

Social Deprivation and Poverty in the City of Santa Maria, Rio Grande do Sul: Analysis from Popular Peripheries of High Social Deprivation

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Keywords

Socio-spatial inequalities
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Abstract

Urban Geography has utilized various concepts over the last century to study urban poverty, such as segregation, exclusion, marginality, and more recently, social vulnerability. However, very little has been produced in Brazilian Geography regarding social deprivation as a concept for analyzing poverty, especially urban poverty. In this sense, the objective of this article is to present and discuss fragments of urban poverty present in the city of Santa Maria, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, referred to as popular peripheries of high social deprivation. The methodological procedures were operationalized using secondary and primary data, organized and mapped in a Geographic Information System. Secondary data were obtained from the municipal departments of Social Development and Housing and Land Regularization, as well as the Planning Institute of Santa Maria. Data from the Social Deprivation Index were also used, constructed from the 2010 Census data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics. Primary data were collected through 19 fieldwork sessions conducted between 2020 and 2024 across all urban neighborhoods of the city. Seven fragments of poverty in the urban territory of Santa Maria were defined, referred to as popular peripheries of high social deprivation. These high social deprivation peripheries territorially reveal urban poverty in the city through the limitation or complete absence of resources and structures necessary for social development. Poverty, therefore, is derived from multiple deprivations, at different levels, expressed territorially for Santa Maria through the popular peripheries of high social deprivation.

INTRODUCTION

This article is an excerpt from a doctoral thesis that sought to highlight the theoretical and conceptual possibilities of using social deprivation as a concept for analyzing urban poverty. The concept was applied in the urban area of Santa Maria, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul (RS), a medium-sized city that has been the subject of studies by the authors for the last six years (Faria *et al.*, 2019; Spode, 2020; Spode;Faria, 2023; Spode, 2024).

The perspective of social deprivation adopted in this study is linked to what we call “the second working group of social deprivation” (Spode, 2024), whose theoretical and methodological foundation is related to the interpretation of poverty based on the analysis of the groups’ social conditions in specific areas. From this perspective, social deprivation is operationalized through an integrated notion between the material and immaterial or subjective dimensions of scarcity, inseparable aspects that define a concrete situation of poverty. The main author in this segment is Peter Townsend (1928-2009), a British sociologist, responsible for formulating an extensive theoretical and methodological work for identifying poverty based on the notion of social deprivation. Over decades, the author spared no effort to study the economics of poverty in different institutions in Great Britain, having formulated deprivation indexes to measure social conditions in neighborhoods, cities, and countries, contributing to the formulation of public policies.

Deprivation, in Townsend's view, is associated with the absence of resources, structures, and rights widely accessed by groups, in different contexts, and which are fundamental for social development. The author defines social deprivation as a state of observable and demonstrable disadvantage in relation to the local community, society, or nation, to which an individual, family, or group belongs (Townsend, 1987).

This allows us to understand that social deprivation is a geographically relative situation, since resources and needs are conditioned by the different times/spaces in which they occur (Faria, 2017; Spode, 2024). For this reason, among a series of approaches traditionally used by Brazilian urban geography, social deprivation, as it was addressed in this research, appears as an original concept in the reading of poverty in cities.

Santos (2009) argues that poverty can only be defined relative to different territorial realities, since the resources made available to humankind, vary according to position on the social scale, change with time and place. The condition of poverty is derived from the multiple deprivations that manifest themselves in different territorial contexts, such as types of diet, clothing, housing conditions, and education, among many others. This is what Townsend (1979) describes as conditions that are part of most people's daily lives, or at least widely encouraged or approved in the societies which the groups are inserted in.

These conditions are also unequivocal thresholds of deprivation, whose absence imposes on the group's social conditions below the socially and institutionally accepted standards of living in the territorial context assessed (Townsend, 1979). In this sense, deprivation results from the historical process and the movement of the entire world in the present reality, but it can only be understood as a manifestation of social life occurring in each place. Therefore, assessing social deprivation requires a systematic observation of the processes in the territory where life takes place. Hence our effort to theorize and understand deprivation in the city of Santa Maria, RS. Therefore, the objective of this work is to analyze social deprivation in this urban territory and identify the so-called popular peripheries of high social deprivation.

METHODOLOGY

The definition of poverty areas in Santa Maria was derived from the accumulated knowledge of the city's socio-spatial reality, which culminated in the mapping of the highly deprived popular peripheries. For this, secondary data were obtained from the *Secretária de Desenvolvimento Social e Habitação e Regularização Fundiária* as well as from *Instituto de Planejamento de Santa Maria (IPLAN)*, organizations linked to the City Hall. These data refer to *CadÚnico* records from January 2022, listing areas of irregular occupation, areas under regularization, and regularized areas, as well as the shapefiles of neighborhoods and urban subdivisions. *CadÚnico* is perhaps the most comprehensive and up-to-date database on Brazilian populations in precarious income and housing situations, making it useful for assessing urban poverty. This database was also chosen because the socioeconomic data for *Instituto Brasileiro*

de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE), a public body that provides data and diverse information about Brazil, census sectors for 2022 had not yet been made available at the time of conducting this research.

The CadÚnico data totaled 29,092 families registered in Santa Maria, accounting for 65,715 people, both in the urban area and in the rural districts of the municipality. The following pieces of information were collected from this database: (i) location of users; (ii) number of people per family, and (iii) family income. The raw data were organized and entered into a Geographic Information System using Qgis software, where the families were geolocated. This process was carried out using the “MMQGIS,” a set of Python plugins, which aims to transform addresses into coordinates (Rizzatti *et al.*, 2020).

Once geolocated, each case underwent a manual and individualized verification process, conducted between October 2022 and the end of January 2023. This process was divided into three stages, corresponding to three shapefiles, each containing approximately 10,000 families. This process was important in ensuring the accuracy of the location of addresses and, thus, avoiding mistakes in relation to the city's streets and urban neighborhoods. Finally, the CadÚnico data were mapped and quantified in relation to urban neighborhoods, census sectors, irregular occupations, and rural districts.

Data from the Social Deprivation Index (IPS) of Santa Maria's urban area were also used. These were developed from the IBGE 2010 Census variables, on a census sector scale, presented in the Master's Dissertation (Spode, 2020). Five variables from IBGE (2010) were used, statistically combined into social indicators, which included the dimensions of (i) education, (ii) income, and (iii) householdsanitation. Two criteria were listed for selecting the variables that compose the IPS: (i) the first criterion is statistical, linked to the sample size, given that variables with a reduced number of data would imply an erroneous spatialization of the city's socio-spatial conditions; (ii) the second criterion was based on the scientifically documented reality of the city's urban reality, whether through the assessment of socio-spatial segregation (Rocha, 2011), exclusion (Prado, 2010), or even in the analysis

of vulnerability associated with areas of socio-environmental risk (Trentin *et al.*, 2019).

The five social indicators were designed based on the simple and crude relationship between the numerator and denominator, expressed as a percentage. Subsequently, the indicators were standardized and weighted using the Hierarchical Analysis Method, as per the guidelines of Saaty (1987). The methodological procedures for creating the IPS were based on a multicriteria evaluation model, with all operationalized phases described in greater detail in Spode (2020).

A bibliographic survey on the concept of social deprivation was conducted based on national and international journal websites, Google Scholar, and the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (CAPES), government foundation that operates in postgraduate studies in the country, Journal Portal. This survey led to the systematization of two tables listing the studies that used the concept of social deprivation in the context of different social sciences, between the years 1949 and 2021, totaling 70 works. The second table systematized only the studies that used social deprivation in the field of Geography, totaling 52 works, between the years 1971 and 2023. This bibliographic survey, classified by year, country and authors, is presented in Spode (2024).

The primary data were collected in 19 field studies, carried out in all city's neighborhoods, between the years 2020 and 2024, operationalized from systematic observation of the landscape, field diary records, and photographic survey. The methodology employed by Faria (2012) was used, adapted and rearranged for Santa Maria's territory.

In this sense, three sets of approaches, adapted from the study by Faria (2012), were considered: (i) territorial division of labor; (ii) spaces of speed and slowness, and (iii) the spatial dimension of everyday life (banal space) and the embodiment of the territory. Five criteria are derived from these three sets of approaches, which support and are operationalized as a guide for observation and field data collection. Chart 1 presents the observation guide, which includes the criteria for a field recording diary, defined and elaborated based on the methodology developed by Faria (2012).

Chart 1 – Guide of criteria used for systematic observation in fieldwork

Modes of use of territory		Description
I)	Predominant land uses	Most relevant aspects regarding residential, industrial, commercial and service uses, institutional uses, and multiple uses. According to Faria (2012, p. 315), in this category, “it is also important to highlight the population and housing density of each area and observation points, respectively.”
II)	Housing conditions	Description of residential occupation modes. It is important to identify whether or not the housing is precarious, as well as the spatial homogeneity of housing modes (Faria, 2012).
III)	Socio-environmental conditions	Description of general environmental conditions: afforestation, garbage, noise, presence of flooding, proximity to rivers and slopes, sewage system, water supply. It is important to associate physical-environmental conditions with housing, given that the occupation of hills or slopes, for example, will not always be done by low-income populations. “What determines the modes and places of occupation is the dynamics inherent to the reproduction of capitalist relations of production of urban territory. It should be noted that environmental conditions are first and foremost social conditions, and this association must be sought” (Faria, 2012, p. 316).
IV)	Infrastructure conditions	Conditions of urban facilities such as paved and unpaved streets, presence of public facilities such as schools, squares and green areas, and health services. Also the presence of transport facilities such as stations, airports, passenger and cargo areas, and so on.
V)	Speed and slowness	“It is important to observe the capacity that each point has to accommodate these vectors, although this is not an easy task” (Faria, 2012, p. 317). The spaces of speed, as Santos (2006) states, are characterized by being command centers, and therefore occupy a prominent place in the territorial division of labor. In other words, spaces of speed are reproduced, most of the time, through the actions of verticality, whose activities are determined externally, from outside and from afar (Santos, 2006). Spaces of slowness, in turn, house logics linked to horizontality, which is determined by relations of contiguity. In slow spaces, technique and science are less concentrated than in spaces of speed. This is associated with Milton Santos' slow men, who are the poor men of the city.

Source: The authors (2024).

The instruments used for collecting fieldwork data were a field diary, a Sony Nex C3 camera, Garmin Etrexx GPS devices, an IPS map of Santa Maria’s urban area, satellite images, and a map of neighborhoods, villages, and irregular occupations. Prior planning was developed for all fieldwork, in which the itinerary was drawn up, with the selection of neighborhoods and villages to be visited, as well as the stopping points. In summary, a general field plan was drawn up for all field trips planned for the research, as well as individual plans for all fieldwork carried out.

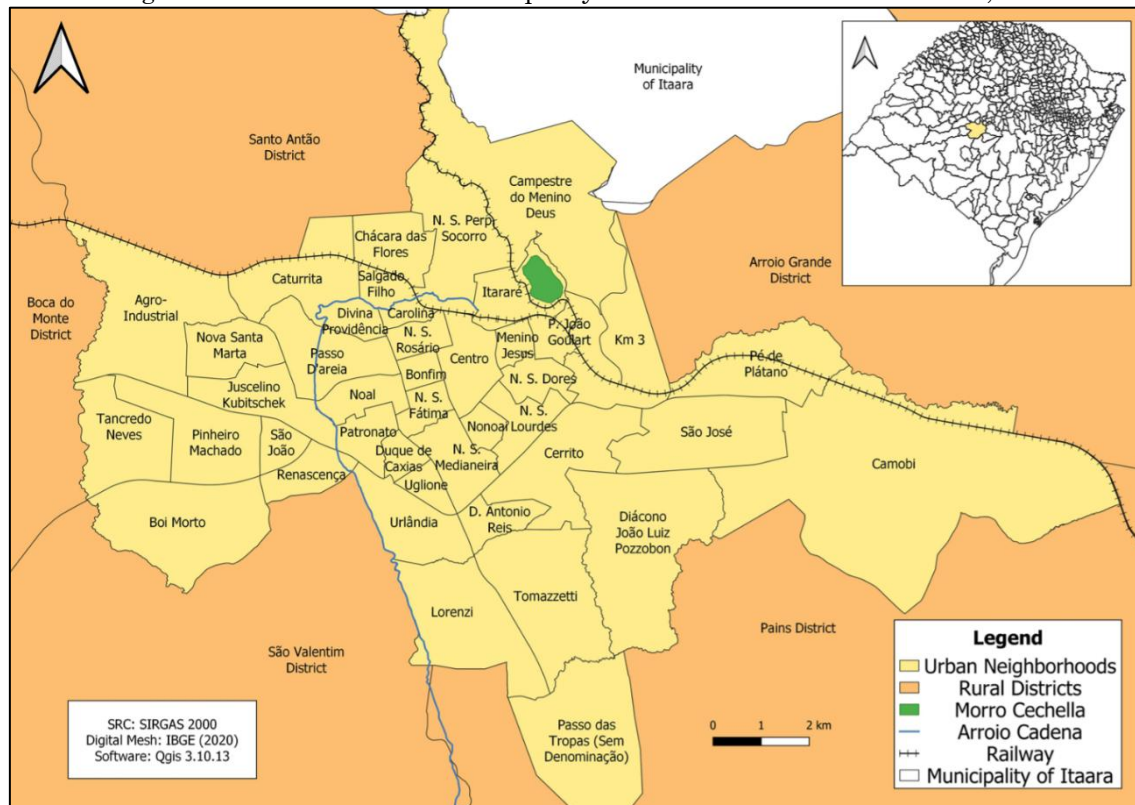
Territorial characterization of Santa Maria, RS

The municipality of Santa Maria is economically important in the state of RS, ranking 5th in terms of population, and playing an influential role in the municipalities in the state’s central and western portions. It is considered a medium-sized city, both due to its population size (271,735 inhabitants) (IBGE, 2022), and its central role in its region of influence, with its technical environment acting as a link between larger and smaller cities (Sposito, 2007).

Santa Maria’s population is distributed across 42 urban neighborhoods and 10 districts, including the district headquarters (Santa Maria, 2018), and is mostly concentrated in the municipality’s urban area (95%), with an average of 2.53 residents per residence (IBGE,

2022). The most populous urban neighborhoods are Camobi, in the eastern portion, and Centro, a downtown neighborhood (Figure 1).

Figure 1 – Location of the municipality and urban area of Santa Maria, RS



Source: IPLAN (2020). Elaborated by the author (2022).

These neighborhoods are home to the highest technical, informational, and human flow densities, with Camobi being home to the main Universidade Federal de Santa Maria (UFSM), Federal University of Santa Maria campus, the Military Air Base, and the Civil Airport, structures that command a large contingent of people and capital. Other populous neighborhoods include Juscelino Kubitschek, Nova Santa Marta, Tancredo Neves, and Pinheiro Machado, all located in the western portion, in poor peripheral areas, where there is a shortage or absence of infrastructure.

The municipality is considered a reference hub in education and healthcare, in addition to having a large military structure, with 22 Army units, including the Air Base, which has the second largest military contingent in Brazil (Rio Grande do Sul, 2021).

As in most cities in the country, the distribution of technical resources in Santa Maria is uneven, with most of the urban infrastructure and services concentrated in specific areas, namely, Camobi and the downtown neighborhoods. Conversely, in the

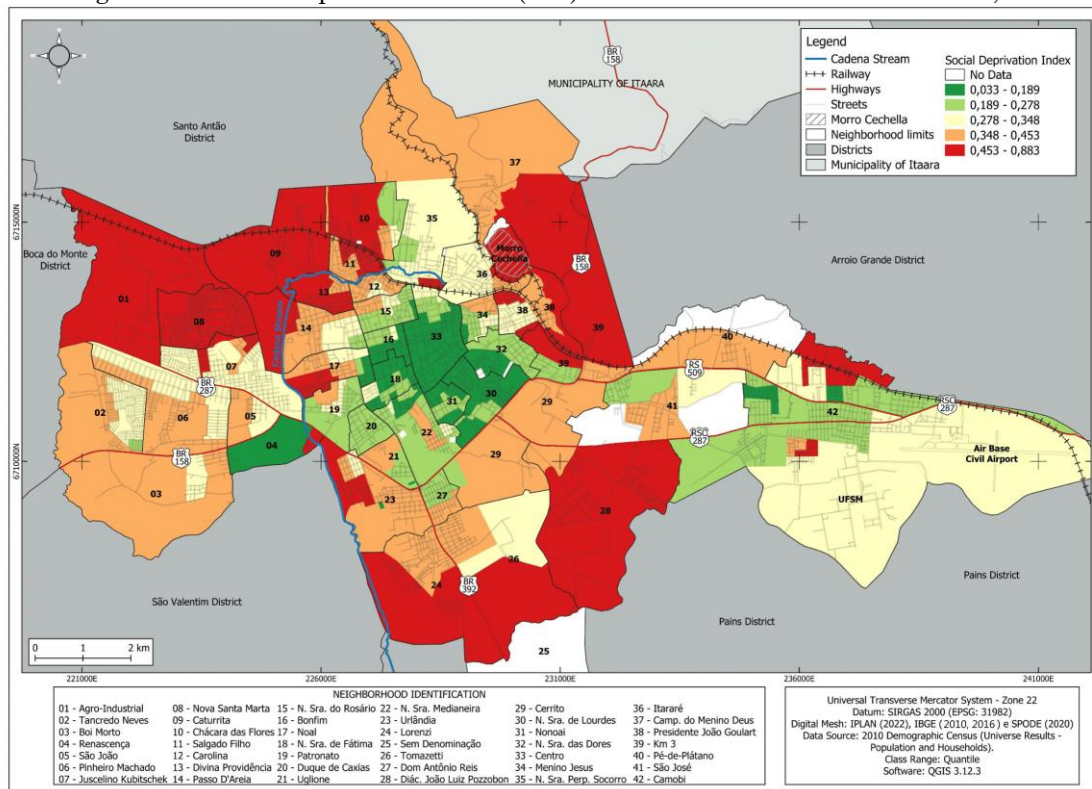
municipality's most remote outskirts, in areas with lower economic value, infrastructure and services are scarce, with a large proportion of residents experiencing various forms of deprivation.

It is worth highlighting the social production of distance, since the concept of periphery goes far beyond geometric distance, also manifesting in the technical densities installed in these locations. Camobi, for example, although located on Santa Maria's eastern outskirts, has a series of territorial structures that give it distinct characteristics compared to the northern or western outskirts of the urban area.

Reading from the Social Deprivation Index (IPS)

The IPS identified areas of urban social deprivation in Santa Maria (Figure 2). Three large areas of deprivation, classified as very high (values between 0.453 and 0.883), can be identified, particularly in the city's peripheral areas, though not exclusively there.

Figure 2 – Social Deprivation Index (IPS) of the urban area of Santa Maria, RS



Source: The authors (2020) adapted from Spode (2020).

These areas are associated with certain territorial structures, particularly the railroad and railway infrastructure, urban rivers, especially Arroio Cadena (the main urban river), and the hilly areas to the north, known as Morro Cechella (Figure 2). These areas of high social deprivation contrast with the low-deprivation areas (shown in green on the map, Figure 2), which are concentrated in the downtown neighborhoods and the periphery directly connected to the center, extending eastward to São José and Camobi. This spatial pattern of high income and infrastructure is related to neighborhoods where techniques and capital are most widespread in Santa Maria.

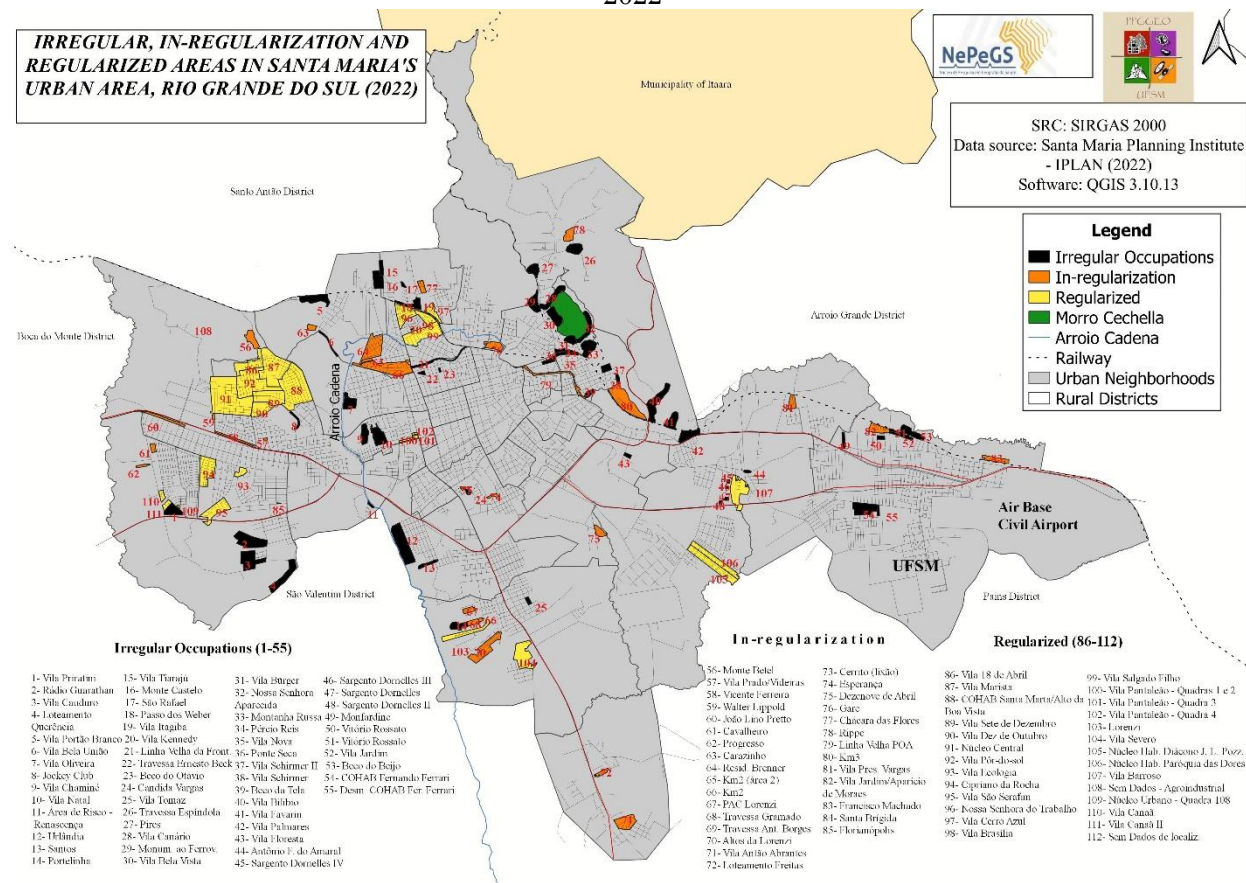
Since the 1970s, irregular settlements have developed along the railroad (Figure 3), gradually expanding and forming multiple localities that span the entire length of the tracks. Housing in these areas primarily consists of illegally built subdivisions, often made from wood and other improvised materials. Some examples can be highlighted, such as the villages located near the old train station in Camobi, also in Km 3, in addition to

the locations in Itararé, Presidente João Goulart and Salgado Filho.

The decline of the railway service affected Santa Maria, altering the economic and social dynamics of railway neighborhoods, particularly in the city's northern region. Neighborhoods such as Itararé and Salgado Filho, where a large part of the residents were linked to the railway dynamics, have become precarious over the decades, with low availability of infrastructure.

This pattern of urban social deprivation is also evident in other areas, such as the villages on the slopes of Morro Cechella and along urban rivers and streams, including Cadena and Cancela. This territorial situation of poverty in Santa Maria reflects a historical process that has created significant inequalities, with areas of extreme precariousness contrasting sharply with the city's high-income areas. According to IPLAN (2022), 34 areas of irregular occupation have been identified in these highlighted regions (Figure 3), underscoring the critical issue of urban housing shortages and the widespread deprivation it causes among affected social groups.

Figure 3 – Irregular, in-regularization and regularized areas in Santa Maria's urban area, RS, in 2022



Source: IPLAN (2022). Elaborated by the authors (2024).

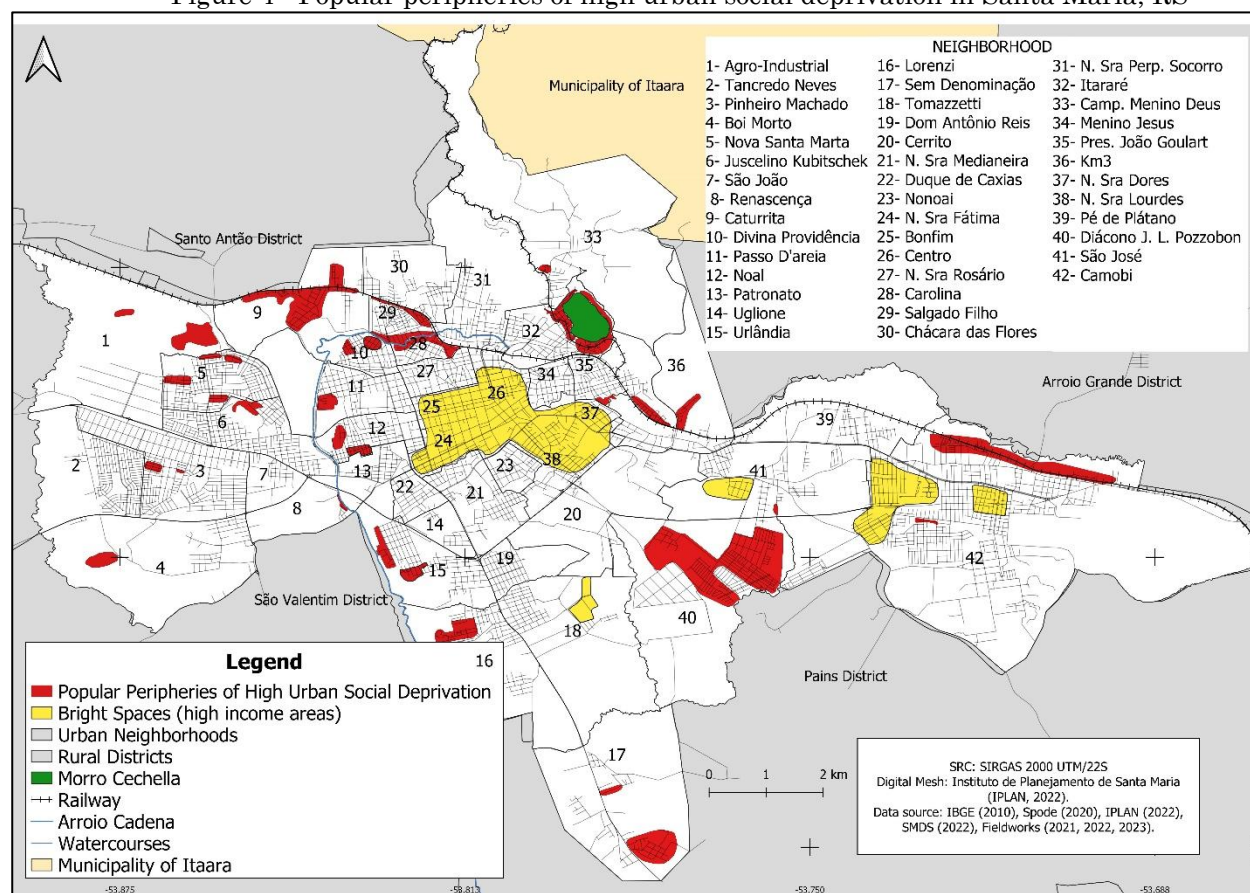
Territorial structure of low-income suburbs of high social deprivation

The IPS demonstrated that social deprivation is located on the city's outskirts, with a large part consisting of areas of irregular occupation, especially under certain rough areas materialized in the urban landscape. This geography of deprivation, updated with data from CadÚnico and systematically observed in the fieldwork, occurred between the years 2020 and 2024, enabled the delineation of fractions of the urban territory that we call popular peripheries of high social deprivation (Figure 4).

These seven fragments of poverty are expressed in Santa Maria's urban territory,

according to the following organization: (i) Camobi; (ii) Passo das Tropas (No Name); (iii) Diácono João Luiz Pozzobon; (iv) areas of significant deprivation that permeate Noal, Passo D'Areia and Divina Providência neighborhoods; (v) southern vector of Arroio Cadena, areas of high deprivation that cross neighborhoods such as Renascença, Uplândia, and Lorenzi; (vi) areas of social deprivation present in the urban northern and northeastern regions, in neighborhoods close to the railroad, Arroio Cadena and also Morro Cechella; and, (vii), western region, including portions of Nova Santa Marta, Juscelino Kubitschek, Pinheiro Machado, Boi Morto and Agro-Industrial neighborhoods.

Figure 4 - Popular peripheries of high urban social deprivation in Santa Maria, RS



Source: IBGE (2010), Spode (2020), IPLAN (2022) and SMDS (2022). Elaborated by the authors (2024).

The peripheries of high social deprivation play the role of a bridge between the concrete situation of deprivation and the condition of urban poverty that derives from it. The popular peripheries of high social deprivation arise from an effort of abstraction, the result of which was recorded in a synthesis cartography of the territorial expression of poverty, based on deprivation in Santa Maria's urban area.

The map (Figure 4) reveals that the areas of high social deprivation cover all the city's peripheries, concentrated especially in the aforementioned territorial structures, such as the railway and urban rivers. In Camobi, for example, the areas with the highest concentration of social deprivation are to the north, in precarious urban centers, located on the banks of the railway and the old railway station, and also in the areas surrounding the watercourses that cover the neighborhood. It is worth noting that Camobi presents intense internal inequalities, with the presence of poor, deprived areas in different ways, as well as elite outskirts (Corrêa, 1986), equipped with urban infrastructure, especially in the residential units located in the western portion. Camobi is home to the UFSM campus, and the Military Air

Base and the Civil Airport, structures that condition Santa Maria's territorial dynamics as a whole, as mentioned previously. This is reflected in intense spatial transformations that have taken place in the neighborhood in recent decades, especially the reproduction of residential buildings and subdivisions, which increase the value of urban land and push the poor to the peripheral areas of high deprivation. These processes were evaluated and presented in Spode *et al.* (2019).

This territorial reality is reproduced throughout the city's urban area, with spots of high social deprivation appearing discontinuously throughout the urban territory. However, social deprivation manifests itself in different ways in Santa Maria's neighborhoods, although the result is always the condition of urban poverty in which the groups are inserted in.

Throughout the entire length of Arroio Cadena, from north to south, there are several locations that present severe deprivation, such as a lack of basic sanitation and electricity, with most services operated through clandestine connections. It is worth noting that most of the housing is considered illegal, being in areas of

irregular occupation (Figure 3), since the physical and geographical conditions of the floodplains of Arroio Cadena do not allow human habitation.

In Noal, Passo D'Areia, Divina Providência, Renascença, Urlândia neighborhoods, the villages located near Arroio Cadena are those with the most precarious conditions, with multiple situations of deprivation. In Noal, there is also an irregular occupation on the banks of an abandoned meander of Arroio Cadena (Figure 4), a territorial fragment

generated by the straightening of that river in the 1960s and 1970s. In this fragment, 22 homes were occupied by families in situations of extreme deprivation and poverty, with structural problems such as lack of electricity, piped sewage, and public lighting, among others. The homes are inadequate in terms of thermal comfort, security and most of the resources widely enjoyed by residents of neighborhoods with available infrastructure (Figure 5).

Figure 5 - Aspects of the area on the banks of the meander of Arroio Cadena, Vila Lídia, Noal neighborhood, Santa Maria, RS. Records captured in Fieldwork (2023)



Source: The authors (2024). Image captions: a) Extension of a street in the area of irregular occupation on the banks of the abandoned meander of Arroio Cadena; b) Abandoned meander, behind the residences.

This is a situation that is reproduced, to varying degrees, in all of the city's highly deprived working-class suburbs. It is possible to observe that the closer one is to the highlighted territorial structures (urban rivers, Morro Cechella), the worse the socio-spatial conditions of the territory, in a dialectic that is produced in the contradictions between the natural form and the human groups. These are historical and natural structures that combine with the current social action, in a dialectic that systematically reproduces urban poverty in Santa Maria.

In northern region neighborhoods, the highly deprived suburbs are materialized in the villages located near the railway roughness, such as the train tracks, abandoned stations, workshop warehouses, industries, or monuments, among others. These testimonies of Santa Maria's railway past, or roughness in the

sense of Santos (2006), have become, in modern times, a place of residence for the city's urban poor, with several irregular occupations having been established in these areas since the 1970s. It is worth noting that this railway past roughness persists as housing for the poor in Santa Maria, since housing—or the lack thereof—as a fundamental dimension for life in the territory has become a chronic problem in the country.

In this region, there are also precarious villages located on the slopes of Morro Cechella. This physical-geological structure, where there are remnants of the Atlantic Forest, is an area protected by environmental law. Nonetheless, this has not restricted the disorderly occupation of the hill by the population deprived of resources. A mosaic of photographs of urban centers located in Morro Cechella is presented in Figure 6.

Figure 6 – Villages located in the vicinity of Morro Cechella, Santa Maria's urban northern region, RS. Records captured in Fieldwork (2023)



Source: Diário de Santa Maria (2023) Elaborated by the authors (2024). Image captions: A) Street bordering Morro Cechella, with open sewage; B) Slope of Morro Cechella at risk of collapse; C) Self-construction on the slope of Morro Cechella; D) Precarious housing on the eastern slope of the hill.

The deprivations of these locations are numerous, including precarious housing, the lack of basic sanitation, and the risk to life itself, since the housing is installed on the steep slopes of the hill, often associated with landslides. This occurred, for example, in the floods that devastated the state of RS in May 2024, resulting in the death of two people living on the slope of Morro Cechella, buried in a landslide.

In short, the popular peripheries of high social deprivation are areas where material and social conditions are absent or available to a limited extent in the territory. These are disadvantages observed in the urban landscape and represented by the limitation of the possibilities of achieving a socially dignified type of life (Townsend, 1987).

In reality, deprivation is the first process of poverty production, since access to material and immaterial resources is a fundamental condition for the adequate social development of individuals and groups. Vulnerabilities that denote risks come from social deprivation, or even the spatial differentiation of social classes in space, which drives the expulsion of the poor from elite areas of cities. This is the process of deprivation of the full use of urban territory, which produces the phenomenon of spatial segregation, vulnerabilities, food insecurity,

among other approaches extensively used in Urban Geography to assess poverty.

It is worth reiterating the definition of Townsend (1979), when he states that deprivation is a situation of observable disadvantage in relation to the society to which the individual or group belongs, therefore, relative in the different spaces/times evaluated. In this way, social deprivation allows us to recognize urban poverty in relation to the present historical moment, from the perspective of the limited conditions of access of populations to resources considered fundamental in the society which they are inserted in. Social deprivation, in this sense, advances the analysis of poverty, since it interprets the first process of scarcity, of the absence produced in the territories that create segregation, vulnerabilities, among other notions used to interpret social conditions.

The limited use of urban territory, imposed by social deprivation, produces territorial situations in which social groups do not access resources and infrastructures fundamental for the adequate reproduction of life. Highly deprived working-class suburbs are territorial situations marked by permanent systemic deprivations. Usually, these deprivations are aggravated by extreme events (climate, disease, etc.) or by political and economic hardships

(increased unemployment, reduced purchasing power of wages, among others). However, their existence is only understandable by the historical accumulation of different and unequal territorial divisions of labor. Deprivation allows us to understand the nature of poverty, not just its consequent processes.

Santa Maria's highly deprived working-class suburbs are empirical expressions of urban poverty, almost uninhabitable fractions of the territory marked by incomplete citizenship or non-citizenship (Santos, 1987). Exposing these deprivations is essential at a time when limitations are being observed in a national project to reduce poverty and hunger, as well as in targeted projects for access to housing, basic sanitation, transportation, education, and health, among others. A project that advances the dimensions of needs (which must be immediately addressed) is necessary to change the social structures that produce deprivation and poverty in Brazil.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Poverty is a dynamic phenomenon that is relative to each society (Santos, 2009), and its constitution results from the multiple deprivations that are reproduced in the territory and impose certain groups to a situation of disadvantage (Townsend, 1979). We sought to express urban poverty territorially based on the reading of social deprivation in Santa Maria, in the fragments that we call popular peripheries of high social deprivation.

If deprivation is a situation of disadvantage, as Townsend (1979) points out, it is, therefore, like poverty, a territorial condition, that is, historical, relative in relation to time and space. It is not by chance that social deprivation is also called relative deprivation, since the structures and resources, as well as the form of consumption of attributes, are relative in different places (time/space).

The seven Santa Maria's low-income suburbs with high levels of social deprivation were mapped and distributed across different neighborhoods and villages in the city, especially in the peripheral areas, in geographic and social terms. These suburbs are located in fragments of poverty that cross old railway areas, as well as physical and geological structures, such as Morro Cechella or urban rivers, where the populations build their homes in a precarious manner.

While on the one hand, the poverty areas are expressed in these fragments called low-income

suburbs, on the other hand, high income is also manifested territorially in the city. The bright spaces in Santa Maria's urban area are concentrated in the central region and neighborhoods close to the center, where the infrastructure is available for the local population. These bright spaces spread discontinuously through the neighborhoods close to the center to the east, passing through São José and Camobi, where high-end condominiums are located, as well as infrastructure and services. This territorial situation of inequality that manifests itself in Santa Maria's urban area was mapped on the map of the low-income suburbs of high social deprivation (Figure 4).

In the current context, the population living in the low-income suburbs of high social deprivation has limited access to most of the structures usually enjoyed by other neighborhoods' inhabitants. The poor, who live in the low-income suburbs, either spontaneously or in an organized manner, use strategies to alleviate their deprivation and access, even if precariously, the resources necessary to maintain their lives. A whole range of things occur in these poor areas of the city, whose reproduction is manifested in the informal dimension, with direct contact, characteristic of the lower circuits of the urban economy (Santos, 2018) as the main aspect.

Deprivation pushes entire populations into a life of social and material scarcity, and therefore into a condition of poverty. This is a first dimension revealed through the constitution of Santa Maria's high-income suburbs. A second dimension, inseparable from the first, is the perspective of resistance and solidarity, which make the peripheries essentially popular, as the term itself indicates. It is also worth mentioning the work of Serpa (2009) and Dias (2017), whose theoretical approaches converge with the perspective of analyzing the territories of resistance of the poor in the popular peripheries. This is a research agenda, based on aspects of the poor's daily lives and on the reflection on the popular peripheries of high social deprivation raises, especially from the concept of place.

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Pedro Leonardo Cezar Spode: Conceptualization, Data curation, Formal analysis, Funding acquisition, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing.

Rivaldo Faria: Conceptualization, Data curation, Formal analysis, Supervision, Writing – review & editing.



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