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CORPOS QUE SUSTENTAM A CIDADE, TERRITÓRIOS QUE OS NEGAM: UMA LEITURA INTERSECCIONAL SOBRE AS DESIGUALDADES URBANAS NO BRASIL

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ABSTRACT

This article investigates the spatial production of inequalities in Brazil through the intersection of gender, race, class, and territory, focusing on the body-territories of Black women heads of household. Grounded in situated feminist epistemologies and the concept of body-territory, the study seeks to understand how structural inequalities are distributed and materialized across Brazilian urban space. Methodologically, it adopts a quantitative approach based on data from the 2022 Brazilian Census conducted by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), combining variables related to the sex and race of the household head with indicators of access to urban infrastructure. Through the construction of proportional indicators and their spatialization at the municipal scale, patterns of concentrated vulnerability are identified, particularly in the North and Northeast regions. The results show that households headed by Black and Brown women are more exposed to precarious conditions of access to basic services, revealing the overlapping of social and territorial inequalities. It is concluded that such patterns are not random, but rather the expression of historical and structural processes that articulate racism, patriarchy, and regional inequality. The article contributes by demonstrating how spatial analysis, when guided by an intersectional and situated perspective, enables not only the description but also the critical examination of the unequal production of territory.

Keywords: Gender; Race; Territory; Intersectionality; Sociospatial inequality.

RESUMO

Este artigo investiga a produção espacial das desigualdades no Brasil a partir da intersecção entre gênero, 'raça', classe e território, com foco nos corpos-territórios de mulheres negras chefes de família. Fundamentado em epistemologias feministas situadas e na noção de corpo-território, o estudo busca compreender como desigualdades estruturais se distribuem e se materializam no espaço urbano brasileiro. Metodologicamente, utiliza-se uma abordagem quantitativa com base nos dados do Censo de 2022 do IBGE, articulando variáveis relativas ao sexo e à cor ou 'raça' da pessoa responsável pelo domicílio com indicadores de acesso à infraestrutura urbana. A partir da construção de indicadores proporcionais e de sua espacialização em escala municipal, são identificados padrões de concentração de vulnerabilidades, especialmente nas regiões Norte e Nordeste. Os resultados evidenciam que domicílios chefiados por mulheres pretas e pardas se encontram mais expostos a condições precárias de acesso a serviços básicos, revelando a sobreposição de desigualdades sociais e territoriais. Conclui-se que tais padrões não são aleatórios, mas expressão de processos históricos e estruturais que articulam racismo, patriarcado e desigualdade regional. O artigo contribui ao evidenciar como a análise espacial, quando orientada por uma perspectiva interseccional e situada, permite não apenas descrever, mas problematizar a produção desigual do território.

Palavras-chave: Gênero; Raça; Território; Interseccionalidade; Desigualdade socioespacial.

INITIAL CONTEXTUALIZATIONS: FIRST IMPRESSIONS AND INTERSECTIONS

The injustices present in urban territories are one of the reflections of the multiple inequalities produced in/by a society. In the Brazilian case, it becomes visible (and glaring) that the inhabitants of urban peripheries have their daily lives crossed by the constant actions of the oppression-exploitation systems coexisting within global capitalism, which brings about, among many unequal consequences, a partial or total curtailment of access to the right to the city.

However, it should be emphasized that the experiences of these socio-spatial injustices are not lived in the same way by the different social groups, whether located in geopolitically central or peripheral nations. Therefore, it becomes essential to propose territorial studies and multiscalar analyses focused on the social markers of difference—such as gender, 'race,' and class—so that the understanding of these realities can be broadened and public policies to confront these inequalities can be designed based on real and situated experiences.

Considering this, and bearing in mind Brazil's slaveholding past (still present, even if implicitly), we have sufficient grounds to affirm that the urban experiences of racialized women belonging to popular classes suffer the most intense negative impacts. This condition results from the simultaneous and articulated operation of historical structures of domination-exploitation, insofar as the forces of patriarchy, racism, sexism, and colonialism continue to bear upon bodies and shape their experiences in cities.

Given the reality experienced by them, this paper aims to produce a social cartography of these Brazilian women, who are also responsible for the households and inhabitants of the country's urban peripheries, in order to observe some of the socio-spatial inequalities that cross their daily lives and mark their "body-territories" (Cabnal, 2010, our translation). To this end, we will draw on the 2022 IBGE Census database in order to produce descriptive and spatial statistics that enable the mapping of these racialized female body-territories exposed to conditions of (infra)structural precariousness.

Finally, this essay is organized into three moments. We begin by outlining the theoretical-methodological lenses through which we observe the reality found, given that they are intended to determine what stands out and what is left out of the frame. Next, we will trace the path we followed regarding the data sought, found, and processed. In this section, we anchor our work in a situated epistemological positioning committed to a critical reading of inequalities, seeking to make clear that we started from a choice informed by our worldviews and by what is indicated as coherent by our situated methodological-political-ethical project. Subsequently, we will present the cartographies we produced and analyze what the data tell us and what readings of reality we can draw from them.

THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL LENSES OF OBSERVATION AND RESEARCH CONDUCT

Beyond the initial contextualization of the theme, our academic production—it is important to situate—is grounded in a posture of epistemological disobedience insofar as we have chosen a theoretical-methodological framework based on plural and situated feminisms (Simões, 2025). According to Simões (2025, p. 23), although the strands that compose them "are not a formal or unified group [...], they stand out as theoretical and political approaches that value the diversity of experiences, identities, and contexts of women and other subalternized subjects."

Thus, in establishing this epistemic pact with these counter-hegemonic feminisms, we assume responsibility not only for what we produce, but also for the way in which we approach the realities under study. This is a choice that goes beyond the theoretical plane and comes to guide the modes of reading, selecting, and interpreting data, recognizing knowledge as situated, partial, and implicated in the power relations that constitute it.

In this sense, this positioning unfolds into a situated methodological-political-ethical project, which affirms the inseparability between the production of knowledge, the positioning of the researchers, and the social implications of the research. In assuming this commitment, we move away from the idea of scientific neutrality and affirm research as a situated and responsible practice.

From this framing, we engage in dialogue with Haraway's (1995) notion of situated knowledges, which shows how all knowledge is produced from a specific position in the world. In tensioning the idea of scientific neutrality and universality, according to this perspective, what is seen, interpreted, and produced as knowledge is directly related to the social and epistemic locations of those who conduct the research. Making this position explicit, therefore, does not reduce but rather expands the analytical power of the study.

Within this horizon, then, the strands of intersectional, community, and popular feminisms present themselves as central analytical tools for the construction of this text. The contributions of intersectional scholars allow us to understand how gender, 'race,' class, and territory intertwine in urban experience, revealing how such manifestations shift according to subjects' locations within the matrix of social domination (Collins, 1998).

Thus, the social markers of difference (Collins, 1997), inscribed on bodies, directly influence living conditions and urban experiences, while simultaneously structuring how resources, opportunities, and infrastructure are distributed across space. In addition to functioning as analytical categories, these markers operate as gears in the unequal production of territory, allowing us to understand why certain populations are systematically more exposed to precariousness in their daily lives.

From these interpretive keys, it becomes possible to understand the concept of body-territory, initially formulated by Lorena Cabnal (2010), as the indissociability between body and lived space. From this perspective, both are constituted as political territories in which violence and resistance are simultaneously inscribed. This formulation is later expanded by Verónica Gago (2019, p. 98), according to whom "each body is a territory of battle," permanently crossed by disputes, but also by processes of recomposition and alliance-building.

In this way, the body-territory ceases to be merely an interpretive metaphor and asserts itself as an analytical key capable of revealing how historical and structural processes of domination materialize

simultaneously in bodies and spaces, producing profoundly unequal urban experiences. Given that each body is itself a territory where (and through which) numerous struggles are established, this explains its displacement to the center of the discussion proposed here, using it as a "new site of urban research" (Villagrán, 2016, p. 51, our translation).

Within the scope of this study, with a view to contributing to some understanding of the experiences of the body-territories most exposed to socio-spatial inequalities and injustices, we adopt an empirical approximation of this concept through the social markers of difference available in the Demographic Census. To this end, we use the markers of gender and 'race' to define an analytical scope of body-territories. In addition, we chose to add the layer of responsibility for the home and/or family in order to test our hypothesis that these bodies sustain the daily functioning of cities and are subjected to the greatest contexts of vulnerability.

Thus, the operationalization of these categories through census data does not seek to reduce such experiences to quantitative indicators but rather to reveal how structural inequalities are distributed across territory and materialize in concrete living conditions. In this sense, the theoretical framework mobilized here operates not merely as a conceptual framing but as an analytical lens guiding the reading of socio-spatial inequalities in Brazilian territory. By articulating situated feminist epistemologies, intersectionality, and the notion of body-territory, we seek to understand how these inequalities are distributed and materialize differently among social groups. From this mosaic, we proceed to the analysis of the data presented below.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND DATA OPERATIONALIZATION

Given the proposed objective, the methodological strategy adopted is based on an empirical approximation to the so-called body-territories through the systematic exploration of data from the 2022 Demographic Census, produced by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE). The choice of this database is justified by the fact that it constitutes the most comprehensive and up-to-date survey of socioeconomic, demographic, and housing information in the country, allowing the living conditions of the Brazilian population to be captured on a national scale and with a high level of spatial disaggregation.

Beyond being a technical choice, the use of official statistical variables stems from the recognition that such data are not neutral but rather constructed from categories that simplify and frame complex realities. Even so, they are mobilized here as analytical tools to reveal inequalities that, although already present in the data, remain frequently rendered invisible by conventional forms of reading.

Furthermore, the Census makes it possible to articulate social and territorial variables, allowing us to show how structural inequalities are inscribed in space and materialize unequally among social groups, making it particularly well suited to the analysis developed here. Additionally, the use of census data at the national scale lends greater empirical consistency to the proposed analysis by making it possible to identify structural patterns of inequality that extend beyond specific local contexts and manifest systematically across Brazilian territory.

Thus, based on this database, a quantitative approach was adopted, with an emphasis on descriptive and spatial analysis techniques, in order to reveal territorial patterns associated with social markers of difference. This methodological choice does not imply an adherence to the neutrality of data but rather recognizes numbers as situated productions, crossed by power relations and therefore subject to critical reading.

The data used in this study were obtained from two complementary databases of the 2022 Demographic Census. The indicators related to social markers were constructed from the "Aggregates by Census Tract" database, using the file *Agregados_por_Municipio.csv*, made available by IBGE in 2024, which brings together information consolidated at the municipal level. The indicators related to conditions of access to urban public services, in turn, were obtained through the IBGE Automatic Recovery System (SIDRA).

Initially, the relevant census variables for the study were selected and organized, considering both characteristics of household heads and aspects of urban infrastructure and housing conditions. The data were aggregated at the municipal scale, the unit of analysis selected because it allows comparison among different territorial contexts while preserving the country's regional diversity. It should be noted that the choice of the municipal scale is not merely a matter of operational convenience but is grounded in the possibility of revealing regional patterns of inequality, allowing an understanding of how these dynamics are structurally distributed across national territory.

Moreover, this choice makes it possible to identify spatial regularities associated with historical processes of socioeconomic formation, revealing the unequal incorporation of public policies, investments, and development dynamics among regions. In this sense, the municipal scale constitutes a strategic analytical level for grasping the articulation between social and territorial inequalities, even though it does not fully capture the intra-urban heterogeneities present in Brazilian cities.

In the first stage of the analysis, we sought to characterize body-territories through the intersection of gender and 'race,' operationalized by means of two central variables: (i) permanent private occupied households whose head self-declares as Black (*preto*) or Brown/mixed-race (*pardo*), and (ii) permanent private occupied households whose head is female. The choice of these variables is anchored in the perspective of intersectionality, according to which different systems of oppression do not operate in isolation but are articulated in the production of specific inequalities. The census variables used to operationalize this analytical scope are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 | Variables used to define the researched body-territories

Dimension	Variable Code	Variable
Household	V00014	Permanent private occupied households – Female persons in the household.
Sex	V01063	Household head is female.
Family arrangement	V01188	Household without a spouse, sex of the household head is female.
Color or 'race'	V01340	Color or 'race' of the household head is Black (*preta*), sex of the household head is female.
Color or 'race'	V01344	Color or 'race' of the household head is Brown/mixed-race (*parda*), sex of the household head is female.

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the Aggregates by Census Tracts of the Demographic Census, IBGE (2022), 2026.

It should be noted, however, that this operationalization does not exhaust the complexity of the intersectional approach but rather constitutes one possible framing within the limitations of the available data, revealing only part of the multiple dimensions that cross these body-territories. Thus, the spatialization of these households allows us to understand how the markers of gender and 'race' are expressed in territory, revealing the patterns of inequality by which this analyzed social group is affected.

For the construction of this first level of analysis, proportional indicators were developed, expressed in percentage terms, which make it possible to measure this group's relative share in the total number of households in each municipality. These indicators were calculated from the ratio between the number of households headed by Black and Brown/mixed-race women and the total number of households in each territorial unit, allowing for comparability across different contexts.

This standardization of the data is essential to enable comparisons among territorial units with different population sizes, avoiding distortions in the interpretation of results. These indicators were then spatialized, making it possible to visualize patterns of concentration and dispersion across Brazilian territory as a whole.

In a second stage, we proceeded to overlay variables related to urban infrastructure and habitability conditions, with the aim of identifying the spatial distribution of inequalities in access to basic services. For this purpose, four variables were selected: (i) water supply via general network, (ii) access to sanitary sewage, (iii) garbage collection, and (iv) households without a bathroom. The operationalization of these variables, as well as the respective SIDRA (2022) tables used to obtain them, is presented in Table 2.

Table 2 | Sources of indicators related to urban public services

Dimension	SIDRA Table Code	Derived Variable
Total households	9928	Number of permanently privately occupied households.
Water supply	6803	Number of households without access to water via the general network.
Sanitary sewage	6805	Number of households without access to sanitary sewage.
Garbage collection	6892	Number of households without access to garbage collection.
Bathroom	6806	Number of households without an exclusive-use bathroom.

Source: Prepared by the authors based on SIDRA, IBGE (2022), 2026.

These variables were chosen because they represent fundamental dimensions of minimum urban living conditions and constitute classic indicators of socio-spatial inequality in the Brazilian context associated with the social class marker. The articulation among these variables makes it possible to reveal how different forms of deprivation accumulate and mutually reinforce one another in certain territories. In this sense, the spatial overlay strategy adopted makes it possible to identify not only the isolated distribution of each indicator but, above all, the convergence of multiple vulnerabilities in certain spaces, revealing territories with the most intense levels of inequality.

As in the previous stage, proportional indicators were constructed for each of these variables, allowing for an assessment of the degree of service coverage or deficiency across municipalities. These data were subsequently integrated into the previously produced map, enabling a spatial overlay analysis to be carried out. This methodological step is central, as it makes it possible to identify areas where a high concentration of households headed by Black and Brown/mixed-race women coincides with low levels of access to urban infrastructure. Table 3 presents the operationalization of the indicators and their respective calculation formulas.

Table 3 | Operationalization and calculation formulas of the indicators

Indicator	Derived Variable	Formula
Total Black and Brown/ mixed-race women (%)	%Total_Women_ BlackBrown	%Total_Women_BlackBrown = ((V01340 + V01344) / V00014) × 100
Black/Brown women heading the household (%)	%Head_F_ BlackBrown	%Head_F_BlackBrown = ((V01340 + V01344) / V01063) × 100
Single women heading the household (%)	%Head_F_Single	%Head_F_Single = (V01188 / V01063) × 100
Without access to water (general network) (%)	%No_Water	%No_Water = (Number of households without access to water via the general network / Number of permanent private occupied households) × 100
Without access to sanitary sewage (%)	%No_Sewage	%No_Sewage = (Number of households without access to sanitary sewage / Number of permanent private occupied households) × 100
Without access to garbage collection (%)	%No_Collection	%No_Collection = (Number of households without access to garbage collection / Number of permanent private occupied households) × 100
Without access to a bathroom (%)	%No_Bathroom	%No_Bathroom = (Number of households without an exclusive-use bathroom / Number of permanent private occupied households) × 100

Source: Prepared by the authors, 2026.

From an operational standpoint, data treatment and organization, the construction of proportional indicators, and the calculation of descriptive statistics were carried out in the R computing environment through the RStudio interface, using the packages dplyr, tidyr, readxl, and psych. For the spatialization of the indicators, IBGE's official cartographic database was used, part of the Territorial Meshes (*Malhas Territoriais*) collection, through the *malhas_municipais* file, integrated with municipal statistical databases in the QGIS software.

The overlay of layers consisted of the spatial integration between social markers of difference and urban infrastructure markers, making it possible to identify municipalities where a high concentration of Black and Brown/mixed-race women heading households coexisted with the highest levels of precariousness in access to urban public services. These procedures allowed not only for the visualization of the data, but also for the construction of a spatially informed reading of present-day socio-territorial inequalities.

For the cartographic representation of the results obtained, classification criteria compatible with the nature and distribution of the data were adopted. The indicators referring to social markers of difference were classified into percentage intervals of equal amplitude, allowing for standardized visual comparison among municipalities. For the urban infrastructure variables, in turn, given the different magnitudes observed in each variable, specific classification intervals were adopted, seeking to preserve the discriminatory capacity of the data and reveal the different levels of vulnerability. This procedure favored the identification of territorial patterns of inequality and the comparative interpretation of results.

It should be noted that, although the approach adopted is predominantly descriptive, it proves adequate for identifying structural patterns of inequality at the national scale, constituting a relevant empirical basis for future analyses of an inferential nature. The methodological criteria adopted throughout the treatment, standardization, spatialization, and cartographic representation of the indicators sought to ensure comparability among municipalities and to lend transparency and reproducibility to the procedures employed in the research.

Finally, it is worth emphasizing that the approach is not limited to a descriptive reading of the data but seeks to interpret it in light of theoretical frameworks that understand territory as a product of historically constituted social relations. By mobilizing quantitative data from a critical and situated

perspective, this study does not aim to reduce body-territories to numbers, but rather to use them as a tool for making visible inequalities that are not only measurable but also experienced in embodied and everyday ways.

In this sense, the methodological procedures employed here aim not only to identify inequalities but also to contribute to an understanding of the processes that produce and reproduce them in space, particularly with regard to the intersections between gender, 'race,' and access to dignified living conditions.

BODY-TERRITORIES AND THE SPATIALIZATION OF GENDER, 'RACE,' AND CLASS INEQUALITIES IN BRAZIL

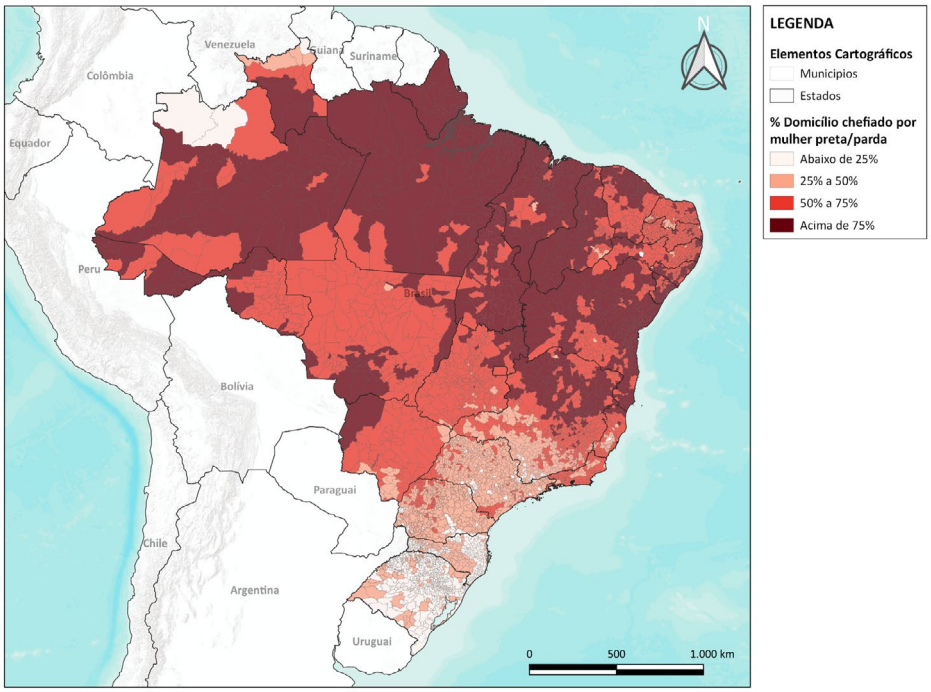
The analysis of the spatialization of census data allows us to understand territory not merely as a physical support but as a material expression of the social relations that produce it. In this sense, the notion of body-territory helps reveal how social markers of difference are inscribed in spatial organization, showing that certain populations experience territory in even more unequal ways. Thus, the data analyzed here are not limited to describing distributive patterns but reveal that such inequalities are not occasional but rather structural, expressing the way Brazilian territory is historically produced and organized.

This spatial configuration shows that the role of Black women's responsibility for the home cannot be understood merely as a demographic datum, but as an expression of historical processes that articulate racial inequality, the sexual division of labor, and unequal access to opportunities. The greater presence of this configuration in certain regions indicates not only population densities, but also the concentration of historically marginalized social groups in territories that are less favored in terms of infrastructure, income, and access to public policies, revealing a persistent logic of association between certain bodies and spaces of greater precariousness.

Furthermore, it is important to consider that this responsibility for the household/family, especially among Black and Brown/mixed-race women, is frequently associated with contexts of greater socioeconomic vulnerability, in which these women simultaneously take on productive and reproductive responsibilities. This condition reinforces the centrality of these women in sustaining daily life, while at the same time revealing the structural overload borne by their body-territories, which not only inhabit unequal territories but are also produced in direct relation to these inequalities.

In this sense, by spatializing the data across Brazilian territory, it is possible to observe (in Figure 1) a concentration of households headed by Black and Brown/Mixed-race women in the North and Northeast regions, directly expressing Brazil's socio-spatial formation, marked by profound regional inequalities. Historically, these regions have received lower investment in infrastructure and public policies, in addition to having a greater presence of Black and Brown/mixed-race populations, as a result of processes linked to slavery, territorial occupation, and unequal economic dynamics over time, indicating the continuity of historical patterns of unequal territorial production.

Figure 1 | Distribution of households headed by Black or mixed-race women in Brazilian municipalities



Source: Prepared by the author based on data from the 2022 Demographic Census (IBGE), 2026.

Regarding the North region, factors such as the low density of technical networks and difficulties in territorial integration contribute to the persistence of shortcomings in basic infrastructure conditions and the provision of urban services. In the Northeast, in turn, the combination of colonial-period legacies, land concentration in large landed estates, and historical socioeconomic inequalities helps explain the persistence of more critical indicators. Thus, the patterns observed in the maps are not recent but reflect a long history of processes that have produced a profoundly

unequal territory, in which certain populations remain systematically more exposed to precarious conditions of existence.

The analysis of the data presented in Table 4 reinforces the spatial patterns identified in the previous map, highlighting the centrality of Black and Brown/mixed-race women within Brazil's household structure, especially in the North and Northeast regions. As can be observed, in Brazil these women represent 55.35% of the total female population, a percentage that rises significantly in these regions, reaching 76.29% in the North and 73.06% in the Northeast. These data reveal not only a demographic composition but also starkly expose the strong association between the presence of Black and Brown/mixed-race women and territories historically marked by structural processes of exclusion, reinforcing the overlap between social and spatial inequalities.

Table 4 | Percentage of Black women according to social markers of difference, by region [1]

Region	Total Black and Brown/ Mixed-Race Women (%)	Black/Brown Women Heading the Household (%)	Single Women Heading the Household (%)
Brazil	**55.35**	**56.62**	**51.33**
North	76.29	79.15	42.76
Northeast	73.06	75.22	50.37
Southeast	50.38	51.03	55.54
South	24.87	25.06	50.92
Center-West	62.61	63.89	49.26

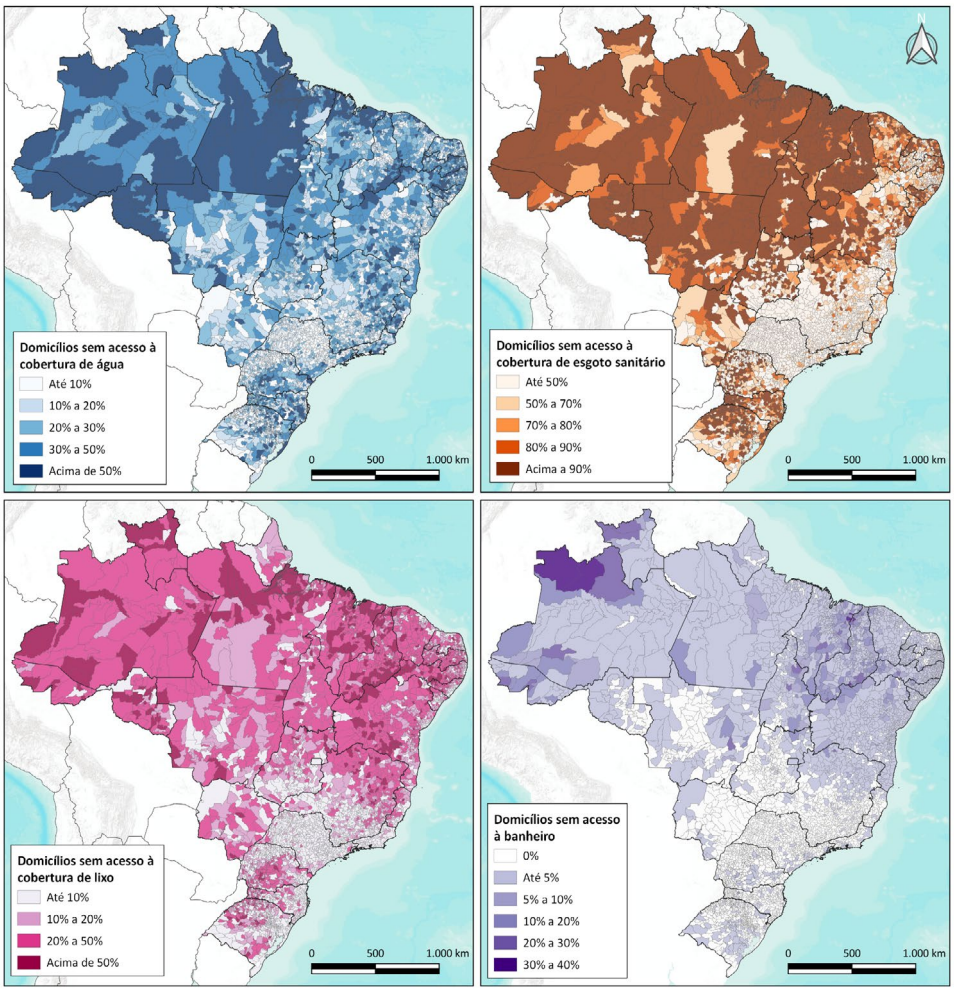
Source: Prepared based on data from the Demographic Census (IBGE, 2022), 2026.

When we look specifically at responsibility for the household, the percentages remain high, reaching 79.15% in the North and 75.22% in the Northeast, showing that these women are not only present in these territories but also assume a central role in the organization and sustenance of their homes. This condition reinforces the hypothesis that Black and Brown/mixed-race female headship is deeply associated with contexts of greater vulnerability, in which responsibilities for care and social reproduction are concentrated unequally, expressing the articulation between gender, 'race,' and socioeconomic inequality in the production of these conditions.

1 Full descriptive statistics for the indicators presented in this table are provided in Appendix A, including measures of central tendency (median) and dispersion (standard deviation, minimum, and maximum values), calculated for the municipal distribution of data from the 2022 Demographic Census.

From this perspective, when we turn our attention to Brazilian territory through data related to urban services essential to life, the regions where inequalities are reiterated and deepened become even more evident. This overlay of indicators on urban infrastructure and basic housing conditions, presented in Figure 2, makes it possible to identify that the multiple dimensions of inequality accumulate and mutually reinforce one another. In these spaces, the absence of adequate urban infrastructure is not an isolated phenomenon, but part of a broader set of deprivations that directly affect the population's living conditions, revealing a logic of territorial production based on the concentration of disadvantages in certain spaces and social groups.

Figure 2 | Access to basic urban services in Brazilian municipalities



Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from the Demographic Census (IBGE, 2022), 2026.

Given this, the intersection between gender, 'race,' and territory reveals that these inequalities are not distributed homogeneously among individuals but bear more intensely upon certain body-territories. In this sense, the analysis reveals a logic of spatial production that reproduces social hierarchies, in which Black and Brown/mixed-race women occupy particularly vulnerable positions, especially in municipalities in the North and Northeast of the country, not as an exception, but as a systematic result of this unequal organization of territory.

Complementing this spatial analysis, the data presented in Table 5 deepen the understanding of socio-spatial inequalities by revealing disparities in access to basic urban services among Brazilian regions. In general terms, it can be observed that the greatest deficits are concentrated in the North and Northeast regions, corroborating the patterns already identified in the spatial analysis.

With regard to water supply, for example, the North region has the highest percentage of households without access to the general network (46.60%), followed by the Northeast (32.73%), values significantly higher than the national average (28.33%). This indicates that precariousness in access to essential services is not randomly distributed, but rather follows historical patterns of regional and social inequality.

Table 5 | Percentage of households with precarious access to basic urban public services [2]

Region	Without Access to Water (General Network) (%)	Without Access to Sanitary Sewage (%)	Without Access to Garbage Collection (%)	Without Access to a Bathroom (%
Brazil	28.33	65.83	19.96	1,12
North	46.60	94.54	33.99	2.31
Northeast	32.73	77.54	29.45	2.68
Southeast	20.96	31.17	11.06	0.12
South	25.81	79.68	13.36	0.04
Center-West	26.55	81.60	18.62	0.34

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from the Demographic Census (IBGE, 2022), 2026.

2 Full descriptive statistics for the indicators presented in this table are provided in Appendix B, including measures of central tendency (median) and dispersion (standard deviation, minimum and maximum values), calculated for the municipal distribution of data from the 2022 Demographic Census.

The situation becomes even more critical when we look at sanitary sewage, the absence of which affects 94.54% of households in the North region and 77.54% in the Northeast, revealing the persistence of one of the country's main structural deficits. It should be noted that even in regions with greater economic development, such as the South and Center-West, the percentages remain high, indicating that universal access to this service is still far off. This leads us to conclude that infrastructural inequalities are not restricted to the poorest regions but take on different intensities across national territory.

With regard to garbage collection, although the percentages are relatively lower, significant inequalities are still observed, notably in the North (33.99%) and Northeast (29.45%) regions, revealing selectivity in the provision of this service. Finally, the absence of a bathroom, although showing lower percentages, reveals extreme situations of precariousness, concentrated mainly in the Northeast (2.68%) and the North (2.31%), indicating the persistence of minimum habitability conditions that remain unassured, which reinforces the existence of territories in which access to basic rights has not yet been fully guaranteed.

Thus, the results presented highlight the need for territorially oriented public policies capable of addressing, in an integrated manner, the multiple dimensions of inequality spatialized here. Overcoming these patterns requires not only investment in infrastructure but also the incorporation of an intersectional perspective into urban planning, capable of recognizing the specificities of gender and 'race' in the production of space; otherwise, these very inequalities that are meant to be combatted risk being reproduced.

In this sense, urban planning assumes a central role in transforming these realities and should be guided by principles of territorial justice and equity. According to the reading of the data, universalist interventions, detached from territorial specificities, tend to reproduce historical inequalities, whereas policies sensitive to intersectionalities can contribute to building more inclusive and sustainable cities. Thus, understanding the spatialization of the body-territories of Black and Brown/mixed-race women across Brazilian territory is not merely an analytical exercise but a fundamental step toward formulating strategies that promote the effective right to the city.

CLOSING NOTES: SYNTHESES OF AN INEQUALITY STRUCTURED IN BODY-TERRITORIES

The results presented here allow us to affirm that socio-spatial inequalities in Brazil do not operate diffusely or randomly but are organized according to a structural logic that articulates gender, 'race,' and territory in the everyday production of urban life. By spatializing census data and putting it into tension in light of plural and situated feminist epistemologies, it becomes evident that the body-territories of Black and Brown/mixed-race female heads of household not only concentrate socioeconomic vulnerabilities but are also systematically produced as spaces of overload, precariousness, and responsibilization, revealing the persistence of territorial patterns of inequality that are consistently reproduced across Brazilian space.

In this sense, beyond identifying patterns, this study shows that these inequalities are sustained by deeply rooted historical continuities, among them the persistence of a colonial, racist, and patriarchal logic that organizes both the distribution of infrastructure and the very definition of which body-territories are prioritized in/by urban planning. Territory, therefore, does not present itself as a neutral given but as a material expression of these hierarchies, in which certain populations are repeatedly pushed toward more precarious conditions of existence.

By bringing body-territories to the center of the analysis, the very vantage point from which the city is observed is also displaced. This is not merely a matter of mapping deficiencies or deficits but of understanding how the reproduction of everyday life, frequently sustained by these racialized women, occurs within contexts of the systematic denial of rights. There is a fundamental tension here: at the same time that these bodies are the target of structural violence, they are also the ones who sustain, organize, and make possible the continuity of urban life.

Thus, it becomes inescapable to affirm: universalist public policies, detached from territorial specificities and from the intersectionalities that cut across subjects, tend not only to be insufficient but also to reproduce the very inequalities they claim to combat. Incorporating an intersectional perspective into urban planning is not, therefore, an optional methodological choice but a minimum condition for building fairer cities.

From an analytical standpoint, this study advances the field by articulating a critical-theoretical approach with empirical evidence at the national scale, demonstrating how the notion of body-territory can be operationalized through quantitative and spatial data. This articulation contributes to the field of urban and regional studies by showing that inequalities are not only distributed across territory but are also produced through it, revealing the centrality of the intersections between gender, 'race,' and urban infrastructure in shaping living conditions.

Furthermore, the findings presented here point to the need for further future research incorporating inferential approaches and intra-urban scale analyses in order to capture the internal heterogeneities within municipalities. The integration of quantitative and qualitative methods also presents itself as a promising path for broadening the understanding of the lived experiences of the subjects concerned, making it possible to advance toward diagnoses more sensitive to the territorial and social dynamics that structure inequalities in Brazil.

Finally, this work asserts the power of a situated methodological-political-ethical project as a path toward the production of knowledge committed to the transformation of reality. Assuming the non-neutrality of research, making positionalities explicit, and putting the analytical instruments themselves into tension does not weaken scientific rigor; on the contrary, it expands its capacity to grasp the complexities of the social world.

Within this horizon, rather than offering closed answers, this research sought to open fissures in hegemonic ways of reading the city so as to allow other questions and, above all, other possibilities of urban (r)existence to emerge. At the same time, it establishes empirical and analytical foundations that contribute to deepening future investigations into socio-spatial inequalities in Brazil.

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APPENDIX A

Complementary descriptive statistics of the indicators used in the research.

Table A1 | Descriptive statistics of the percentage of Black and Brown/mixed-race women, by major Brazilian region

Region	Average (%)	Median (%)	Standard Deviation (%)	Minimum (%)	Maximum (%)
Brazil	**55.35**	**60.22**	**23.00**	**1.25**	**97.72**
North	76.29	78.96	11.76	4.17	93.75
Northeast	73.06	73.97	10.78	9.77	97.72
Southeast	50.38	48.17	17.31	13.07	91.25
South	24.87	22.8	12.96	1.25	70.94
Center-West	62.61	61.98	9.69	22.49	88.48

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from the Demographic Census (IBGE, 2022), 2026.

Table A2 | Descriptive statistics of the percentage of Black and Brown/mixed-race women heading the household, by major Brazilian region

Region	Average (%)	Median (%)	Standard Deviation (%)	Minimum (%)	Maximum (%)
Brazil	**56.62**	**61.75**	**23.81**	**0.00**	**96.78**
North	79.15	81.72	10.36	9.4	92.82
Northeast	75.22	76.28	10.54	11.73	96.78
Southeast	51.03	48.94	17.64	10.9	90.96
South	25.06	22.42	14.04	0.00	69.63
Center-West	63.89	63.24	9.71	25.54	89.61

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from the Demographic Census (IBGE, 2022), 2026.

Table A3 | Descriptive statistics of the percentage of single women heading the household, by major Brazilian region

Region	Average (%)	Median (%)	Standard Deviation (%)	Minimum (%)	Maximum (%)
Brazil	**51.33**	**51.59**	**8.17**	**18.00**	**86.55**
North	42.76	42.65	7.69	24.07	65.03
Northeast	50.37	50.52	6.93	25.71	77.26
Southeast	55.54	55.84	7.09	30.27	86.55
South	50.92	51.03	7.93	27.09	82.95
Center-West	49.26	49.85	8.58	18.00	75.00

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from the Demographic Census (IBGE, 2022), 2026.

APPENDIX B

Descriptive statistics of urban infrastructure access indicators, by major Brazilian region.

Table B1 | Descriptive statistics of the percentage of households without access to water (general network), by major Brazilian region

Region	Average (%)	Median (%)	Standard Deviation (%)	Minimum (%)	Maximum (%)
Brazil	**28.33**	**24.24**	**19.62**	**0.00**	**100.00**
North	46.6	42.63	22.83	0.00	100.00
Northeast	32.73	29.55	19.99	0.00	100.00
Southeast	20.96	17.21	15.63	0.00	93.91
South	25.81	21.29	18.12	0.00	100.00
Center-West	26.55	24.46	15.41	0.00	100.00

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from the Demographic Census (IBGE, 2022), 2026.

Table B2 | Descriptive statistics of the percentage of households without access to sanitary sewage, by major Brazilian region

Region	Average (%)	Median (%)	Standard Deviation (%)	Minimum (%)	Maximum (%)
Brazil	**65.83**	**74.22**	**32.90**	**0.00**	**100.00**
North	94.54	98.94	11.40	0.00	100.00
Northeast	77.54	85.67	23.37	0.00	100.00
Southeast	31.17	24.61	23.86	0.00	100.00
South	79.68	93.67	25.58	0.00	100.00
Center-West	81.6	97.15	25.16	0.00	100.00

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from the Demographic Census (IBGE, 2022), 2026.

Table B3 | Descriptive statistics of the percentage of households without access to garbage collection, by major Brazilian region

Region	Average (%)	Median (%)	Standard Deviation (%)	Minimum (%)	Maximum (%)
Brazil	**19.96**	**15.12**	**17.45**	**0.00**	**100.00**
North	33.99	33.48	16.98	0.00	100.00
Northeast	29.45	27.78	17.86	0.00	100.00
Southeast	11.06	6.00	12.52	0.00	90.48
South	13.36	8.86	13.56	0.00	100.00
Center-West	18.62	15.77	13.11	0.00	84.62

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from the Demographic Census (IBGE, 2022), 2026.

Table B4 | Descriptive statistics of the percentage of households without a bathroom, by major Brazilian region

Region	Average (%)	Median (%)	Standard Deviation (%)	Minimum (%)	Maximum (%)
Brazil	**1.12**	**0.00**	**3.16**	**0.00**	**42.31**
North	2.31	0.47	4.92	0.00	36.84
Northeast	2.68	1.01	4.35	0.00	38.89
Southeast	0.12	0.00	0.81	0.00	16.67
South	0.04	0.00	0.41	0.00	11.11
Center-West	0.34	0.00	1.73	0.00	20.00

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from the Demographic Census (IBGE, 2022), 2026.

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