a day or suffer from hunger, seems to be eradicate with the half between 1990 and 2015. The health indicator has also improved, with an increase in infant mortality and with universal health care for the Brazilian inhabitants. The policy-makers also seem to aim to improve the housing situation for those who lives with adequate standard of living. However, even if there has been improvement in many indicators, inequality in gender, race and income still remains in a high level in Brazil and Sao Paulo and these phenomena have been relatively firm during the last decades. The inequalities can be seen especially correlated with the labour market, with unequal income between men and women and between blacks/mulattos and whites. Inequalities can also be seen as spatial differences, as was mentioned above, where people in different areas tend to be excluded from the basic services. These social groups might experience improvement in some universal political implementation like water supply and garbage collection but lack other important social services, such as available infrastructure or sewage collection.

By looking at the urbanization process in Sao Paulo the last century, one can see that this process have contributed to an increase of social problems within the metropolitan of Sao Paulo, where the people living in the fringes are the most vulnerable social groups since they are more disadvantaged in many aspects. These areas often lack public and social service and the policy seem to avoid or not be aware of the rising social problems in these areas. The statistics have in recent years also showed that the poverty rate are higher in rural areas and therefore attention from policy-makers have been given to these areas, with the consequences that the increasing problems in the metropolitans have not been the primary target for the national government. With the rapid urban growth social problems might have occurred without stronger effort in the metropolitans and when the urbanization of poverty is reaching the political agenda, there have already been devastating social consequences in the metropolitans that requires years of political planning and implementation to combat these social problems. Both poverty and social exclusion seem to have many factors that contribute to these social problems. These factors are consequences of political and social constructions, but the poverty and social exclusion should not be explained only on a macro-level. There are other aspects on the micro-level. For instance, the socio-economic problems that one individual is experiencing is not only a matter of his/her own capability to act, it is also a matter of prejudices, inability to access social and public services, as well as the individuals lack of social contacts.

In summary, it is possible to argue that the hypothesis presented in this paper could be verified, considering the multidimensional approach of this paper, showing that political and social constructions together with the urbanization process have contributed to increasing social problems such as poverty and social exclusion. However, one can notice that some inequalities have remained firm during the last decades which is highly a matter of social exclusion. This unchanged trends have excluded blacks/mulattos, women and low-income social groups or poor people. On the contrary, the hypothesis concerning social exclusion can still be verified, since political and social constructions together with the urbanization process has contributed to reveal other factors of social exclusion, such as lack of basic and social services or spatial inequalities.

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