

Appendix 1

Rio de Janeiro: A Presentation of Its Spatial Divisions

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This section aims to briefly present to the reader that is unfamiliar with the geography of Rio de Janeiro the main political-administrative divisions that permeate this city. In this sense, it is intended to contribute to a better understanding of the reading of the chapters of this book, trying to delineate the various reading scales of the territory. It will present three important scalar axes that concern the *Observatório das Metrópoles* approach to this work: State, Metropolitan Region, and the Capital. Afterward, it will point out some observations on the socio-spatial territories of the city of Rio de Janeiro, elucidating their zonings and symbolisms. Finally, based on what was shown, it outlines the morphology of the metropolitan territory from the core–periphery analytical model.

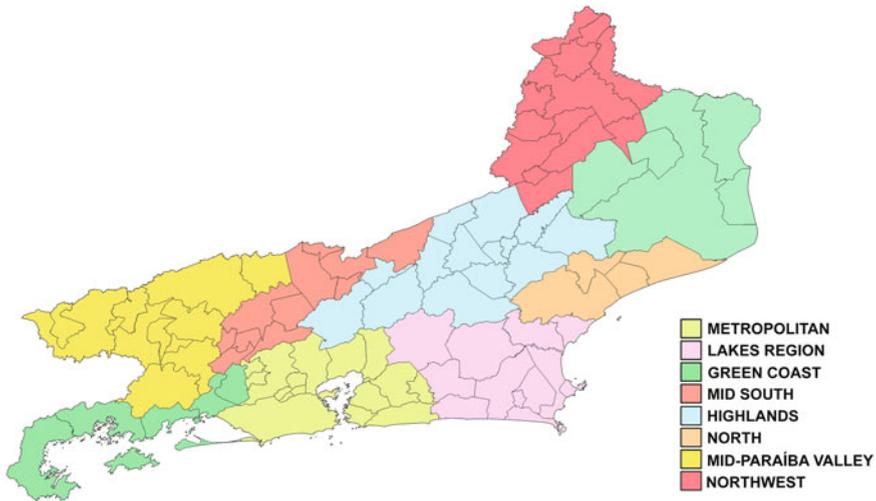
Rio de Janeiro

State and Metropolitan Region

Located in the Southeast Region of Brazil, the **State of Rio de Janeiro** is one of the 27 federative units of the country. It is composed of 92 municipalities disposed in approximately 43,700 km², which are regionalized in eight major areas: Northwest, North, Coastal Lowlands, Highlands Region, Mid-South, Mid-Paraíba Valley, Green Coast, and the Metropolitan Region¹ (Map 1).

The configuration of the current **Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro** (*Região Metropolitana do Rio de Janeiro—RMRJ*) goes back to the year of 1974, when the fusion of the former states of Guanabara and Rio de Janeiro occurred.

¹In Chap. 2, “Production Transformations”, researcher Hipólita Siqueira elaborates a brief economic outlook that characterizes each of the mentioned regions.



Map 1 Rio de Janeiro state regionalization. Development: *Observatório das Metrópoles*

With it, the extinct city-state of Guanabara was transformed in the current city of Rio de Janeiro, the new capital of the homonym state; until then, the capital was the city of Niterói.² With the city of Rio de Janeiro as the new core municipality, the entire area adjacent to the new capital now comprised its metropolitan region, also called “Greater Rio.”

The metropolitan region of Rio de Janeiro was legally instituted by the *Lei Complementar no 20*, in July 1974, and was composed initially of 14 cities. However, in the last 40 years, its boundaries have suffered several alterations with the exclusion of a few municipalities and the inclusion of others in this group.

Today, the RMRJ is composed of 22 municipalities: Rio de Janeiro (core city), Belford Roxo, Duque de Caxias, Guapimirim, Itaboraí, Itaguaí, Japeri, Magé, Mangaratiba, Maricá, Mesquita, Nilópolis, Niterói, Nova Iguaçu, Paracambi, Queimados, São Gonçalo, São João de Meriti, Seropédica and Tanguá, as well as Cachoeiras de Macacu and Rio Bonito, included in 2014. Prominent among all these municipalities are Rio de Janeiro and Niterói, the two largest and most important ones in terms of strong institutional power and concentration, production, and distribution of goods and services (Map 2).

²For more detailed information on the institutional history of the City of Rio de Janeiro as the Federal District, then as a city-state, and today, as municipality, see Sergio de Azevedo and Yolanda Lobo (2015).



Map 2 Metropolitan region of Rio de Janeiro. Development: *Observatório das Metrôpoles*

The City of Rio de Janeiro Zonings

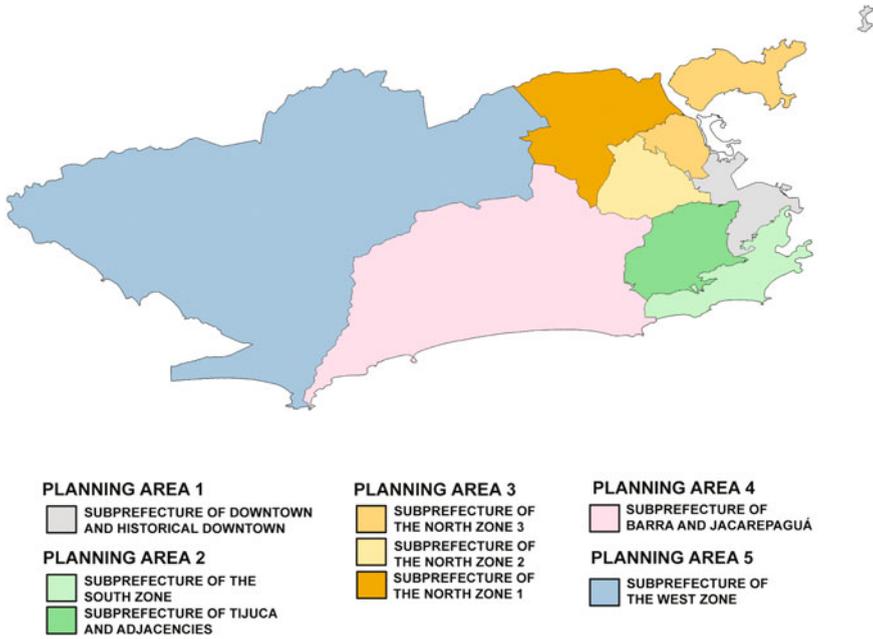
Circumscribed to a territorial area of approximately 1255 km²,³ the city of Rio de Janeiro possesses 159 neighborhoods disposed in 33 administrative regions (in this book, these areas are denominated *districts*); 8 (eight) subprefectures; 5 (five) planning areas; and 4 (four) zones—North, South, West, and Central.

The districts, the subprefectures, and the planning areas (APs—*Áreas de Planejamento*) are spatial divisions created by the City Hall of Rio de Janeiro with political-administrative objectives.

The districts were instituted in the 1960s and group together neighborhoods integrated by interdependence (especially in terms of services) and also by geographic proximity. They are responsible for the operation of small public organisms of regional interest, whose responsibility is the management of services such as neighborhoods health care facilities, military service offices, civil identification stations, working permit posts, unemployment insurance, etc. The subprefectures function as interlocutor bodies between neighborhoods and the City Hall (Prefecture), thus being different from districts for their function that is more political than administrative. The planning areas (APs) are macro-regions instituted at the moment of formulation of the first master plan of the city of Rio de Janeiro, in 1991. The APs cover districts with geographic and socioeconomic affinities, configuring a reading instrument that assists the city to intervene strategically in certain areas of the city according to the urban and social reality of each (Map 3).

Another important zoning attributed to the capital is designated by the cardinal points (North, South, West, and Center), and it is the most recurrent in the daily life of the population. The Central Zone corresponds to the historic center and its surroundings, including the Port Area; the South Zone concentrates the

³For comparative purposes, São Paulo has an estimated area of 1523 km², while Paris has 105.4 km² and New York, 789. The data are from Google Maps.



Map 3 City of Rio de Janeiro: planning areas and subprefectures. Development: *Observatório das Metrópoles*

neighborhoods bordering Guanabara Bay and the Atlantic Ocean; the North Zone, the neighborhoods located West and Northwest of the Central Zone; and finally, the West Zone, which brings together the most distant districts of the Central Zone, located beyond the North and South Zones (see Map 4).



Map 4 City of Rio de Janeiro: districts and official zoning. Development: *Observatório das Metrópoles*

In this context, it is worth mentioning a curiosity: Cardoso (2010, 2014) explains that this geographical division was not supported theoretically by the science of Urbanism at the time of its establishment; it is a zoning socially constructed during the first half of the twentieth century, when the pioneering vectors of urban expansion of the city of Rio de Janeiro were already in stage of further consolidation. It is essential to note, however, that the name of the cardinal points does not obey the geographical directions of the same space.

For example, it is seen that the Central Zone of Rio de Janeiro is positioned, from a geographical point of view, at the eastern end of the municipality, location in which Rios pioneer urbanization took place first, due to its seaside condition (Villaça 1998). Thus, what should be the “East Side” was deleted from the map to effectively accommodate the “Center.” According to Cardoso (op. Cit.), it is clear, thus, that the definition of North, South, West, and Central in Rio has suffered a great deal of influence by the way the city’s territory was occupied by social classes in the course of the first phase of the city’s urban expansion.

Symbolisms and Representations

Given what has been mentioned, it is clear that the reading of the zoning by cardinal points of Rio de Janeiro also offers the possibility to observe how the city can be represented from the symbolic point of view, that is, how each region is conceived by the hegemonic collective imaginary. The occupation of the classes in the territory engenders socio-spatial hierarchies which, in turn, claim toponyms to differentiate themselves from more marginalized areas or more privileged areas located within the same macro-region.

Thus, both for studies produced in the area of Applied Social Sciences⁴ and for the common sense, the South Zone and the North Zone, for instance, are treated as opposed socio-spatial categories, bestowing differentiated *status* to the individuals that reside in each of these places. In this bias, the “South Zone” expresses the place of the elites and touristic spots, neighborhoods that have the best urban services; thus, it expresses the place of natural beauty, beaches, and a cosmopolitan, sophisticated lifestyle (Cardoso 2009; O’Donnell 2013). On the other hand, the “North Zone” is represented symbolically as the place of the middle classes and the lower classes, far from the waterfront.

⁴This paper recommends the reading of “A Utopia Urbana”, by Gilberto Velho (1973), and “O raptó ideológico da categoria subúrbio: Rio de Janeiro 1858–1945,” by Nelson da Nobrega Fernandes (2011).



Map 5 City of Rio de Janeiro: symbolisms. Development: *Observatório das Metrópoles*

However, while the South Zone is more socially homogeneous, Rio's North Zone concentrates different social strata in its territory,⁵ as well as different occupation profiles and land use. For example, it is possible to mention a sub-region of the North Zone called “*subúrbio*” (suburbs). “Suburb” is considered a strip of land in the North Zone that is more distant from the Center area, crossed by railway roads and occupied mostly by the lowest socio-occupational profiles.⁶

For the geographer Fernandes (2011), the concept of “*subúrbio*” in Rio de Janeiro suffered an “ideological abduction”⁷ in the first half of the twentieth century when it started to designate those places for the popular classes, differing, therefore, from its original concept of “outskirts or fringe of the city” (Map 5).

In the population's daily life, it should be noted that currently “*subúrbio*” is a politically avoided term because it is charged with dyslogistic meanings referring to this space and its dwellers (or to those that belong there). On the other hand, in academic papers, “*subúrbio*” continues to be an important analytical category, since, considering the proper scales, it summarizes the position of the periphery.

The genesis of the ideological concept of “*subúrbio*” goes back to this stage of consolidation of pioneering vectors of the urban expansion of Rio, when living in the waterfront—by the Atlantic Ocean—became synonymous with social prestige.

⁵In Chap. 3 of this book, “Spatial Transformations”, authors Luiz Cesar de Queiroz Ribeiro and Marcelo Gomes Ribeiro analyze the diversification process and territorial polarization in the city of Rio, also addressing the question of the presence of favelas in different socio-spatial strata of the city.

⁶See Appendix 2 of this book on the Social-Occupational Categories of the Observatório das Metrópoles.

⁷As defined by Henri Lefebvre (quoted by Fernandes 2011), ideological abduction is the abrupt and sudden change process of the meaning of categories.

The South Zone emerged with the occupation of the seaside by the elites, and, since the 1970s, new elitized territories have been progressively incorporated to this axis.

The case that best illustrates this scenario is that of Barra da Tijuca. Since the abovementioned decade, Barra has been established as an important centrality of Rio de Janeiro, attracting all sorts of investments and services. Although officially located in the West Zone, it is common for this neighborhood and its surroundings to be referenced apart from that zone by its centrality profile and therefore higher hierarchical position in the intra-urban network.

Regarding the spatial divisions of the city of Niterói, it is possible to state that those are not so intricate as the ones in Rio de Janeiro, but yet are still praiseworthy of comments. The symbolism of “South Zone” of Rio as the *locus* of the beaches and the elites is so pronounced that, for that city, it can also generate a few associations in the geography of Niterói.

It is recurrent to denominate the prime area of Niterói (neighborhoods such as Icaraí, Ingá, São Francisco, Boa Viagem, Santa Rosa, and vicinities), bordered by Guanabara Bay, as “South Zone,” while the North Zone would comprise those areas inhabited by denizens with lower purchasing power. Still in Niterói, there is also the so-called Oceanic region (*Região Oceânica*), comprising peripheral neighborhoods with relative purchasing power.

The Metropolis of Rio de Janeiro Core–Periphery Model

The productions of the *Observatório das Metrôpoles* discuss the morphology of the metropolitan territory of Rio de Janeiro based on the analytical core–peripheries (close, intermediate, and farther) model. As shown by Luiz Cesar de Queiroz Ribeiro in the introduction of this book, the morphology considered in this production is thus described:

Core	Central commercial and financial area—old historical <i>core</i> —and its expansion toward the waterfront (the “South Zone”) and the interior of the city (districts of the “North Zone” such as Tijuca, Vila Isabel, and São Cristóvão), as well as Downtown and the “South Zone” of Niterói
Close periphery	The districts that compose the “suburbs” inside the city of Rio de Janeiro (Méier, Madureira, Irajá, Penha, etc.), the “North Zone” of Niterói, besides the district of Barra da Tijuca and adjacencies such as Jacarepaguá
Intermediate periphery	Lowlands (municipalities of the Greater Rio region such as Nova Iguaçu, Duque de Caxias, Nilópolis, São João de Meriti, Belford Roxo, etc.), as well as part of Magé and São Gonçalo
Farther periphery	All the remaining area of conurbation

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Appendix 2

Social-Occupational Categories of Observatório das Metrôpoles

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Michael Chetry

The proposal of this article is to present a summary of the Socio-Occupational Categories (*Categorias Sócio-Ocupacionais*—CATs) of the *Observatório das Metrôpoles*, which are commonly used to analyze the social structure of Brazilian metropolises and are also employed in the analysis of the social organization of the metropolitan territory. In order to provide an understanding of the issues that guided the formulation of the CATs, the study outlines the socioeconomic context in which they were conceived, besides presenting the theoretical framework underlying them. Based on the theoretical framework and the socioeconomic context, it then exposes the explanatory principles of each socio-occupational category. The following section explains how the CATs can be used to analyze the social organization of the metropolitan territory. Finally, in the final considerations, it raises a few questions on the current scope of the CATs.

Theoretical Framework

The Socio-Occupational Categories (CATs) of the *Observatório das Metrôpoles* correspond to a social stratification based on the occupation variable of the household surveys conducted by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (*Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística*—IBGE)—arranged according to the Brazilian Classification of Occupations (*Classificação Brasileira de Ocupações*—CBO), which seek to represent the social structure of Brazilian metropolises. Representing social structure through a stratification based on the occupation variable is part of the tradition of sociological research, in its varied perspectives, which acknowledges the importance of this variable as a mechanism of social analysis. Traditionally, the most commonly used analyses in social sciences to

understand social structure are the Marxist and the Weberian, since their theoretical concepts on social class are more consistent, although it is a difficult concept to define (Crompton 1993). However, the theoretical framework underlying the CATs is based on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of social space, consistently introduced in his book *Distinction: Social Critique of Judgment of Taste* (Bourdieu 2008). The use of this concept of social space has the advantage of allowing the formulation of theoretical classes (or class fractions) which are closer to the real world (empirical), incorporating contributions from both Marxist theory and Weberian thought. This advantage stems from the author's concern to understand, through the social space, the social practices of the agents.

To represent the concept of social space, Bourdieu builds a three-dimensional space comprising the volume of capital, the structure of capital, and the paths followed over time. Social space is conceived through antagonistic positions related to the volume of capital on the one hand and the structure of capital on the other. Oppositions of class are identified based on the volume of capital, while oppositions of class fractions are identified based on the structure of capital.

It should be stressed that understanding the relationship between classes from this perspective has the advantage of considering not only the economic dimension in its definition, but also other kinds of capital, such as cultural or social. In this sense, it is possible to efficiently relate class (or class fraction) position with the practices of social actors, inasmuch as such practices stem from the "embodied form of class status and the conditions it imposes," viewed as the unifying and generating principle of practices, i.e., the *habitus*.

This common feature of constructed class explains the existence of common lifestyles within the class (or class fraction), which at the same time distinguish it from other classes, thus being *distinct* and *distinctive* lifestyles. This makes it possible to outline the structure of the symbolic space that refers to structured practices as a whole. These *distinct* and *distinctive* lifestyles are so because, at the same time, they are configured as having social status, due to the position they occupy in the social space (in both the hierarchy related to the volume of capital and the hierarchy arising from the structure of capital). The struggle to reproduce the current status (when it is privileged) or to achieve social advancement is no coincidence. And, in this struggle, emerge efforts to re-appreciate the position by guaranteeing its uniqueness and restricting access to it, resulting in the preservation of social status, when this process is successful, or a reduction in social status, when access is expanded to social agents from lower classes (or class fractions).

It is evident that the use of the concept of social space involves both the dimension of social structure considered by Marxist theory and the dimension of social structure viewed from the Weberian perspective, insofar as that all of them consider that this structure stems from social classes, incorporating production relations (Marxism) and, at the same time, social status (Weberian). In addition, the use of this understanding of social space enables the operationalization of the concept of class (and of class fraction) to perform empirical analyses, given that the objective class, as presented, is also a constructed or theoretical class.

Socioeconomic Background of the Development of the CATs

Initially, the Socio-Occupational Categories were developed as part of a CNRS/CNPq cooperation and scientific exchange program on “Economic and social restructuring of large metropolises: Paris-Rio de Janeiro comparative study,” and included the contribution of Edmond Preteceille, researcher at the *Centre Sociétés et Cultures Urbaines* (CSU), and of Luiz Cesar de Queiroz Ribeiro, from the Research and Urban and Regional Planning Institute (IPPUR) of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ). That project aimed to analyze the impact of economic changes on the social and spatial structures of metropolises, at a time when the debate was dominated by the thesis of the “global city.” The proposal was to test its main hypothesis, which consisted of the tendency to dualization of the social and spatial structures of large cities under the effects of globalization.

The development of CATs was inserted in the French tradition started by Tabard and Chenu (1993) and Tabard (1993), and therefore it adopted as a point of reference the French system of classification of professions—the socio-professional categories (CSP). The CSPs, created in the early 50s by the *Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques* (INSEE), express a position in the social structure of society resulting from the combination of several criteria, such as income, occupation, position in occupation, activity sector, level of education, etc. An additional resource was existing Brazilian studies which tried to develop classification systems based on occupational variables used by the IBGE (Jorge et al. 1985; Valle Silva 1973), in order to take into account the particularities of Brazilian society and its labor market. Indeed, if the relationship between the system of socio-professional categories and social hierarchy is strong in France due to the degree of regulation of the labor market, in Brazil, the low level of stability and institutionalization of a large number of registered occupations required adapting the French classification system in order to express Brazilian social hierarchy. In particular, that meant producing criteria with both statistical and social coherence regarding Brazilian society.

To express Brazilian social hierarchy, the classification system should also show evidence of social recognition. Indeed, as shown by Desrosières et al. (1983) and Desrosières and Thévenot (1988) regarding the CSP, developing occupational classification results from operations to represent the social world. They identified three distinct forms of representation: statistical, cognitive, and political. This means that it was necessary to produce and use classification criteria that were statistically coherent, complying with the technical constraints and legal practices established in the official statistical system; that the categories would place individuals in the occupational positions that form the current social division of labor in the urban/metropolitan Brazilian economy, and whose grouping represented social positions or classes of social positions with a certain level of social homogeneity; and, finally, that these social positions showed signs of resonance with the principles according to which Brazilian society recognizes the distinctions of social and political hierarchies and differences, giving “mandates” to certain groups or

“unrecognizing” the “right to mandates” of others. In addition, this development takes place in a situation of economic and social transition of Brazilian society.

Indeed, although countries with planned economies had already been integrated in the globalization process in the early 1990s, and undergone deep economic changes such as production restructuring processes, Brazil was at that time going through a period of economic transition, marked by the transition from an economy based on the import replacement process to a more liberalizing experience, that is, when its insertion in the global economy acquires a wider breadth due to the opening of trade and finances introduced at the beginning of the decade and the macroeconomic policies of fiscal and monetary adjustment aligned with the international economic dynamics. Consequences of Brazil’s insertion in globalization were felt in the production process, with production restructuring processes; in the labor market, with rising unemployment, underemployment, and precarious work relations; in the occupational structure, with the emergence of new occupations simultaneously with the disappearance of older ones. In short, the 1990s were marked by significant changes in Brazilian society, both economic and social.

Although the CATs were developed in this context of economic and social change in Brazil, the classification process was still strongly marked by the previous economic structure and labor market. This happened because the processes of economic restructuring and social change do not occur immediately, and when they do occur, they still bear part of the structure or experiences that culminated in those processes of change. For this reason, the occupations’ classification system culminating in the CATs carried that past experience, manifested in intense social mobility due to the spatial mobility of migration processes; the establishment of a middle class, linked both to state bureaucracy and the private sector of the economy; the emergence of an industrial working class linked to traditional industries and also modern industries in major urban centers; and the large number of people entering the labor market in precarious conditions, with no guarantee of social security. These marks of the Brazilian industrialization period are already present in the first occupations’ classification system culminating in the CATs, although major changes had already arisen at the time of its development.

The first study carried out in Brazil with the use of CATs is by Ribeiro and Lago (2000), in which the authors aim to analyze the social space of large Brazilian metropolises (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Belo Horizonte). At the time, the analysis used data from the 1991 Brazilian census, which made it possible to observe to what extent the social structure in those metropolises is marked by the opposition between the socio-occupational categories in terms of a combination of economic capital and educational capital, that is, the main criterion of social differentiation results from the ownership of economic capital and educational capital by certain social groups at the expense of the absence of such capital in other groups. Furthermore, it was realized that there is also a significant association between the social position represented by the CATs and the socio-demographic attributes of race/ethnicity, gender, and type of family. These findings were key to formulating a research agenda capable of deepening the analysis of social structure for Brazilian metropolises, including its expansion to other metropolitan areas in the

country, and to understanding the structure of urban metropolitan space according to those socio-occupational categories.

CATs Explanatory Principles

According to the guiding theoretical principles and in view of the social formation of Brazilian society, especially of its metropolitan areas (Ribeiro and Ribeiro 2013), a social stratification was developed considering the following criteria:

1. *Capital X Work*: owning or not the economic activity is the main characteristic that defines the position of individuals in the production process. In this case, the division is between individuals who are employers or self-employed, and individuals who are employed. However, regarding the former group, three distinctions must be made, which will also imply the development of social stratification. First, among owners of economic activities there are those who are employers, who have employees, and there are those who work on their own, the so-called self-employed, which are important differences to understand the position of individuals in the social structure. Second, among employers there are large employers and small employers. This differentiation is more difficult because there is no agreed criterion, or one based on a theoretical approach. The distinction made, which is nevertheless arbitrary, will be according to the number of employees. Third, among the so-called self-employed, there are differences in professionalization. Those engaged in an occupation resulting from their actual profession have a social status different from those engaged in an activity that is regarded more as a survival strategy due to the lack of formal employment; therefore, this is an additional criterion used to differentiate groups or social classes.
2. *Manual work X non-manual work*: engaging in a manual occupation differs socially from engaging in a non-manual occupation, which normally requires some level of education, whether secondary or higher. Certain non-manual occupations require a higher level of education; usually these occupations fall within the concept of profession, since they are occupations in which occupants enjoy a certain degree of autonomy in the performance of tasks, due to the need of mastering prior knowledge, as well as barriers to entry, characterized by the actual level of education. But there are also non-manual occupations which require only a secondary level of education; such occupations are usually related to performing technical activities. In this case, there are differences in relation to non-manual occupations that do not have such requirements.

There are also important differences regarding manual work. Although they derive much more from economic sectors than from actual educational requirements, some occupations demand a certain level of skills (which is not the same as education). In this case, there are manual workers of production activities, who must be separated into agricultural workers and industrial workers. Industrial workers, in turn, can be separated into those engaged in

traditional industries and those occupied in modern industries, where there is a higher demand for skills. For manual workers in the services sector, one must separate those occupations that require some level of skills from those whose exercise does not depend on prior training.

3. *Control work X subordinate work*: there are also important differences between occupations that exercise activities of control, whether in administration, management and supervision, and subordinate occupations, which are controlled by others. Even among control occupations, there are differences depending on whether the activity is carried out in large or small enterprises. As such, a distinction cannot be made; income is used as a proxy for position of control.
4. *Public work X private work*: another criterion used to differentiate occupations is between those occupations that take place in the public sector and those that take place in the private sector, given that this criterion is an indicator of distinct social positions in Brazilian society.

Socio-occupational categories of Observatório das Metr6poles

Aggregate	Socio-occupational categories
Executives	Major employers
	Public sector managers
	Private sector managers
High-level professionals	Self-employed high-level professionals
	Employed high-level professionals
	Statutory high-level professionals
	High-level professors
Small employers	Small employers
Middle-level occupations	Occupations in arts and similar activities
	Office occupations
	Supervision occupations
	Technical occupations
	Middle-level occupations in health and education
	Occupations in public security, justice, and mail services
Specialized tertiary sector workers	Tradesmen
	Specialized service providers
Workers in the secondary sector	Modern industry workers
	Traditional industry workers
	Auxiliary services workers
	Construction workers
Workers in the non-specialized tertiary sector	Providers of non-specialized services
	Domestic workers
	Street vendors and odd-jobbers
Agricultural workers	Agricultural workers

Based on these criteria, we use the occupation category—main occupation of the individual—cross-checking it with other variables (income, education, status in employment, economic sector, and institutional sector) to define the social stratification resulting in 24 (twenty-four) socio-occupational categories which can be grouped—for purposes of analysis—into eight (8) major socio-occupational aggregates, as can be seen in the table above. The intention is to use the databases derived from the IBGE household surveys which collect information related to labor and income, such as the census and PNAD (National Household Sampling Survey). However, for analysis at the intra-metropolitan level, only the census has representative data.

Use of CATs in Analyzing the Social Organization of the Metropolitan Territory

As the Socio-Occupational Categories of *Observatório das Metrôpoles* seek to represent the social structure of Brazilian metropolises, the analysis of the social organization of the metropolitan territory that uses this social structure regards it as inscribed in the physical space (territory) of the metropolis. That is, the social organization of the metropolitan territory stems from the inscription of the social structure in the physical space.

In analyzing the social organization of the metropolitan territory with the use of CATs, a socio-spatial typology is developed based on two procedures: correspondence analysis and cluster analysis, which are techniques corresponding to multivariate analysis. This socio-spatial typology is formed by groups of intra-metropolitan territorial cross sections (weighting areas), where each one of these groups seeks to present internal homogeneity and heterogeneity in relation to the others, in order to obtain a set of area groupings corresponding to a socio-spatial hierarchy. It is this socio-spatial hierarchy (socio-spatial typology) that makes it possible to analyze the metropolitan areas where more social groups occupying higher positions of the social structure are concentrated, or where social groups occupying lower positions of the social structure are concentrated, or where social groups occupying intermediate positions of the social structure are concentrated.

Once the socio-spatial typology has been developed, it is important to analyze its social organization structure, the evolution of this structure of socio-spatial organization, the relationship with other social dimensions, and interpret the mechanisms that underlie the social organization of the metropolitan territory. To this end, it is necessary to analyze the internal composition of each one of the socio-spatial types, observing the categories that stand out in each one of them compared to the other types; compare the composition of these socio-spatial types between different periods of time in order to analyze the changes that may have occurred; check for correspondence between the characteristics of the socio-spatial type and variables such as sex, skin color or race, income level, education level, housing conditions,

public services conditions (water, sewage, garbage collection, etc.) to see whether there is any relationship between social inequalities and territorial inequalities; and, finally, seek to understand the mechanisms that explain the social organization of the metropolitan territory, which can be interpreted based on the actual procedures to develop the socio-spatial typology, but can also be sought elsewhere, as in housing policies, or government action in a broader sense, or even in market mechanisms, etc. All of this, however, can be done in a comparative way between different metropolises, made possible by the use of a common analysis methodology, despite dealing with different contexts.

Final Considerations

This study aimed to present, albeit in a summarized form, the Socio-Occupational Categories of *Observatório das Metrópoles*, highlighting the theory underlying them, the socioeconomic context in which they were developed, their main explanatory principles, and how they can be used to analyze the social organization of the metropolitan territory. Many analyses have been carried out by the Brazilian academy with the use of CATs. Those analyses, in general, seek to highlight either the social structure or the social organization of the metropolitan territory, stressing social processes that manifest themselves territorially in the country's metropolises. Therefore, it is believed that the development of this social stratification system, which can be representative of social structure, is a breakthrough in the study of inequalities and in urban studies.

Nevertheless, this article ends by proposing some questions that can contribute to advancing and hopefully upgrading the CATs system, allowing it to always be, in the most effective way possible, the representation of the social structure of Brazilian metropolises, although social structure is not limited to social stratification. These questions arise from the observation of some processes of changes in Brazilian society that may impact the development of CATs and, therefore, their representation:

- i. From the moment the country was inserted in the globalization process and underwent the process of economic restructuring, the world of labor was heavily influenced: the service sector now has a greater weight in the economy and in the labor market; hiring arrangements and labor relations have changed; in general, the population has become more educated, which has reduced the *value* of education in the labor market. How do these processes impact CATs?
- ii. In the last 20 years, despite the economic structure, the country has experienced different social and economic situations. In the late 1990s, unemployment was the major social issue, which changed in the following decade when the country experienced full employment. Over the last decade there was also a reduction in income inequalities, a real increase of the minimum wage and greater labor regulation, changing the living conditions of the population. How

does this feeling of better living conditions affect the CATs and what they represent?

- iii. The changes in the world of work and in the economic context also influence the occupations classification system. Certain occupations can become more appreciated; others may lose social prestige. Some occupations have emerged in recent years; others have disappeared. How might these changes in the position of occupations in the social system affect the way CATs are classified?

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