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## **A Dimensão Espacial da Pobreza – a Grande Incógnita?**

The Spatial Dimension of Poverty – a Hidden  
Pathway?

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## RESUMO

Explora-se o impacto de *neighborhood effects* na mobilidade econômica de habitantes de três favelas segregadas em Salvador; em outras palavras, as desvantagens socioeconômicas afetando o bem-estar do indivíduo em função da sua inserção em específicos contextos sócio-residenciais. Pesquisas examinando o *modus operandi* da reprodução da pobreza urbana têm atendido pela estratificação das desigualdades sociais no espaço e aderido ao argumento que a concentração da pobreza interfere negativamente no desempenho socioeconômico do indivíduo e na organização social do bairro. Contudo, considerando a crescentemente fragmentada organização sócioespacial das metrópoles brasileiras, vários autores têm assinalado pelas estruturas de oportunidades proporcionadas em contextos de vizinhança geográfica entre grupos socialmente distantes. A partir da realização de sessenta entrevistas indagando sobre a morfologia das redes egocentradas, corrobora-se que a proximidade do Nordeste de Amaralina aos condomínios da classe média-alta favorece a integração econômica. Contudo, a estigmatização territorial e os mecanismos de segmentação social enfraquecem os potenciais de troca de sociabilidade. As estruturas de segregação e a escassez de oportunidades empregatícias em Plataforma produzem o encapsulamento das redes enquanto a heterogeneidade social de Fazenda Grande II e o efeito socializador das instituições públicas mitigam o impacto da segregação. As redes comportam um maior grau de diversidade e de dispersão territorial. A pesquisa destaca a pertinência do conceito *social isolation* na análise de contextos de segregação aonde existe uma maior congruência entre o espaço social e o espaço geográfico e urge a refletir sobre a implementação de estratégias de intervenção *in situ* para promover a integração socioeconômica.

**Palavras Chave:** Segregação Residencial. Neighborhood Effects. Mobilidade Econômica. Redes Sociais.

## ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the impact of neighborhood effects on the economic mobility of the inhabitants of three segregated *favelas* of Salvador (Brazil), in other words the socio-economic disadvantages affecting the well-being of individuals due to their embeddedness in specific socio-residential contexts. Research exploring the *modus operandi* of the reproduction of urban poverty has attended to the clusterization of structural disadvantages in space and has subscribed to the compelling argument that the concentration of poverty has adverse effects on individual outcomes and neighborhood-level socio-economic resources. Nevertheless, regarding the increasingly fragmented urban landscape of Latin American metropolis, disagreement persists on whether the contiguity between poor neighborhoods and higher-class gated communities provides employment opportunities. Examining the structure of personal networks and their mobilization in the struggle for economic inclusion, the study confirms that the proximity of Nordeste de Amaralina to upper-class neighborhoods improves the access to labour opportunities. However, residential stigmatization and mechanisms of social segmentation annihilate these potentials. The residents' networks reveal a high degree of homophily and localism. Segregational structures and the scarcity of economic opportunities in Plataforma foster the residents' social isolation whereas the socialising effects of public institutions in Fazenda Grande II mitigate the negative repercussions of poverty. The inhabitants possess a territorially dispersed and socially diversified network. Summarizing, although structural disadvantages don't automatically lead to social isolation, interactions tend to be critically confined to the local social context, constraining the process of economic mobility. The study urges to reflect about place-based interventions to enhance opportunities for its population.

**Keywords:** Residential Segregation. Neighborhood Effects. Economic Mobility. Social Networks.

## INTRODUCTION

Contemporary urban research seeking to explore the mechanisms of the reproduction of urban poverty has increasingly attended to the clusterization of structural disadvantages and income inequalities in space and has subscribed to the compelling argument that the concentration of poverty in severely distressed neighborhoods has adverse effects both on individual outcomes and neighborhood-level social, economic, and political resources. Despite Wellman's "community liberated" argument, asserting that the ubiquity of modern telecommunications and revolutions in transport systems have substantially reduced the relevance of the local neighborhood context for the individual's economic achievements and socio-interactional patterns (Wellman, 1979), a large body of literature has shown that growing up in disadvantaged neighborhoods, where family disruption, high crime levels, poverty, unemployment, dilapidated schools and drug trafficking are *de rigueur*, interferes negatively in the process of primary and secondary socialization of children and adolescents (Small & Newman, 2001).

Since the seminal ethnographic studies of Gans (1962) and Hannerz (1969), Urban Sociology has sought to incorporate the analysis of the mobilization of social networks in explanatory schemes examining the repercussions of socio-spatial divisions in the individual's outcomes. This renewed interest stems from the stringent argument that individuals embedded in socially diverse, spatially dispersed and sparsely knit personal networks increase their chances to achieve economic integration (Tigges, Browne & Green, 1998), to mitigate poverty and vulnerability (Woolcock, 1998) to obtain social and emotional support (Small & Newman, 2001), (im)material resources (Briggs, 1998), better health conditions (Sharkey & Sampson, 2010) and political resources (Putnam, 1993).

In the early 1990s, academic research in the United States began to explore the *modus operandi* of neighborhood effects, a sociological concept that hypothesizes an impact of socioeconomic advantages and disadvantages in the life chances of individuals due to their embeddedness in specific socio-residential contexts (Wilson, 1987). Tigges et al. (1998) point to the prevalence of interpersonal networks based on bonding ties (Briggs, 2001), in other words: primary social ties promoting social cohesion, inter-groupal solidarity and a short-term socioeconomic stabilization of the individual. By the same token, the authors observe a lower proportion of bridging ties, a concept referring to social ties connecting the individual to geographically dispersed and more diversified social networks, susceptible to transmit information and important contacts for social and economic mobility. Nevertheless, Small (2004) questioned the presumably linear relationship between the social-residential context and the composition of the individual's social networks and life chances. Even if neighborhood-related structural disadvantages potentially impacted on the composition of social networks, the hypothesis of a rather axiomatic incidence of neighborhood effects in the patterns of behaviour and sociability, affecting all the poor neighborhood dwellers in an equal manner, could not be verified in his ethnographic studies.

However, the deficitary image of severely distressed inner city neighborhoods plagued by the conjunctured effect of desindustrialization and unemployment (Wilson, 1987) has proven to be tenacious in public discourse, repercuting particularly in the field of federal housing mobility programs, which provided the relocation of poor Afro-American populations to socially more heterogeneous middle-class neighborhoods. Relocation approaches mainly hypothesize that neighborhood poverty and structure of residential segregation restrict the individuals' capacity to gain access to important social, economic and political resources.

Empirical studies analyzing the consequences of living in severely disadvantaged neighborhoods of large Latin American metropolises locked in structures of economic residential segregation underline the cumulative impact of negative externalities affecting the socioeconomic achievements of their inhabitants, due to the highly segmented access to labour market, to educational institutions, urban services, and political resources (Ribeiro & Kaztman, 2008; Ribeiro & Lago, 2001; Torres et al., 2008). Analyzing the potential repercussions of economic residential segregation and social segmentation in the patterns of sociability, Marques (2010) reveals the high degree of homophily and localism inherent to the personal networks of poor neighborhood's populations in São Paulo.

Whereas Latin American scholars mostly point to the enduring structural constraints arising from mechanisms of residential segregation operating at macro-urban level, there is a major disagreement among researchers focussing micro-urban contexts, characterized by the spatial proximity between socioeconomically distant social groups. On the one hand, the qualitative studies carried out by Kaztman (1999) in Montevideo convey a rather positive image of new spatial contiguities: amplified structures of employment opportunities promoted by affluent neighborhoods and vertical integration across public institutions and philanthropic-assistencial organizations increase the potentials of inter-class interactions and mitigate structural constraints. On the other hand, Andrade and Silveira (2013) and Caldeira (2000) accentuate the functional and superficial character of cross-class interactions, which is due to fact that the poor favela-dwellers are usually employed in the low-cost domestic service sector in affluent condomínios. Furthermore, prevailing mechanisms of social segmentation engender a class-hierarchized access to urban equipment and services which annihilate these potentials of geographic proximity.

Given the heterogeneity of the results obtained in the different contexts of residential segregation, this paper aims at contributing to the discussion of neighborhood effects in Brazilian sociology on the basis of qualitative research conducted in Brazil's third largest city, Salvador da Bahia, located in the impoverished Northeast macro-region. The main goal of this study consists in investigating about the potential interference of structural disadvantages – resulting from the exposure of the inhabitants of three residentially segregated neighborhoods to high rates of poverty and unemployment and crime – in the operationalization of the inhabitants' social networks and their striving for socio-economic mobility. Drawing on empirical data collected in Nordeste de Amaralina, a centrally-located shanty-town embedded in an area of affluent condomínios, and the peripheric neighborhoods Plataforma and Fazenda Grande II, the study seeks to verify whether enhanced opportunities of cross-class interactions, particularly in the realm of employment relationships, can be corroborated by the constellations of geographical contiguity between socially distant classes, in relation to peripheric urban contexts.

The first section reviews the conceptual frameworks of *neighborhood effects* and *social isolation* in accordance to Wilson (1987) and Small and Newman (2001) and identifies the convergencies and divergencies emerging within the field of empirical research conducted in Latin American urban contexts. The second section explains the methodology used in the qualitative study, whereas the third section examines the principal properties of the personal social networks of sixty interviewed inhabitants. The fourth section discusses the main results obtained in the case study whereas the final considerations promote a critical contextualization of the neighborhood studies in the field of Brazilian sociology, tracing future avenues for qualitative research.

## THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF *NEIGHBORHOOD EFFECTS* IN URBAN SOCIOLOGY

In the early 1980s, the public debate about structures of enduring racial residential segregation and the socioeconomic deterioration of the urban underclass in American metropolis polarized into two diverging argumentative streams. On the one hand, a neo-conservative culturalistic approach which correlated the poverty of the afro-american underclass concentrated in inner-city social housing complexes to their non-willingness of cultural adaptation to the social ascension model of white american mainstream society and to a desincentively generous welfare program (Lewis, 1966; Murray, 2015). On the other hand, a rather liberal position that embedded the socioeconomic deterioration of the afro-americans in a broader context of labour market restructuring and of alterations produced in the class composition of inner-city neighborhoods (Wilson, 1987).

Wilson (1987) argued that, before the implementation of the Fair Housing Acts in 1968 and the decline of the fordist industry traditionally located in the cities' central regions, the geographic proximity of the Afro-American working class to the middle class promoted a vertical integration across public institutions like schools, churches, community centres and philanthropic associations. The paradigmatic transformations in the labour market structures and the implementation of anti-discriminatory laws desegregating the housing market in the suburbs provoked the outmigration of middle-class and stable working-class families with higher educational levels. As a consequence, both poverty and unemployment became critically concentrated in these inner-city neighborhoods. Subsequently, alterations in the neighborhood's class structure fostered the remaining population's social isolation *vis-a-vis* norms of behavior, value systems, institutional resources, and economic opportunities of mainstream society (Wilson, 1987). Alternatively, Massey and Denton (1993), persuasively argued in *American Apartheid* that these concentration effects did not stem primarily from changed middle- and working class residential mobility patterns and labour market restructuring, but resulted from secular processes of racial residential segregation.

As a third strain of explications for the reproduction of urban poverty and social inequalities, first Kornhauser (1978) and later Sampson and colleagues (Sampson & Groves, 1989) revitalized the classical works on the social ecology of neighborhood crime, particularly the theory of social disorganization (Shaw & McKay, 1942), in order to explain the disrupting impact of concentrated disadvantages in the community's social organization. Social disorganization, redefined by Kornhauser (1978) as the inability of a community structure to realize the common values of its residents and to maintain effective social control, has been reformulated by Sampson and Groves (1989) in systemic terms to incorporate the key concept of social capital as "expectations for action within a collectivity" (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993, p. 1323). Sampson, Raudenbusch, & Earls (1997) highlighted the combination of a working trust and shared willingness of residents to intervene in social control, thus shifting the focus on personal social ties to social community organization. This linkage between trust cohesion and shared expectations as well as the residents' mutual engagement with local social control was defined as neighborhood "collective efficacy."

A number of critical assessments and revisions of previous quantitative and qualitative research have emerged since, constituting a fourth development reflecting the progress achieved in the academic field of neighborhood effect studies. Their primary aim consists in disentangling the often concomitantly operating socio-organizational processes that lie behind the aggregated-data-based explanations of neighborhood effects (Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Small & Newman, 2001).

Wilson (1987) draws a direct causal relation between a socially homogeneous composition of the neighborhood, committed to high rates of poverty and unemployment, and a compromised

capacity to operationalize social capital in processes of labour market integration. Briggs (2001) distinguishes between two non-excludent dimensions of social capital which organize the individual's patterns of sociability. On the one hand, a densely tied network organized in within-group ties that promote social cohesion, the strengthening of collective identity, intra-groupal solidarity and the short-term stabilization of daily situations (get by), and operating across highly redundant bonding ties. On the other hand, a sparsely knit network of bridging ties articulating otherwise disconnected individuals and social groups, which promote actives for the social and economic mobility (get ahead). These ties reveal a higher degree of heterophily and operate an inclusion into more diversified and territorially dispersed social networks (bridging ties).

A plethoric number of multilevel studies post-*The truly disadvantaged* confirm the fragmented and local character of social networks of individuals living in highly segregated neighborhoods with poverty rates above 40% of the population (Small & Newman, 2001). Nevertheless, more recent research findings have not proven to be universally supportive with Wilson's hypothesis of social isolation. Particularly, qualitative studies challenge the assumption of a general impact of neighborhood effects on the socio-interactional paradigm of all poor neighborhood dwellers, and question whether there is a hypothesized linear association between bridging ties and higher income, respectively between bonding ties and decreased chances of economic ascension (Small, 2004).

In Latin American, researchers have associated the reproduction of urban poverty and residential economic segregation patterns with a private interest-driven urban legislation, the State's tacit tolerance of informal settlements and the unequal distribution of public investments, among other factors (Rolnik, 1997; Sabatini, 2003). The access to labour market, to land and real estate markets, to infrastructure and urban services, and to political resources is considered to be the main driving force which determines the spatial distribution of social groups.

Caldeira (2000) distinguished between three patterns of economic residential segregation that have largely contributed to the emergence and consolidation of the unequal socio-spatial organization of Latin American metropolis: (1) the compact and socially heterogeneous city of the beginning industrialization period (1890-1940), characterized by the relative absence of spatial separation between urban functions and the major geographic proximity of socially distant groups in Brazil, whereas Iberoamerican cities reveal a rather dualist place stratification pattern following the *Leyes de Indias*; (2) the disperse city, or center-periphery dichotomy (1940-1970), emerging in the intertwined process of urbanization and industrialization with large-scale residential segregation patterns dividing space across income lines. These patterns have fuelled the geographical separation between the middle- and upper classes in the central areas or cones of expansion with broad access to the employment sector, good quality housing and urban equipment services, and the lower classes informal settlements in rather socially homogeneous peripheral areas lacking urban infrastructure; (3) the fragmented city (1980 until nowadays) in which a series of urban reconfigurations and altered patterns of residential mobility introduce a more diffuse paradigm of metropolitan expansion without disrupting the large-scale center-periphery dichotomy (Bógus & Pasternak, 2000; Sabatini, 2003).

Within a wide set of new spatial dynamics, these developments encompass the intra-metropolitan migrations of the middle and upper class groups from the centric neighborhoods to lower income peripheral districts, followed by the decentralization of business and leisure activities. Thus, shiftings in geographic scale of economic residential segregation from the macro to the micro-level can be identified in most of Latin American metropolis. As a result of deregulating practices and

the liberalization of the land markets, auto-segregation of the middle and upper class in socioeconomically highly homogeneous gated communities or urban enclaves has induced a geographic approximation between the socially distant classes (Caldeira, 2000; Sabatini, 2003). However, video-surveillance and ostentative private protection devices (e.g. walls, wires, security towers, watchmen etc.) reaffirm the social distances.

Within the variety of studies, a number of authors have corroborated a “contextual factor”, *efecto-território* or *efecto-vecindario* interfering in school achievements, educational attainment, gang-related activities, juvenile delinquency, etc. (Ribeiro & Kolinski, 2009). Negative externalities of severely distressed neighborhoods, usually located in the more peripheral metropolitan areas, were accounted to (retro)alimnet the intergenerational reproduction of poverty and accentuate the social inequalities in Latin American metropolises (Duhau & Giglia, 2008, Kaztman & Retamoso, 2005; Ribeiro, 2008). In Brazil, studies focussing on the contexts of macro-segregation in metropolitan confirm the impact of structural disadvantages on the social and economic mobility of the habitants of peripheral regions. As far as the repercussion of poverty and residential segregation in the individual’s outcomes are concerned, Ribeiro and Lago (2001), comparing the degree of integration of favela-dwellers and no-favela dwellers on the labour market in Rio de Janeiro, point to the significant income disadvantages affecting the favela-dwellers. Another group of scholars emphasize the negative impact of residential segregation, taking school achievement and the quality of public institutions of education as a proxy (Ribeiro & Kolinski, 2009).

Marques (2010), analyzing the influence of residential economic segregation on the socioeconomic achievements of poor São Paulo neighborhood dwellers from a social network perspective, points to the high degree of localism, homophily and structural redundancy inherent to their social ties. The author confirms that a greater proportion of primary ties in personal networks interferes negatively into the individual’s income level, whereas the embeddedness into institutional spheres of sociability (church, communitary associations, leisure activities) increases the probability of labour market integration (Marques, 2010). A broader and more diversified portfolio or social safety net of social and institutional networks for coping with daily adversities may thus compensate the structural constraints arising at macro-contextual and neighborhood level.

In the context of geographical proximity between socioeconomically distant groups, characterizing the socio-spatial organization of many Latin American metropolises, Kaztman and Retamoso (2005) conclude that, in the case of Montevideo, the social relations are characterized by cross-class interactions that operate across public instances of secondary socialization like school, communitary associations and recreational spaces. Enhanced structures of opportunities may thus provide a greater asset of social and institutional activities and mitigate situations of vulnerability and poverty. According to Andrade and Silveira (2013), the geographical contiguity to the higher class condomínios of the Serra neighborhood in Belo Horizonte promote better employment opportunities, predominantly in the low-skill service sector, to the favela’s dwellers of Aglomerado da Serra. This geographical proximity entitles significant locational advantages for the economic integration of Serra’s poor population in comparison with other peripheral neighborhoods embedded in a socioeconomically more homogeneous environment. Nevertheless, the authors reveal the persistence of social distances in all other spheres of sociability, due to the class-hierarchized access to public transport, educational system, public space, and political resources (Andrade & Silveira, 2013).

The dialectic relationship between economic integration and social avoidance also transcends the patterns of interaction between the socioeconomically distant but geographically contiguous

populations in Rio de Janeiro, according to Ribeiro (2008). These patterns reveal the social tensions engendered by relations of symbolic domination of the high-class Leblon dwellers, operationalized as resource to protect their economic capital reified in space against the potential devalorization arising from their geographical proximity to lower-class Cruzada São Sebastião condomínios (Ribeiro, 2008). Advocating for a bourdieusian comprehension of neighborhood effects (Bourdieu, 1997), Ribeiro (2008) calls the attention to the naturalization of social relations reified in space, which produces a systems of internalized mental references and class-hierarchized values translated into spatial categories. The author concludes affirming that the physical proximity does not eliminate the social stratifications reified into urban space (Ribeiro, 2008). Cross-class interactions scarcely take place within geographical contiguity, and neighboring among socially distant classes might even reinforce territorial stigmatization and bear a greater potential for conflicts.

## METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

As part of the qualitative fieldwork, sixty semi-structured interviews (20 for each neighborhood) of approximately half an hour duration, have been realized between May and November of 2015 in different places and at different times. The sample is composed of an equal number of male and female interviewees, aged between 15 and 65, with a different employment status. Within the group, 40% of the adults qualified themselves as having being unemployed for at least one year or without any stable income, 20% affirmed receiving an unstable income, 20% declared having an income equal or inferior to one minimum salary (approximately 200 dollars) and 40% of the interviewees declared perceiving more than three minimum salaries. The proportion of student interviewees not integrating the PEA amounts to 15%.

The three neighborhoods, Nordeste de Amaralina, Plataforma and Fazenda Grande II are characterized by high poverty and unemployment rates. The population mainly belongs to the social-professional category popular(inferior), with “popular” salary levels and low grade of school instruction, in accordance to the classification of Carvalho and Pereira (2014). It is important to stress that the choice of a geographically limited area, which defines the three neighborhoods as ecologically independent units, reflects the centrality of the local social context in the constitution of the inhabitants’ social and institutional networks: in 86% of the cases, the interactions occurred within the territorial boundaries of the respective neighborhood. This reveals a significant congruence between the individual’s residential environment and social space. Concomitantly, the overwhelming proportion of informal ties mobilized in the job finding process (94%) explains the exclusion of alternative opportunities of job-seeking, like the recourse to formal job recruiting agencies, public announcements in the newspaper/internet.

During the visits to the neighborhoods, the interviewees were first of all given an open questionnaire, investigating the personal data concerning the family composition, income, education level, employment status, labour market trajectory and duration of residence in the neighborhood (independent variables). In the second place, the interviewees were asked to provide more detailed information about the organization of their personal networks concerning their embeddedness in the following spheres of sociability: family, neighborhood, friendship/acquaintanceship, work, studies, associative life, religious associative life and leisure. Whereas the embeddedness of the individuals in the three spheres of sociability – family, neighborhoods and friendship/acquaintanceship – reflects the emphasis of primary ties in the constitution of the interviewees’ personal networks, characterized by a high degree of homophily

and localism (Briggs, 2001), the affiliation of the inhabitants to the spheres of sociability work, studies, (religious) associative life and leisure was hypothesized to foster the constitution of heterophily and disperse social ties.

Furthermore, the interviewees were asked to provide more detailed information about the patterns of mobilization of their egocentric networks set up in the above outlined spheres of sociability in situations of job seeking and the provision of financial, social and emotional support. The aggregation of these data into compositional neighborhood disadvantage coefficients permitted a cross-case comparison within the composition of the personal networks of the inhabitants along the following three indicators: relative proportion of the individual's participation in x spheres of sociability, degree of diversity of their personal networks (embeddedness in distinct spheres of sociability) and degree of localism of their networks.

## **THE IMPACT OF RESIDENCIAL SEGREGATION OF THE PATTERNS OF SOCIABILITY**

### **THE FAVELA NORDESTE DE AMARALINA**

The functional-structural relation between the favela Nordeste de Amaralina and Salvador may be regarded as characteristic of an increasingly fragmented socio-spatial organization of Latin American metropolis, where processes of residential segregation concomitantly operate at macro and micro-urban levels, given its geographical status as a poor enclave embedded in the middle and upper class region of Orla Atlântica Norte (Carvalho & Pereira, 2014). Since the 1960s the neighborhood's strategic proximity to the nearby affluent summer houses and condominiums of Rio Vermelho, Horto Florestal, Amaralina has contributed to attracting successive influxes of immigrants coming from Bahia's impoverished rural *hinterland* regions which gradually led to the region's demographic densification and illegal land occupation, mostly via informal settlements (25.466 inhabitants according to the IBGE 2000). The predominantly precarious housing situation in conjuncture with above-average unemployment rates (61%) is aggravated by endemic violence and enduring insecurity problems, attributed primarily to local drug conflicts and repressive police incursions. The embeddedness of the interviewees' social ties in the spheres of sociability outlined above underlines the strong relevance of the primary units of socialization, like family (30%), neighborhood (15%) and friendship/acquaintanceship (10%) in social network constitution and in the mobilization of social capital, in their striving after economic integration. At the same time, the spheres of sociability belonging to the institutional environments work (15%), associative life (10%), associative religious life (10%), studies (5%) and hobbies (5%) reveal a minor importance in the constitution of social ties.

Primary social ties, based on frequent contacts between rather intimate kinship members, neighbors and co-residents, promote structures of support for the short-term individual's socioeconomic stabilization and are mobilized in situations of emergency and daily adversities, including drug dependence and unemployment. Moreover, these bonding ties serve as principal communication channels transmitting valuable information about employment opportunities, mostly located in the low-skill informal service sector, to in-group members. According to the in-depth interviews, the geographical proximity to the middle- and upper-class condominiums is evaluated as overall positive as far as economic integration is concerned, and the short distances to work are regarded as a locational advantage in comparison to the more peripheral neighborhoods. Within the sample of twenty interviewees, four individuals are formally employed in the nearby affluent condominiums. In this sense, it is important to stress the importance of the

bridging function of two key-persons employed as security guards in the upper-class condomínios. These two people possess valuable job information and have access to privileged contacts intermediating different low-skill informal employment opportunities which emerge occasionally according to the demand of the affluent condominio dwellers, like car washing and small services of technical maintenance.

Nevertheless, apart from the enhanced but yet restricted employment opportunity structures, promoted in the low-skill service sector (guard, gardener, maid), the inter-class social distance patterns are maintained in all the other spheres of sociability. Despite the strong numeric relevance of social and cultural associations spread throughout the neighborhood, like community centers, *capoeira* and dance groups, football clubs and philanthropic third sector organisations, among others, assuming a prominent function in the children and adolescents' secondary socialization processes and communitary identity formation, it is important to emphasize that these institutionally-based networks prioritize the intra-groupal cohesion and solidarity without mediating to extra-local networks. The social networks constituted in these institutional spheres of sociability reveal a fragmented and insular structure and provide highly redundant information devoid of potential "bridges" for their in-group members, due to their similarly weak socioeconomic status.

The relative proportion of social networks constituted in the sphere of sociability religious associative life is small if compared to the other two neighborhoods. Grounded on cohesive bonding ties connecting members of the same church congregation, these institutional networks mainly strengthen the intra-groupal solidarity and provide a wide array of (im)material resources stabilizing the socioeconomic situation of the inhabitants, by the means of social and philanthropic communitary activities realized in the neighborhood. Apart from the provision of a social safety net, in three cases, the affiliation to religious associative spheres of sociability have fostered their economic integration, though on the rather unstable informal labour market. However, this mechanism of informal job intermediation emphasizes the strong relevance of key-contact persons within the individual's institutionally-based networks, to gain access to privileged information and contacts about local job opportunities.

The mechanisms of social segmentation and the class-hierarchized access to urban infrastructure and services (public-private transport, hospitals, schools, leisure activities) engender a certain confinement of the inhabitant's social interactions on the level of the local environment. This restriction of social life within neighborhood boundaries repercutes in a major degree of homophily, localism and structural redundancy of their social ties, particularly those constituted in the spheres of sociability neighborhood, friendship and studies.

Like in many lower-class neighborhoods of Salvador, public institutions of education suffer from the State's longterm desinvestment and schools usually are ranked under average in terms of education quality. Drawing from the adolescent interviewees' self-report on school experiences, public institutions of education localized within neighborhood boundaries were unanimously qualified as potentially dangerous places, due to the presence of rival gangmembers and adolescent drug traffickers accounted to disseminate behaviour patterns and social references harmful to social and economic mobility. Within the sample of three interviewed adolescents, only one confirmed that school served as his prime socialization unit in the process of social network building. Moreover, the class-stratified access to public recreational spaces susceptible to promote cross-class interactions, like shopping malls, plazas and public parks, in many cases excludes the Nordeste de Amaralina dwellers from social participation in these close by areas, due to their

reduced monetary budget and to frequently reported stigmatization when participating in middle- and upper-class dominated spaces of socialization. Thus, leisure activities are restricted mainly to local opportunities. The concentration of high-quality urban equipment (hospitals, private universities, sophisticated supermarkets etc.) along the main causeway Avenida Juracy Magalhães – the major dividing line between the favela Nordeste de Amaralina and high-class condominiums of Horto Florestal – do not offer any locational advantages for the poor populations, except for the privileged access to public transport. The major field of leisure activities represents the Praia de Amaralina, a close by beach avoided by the middle- and upper-class due to the high frequency of assaults and robberies.

### PLATAFORMA

The localization of Plataforma – neighborhood embedded in the poor northwestern region of *Subúrbio Ferroviário* – relates to the residential segregation pattern operating at macro-urban scale, compromising the population's access to employment and urban services, which are predominantly concentrated in Salvador's central regions and in the Orla Atlântica Norte region. The neighborhood grew around the proletarian housing complex Vila Operária, implemented adjacent to the railroad Calçada-Paripe and the industrial plant Fábrica Têxtil São Braz, deactivated in 1959. The majority of Plataforma's approximately 58.000 inhabitants suffer from precarious housing, health and security conditions. Their situation was aggravated by high rates of unemployment (47,3%) and low median income.

Analyzing the variations within the patterns of sociability of the twenty interviewees, a high degree of homophily, localism and structural redundancy of their social networks could be observed, applying to almost the entire sample, even after controlling for spheres of sociability. The social embeddedness of Plataforma interviewees in the above outlined spheres of sociability reveal the primacy of family (35%) and religious associative life (20%) in the process of social network constitution and for the obtention of job referrals and (im)material goods. Less representative are the spheres of sociability neighborhood (10%), associative life (10%), friendship/acquaintanceship (10%), work (5%), studies (5%) and leisure activities (5%).

Contrasting with the major spatial dispersion and internal diversity of the social networks of Nordeste de Amaralina dwellers, the local social context is paramount for the social network constitution and the mobilization of social capital in Plataforma. Overall, there is a particularly high congruence between the geographic boundaries of the neighborhood and the individual's space of social interaction. The overwhelming part of the interviewees report a reduced access to (im)material goods and services, either across market-based or social support-based relationships, due to the fact that the high degree of localism and homophily characterizing their social networks reduce the access to information about employment opportunities to the sparsely available local options. One of the most frequently cited argument explaining the restriction of neighborhood-bounded interactions relates to the lack of financial resources for daily dislocation to the central regions of the city, which concentrate most of the employment activities and urban services. The mobilization of social networks for economic integration occurs primarily in the realm of extense families. These family support networks act as important channels transmitting valuable information and contacts about local job opportunities, mostly available in the informal service sector. The primacy of kin networks in the developments of strategies to confront daily precarity and in the provision of (non)material resources points out to the importance of trust, reciprocity and solidarity underlying the bonding ties. Likewise, the social ties constituted in the sociability spheres neighborhood and friendship transcend a high degree of mistrust, weakened solidarity

and cohesion, in comparison with the other two analyzed neighborhoods. In this sense, the interviewees associate the encapsulation of the social networks to the retrenchment of the State in the provision of social welfare and communitary security and to the precarity of labour market, therefore requiring the mutual auxiliary between the family members.

Concerning the constitution of social networks in the spheres of sociability neighborhood and friendship, it is noteworthy that there is a marked reluctance of the inhabitants to integrate unknown individuals into their existing networks. Contrasting with the other two neighborhoods, a significant decline in the importance of neighborhood as prime context for the constitution and maintenance of social ties can be noticed. Within the neighborhood, interactions are reduced to a small amount of intimate and closeby living neighbors. This phenomena contributes to an increasing territorial fragmentation of interpersonal networks, organized across small units of geographically proximate neighborhood groups, promoting reciprocal and trustworthy relationships. In virtually all cases analysed the social networks set up in the environments of the neighborhood and friendship are based on strong ties. The social isolation favours the formation of isotopic sociability patterns, grounded on local behaviour models and shared experiences of precarity and social exclusion. Moreover, a comparatively weak dynamic of affiliation to communitary associations could be registered, except for a *capoeira* group and a local residents' association. These two institutional spheres of sociability promote short-term social support and constitute an important environment for intra-group exchange of sociability.

Beyond the sphere of sociability family, the major social support is provided by the religious associations, which reinforce the intra-groupal cohesion and solidarity while maintaining a truncated structure to non-congregates. These bonding ties operate as circuits of reciprocity and promote the access to (im)material goods, like auxiliary in housing construction, small lendings, contacts for the job-seeking process, support in cases of illness and drug dependence. These religious associations aggregate the major part of the key-persons who provide the access to information about informal employment opportunities, primarily localized in the neighborhood. Nevertheless, the participation in these institutional spheres does not yield an automatic increase in salary: about 70% of the interviewees stating that they frequent a religious association did not draw any specific advantages or financial improvements from their affiliation. The neighborhood inhabitants further indicate the fragility of local educational opportunities and point out to the scarcity of local child-care centers. The exposition to school peer groups is evaluated unanimously as detrimental to the socioeconomic mobility according to the three interviewed adolescents, who call the attention to the lack of perspectives and the weak school qualities of the neighborhood. The lack of opportunities in formal work relations and the weak adolescents' school attainment are considered as stimulating factors for the involvement in illicit activities, like drug trafficking and robbery. The access to leisure activities, concentrated in the more central areas of Salvador, is restrained, due to the inhabitants' lack of economic resources for public transport and consumption, limiting thus their leisure activities to local level.

## FAZENDA GRANDE II

Despite it's peripheric localization, Fazenda Grande II shows a major degree of heterogeneity within the three analyzed neighborhoods, either regarding its population's socioeconomic profile or the socioeconomic status of its close by neighborhoods. Totalizing 35.000 inhabitants, the neighborhood grew demographically with the settlement of lower-middle class inhabitants in scattered low rising buildings constructed by the National Bureau of Housing in the 1970s, and the concomitant invasion of its less valorized surroundings by the lower classes, mostly in informal

dwellings. In this sense, expressive socioeconomic disparities sharpen the contrast between the two groups, as expressed in the interview sample: whereas the group of the scattered low rising settlements of Fazenda Grande II mostly belong to the lower middle-class, the interviewees dwelling in informal housings in Jaguaripe I, mostly living in areas exposed to high environmental risks, have lower socioeconomic status (Carvalho & Pereira, 2014).

The distribution of the social ties across spheres of sociability underlines the centrality of work (30%) and studies (15%) in the constitution of sociability patterns and emphasizes the importance of associative life (15%) in the mobilization of social ties for economic integration, whereas the spheres family (10%), neighborhood (10%), friends (10%), religious associative life (5%) and leisure (5%) are less relevant. Generally, a major connectivity with individuals and social groups not belonging to the same neighborhood can be observed. These ties significantly expand the inhabitants' access to (im)material resources and to non-redundant information about employment opportunities. For this specific group, the importance of kinship in the mobilization of social capital in their striving after economic integration decreases. Furthermore, a major internal diversity and territorial dispersion of the social networks can be identified, in comparison with the two neighborhood samples previously analyzed. Nevertheless, an expressive division remains between the lower-middle class condominiums and the inhabitants of the informal dwellings: their social networks compose a higher degree of localism and the Jaguaripe I inhabitants recur primarily to neighborhood and kinship social ties to obtain access to employment opportunities and (im)material resources.

The higher proportion of contacts established in the professional environment correlates with a higher degree of heterophily, internal diversity and network dispersion. Within the sample of the twenty interviewed individuals, three stated that they were working at the local site and five in the adjacent neighborhoods, all in stable employment relations. Comparatively, the social ties established in the field of religious associative life are less relevant whereas a strong tendency to the affiliation to cultural and associative organizations could be observed. Within the sample of the twenty individuals, seven declared having mobilized his/her contacts drawn from these associational networks to obtain access to (im)material resources and to reinvest in infrastructural investments in the neighborhood (e.g. schools, child-care centers, hospitals, recreational public spaces). It is important to stress the centrality of a large number of resident associations distributed across the neighborhood, which promote inter-groupal solidarity and cohesion. Furthermore, they contribute to the convergence of the rather heterogeneous population in the collective struggle for community-level improvements. This combination of bonding and bridging ties increases the neighborhood's potential of political mobilization to obtain collective goods across more dispersed and diversified networks, since they spread the information about local social services, employment opportunities, vaccination campaigns etc.

The public institutions of education play a prominent role in the sociability of the interviewed adolescents due to the fact that they promote a greater exposition to different social values, behaviour patterns and social references. Thus, this public environment fosters the convergence and the exchange of sociability among a socioeconomically more heterogeneous population. When asked about the opportunities public education conveys, the adolescents interviewed in Jaguaripe I evaluate positively the quality of educational institutions and confirm the centrality of school as a space of shared experiences and social interaction. Therefore, their social networks show a higher degree of diversity of social ties, which frequently transcend their own economic class. Despite the absence of an economic integration similar to the neighborhood relationship between Nordeste de Amaralina and its affluent surroundings, the collective use of community

social infrastructure like public transport, (religious) associations and public spaces of recreation (plazas, bars and restaurants) favours the interaction between the dwellers of the two economically distant areas and thus contributes to bridging social distances. Although Fazenda Grande II possesses a significant commercial infrastructure and urban equipment (schools, supermarkets, hospitals, bars and restaurants, shopping) the access to more sophisticated leisure activities requires a dislocation to the more central areas of Salvador.

## DISCUSSION

Analyzing the results obtained in the empirical fieldwork, locational advantages benefitting the economic integration of a reduced number of interviewees can be observed in the case of Nordeste de Amaralina. These advantages arise from their proximity to the employment opportunities provided by the affluent neighborhood and partially alleviate the structural constraints of poverty and unemployment. Nevertheless, the dialectic relation between economic integration and social avoidance underlines that the residential proximity of the poor Nordeste de Amaralina dwellers to middle- and higher-class condomínios does not automatically correlate with increased probabilities of cross-class interaction or with an ascending dynamic *per se* of the favela in terms of socioeconomic integration. Due to residential segregation and social segmentation, The Nordeste de Amaralina inhabitants' social networks reveal a high degree of homophily and localism, primary ties being paramount for the obtention of (im)material goods and of information about job opportunities.

The structural constraints affecting Plataforma interviewees' socioeconomic outcomes interfere negatively in the extension and diversity of their social networks. The correlation between the low degree of exposition to socioeconomically dissimilar individuals and the high degree of localism and homophily characterizing their social relations concurs with Wilson's (1987) key concept of social isolation. The centrality of local social ties in their networks emphasize the relevance of financial conditions in the construction and maintenance of more extensive and territorially dispersed networks. The clusterization of family members around highly fragmented networks, with sparse inter-groupal connections, create obstacles to their economic mobility due to the redundancy of the information transmitted. In the same token, the promotion of short-term survival structures based on a defensively designed family safety net compensates neither the occupational instability inherent to the informal market nor the individual's permanent exclusion from the formal labour market.

In the case of Fazenda Grande II, a major degree of heterophily and diversity can be registered within the composition of their social networks. These do not rely predominantly on primary social instances and therefore entail a higher degree of territorial dispersion. The spheres of sociability work and studies represent social contexts which generate less homophily and major physical convergence of socially dissimilar individuals. The vitality of institutional structures (schools, child-care centers, churches, communitary and cultural associations, among others) depends essentially on the dwellers' integration in the formal labour market and on the economic support provided by the lower middle-class segment. In this sense, it is important to emphasize the socializing function public schools assume, given their capacity to promote a higher exposition of the Jaguaripe I dwellers to behaviour patterns and social references based on the valorization of education and on successful lower-middle-class ascension models. The exchange of sociability occurring in the realm of the spheres of sociability (religious) associative life and leisure can be considered as cross-class relations which promote the access to (in)tangible goods and services in the neighborhood.

Furthermore, these institutional networks may mobilize political resources to require public interventions and infrastructure investments in the neighborhood.

The case study shows significant convergences with the findings of Briggs (2001) and Marques (2010) concerning their conclusive remarks that residential segregation structures create obstacles to cross-class interactions and confer a higher degree of localism and homophily to the composition of the inhabitants' networks. At the same time, the individual's embeddedness in a more diversified non-primary sphere of sociability impacts positively on the social and economic mobility. The empirical research has confirmed the importance of the exploration of the brokerage positions in social relationships. These positions are assumed by different social actors and institutional resources (bridging ties) that promote crucial information about job opportunities, whereas the bonding ties play an important role in the provision of contacts for the integration in the informal labour market.

At the same time, the results draw the attention to the fact that the networks constituted in the spheres of sociability family, neighborhood and friendship, with elevated levels of localism and homophily, may reproduce and even reinforce the mechanisms of poverty in contexts of segregation if the lack of intergroupal interaction opportunities coincides with low levels of solidarity, trust and compromise with mutual obligations at neighborhood scale. The creation of social distance patterns and the differentiation into in-groups and out-groups based on similar aggregated attributes, as shown in the spheres of sociability family, neighborhood and religious associative life, fosters the encapsulation of the social networks. This confinement of sociability patterns contributes to the erosion of collective efficacy at neighborhood scale. Returning to the central reflexions of Sampson's modified *social disorganization theory* (Sampson et al., 1997) the concept of collective efficacy subsumes the shared expectations and the voluntary involvement of the neighborhoods inhabitants in activities of active support, social control and the supervision of other individuals on the basis of shared collective norms and socially accepted practices. These mechanisms operate in social contexts with a vital structure of socioeconomic resources and are based on collective premises like trust, reciprocity and solidarity, as shown in the case of Fazenda Grande II. At the same time, the neighborhoods Nordeste de Amaralina and Plataforma reveal an erosion of the legitimacy of social and collective norms which support the neighborhood-level expectatives and mutual obligations, due to the high frequency of homicides, assaults and robberies.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This research emphasized the strong relevance of social networks analysis for explanatory models investigating the reproduction of poverty and social inequities in large metropolis, given their capacity to promote or thwart economic mobility. The theoretical framework used in the qualitative fieldwork is supportive with a more holistic and multidimensional approach to urban poverty and further subscribes to Wilson's key-argument that the clusterization of structural disadvantages and income inequalities in severely distressed neighborhoods has adverse effects both on individual outcomes and neighborhood-level social, economic, and political resources (Wilson, 1987).

Despite reduced sample size, empirical evidence could be found for the impact of structural neighborhood-level constraints, encompassing high rates of poverty, unemployment and residential segregation structures, on the individual's economic outcomes and patterns of social

interaction. Although it has to be stated that these structural disadvantages and the paucity of institutional resources do not automatically lead to social capital depletion, the network analysis demonstrates that social interactions tend to be critically confined to the local social context. In virtually all cases, social network constitution, social attainment and the participation in formal and voluntary organizations occur in the realm of local-bounded activities and thus rely on personal contacts to co-residents and on the access to neighborhood-based economic, social and political resources. The vitality of these social and institutional networks has proven to suffer from exogenous (poverty, unemployment, crime, residential segregation, social segmentation) and endogenous (declining family organization, mistrust, fear of victimization, community desintegration) destabilizing factors, operating simultaneously at neighborhood level. As a result of these disruptions caused in the socio-organizational community structure, strategies to mobilize social and institutional networks for economic integration rely mostly on primary bonding ties, promoting social cohesion, trust, intra-groupal solidarity and a short-term socioeconomic stabilization of the individual (get by). By the same token, a lower proportion of bridging ties, connecting the individual to geographically disperse and more diversified social networks, susceptible to transmit information and important contacts for social and economic mobility (get ahead), could be observed, except for the lower-middle-class dwellers of Fazenda Grande II. The social network analysis of Plataforma's inhabitants, and to a minor degree, of Nordeste de Amaralina dwellers, points to an increasing encapsulation and fragmentation of social ties. Arising mainly from structures of residential segregation and social segmentation, this negative effect is potentialized by the erosion of trust and the weakening of the social efficacy in the neighborhood. The Fazenda Grande II case demonstrates that public investments in social infrastructure and urban equipment may generate positive spill over effects and increase the neighborhoods potential of social integration, particularly across socializing public environments and institutions like schools, community infrastructure and public recreational areas, which create a major physical convergence of socially distant individuals.

Nevertheless, it is important to stress that within the social isolation and network isolation hypothesis tested in the research, significant methodological challenges concerning the causal interdependencies between the two dimensions neighborhood effects and network effects remained unsolved. By assessing neighborhood effects from a social network perspective, major difficulties appear at the level of interpretation when it comes to the distinction between a potentially detrimental effect on the individual's social network composition arising from the socio-residential context (exposition to high rates of poverty, unemployment, residential segregation and crime, among others), and the potentially negative impact of a specific organization of the individual's social networks (high degree of homophily, structural redundancy, localism and the predominance of cohesive bonding ties) on social and economic mobility. Explanatory models investigating the mechanisms of the reproduction of urban poverty from a social network perspective should imperatively attend to the nexus of reciprocal causality between neighborhood effects and network effects. In the same line, this research did not adequately attend to the methodological problem of selection / omitted bias. Further Hierarchical Linear Modeling analysis is required to disentangle individual and family-level factors (income, educational status, life cycle, immigration status, among others) from (structural) neighborhood-level constraints.

In Latin American, neighborhood effect research may be instructive about the repercussions of macrolevel residential segregation and social segmentation in the individual's socioeconomic achievements. Following this holistic approach to urban poverty, in this three-sites comparative research, the patterns of sociability of individuals embedded into different contexts of residential

segregation showed a major congruence between the geographical neighborhood boundaries and the space of social interaction and network constitution. While the local context remains paramount for social interaction and the mobilization of social capital, it is particularly the local school context that exerts a significant influence in the process of childrens' and adolescents' socialization and contributes to the internalization and reproduction of social references, values and behaviour patterns detrimental to future socio-economic mobility. The exposition to a physically dilapidated and socioeconomically deprived neighborhood context may reinforce the individual or household-level disadvantages, urging to reflect about strategies of poverty mitigation that target the neighborhoods as a whole. It has become increasingly evident that area-based "bring the resources to the people" neighborhood revitalization programs generate more positive spill-over effects than traditional individual and household-allocated welfare policies. As residential mobility programs and a plethora of case-studies carried out in Latin America demonstrate, spatial contiguity is not synonymous to social integration. Concomitantly, the assumption of an opportunity-enriching "symbiotic" environment, where socioeconomically distant populations live in geographical proximity and cross-class interactions are encouraged within vertically integrated institutional spheres, frequently doesn't comply with the class-hierarchized socio-spatial organization of Latin American metropolis. Shiftings of residential segregation patterns have occurred in scale but not in function, social distance markers being translated to spatial dimensions by the means of security devices. The Nordeste de Amaralina case demonstrates that the simple classification as "areas of special social interests" - ZEIS (*Zonas Especiais de Interesse Social*) - and the locational benefits in terms of access to the urban infrastructure and employment opportunities little have contributed to the alteration of its stigmatized image as a severely distressed neighborhood hosting entrenched disadvantages and a potentially "dangerous" population.

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