

**DYNAMICS OF SOCIO-SPATIAL SEGREGATION CROSSED BY THE DEVICE OF
RACIALITY IN PERUÍBE-SP**

***DINÂMICA DE SEGREGAÇÃO SOCIOESPACIAL TRANSPASSADA PELO DISPOSITIVO DA
RACIALIDADE EM PERUÍBE-SP***

***DINÁMICAS DE SEGREGACIÓN SOCIOESPACIAL ATRAVESADAS POR EL DISPOSITIVO
DE LA RACIALIDAD EN PERUÍBE-SP***



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ABSTRACT: This article aims to uncover how the spatial organization of Peruíbe (SP, Brazil) is structured by processes of socio-spatial segregation that, beyond economic inequalities, are shaped by the framework of raciality. The research is grounded in a cartographic analysis of the municipality using data from census tracts (IBGE Demographic Censuses, 2010 and 2022), integrating quantitative data with a critical perspective on the dynamics of raciality and space, aligned with the geography of racialities. The results show two interrelated phenomena: a) the formation of white exclusivity territories, characterized by wealth concentration and privileged infrastructure; b) the occurrence of environmental racism, which exposes racialized populations to precarious housing conditions and limited access to urban services. The study demonstrates how raciality operates as a structural axis of segregation, reinforcing spatial hierarchies and historical inequalities in the municipality.

KEYWORDS: Socio-spatial segregation. Raciality. Environmental racism. Peruíbe. Urban geography.

RESUMO: Este artigo tem como objetivo demonstrar como o arranjo espacial de Peruíbe (SP) é estruturado por processos de segregação socioespacial que, para além das desigualdades econômicas, são atravessados pelo dispositivo de racialidade. A pesquisa está ancorada na análise cartográfica do município com base nos dados por setores censitários do IBGE (Censos Demográficos de 2010 e 2022), articulando dados quantitativos a uma perspectiva crítica sobre o dispositivo de racialidade e o espaço, apresentando uma leitura alinhada com a geografia das racialidades. Os resultados evidenciam dois fenômenos correlatos: a) a formação de territórios de exclusividade branca, marcados por concentração de renda e infraestrutura privilegiada; b) a ocorrência de racismo ambiental, que expõe populações racializadas a condições precárias de habitação e acesso a serviços urbanos. O estudo demonstra como a racialidade opera como eixo estruturante da segregação, reforçando hierarquias espaciais e desigualdades históricas no município.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Segregação socioespacial. Racialidade. Racismo ambiental. Peruíbe. Geografia urbana.

RESUMEN: Este artículo tiene como objetivo revelar cómo el arreglo espacial de Peruíbe (SP, Brasil) está estructurado por procesos de segregación socioespacial que, más allá de las desigualdades económicas, están atravesados por el dispositivo de racialidad. La investigación se basa en análisis cartográfico del municipio a partir de datos por sectores censales del IBGE (Censos Demográficos de 2010 y 2022), articulando datos cuantitativos con una perspectiva crítica sobre el dispositivo de racialidad y el espacio, presentando una lectura alineada con la geografía de las racialidades. Los resultados evidencian dos fenómenos correlacionados: a) la formación de territorios de exclusividad blanca, marcados por concentración de riqueza e infraestructura privilegiada; b) la presencia de racismo ambiental, que expone las poblaciones racializadas a condiciones precarias de vivienda y acceso a servicios urbanos. El estudio demuestra cómo la racialidad opera como eje estructurante de la segregación, reforzando jerarquías espaciales y desigualdades históricas en el municipio.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Segregación socioespacial. Racialidad. Racismo ambiental. Peruíbe. Geografía urbana.

Introduction

The narcissistic pact of whiteness, which reproduces privileges for white people to the detriment of the Black population, operates within veiled agreements, perpetuating itself as a form of oppression and domination (Bento, 2022). Breaking with these narcissistic strategies is a necessary path to transforming the perverse reality of several Brazilian municipalities. My commitment, as a geographer and resident of Peruíbe, was to unveil how the spatial segregation of this location is traversed by the device of raciality (Carneiro, 2023b), identifying a spatial arrangement grounded in the intersection of disparities associated with class, gender, and raciality (Akotirene, 2019), which produces a fractured, unjust, and violent urban fabric.

To reveal what is intended to be invisible, our analysis of the theme starts from an approach to the geography of racialities in a reading that sought to be anti-racist, therefore, necessarily critical, anti-capitalist, and counter-colonial. In addition to the literature review and daily transit through various parts of the municipality, we took as a basis for the methodological construction of this research a comparative study between the urban and rural census tracts of Peruíbe, using data from the 2010 and 2022 IBGE demographic censuses, presenting in this work a portion of the analyses that constitute part of our doctoral thesis.

The realization of the existence of socio-spatial segregation, as well as peripheralization in Peruíbe and other municipalities in the Baixada Santista Metropolitan Region, does not constitute a novelty; other works have already pointed out, analyzed, and denounced the occurrence of these spatial processes (Ribeiro, 2006; Silva, 2013). However, these studies did not highlight the existence of an intersection of the raciality device in these phenomena, so that this research advances the understanding that such processes are not solely the result of economic inequality, but also of a spatial arrangement marked by raciality.

In line with the reflections of Abdias do Nascimento, in his work *O Genocídio do Negro Brasileiro* (2016), we cannot observe the higher percentage of Black people in peripheral areas as something purely economic, since this rationalization can be basically incomplete or racist, as it denies or fails to see that raciality permeates “the social and economic position in Brazilian society” (Nascimento, 2016, p. 88, our translation).

From this perspective, the article demonstrates that the municipality of Peruíbe presents two markedly discrepant socio-spatial realities. On one hand, there is an area near the beachfront, characterized by a predominantly white population, with better economic conditions, adequate urban infrastructure, lower population density, and even census tracts that can be classified as “territories of white exclusivity” (Brito; Mendonça; Rolnik, 2023). On the

other hand, areas far from the sea are identified with a predominantly Black population living in poverty, precarious infrastructure, and greater exposure to socio-environmental vulnerabilities and risks. These areas, which are located beyond two significant urban markers, Luciano de Bona Avenue and Padre Manoel da Nóbrega Highway, face conditions that can be interpreted as environmental racism (Herculano, 2008), evidencing a division and disparities associated with the apparatus of raciality in their socioeconomic imbrications within the urban fabric of the municipality of Peruíbe.

Thus, this article, starting from a perspective of the geography of racialities (Cirqueira; Santos, 2023), reinforces the critical debate on how the production of urban space is influenced by the device of raciality, proposing a geographical analysis that unveils the silent strategies of the narcissistic pact of whiteness (Bento, 2022). This pact, which inhabits high-end gated communities and beachfront mansions, (re)produces the socio-spatial segregation of Peruíbe. By articulating the device of raciality (Carneiro, 2023b) with census data and empirical observations, we highlight how raciality structures not only economic inequalities, but the very morphology of the city, in a municipality where scenic beaches hide a reality of racial segregation sustained by historical violence. Our contribution is the denaturalization of these processes, it is to excavate what whiteness insists on burying: the racial geopolitics that defines who has the right to beauty, to infrastructure, and to safety on the São Paulo coast.

In search of a geography of racialities

The work we propose in this article is grounded in the geography of racialities, a field of geographic science inspired by the geography of ethnic-racial relations (Oliveira, 2011; 2020; 2022). Within this field of geographic study, we understand that the device of raciality generates spatial consequences by operating as an attempt at the total subalternization of the “other,” in this case, the Black population, by whiteness in its white supremacist project (Carneiro, 2023b). We use the term “attempt” since we recognize that, throughout this process, there have always been Black escapes and resistances that have allowed, to this day, the survival of Black people and the formation of a Black-Brazilian sociability (Sodré, 2019; 2023). Examples include the efforts of the quilombos, quilombismo, terreiros, Afro-diasporic cultural sheds, and the Black movement, which, despite all the violence perpetrated by whiteness to this day, continue to resist (Oliveira, 2022).

Drawing on the reflections of Carneiro (2023b), we understand that raciality can be considered a device of power, which, like sexuality, accompanied the process of self-

affirmation of the bourgeois class. In this context, the apparatuses of power express a strategic objective of domination and are constituted by a heterogeneous network of discourses, laws, institutions, scientific statements, and even architecture. Thus, “the device of raciality, by demarcating humanity as synonymous with whiteness, will redefine the other human dimensions and hierarchize them according to their proximity to or distance from this standard” (Carneiro, 2023b, p. 31, our translation).

When we observe the Brazilian reality through the prism of the device and geography of raciality, it becomes clear that the idea of racial democracy² is a fallacy. Despite the rhetorical construction that in Brazil opportunities are equal for everyone, this is not the reality. Even today, it is possible to observe the persistence of a significant discrepancy between the data on violence, access to employment, and wage inequality between Black and white people in our country (Bento, 2022). Thus, we agree with the approach of Sueli Carneiro (2023b), who argues that the “myth of racial democracy” is a specific dimension of the Brazilian racial contract: by sustaining the “grand narrative” of harmony, it exerts an appeasing function on racial tensions and thus serves “white hegemony” (Carneiro, 2023b, p. 380, our translation).

When we speak of raciality, it is necessary to briefly revisit the concept of race, highlighting the differences between this concept and the device of raciality. It is important to emphasize that the concept of human race finds no support in current biological science. In other words, from a genetic or phenotypic point of view, it is erroneous to divide humanity into racial groups (Guimarães, 2003). From the perspective of Muniz Sodré (2023), the concept of race is retrograde and supremacist; therefore, we must focus on racial relations, which are, in fact, social relations permeated by the imaginary of race, based on the phenotypic differentiation of color.

The field of the geography of ethnic-racial relations can be understood as an area that seeks to analyze how raciality and racism permeate the process of production and organization of geographic space (Cirqueira; Santos, 2023).

Oliveira (2011), in their studies on the geography of ethnic-racial relations, drew closer to the conceptions of Carneiro (2023b), who argues that the raciality device involves the process

² Racial democracy is an ideology formulated by White intellectuals and developed during the post-abolition period. This conception proclaimed harmonious relations among racial groups in Brazil, celebrating racial mixing while denying the existence of racism, thereby obscuring numerous colonial abuses and the continued subordination of the Black population (Oliveira, 2022). Among its principal proponents are Gilberto Freyre, in *The Masters and the Slaves* (Casa-Grande; Senzala, 1933), and Arthur Ramos, in *The Brazilian Black* (O Negro Brasileiro, 1934), both of whom were influenced by the racist theories of Raimundo Nina Rodrigues (Carneiro, 2023a).

of constructing the “other,” constituted by racialized and oppressed groups, within the power structure imposed by the “hegemonic self,” which structures this violent system of oppression, which can be named as whiteness (Bento, 2022).

Although they follow different theoretical paths, the theses of Oliveira (2011) and Carneiro (2023b), in their analysis of the Brazilian reality, reach convergent reflections, making it possible to affirm that raciality permeates the production of Brazilian space since its genesis, even though it exhibits variations in form and intensity in each territory.

Thus, in this work, we understand the proposals of the geography of ethnic-racial relations as part of a geography of racialities, opting to use the latter nomenclature to highlight our greater proximity and identification with the contributions of Carneiro (2023b).

Starting from this point, we understand that one of the objectives of the geography of racialities is to highlight and analyze how the apparatus of raciality produces spatial arrangements that result in an unequal distribution of resources and infrastructure among different ethnic-racial groups, specifically analyzing in this work the distinctions between Black and white people. This dynamic is intrinsically linked to the historical process of Brazilian socio-spatial formation, since it is a society gestated from a colonial-slaveholding project, in which raciality became consolidated as one of the “central axes of our territorial organization” (Guimarães *et al.*, 2022, p. 30, our translation). Consequently, we still face a reality in which the Brazilian slave-holding social form is perpetuated (Sodré, 2023), which reproduces material and symbolic relations rooted in slavery, manifesting itself through everyday racist and discriminatory practices. These practices materialize in the production of space at multiple scales: from the architecture of residential floor plans, in which the maid’s room persists, carrying reminiscences of slave-holding thought (Lima; Campos; Santos, 2022), to the urban spatial arrangement, with favelas predominantly occupied by Black bodies living realities very distinct from bubbles of privilege, evident in territories of white exclusivity (Brito; Mendonça; Rolnik, 2023).

In this context, the geography of racialities can be understood as an academic effort that aims to tear the veil imposed by whiteness (Bento, 2022), which attempts to hide the perversity of the spatial arrangements it produces and which can be identified in cities like Peruíbe. These spatial arrangements produced by whiteness generate split cities. On one hand, there are territories of white exclusivity, places where the sign of life prevails (Carneiro, 2023b), a reflection of access to dignified infrastructure, comfort, and security. In turn, on the other side, blackened and racialized territories are produced, areas that are often favela-like and peripheral,

points in space where environmental racism and the sign of death often operate (Carneiro, 2023b).

Here, we understand that the sign of death (Carneiro, 2023b) stems not only from urban violence, largely perpetrated by state necropolitics (Oliveira, 2022), but also from the lack of infrastructure, inadequate urban services, greater exposure to socio-environmental vulnerability, and the predominance of land tenure irregularity, which are characteristics of environmental racism (Herculano, 2008).

Thus, some areas of the city are reserved for the predominant access of white and wealthy people, places that, even in the absence of an explicit system of segregation, become inaccessible to the majority of the Black and peripheral population, a reality symbolized by high-end gated communities, which often become fortified enclaves that segregate and generate physical and symbolic distance from the racialized population, who, for the most part, only access these areas to work in a scenario of exploitation (Brito; Mendonça; Rolnik, 2023). A process that, based on Oliveira's (2022) analyses, can be understood as the "indiscriminate" use of the space of whiteness, which diverges from the "discriminated" use of space imposed on the Black population (Oliveira, 2022, p. 4, our translation).

Analyzing and denouncing the existence of this spatial arrangement of/for whiteness—that is, of the "hegemonic self" to the detriment of the "other"—in the municipality of Peruíbe is, therefore, the central objective of this article, with the understanding that the contributions presented below may serve as a basis for the Black movement's agenda of struggle and demands in this territory. Seeking engaged scientific production, from a critical perspective that moves towards the construction of an anti-racist geography (Cirqueira; Santos; 2023).

A little about the urbanization of Peruíbe

The municipality of Peruíbe, SP, is a seaside resort located at the extreme south of the Metropolitan Region of Baixada Santista. Home to beautiful beaches, the municipality, which became independent from Itanhaém in February 1959, underwent a significant urbanization process in the second half of the 20th century. The urbanization of Peruíbe was influenced by several factors, among which stand out: a) the construction of the Padre Manoel da Nóbrega Highway; b) the environmental deterioration of the beaches in Santos (Ribeiro, 2006); c) the "real estate boom" in the Baixada Santista after the construction of the Imigrantes Highway in 1979 (Zündt, 2006).

Over the last few decades, the economy of the city of Peruíbe has been marked by the preponderance of the service sector, with summer tourism being one of its prominent economic activities; this dynamic results in a floating and ‘fixed-floating’ population (Ribeiro, 2006), which, during the peak season months, represents a significant increase in the population due to the large contingent of summer vacationers. The significant increase in the population during the high season creates problems in various parts of the city, as the urban infrastructure cannot meet the demand of the floating population (Jakob, 2003).

Another important demographic and economic dynamic for the analysis of the municipality is pendulum migration, driven by the proximity to the metropolises of Santos and São Paulo, which polarize resources and opportunities. In this context, many people leave Peruíbe daily, which is configured as a metropolitan periphery, to study or work in the major urban centers. The phenomenon of metropolitan peripherization and the presence of elements associated with dormitory towns are recurrent in the Baixada Santista, as described in Jakob’s thesis (2003) and revisited in the article by Cunha and Barbosa (2018).

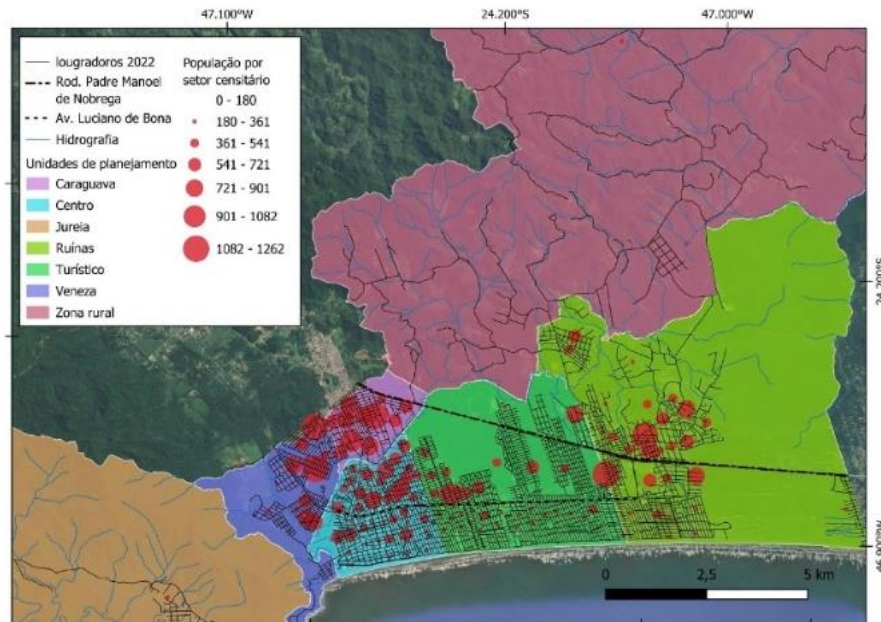
These transformations result in the urban expansion of Peruíbe, a dynamic associated with the municipality’s population growth process. According to the IBGE Demographic Census (2022), there was an increase of approximately 8,000 people in the population of Peruíbe-SP, which represents a growth of 14.34% compared to 2010. Furthermore, based on census data (IBGE, 2022), it is observed that the number of immigrants in the municipality is significant, as about 30% of the population declared having lived in the city for less than ten years.

That said, when considering the transformations of Peruíbe’s urban space in the first quarter of the 21st century, it is necessary to consider that, in addition to the touristification of the space, the process of population redistribution in the Metropolitan Region of Baixada Santista (Cunha; Barbosa, 2018) exerts an influence on the dynamics of the real estate market and on the local economy. Thus, these dynamics strengthen real estate speculation, serving market interests and resulting in socio-spatial segregation and the dynamic of peripherization in the city (Jakob, 2003; Ribeiro, 2006).

Still regarding the urban expansion process of Peruíbe, it must be noted that, initially, the city grew horizontally parallel to the sea, expanding along the coastline towards the municipality of Itanhaém (Ribeiro, 2006). With rising prices and a decreasing supply of lots near the beach, the city began to expand through subdivisions perpendicular to the coast, growing northwestward towards the escarpments of the Serra do Mar, crossing Avenida

Luciano de Bona and, subsequently, the Rodovia Padre Manoel da Nóbrega (Ribeiro, 2006) (Figure 1).

Figure 1 – Urban layout, population, and planning units of the municipality of Peruíbe



Source: Peruíbe, 2007; IBGE, 2022; Google Earth, 2024. Elaboration: Author.

At the beginning of the 21st century, there was a densification and expansion of peripheral neighborhoods, with emphasis on those located in the Caraguava, Veneza, and Ruínas planning units, especially in the area situated after the Padre Manoel de Nóbrega highway, in the surroundings of the Vila Erminda and Jardim dos Prados neighborhoods (Silva, 2013). Currently, the verticalization process, although still not very intense (Ribeiro, 2006; Peruíbe, 2022), is concentrated in the vicinity of the center and in the areas closest to the waterfront, an area that already shows signs of exhaustion of space for new developments. In areas away from the coastline, intense growth is observed, marked by new constructions that, to a large extent, are characterized by precarious construction and the absence of adequate urban infrastructure, such as basic sanitation, paving, and public facilities (Silva, 2013).

In their work, Silva (2013) focused on the analysis of the Ordered Urban Expansion Macrozone, which comprises part of the tourist urban planning unit located between Avenida Luciano de Bona and Rodovia Padre Manoel da Nóbrega, as highlighted in Figure 2, describing the profile of areas such as the Jardim Márcia neighborhood. One of the profiles identified by the author drew attention to female-headed households with recent migration to the municipality, low levels of schooling, and a significant presence of illiterate individuals.

However, this work did not emphasize the racial characteristics of these people in conditions of vulnerability and socio-spatial segregation. Silva (2013) also highlights the peripheral role that Peruíbe occupies in the Baixada Santista Metropolitan Region, in addition to denouncing that economic growth and urban expansion do not guarantee improvements in the population's living and housing conditions, due to the increase in socio-spatial inequalities, which result in different levels of vulnerability.

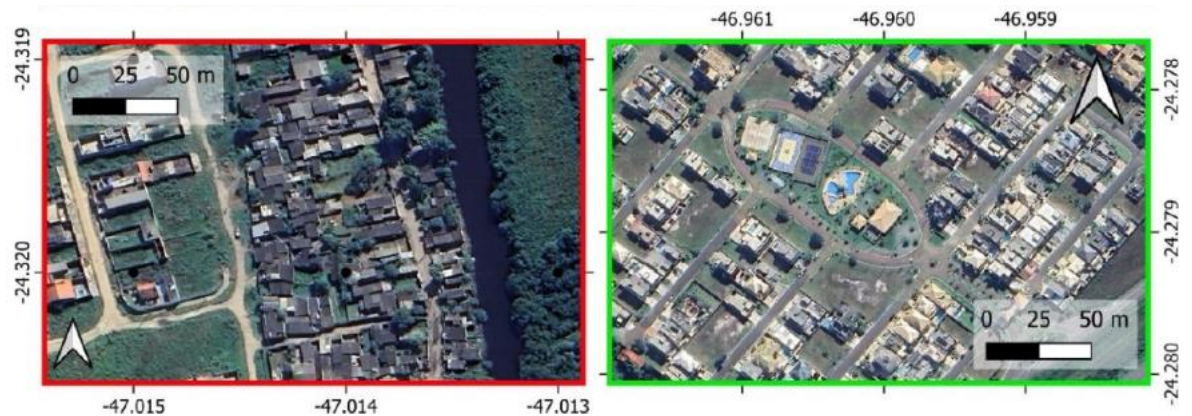
When analyzing the 2022 Demographic Census data by census tracts, it is observed that the majority of the absolute population and the tracts with the highest population density in Peruíbe are concentrated in two distinct areas of the urban footprint, as can be seen in Figure 2. The first one comprises the planning units of Centro, Veneza, and Caraguava, in areas located after Avenida Luciano de Bona, in a northwest direction. The second area of population concentration is located in the Ruínas planning unit, especially in the neighborhoods near the city's entrance roundabout, towards the municipality of Itanhaém, with emphasis on the sectors located after the Padre Manoel da Nóbrega Highway, also in a northwest direction.

Both areas are far from the coast, where census tracts with low population density and households without permanent occupancy predominate³. This pattern highlights that the urban strip near the beach functions as a housing reserve for tourism, with many properties remaining vacant for long periods. Thus, a depopulation of the areas near the waterfront is observed, even though they are endowed with better infrastructure, while the majority of the municipal population resides in peripheral regions of recent expansion, where there is a lack of basic infrastructure, a higher incidence of risk areas, and the presence of locations with a concentration of substandard housing.

This discrepancy between the waterfront and the outskirts becomes evident as we travel through the city. Observation of the urban landscape and the use of satellite imagery reveal an alarming inequality in the distribution of infrastructure throughout the urban fabric of Peruíbe (Figure 2 and 3).

³ Please refer to Figures 56 and 58, cartographic products developed in our doctoral dissertation (Cerqueira, 2025) based on data from the 2022 IBGE Demographic Census. Figure 56 depicts the percentage of seasonal-use households by census tract, while Figure 58 presents the population density by census tract.

Figures 2 and 3 – Comparison between aerial image of the Vila Caixote favela and the Bougainville IV Gated Community, Peruíbe-SP



Source: Cerdeira (2025).

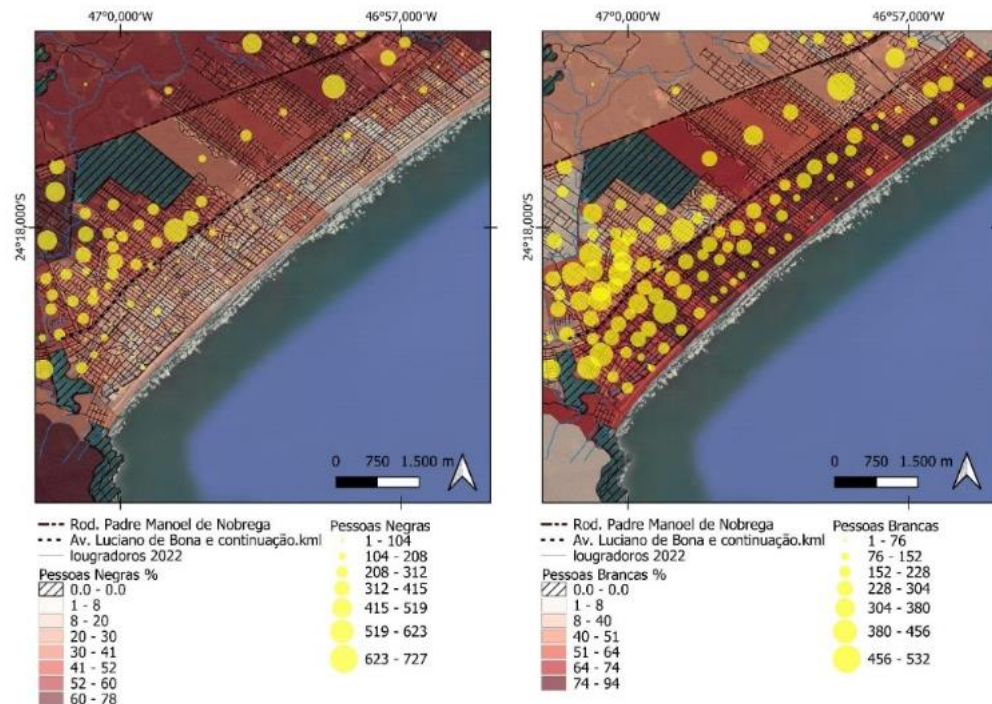
The difference is stark: on one side, beachfront mansions, located within gated communities, surrounded by walls and equipped with all the technological security paraphernalia—a reflection of a psychosphere of fear and prejudice (Melgaço, 2010); on the other, dirt roads, wooden shacks, and open sewers in the impoverished outskirts of the municipality.

Based on this finding, our study seeks to analyze how the device of raciality (Carneiro, 2023b), beyond income and class disparities, is intrinsically linked to these socio-spatial and economic inequalities in the municipality, contributing to a deeper understanding of the dynamics of exclusion and segregation that mark the local reality.

Between the void and whiteness: Who lives by the seaside in Peruíbe-SP?

According to IBGE data (2022), Peruíbe has 35,802 self-declared white inhabitants. The spatial distribution of this population is not uniform: in absolute terms, the largest population is concentrated in the central areas of the city. However, an analysis of the percentages by census tracts reveals a distinct pattern, particularly along the axis between Luciano de Bona Avenue and the coastline, where the census tracts with the highest percentages of the city's white population are located (Figure 4).

Figure 4 – Comparison between the percentage of Black and white population by census tracts in Peruíbe-SP



Source: IBGE, 2022; Google Earth, 2024. Elaboration: Author.

Luciano de Bona Avenue is a symbolic landmark of socio-spatial segregation in Peruíbe. Data from the IBGE demographic censuses (2010; 2022) reveal that the axis between this avenue and the waterfront concentrates: a) The highest density of high-standard residences, possessing high market value, superior dimensions, differentiated finishes, and a privileged location; b) The highest percentage of households with a *per capita* income greater than 5 minimum wages; c) The lowest index of residences with a *per capita* income below 2 minimum wages. This pattern of socio-spatial segregation had already been identified by Ribeiro (2006) and persists to this day, in such a way that the coastal area constitutes a privileged enclave, contrasting radically with the socioeconomic profile of the other regions of the municipality.

In this area, between Luciano de Bona Avenue and the beach, the percentage of white people reaches 74%, a value significantly higher than the municipal average, which is 52.38% (IBGE, 2022). This area, therefore, constitutes the whitest part of the city of Peruíbe.

The areas closest to the beach, with a higher percentage of white people, are precisely those that have the highest income, infrastructure, mansions, and gated communities. This finding can be analyzed based on the assumptions developed from a sociological perspective of residential segregation, which proposes that these differences reflect: a) different levels of power within the social hierarchy; b) physical distance, which reverberates in social distance;

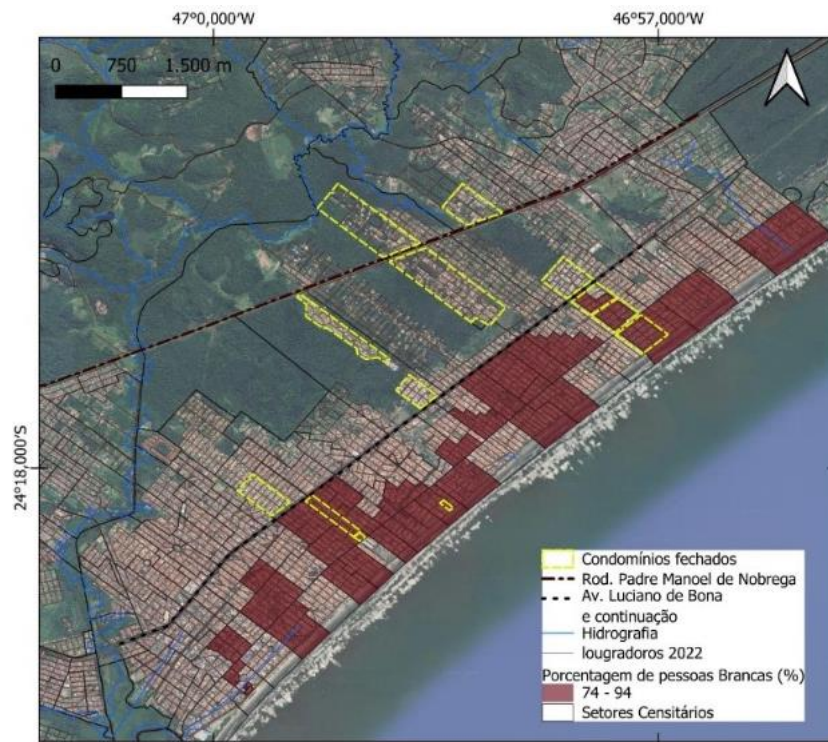
c) the perception of the importance of the neighborhood in a person's formation and socialization (França, 2017). In this sense, we could assume that those who occupy the neighborhoods closest to the beach concentrate political and economic power, fueling a desire for distance and a fear of the periphery, especially of its inhabitants, as evidenced by security apparatuses and by the enclosure within gated communities that do not engage with the periphery.

However, there are exceptions that deserve to be highlighted, as gated communities were also built in the areas to the east, beyond Luciano de Bona Avenue and even beyond the Padre Manoel da Nóbrega Highway. Due to the city's tourist appeal, its proximity to Santos, and real estate speculation, since 1980 Peruíbe has seen the emergence of gated residential communities aimed at high-income individuals (Ribeiro, 2006).

The proliferation of gated communities in Peruíbe is not an isolated process, as this is a dynamic that has been expanding in different cities around the world, a result of neoliberal advancement and deepening inequality in recent decades (Harvey, 2014). These condominiums stand out in the urban landscape, fragmenting the urban fabric and exposing socio-spatial segregation and economic inequality. This reality is evidenced by the extensive walls that isolate them from the rest of the city, creating fortified spaces with significant security apparatus, high-quality infrastructure, and leisure areas reserved for the enjoyment of a privileged, predominantly white, and economically affluent segment that consumes the city as a luxury good. In this context, the reverberation of the advances of a neoliberal ideology in the production of cities (Sposito *et al.*, 2023), marked by individualistic and competitive values, is evident.

The predominance of white people in the most affluent neighborhoods of Peruíbe, as evidenced by the data presented, reveals how the device of raciality (Carneiro, 2023b), combined with economic inequality and social class divisions, constitutes a central element in the socio-spatial segregation of the municipality. The high percentage of white people in certain census tracts indicates the existence of territories of white exclusivity (Brito; Mendonça; Rolnik, 2023) (Figure 5).

Figure 5 – Highlight of the sectors with more than 75% white people in the city of Peruíbe-SP



Source: IBGE, 2022; Google Earth, 2024. Elaboration: Author.

Territories of white exclusivity can be understood as spaces where the pact of whiteness is territorialized (Brito; Mendonça; Rolnik, 2023), non-verbalized or formalized agreements that perpetuate the privileges of whiteness and white supremacy. These pacts are structured in relations of domination that intertwine class, gender, race, ethnicity, and gender identity (Bento, 2022). Thus, some areas of the city are reserved for the predominant access of white and wealthy people, places that, even without an explicit system of segregation, become inaccessible to the majority of the population.

In its racial arrogance, whiteness self-segregates in spaces such as clubs, private schools, companies, neighborhoods, and gated communities (Bento, 2022), thus creating territories of white exclusivity. Brito, Mendonça, and Rolnik (2023, p. 39, our translation) define territories of white exclusivity as “neighborhoods marked by a marked predominance of forms of housing produced for whiteness, especially in their middle- and upper-class segments, and where the Black presence is only tolerated through its domination by labor relations.” These territories do not need to be homogeneous, but are characterized by white omnipresence and by the absence of Black territorialities, reinforcing the exclusion and marginalization of the Black population. (Brito; Mendonça; Rolnik, 2023).

Issues of class, race, and gender are intrinsically intertwined, forming the foundation upon which the capitalist system structures its relations and produces the city. This logic of capital generates forms of socio-spatial segregation that highlight the intersectionality of oppressions (Akotirene, 2019). In territories of white exclusivity, the Black body is, for the most part, admitted under the sign of labor, as cheap, impoverished, and controlled labor, with a focus on exploitation. This dynamic reinforces the subalternization of the Black population, limiting their presence to roles that serve the interests of whiteness (Brito; Mendonça; Rolnik, 2023).

The mansions and residences designed for the upper classes, which inhabit and produce exclusive territories dominated by whiteness, are part of a luxury real estate market that serves to absorb surplus capital, often derived from the exploitation and extraction of surplus value from workers (Harvey, 2014). These constructions reflect an increasingly unequal world, in which real estate speculation is intensifying. The buying and selling of luxury real estate gains relevance and is inserted into the operating logic of the international financial market, while at the same time increasing segregation, exclusion, and slum proliferation in cities around the world (Somekh; Gaspar, 2012). In the specific case of luxury coastal homes, this process manifests as a direct consequence in territories such as Peruíbe, where ultra-high-end real estate developments are emerging, geared toward the market and the maintenance of the exclusivity of whiteness. Such transformations in urban space reflect not only economic issues, but also a sociocultural project of segregation that privileges certain classes and social groups while simultaneously marginalizing others.

Based on these reflections, we consider the existence of territories of white exclusivity in the municipality of Peruíbe, especially in sectors where the white population exceeds 80% of the demographic composition. An emblematic example, as seen, is the area between the beachfront and Luciano de Bona Avenue, where the white predominance is striking (**figure 6**). Furthermore, high-end residential condominiums, such as Boungeville II and III, stand out for reaching rates of up to 94% white residents, establishing themselves as spaces of exclusivity and racial segregation. These data not only confirm the presence of white-exclusive territories in the municipality, but also highlight how socio-spatial segregation materializes in Peruíbe. The concentration of the white population in these valued and high-standard areas reflects the territorialization of the whiteness pact, in which the Black presence is predominantly marginalized or restricted to subaltern roles, such as domestic work or maintenance services. This dynamic reinforces racial and economic power structures, perpetuating historical

inequalities and excluding the Black population from access to spaces of prestige and quality of life.

Where tourism does not see: The peripheral, blackened neighborhoods and environmental racism in Peruíbe

While data reveal the existence of territories of white exclusivity in areas of Peruíbe, marked by income concentration and privileged infrastructure, it is observed that the municipality's most impoverished territories have a significantly more Black population composition and are located in regions far from the shoreline, beyond the gaze of most tourists passing through the city.

Based on demographic census data, the Black population of Peruíbe corresponds to 31,415 people, representing 45.96% of the municipality's total (IBGE, 2022). Of this group, 5,103 inhabitants identify as Black (7.47% of the population) and 26,312 as mixed-race (38.49%). Between 2010 and 2022, this segment showed significant growth: the Black population had the largest increase, of 43.1%, while the mixed-race population grew by 28.9%. Both indices surpassed the municipal average (14.34%) and were substantially higher than the growth of the white population, which was only 3.5% in the same period⁴. Also according to data from the 2022 Demographic Census, Peruíbe does not have any census tract with more than 80% of its population being Black. However, several sectors in the peripheral and impoverished areas of the municipality have a Black population of over 60%, with one sector in the rural zone standing out with 78% Black people.

These areas, because they are more racially diverse, that is, because they also contain a significant portion of poor white people, are not the same as the black ghettos characteristic of the United States or South Africa (Brito; Mendonça; Rolnik, 2023). The Black American ghetto, in this context, is a territory that reflects explicit racial discrimination and the violence of white supremacy (Rolnik, 1989), being the result of the tragic history of a country marked by slavery and a perverse regime of racial segregation that lasted until the mid-twentieth century. Although distinct from the US model, racism and the deep legacies of slavery in Brazil have also left significant marks that impact the production of cities and the way racial groups are distributed

⁴ It is important to note that these data reflect only the permanent population of Peruíbe. As such, they do not capture the self-identified race of individuals who comprise the transient population that regularly visits and shapes the municipality. In this context, it is worth noting that the Municipality's Tourism Master Plan, updated in 2022, sought to establish a demographic profile of tourist demand; however, it did not include information on the racial composition of visitors. The profile was based on 404 surveys conducted between November 2020 and September 2022 (Peruíbe, 2022).

in urban space. Brazilian favelas and peripheries, which are increasingly Black, constitute a kind of veiled apartheid (Rolnik, 1989), but at the same time, they form the terrain for new forms of Black territorialization and contemporary quilombismos, which function as strategies of resistance and escape the control of whiteness. Whether through cultural expressions, community organizing, work, or subversion, the Black population in the peripheries continues to survive, facing genocide and the ills resulting from environmental racism.

Returning to the analysis of demographic data, it is observed that, although there is a concentration of Black people in certain areas, such as in the Caraguava neighborhood (**figure 6**), this concentration does not reach the levels of predominance identified in territories of white exclusivity, as verified in the elite condominiums near the beach. The cartographic analysis of the IBGE (2022) data, conducted in our doctoral thesis (Cerdeira, 2025), revealed that the Black population in Peruíbe is predominantly concentrated in three specific areas: a) in the neighborhoods located beyond Avenida Luciano de Bona, in the northwest direction; b) in the urban zones adjacent to the Padre Manoel da Nóbrega Highway, towards the Serra do Mar, in the northwest direction; c) in the rural areas of the municipality. In contrast, the presence of Black residents is less significant along the waterfront, where the majority of census tracts record less than 30% of this population (Figures 4 and 6).

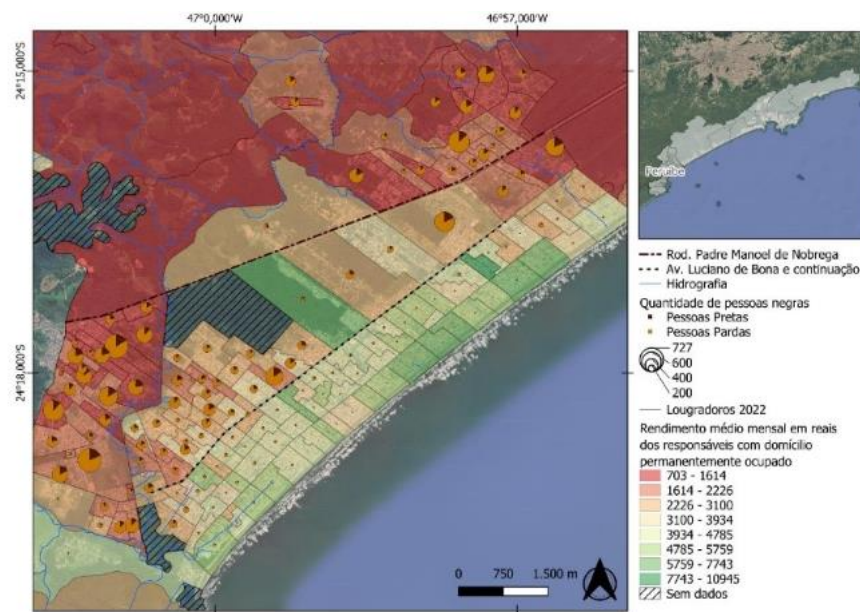
The most impoverished, Black, and peripheral areas are neighborhoods further away from the waterfront, which are often not seen or accessed by the tourists who visit the city. Thus, the population of these neighborhoods remains far from the gaze of vacationers who only see the scenic beauties of Peruíbe's beaches, yet they remain close enough to serve as labor when necessary, which reveals the symbolic and material violence of this spatial arrangement of whiteness.

To reflect on how socio-spatial segregation and fragmentation impact the lives of the Black population of Peruíbe, we can take as a basis some theoretical assumptions organized by Vargas (2005). In his article *Brazilian Apartheid*, a study on the racialization of urban space in Rio de Janeiro, in which he discusses and uses references on residential segregation, the author organizes four main propositions regarding the relationship between race, poverty, and urban space. First, he states that poverty falls more heavily on Black people, even with equivalent educational backgrounds, causing this population to have systematically lower income and wealth than the white population. Secondly, the most impoverished areas are associated with urban regions lacking infrastructure, basic services, and even consumer goods, such as stoves and refrigerators. Third, the production of urban space is intersected by the racial issue, since

the poorest areas continue to be predominantly occupied by Black people. Finally, notions of urban space influence racial perception, contributing to the imaginary that favela residents are, for the most part, non-white people (Vargas, 2005).

Based on the analysis of the 2022 IBGE demographic census data by census tract, which were organized in Figure 7, we can see that the first, second, and third propositions of Vargas (2005) apply to Peruíbe, since it was found that there are peripheral neighborhoods composed mainly of Black and mixed-race people, who have lower incomes.

Figure 6 – Number of Black people and average income by sectors of Peruíbe-SP



Source: IBGE, 2022. Elaboration: Author.

Based on the analysis of the 2022 IBGE demographic census data by census tract, which were organized in Figure 7, we can observe that the first, second, and third propositions of Vargas (2005) apply to Peruíbe, since it was found that there are peripheral neighborhoods composed mainly of Black people, which have lower incomes.

IBGE data (2010) reveal that the areas of poverty and extreme poverty in Peruíbe are concentrated in the north of the municipality, covering locations such as the Vila Erminda, Jardim dos Prados, and Estância Antônio Novaes neighborhoods, as well as the rural area. In addition to these areas, the region that encompasses the Municipal Planning Units known as Caraguava and Veneza also presents a significant number of families in vulnerable situations. As identified throughout the research, these are the areas of the municipal territory that have the highest percentage of Black people (Cerdeira, 2025).

In addition to the highest concentration of poverty, the predominantly Black census tracts in the municipality are areas that have the lowest water and sewage network coverage (Instituto Pólis, 2013; Cerdeira, 2024; 2025). This infrastructural deficiency mainly affects the Caraguava neighborhood, the eastern portion of the urban perimeter located beyond Avenida Luciano de Bona, as well as rural areas and the Guaraú area (Cerdeira, 2025).

Among the challenges resulting from socio-spatial segregation, which affects the Black population and other residents of the municipality's peripheral areas most violently, the greater vulnerability to environmental impacts stands out. It is important to highlight that the dynamics of real estate speculation, associated with the processes of touristification and urbanization in Peruíbe, have displaced poorer populations from central areas due to the appreciation of urban land and rising rents (Ribeiro, 2006; Instituto Pólis, 2013). As a consequence, peripheries and pockets of poverty are formed in areas of irregular subdivisions and occupations, which frequently encroach upon risk zones near streams and environmental protection areas.

The urban development of Peruíbe was established predominantly on the coastal plain, resulting in the occupation of wetlands near the Rio Preto and drainage channels, whose natural courses have been significantly altered by human actions. This territorial configuration, combined with the lack of adequate public planning and mitigating engineering works, created favorable conditions for the recurring occurrence of floods, particularly in areas of irregular occupation (Santos; Furlan, 2010). The Caraguava and Veneza planning units (IG, 2007) exemplify this issue, being risk areas that are systematically struck by major floods that severely affect their inhabitants (Figure 7). In marked contrast, the census tracts located between the waterfront and Luciano de Bona Avenue present lower vulnerability to flooding (IG, 2007; IPT, 2014), areas that have census tracts with a higher percentage of white people, better income indicators, and privileged access to urban infrastructure (IBGE, 2022).

Here, we can argue for two propositions: a) the socio-spatial segregation of Peruíbe is influenced by the raciality device (Carneiro, 2023b); b) the current composition of this municipality's urban space is marked by environmental racism (Herculano, 2008), given that the most impoverished areas, with less infrastructure and a higher risk of flooding, are (un)justly the ones that present the highest number of Black or brown people, who continue to resist in their communities, despite the difficulties.

We remind you that environmental racism can be understood as the disproportionate impact of the lack of infrastructure, social injustices, and environmental problems that occur in territories occupied mostly by populations composed of racialized people and traditional

peoples (Herculano, 2008). These dynamics of socio-spatial segregation and environmental racism are not a coincidence, but rather the fruit of a social structure grounded in capitalist relations of production and coloniality, which operate based on racism, cisheteropatriarchy, and classism (Akotirene, 2019).

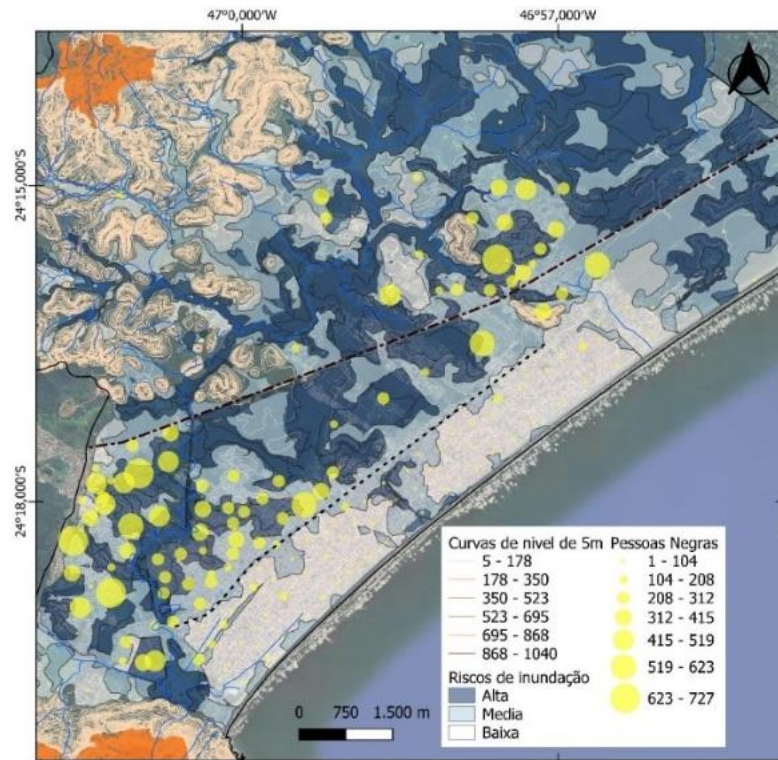
The traversal of favelas by environmental racism can be understood as a consequence of a State policy that, in serving the interests of capital, imposes, in a sacrificial manner, in a context of bio-necropolitics, the sign of death for some and the privilege of life for others (Oliveira, 2022; Carneiro, 2023b; Mbembe, 2016). Thus, terrible living conditions are imposed on a significant part of the population in vulnerable territories, marked by a lack of infrastructure and exposure to environmental problems. Thus, the city designed for the accumulation of wealth (Carlos, 2021), as well as for the enjoyment of whiteness (Bento, 2022), does not guarantee well-being to all its inhabitants, especially those who do not constitute the “hegemonic self” (Carneiro, 2023b) and end up facing a ‘raw life,’ resulting from inequality, socio-spatial segregation, and environmental racism.

Therefore, it is fundamental to reinforce that the process of producing environmental racism is a colonial legacy of the world-system, sustained by the logic of hegemonic capitalism. This process directly involves the difficulty of access to land, the challenges for popular and community organization, and the underrepresentation of non-white people in relevant positions in public power and private companies (Porto-Gonçalves, 2006, p. 387).

On this occasion, we reiterate that

The location of people within the territory is, most of the time, the product of a combination of market forces and government decisions. [...] This also amounts to speaking of forced locations. Many of these contribute to increasing poverty rather than suppressing or mitigating it (Santos, 2002, p.141).

This forced location ultimately constitutes part of environmental racism, forcing people to occupy inadequate and risky locations (Figure 7) in an attempt to survive in a structurally racist, sexist, and classist society (Akotirene, 2009).

Figure 7 – Number of Black people and average monthly income by sector in Peruíbe-SP

Source: IPT, 2014; IBGE, 2022. Elaboration: Author.

The described socio-spatial dynamics highlight how environmental racism and socio-spatial segregation, deeply marked by raciality, are present in the municipality of Peruíbe. This results in the marginalization of peripheral populations, predominantly Black and poor, who find themselves exposed to precarious living conditions in areas of environmental risk (**figure 7**), subject to flooding and lacking basic infrastructure. Real estate speculation, associated with the absence of urban planning that meets the real needs of the peripheral population and that serves the logic of capital, perpetuates the cycle of exclusion and vulnerability for these communities, intensifying the inequalities and challenges they face.

This reveals the perversity of how socio-spatial segregation and the structuring of the city occur, since, (un)justly, it is in the areas with the highest environmental risk and the least infrastructure that population density is highest (IBGE, 2022; Cerdeira, 2025). This dynamic reflects the structural inequality that forces the poorest, Black, and vulnerable populations to live in more precarious conditions and with higher population density, while the more privileged areas, with better infrastructure, security, and which are whiter, remain less inhabited and with many vacant or occasionally used homes.

Considerations on a Geography of Racialities in Peruíbe

Based on all the information, data, images, and references presented in our doctoral thesis and in the synthesis presented in this article, we hope to have developed a brief description of the municipality of Peruíbe, providing elements that serve as a basis for reflecting on the geography of racialities in this territory, with a greater focus on the Black population. This aims to highlight and denounce that the socio-spatial segregation of Peruíbe is permeated by the device of raciality (Carneiro, 2023b), constructing a document that can serve as support for the organization of anti-racist initiatives in the city, with the objective of pressuring public authorities for policies and planning that seek to break with the conditions described herein.

According to Milton Santos, urban space is occupied in a differentiated manner as a function of the classes that divide urban society (Santos, 2002, p. 110). This fact is observed in Peruíbe; however, we present elements that demonstrate that this differentiation is also influenced by the device of raciality (Carneiro, 2023b) and by the consequences of the slave social form (Sodré, 2023), through which relations of a slave-holding and discriminatory nature are still perpetuated. Such relations result from an incomplete liberation, uncommitted to a real insertion and reparation of the subalternized and Black layers (Sodré, 2023). It is not without reason that we can denounce the existence of a false democracy, which serves, above all, the interests of the privileged, and reveal a perverse spatial arrangement of whiteness (Bento, 2022), which perpetuates violence and socio-spatial segregation, greatly victimizing the black, poor, and peripheral body.

Exposing how these facts unfold in the municipality of Peruíbe is essential to identify the unethical discrepancy that exists between territories of white exclusivity (Brito; Mendonça; Rolnik, 2023), close to the beach, and the difficulties faced by those who survive systemic flooding and other agonies in peripheral neighborhoods, such as Caraguava. In summary, we understand that the data collected allow us to argue that, in the city of Peruíbe, it is possible to identify environmental racism, as a significant portion of the municipality's Black population lives in impoverished areas with less infrastructure, and greater risk and socio-environmental vulnerability.

Finally, this work constitutes an analytical effort that seeks, albeit modestly, to contribute to the transformation of this unequal reality. An intellectual protest against the conditions of segregation that paradisiacal landscapes cannot hide.

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 - ☐ **Data and material availability:** The complete dataset supporting this analysis is available through the IBGE Automatic Recovery System (SIDRA). The in-depth interpretations and detailed analytical frameworks are presented in the author's doctoral dissertation, *The Drum Announces that Kilombo Is a Place of Black Resistance: A Study Based on the Kilombo Baobá Cultural Space in Peruíbe, São Paulo*, defended in 2025 in the Graduate Program in Geography (PPGEO), School of Science and Technology (FCT), São Paulo State University (UNESP).
 - ☐ **Authors' contributions:** This article has a single author, who is solely responsible for all aspects of the study.
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