

*Women in the socio-spatial production of Goiânia: invisibility and sexism*

*As mulheres na produção socioespacial de Goiânia: invisibilidade e sexismo*

*Mujeres en la producción socioespacial de Goiânia: invisibilidad y sexismo*

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**Abstract**

Goiânia, like any other urban space, is a social product and, therefore, the production of its forms and contents is amalgamated by capitalism and the culture of patriarchy, economic and cultural contexts that place it in time and space. The central issue of this article is to investigate the implications of this process in the spatial dynamics of the city and in the daily life of women from goianienses. The reflections presented here were composed of accumulated research on the socio-spatial production of Goiânia; theses, dissertations and books dealing with the stories of women and cities; and by an online survey conducted in 2021.

**Keywords:** Goiânia. Women. Capitalism. Patriarchy.

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**Resumo**

Goiânia, como qualquer outro espaço urbano, é produto social e, por isso, a produção das suas formas e dos seus conteúdos é amalgamada pelo capitalismo e pela cultura do patriarcado, contextos econômicos e culturais que a situam no tempo e no espaço. A questão central deste artigo é averiguar quais as implicações deste processo na dinâmica espacial da cidade e no cotidiano de vida das mulheres goianienses. As reflexões aqui apresentadas foram compostas por pesquisas acumuladas sobre a

produção socioespacial de Goiânia; teses, dissertações e livros que tratam das histórias das mulheres e das cidades; e por uma pesquisa online<sup>1</sup> realizada em 2021.

**Palavras-chaves:** Goiânia. Mulheres. Capitalismo. Patriarcado.

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### Resumen

Goiânia, como cualquier otro espacio urbano, es un producto social y, por tanto, la producción de sus formas y contenidos se amalgama entre el capitalismo y la cultura del patriarcado, contextos económicos y culturales que lo sitúan en el tiempo y el espacio. El tema central de este artículo es investigar las implicaciones de este proceso en la dinámica espacial de la ciudad y en la vida cotidiana de las mujeres goianienses. Las reflexiones aquí presentadas se componen de investigaciones acumuladas sobre la producción socioespacial de Goiânia; tesis, disertaciones y libros sobre historias de mujeres y ciudades; y por una encuesta en línea realizada en 2021.

**Palabras clave:** Goiânia. Mujeres. Capitalismo. Patriarcado.

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## Introdução

This article, the result of the Post-doctoral research "Women and the construction of Goiânia space", carried out at the Graduate Program in Geography of the Federal University of Goiás, proposes to analyze how the sexist and patriarchal culture materializes in the urban space of Goiânia and, consequently, what are its impacts on the daily life of women.

As we know, Goiânia is the first planned capital city in the 20th century, in the Midwest region of Brazil. The city is today a metropolis and has an estimated population of 1,536,097 inhabitants (IBGE, 2020). It was created with the specific objective of being the urban pilot project for the occupation and modernization process of the Brazilian territory and the Cerrado. In other words: Goiânia is the concreteness of the new territorial geopolitics of the country and the practical-sensible representation of the national modern space, given that the city, within this conjuncture, will be the political, economic and socio-cultural epicenter of urban and industrial Brazil.

Since then, it has become a source of investigation and inspiration for many researchers. There is, however, a predominance in emphasizing only the result – either as a form, or as a function, or as a structure –, that is, the analyzes are based on the produced space, and not on the space production process. This fact can have two serious implications for the socio-spatial analysis process.

The first is the fragmented reading of Goiânia, since it sometimes privileges only the empirical, rational, epistemological or descriptive perspective; other times, it privileges the cultural or subjective side, that is, it fragments both the space and the human being; therefore, it splits the relation nature-humanity-space. The second, on the other hand, is the widening of the analytical gap of the production of space, since it is from the understanding of this process that it will be possible to unveil the social relations and

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<sup>1</sup> The research entitled "Women and the urban space production of Goiânia", approved by the Research Ethics Committee, CAAE: 45134921.3.0000.8011, interviewed 188 women and aimed to open the listening on the impressions, objective and subjective, that they have about the urban life in Goiânia.

practices that make space condition, product, and means, a fact that, besides differentiating it from any other commodity, also allows understanding "[...] the unequal practice of urban space use between men and women." (CALIÓ, 1991, p. 2). This inequality is directly related to those who think, write and operate in the city that, by placing themselves as the holders of urban rationality, in addition to creating the fallacious idea of neutrality in solving urban problems on behalf of all; they also cooperate for the historical exclusion of women in politics, urban planning, discussions and the elaboration of proposals on the problems experienced by the city until the end of the 20th century. This is a paradox, given that these women have always been present in cities, enjoying public and leisure services, living in homes, walking on the streets and working (VIEIRA, 2013).

Therefore, it is essential to carry out a reading of Goiânia from the understanding of the entirety of this system of economic domination (capitalism) and sexual domination (patriarchy), since, according to Caliό (1991), this is a possible way to analyze the issue of women within the urban system, since such an understanding allows breaking the antagonism between public life and private life that causes the invisibility of women as producers and products of the city.

Given the above, the question is: how to reveal in the contents and forms of the urban space of Goiânia the relationship between the capitalist mode of production and the patriarchal culture? What do the symbols and landscape of Goiânia have to tell us about the relationship between women and the city?

We propose to answer these questions in the following section.

### **Capitalism and patriarchy: founding vectors of urban space in Goiânia**

To begin this topic, which deals with the intrinsic relationship between the capitalist mode of production and the patriarchal way of life in the construction of the urban space of Goiânia, we will take as subsidy the reflection of two feminist geographers. The first one is the British Jane Darke (1996, p. 88) who says that "every settlement is an inscription in space of the social relations of the society that builds it [...]. Our cities are patriarchy written in stone, brick, glass, and concrete". The second, by Canadian Leslie Kern (2020, p. 01), presents the following reflection: *cities reflect the norms of the societies that build them. And sexism is a deeply rooted norm.*

Patriarchy and sexism are two sides of the same coin: the capitalist mode of production. The contents of both are intertwined with the new forms and socio-spatial dynamics of urban life in capitalist society, given that capitalism, despite being in constant movement (from primitive to rentier accumulation), still has, as its structuring basis, the class struggle, the exploitation, accumulation, expropriation of the workforce, private property, violence and consumption. This contradiction between movement (which generates the expropriation of labor and the accumulation of wealth) and stagnation (which perpetuates the sociocultural logic of domination) can only survive through the control of the social movement.

That is why conservatism, fragmentation, ideology, ignorance, among many other elements that aid in the falsehood of reality, are vital for the survival of the capitalist system. In this system, what is commonly announced is not plausible of realization, once the forms change, but the structure is preserved. These contradictions - which are, dialectically, its weaknesses and the guarantee of its survival - materialize, from time to time, in geographic spaces, rural and/or urban, imprinting new forms on old contents.

Such materiality transposes the socio-spatial dynamics and constitutes ways of life that will dictate the desired and necessary contents to guarantee control and oppression. The enslavement, the attempt to acculturate and exterminate the African and American peoples, and the patriarchy are some of the ways of life that have leveraged and sustained this system. All of them, in one way or another, have in their genesis a power logic that oppresses and, consequently, tries to imprison materially and subjectively the oppressed class, in which the female labor force is framed.

It is worth highlighting that women, throughout the development process of the capitalist mode of production, have been subjugated by the family, the church, and the State. The mechanisms used range from oppression and subjection (in which their existence is only recognized from the other) to their transformation into the private property of men. Beauvoir (1970) helps to understand this assertion when she explains that the patriarchal family has its birth linked to the emergence of man's right and power of ownership over: the land (private property), over another man's labor force (slavery), and over the woman (oppression).

It is clear that patriarchy is the nuclear model of capitalism, and the oppression of women is part of this package, which, as Federici (2017) states, is inherent to the main lever of capitalism: violence. According to the author - who presents an extension to Marx's thought (2013) about the so-called primitive accumulation -, violence was the main economic power in the process of primitive accumulation, since it was based on the accumulation of dead labor (stolen goods) and living labor (exploitation of human labor power).

For the authors, accumulation would be inherent to capitalism, and not a precursor aspect of it. Nevertheless, for Federici (2017), the subjection of women's bodies as a common good for capitalism and for men was, along with the expropriation of peasant labor, the theft of land, and the subordination of African and American peoples, a foundational aspect of the capitalist system. Through violence and fear, it coerced women to be "labor producers" and to perform for free the domestic services necessary to support their husbands and male children who would be used as the labor force of the emerging system.

This situation illustrates how accumulation, by divesting women of reproductive control and their sexuality, has extended to their bodies, expanding the notion of territory and the terrains of disputes and struggle against capitalism. Therefore, to think of the city as a space delimited by gender is to recognize, as Calió (1991) elucidates, that power relations go beyond the socio-spatial inequalities resulting from socioeconomic

differences; they, the inequalities, also affect the relations amongst genders in regard to the construction and evolution of the city urban space.

Goiânia is a concrete case of this assertion, once the initial planning and the construction of its urban space, besides carrying the contradictions between modernity-tradition, agrarian-rural, urban-industrial, planned spaces for the managerial elite-spaces of exclusion for the construction workers, also demonstrate, from the social division of labor between women and men, how the sexist and patriarchal culture is being materialized in the city.

This conjuncture can be evidenced from the statements of the daily life of the families of the construction workers in Goiânia<sup>2</sup>. In this account by 'Dona A'3, one of the workers, who says that, at the time, “there was no water. Here at home we had a water cistern, I washed my clothes here. But the women, many carried the bundle on their heads and washed there” [Botafogo River, today Botafogo Stream], shows how the socioeconomic disparities intersect with the social division of labor between men and women and materialize spatially.

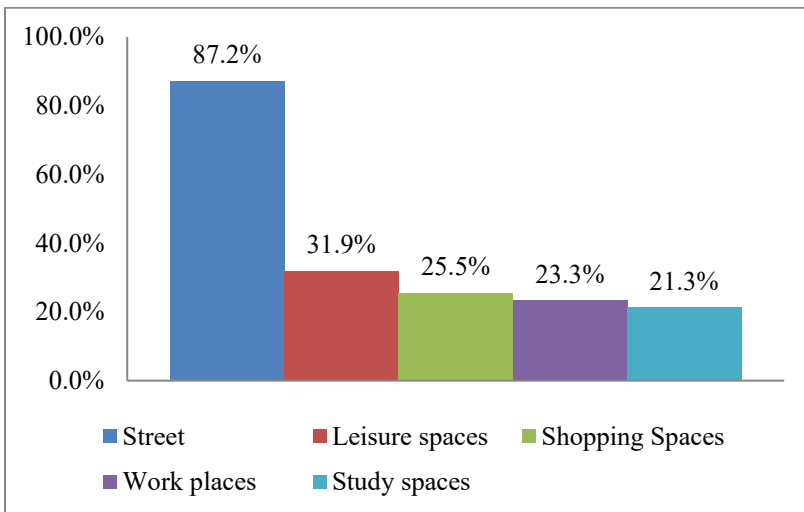
Added to this scenario are the feelings of bitterness and disappointment to which these women were subjected, as can be seen in the account of 'Dona D'2, when describing her first years as a resident of Vila Nova:

Here it was a martyrdom. I cried, because I left my land, without knowing anyone, came here to this place, to a little shack that didn't even have a door; we couldn't even put one, to tell you the truth. With so many people killing, shootings in the street. I was very nervous, very scared, you know? There was no street. There were only holes. When it rained, there were so many holes in this street! [...]. And I cried night and day. I regretted millions of years of getting married. I left my hometown... It was not good there, but here it was worse. Just dust, holes, killing, no comfort, there was no street, there was only a narrow path. An anthill here in the workshop was like that, it almost carried us. They killed the dogs and hid. Damn stench, that damn stench.

The image of Goiânia described above is chaotic and precarious. It reveals a hard life permeated by disenchantment, fear, stench, insecurity, restriction to public space, and socio-spatial, economic, and cultural inequalities. Moreover, by exposing her daily life, she presents us with the lines that form the web of women's imprisonment and how, in the capitalist/patriarchal society, violence against women is directly related to the city, to socioeconomic inequalities, and to the spheres of power.

As registered by the research we carried out in 2021, such violence still persists in the city of Goiânia, regardless of the advances achieved since the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s as a direct result of the widening of discussions on feminism and the organization of women's social movements, which have emerged since the 1980s.

The data reveal that 68% of the women surveyed have already been victim of violence and harassment in public spaces in Goiânia. The place with the highest occurrence is the street, with 87.2% of the cases. In second position, with 31.9%, are the leisure areas, such as bars, parks, concerts, theaters, cafes, among others. Thirdly, with 25.5%, were shopping places such as supermarkets, clothing stores, shopping malls, and fairs<sup>2</sup> (Figure 1).



**Figure 1:** gráfico chart of places where women are victims of violence and harassment (Goiânia, 2021).

Source: prepared by the authors (2021).

This cruel and outrageous reality of violence against women in public spaces is also stated in words and can be found in the justifications of some questions in the survey. In the question that asks if the respondent thinks that Goiânia is a safe city for its women: 78.5% said no, 7.7% said they partially think so, and 13.8% said yes. Among the justifications of those who answered 'no', one of the interviewees<sup>3</sup>, Woman 1(2021) describes: "a woman here needs to be alert all the time. Fearful to walk on the street and ride public transportation. Even inside work. The harassment is constant."

In another testimony, the insecurity and harassment scenario faced by women from Goiânia is strengthened, in addition to evidencing the discomfort and the feeling of vulnerability that they feel when exposing their bodies in public, it also expresses the discredit that they have in the public security institutions:

<sup>2</sup> The sum of the numbers exceeds 100% because more than one answer was possible in the multiple choice questions.

<sup>3</sup> As the interviews were not identified, for reasons of ethical confidentiality, we will use the resource of naming-numbering (Woman1) and the research date (2021) as a bibliographic reference in the body of the text, so that the voices of the interviewees are guaranteed.

There is no specific security for women, I don't feel safe on the street, on a motorcycle or on public transportation, situations that my body is exposed. I also don't feel safe to look for security agencies when necessary, because they are not prepared, in general, to deal with women (WOMAN 2, 2021).

Two issues stand out in this statement. The first of them is that the woman's body is sexed in and by the city, making her vulnerable in public spaces and, consequently, making her feel uncomfortable, invaded, and unsafe. The second, directly related to the first, is the lack of credibility of women in the institutions of State power, endorsed by the low incidence and inefficiency of punitive measures for crimes committed by men and by the predominance of men in these institutional contexts, most of which are culturally constituted under the aegis of patriarchy and capitalism.

It is evident that although modernity and urban life have provided women with more socioeconomic autonomy and more mobility through the streets of the cities, freeing them from family and religious enclosure, their bodies remain captured by the "old" economic and cultural structures and, consequently, continue to be marginalized and controlled by the institutions of power.

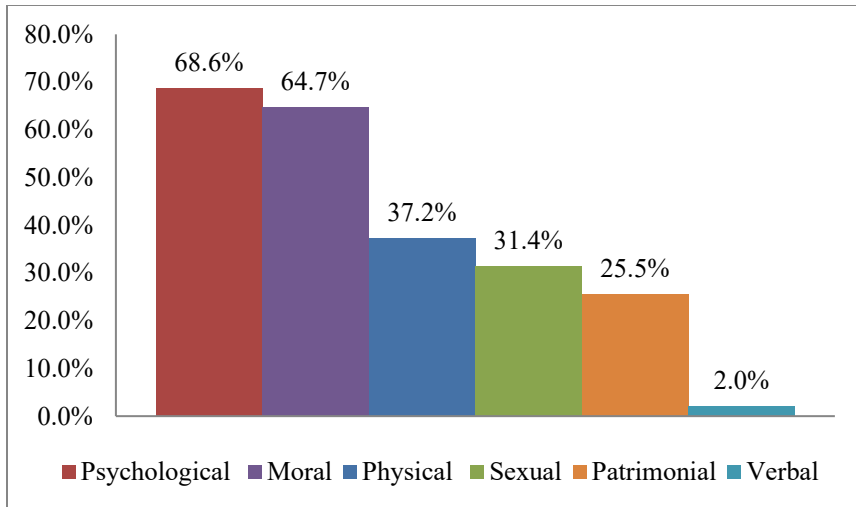
Another testimony presents other components:

There is a lack of recreational options and public spaces that welcome women and bring safety [...] I have already suffered harassment on the 037 bus and there was no police station nearby that could commit to the case. This reminds me of another important point, which is the terrible structure of urban mobility! Buses that are crowded, always late and for lack of options always made me feel uncomfortable, like sexual harassment, which is a guy feeling allowed to "touch" you in public. I believe that this problem is immaterial and involves the countryside culture that praises patriarchy through the figure of the brutish and systematic man (WOMAN 3, 2021).

An initial analysis that can be drawn from the testimonies and data is that women are not guaranteed the basic right to come and go in the cities. Violence against them undermines their subjectivities and weakens them as entitled citizens, thus creating a "perfidious" but potent lack of possibilities that tends to subject them to sexist urban "norms" that do not provide alternatives to experience, envision, and create other actions and human relations that may change this oppressive reality.

It is evident that the control mechanisms are not limited only to their bodies, as the objectification of work and the added value; they go beyond materiality and extend to the formation of their subjectivities. It is no accident that, as can be seen in the chart below, among the types of aggression suffered by women in Goiânia are: psychological violence,

with 68.6%, and moral violence, with 64.7%, which are the most common. Next are physical violence, with 37.2%, and sexual violence, with 31.4%.<sup>4</sup>



**Figure 2:** chart of the types of aggressions suffered by women (Goiânia, 2021).  
Source: prepared by the authors (2021).

In other words, violence against women in urban spaces, by objectively controlling and restricting their movement - a basic element of life and human existence - penetrates their subjectivity, promoting fear, subjection, victimization, alienation, revolt and so many other feelings, perceptions and cognitions that become the structuring basis of their way of sensing, perceiving, thinking and acting in the world. The conjunction of these factors is constitutive for them to repeat and perpetuate what is established by the codes and norms of the powers that be and, as a consequence, have difficulty in establishing alternatives against this entanglement of oppression and violence to which they are subjected by capitalism and patriarchy.

This entire scenario generates and reflects their invisibility, which, as we will show below, is embodied in the symbols of Goiânia and, consequently, by means of the fabricated socio-spatial and historical amnesia about their condition as producers of the city, enters the collective unconscious and the subjectivity of the people from Goiânia.

### **Sexism: between verbs and symbols**

The propositions pointed out so far enable us to claim that the intertwining of capitalism and patriarchy, in addition to producing sexist spaces and macho concepts, also forges a violent invisibility of women in the public sphere and, indeed, creates a historical

<sup>4</sup> The sum of the numbers exceeds 100% because more than one answer was possible in the multiple choice questions.



and socio-spatial amnesia in them and about them. Such fact clarifies that the issues related to invisibility and oppression against women are directly linked to the class struggle and, therefore, are produced and capillarized within the strategies used by the power-holding class to appropriate the history and the urban memory of the production process of the urban space of Goiânia.

A first finding of these stratagems comes from two theoretical principles that underpin the "modern" urban and architectural planning of Goiânia. One is the Chicago school, which, among other conceptions, promotes the denaturalization of the analysis of space production; the other is the neo-Hegelian idealism, which preaches a theological and deterministic view of nature, space and humanity. In these conceptions, subjects exist from objects and objects become things and, as a result, the city takes on a life of its own. It is the objectification of both humanity and its productive processes, which will be sustained by idealism and ideology, both essential to guarantee the illusion of the predominance of merchandise over work.

Thus, the processes (socio-spatial and historical), the contradictions and any possibility of changing the established order are concealed. In light of this, materiality and movement are denied, as well as life itself, thereby constituting an illusory transformation of technique, rationality and science into myths and dogmas. Now, cities and civilizations blossoming from forms and chance are nothing more than the "magic" of ideology announcing the end of history and the birth of the divine neo-Hegelian world, which appears exalting the final product, mitigating the historical process of the production of urban spaces and denying the inherent contradictions of the capitalistic production mode (PELÁ, 2016).

Nonetheless, the many different investigations already done on the construction process of Goiânia point out that the contradiction between the modern and the traditional was one of the vectors of the city constitution, since the appearance of the new capital could be modern and cosmopolitan, but its essence would carry traditional features that were based on the capitalist production mode and on the patriarchal culture.

Two issues underlie this statement. The first one is that the creation of Goiânia is directly linked to the development and integration project of Brazil, which had as one of its objectives the capitalism expansion through the territory modernization. The second is that, both the construction elite and a great part of the new capital population would be composed of migrants coming from the countryside cities of the state of Goiás, which had the "colonelism" as the main political and socio-cultural practice.

Therefore, there is no way to talk about Goiânia without including it in a national project and without considering its rural roots, since the productive forces, as well as the modes of production and life, are also relations resulting from socio-historical and spatial processes. The city, as a practical-sensible reality of space, is a social production. And as such, Goiânia is produced and reproduced in connection with the productive forces and production relations. Thereby, the dichotomy created between rural and urban is one more

of the power strategies that has generated, according to Souza (2021), a kind of urbanphilia against a ruralphobia.

This urban-rural relationship, according to Cecchini (2021), is not dichotomic, but rather dialectical because, despite being different ways of life, both arise from anthropic actions. According to the author, the city, which today presents itself as the locus of human activities, cannot survive without the countryside because the reductionism of its socio-spatial production is the beginning (and consequence) of the city crisis, linked to another reductionism (its primary cause) that is the acquiescence of the single thought as a criterion to govern them.

The author's reasonings lead us to infer that to analyze the city it is necessary to focus on the process of socio-spatial production, and not only on the result of its forms and contents. The result does not appear from nowhere, it comes from human actions and relations; that is why the rural is imbricated in the forms and contents of the city. And we add: these contents are reinforced by the attachment to cultural tradition and by the strength of ideology that tries to camouflage the reality of the historical, economic, and socio-spatial processes.

Goiânia, as any other city built under the aegis of capitalism and modernity, is a concrete demonstration that the process of development and urbanization of the Brazilian territory is conservative. Nevertheless, one cannot deny the dialectic that exists in the conflicts, as well as the strength of the ideology that does not allow the understanding of this reality to be within everyone's reach. The city represents for many the dream of a prosperous and thriving life, especially for those who have a hard life and few possibilities in the countryside. In the case of women, to this dream of financial improvement is added the search for emancipation of their existence, making both the city and the urban life appear to them as fertile fields of possibilities and as a counterpoint to patriarchy.

This is precisely where Lefebvre's (2008) reflections on the representation of the urban space as utopia and the future of a new society fit in. In the dream for their emancipation, women envision, from urban life, a possibility of deconstruction of a way of life where they will exist without the subordination to men and the imprisoning oppression of the patriarchal culture. However, as we have already pointed out, the founding vectors of modern cities (capitalism and patriarchy), as is the case of Goiânia, do not allow women to realize this "dream" in its integrality, since the oppression exerted by the patriarchal culture are control mechanisms used to assure that they continue to perform the social function of wealth accumulation and labor force generation.

It is evident that the division between rural and urban is yet another smokescreen around reality, which aims to hide what there is to be investigated, namely, the struggle between the agents that economically and culturally dominate the cities and the social and political movements that protest against this domination. This reflection raises the following questions: what are the mechanisms and instruments that guarantee this imaginary "split" between the modern and the traditional, which almost makes it an

axiom? What is the relationship of this split with the creation of a sexist urban space that nullifies women as producers of human existence?

A first argument is the languages of the power. In this excerpt from the editorial "A Man and a Work", which deals with the construction of Goiânia, it is possible to verify this assertion:

For the role it is destined to play in our economy, due to its splendid geographic location; for the social function it is exercising, as an integrator of our habits and customs [...]; by the political action, that as a consequence of all this it is developing, highly nationalizing, because it brings together different population groups, that here are socially and biologically amalgamated, making possible the formation of a social and biological democracy, so of the essence of the National State, Goiânia is placed, in Brazil, as a unique city, and its founder acquires, therefore, the relevance of the geniuses. (REVISTA OESTE, 2001, p. 197, reprint).

The article, which was published in July 1943 in the official magazine of the State Government of Goiás, clearly illustrates how the languages of power are used to build a whole atmosphere of newness, hopes and opportunities around the construction of the new capital of Goiás. The strategy of creating two myths stands out: Pedro Ludovico, as the building hero, and Goiânia, as the subject-city; that is, a total inversion of meanings, in which the object becomes the subject and the subject is only visible in the object (CHAVEIRO, 2001).

The following highlighted excerpt from the opinion article, "The square and the monument of Pedro Ludovico Teixeira," published in the *Diário da Manhã* newspaper in October 2015, reinforces these claims by saying that:

It is worth registering the personalities from Goiás who in one way or another initiated and marked the past of a promising time for the strength of the present, building the first pillars of Goiás infrastructure. Among many, I name Pedro Ludovico Teixeira, Mauro Borges Teixeira's father, a builder of times [...] and, according to the annals of the Goiás history, the responsible, through a governmental decree, for moving the capital of Goiás to Goiânia. Pedro Ludovico was a doctor by training and a politician naturally shaped by the dreams and ideals formed by the Revolution flag of 1930. A dream fulfilled by Pedro Ludovico, and in this month, we celebrate the anniversary of the city of Goiânia, the capital of Central Brazil, which today has an estimated population of 1,430,697 million, according to the IBGE (FILHO, 2021, p. 1).

It is clear that Goiânia is also woven in the verb. However, it is not just any verb. It is a verb that, besides being loaded with ideology, is also sexist because, by being based on an androcentric language, which exalts the masculine and excludes women from official discourses, it promotes the erasing of women from historical and geographical

processes and, therefore, creates a cultural symbolism that transforms sexual difference into social inequality.

According to Bueno (2020) this is a form of unveiled discrimination from which linguistic sexism emerges. After all, as the author says, what is not named does not exist. Therefore, not saying is also a way of saying, since what language omits is a message of exclusion or suppression of other conceivable sayings. And the result of this phenomenon is the enchainment of a historical and sociocultural amnesia of the women's memory of, especially those coming from the working class in the cities.

This erasure is yet another act of violence against women. To exclude them from history is to condemn their existence to an unprecedented insignificance. More than that: it is the complete negation of their biological and cultural life that has the capacity and power to generate other lives, wealth, labor power, in short, to be part of the process of social production. Their power is feared and, therefore, "it is not enough" to oppress them, burn them at the stake, stone them, call them whores, exclude them from public life: it is necessary to nullify their life and any trace of their existence.

In sum, the historical records are not mere and puerile memories, but social, symbolic and political representations made by the different social subjects of the city life that reveal the immateriality as a component of the space and its insertion in the world. As Abreu (1988) rightly reminds us, the city experience gives origin to several collective memories that can be distinct from each other, but that have as a common point the adherence to the city itself.

Thus, in spite of the power of language in the development of human subjectivity, for this process of erasure to be consistent, it is important for it to be materialized, since the objectification of the idea in something concrete and palpable is an important ideological reinforcement factor and a distortion of the truth. In Goiânia this strategy, which consists in the second argument we presented, can be perceptible in its symbols of power.

In effect, it is added to this process of memory erasure, through ideological and sexist discourse, the use of codes and symbols of power that were materialized in the urban space of Goiânia. The spatialization of sociocultural practices is something that is inherent to the human condition and, therefore, when another cultural signification of reality is "forged", it is necessary to create consistent power mechanisms that can camouflage the real process of historical and sociocultural construction.

The following images, which depict the Monuments to Bandeirante, to The Three Races and to Pedro Ludovico Teixeira, corroborate this statement.

The photographs symbolize and complement what we have been arguing about Goiânia having patriarchy, conservatism and sexism as founding vectors of its urban space. The first image depicts the Monument to the Bandeirante, which is located in a square named after Atílio Corrêa Lima, the urban planner who designed the city, and was inaugurated in 1942 to honor Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva. Well, the city created under the

ageis of modernity and as a symbol of civility and progress has a slave holder embedded in its two main central avenues. This is nothing more than the old coming dressed up as the new to conceal the strategies of power, considering that dubiety is an excellent element to falsify the truth.



**Figures 3, 4 e 5:** photographs of the Monuments to Bandeirante, to The Three Races and to Pedro Ludovico Teixeira – Goiânia/GO  
Source: photographs by the authors (2021).

As if this was not enough, twenty-six years later, in 1968, the Three Races Monument was inaugurated in the center of the city's main square - the Praça Pedro Ludovico Teixeira (better known as Civic Square), built to pay homage to the miscegenation among the white, black and indigenous ethnicities that gave rise to the Goiás people. The ironic thing is that the monument, which was sculpted by a woman, the sculptress Neusa Moraes, is depicted only by men, which reaffirms the arguments that women in the patriarchal culture are subjugated and, therefore, are completely alienated from the official history and symbolic processes of power.

To further reinforce this logic of exaltation of men's power and, consequently, of women's invisibility, in 2015 a monument was inaugurated at the same square in honor of the hero builder of Goiânia: Pedro Ludovico Teixeira. This monument, besides exalting him as the so-called hero builder, also symbolizes the contradictions and imbrications between modern and traditional, rural and urban, countryside and city, as well as the process of 'sexing' the city, which is being constituted.

The insecurity, the fear of walking in the streets, the difficulty of breaking with the division between public and private, among other elements that violate the existence of women, are reinforced in/by the symbols of Goiânia. After all, objects are the action of humanity upon the world, modifying the world, being in the world in an active way; the object is a kind of mediation between action and humanity and, therefore, it is not innocuous: it always provides meanings.

The meanings that the unofficial speeches and the monuments presented here are provided by a conservative culture that has in the figure of the man the symbol of power. It is not by chance that 90% of the women we interviewed consider Goiânia a macho city. The rurality that is presented to us is that of the tradition of the domination of the masculine and the subjection of the woman, to the point that one of the research participants, when answering if she considered Goiânia a macho city, stated:

Quite a lot, I even intend to leave here as soon as possible because of that. The Goiânia culture collaborates with the macho behaviors that we women observe in bars, on the street, on the bus, and the lack of adequate places to assure women and make them comfortable corroborates with the macho structure. The rurality involved in the production of the economic map by the exploitation of natural resources from agribusiness amplifies these social problems [...]. (WOMAN 4, 2021).

In another answer about machismo in Goiânia, the deponent exposes the processes of objectification of women as merchandise and discrimination in the job market.

[...] There is an incentive to female consumption and to selling Goiânia as a place of "beautiful women". I have already put a rear window tint on a car that I had because of prejudice, many men felt that they had the right either to call me names or to hit me in the traffic because I was a woman. In the job market there is a prevailing view that women are not competent, they need a male backing. So yes, Goiânia is still very macho, this "capital with a countryside face" is an effect that even today people propagate as something positive, but it is a big farce. I don't see the city as welcoming. (WOMAN 5, 2021).

It is noticeable that from the official and power point of view, the city of prosperity, of the new and of the advancement is far from being lived and enjoyed by women with equal power. In fact, it excludes them, but, contradictorily, it does not discard them, since their labor is crucial to the social and economic production of the city wealth. That is why the artifices of power and control, such as violence, invisibility, socio-spatial exclusion and oppression are so used against them, since they aim at denying their being and weakening their existence as historical subjects that they are, by right and by fact.

### **Considerations in Motion**

The considerations presented in this study allow us to reflect that overcoming a logic that dichotomizes internal space and external determinations in the geographic analysis of urban life, requires understanding the project that originated Goiânia in the context of Brazilian socio-spatial formation. Although, the researches and analyses involving the metropolization of Goiânia; the sliding of the original plans; its relations with Brasília-DF; its functions in the regional division of labor (specifically in the

Midwest region); have, in recent years, given signs of improvement, it is time to observe, question and interpret the city from its subjects. And from there, from their spatial practices, their conflicts, and the lines of force that emanate from them.

From this perspective, it was up to us to investigate the relationship between colonizing urban action and segregation. It was also up to us to understand the degree of affinity and intersection between capitalism and patriarchy. In fact - and concretely - women, from the beginning, were present in the construction of Goiânia, but they were - and are - ideologically excluded from the representations and researches. But we saw that it is more than that: women continue to be segregated and objects of social and urban violence.

Violence and segregation are the negations of concreteness, of movement, and of life itself. These are power strategies that aim to naturalize and, consequently, falsify socioeconomic inequalities, structural and cultural contradictions, oppression, conservatism and, above all, women as producers of human existence. And, by denying reality, these strategies forge a collective memory that Goiânia alone represents progress and, with this, erases the past, the history and the memory of contradictions, conflicts and the participation of women and workers in its construction..

This historical and impetuous erasure is perpetuated in two ways. The first one is the urban sexism that, as a result of the intertwining between the capitalist mode of production and the way of life based on the culture of patriarchy, materializes in the forms, contents, and socio-spatial dynamics of Goiânia, generating socio-spatial and gender inequalities. The second is violence against women, which is one of the most lethal weapons that capitalism and patriarchy promote and use to ensure their perpetuation.

From there, it is possible to comprehend the source and the reason for this distinction and fragmentation between the public and the private that, besides being highly harmful and violent for women, is one of the contributing factors that promotes their invisibility and the expropriation of their labor force. The social, political, and economic weakening and annihilation of women from public life is indispensable to guarantee their domination and exploitation by men.

However, as we have pointed out, life is uninterrupted movement. It is this movement that indicates that humanity is not susceptible to total alienation. It resists and struggles to ensure its needs and desires are met. That is why it is important to emphasize that women are fighting against this established order and entering the political and economic spaces and building other ways of living in and through the city.

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