AN HISTORICAL EXPLANATION OF THE LACK OF CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN BRAZIL'S MIDDLE SECTOR TODAY

by

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ABSTRACT:

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Social stratification is a major area of thought in theoretical social analysis. Although much has since been said in this area, the theories of social stratification put forward by Karl Marx remain fundamental. The necessity for a social class to possess class consciousness is basic to Marx' theories.

A middle social stratum has been rapidly growing in Brazil since the Second World War. This expansion is due to the growth of industry, urban centers, government bureaucracy, and other factors. Yet, this middle group seems to lack both an awareness of themselves as a group and a unique set of values. To some extent, the middle stratum identifies with the upper class. Clearly, the middle stratum lacks class consciousness. For this reason I refer to this group as the middle sector.

The problem is: why does Brazil's middle sector lack class consciousness? The hypothesis I propose in solution to this problem is as follows: Brazil's middle sector is, in a sense, a misfit in the stream of Brazilian history. In more than four centuries of European settlement of Brazil, the society has been characterized by factors contributing to a bi-polar tendency in social stratification.
In testing this hypothesis, I will examine three of the areas of factors in terms of the roles they have played in social stratification. Although the list of areas contributing to a bi-polar tendency is long, I have limited myself to the economic factor, the kinship factor, and the racial factor. These three factors will be examined throughout the course of Brazilian history.

The economic structure has been largely characterized by large-scale agriculture, feudalism, and slavery. These institutions involve the control of the many by the few. Two contemporary phenomena which polarize Brazilian society have come out of this heritage: paternalistic treatment of employees, and the concentration of wealth in the hands of a relatively few.

The kinship system has strengthened the bi-polar tendency in several ways. The aristocratic patriarchal family, which dominated Brazil for centuries, served to maintain the position of the upper class, and establish a dependency of the poor on the rich. The upper-class family continues today as a maintainer of the status quo. The institutions of patronship and godparenthood continue today to foster a dependency of poor on rich.

Perhaps the most obvious contribution to the bi-polar tendency is seen in the historical role of the racial factor.
Slavery existed from the founding of the colony until abolition in 1888. Masters were white and slaves were non-white. The non-white population continues to largely occupy the lower class, and this situation is maintained by often-subtle racial prejudice.

To gain an understanding of the growth of the middle sector, a fourth factor must be noted: demographic changes. Recent phenomena are extensive European immigration, and the development of urban centers. The recent nature of these phenomena is linked to the recent growth of the middle sector.

Although Brazilian society continues, in many ways, to be bi-polar, the existence of a relatively large middle sector prohibits a perfect bi-polarity in social stratification. The existence of the middle sector may be a misfit in Brazilian history in one sense, but this sector's values do not run counter to the historical flow. However, the middle sector is yet in an early stage of development. A later stage of development may include the formation of a class consciousness.
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I. INTRODUCTION

Social stratification is one of the classic themes in social analysis. Although it is commonly accepted that stratification is something of a universal social feature, the tradition out of which analysis of stratification comes is a tradition closely linked to the Western civilization of the last several centuries. Before an examination can be made of social stratification in Latin America, particularly Brazil, it would be useful to briefly examine the thinking of some of the major exponents of stratification analysis. These exponents will be viewed specifically with an eye to the characteristics they distinguish as essential to class analysis.

Perhaps the father of social class analysis is Karl Marx. Marx sees social organization as growing out of the satisfaction of basic human needs—food, clothing, and shelter. The productive system, which satisfies these needs, is the nucleus of social organization. A social class is an aggregate of persons performing some function in the organization of production. As essential for Marx as the economic characteristic, is the presence of class consciousness. Marx argues that a class must have a subjective awareness of its class interests and a class only becomes a class with organization. His thinking in
class analysis moves along political lines, lines of conflict. A class conscious political organization comes from conflicts over economic rewards, easy communication between class members, and a dissatisfaction of the exploited with their exploitation. But perhaps most to the point is Marx's contention that essential to class formation is the existence of a common class enemy. What emerges out of Marx's thinking on social class is a picture of stratification based on economic distribution and political consciousness. To a large extent, the characteristics applied to social class analysis have not gone very far beyond these characteristics originally applied by Marx.

Another thinker in the area of social class analysis is Thorstein Veblen. Veblen maintains that the emergence of the leisure class coincided with the beginning of ownership. But Veblen goes beyond the simple connection between ownership and class position. He sees wealth not as an end in itself, but rather a means to the true basis of class position, honor. The end sought by accumulation of wealth is a high ranking in comparison with the rest of the community. Wealth becomes intrinsically honorable, as it distinguishes an individual from others. With wealth comes the development of a particular honorable life-style, including abstention from productive labor, and visual evidence of wealth and leisure. Labor becomes an inferior activity.
Veblen's consideration of honor, or prestige, in social class analysis is an important addition, especially, as will be seen, for Latin America. But it must be stressed that the material factor is essential for Veblen, just as it is for Marx.

Perhaps a closer follower of Marx than Veblen in social class analysis is Ferdinand Toennies. Toennies distinguishes societal and communal collectives. Both are types which are groups tied together by common traditions and interests. However, the societal collective possesses all the characteristics which the communal collective lacks: conscious commitment, rational action, and organization. The communal collective is lacking in organization and is capable of merely tacit consensus. Estates are communal, whereas classes are societal. Estate position is largely determined by birth. Thus, "free" choice of occupation is largely determined by an individual's social origins and depends upon the economic situation from which he originates: sons of semi-skilled and skilled workers become semi-skilled and skilled workers in turn. The points which emerge with greatest force from Toennies' analysis are contained in two assertions. The distribution of wealth and income is the factor most strongly promoting social class cohesion. The decisive characteristic of class is class consciousness. These assertions clearly place Toennies in the
Marxist fold. The two essential characteristics to be considered in social class analysis are economic distribution and consciousness. And consciousness, for both Toennies and Marx, seems to imply political consciousness.

Max Weber is generally considered to be one of the giants in the tradition of social class analysis. As do his fellow theorists, Weber maintains that the social order is conditioned by the economic order. Although both classes and status groups are phenomena of the distribution of power within a community, Weber makes the distinction between the two types. Even in terms of this distinction, power is seen as ultimately economically based. The economic basis of class is clearer, the class situation being comprised of the following factors: the typical chance for a supply of goods, external living conditions, and life experiences. This chance is determined by the amount and kind of power, or lack of it, to dispose of goods or skills for the sake of income in an economic order. Power, then, is economic power. Weber explicitly states that property and lack of property are basic categories in all class situations. Status groups, in contrast to classes, are normally communities. The status situation is broadly outlined by Weber as every typical component of the life fate of men that is determined by specific social estimation of honor. Status honor is expressed by a specific style of life. Although
classes are more obviously economically conditioned, in that they are stratified according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods, status groups are also economically conditioned. Status groups are stratified according to the principles of their consumption of goods as represented by special styles of life. It is not surprising that Weber remarks that classes and status groups frequently overlap. Yet, he stresses that although the original source of status was economic, the status system operates independently of the class system.

Another school of thought in the analysis of social class is a school largely composed of Americans. In this school of thought, Weber is followed, to a certain extent, in that stratification is viewed as being based on prestige or status. Parsons views stratification as based on possessions, qualities, and performances. Warner relates class and status by placing people in classes by reputational analysis, that is, how community members rank each other. A general approach to this problem used by American sociologists has been the ranking of occupations in a hierarchy of prestige.

Recent efforts in stratification analysis have by no means been monopolized by the Americans. A major study at the London School of Economics concentrated on the ranking of occupations into a series of categories. This
study also investigated the role of education in determining status position.\textsuperscript{22} Another approach to stratification analysis has focussed on power as the major criterion; this approach is taken by both Dahrendorf and Wesolowski.\textsuperscript{23}

Many dimensions have been considered in stratification analysis. Two important considerations which I have not yet mentioned are ascribed status versus achieved status, and the degree of institutionalization of the stratification system. However, the purpose of this investigation is not a comprehensive review of stratification analysis. Such an analysis could fill and has filled tomes. The above is merely intended as a brief, albeit essential, theoretical foundation for empirical analysis. I believe it useful here to sum up some of the factors which have been considered in the analysis of social class.

I find Lipset's summary of the dimensions of class to be extremely pertinent. He divides these dimensions into three types: objective, accorded, and subjective. Objective dimensions include the power position in the economic structure, the extent of economic life chances, occupational prestige, amount of power over others and freedom from the power of others, and education. The accorded dimensions center around the amount of status-honor-deference based on the treatment by other individuals. Thus, a class is composed of individuals accepting each other as equals.
Accorded status dimensions differ with the size of the community, and tend to be inherited. Finally, the subjective dimension of class analysis is how an individual perceives himself. This dimension is dealt with in studies applying the methods of self-identification and reference group theory.24

Although many factors have been considered in social class analysis, I cannot help feeling that the foundation of the matter remains the foundation that Marx built a century ago. Economic position and class consciousness seem to remain the skeleton of stratification analysis. Yes, status must be considered. But cannot status be viewed as an extension of the consciousness of differences? And is not status almost invariably inextricably linked to economic position? Yes, power must be considered. But how often does the controller of general power not also control the economic power?

However, these are simply my views on the theoretical framework. The empirical realities, although largely reducible to economic position and class consciousness, involve many factors, and these factors may not have been considered in the traditional theoretical framework of class analysis. This framework was formulated as a product of Europe and North America during the last few centuries. The historical events and situations in Latin America were
not the same as those in Europe and North America. I will examine, below, aspects of Brazil's class structure in this historical perspective. However, before turning to Brazil, it will be useful to make some generalizations about the class structure for Latin America as a whole.

One point which is basically agreed upon by students of Latin American society is the strong tradition of a relatively well-defined two class system. The upper class was composed of the landowning aristocracy and the lower class was composed of the peasants and the aristocracy's domestic servants. One observer notes that this small upper class rationalized its position by invoking divine authority and inherent superiority. The family position essential to upper class membership was reinforced by wealth. Manual labor was strictly forbidden for members of the upper class, and respectable professions might be pursued in the Church, the army, the government, or law. It must be stressed that the position of this upper class was founded on rural economy. Particularly before 1850, the rural emphasis of the ruling elite strengthened the position of the landholding aristocracy. The landholding system of "latifundias" was tailored to the two class system, and the tax structure encouraged rural investment. One student of Latin America characterizes the traditional stratification pattern as follows: two classes, with most
of the population in the lower class; high degrees of discontinuity and hierarchization; a highly institutionalized image of stratification; inheritance of norms, values, and attitudes; only slight chances of mobility.27

It should be made clear that the above system of social class is by no means a thing of the past. Polar differences persist today. The family is often viewed as remaining the strongest criterion by which wealth, power, and social position are distributed. A prejudice is still largely held against manual labor. Monumental economic inequalities continue to be found in Latin American societies.28

But nonetheless, Latin America has reached the point where it can no longer be characterized as a simple two class society. Several students of Latin America have attempted to analyze the present system of stratification pattern as follows: multiple strata; low degrees of hierarchization and discontinuity; an unclear image of the system; frequent status incongruence; predominant achievement norms, values, and attitudes; high chances of mobility.29 This characterization is an antithesis of the traditional stratification system. But just as the modern system outlined above is an ideal type, usually far from reality, the antithetical characterization of the traditional system is also an ideal type. Even in early colonial times, the
picture of two polar groups is misleading. Within the upper class existed a small elite which monopolized power. Certain members of the lower class identified with the upper class, such as managers, artisans, and traders.\textsuperscript{30}

In any case, the complexity of the Latin American stratification system has increased in recent times. One observer remarks that two upper classes exist today. One of these upper classes is composed of the descendants of the old landowning aristocracy, and descent is the fundamental criterion of membership. The new upper class is composed of the self-made men, their families and descendants, who have accumulated fortunes through business and/or politics. This new upper class dominates the businesses which are not controlled by foreign corporations. Both the old and the new upper classes are distinguished by their claim to power and prestige.\textsuperscript{31} Another observer writes of the breakdown in the traditionally monolithic upper class. Although relative rank in the upper class is still mediated by family, and entry is still primarily based on family, subdivisions are made within the class on the basis of source of wealth. A distinction is made between wealth which is inherited, in land, in mining, or from professional and bureaucratic positions. Problems of classification occur when low family status is coupled with a high degree of wealth and power, high family status is coupled with an
occupation of low social prestige, or high family status is coupled with a loss of wealth.\textsuperscript{32}

A certain degree of confusion in applying the traditional stratification pattern is also apparent in the lower class. One observer states that at least two lower classes exist today, the agricultural and the industrial. Both are distinguished by the performance of manual labor and incomplete literacy. However, the agricultural lower class can be further divided into small landholding peasants, plantation workers, and workers on industrial farms.\textsuperscript{33}

The picture which emerges is one of a traditional system, firmly grounded on rigid criteria of class and status, being radically changed and confused by major economic and accompanying social changes. The development of Latin American economies into more than agricultural producers has given rise to a social situation which cannot be accommodated by a landlord-peasant system of stratification. But the shift away from purely agricultural economies to economies which include commerce and industry is only one of the major shifts which have affected Latin American stratification systems.

The other shift is implicit in the Wagley and Harris typology of Latin American subcultures. Wagley and Harris enumerate nine different subcultures: 1) Tribal Indian,
2) Modern Indian, 3) Peasant, 4) Engenho (traditional) Plantation, 5) Usina (industrialized, corporation) Plantation, 6) Town, 7) Metropolitan Upper Class, 8) Metropolitan Middle Class, and 9) Urban Proletariat. This typology contains a distinction which must be added to the agricultural-industrial distinction, the rural-urban distinction.

To state a truism, from industry follows urban development, and with urban development a group emerges which can fit into neither the traditional class of landholding aristocracy or the traditional class of rural peasants. The traditional stratification system is adapted to a rural-agricultural society and cannot readily accommodate urban development. The resultant emergence of the urban middle sector is a problem with which I am concerned.

As I mentioned earlier, a group existed even during colonial times which was neither truly upper class nor truly lower. This group included lawyers, doctors, writers, publishers, artists, professors, bureaucrats, members of the secular clergy, and lower and middle members of the military officer corps. But it must be stressed that this early middle sector was tied to the upper class through the middle groups' education, positions in the bureaucracy, and their direct service of the upper class as lawyers, doctors, and notaries. Since political administration in Latin
America was often directed from primate cities (administrative and commercial population centers of the Spanish Empire), the middle sector's bureaucratic positions have always given this group an urban inclination.

However, it is clear that the middle sector did not truly emerge until major changes began to occur in Latin American society. This emergence was stimulated by the spread of education and expanding opportunities in trade and industry. An increasing need developed for literate and technically trained people to fill positions in government and private enterprise. The following general trends after 1850 were essential to middle sector emergence: increase of amount of land under cultivation, government encouragement of transportation and communication, modernization of the principal cities, revival of mining, introduction and expansion of manufacturing industries, and the development of banking and finance into vital economic sectors.

After 1800, commercial-industrial elements emerged with the accompanying necessary occupations of owners, managers, applied scientists, and trained technicians. The people needed to fill such positions came up from the lower class, down from the old aristocracy, and from an influx of immigrants. After 1850, both investment and skilled technicians came from the United States, Canada, and Europe. The flow of immigrants around the turn-of-the-
century reached major proportions. The middle sector not only was strengthened in numbers, but it acquired a more strictly economic orientation.\textsuperscript{40}

These changes also effected a development of the urban sector of the society. Not only were the new industries in the cities, but transportation, communication, and financial managerial groups were urban, as were the expanding governmental bureaucracy and international trade. A growing urban labor force emerged, composed of rural-urban migrants and immigrants.\textsuperscript{41} Furthermore, many immigrants who had originally settled in rural areas found the rigid rural social structure unsatisfactory, and came to the cities.\textsuperscript{42}

Since the middle sector of the Latin American stratification system is a group which is of relatively recent development, it is not surprising that attempted characterizations of this group are complex. Wagley and Harris characterize the Metropolitan Middle Class as follows: a rapidly growing group of first generation professionals and white collar workers in business and government; maintains standards of material consumption and prestige closely patterned after the upper class; holds a high value on non-manual labor; emulates the upper class in housing, clothing, and etiquette; employs domestic servants; members' salaries are often insufficient to maintain class standards; members hold several jobs; much of income goes
for items of high display value; no distinctive "middle class ideology".\textsuperscript{43}

As may be seen above, characterizations of the Latin American middle sector include enumeration of both "objective" criteria and commonly held values. Although it is difficult, I will attempt to distinguish the objective criteria of middle sector membership from its values, on the basis of the observations of several other students of Latin America. Concerning relatively objective criteria, Gillin notes that the large and growing middle segment has access to communication and media, and sufficient education to be informed of the larger world. He notes that although membership embraces a wide social span, literacy is a common characteristic. Concerning their standard of living, he notes that European clothing is worn, their dwellings have non-dirt floors, and they possess and use furniture and table service of a "decent" pattern.\textsuperscript{44} Gillin divides the middle segment into two sectors: 1) those who live from salaries or fixed fees, and 2) owners of small to medium sized businesses, farm owners, and the upper level of salesmen.\textsuperscript{45} The non-owner members of the middle segment are enumerated as including all clerical and white collar workers, most technicians, mechanics, engineers, farm extension workers, social workers, nurses, hygienists, civil servants, and national labor leaders.\textsuperscript{46} Johnson
notes common objective criteria of middle sector membership as being intellectual attainments, education plus some manual labor, wealth, and urban concentration. Concerning education, he notes that the traditional humanistic education has always been a middle sector characteristic, but now the educational criterion may also include technical education. Beals sees the middle sector composed of industrialists, businessmen, managerial groups, middle members of bureaucracy, skilled workers, and white collar workers. He notes that the middle sector is primarily urban.

Descriptions of the ideology of the Latin American middle sector are rather complex. Gillin notes that the middle sector makes no claims to power based on ancestry or great wealth. Regarding their attitude to material life-style he states that they strive for a standard of living beyond that of the lower class, disdaining manual labor and emphasizing possessions as symbols of their status. He continues, stating that the middle segment is the group most in touch with the modern world, most susceptible to influences for change, and most potent in the internal and international affairs of their own nation. This last observation concerning political potency is, to say the least, debatable. This observer then explicitly enumerates the values of the middle sector as follows:
personalism (judgment of individual on individual merits; trust of only personally known people; allegiance on personal considerations), strength of family ties (extensive and highly valued kin relationships), importance of hierarchy (strong sense of social position and stratification system), tangible material (emphasis on visible property), transcendental values (importance of aesthetics, arts, and philosophy in daily life), emotions (open expression), and sense of fatalism. I am afraid that the above explicitly enumerated values tell us very little about the middle sector as a distinct group, because these values are largely prevalent across all levels of Latin American society. This observer further states that until the last twenty-five years, the middle sector copied the life-style of the old aristocracy. If this implies that the middle sector no longer does this, much data would contradict this implication. Perhaps in sum, I might note two observations made by Gillin to the effect that the middle stratum is divided in both goals and methods, and divisions are more obvious than points of view held in common. He goes so far as to state that the middle sector lacks both class consciousness and an explicit self-conscious ideology.

Johnson also explicitly enumerates the common ideological characteristics of the middle sector. He lists the following: 1) urban interests, 2) demand for
public education, 3) demand for rapid industrialization, 4) nationalism at the level of a major political ideology, 5) demand for state intervention in social welfare and industrialization, and 6) shift of power away from family and toward political parties. In terms of which people within the middle sector have the strongest influence on the sector's thinking, he notes that teachers and bureaucrats have increasing influence, but the most powerful influence, at least in political thought, is exerted by the commercial and industrial leaders. He also notes that the officer corps identifies with the middle sector and its values, but scientists, technicians, and managers identify with their employers. Finally, this observer states that the Latin American middle sector does not fulfill the central condition of class, a common background of experience.

Beals states that the middle sector has a general orientation to traditional upper-class values. Accepting upper-class values, the middle sector is more like the upper class than like the lower class.

What then is the applicability of the Euro-North American tradition of stratification analysis to the Latin American situation today? In my mind, the most essential elements of traditional class analysis are a shared economic position and a shared consciousness. For the traditional
two class Latin American society, a good argument could be made for the presence of a true class system. Although some might be inclined to call this a caste system, it is clear that the two groups were clearly differentiated from each other both in economic position and consciousness of social position. But possibly more important than the sharp line between the two classes are the equally sharp characteristics which class members had in common. But what of this relatively recent arrival on the scene, the middle sector? Surely a wealthy merchant and a poor mechanic cannot be said to share the same position in the productive system. A basic criterion throughout the traditional class analyses has been ownership. How can an owner and a worker be placed in the same social class? But, as is apparent from North American stratification analyses, this consideration has not bothered many social scientists. The argument has been that what is called the middle class in our society is indeed the middle class, because not only do members share a unique set of values, but they think of themselves as middle-class. But what of this group in Latin America? Although members of the middle sector may share many interests, I feel, following Gillin, that the middle sector not only lacks a unique set of commonly shared values, but may even identify with upper-class values. In short, the middle sector lacks class
The body of this essay will be an examination of a particular aspect in the social stratification system of Latin America's largest country, Brazil. From the preceding remarks, a picture emerges of a growing middle group in Latin American social stratification. This group is clearly present in Brazil. A picture also emerges from my brief examination of social class theory of a particularly essential ingredient in social class formation: class consciousness. The importance of Karl Marx in the development of social class theory has been noted. In Marxian terms, or relatively pure theoretical terms in general, class consciousness is necessary for a group to truly attain the status of a social class. In light of this theoretical consideration, let us look at the situation of the middle group in today's system of Brazilian social stratification.

The literature on Brazilian social systems is filled with statements pointing to this middle group's lack of class consciousness. Charles Wagley, who may well be the foremost authority on Brazil in American anthropology, has often discussed this situation in the following manner:

The new middle class shares many values with the small group which, in earlier days formed the Brazilian middle class. Essentially, they have not yet developed their own middle class ideology or values in the same way as the European and North American middle classes.
Fundamentally, they still identify their aspirations with older and aristocratic values... In brief, they are not ideologically a "middle class." They aspire to the old aristocratic values of the landed gentry of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.\(^1\)

Other social observers of Brazil seem to be in agreement with Wagley on this point. One observer speaks of, "...the national bourgeoisie's failure to become fully conscious of its own class interests and social role..."\(^2\)

Another observer states:

Rather than considering themselves a new "middle class," these newly successful groups have come to share, with the descendants of the old landed gentry, an aristocratic set of ideals and patterns of behavior which they have inherited from the nobility of the Brazilian empire.\(^3\)

Yet another observer, speaking of the middle group, states: "This class identifies itself with the values, ambitions, and standards of the elite."\(^4\) This observer even goes so far as to describe this identification with the elite as, "...a trait of the culture of the middle sector."\(^5\)

A final quote concerning lack of class consciousness illustrates the fact that not only does the middle group identify itself with the upper class, but it seems to be lumped with the upper class in treatment by the lower class:

...a wide barrier separates two groups of status and power as formed by the aggregate of the upper and middle classes and, on the other side, the lower class. Thus the middle class is much farther from the lower than from the higher class, not only in its orientation, values, and symbols, but also in its social privileges. The most visible and open discrimination, and the most manifest tensions, are those
operating across the line that separates the two status groups... Those of the lower-class group are expected to be distant and respectful... in dealing with those of both upper and middle classes...

Since I am unable to obtain first-hand evidence of Brazilian middle class values and consciousness at this time, I am compelled to accept the evidence I have gleaned from the observations of others. Therefore, I will accept as a given premise the proposition that the middle group in the Brazilian social stratification system today lacks both a unique set of values and a conscious group identity. In the Marxian sense, this group cannot be considered a true social class because it lacks class consciousness. For this reason, I will refer to this group in the discussion which follows as the Brazilian middle sector.

The problem I propose to deal with may be summed up by one simple question: Why does the Brazilian middle sector lack a class consciousness? In answer to this problem, my hypothesis rests on the assertion that the middle sector is, in many respects, a misfit in the stream of Brazilian history. However, the middle sector as a misfit may only apply to the North American and Western European model of the middle class. The nature of Brazil's middle sector may nicely fit this group into the stream of Brazilian history as a group quite different from its northern counterparts. This may be seen in Brazilian
bi-polarity. Several factors throughout Brazilian history have contributed to the development of a bi-polar tendency in social stratification. There are many such factors, each of which has exerted a major force in the formation of Brazilian society, and strengthened the bi-polar tendency in social stratification.

The list of areas of Brazilian social development which would yield fruitful information to the investigator of the bi-polar tendency in social stratification is long. A major factor is political, with shifting oligarchies and recurring strong-man government. Another factor is the role of regionalism in creating national social imbalances throughout Brazilian history. Ever-backward education in Brazil has also contributed to social polarization. Both the military and the church have also played roles in strengthening the elite-mass dichotomy. Population changes constitute yet another factor in building social cleavages, both in terms of the predominantly rural traditional population and the urban-rural dichotomy. Even foreign trade and investment have had their effects on the social polarization of the people.

Because of the virtually endless scope of relevant factors, I am compelled to limit my discussion to only three of these factors. I have chosen to examine the tendency to bi-polarity in social stratification in terms
of the economic factor, the kinship factor, and the racial factor. I have selected these three factors for two basic reasons. Of all the contributing factors, these three seem to be among the most crucial to the formation of bi-polar social stratification. My second reason involves the interlocking character of social systems. Of course, all the possible contributing factors overlap, but the question here is one of degree. I find the economic, kinship, and racial factors to be inextricably bound to one another. Because of the strength of their links to one another, I find it necessary to consider them together if I am to do justice to their examination. Without further ado, then, let us proceed to examining the economic development of Brazil in terms of social stratification.
II. THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

Throughout Brazil's history, monocultural agriculture has largely dominated the national economy. From the very beginning,

Portugal was faced with the task of finding a way of economic utilization of her territories in the Americas other than the easy extraction of precious metals. Only thus would it be able to justify the cost of defending such possessions.

The way that Portugal found was large-scale agriculture. In the course of Brazil's history, the mining of gold and diamonds, cattle raising, brazilwood gathering, and rubber growing were major economic activities. Yet, the plantation is present as a theme throughout Brazilian economic history. As will be shown below, many of the general social patterns which developed through plantation agriculture overlapped into the brazilwood, mining, cattle, and rubber sectors.

Another more general theme in Brazilian economic history is the gathering and production of primary commodities. In any case, plantation agriculture was extremely important in the following forms: sugar cane on the Northeast coast from 1560 to the present, and in São Paulo state from 1950 to the present; coffee in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Paraná, from 1830 to the present; and cacao from 1825 to the present. In 1860, Sebastião Ferreira Soares wrote: "Labor...has of late been exclusively employed in big scale
farming..." The situation, at the time of the Second World War, had not changed radically. Brazil was then described as, "...the typical large underdeveloped country, with a low and widely varying per capita income, heavily reliant on foreign trade, and with more than two-thirds of her poor production consisting of primary commodities." The significance and extent of "widely varying per capita income" will be discussed at length below.

Let us now get some idea of Brazil's continued reliance on primary commodities by examining the recent composition of her exports in Table I, page 27. In contrast to Brazil's reliance on the export of primary commodities, finished and semi-finished goods constitute a much larger share of Canada's exports. Table II on page 28 will illustrate this situation. Other indicators of Brazil's reliance on primary production will be presented later. I will examine occupational distribution and other indicators of the economic structure in my discussion below of industrial development.

Brazil's economic history is characterized by the production and gathering of one primary commodity after another. By way of illustration, let us now turn to a brief examination of some of these economic activities.

The gathering of brazilwood can probably be considered the first material interest of the Portuguese
TABLE I

BRAZIL:
EXPORTS BY MAIN GROUPS OF PRODUCTS
(percentage of total value breakdown)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1949</th>
<th>1952</th>
<th>1955</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Foodstuffs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of which:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coffee</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cocoa</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Raw materials</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of which:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raw cotton</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iron ore</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raw rubber</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Manufactures and other products</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE II

DOMESTIC EXPORTS FROM CANADA TO ALL COUNTRIES, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Export</th>
<th>Value in $,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food, feed, beverages, and tobacco</td>
<td>1,888,293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live animals</td>
<td>78,002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crude materials, inedible</td>
<td>1,947,625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabricated materials, inedible</td>
<td>4,012,068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End products, inedible</td>
<td>2,119,324</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in Brazil. Brazil, discovered at the end of the fifteenth century, held only a strategic interest for the Portuguese for almost thirty years after this discovery. Brazil was thought of as a strategic spot from which to protect the Portuguese route to the Cape of Good Hope, India, and the Orient. However, the Portuguese soon found brazilwood, the wood from which the country takes its name. From brazilwood, "was extracted a reddish dye that was much in demand by the woolen manufacturers of Europe, and great quantities of logs were shipped across the Atlantic..." Brazilwood initiated the trend of primary commodities as a major concern. The primary commodity which followed brazilwood in chronological importance initiated a trend toward plantation agriculture, and, in many respects, cast the die for Brazilian society.

The production of sugar is one of the major keys to the development of Brazilian society. The circumstances surrounding the introduction of sugar are unclear. It may have been brought from West Africa or it may have come from the island of Madeira. One account gives credit to Duarte Coelho, one of the first settlers. In 1532, "...his first enterprise was to try to plant canefields and set up sugar mills in Pernambuco..." Another account maintains that, "The fugitive Jews and convicts who early went to Brazil introduced from Madeira in 1548 the cultivation of sugar
cane by the plantation method." But the origin of sugar cultivation is not really essential to this discussion.

The important point is that sugar thrived in Brazil, and its cultivation was early expanded. Crude sugar mills and evaporating pans were built for the extraction of cane juice and the manufacture of coarse sugar. The sugar plantations and their mills came to be the basic economic wealth of the colony. One observer notes: "...the trade spread rapidly all along the coast from south to north, including along the strip of the shore, the captaincies of Rio de Janeiro, Espirito Santo, Bahia, and Pernambuco." Sugar plantations numbered 30 in 1576, 76 in 1584, and 121 in 1625. Quite early, conclusive demonstration was made that the soil and climate of much of the coast were ideal for the cultivation of sugar cane, and by 1550 sugar mills had been built all along the coast. Sugar production was also stimulated through measures by the Portuguese Crown subsidizing sugar mills in 1549, and adding a three year tax exemption as incentive in 1576. The extent of sugar cultivation moved one observer to write that in 1600, "...Brazil had definitely become an agricultural colony with a population of perhaps twenty or thirty thousand white people, most of whom were engaged in the sugar-cane industry." The implication here is that other than "white people" were present in the population. The
significance of this fact, in addition to the role of the non-white population in sugar cultivation, cannot be overstressed and will be discussed at length below. It is clear that sugar production was entrenched in Brazilian society by 1600, and continued to play an important role throughout Brazilian history.

Another important economic activity in Brazil's history is the mining of gold and diamonds. In Brazil's central region, gold was discovered in 1698, and diamonds in 1729.\[^{81}\] Gold became an important commodity after 1720, and especially between 1740 and 1760 in the central region.\[^{82}\] To convey some idea of the economic importance of gold in Brazil, it may be noted that Brazil produced 44 per cent of the world's gold supply in the eighteenth century.\[^{83}\]

Later came the development of yet another primary commodity of major importance in Brazilian economic history, coffee. The introduction of coffee to Brazil is an interesting tale in itself. "In 1727 Maia da Gama, then governor, sent Sergeant-Major Melho Palheta from Belém to the authorities of Cayenne on a diplomatic mission concerning the boundaries between Guiana and Brazil.\[^{84}\] Palheta's duties were more than diplomatic. He was to combine politics with economic espionage. The governor had instructed him that if he had "...occasion to enter an
orchard, or garden, or clearing where there is coffee, you will see whether, under the pretext of trying some beans, you can hide a few, and with all possible dissimulation and caution, you must send them straightaway. ¹⁸⁵ Palheta stole 2,000 beans and two seedling plants. In this fashion, coffee, destined to become the king of the Brazilian economy, was introduced. However, it was not until a century after coffee's introduction that commercial exploitation began in earnest: "After 1830 coffee took the lead over all other Brazilian products, especially as an article of export: the period from 1830 to 1940 is known as the 'coffee cycle' in Brazilian economic history." ¹⁸⁶ Coffee, like sugar, demanded plantation agriculture.

The preceding discussion of the development of some of the economic activities in Brazil's history is admittedly superficial. Not only could the activities mentioned have been more deeply explored, but others, such as cacao, cattle, and rubber could have been discussed. However, my purpose is not a comprehensive economic history. I merely wish to point out the trends toward primary commodities and monoculture. The preceding has only been an attempt at laying scant foundations for a discussion of the effects of Brazil's economic structure on social stratification.

But first, some understanding must be reached regarding a foundation of both the economic system and its
resultant social structure. Causal relationships are difficult to establish at this point, because the plantation economy was built on a feudal system. This being the case, what caused what reduces to the classic chicken-egg dilemma. Whatever the answer, the feudal basis of colonization is crucial to an understanding of the development of the Brazilian social structure, as well as a basic knowledge of economic activities.

In 1534, Brazil was divided into fifteen captaincies. These parallel strips of land ran up and down the coast from Maranhão to Santa Catarina. The strips ranged in width from ten to one hundred leagues, extending inland from the coast to the Line of Tordesillas, that line being the arbitrary border between Portuguese and Spanish jurisdiction in the New World. The Portuguese Crown was attempting in this arrangement to get the maximum benefit from the minimum investment: "By granting to twelve distinguished subjects the right to win and hold separate personal domains in Brazil, the crown sought to confirm its claims in the Western Hemisphere at little cost to the royal treasury, for each donatary agreed to colonize, develop, and defend his captaincy at his own expense." Another historian views these hereditary captaincies as,

...a compromise between the concession system and direct colonization. They were grants, of an inalienable nature, allegedly given in consideration of services rendered, to nominees of the Crown.
Chroniclers generally agree that the captains enjoyed in their captaincies the unlimited power of feudal lords: 
"...the rights of the free colonists and the harsh duties of the slave laborers took form in the will and acts of the grantee — military chief and industrial leader, lord of lands and justice, distributor of farms and punishments, constructor of town and undertaker of wars against the Indians."^{89}

This feudal scheme of colonization was doomed to early failure. Only six of the designated captains were successful in establishing permanent colonies. Some of the reasons for the failures are said to be, "...the hostility of the natives, their own incapacity, and the abuse of their unlimited authority."^{90} Some of the captains never reached their destinations, and others were eaten by Indians. One observer notes that the original system of captaincies was considered a flat failure by 1549.\(^{91}\)

In 1549, the Crown revoked the unlimited powers of the hereditary captains, but the captains were still permitted to keep their grants of land. The duties of the private captains were assumed by royal officials, and the whole colony was placed under "...a captain general who was expected to correct abuses and to unify the governmental policy."^{92}
But the situation was far from being as simple as it may appear. Although the extinction of the private captaincies was facilitated by the granting of pensions, titles, and royal confiscation of land, it was not until 1791 that the last captaincy was taken over by the Crown. Furthermore, although Tomé de Sousa was nominated governor, or captain-general, in 1549, "...for over a century each capitania functioned for all practical purposes as a separate colony with its own regional economy and way of life."94

By 1720, the top colonial administrator of Brazil was called the Viceroy. However, this impressive title did not alter the fact that the Viceroy, as his predecessors, was essentially powerless. Each captaincy-general, as the captaincies were now called, effectively ruled itself.95 The individual rulers of Brazil's administrative units, the captains-general, had their nomination and removal entirely determined by the Crown. The Viceroy could not require them to submit to his jurisdiction in administrative, economic, or fiscal matters. The Viceroy had to appeal for assistance to the captains-general in the form of requests, rather than commands.96 The administrative chart of colonial Brazil in Figure 1, page 36, will convey some idea of the large degree of feudal independence of each captaincy-general unit.
Figure 197

Relations between Portuguese Crown, Viceroy of Brazil, and Captains-General: 1770s
This feudal foundation was, in the course of Brazilian history, built upon with a complex structure of feudal and semi-feudal relationships. Before examining some of the intricacies of these relationships, let us first look briefly at some directly feudal elements in the current of Brazilian history. The rulers of the captaincies in the sixteenth century were empowered to make land grants to all Christians who applied for them. Later, the local captains-general and governors could also grant lands to colonists. These grants were called "sesmarias" and were granted for perpetuity. The "sesmarias" were often used for the cultivation of sugar, and, "The sugar industry gave rise to a large class of proud and powerful feudal masters, who were virtually independent of the metropolitan state." Another historian speaks of,

...the almost absolute power of the sugar planters. Privileged as they were by the King, they were able to become real feudal lords...

The dominance of the landed aristocracy, which developed during colonial days, continued into the nineteenth century. In 1822, Brazil became independent of Portugal, and an emperor ruled the Empire of Brazil. But this major political change did not mean the end of the landed aristocracy's power: "...under the Empire it was still the "fazendeiros" (landed aristocracy) and their sons educated in the liberal professions who monopolized..."
in general all positions of authority, and effecting the stability of institutions by their unquestioned dominion.\textsuperscript{101}

The extensive coffee cultivation, which developed in the days of the Empire, was accompanied by a culture which bore strong resemblances to the culture associated with sugar production:

Coffee "fazendas" (plantations) tended toward self-sufficiency; they were worked by slave labor, and planters constituted a proud, hereditary "baronage"... As a rule, the only land to be parcelled into small farms was exhausted and marginal.\textsuperscript{102}

This feudal current was also present in the lot of the European immigrant brought to Brazil in the second half of the nineteenth century for coffee cultivation. The immigrant arrived in debt for the passage of himself and his family, and was given a house and some food. He cultivated a given number of coffee trees, or area of sugar cane, and took the harvest to the owner's mill, where he received half of the result after milling. Although the immigrant was, strictly speaking, an independent worker, he began with a large debt, earned no wages, and never owned land. His welfare was entirely dependent on the success of the crops and the goodwill of the owner. In short, this system was "...a system not far removed from serfdom."\textsuperscript{103}

A feudal current was also present in the cultivation of Amazon rubber in the late nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries. There, the migrant worker also began heavily in debt for his travelling expenses, as well as the costs of working tools and installation. Also:

To feed himself he was dependent on supplies which were manipulated under a regime of strict monopoly by the same entrepreneur to whom he was indebted and who bought the product of his labor. The great distances and the precarious nature of his financial situation reduced the "nordestino" (northern migrant) to a regime of servitude.  

This servitude may have approached virtual slavery. Another observer reports that, "From the trading post, situated strategically at the mouth of a tributary, the owner kept watch with rifles so that his gatherers could not escape downriver..."  

Coupled with feudalism and monoculture as building blocks in the foundation of Brazil's economic structure was another overwhelmingly significant institution: slave labor. Although the importance of the slave to the total Brazilian society will not be discussed until later, it will be useful to examine here the slave's role in the economic development of Brazil.

From the outset of Portuguese settlement of Brazil, slaves were used as units of production. Negro slaves are said to have worked in the first sugar mill set up in São Vicente. One historian believes that Martim Affonso de Sousa came upon a fleet at Bahia in 1531 which was engaged in transporting slaves to Brazil.  

Slave labor
was used in the gathering of Brazil's first commercial commodity, brazilwood: "In the first quarter of the seventeenth century Portuguese concessionaires were employing Negro slaves to cut the logs and were using pack animals to carry them long distances to the coast." ¹⁰⁷

Throughout the cycles which characterize Brazilian economic history, the slave is present. Following the exploitation of brazilwood and the introduction of sugar, came the discovery of mines and the introduction of coffee. These new activities merely shifted the economic point of support of the colonial aristocracy, and the slave was retained as the instrument of exploitation. ¹⁰⁸ As is so often the case, monoculture went hand-in-hand with slavery, and the slave was used in other activities as well:

"...in the sugar and cotton fields of the northeast and Maranhão province, on the sugar and coffee plantations of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, the mines of Minas Gerais and in domestic service and as day laborers in all parts of the country, especially in the provincial capitals and coastal cities." ¹⁰⁹

First, the slave was essential to sugar. An early Brazilian chronicler writes:

He, the Negro, was and is for sugar cane, what the sugar cane was for this country. Certain it is that without him it would never have been the principal means by which Brazil grew rich and noble. ¹¹⁰
The Negro slave occupied virtually all positions in sugar cultivation: woodcutters to clear forests; agriculturalists to prepare soil; special workmen to set up and repair mills, water wheels, canals, and irrigation; oarsmen and boatswains for barges; firemen for mill furnaces; carpenters, joiners, smiths, masons, tilemakers; domestic servants; fishermen and hunters.\textsuperscript{111}

The essential role slaves played in Brazil's economy is expressed in the reply to a letter written in 1706 by Governor Dom Rodrigo do Costa to the Portuguese Overseas Council concerning Brazil's troubled economic situation. The Overseas Council's reply states:

...the suffering Brazil is experiencing, which as experience is proving may increase as time goes on, rises from the lack of Negroes and the insufficient number of them imported for work in the mills, in tobacco cultivation, and in the mines. The chief interest of individuals there is to divert to the mines those Negroes that were intended for the mills and tobacco fields.\textsuperscript{112}

This was indeed a problem, the colonists finding slaves essential for both sugar cultivation and mining. The discovery of gold in central Brazil brought on a gold-rush of population to the mining area. Many Portuguese went to the area, and were accompanied by their Negro slaves. A shortage of field hands was felt on the plantations of Bahia, Pernambuco, and Rio de Janeiro.\textsuperscript{113} The shortage became so acute, that a royal decree was issued in
1711 forbidding Negro slaves engaged in agriculture to be sold for work in the mines. The sole exception were those slaves, "...who by the perversity of their character are congenitally unfit for work in the sugar mills and fields."\(^{114}\) Needless to say, this loophole in the royal decree was wholly exploited. Extremely high prices were paid for slaves by the gold miners, settlers, and merchants of Minas Gerais. As in the cultivation of sugar, "...most of the actual mining was done by Negro slaves under the supervision of their owners."\(^{115}\) Those who did not bring slaves with them when they came to the mines, "...ordinarily refused to work their gold washings or diggings personally after collecting enough nuggets to buy or hire slaves."\(^{116}\) The wealth pouring into Brazilian society from the mines enabled not only the aristocracy, but virtually all Europeans, many mulattoes, and even some Negro freedmen to become slaveholders.\(^{117}\) In addition to the use of slave labor, mining bore another resemblance to monocultural agriculture. That is, in mining it was "...exploitation on a large scale that prevailed: large units worked by slaves."\(^{118}\)

The seventeenth century also saw the expansion of slave labor into other economic activities. During this period, Negro slaves became architects, shoemakers, sculptors, ironworkers, and artisans in general.\(^{119}\)

In 1757 Count de Arcos, then Viceroy of Brazil, wrote a letter to José de Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal. In this letter the Viceroy speaks of slaves as being the
most important merchandise in America. He states: "Without them, the colonists would receive irreparable damage to a commerce that is already in a state of decay."120

Cotton is yet another economic activity in Brazil which utilized slave labor. One observer notes that cotton is even more amenable to large-scale exploitation than sugar. And cotton indeed used a large slave labor force in Brazil.121

The monoculture of coffee was and is one of the most important aspects of Brazil's economic cycles, and it, too, utilized slave labor. Early in the Imperial days of the nineteenth century, "...the forested slopes of the proven coffee zone were denuded and planted to the new crop, while tens of thousands of slaves were imported as plantation workers."122 The intensive utilization of slave manpower used in sugar cultivation, was also employed in the cultivation of coffee.123

The magnitude of the property investment in slaves during the Empire took on immense proportions. In 1845, of an estimated national population of seven to eight million, perhaps one-third were slaves.124

The discussion above should make it clear that, to a large extent, Brazilian economic history is characterized by feudalism, monoculture, and slave labor. As a final area of discussion in laying down a foundation for examining
the effects of economic factors on Brazil's social stratification system, I feel it would be useful to briefly examine the history of Brazilian industrial growth. We are concerned here with the middle sector, and the link between development of industry and development of this sector is well-known. Therefore, let us add the course of industrial growth as a contributing factor to the bi-polar tendency in Brazilian social stratification.

If a label were to be attached to the process of Brazil's industrial development, at least until 1940, evolution would probably be more appropriate than revolution, and retarded evolution at that. This aspect of Brazil's economic history exhibits some of the basic characteristics of the classic metropolis-satellite relationship. Although Brazil was officially a Portuguese colony, Britain played a major role in Brazil's early economic development, or, rather, lack of development. Because of Portugal's early waning as a world power, the Portuguese government put itself under the wing of Great Britain for protection. As far as Brazil was concerned, this "protection" arrangement took on some of the characteristics of protection in the Chicago of 1925.

The Methuen Treaty of 1703, between Britain and Portugal, was an early example of Britain's retarding of industrial growth in Brazil. Around 1750, the development
manufacturing skills in Brazil may be viewed as dependent upon the development of manufacturing skills in Portugal herself, and the mother country transferring these skills to her colony. Since Brazilian gold began to flow into Portugal around this same time, the necessary capital was present. However, this was also the time when the Methuen Treaty became effective. Under the treaty, "...the growing demand for manufactures coming from the colony would automatically be transferred to England, with no effect whatsoever on the Portuguese economy beyond income generated by some brokerage and taxes."¹²⁵ In short, "To the nonexistence of a manufacturing nucleus... must be ascribed the fact that Portugal became an agricultural dependency of England."¹²⁶ And, since Brazil remained a Portuguese colony, the retardation of Portuguese industrial development could only help perpetuate Brazil's status as a producer of primary commodities. However, Portuguese industry leading to Brazilian industry would have been an unusual case in the history of colonialism.

In fact, the development of textile manufacture in São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Maranhão was sufficiently significant to raise royal alarm in 1786. The royal reaction is proof that even if Portugal had manufacturing skills, she would not share them with her colony. The following selections from a statement by the Queen of
Portugal in 1786 provide an excellent picture of where the interests of the mother country lay: "I, the Queen, let it be known... knowing of the large numbers of factories and manufactures which, in recent years, have spread through the various capitanias of Brazil, with grave prejudice to the culture and working of the land and of the mineral exploitation of this vast continent; because... it is obvious that when the number of manufacturers multiply themselves that much more will the number of cultivators decline... as the extraction of gold and diamonds has already declined since, while they should occupy themselves in this useful and advantageous (agricultural) work, they on the contrary leave and abandon it to occupy themselves in another quite different one as is that of the said factories and manufactures, and since the real and solid wealth lies in the fruits and products of the earth... I deem it well to order that all the factories, manufactures or shops of ships, of textiles, of gold and silversmithing... or of any kind of silk... or any kind of cotton or linen, and cloth... or other kind of woolen goods... shall be extinguished and abolished in any place in which they may be found in my dominions in Brazil."\(^{127}\)

Britain continued her role in Brazil during the first half of the nineteenth century. Economic treaties between Britain and Portugal in 1810 gave to Britain the
position of a privileged power. During this period, Britain enjoyed both extraterritorial rights and preferential tariffs at extremely low levels.¹²⁸

Largely as a result of the above factors, the economic structure of Brazil in 1850 was basically the same structure as had been present for the previous three centuries. The slavocratic and monoculturally oriented production had remained essentially unchanged. Celso Furtado, a noted Brazilian economist, remarks that, "The absence of internal tensions, as a result of this very changelessness, was responsible for the very lateness of Brazilian industrialization."¹²⁹

Nonetheless, some industrial development had taken place by the mid-nineteenth century. To help meet internal needs in 1845, some manufacture occurred of furniture, pottery, leather, coarse cotton cloth, and several products from sugar cane.¹³⁰ In 1860, Brazil had 72 factories, and the main manufactured products were soap, hats, cigars, candles, cotton goods, beer, porcelain, and artificial flowers made from feathers.¹³¹

However, the fact remains that Brazil's Imperial era (1822-1889) was not, for the most part, a period of substantial industrial development. The commercial policy of the Brazilian Empire was essentially one of free trade. Under this policy, domestic manufacturers found it
extremely difficult to establish themselves in the face of the competition of the European industrial nations, particularly Britain. The plantation owners and trading sectors of the coastal cities remained the dominant group in Brazil's economic structure, and this group had no interest in promoting industrialization.\textsuperscript{132}

A brief survey of the number of industrial establishments in Brazil indicates the basically twentieth century character of industrial development. Only 35 industrial establishments had been founded by 1850, and only 240 by 1880.\textsuperscript{133} The number of establishments rose to 626 in 1889, 3,000 in 1907, and 13,000 in 1920.\textsuperscript{134} However, a glance at the production composition of these establishments indicates the sharp underdevelopment of industry during this period. In 1889, 60 per cent of production was textiles; in 1907, 48 per cent was textiles and clothing, and 27 per cent was foodstuffs; and in 1920, 36 per cent was textiles and clothing, and 40 per cent was foodstuffs.\textsuperscript{135}

I might note, as an aside, that foreign exploitation of Brazil's economy continued in the new industry after 1900. Although the bulk of the capital was British, corporations were also founded by Germans, French, Italians, Belgians, Canadians, and North Americans. Of the 201 new corporations between 1899 and 1910, 160 were foreign owned or controlled.\textsuperscript{136} However, the history of foreign investment in Brazil is a
volume in itself, and foreign investment is not of critical interest to this discussion.

To return to the growing number of industrial establishments, the rise from 3,000 in 1907 to 13,000 in 1920 is largely explained by the effects of the First World War. The manufactured goods which had been supplied by European nations were drastically cut back, eliminating the foreign competition with domestic manufacturing. New industries were created in Brazil to fill the gap, and even to supply markets overseas. During the period of the war, 5,936 new industrial establishments appeared, and the value of industrial production rose by 212 per cent between 1914 and 1919. 137

Although industry had received a real boost from the First World War, the end of the war brought a decline in the rate of growth. As compared to 212 per cent between 1914 and 1919, the value of industrial production grew between 1920 and 1929 at a rate of 40 per cent. In 1927, total industrial production was 60 per cent less by value than the production of plantations and ranches. 138

The economic structure seems to have remained basically unchanged between 1920 and 1940. During this period, the percentage of workers employed in manufacturing rose from 13 per cent in 1920 to only 14 per cent in 1940. Also during this period, the workers employed in the
primary sector only fell from 69.7 per cent in 1920 to 67.0 per cent in 1940. Nor did the composition of industrial production change radically. If one recalls the dominance of textiles and foodstuffs in 1920, the picture will appear very familiar in 1940. In 1940, foodstuffs accounted for more than one-third of industrial production; textiles and clothing were less than one-third; mining, refining, and metallurgy were only 10 per cent; and most of the remainder was divided between chemicals, pharmaceuticals, lumber, wood products, building materials, and paper.

The Second World War provided the boost for Brazilian industry which has largely carried through to the present time. As in the First World War, one effect of the Second World War was the elimination of competition from goods of foreign manufacture. This elimination included products which had previously been exclusively supplied from abroad. Furthermore, new markets opened for Brazilian products. In addition to purchase by the Allies of Brazil's staple exports, new export products became areas of interest, such as industrial diamonds, quartz, mica, and rubber.

The effects of this boost are seen in some indicators of industrial growth for the period 1940 to 1950. The number of manufacturing firms climbed from 40,983 in 1940 to 78,434 in 1950. Industrial workers increased from
781,185 in 1940 to 1,256,807 in 1950. The people employed in all aspects of manufacturing totalled 1,400,000 in 1940, and 2,230,000 in 1950. This increase boosted the percentage of the total population (as opposed to working population) in manufacturing from 4.8 per cent in 1940 to 6.1 per cent in 1950.142

The significance of the post-war spurt in industrial growth is also reflected in the composition of industrial output in 1950. By 1950, textiles and foodstuffs had dropped to one-half of all production by value. Of growing importance were metallurgy, refining, and the manufacture of machinery and equipment for electrical, transportation, and communication industries. Furthermore, the construction industry in 1950 employed 10 per cent of the industrial work force, and accounted for 5 per cent of the industrial output.143 In short, Brazil was beginning to develop a true industrial base.

The industrial growth during the 1940-1950 decade is also seen in Table III on page 52.

Industry continued to expand in Brazil until 1960, after which year statistics are lacking. Between 1950 and 1960, industrial production increased by 140 per cent, while agricultural production increased by 52 per cent.145 The composition of the industrial output in 1960 indicates the development of a more balanced industrial base. In
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branch of Activity</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary sector</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry and fishery</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary sector</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing, civil engineering and public utilities</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tertiary sector</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and communication</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professions</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic services</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other services</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1960, food and beverage processing accounted for 26 per cent of the industrial output by value; textiles and clothing were 16 per cent; chemicals and pharmaceuticals were 10 per cent; metallurgy and non-metallic minerals were 15 per cent; and the manufacturing of machinery for electrical, transportation, and communications activities accounted for 14 per cent. By 1960, Brazil was producing virtually all types of manufactured products: refrigerators, radios, televisions, automobiles, glass, toothbrushes, and thousands of other articles. Brazil had hydroelectric plants, steel and cement facilities, and some oil refineries.

However, we must not lose sight of the still underdeveloped state of Brazil's economy. Although lauding the achievements of Brazilian industry, Charles Wagley wrote in 1960 that, "...Brazil is still predominantly an agricultural nation...", and "...Brazilian industry is still in an infant stage..." Indeed, Brazil is still an agricultural nation. Recalling the figure from Table III, 64.4 per cent of the working population was engaged in the primary sector in 1950. Considering what may be a slowdown in industrial growth during the last few years, plus Brazil's rapidly increasing population, there is little reason to expect the agricultural sector to have lost its position as employer of the majority of the population in 1969.
The occupational distribution in Brazil is in marked contrast to this distribution in Canada. Table IV, on page 55, illustrates this contrast.

The composition of national income also serves to illustrate the relative state of economic development in Brazil. In 1955, agriculture contributed 174.0 Cr$ billion, while industry contributed 106.8 Cr$ billion.\textsuperscript{150} In contrast, agriculture in Canada accounted for 11.3 per cent of the total production in 1966, while industry accounted for 56.2 per cent.\textsuperscript{151}

Another fact which might be mentioned is the tremendous regional imbalance of Brazil's industrial growth. Brazil's North has been largely unaffected by industrialization. The rapid industrialization of the past twenty-five years has been largely confined to the South, especially São Paulo. The southern states have a per capita income about 2.5 times that of the northern states.\textsuperscript{152} Table V, on page 56, illustrates the staggering extent of regional inequities. From Table V, one can well imagine that regionalism has played a role in the development of a bi-polar tendency in Brazilian society. However, the limits of this essay prohibit further discussion of this factor.

The major point that I have endeavored to make with this outline of Brazil's industrial history is that not
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other primary industries</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation and other utilities</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance, insurance, and real estate</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE V

REGIONAL TOTAL AND PER CAPITA NET PRODUCT IN BRAZIL: 1955

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Income (Cr$ million)</th>
<th>Population (thousands)</th>
<th>Per Capita Income (Cr$ US$)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federal District</td>
<td>83,496</td>
<td>2,767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>São Paulo (state)</td>
<td>181,510</td>
<td>10,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Grande do Sul</td>
<td>54,425</td>
<td>4,673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraná</td>
<td>30,105</td>
<td>2,807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mato Grosso</td>
<td>5,344</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio de Janeiro (state)</td>
<td>22,448</td>
<td>2,566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Catarina</td>
<td>14,499</td>
<td>1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minas Gerais</td>
<td>60,455</td>
<td>8,512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Espirito Santo</td>
<td>6,582</td>
<td>949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goiás</td>
<td>8,206</td>
<td>1,478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pernambuco</td>
<td>18,151</td>
<td>3,825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amazonas</td>
<td>3,581</td>
<td>776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pará</td>
<td>5,854</td>
<td>1,291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahia</td>
<td>23,366</td>
<td>5,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergipe</td>
<td>2,882</td>
<td>703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Grande do Norte</td>
<td>4,110</td>
<td>1,089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraíba</td>
<td>6,762</td>
<td>1,883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagoas</td>
<td>3,823</td>
<td>1,173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceará</td>
<td>9,840</td>
<td>3,067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maranhão</td>
<td>5,070</td>
<td>1,796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piauí</td>
<td>2,572</td>
<td>1,185</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
only is industrial development a quite recent phenomenon, but that this development is still in an early stage. Two conclusions may be drawn which are relevant to social stratification. As I mentioned earlier, the relationship between industrial development and middle-level employment opportunities seems clear. If substantial industrial development is a recent phenomenon in Brazil, we can expect substantial growth of a middle social stratum to be a recent phenomenon as well, which it is in fact. Another conclusion we can draw from the fact of Brazil's relative underdevelopment of industry is the continued economic dominance of agriculture. Therefore, the pattern of land ownership remains a good indication of the distribution of economic power. And it is clear that economic power is a major factor in social stratification.

Now the foundation is complete for a discussion of the economic aspects of the bi-polar tendency in social stratification. Before commencing this discussion, let me reiterate the salient features of this foundation. Economic activity has, traditionally, often been concentrated in large-scale monocultural agriculture. From the first settlement, land utilization has had feudal characteristics, in varying degree. For more than three hundred years, the slave was an essential (if not the essential) element in economic activities. Finally, industrial
development is recent and far from complete, with agriculture still being dominant.

One aspect of economic activity which seems to reinforce the bi-polar tendency in social stratification is a paternal approach of employers to employees. This paternal approach seems to accentuate the social distance between owner and worker, between rich and poor.

Possibly the major breeding-ground for the traditional Brazilian social patterns is the cultivation of sugar. The feudal power of plantation owners has been mentioned above. Needless to say, paternalism is a corollary of feudal power. The decline in economic power of the plantation owner did not necessarily bring with it a decline in paternalism on the sugar plantations. The transition from "fazendeiro"-(plantation owner) to "usineiro"-(mill owner) power was often, as far as the workers were concerned, merely a change in bosses. This transition, which took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, has been described as follows:

Gradually the usineiros acquired land which under their own direction permitted the production of sufficient cane to keep the mills grinding throughout the harvest season. As the physical plant grew, so too did the prestige and power of the usineiro. As he gradually spread his influence outward from the mill to surrounding plantations as they became his, he repeated the patterns already set by the senhor de engenho (master of the plantation sugar mill) of old.154
And one part of the traditional patterns was paternalism.

This pattern has continued to present times, although its form may have been modified over the centuries. One observer has described the characteristics of the modern "usina" (mill) sugar plantation. Some of these characteristics include the factory site representing a small city, and the plantation supplying most of the needs for the care and amusement of its population. This includes schools, hospitals, churches, clubs, movies, newspapers, and magazines.\textsuperscript{155}

Another contemporary observer has written a rather detailed description of one modern "usina" sugar plantation. The plantation's population is made up of 5,800 men, women, and children. These workers cultivate land furnished them by the "usina" and are paid on a share-cropping basis. Each family is supplied with a house, space for a garden, pasture for mules, and is allowed to keep chickens and plant some food crops among the cane. The "usina" has a meat market, macaroni factory, and general store which sell to the workers at wholesale prices. The "usina" also supplies a church, a school, and medical attention, including a hospital. Also, an athletic plant is supplied, including, among other things, a football field and a lake for swimming.\textsuperscript{156}
This same observer has also described a modern coffee plantation. The coffee plantation worker receives a 3-room house for him and his family, wood, running water, and electricity at the rate of 2$500 (12½¢) per light per month. The worker is also given 1½ hectares of land for planting such food crops as corn, beans, rice, and mandioca; a garden plot near his house; pasture space and salt for a cow and some pigs; and the fruit from two orange trees. The plantation management also provides health and social services. Finally, the plantation has organized a football club and a twenty-piece band.157

Paternalism seems to be present in Brazilian society today. From the above descriptions, paternalism has taken on the form of the "company town" in some cases. Paternalism is also present in the extended kinship institutions of "patrão" and "compadresco," but I will reserve discussion of these institutions for the section dealing with kinship, which follows this economic section. In any case, the role played by paternalism in social stratification seems clear. Paternalism on the part of the employer toward his employees draws a heavy line between the boss and the workers. In the paternal pattern, the employer makes himself felt as a benevolent ruler in virtually every area of the worker's life. A dependency exists of the poor on the rich. Paternalism is a living affirmation of who is poor and who is
rich. Economic paternalism reinforces the bi-polar tendency in social stratification. However, the major consequence for social stratification caused by the economic structure seems to be, rather than paternalism, a concentration of wealth.

A primary consideration in examining concentration of wealth in an agricultural nation like Brazil is the distribution of land. As can be guessed from a knowledge of the roles of feudalism and monoculture, Brazil has been a nation of "latifundias" throughout her history. One observer succinctly notes: "From the very first Brazil has been a country of large landed estates in which the overwhelming proportion of the population was engaged in working the land of others, first as slaves and later as laborers..."¹⁵⁸

The attitude of the first colonists laid the foundation for this system. The colonists have been described as having "...no intention of leading the humble life of a small peasant-proprietor in Brazil..."¹⁵⁹

And the system was inherent to the types of land grants the early colonists received. The captaincy system, mentioned above, was a system of province-sized land grants to private individuals. Although the original captaincies proved to be untenable, the pattern of large land grants continued into the period of the Viceroy.
During this period, land grants, or "sesmarias", were given to those who applied for them, including both nobility and affluent commoners. The grants were rarely less than one league by two leagues in size, a league being more than four miles. Some "sesmarias" were as large as ten square leagues, according to one chronicler. Another observer speaks of "sesmarias" of ten leagues on a side being customary in pastoral regions, and many larger "sesmarias" being given out. It is clear that early land grants were extremely large.

The effects of this land distribution system on the sugar economy are staggering. It seems obvious that income in the sugar-producing colony would be largely concentrated in the hands of the sugar plantation owners. The extent of this concentration in the colony has led one of Brazil's most widely respected economists to observe: "Thus everything seems to indicate that at least 90 per cent of the income generated by the sugar economy within Brazil was concentrated in the hands of the sugar-mill and plantation owners."

The concentration of wealth from sugar persists today. The contemporary sugar "usina" has been described as a gigantic corporation. The "usina" plantation is generally 15,000, 20,000, or more acres, employing four to six thousand paid employees who live within its borders, and
representing a multi-million dollar investment. The corporation is likely to own more than one plantation and have interests in addition to sugar, such as coffee, cacao, and commerce. The crucial point here is that this giant corporation is quite often a family. The male members of the family are the owners and directors of the corporation. It is hence apparent that wealth in sugar has retained a high degree of concentration.

The effects of the "latifundia" system are also seen in cattle activities. During the colonial period, the customary size of the "sesmarias" intended for raising cattle is said to have been ten leagues on each side, or approximately 1,600 square miles. Although legal decrees were enacted limiting the size of land grants, tremendous land-holdings still managed to be gathered. A prospective grantee might apply for a "sesmaria" not only in his own name, but in the names of his wife, sons, daughters, and infants, born and unborn. In this way, ownership of cattle land became extremely concentrated. The most common type of cattle owner in the eighteenth century is said to have been, "...the absentee landowner, often owning vast territories and dozens of ranches..." One observer speaks of the cattleman's "sesmaria" "...as a veritable feudal domain..."
The later coffee holdings took on tremendous proportions as well. The landed coffee aristocracy has been described as follows: "Wealth was concentrated in the hands of the great proprietors, whose fortune,...counted in coffee groves, and built upon the lands..., was exhibited in their life of ostentation and pleasure, in the luxuriousness of their lordly residences in the country and in the greatness of their mansions in the city..."\(^{168}\)

The concentration of land in the hands of a relatively few is a phenomenon which is general throughout Brazil's history. In 1846, A.P. Figueiredo wrote in *O Progresso*, a newspaper of the city of Recife:

> The major part of land in our province is divided into great properties, remains of the ancient sesmarias, of which very few have been subdivided. ...the senhores de engenhos or fazendas (masters of sugar mills and plantations) obstinately refuse to sell any portion of their lands, source and guarantee of their feudal power...\(^{169}\)

Although the system broke down somewhat in the course of a hundred years, Table VI on page 65, of land distribution in 1940, illustrates the fact that concentrated landholding survived the century since that writing. The degree of concentration is apparent when one considers that 73 per cent of the land is in holdings exceeding 200 hectares, and 48 per cent is in holdings exceeding 1,000 hectares. But perhaps most illustrative is the fact that less than 8 per cent of the farm operators owned 73 per cent of the land,
**TABLE VI**

**LAND OWNERSHIP IN BRAZIL, 1940**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of Farms or Estates in Hectares</th>
<th>Percentage of Operators with Farms of Stated Size</th>
<th>Percentage of Land in Farms or Estates of Stated Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>less than 0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-4.9</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9.9</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-19.9</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-49.9</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-99.9</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-199.9</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-499.9</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500-999.9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000-2,499.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,500-4,999.9</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000-9,999.9</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000-99,999.9</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000-over</td>
<td>less than 0.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 100.0  100.0
and less than 2 per cent of the farm operators owned 48 per cent of the land.

Furthermore, the degree of land ownership concentration may have increased between 1940 and 1950. This increased concentration may be attributed to the effects of economic expansion of large enterprises, expanding the extent of their landholdings in the "developing" states, such as Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Paraná. 171

Table VII, on page 67, will illustrate the increased concentration which had seemingly occurred by 1950. The situation this table portrays is truly incredible. Of those dependent on agriculture, 81 per cent of the people owned 3 per cent of the land. Therefore, 97 per cent of the land is owned by 19 per cent of the agricultural population, and 51 per cent of the land is owned by 0.6 per cent of the people.

Table VIII, on page 68, portrays the situation in 1960. According to this table, 81.43 per cent of the holdings account for only 13.01 per cent of the land, while 18.57 per cent of the holdings account for 86.99 per cent of the land. It should also be noted that 0.98 per cent of the holdings account for 47.30 per cent of the land. At first glance, the figures would seem to indicate a lessening in concentration of ownership between 1950 and 1960. However, one must remember that these figures are for
## TABLE VII

**LAND OWNERSHIP IN BRAZIL, 1950**

(in thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of those Dependent on Agriculture</th>
<th>Establishments</th>
<th>Land</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of Owners % of</td>
<td>Number of Hectares % of</td>
<td>Number of Families % of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners of more than 1,000 hectares</td>
<td>33 1.6</td>
<td>112,102 51</td>
<td>33 0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners of more than 20 hectares</td>
<td>976 47</td>
<td>106,140 46</td>
<td>976 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners of less than 20 hectares</td>
<td>1,056 51</td>
<td>7,949 3</td>
<td>1,056 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-owners</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>3,341 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2,065 100</td>
<td>232,211 100</td>
<td>5,405 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE VIII

LAND OWNERSHIP IN BRAZIL, 1960

(agrucultural)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area Classes (hectares)</th>
<th>Holdings</th>
<th>Total Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 10</td>
<td>1,499,545</td>
<td>44.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-49</td>
<td>1,221,448</td>
<td>36.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-99</td>
<td>273,100</td>
<td>8.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-199</td>
<td>157,550</td>
<td>4.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500-999</td>
<td>40,582</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 1,000</td>
<td>2,885</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>3,311,827</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
holdings, not families. Therefore, it does not take into account the common situation of one family owning more than one piece of land. This table does not even take into account the situation of one individual owning more than one piece of land. These difficulties also being present in the data for 1940, I was compelled to say that concentration "may" have increased by 1950. In any case, since I am lacking data on multiple individual and family ownership in 1960, I can only conclude that land concentration was somewhat greater than the table represents. With this in mind, I feel it safe to further conclude that the ownership of land in Brazil continues to be concentrated in the hands of a tiny minority. In an agricultural nation, one can well imagine the consequences for social stratification.

In strengthening this conclusion, comparative data would be useful. Unfortunately I am unable to obtain such data for the United States, and find only partially comparable data for Canada, which is presented in Table IX on page 70. Although this table tells us that almost 53 per cent of the farms are less than 240 acres, this means little in terms of concentration of land ownership. Data on what proportion of agricultural land area is owned by what proportion of all owners does not seem to be available for Canada or the United States.
TABLE IX

CANADA: CENSUS—FARMS CLASSIFIED BY SIZE, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size in Acres</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 3</td>
<td>4,692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - 9</td>
<td>11,518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 69</td>
<td>44,781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 - 239</td>
<td>166,893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240 - 399</td>
<td>73,226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400 - 559</td>
<td>41,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>560 - 759</td>
<td>31,459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>760 - 1,119</td>
<td>29,824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,120 - 1,599</td>
<td>15,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,600 and over</td>
<td>11,881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>430,522</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Slow as the development in Brazil may be, industry is also becoming a major element in economic power. Therefore, let us now turn to the distribution of industrial wealth in Brazil.

In the days of Brazil's Empire, the beginnings of industry were dependent on those individuals with the necessary capital. As may be ascertained from the above discussion, the money was largely in the hands of the planters. The planters saw the advantages in railroads, steamships, telegraphs, and cables. They took pride in the systems of light, water, and transport that were modernizing the cities. But there was no question in the planters' minds as to who should control these new developments. And the power of their class interests was felt in pertinent government moves: "Thus, when a group of landowners formed a company to build a railroad, or joined with a foreign firm to install a tramway, gas works, or commercial bank, the imperial and provincial governments were inclined to act favorably in granting concessions, contracts, or other considerations."175 Perhaps then, in the 1850's, this was a contributing factor to the "monopolistic abuses" in commercial and industrial development of which one observer speaks.176 It seems clear that by 1880, planters, especially the coffee barons, were combining rural and
urban interests, becoming bankers, railroad directors, and industrial pioneers.\textsuperscript{177}

Industry in Brazil, as agriculture, was dominated by a relatively small number of individual and family owners. The pattern of land ownership in agriculture had been transferred to the pattern of company ownership in industry. Of industrial establishments in 1920, 4 per cent were the property of incorporated firms, and 96 per cent belonged to individuals or personal partnerships. In 1940, 11 per cent were of corporations, and 89 per cent were of individuals and partnerships. Even by 1950, only 20 per cent were property of corporations and 80 per cent remained in the hands of individuals and personal partnerships.\textsuperscript{178}

When Getulio Vargas became President of Brazil in 1930, the government began to play a major role in industrial development, a role which it has continued to this day. In 1960, government expenditures accounted for 24 per cent of the gross domestic product, and for 38 per cent of total fixed investment. These figures would be considerably higher if they included direct government participation in such activities as steel, automotive, petroleum, iron ore, and public utilities. Nonetheless, agreement seems to be general that, "...the bulk of the manufacturing and agricultural and a large part of the service sectors are in private hands."\textsuperscript{179}
Ownership is not only private, but it is dominated by individually owned or family firms. Some of these individuals, or their descendants, control giant multi-firm enterprises, such as Matarazzo, Klabin, or Renner. And many of these firms have become closely held corporations.  

The state of the stock market in Brazil is excellent evidence of this fact. The most important joint-stock companies are owned by extended families. These families handle the transfer of stock as a purely domestic matter. This has seriously retarded the development of the stock market institution in Brazil: "In fact, despite heavy industrialization, a stock market, comparable to that of other industrial countries, does not exist at all."  

Corporate legal form usually exists only on paper. The dominant form is a closed enterprise, tightly controlled by the owner. How can a stock market develop when the owners refuse to sell to the public? The corporation owner pays high interest rates or gives up growth opportunities, rather than endanger his sole ownership of the enterprise.  

The family dominance of business in Brazil is a system which is largely self-maintaining. Corporation directorates are commonly made up of brothers, cousins, and in-laws. Students of Brazilian economics, and much of the population in general are familiar with the names of
the "great families" which control important and key industries. A new enterprise only receives confidence when the family background of its founders is known. And credit is often extended between the members of upper-class families on the basis of the debtor having the strong backing of his family. For these reasons, newcomers often find it hard to break into the established business circles.\textsuperscript{183}

Wealth has always seemed to be concentrated in the hands of a relatively few. This is true in the traditional agricultural activities, and has remained largely unchanged with the advent of industrial development.

Not only has the gap between rich and poor continued throughout Brazilian history, but some observers maintain that this gap has recently been widening. Bello states that the changes in the economic structure which followed the Second World War brought with them a set of social ills commonly tied to inflation. He views the period of 1945 to 1954 as characterized by: "...a prosperity often more apparent than real; a growing disparity between the living standards of the small, wealthy groups and those of the masses..."\textsuperscript{184} Jaguaribe views the overconcentration of wealth and income in the hands of a tiny minority, among other factors, as, "...hindering the country's ability to raise the domestic savings ratio and rate of investment,
and creating a structurally endemic inflation which, in 1964, became a runaway inflation. Whatever its other effects, it seems clear that inflation helps the rich become richer and the poor become poorer. Frank, in 1967, speaking of the growing inequalities in personal income distribution, points out that inflation, "...benefits owners of property, since property values rise, and penalizes earners of wages and salaries, which do not keep up with prices." Unfortunately, I lack the resources to verify the assertions of these observers.

Similarly, I cannot verify Horowitz's assertion that recent governmental policies also seem to be aiding the concentration of wealth. He maintains that a variety of subsidies have been improvised which put a premium on the types of investments that foster a still greater concentration of wealth in the hands of the tiny privileged minority. In this way, capital contributions, in the forms of exchange and credit, have transferred large amounts of wealth into a small number of hands.

Celso Furtado maintains that economic development has brought no change in the living conditions of three-fourths of the population. He states: "Its main feature has been a growing concentration of income..."

In concluding this discussion of economic factors in the bi-polar tendency in social stratification, I will
attempt to tie together the preceding remarks. To a large extent, Brazil's economic history has been dominated by monocultural activities. Often, the organization of agricultural production has been the plantation, and even non-plantation activities were not infrequently large-scale. Another factor in economic organization is the feudal base on which Brazilian society is built. The link between feudalism and large-scale production is obvious: both are characterized by control of the many by the few, with virtually no one in between. Large-scale agricultural activity demands a large labor force. This demand was met by the introduction of the slave into the Brazilian economy. Not only did the slave become essential to large-scale production, but he became an integral part of virtually all economic activities. Fundamental to the slave system was the distinction between master and slave, with little in between. Yet another factor to be considered is industrial development. Monoculture remained dominant into the twentieth century, and industrial development is a recent phenomenon. Therefore, the economic opportunities attendant to industrial development are also recent phenomena.

What factors, then, have developed as a result of the above situation which contribute directly to the Brazilian bi-polar tendency in social stratification?
What factors have come out of monoculture, feudalism, a slave economy, and late industrial development? A paternal attitude of employer to employee is one. Paternalism may be characterized as a benevolent despot providing for the needs of his subjects. In paternalism, the dependency of the poor on the rich is always reinforced, and their respective social positions are continually strengthened. This situation assists the perpetuation of bi-polar social stratification. Another result of the economic system which directly affects social stratification is the concentration of most of Brazil's wealth in the hands of a very small minority. In the agricultural society, land equals wealth. Throughout Brazilian history, the overwhelming majority of the land has been in the hands of an equally overwhelming minority of the people. This traditional landholding situation is still to be found today. Furthermore, wealth has remained concentrated in the distribution of the relatively recent non-agricultural wealth. Not only has Brazilian industry always been controlled by a tiny minority, but corporations continue to be family affairs today. In this way, the majority of Brazilians are quite poor in contrast to the economic elite. The bi-polar tendency in social stratification is greatly strengthened. The role of the family and kinship in
Brazilian society deserves special treatment, and it is to this area that the following section is directed.
III. THE KINSHIP FACTOR

The importance of the patriarchal family to the formation of Brazilian society cannot be overstressed. It is not unusual for students of Brazil's social history to make remarks such as the following: "The large, aristocratic, patriarchal family has always been the most important of Brazil's social institutions."\(^{189}\)

In colonial times, this family consisted of a large group of tightly-bound kin who acknowledged allegiance to the family's oldest living male member. This slaveholding group has been described as, "...the chief instrument in the occupation of Brazil."\(^{190}\) Brazil, around 1600, may be viewed as a patriarchal society. In this period, the patriarchal head of the family, having perhaps a dozen children, was "...the undisputed master of his large family and retinue..." and "...the effective source of public authority."\(^{191}\)

The landed aristocracy with wealth based on sugar was perhaps most representative of the patriarchal family type. Fernando de Azevedo, in his widely respected *Brazilian Culture*, describes the sugar lord as, "...sovereign and father with an authority practically without restriction in the patriarchal family, ...a little king in his almost unlimited territory..."\(^{192}\) Even during the
later period which saw some break-down of the original plantations, the patriarchal planter maintained control over those around him. When he rented land to small farmers, the cane went to his mill and one-half to four-fifths of the sugar went to the plantation lord. He might loan money under the conditions that his mill be used and he receive half of the sugar. In this way, the sugar planter remained the head of "...a community comparable to the vassals and serfs of feudal times..."\(^{193}\)

But the sugar area was not at all unique in its characteristic patriarchal power. Even frontier São Paulo contained a large degree of patriarchal power. There, "The head of the family exercised almost complete authority over his numerous progeny, dependent kinsmen, servants, and Indian slaves."\(^{194}\)

By the end of the seventeenth century, the power of the patriarchal lord was virtually irresistible, and much of the remaining population was compelled to place itself under his protection. The lord gave them food, clothing, and shelter in return for their service to him. In this manner, the patriarchal lord held absolute power over slaves, renters, sharecroppers, mechanics, overseers, dependents, and members of his own family.\(^{195}\)

The traditional upper-class family was extended through several practices. In addition to the members
of his nuclear family, the patriarchal lord often brought his illegitimate children into his own family circle, or saw to their upbringing with one of his kinsmen. A widespread custom of the upper stratum was to take "filhos de criação" (adopted children) into the family from the lower stratum. These adopted children served partly as servants and partly as family members. Also a peripheral group consisted of slaves and tenants (Negroes, Indians, and mixed bloods), including the patriarchal lord's concubines.

The relationship between the patriarchal lord and his slaves or tenants seems rather representative of the general pattern of patriarchalism:

If he was made to work, ...he was likewise entitled to count on the master's protection... The slave lived and died, as did his offspring for successive generations, within the orbit of the master and his domain... Thus, the bonds between master and slave were gradually strengthened... The same thing happened with the free workers or tenants. They enjoyed a relative freedom which in practice did not extend beyond the choice of exchanging one master for another, and then not always.

Not only was this extra-familial group quite large, but the patriarch's subjects of blood and consanguineal kin constituted a remarkably large group. This group included wife, sons and daughters, their spouses and children, and sometimes the patriarch's younger brothers. A yet larger power unit, the "parentela," consisted of kin of the patriarch's father, mother, and his spouse. The
"parentela" usually included hundreds of people, but did not necessarily share the same residence. 198

These "great" families of Brazil originated from different sources throughout Brazilian history. They may have descended from a "donatario" (land grant recipient) of the sixteenth century, a rich "senhor de engenho" (plantation master) of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' sugar boom, a coffee baron of the nineteenth century, a nobleman of the Empire who was given a title by the Emperor for public service or wealth, a statesman or diplomat of the Republic in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, or a capitalist of the twentieth century. 199

One aspect of patriarchal power is seen in the relative role of the woman. The woman in the traditional patriarchal family was rather completely segregated. Her education, which consisted largely of training in domestic duties, was completed at the age of thirteen or fourteen. 200 Traditionally, the only women seen on the streets or in public places were prostitutes, servants, and others of the lower class. The home was considered the proper place of the upper-class woman, and even in the home, she rarely appeared in the presence of strangers. 201 Gilberto Freyre, one of Brazil's foremost social historians, speaks of the woman's Arabic isolation. The upper-class girl was
constantly under the eye of a trusted elder during the day, and slept in a small room in the center of the house, surrounded on all four sides by elders. The girl was often married at thirteen to fifteen to a husband ten to twenty years older, and chosen by her parents. The young wife's submission to her husband was Moslem-like. She always timidly addressed him as "Senhor," and usually treated him as her superior. Another example of this submission was the custom in which the husband would select and purchase the material for his wife's clothing, and perhaps even indicate how it should be made up.

The patriarchal lord's control over his women sometimes was carried to deadly extremes, although these extremes were probably not the norm. In Bahia, Pedro Vieira ordered a married and legitimate son of his to be put to death for betraying him with one of his mistresses. In Minas Gerais in the eighteenth century, Antônio de Oliveira Leitão executed a daughter with his own hands for waving a handkerchief at a man he thought to be her lover. In Minas Gerais in the nineteenth century, an illegitimate son of a plantation owner fled with one of his father's mistresses, and the father ordered his retainers to execute both of them. As late as the twentieth century, a couple eloping against the wishes of the girl's family was pursued by agents of her parents and grandparents; when
the couple was caught, the boy was given a beating which crippled him for life.204

According to some observers, the traditional subordination of the woman seems to have lessened somewhat today. Responsibilities are more equally shared between husband and wife. Women may hold positions in the professions, government, commerce, and education. However, this change seems to be most apparent in areas of industrialization, urbanization, and intense foreign immigration.205

Yet, even in the most modern areas, certain aspects of the traditional sex roles persist. For example, many young men preserve the ideal that the wife should not work for money. Often the result of this ideal is the postponement of a marriage for many years, until the man is able to financially maintain his family with no assistance from his wife.206

In the traditional areas of Brazil, more of the subordination of women persists today. For instance, in the rural community of Minas Velhas, women are expected to stay in the background, and tend to let the man do the speaking in both public and private situations. At meals, the father and one or two eldest sons are the only family members to eat at the table. The mother and daughters wait on the males, and eat after they have finished.207 In Minas Velhas, "...everyone considers it better to be a man
than a woman."

Another aspect of patriarchal power is the dual sexual standard. Freyre speaks of this standard permitting the man complete freedom in the pleasures of carnal love, while the woman's sex life was limited to the times when her husband wanted to procreate. To a large extent, this pattern persists today:

The upper and middle class family of Brazil may be interpreted as a dialectic structure based upon asymmetric roles ascribed to males and females. The female role is centered around a cluster of values which may be characterized as virginity complex. The belief that the virginity of unmarried females ought to be preserved at any cost has so far tenaciously resisted change.... The male role is centered around a set of values which may properly be called virility complex. A young Brazilian is expected to get actively interested in sex at the age of puberty.... Marriage is not expected to channelize or to restrict his sexual activities. Normally a male feels free to have intercourse with as many different women as may be available.

This extramarital behavior by the male seems to be largely ignored by his wife and family, as long as it does not affect his role as provider and father.

The dual sexual standard is sanctioned by the Civil Code of 1940. According to the law, a woman can be convicted of adultery when any kind of presumption or evidence supports a suspicion of her relations with a man not her husband. And, of course, she can also be convicted if she is caught with such a man or proven to have had intercourse with him, even if not habitual. On the other hand, a man can only be
convicted of adultery if he keeps and permanently maintains a mistress. 212

However, one point should be made clear regarding the dual sexual standard: it does not seem to be present in the lower class. In the lower class, premarital sexual intercourse does not affect a woman's chances of making a stable union with any such degree as is present in the higher social strata. According to one observer, sexual segregation, jealousy, and violent retaliation for female unfaithfulness are relatively absent. 213 This is hardly surprising when one considers the fact that patriarchal power was, and is, largely a characteristic of the aristocracy.

The subordination of children to their elders is yet another aspect of patriarchal power. Traditionally, a child was punished by his father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, godfather, godmother, uncle, aunt, tutor, and schoolmaster. Some fathers would even kill a disobedient child. 214 From the ages of six to twelve, a boy had to keep his distance, not speak unless spoken to, answer respectfully, not raise his voice, disappear at adult gatherings, and play silently. 215 It is no wonder, then, that traditionally, "The family could be portrayed thus: a moody father, a submissive wife, and terrified children." 216 Although Brazilian children today have more freedom,
"...the parents maintain their old roles of guides, advisors, and disciplinarians, especially of their daughters." 217

Rural social patterns being generally more traditional than their urban counterparts, rural families in Brazil remain more patriarchal. Wives and daughters are more submissive and more segregated. The sexual division of labor is more pronounced. And the greatest power in the family remains concentrated in the hands of the husband and father. 218

Nonetheless, the situation as a whole is today such as to bring forth the following statement: "Even today there remains much of this feudal type of social organization, and this great family is the institution through which the white or near-white upper class maintains its control." 219

The dominance of the aristocratic, patriarchal family type throughout much of Brazilian history has had multiple effects on social stratification. One major effect has been the sharp distinction inherent to this type between ruler and ruled. The patriarchal lord was not only the absolute ruler of his family, but ruled over a large, peripheral, lower-class group, as well. Although the distinction between ruler and ruled may be viewed as being blurred by the fact that a patriarchal family has
only one patriarch, the distinction remained inasmuch as the aristocratic members of the family were members of the ruling group, whether patriarchs or not. The distinction between rich and poor may also be viewed as being blurred by the attachment of the poor to the family. But the poor relations seem to have clearly been treated as poor relations, and their dependency on the rich affirmed their subordinate positions. The fixed dependency of poor on rich is thus continually present, as it is in employer-employee paternalism. Another major effect of the patriarchal family is its role in maintaining inherited social status. In the discussion which follows, I will deal first with the family as a maintenance mechanism of social status, and then with the patriarchal family as a strengthening agent of inter-class dependency and distinctions.

With the family a basic social unit in the upper stratum, it naturally follows that one's family origins would be a primary determinant of social position. Charles Wagley speaks of traditional Brazilian society as highly stable, with people seldom able to change their circumstances. The son of a poor man was poor, the son of an illiterate man remained illiterate, and social position was largely hereditary. People were very conscious of a man's family in determining his social position. 220 The upper class was built around the patriarchal family unit,
and, "Membership in one of those large 'good families' was often an indispensable prerequisite to economic, professional, political, or social success."221

Although this situation is somewhat modified today, family remains a major criterion of social position. For example, in one rural community today, "...the most important attribute for upper-class membership is family background..., the families are carefully rated..."222 Another observer speaks of Brazil today as a highly stratified society, with a strong tendency to inherited social position, and hence, little vertical and horizontal social mobility. Thus:

...the accident of birth is almost all important as a determinant of which groups a man will belong to and what is to be his position on the social scale. ...the family determines for the great mass of Brazilians the groups to which they are to belong and their position in the class structure.223

This view is extreme, and an argument could be made for one aspect of family changing the composition of the stratification system. In the system of primogeniture, the bulk of the family wealth is inherited by the first son. This, then, could entail downward mobility for the other sons. But we must remember that the aristocratic family was an extended family. Although the younger sons were subordinate to the eldest, they did not live in poverty. Furthermore, social position was, and is, based on far more than amount
of wealth, as will be seen later. For these reasons, I feel that family acts as a maintainer of the status quo in the stratification system. When the status quo is largely bipolar, the formation of a middle class is not assisted.

Family membership maintains the fixed distribution of social position, and marriage often maintains fixed family membership. Traditionally, Brazilians "...tended to marry within their own class, thus perpetuating class solidarity." Likewise, the situation today has been described as the choice of mates and organization of family taking place within the framework of social stratification. One observer states: "Family categories, kinship ties, and marriage rules in Brazil are very closely linked to the scheme of social stratification." The upper stratum has long been characterized by marriage patterns which maintain a closed membership. Traditionally, aristocratic marriage was viewed as an opportunity to both maintain the purity of the line, and guarantee the preservation of status and economic goods. For these reasons, the families of both the bride and groom were often closely linked. Since marriages were alignments of property, the aristocratic families often found inbreeding convenient and desirable. Marriages between cousins, uncles, nieces, and other kin were common. An analysis of one extended family in the
state of Rio de Janeiro, covering seven generations (1780-1900), reveals that of 62 marriages, 36 were between non-kin, 20 were between first cousins, three were between uncles and nieces, and one was between an aunt and a nephew. Another marriage pattern, which maintained class membership and preserved economic alignments, was the sororate. Among the aristocracy, a widower might marry his dead wife's younger sister or one of her cousins.

Although the degree of inbreeding in the upper class has declined today, evidence can be found of the persistence of this social pattern. For example, a study of one rural community revealed several aspects of this pattern. There, the family lines of today's "elite" group are linked with the most prominent families in more than a dozen separate communities scattered throughout the region. The links are through marriage. Furthermore, this group has the highest proportion of spinsters, and the highest incidence of cousin marriage. In at least some situations, inbreeding continues to maintain the membership of Brazil's upper class.

Yet another aspect of family maintenance of social position is found in the extended family's role as an agent of mutual assistance. Maintenance of social position is facilitated by the support given to an individual by his extended family. One observer speaks of the family as,
...the principal agency for providing protection for its members. This is especially true of the upper-class family...

The basic principal of extended family mutual assistance is the assistance by those members in a position to help, of those members who need assistance. Although the most immediate place for this sort of help is the family firm, in which the parent personally directs the careers of his sons, assistance may come from a multitude of kin. Any kin of many may hold a status from which he can provide a position for his kin-client, or at least use the networks of mutual obligations to persuade others to provide such a position. Linking kin are usually parents or wives, and the patron kin is often an uncle, a father-in-law, or, sometimes a cousin. The kin called upon for assistance may be of a distant degree. In this manner, an individual holding an important job is likely to become an employment agency for his extended family. The remarks of an informant in one rural community illustrate this situation:

Braulio frequently claims that the only reason he stays in business is that most of his workers are relatives depending upon him for work. This is true to the extent that Braulio did give preference to his relatives in hiring employees.

The extended family offers assistance in areas other than employment. Many positions in public life are often occupied by members of an extended, upper-class family.
The family is able to muster considerable "pistolão" (pull) in many fields. A call by the patriarchal lord of the family may be a great help in such situations as getting someone into a crowded hospital, disentangled from the legal difficulties surrounding a will, or taken into the Air Force. Care of the aged, sick, widowed, and unmarried is also looked after by the extended family.\textsuperscript{235}

The existence of the extended family as a mutual aid group continues amidst Brazil's recent social and economic changes. One observer notes that, "...existing family ties are frequently strong enough to resist even the diluting influences of metropolitan centers like São Paulo and Rio De Janeiro..."\textsuperscript{236} The extended family plays a role in commercial and industrial activities, as was discussed in the preceding section. Kinsmen constantly call upon one another for favors, such as speeding up issuance of an export license or clearing a legal document through a government bureau. These favors may be sought from distantly or closely related kin, and the favors are expected to be repaid in kind. Selection of lawyer or physician may also be on the basis of extended family ties.\textsuperscript{237}

Since members of the lower social stratum do not hold positions from which they can be of much mutual assistance, it is not surprising that this pattern does
not seem to be present in the lower class. In the lower social stratum, "The extended family is not felt to be a particularly desirable pattern."238

Family, then, serves to maintain existing social positions in several ways. As a criterion of social position, it supports a system of inherited social status. By inbreeding, the upper-class families have been able to keep their ranks relatively closed. As agents of mutual assistance, extended upper-class families give their members an added advantage which is not enjoyed by those seeking upward mobility from the lower stratum. The situation is complicated by primogeniture and the resultant differential between the incomes of family members. But family continues to have an importance comparable to wealth in social position, inbreeding counters the dispersal of wealth, and mutual assistance places upper-class poor relations at a definite advantage. I must maintain that these three factors help to perpetuate a fixed social stratification system.

The fostering of a dependency of poor on rich was mentioned in the discussion of paternalism above. Now, let us turn to this poor-rich dependency in the framework of the upper-class, extended family. A good way to begin this discussion is an examination of the position of the slave in the traditional upper-class family.
The Negro slave in the house of the white master held positions which made him far more than an economic unit of production. More than slaves in the strict sense of the word, they were household inmates: "They were a kind of poor relations after the European model." A brief look at some of the positions they held will illustrate this situation. The white child's nurse was more than a nurse. In addition to suckling and rocking the child, the nurse taught the child such basic skills as eating and speaking. It is not surprising, then, that this black nurse held a place of honor in the family and was treated like a lady. Another example is the young Negro playmate of the young master. This young slave served as something of an obliging puppet for the white boy. The slave not only did errands, but he served as the young master's cart horse, and generally was available as the subject of brutal games. The master's young daughter also had a slave as a constant companion. A typical scene would find the white girl stretched out in a hammock with her hair down, and the Negro maid, or "mucama," snapping her fingernails through the hair looking for lice, keeping flies away from her mistress's face with a fan, and entertaining her mistress with stories. One chronicler notes that the "mucama" knew the white girl's soul as well as the "padre," and her body better than the doctor.
The slave also served a sexual role in the family; and this had multiple social consequences. Since the masters scorned the male virgin, the young master was thrust at puberty into the arms of a slave girl to be taught the sexual arts. From the beginning of his sexual experiences, the master used the slave as a sexual object. This system has been viewed as a disguised form of polygamy: the master not only wrote some of his illegitimate children by slave girls into his will, but further raised their social position by educating them with the same priest who taught his legitimate children.

However, another observer notes that this practice was modified by the illegitimate child's shade of skin color. If the child was light-skinned, he might be raised as a legitimate son, with the attendant advantages of family, education, and a supervisory occupational position. If the child was too darkly colored to be acceptable as the son of a European, he may have yet been partially recognized by his father, and given assistance in some way. If the child was clearly Negroid, he was likely to remain just another slave. Also, the master is said to have rarely died without freeing some of his Negro and mulatto women. One of the results of the sexual role of the slave will be examined in the section below dealing with the racial factor.
The point here is that the slave in Brazil was linked to the aristocracy as far more than an economic unit. As an integral part of the family, the slave was linked to the master in a socially interdependent relationship. Out of this relationship have grown two institutions linking the lower stratum to the upper through what may be viewed as ties of extended kinship. The two institutions are "patrão" (patronship) and "compadresco" (godparenthood).

As was mentioned earlier, the slaveholding patriarchal lord took his subjects, including slaves, under his protection. One modification of this pattern today is the institution of "patrão," an institution which strengthens the dependency of the poor on the rich, and hence, strengthens their respective social positions. Charles Wagley has summed up this relationship as follows:

For most of this rural lower class, economic security and social well-being are conceived as flowing from the paternal ministrations of the local elite. Everyone should have a patrão... an economic relationship between employer and worker, landlord and tenant, or creditor and debtor... more than an economic bond. It involved a sense of noblesse oblige and paternalism on the part of the employer, a survival from the times of slavery and the monarchy. On the part of the worker, it involved a sense of loyalty to the patrão and, needless to say, political support, if and when the worker could vote.248

In the early twentieth century, lower-class individuals usually had a "patrão": the domestic servant had the householder, the cowboy had the ranchowner, the
factory or commercial worker had the proprietor. Sometimes
a man's "patrão" was not his employer. For example, the
"patrão" may have been the storekeeper tied by debts and
favors to the peasant, or the trader tied by credit and
merchandise to the rubber collector. A lower-class worker
without a "patrão" was a man without a protector in time
of need. It was not unusual for a "patrão"-client
relationship between a lower-class family and an upper-
class family to endure for generations. There are cases
of workers still considering an upper-class family their
"patrão" long after leaving their employment. 249

The institution of "patrão" is by no means a thing
of the past. The relationship persists between the trader
and the rubber gatherer in the Amazon valley: the trader
purchases produce, provides credit, and may continue
credit if the collector is ill, or send a member of the
collector's family to medical aid. The relationship
persists on the family-owned sugar plantation of the
Bahian Recôncavo: among other things, the owner provides
festivals for his workers, and brings the workers presents
from his visits to the city. The relationship persists
between cowboy and ranchowner. In general, "patrão"
still survives in many localities. 250

The "patrão" relationship is quite apparent on the
modern sugar plantation. The owner knows all his workers
by name. He knows their families and their family problems. The owner knows of his workers' love affairs. He is up-to-date on the health of infants, and nearly all cases of sickness are brought directly to him or his wife. In short: "On the plantation no one starves; everyone has his "patrão" in the person of the owner, and in case of an emergency, accident or sickness he expects help from him." 251

This relationship is also apparent between the landlord and sharecroppers of one rural community which was studied. In this community, the sharecropper is the most common type of agricultural laborer. The sharecropper can count on his landlord to provide emergency funds for medicine, a funeral, or a marriage. The landlord also is a source of short-term loans between harvests. Thus, "...the owner is the fatherlike boss of his workers." 252

The rural "patrão" may do more than provide employment, a plot of land for cultivation, small loans and emergency funds, and other favors. He may also intercede on behalf of his client before representatives of the law, and local or state governments. 253

Rurally, this still seems to be the predominant pattern. Wagley wrote in 1964 that, "Most peasants are still dependent upon a traditional patrão..." 254 Brazilians of the lower rural stratum, "...almost universally seek a stable patrao relationship, whether in the rubber
forests of the Amazon, the coffee plantations of São Paulo or Paraná, the cattle ranches of the pampas or the dry Northeast, or the maté forests of southern Mato Grosso.255 Although urban Brazil offers no real equivalent of the rural "patrão," recent migrants usually seek substitutes in several directions. Single women, frequently employed as domestic servants, attempt to attach themselves to their employer's family. Men, frequently employed as unskilled construction workers, look for protection from their foreman, a trade union official, a bureaucrat, or a local politician.256

A more directly extended kinship institution, which also fosters a dependency of poor on rich, is the institution of "compadresco," or godparenthood. Traditionally, a child is sponsored at baptism by a couple which becomes his godparents. An individual also acquires another godparent at Confirmation, and two more at marriage. "Compadresco" not only establishes an important relationship of mutual aid and support between parents and godparents, but provides the child with godparents who will aid him and take his parents' place in times of need.257 This institution is used by members of the lower stratum to put themselves under the protection of upper-class families: "...members of the lower class invited individuals of large and powerful upper-class families to serve as godparents
to their children, thus linking themselves and the godchild in a pseudokin relation to such groups. In this way, many poor, illegitimate, and rejected children came under the protection of a rich and prestigious godparent, who was concerned with their health, nutrition, education, and future occupation. The godparent sometimes gave his godchild his family surname, raised him among his own children, arranged the godchild's marriage and employment, and made him an heir. The godchild, in turn, gave his godparent loyalty and any help the godparent needed.

Just as the slaves were bound to the aristocracy by the institution of slavery, "compadresco" and "patrão" bound the freedmen after abolition. Many freedmen remained on the land or in the households of their former masters, bound to them by dependency: "For the great majority (of ex-slaves), life continued in its accustomed routine."

Today, the aristocratic family continues to take the poor under its protection, and the dependency of poor on rich continues through the institution of "compadresco." The web of protection of the patriarchal family continues to extend to lower-class parents and godchildren, especially those who are tenants, employees, or neighbors. In some cases, parents and godparents continue to assume comparable
obligations toward a child and toward each other, their relationship being comparable to that of siblings. Although these obligations may now be reduced in many areas, the situation is still such that, "...the padrinho (godparent) is expected to accept some economic and social obligation on behalf of his afilhado (godchild)."

The weakening of "compadresco" is seen in one rural community which has been studied. In this community, traditional "compadresco" involved the mutual generosity, courtesy, and loyalty ideally associated with the relationship between siblings. When lower-stratum parents select upper-stratum godparents today, the parents and godchild rarely come in contact with the godparents, and the bond between them is flimsy. The reason for this situation is that it is not unusual for a man of superior social position to have more than a hundred godchildren, since he is singled out by scores of lower-class parents.

But "compadresco" continues to foster a dependency of the poor on the rich:

...it is felt that it is better to have a powerful though disinterested godfather than an interested but weak one. The bond is felt to be a form of ultimate insurance; in the event of extreme emergency, the godfather is unlikely to ignore completely his obligation to render assistance.

"Compadresco" is a traditional Brazilian social pattern, and, as is so often the case with traditional
patterns, continues most strongly in rural areas. However, there is some evidence that "compadresco" is also found in urban areas.267

In concluding this section dealing with family and kinship, let me sum up what I feel are the points critical to the argument. Brazilian society has been largely dominated throughout the nation's history by a patriarchal, aristocratic, extended family type. This type represented a large social unit which was ruled by the patriarchal lord. Not only did his blood and consanguineal kin come under his often absolute power, but a large periphery of lower-class individuals were also dependent upon him. Because of the social importance of the aristocratic extended family, family origin came to be a major determinant of a man's social position. Access to this determinant was traditionally monopolized by the aristocratic practice of intra-family marriage. The maintenance of fixed social positions was also aided by the extended family acting as an agent of mutual assistance. In this way, those in the upper stratum receive the support of their extended family in maintaining their positions. Another factor is the slave's far more than economic role in the master's family. The pattern which developed with this aspect of slavery was one in which members of the lower stratum were taken under the protection of aristocratic families, and a dependency
of poor on rich was established. This protection-dependency complex has continued to the present through the institutions of "patrão" and "compadresco."

The effects of the above factors on the bi-polar tendency in social stratification are manifold. Patriarchal power, coupled with the feudal base and the slave system, has strengthened the Brazilian tradition of the ruler and the ruled, the elite and the mass. The power of the feudal, slaveholding, patriarchal lord was the power of the few over the many, a power which tended to polarize the stratification system. And this bi-polarity was strengthened by several social patterns. Social position tended to be ascribed through family origin. The stratification system was further fixed by the inbreeding of the aristocracy. The static stratification system was also supported by the practice of the rich assisting each other through the extended family. In short, the family functioned in several ways to keep the rich rich. Wealth became concentrated very early in Brazilian history, and has remained concentrated with the assistance of the upper-class Brazilian family.

Just as the patriarchal family has served to keep the rich rich, it has also served to keep the poor poor. The protection-dependency complex, characteristic of the
master-slave relationship, was modified by the feudal, slaveholding, patriarchal lord to fit the changes in Brazilian society. One aspect of the protection-dependency complex, which has continued to this day, is paternalism, discussed earlier. Two more aspects of this same complex are "patrão" and "compadresco." By means of these three institutions, a continuing dependency exists of the poor on the good graces of the rich. The noblesse oblige on the one hand, and the expectation of assistance on the other serve to continually draw the line between the rich and the poor. Although the wealthy individual may feel through these institutions a kinship with the poor individual, it is never forgotten that one is rich and the other is poor.

In these ways, the Brazilian kinship system has strengthened, and continues to strengthen the bi-polar tendency in social stratification. Now, let us turn to yet another key factor in Brazilian society: the racial factor.
IV. THE RACIAL FACTOR

From the very beginning of Brazilian history, a man's social position was largely defined by his race. This practice began with the treatment by the Portuguese colonists of Brazil's native peoples, the Indians. Before discussing this treatment in some detail, let me preface my remarks with Wagley's succinct summarization:

The Portuguese did not come to Brazil to work. At first they were content to trade with the Indians for Brazilwood, but they soon turned to enslaving the native peoples in order to secure labour to make gardens which would provide them with food and to perform other tasks. Expeditions were organized to penetrate into the interior to capture Indian slaves. ...despite the laws promulgated by the Portuguese Crown against Indian slavery, the colonists continued to make slaves of the aboriginal peoples throughout the first two centuries of Brazilian history. 268

Indeed, the colonists did not come to Brazil with any intention of hard manual labor, and hence, were compelled to look to others as a source of labor. The native Indians were viewed as a population which existed to serve the colonists. At first, Indian labor could be secured by means of articles of barter. When this method was found to be inadequate for securing the necessary labor force, the colonists turned to slavery. And, naturally, the Indians represented the only available work force at the time. 269 One reason why the colonists could not immediately turn to imported African labor was that the wars with Holland had
disrupted the trans-Atlantic trade routes.\textsuperscript{270}

In any case, the Indians were the logical source of labor, and when their voluntary labor could not be secured, it was taken by force. After the Indian labor supply available on the coast was exhausted, raiding expeditions were organized to penetrate deep into the interior.\textsuperscript{271} The hunting down of Indian slaves became a major activity of some colonists, "...a true profession of warlike character, practiced by intrepid sertanistas (frontiersmen), who, in the north, as well as in the south, entered the interior at the front of their formidable bands of mamelucos (mixed-bloods), assaulted the villages of the poorly armed savages and carried to the latifundia of the coastal area thousands of Indian slaves."\textsuperscript{272}

Virtually all labor was performed by these Indian slaves. One observer notes that in Amazonia in 1661, a man needed a hunter to provide him with meat, a fisherman to provide him with fish, a washerwoman to provide him with clean clothing, and a canoe-rower to provide him with transportation. All this labor was done by the Indian slave.\textsuperscript{273} This dependency on Indian slave labor was common throughout the colony. As an early nineteenth century chronicler notes, all labor was performed by Indian slaves, and, "...each colony prided itself in possessing the greatest number: riches were calculated by
As early as 1570, the Portuguese Crown attempted to curtail the enslavement of Indians. In 1587, a decree was put forth prohibiting their enslavement, but, as was to be the problem all along, this prohibition had exceptions. In the words of another early nineteenth century British chronicler, "...no Indians should be considered as slaves, except those as should be taken in open war, made by command of the King or his Governor; or such as, like the Aymures (sic) and the fiercer tribes, were accustomed to assault the Portugueze (sic) and other Indians for the purpose of eating them." When this attempt at curtailment proved to be a failure, another royal decree was issued in 1611 with essentially the same provisions. However, the slave-raiders continued to use the decree's exceptional cases as a pretext for continuing their slaving expeditions.

Brazil always having been a Roman Catholic nation, the Pope also raised his voice against Indian slavery. In 1639, Pope Urban VIII pronounced the severest censures against those who enslaved Indians. After a Bull of Excommunication was read in Rio de Janeiro, the populace broke into the Jesuit college there, and only the Governor's intervention prevented the murder of the priests. A mob in Santos attacked the Vicar General publishing the Bull
and trampled both the Bull and the Vicar General. In São Paulo, the people expelled the Jesuits from the city. These reactions of a Catholic people are illustrative of Brazil's commitment to the institution of Indian slavery during this period.

The singular lack of success in ending Indian slavery may be seen in the fact that royal decrees declaring Indian freedom continued to pour out. On November 10, 1647, the King declared that the Indians could serve any one they wished to, their civil status was equal to that of other royal subjects, and they were equally qualified for all honors, privileges, and liberties. On April 1, 1680, another royal edict was issued declaring the Indians to be completely free. In the middle of the eighteenth century, yet another law was made outlawing Indian slavery. However, this law had the usual loopholes, which were exploited to the full. Indians were subjected to compulsory labor for the colonists. Although the Indians were supposed to be paid for their labor, the system soon disintegrated into a form of peonage and debt servitude. Indian peonage and debt servitude persisted in Amazonia into the twentieth century. In 1808, war was declared against a hostile group of Indians, and a royal decree permitted their capture and unpaid labor for their captors. Also, in 1808, a royal decree called for the
extension of these provisions and the distribution of Indian laborers among estate owners.\textsuperscript{280} Outright Indian slavery was reported in isolated areas until the late nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{281}

Although Indian slavery on a major scale was to come to an end, royal decrees and edicts seem to have had little to do with its termination. The reasons for the decline of Indian slavery were not moral, but rather, practical. Perhaps the major reason for the Indian's lack of success as a slave, was the basic conflict between his aboriginal life-style and the life-style imposed on him in slavery. Plantation slavery meant a sedentary and rigid organization of activity. The aboriginal inhabitants of Brazil were hunters and gatherers. The Indians, "...as unaccustomed to settled and ordered plantation life as they were at home in the near-by bush, proved inefficient and undependable workers."\textsuperscript{282} Perhaps another factor was the Indian male's view that agricultural labor was woman's work.\textsuperscript{283}

To a great extent, the following statement portrays a very real situation: "Sedentary life, agricultural routine, the monotony of labor on the plantations meant death for them (Indian slaves)."\textsuperscript{284} Those Indian slaves who were unable to escape, and many of them did, suffered death in many ways. Suicide was common. Measles, smallpox, and rum all took their tolls.\textsuperscript{285} Expeditions set
out into Amazonia to capture Indian slaves for the plantations in Maranhão and Pará, and only half of those captured ever reached their destinations. As many Indians as were enslaved, more of them died in the attempt at capture.\textsuperscript{286} To a large extent, the slaveholding system meant racial devastation for the Indian.\textsuperscript{287}

Nonetheless, even after the Indian had proven unsuitable as a plantation slave, he was retained as a slave on a small scale. One reason he was kept as a slave was because as a hunter, fisherman, or boatsman he was a superior worker.\textsuperscript{288} Another reason was that some colonists were unable to afford the costs of the slave who replaced the Indian: the African Negro.\textsuperscript{289}

Since the Negro came to be the overwhelmingly dominant non-European element in the Brazilian population, the discussion of the racial factor which follows will be primarily concerned with the Negro. This dominance is plain in the conservative estimates made recently that 10.9 per cent of the population is pure Negro, 26.5 per cent is mixed-blood, and only 0.2 per cent is pure Indian.\textsuperscript{290}

Estimating the number of African slaves brought into Brazil is a difficult matter. The difficulty is largely due to an event which took place in 1891, shortly after the abolition of slavery. In that year, national feeling ran high regarding the wiping away of all stains and
traces of the institution of slavery. In tune with these feelings, Ruy Barbosa, Minister of Finance, ordered all documents relating to the institution of slavery to be burned. This included all customs house documents, owners' slave contracts, registration books, and tax reports which related to slaves. Because of this event, estimates of the numbers of slaves brought into Brazil can be little more than educated guesses.

One observer presents a few estimates of the slave proportion of the Brazilian population. One estimate states that the total population in 1798 was 3,250,000, with 1,582,000 slaves and 406,000 free Negroes. Estimates also exist for the year 1817 and vary, total population ranging from 3,300,000 to 3,817,000, with Negro and mulatto slaves comprising 1,000,000 to 1,930,000, and free Negroes and mulattoes from 80,000 to 585,000.

The variation is yet greater in the few estimates of the slave trade's volume over periods of time. Ramos states that 30,000 to 2,500,000 slaves were imported during each century of the trade. Calogeras estimates 50,000 slaves were imported annually in the eighteenth century, and 40,000 annually in the seventeenth century. Since the numbers increased in the nineteenth century, the annual average for the whole period of the slave trade would be 55,000. Thus, with the Calogeras estimate,
the total for the years 1600 to 1850 would come to 13,750,000. Although the estimates are rough, it is clear that the numbers of African slaves brought into Brazil were great.

As was discussed in the section dealing with the economic factor, the slave became essential quite early in Brazilian history. The slave was not only an integral part of the economic structure, he was an integral part of the society as a whole. Imported into Brazil from 1538 to 1850, the Negro slave proved to be a good and skillful worker, often already accustomed to a sedentary life.\textsuperscript{295} In the same manner as one observer considers the family the most important element in Brazil's social development, Gilberto Freyre makes the following statement concerning slavery: "...it was slavery --- slavery of a patriarchal type --- that more than any other social institution or social process had left a mark on Brazilian social development and on the character and culture of the Brazilian people."\textsuperscript{296}

The first Portuguese colonists came to Brazil from a mother-country which was deeply involved in the use of African slaves. The number of slaves in Lisbon was so great as to almost appear to exceed the number of free men. A chronicler of the early sixteenth century states,
regarding that city: "All services are performed by Negro and Moorish captives." This situation was soon transferred to the Brazilian colony. The dependency on slave labor was so great during the colonial era, that an English historian of the early nineteenth century felt compelled to deny the possibility that Portuguese colonists were incapable of labor:

That men of European stock are perfectly capable of all the labour which in such climates is required for the well-being of man, is proved abundantly by the prodigious fatigues which the Portugueze (sic) underwent in seeking slaves to do this necessary labour for them. ...yet custom made them dependent upon their slaves, even to a miserable degree of helplessness. In the colonial era, the slave did virtually all labor. In addition to agricultural and mining activities, the slave dominated domestic labor and transportation, and produced the majority of articles of consumption. African slaves held such positions as plantation worker, mining technician, cattle raiser, iron worker, cloth and soap merchant, band and chorus musician, clown, acrobat, blood-letter, dentist, barber, teacher, schoolmaster, altar-boy, and mistress. In short, the African slave did almost everything.

The dependency of the Luso-Brazilian on slave labor was present over centuries. One observer notes that slavery in the latter half of the seventeenth century, whether in house, field, or mine, was the major influence on Brazilian life: "...all categories of educated men
were alike agreed that without an assured supply of slave labor from Negro Africa, Portuguese America was not viable.  

A colonist writes, in 1730, that the Portuguese do no more "...than command their slaves to work and tell them what to do."  

Early in the days of the colony, the expression became popular that the slave was the "hands and feet" of the master.  

From an observation made in Bahia in 1812, this may have literally been the case: "...the rich, who are no less ambitious to distinguish themselves from the rest of mankind, by shewing (sic) themselves above using those legs which nature has given them to walk on, cause themselves to be carried about in beds of fine cotton, hanging to the ends by a long pole, which two negroes carry either on their heads or shoulders." 

Another type of dependency, observed in Rio de Janeiro at the end of the eighteenth century, was that of the relatively poor colonist on his slave. If the colonist could afford to buy one or two slaves, he would hire the slave out during the day, and live off of the earnings. In this way, "...when the Negro contracted any malady, the owner was immediately reduced to want..."  

Another observer also noted this practice early in the nineteenth century. He saw Negro slaves roaming the streets of Rio
de Janeiro looking for work, often carrying large baskets on their heads. If they did not bring in a certain sum of money at the end of each day, they were punished by their masters. Some of these slaves earned their wages by carrying tubs of water, and others transported another cargo: "The streets after dark are most offensively filled with negroes, carrying tubs of soil to empty at the beach, a water-closet, or privy, not being known in this city." A striking example of the dependency of all levels of society on slave labor is the observation that some masters reclined in a hammock carried on the shoulders of two slaves, and begged for alms.

Indeed, the dependency on slave labor was not limited to the upper class. Barbers, blacksmiths, and carpenters had slaves. Housepainters had slaves who carried their tools and mixed their paints.

But perhaps the most pronounced and total dependency on slave labor was found in the landed aristocracy of the plantations. Since the master almost never left his hammock, his legs did almost no work. In the hammock, the master slept, wrote, played, travelled, and copulated. Freyre writes: "It was in the hammock that, after breakfast or dinner, they let their food settle, as they lay there picking their teeth, smoking a cigar, belching loudly,
emitting wind, and allowing themselves to be fanned or searched for lice by the pickaninnies, as they scratched their feet or genitals. Likewise, the master's hands did little work: the slave dressed him, drew on his trousers and boots, bathed and brushed him, and searched his body for fleas. The only work that the master's hands did was telling the beads of the rosary, playing cards, taking snuff, and fondling the breasts of young Negro and mulatto females. Tales are told of one master who had a slave light his cigars, and another master who had a slave wipe his bottom.

This, then, is the basis for the observation made in 1818 that the slave performs "...all the manual activities and tasks calling for strength and dexterity which members of the upper class, for the most part, deem it beneath their dignity to perform, more out of vanity than laziness, or perhaps both." This attitude toward manual labor will be discussed at length in a later section.

The master and the slave were in constant contact: "In the home, on the plantation, along the roads of the rural areas, or in the streets of the cities, on the hunt, at parties, or at church, black and white were constantly to be seen in each other's company." It is only natural that, under these circumstances, slavery
became an extension of patriarchalism, an almost familial institution.

But nonetheless, slavery is not a benign institution. One observer, in 1812, writes of the slaves on the plantation, "...whose labour is so hard, and sustenance so small, that they are reckoned to live long if they hold out seven years." A widely held belief among students of Brazil's social history is that slaves were treated well. Although this may be true in relative terms, a more careful investigation will reveal that this belief's application is primarily to the nineteenth century. For reasons which will be noted below, slaves in the nineteenth century became quite scarce, and hence, quite costly. The improved treatment of slaves was in large part due to the uneconomic nature of neglect and maltreatment of slaves. Although the slave's treatment may have been relatively benevolent, the fact remains that, "...the Negro suffered greatly in his condition of servitude, as is evidenced by the punishments meted out to him, his preoccupation with suicide, the murders of masters he committed, his uprisings and his escapes." In any case, it is clear that the Negro slave formed an integral part of Brazilian society for three centuries. In terms of social stratification, what can be more bi-polar then the master-slave relationship? One
consequence of the integral presence of the Negro slave is a high degree of racial mixture throughout Brazil's history. From the beginning, the lack of European women and the availability of Indian women promoted racial mixture.  

Racial mixture continued with the African slaves. Measures segregating free Negroes and whites existed in colonial times: separate religious brotherhoods, separate army regiments, exclusion of Negroes from the priesthood, and marriage between black and white being unthinkable. However, as was discussed earlier, the Negro slave girl was considered a sexual object by the white master. One observer feels that the Negro slave's role as wet-nurse and nursemaid determined the master's sexual attraction to Negro women. But psychological speculations aside, the female slave was readily available to satisfy the sexual desires of the master. This sexual satisfaction produced a sizable group of mulattoes.

Racial mixture continues in the twentieth century. A situation similar to the master-slave relationship has brought about racial mixture today. This situation is the sexual relationship between an upper-class, white, male family member, and the non-white servant girl employed by his family. The racial composition of servants facilitates racial mixture. For example, a study in Bahia revealed that
of 250 servant women, 197 were Negro, 47 were mulatto, four were Negro-Indian mixtures, and only two were white.  

This same study presents a common social pattern, in which a man maintains a mistress with food and housing extra-maritally. The man may also have a legal family or may be a young and unmarried male. In any case, children are produced. The man is frequently white, and the woman is frequently mulatto.

Inter-racial marriage is another matter. Although it cannot be said to be the norm, it does occur. In Bahia, marriages are said to cross racial lines more frequently than class lines, and inter-racial marriage is a common phenomenon in the lower class. In fact, Bahians explained their objections to inter-racial marriage largely on the basis of class. Some of these objections raised to marrying a Negro are as follows:

Because pretos (Negroes) seldom have social standing.
Because they are ordinarily lower on the social scale.
Because they are usually crude and stupid.
Because they belong to a low class.
Because it would lower me.
Because I think both should be on the same social level.
Because black color usually lowers one's social position.
Because I think social equality is indispensable for marriage.

A more recent observer notes the ideal norms of inter-racial marriage, versus the real patterns. A first ideal norm is that people of different colors can intermarry. The real
pattern is that this intermarriage usually produces a strain in the families, and this strain increases in intensity as one ascends the social scale. A second ideal norm is that intermarriage between darker men and lighter women is more favored than the reverse. This norm corresponds to the real pattern, and this type of match is much more frequent. A third ideal norm favors marriage between not very distant physical types. The real pattern here is one in which the difficulty in overcoming distance in physical type increases as one ascends the social scale. Finally, another ideal norm favors the man being of higher social position than the woman. The real pattern corresponds to this, more marked differences in physical type being more acceptable in inter-strata matches than in intra-strata matches. The implications of racial prejudice in the above discussion will be dealt with at length below.

It is clear that racial mixture has been present throughout Brazil’s history, and continues to occur. The patterns of inter-racial marriage noted above may give some explanation for the observation that, "...the mixed-bloods appear to be gradually absorbing the blacks, while they themselves are increasingly being incorporated into the predominantly European stock." Although the Brazilian definition of white is broad, and the number of mixed-bloods is hence underestimated, racial mixture may
nonetheless be seen in some population figures: in 1890, 43.9 per cent of the population was classified as white, 41.4 per cent as brown, and 14.6 per cent as black; in 1950, 61.6 per cent was classified as white, 26.5 per cent as brown, and 10.9 per cent as black. A large proportion of the white increase is accounted for by European immigration as will be seen in the following section, but the presence of on-going racial mixture can still be seen. There is some foundation for the view that, "...the Negro as a racial unit, like the Brazilian Indian before him, is gradually, but to all appearances inevitably, disappearing." 

At the present time, however, the non-white Brazilian, and particularly the Negro, has by no means disappeared as a distinct individual. In fact, his presence is a major contributing factor to the bi-polar tendency in social stratification. Before examining the racial aspect of bi-polarity, I will take a brief look at how the products of racial mixture have served to work against this bi-polar tendency.

In a society in which Negroes were slaves and whites were masters, it seems only natural that racial mixtures of the two types might comprise a middle group. Mulatto slaves were preferred over Negroes as "mucamas," "amas de
crear" (nursemaids), and other "pessoal de casa" (house servants). Through holding these positions, mulattoes developed into a group distinct from field hands in colonial times. Mulatto slaves were often baptized, given their master's name, and married with the prescribed legal and religious rites. Mulatto slaves were often given their freedom, in preference to Negroes, and early in the colonial period began to enter the free population. As was mentioned above, the position of the slave in the family often produced illegitimate mulatto children. These children were sometimes raised and educated by upper-class families, and were often given their freedom.

From colonial times, the mulattoes comprised a segment of the society which held positions between that of master and that of slave. This group occupied such positions as small farmer, small shopkeeper, street merchant, and artisan. As artisans, the mulattoes often began their rise as apprentices. One observer notes that in Pernambuco, the European technicians gradually transmitted their knowledge to mulatto assistants, and by 1811 the majority of the best mechanics were mulattoes. Mulattoes also occupied positions as free machinists in the mines, on the railroads, and in the foundries. In Rio de Janeiro in 1811, apprenticeships with French and German shoemakers, and with French dressmakers also trained the mulattoes as
skilled artisans. \textsuperscript{333} In time, mulattoes began to enter such positions as doctor and other university-educated positions, priest, captain of the militia, master craftsman, and even owner of land, mines, and slaves. \textsuperscript{334}

Some mulattoes gradually raised their social position from that of slave to that of a free, and perhaps university-educated professional. One observer notes that, "...cross-breeding...offered a means of rising in the world..., in contrast to slavery..." \textsuperscript{335} Yet, another observer notes of the mulatto: "Although he managed to rise in the social scale, he always remained a marginal type, trying to forget his Negro origin and struggling to attain the social status of the white man." \textsuperscript{336} The marginal nature of this middle group in the total society cannot be overstressed. Now, let us take a brief look at the processes by which the Negro slave attained his freedom.

As early as the era of colonial slavery, the freeing of slaves was not an uncommon practice. An early nineteenth century chronicler notes some of the circumstances surrounding manumission during the colonial period:

Many are emancipated at the death of their owners; and rich proprietors generally set some at liberty during their life time. The woman who shall have reared ten children, is declared free... the owner shall manumit an infant at the font, if any person offers twenty milreis, as the price of its freedom. Freemen frequently emancipated their illegitimate offspring in this manner... \textsuperscript{337}
In addition to these means, freedom was also attained in general by the master's illegitimate children, and often his slave concubines, as was mentioned above. Another method of manumission was the custom, and later law, for masters to accept as payment for freedom the slave's original cost. Slaves had some opportunity to earn the money required for manumission.

In this way, free Negroes, like free mulattoes, early formed something of a middle group. They held such positions as free agricultural laborers, artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants, and small shop-keepers. Some free Negroes were able to accumulate quite a bit of money, and a few free Negroes even owned slaves. One observer notes that the free Negro usually attempted to take up the practices of the white man. The free Negro might give up rum for wine, greens for pork, the thatched house for the house of stone, and bare feet or sandals for shoes, even though the shoes might hurt his feet. The free Negro during slavery can be viewed, as the free mulatto, as a socially marginal individual.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the slave trade came under serious attack, from both within and without. Brazil, linked closely by trade to Great Britain, was unable to remain unaffected by the British abolitionist fervor. On August 8, 1845, the British Aberdeen Bill put
ships transporting slaves to Brazil under attack by the British Navy. Many Brazilians were outraged by this infringement of their sovereign rights, and the volume of the slave trade actually increased between 1845 and 1848. However, Brazilian public opinion was also beginning to turn against slavery, and on September 4, 1850, a Brazilian law was passed abolishing the slave trade.

But the abolition of the slave trade was not the abolition of slavery, and complete abolition came to be sought by many Brazilians. The figure of the bush captain, whose job it was to run down fugitive slaves, became despicable, and the apprehension of fugitive slaves lost public support. The soldiers tended to wink at slave escapes, and refused to attack fugitives and communities of fugitives. Some abolitionists gave active support to mass slave escapes. Abolitionism in the press became vigorously outspoken.

This abolitionist sentiment led to the freeing of slaves in new ways. Emancipation organizations raised funds for buying the freedom of slaves. These organizations were composed of both Negroes and whites, working both separately and together. Masters often gave freedom to slaves for long years of service. Slaves were freed in wills, at Baptisms, on holidays, and on anniversaries. Some owners liberated their slaves en masse. Between 1864 and 1870,
the government gave freedom to large numbers of slaves for service in the Paraguayan War.\textsuperscript{345}

The rising public opinion against slavery was expressed in legislation. On September 28, 1871, the Law of Free Birth was enacted. By this law, a master had the option of freeing a new-born slave at the age of 21, or receiving 600 milreis from the government in payment for the slave's freedom at the age of eight.\textsuperscript{346} On March 25, 1884, the state of Ceará abolished slavery, and was followed by the state of Amazonas on July 10, 1884. Finally, the Empress of Brazil signed the Golden Law completely abolishing slavery on May 13, 1888.\textsuperscript{347}

As was mentioned earlier, the abolition of slavery brought no radical change in the slave's standard of living. Some ex-slaves moved to the towns and there performed the labors they had learned as slaves: fishing, barbering, bricklaying, or manual labor.\textsuperscript{348} Other ex-slaves rented plantation land, and became small farmers. Others received plots of land on easy terms from their former masters, or simply remained as paid laborers.\textsuperscript{349} Others moved as laborers from plantation to plantation. Many ex-slaves remained "...living under the same conditions as before, but legally free."\textsuperscript{350}

The social heritage of slavery was hardly erased with the abolition of that institution. The free mulattoes,
and to some extent the free blacks, formed something of a middle group during slavery, but this group seems to have been largely marginal. With the abolition of slavery, the legal distinction between master and slave was erased. But the de facto situation remained largely dominated by a class of masters and a class of slaves. As will be shown in the following discussion, as a rule of thumb, black continues to mean lower social position, and white continues to mean upper social position.

Throughout Brazil's history, a general trend has been the correspondence of social position and racial type. In early colonial times, the social scale could be defined in racial terms. At the top of the scale were the Portuguese of European birth; they were followed by Portuguese colonists born in Brazil; at the bottom of the scale were placed non-European racial types. Fernando de Azevedo, the noted Brazilian historian, has described the colonial stratification system in the following succinct manner:

"...the distinction of classes established on an economic base met in the distinction of races a material and visible sign of differentiation. Lords and slaves, whites and Negroes. The races, white and African, formed an ethnic stratification, the layers of which corresponded exactly ...to social stratification, to the two classes which the plantation system of monoculture and the slave system separated and superimposed, raising the lords of the sugar plantations to the category of nobility, and degrading to the lowest level the masses of slaves."
This situation persisted, to a great extent, throughout the centuries of slavery, and has continued since the abolition of slavery. The basically unchanged social and economic position of the freed slave has been noted above. One observer speaks of the problems faced by the newly freed slaves in the sugar regions. The surplus population in both the urban zones and the rural areas of subsistence agriculture critically limited the mobility of the ex-slaves. Because of these conditions, these individuals were compelled to work for relatively low wages. Thus, "...it can hardly be assumed that material living conditions of former slaves changed perceptibly after abolition."\(^{353}\)

In any case, color continues to be a rather reliable index of social position. The social stratification system, inextricably bound to race for centuries, is often subtle in terms of cause and effect. Although some observers maintain that there is considerable personal freedom since abolition regardless of race, this is a rather hollow freedom because of the unequal distribution of opportunities. Most universities, and publicly and privately owned facilities in general, are open to people of any color, but relatively few Negroes are seen in many places. One reason is that most Negroes lack the necessary financial resources.\(^{354}\) One observer states: "Prejudice in Brazil is more social than racial, more of classes than
of race... Racial prejudice will be examined in depth shortly, but first let us look at the remarkably high correlation between color and social position.

The product of centuries of slavery, Brazil's social stratification system today continues to have strong racial overtones. Charles Wagley sums up this contemporary situation as follows: "In general, as one moves down the social hierarchy, the number of racially mixed or otherwise non-white individuals gradually increases." Another observer remarks: "...it is accepted as a fact of life throughout Brazil that the ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, illiterate members of society are more apt to be Negroes and mulattoes --- who are concentrated heavily at the bottom of the social scale --- than Brazilians of predominantly European, Levantine, or Japanese extraction." These generalizations are supported by the findings of several particular studies.

One of the most comprehensive examinations of the racial factor in Brazil is Pierson's now-classic study made at Bahia. Pierson tabulated the racial distribution of occupations as one indicator of social position. Four of these tables are presented on pages 131, 132, 133, and 134. The general picture which Tables X, XI, XII, and XIII portray is clear: occupational level is directly correlated
### TABLE X

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH WHITES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT, 1936

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Wht</th>
<th>Mul</th>
<th>Blk</th>
<th>Mul</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bank employees</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>84.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priests</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabaret entertainers</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>73.1</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professors</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>70.3</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politicians</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physicians</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial employees</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government employees</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XI

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH MULATTOES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT OVER WHITES, 1936-39

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mulatto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army officers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>57.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferior</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>55.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE XII

**Racial Distribution in Those Employments at Bahia in Which Mulattoes Appear to be Predominant over Blacks, 1936-1960**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Mul</th>
<th>Blk</th>
<th>Wht</th>
<th>Ind-Blk</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barbers</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Band musicians</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>68.4</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street-sweepers</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Streetcar checkers</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Streetcar conductors</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firemen</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus attendants</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxi-drivers</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus-drivers</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldiers</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XIII

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH BLACKS APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT, 1936

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Blk</th>
<th>Mul</th>
<th>Wht</th>
<th>Ind-Blk</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Porters</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>93.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundresses</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mule-carters</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masons</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>82.4</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stevedores</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>81.6</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truck-helpers</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>81.2</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street laborers</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>78.3</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candy-peddlers</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cobblers</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>74.4</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venders</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsboys</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoe-shiners</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Streetcar motormen</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truck-drivers</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
with color; as occupational level descends, darkness of skin color increases.

Pierson further illustrates the correlation between race and social class with some observations concerning living arrangements. He notes that the more comfortable, more healthful, more convenient, and more expensive ridges of the city are occupied by whites and lighter mulattoes. On the other hand, the less accessible or convenient, less healthful, low-lying, cheaper areas of the city are occupied by darker mulattoes and blacks.\textsuperscript{362}

Finally, Pierson's analysis of racial distribution in the social classes of Bahia also bears out the correlation between class and color. Table XIV on page 136 illustrates this situation. If the numerical presentation in Table XIV does not make the situation sufficiently clear, the graphic presentation in Figure 2 on page 137, leaves no room for confusion.

Charles Wagley has computed a set of figures which portrays the race-occupation distribution for all of Brazil in 1940. The professions, private teaching, and cultural and private administrative activities are performed by a labor force 90 per cent white and 2.5 per cent Negro. Positions in public administration are 76 per cent white and 8 per cent Negro. Commercial and financial positions
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Groups</th>
<th>Intelligentsia</th>
<th>Marginal</th>
<th>Lower Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed-bloods</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>1,183</td>
<td>83.9</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,410</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIGURE 2
CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF THE RACES, BAHIA, 1936
are 79 per cent white and 5 per cent Negro. Another indicator is the racial distribution among Brazil's employers. The 342,000 males classified as employers in 1940 include 3.48 per cent of the white population, 0.74 per cent of the brown population, and 0.55 per cent of the black population. Wagley concludes his examination of the 1940 situation with the following statement: "There is no reason to believe that these ratios have changed strikingly in the last twenty years or so..."365

The results of Harris in his study of one rural Brazilian community also support the generalization correlating race and social position. Harris tabulates three indices of social position, economic, educational, and occupational, in terms of racial distribution. This is seen in Table XV on page 139. On all three gradients, white occupies the highest position, and black occupies the lowest.

Zimmerman's study of another rural Brazilian community provides further evidence. He remarks that the lightest individuals are concentrated in the upper social stratum, while the darkest individuals are dominant in the lower. As an example, he notes that government jobs, which require money, education, and personal influence to obtain, are predominantly occupied by white individuals.367
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gradient</th>
<th>High White</th>
<th>Medium Mulatto</th>
<th>Low Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average monthly income</td>
<td>Cr.$961</td>
<td>Cr.$648</td>
<td>Cr.$445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average property</td>
<td>Cr.$23,258</td>
<td>Cr.$9,670</td>
<td>Cr.$7,814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of school</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades completed</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional-administrative</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil service and commercial</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menial and agricultural</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A more recent observation concerning race and social position has been made for the 1960 population of the city of Rio de Janeiro. Horowitz reaches an interesting conclusion about the population of Rio's "favelas," or slum-shanty-towns, in the following manner:

According to the 1960 census, 13 per cent of Rio de Janeiro's population was Negro. In a present estimated population of about three million, that would give about 400,000 pretos (Negroes). If the present favela population is close to 900,000 as estimated by the police, and the proportion of pretos among favelados is still close to 40 per cent, practically all of Rio's Negroes must live in favelas.

The general situation in Brazil seems to be accurately portrayed as one in which social position is correlated with racial type. Black means low, and white means high; black equals poor, and white equals rich. A more formidable support of a bi-polar tendency in social stratification is difficult to imagine. Although race and class seem to be inextricably linked, evidence exists which contradicts the frequently heard statement that the only prejudice in Brazil is class prejudice. Black is low and white is high, and this situation is maintained by a whole set of racial attitudes which one can hardly avoid calling racial prejudice.

The colonial population may have had a relatively high degree of racial tolerance, but the racial factor nonetheless constituted a barrier to social integration.
"Negro" and "darkie" were terms of insult, and were used as synonyms for "slave." These terms, and the treatment appropriate to their meaning, were often applied to all Negroes, slave and free.369

Just as Negro was associated with slave during the time of slavery, Negro is associated with lower class today. One observer notes that when a man first meets a Negro, he catalogues the Negro into lower-class status because of the indelible badge of lower-class status which Negro appearance is. Only if the Negro can give evidence of such things as economic competence, professional skill, educational achievement, and "gentlemanly bearing," is the cataloguing of him into the lower class modified.370 This attitude is seen in the racial stereotypes found in the studies of several Brazilian communities.

In a community in the Amazon Valley, the racial stereotypes reflect the history of the area, which included Indian slaves and few Negroes. Because of the lack of a Negro slave heritage, the Negro is characterized as witty, crafty, a fluent conversationalist, a good story teller, and sexually potent. The mulatto is characterized as treacherous, irascible, and difficult to deal with. The "caboclo" (of Indian ancestry) is characterized as one of low social status and a symbol of slave ancestry. The white is characterized as good at business, intelligent,
I might note that these stereotypes of white and mulatto are nationally distributed. The white stereotype clearly originates in the master heritage. The mulatto stereotype probably comes from the ambitions of and actual mobility of these products of racial mixture.

The racial stereotypes in a community of the sugar region are probably more nationally representative than those of the Amazon. In this community, the Negro is characterized as a hard worker, humble, loyal, and affectionate to his employer, servile, knowing best how to please the white, and not trying to be white. The mulatto is seen as a social climber, who is pretentious, unreliable, and wants to be white. The white is stereotyped as well-dressed, wealthy, powerful, responsible to lower-class dependents, and one who should not get dirty or perspire in his work. Some phrases used by informants in this community further illustrate the presence of racial prejudice:

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

Racial prejudice is also seen in the findings made in the study of another rural community. In this community,
a test was administered to community members of all racial types involving photographs of individuals of the four racial types, male and female. Because of the ambiguous nature of the photograph of the female "caboclo," the findings are somewhat lacking in clarity. But the general pattern which emerges places the white in a positive light, and the Negro in a negative light. The Portuguese terms for racial types mean Indian ancestry, Negro, mulatto, and white, respectively. The results of this ranking questionnaire are seen in Table XVI on page 144. The ranking of the Negro as best worker results from his stereotype as the manual laborer. Perhaps a clearer indicator of racial prejudice in this community are the results of a questionnaire involving inter-personal relations as seen in Table XVII on page 145. In Table XVII, the pattern more clearly emerges of the white as the preferred racial type, and the Negro as the less desirable racial type.

The findings of the study of yet another Brazilian community further support the assertion of existence of racial prejudice. A ranking questionnaire similar to that used in the previously described study was used with the members of this community. The results are seen in Table XVIII on page 145A. These results reveal with crystal clarity the pattern of white at the top, mulatto in the
TABLE XVI

SERTÃO:
RACIAL RANKING OF PERSONAL QUALITIES 374

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice</th>
<th>Male Photo</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Female Photo</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>4th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is most</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attractive?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Caboclo&quot;</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XVII

SERTÃO:

RACIAL RANKING OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

(Numbers of Respondents Answering in the Affirmative)

(N = 100)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>&quot;Caboclo&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Preto&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Mulato&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Branco&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Would you accept this person as your neighbor?</td>
<td>M. 48</td>
<td>F. 37</td>
<td>M. 20</td>
<td>F. 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M. 34</td>
<td>F. 59</td>
<td>M. 81</td>
<td>F. 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you accept this person as a friend?</td>
<td>M. 52</td>
<td>F. 44</td>
<td>M. 21</td>
<td>F. 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M. 38</td>
<td>F. 59</td>
<td>M. 84</td>
<td>F. 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you invite this person to dinner?</td>
<td>M. 51</td>
<td>F. 38</td>
<td>M. 31</td>
<td>F. 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M. 45</td>
<td>F. 62</td>
<td>M. 75</td>
<td>F. 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you allow your son (daughter) to dance with this person?</td>
<td>M. 53</td>
<td>F. 57</td>
<td>M. 35</td>
<td>F. 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M. 53</td>
<td>F. 76</td>
<td>M. 77</td>
<td>F. 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you accept this person as a brother- (sister-) in-law?</td>
<td>M. 43</td>
<td>F. 41</td>
<td>M. 23</td>
<td>F. 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M. 37</td>
<td>F. 60</td>
<td>M. 64</td>
<td>F. 76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE XVIII

**MINAS VELHAS: RACIAL RANKING OF PERSONAL QUALITIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quality</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Mulatto</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most intelligent</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less intelligent</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least intelligent</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most beautiful</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less beautiful</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least beautiful</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most wealthy</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less wealthy</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least wealthy</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most religious</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less religious</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least religious</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most honest</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less honest</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least honest</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best worker</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worse worker</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worst worker</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
middle, and Negro at the bottom. The question regarding quality as a worker serves to point out the stereotype of white as non-worker and Negro as worker, a stereotype which will be discussed in a later section of this essay.

The attitude toward the Negro as an inferior racial type is also expressed in several other ways in this community. For example, the members of this community consider the Negro's inferiority to be a scientific fact, as well as a lesson of daily experience. A school textbook used there states this attitude:

Of all races the white race is the most intelligent, persevering, and the most enterprising... The Negro race is much more retarded than the others.377

A local legend, explaining the origin of the Negro's inferiority, further illustrates this attitude:

In the beginning of the world God created two kinds of man -- the white man and the Negro. One day He decided to find out what their respective attributes were, so He threw them into the bottom of a well and commanded them to get out as they might. The white and the Negro tried to climb up the walls but without success. Finally, the white, after thinking for a while, stood on top of the Negro's shoulders and pulled himself over the top. The Negro, left alone on the bottom, made no further effort nor cried out and was left to die. It was on this day that God decided to make the Negro an inferior being, and the slave of the white.378

Harris sums up the attitudes toward the Negro in this community in a comprehensive fashion. One attitude places the Negro race as inferior to the white, and as
sub-human. Another places the Negro in a justly subservient role to the white. A third attitude views the Negro's physical characteristics as highly displeasing. In a system of graded and ranked racial stereotypes which are well-developed, the Negro occupies the lowest level, and the white occupies the highest level.\(^{379}\)

Pierson, in his study of Bahia, speaks of Negroes who have attained positions of trust and responsibility in the community, and who have been admitted into exclusive clubs. He concludes that color can be over-balanced by individual competence in determining an individual's class position. Nonetheless, color is clearly a handicap to be overcome.\(^{380}\) Wagley concurs with Pierson that social position is determined by several factors, and race is only one of these factors. Yet, non-white physical type is equated with low social status: "Indian and Negro physical characteristics are a symbol of low social status and slave ancestry."\(^{381}\)

An interesting aspect of Brazilian social and racial attitudes is the flexibility in perception of racial types. If black is a symbol of low social position, a black man of high social position cannot be perceived as black. Pierson recounts a famous anecdote illustrating this attitude:
Thus, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, the Englishman, Henry Koster, on referring, in a conversation with a citizen of Pernambuco, to the fact that a mulatto was occupying the local office of capitão-mor, was told the man in question was not a mulatto. Insisting that he undoubtedly appeared to the eyes to be a mulatto, Koster received the rather unexpected reply, "He used to be a mulatto, but he is not now. For how can a capitão-mor be a mulatto?"

This flexibility of perception was also present in the Amazon community studied by Wagley. The town drunk, with obviously Caucasoid features, was classified as a "caboclo" by five out of eleven informants. One of these informants, referring to the drunk's social position, declared, "How can Oswaldo be a branco?"

This is one reason why the racial classifications in the census are misleading. Another reason is the basis of racial classifications almost wholly on physical appearance. For the 1950 census, the 61.66 per cent classified as white include whites of European ancestry, and Negro-white and Indian-white mixtures falling within the white phenotype; the 10.96 per cent classified as Negro include Negroes of African ancestry, and Negro-white and Negro-Indian mixtures falling within the Negro phenotype; the 26.54 per cent classified as mixed-race does not distinguish between the different types of racial mixtures.

But to return to the matter of racial prejudice, I might finally note the presence of prejudice among the
non-whites directed against themselves. This is implied in the results of the ranking questionnaires presented above, because the samples who received these questionnaires included a proportion of non-whites representative of their proportion in the communities. Some further evidence of negative attitudes of non-whites toward themselves is available. In one community studied,

...the Negro concurs with the white in believing that he can achieve high rank never because he is Negro but only in spite of it. ...everybody believes it is better to be white.\textsuperscript{385}

A recent observer, speaking of Brazil as a whole, states that the colored peoples generally accept their inferior social and economic position. The public school texts teach the naturalness of their subordination, their employers frequently treat them with paternalistic condescension, and the colored peoples often dislike the social responsibilities imposed on them by urban-industrial relations. This observer maintains that, "People of color thus frequently see themselves as being providentially ordained to occupy a subordinate social position."\textsuperscript{386}

In concluding this section on the racial factor, let me sum up some of the essential points of the preceding discussion. From the early sixteenth century until its abolition in 1888, slavery was an integral feature of Brazilian society. When the native Indians proved
inefficient as slaves, the colonist imported African Negroes. African Negroes were imported over the centuries in numbers sufficiently large to make the Negro the essential non-European racial element in the population. Because of the position of the slave in the upper-class family, among other reasons, extensive racial mixture has continually taken place. Although the products of this racial mixture may have enjoyed some upward mobility, the society remained basically divided between masters and slaves. The freeing of the slaves did not radically change this situation. The Negroes have remained largely at the bottom of the social scale, and the whites have remained at the top. This system's persistence has been assisted by the population's positive attitudes toward the whites, and negative attitudes toward the non-whites.

The relevance of the above factors to a bi-polar tendency in social stratification is clear. Slaves were integral to the total society for three and a half centuries, and not one century has yet elapsed since the abolition of slavery. It is difficult to imagine a factor which could militate more toward social polarity than this heritage does. The bi-polarity is even more pronounced when the society is divided into white masters and non-white slaves. Since the racial aspect of social distribution
has remained largely unchanged since the abolition of slavery, the social system is a living support to racial prejudice. The correlation between color and social class also acts as a dynamic support to bi-polarity in social stratification. What can be more bi-polar than black equals poor and white equals rich?
V. DEMOGRAPHIC NOTE

The scope of this essay is primarily limited to an examination of the historical role of three factors in strengthening a bi-polar tendency in social stratification: economic, familial, and racial. However, as I noted at the outset, many other factors are relevant to this problem. I feel that a minimal knowledge of a fourth factor is essential to an understanding of the formation of the social stratification system. This fourth factor is demographic. Crucial to this discussion are two aspects of demographic change: European immigration and urban development. Since immigration did not take place in large numbers until relatively recently, the contributions of the immigrants to Brazilian society were rather late. The contributions I am here concerned with center around the immigrants' non-Brazilian cultural background. Since the middle social sector is not a traditionally Brazilian phenomenon, immigration was important to its formation. The relatively recent urban growth also plays a role in the late formation of the middle sector. Not only do urban centers provide middle level employment opportunities, but urban centers tend to be less traditional than rural areas. For these reasons, I feel it necessary to briefly examine immigration and urban growth in terms of the formation of the middle sector.
Between 1850 and 1950, 4,800,000 immigrants came to Brazil. Of these, 3,400,000 remained in Brazil. Before 1850, the annual number seldom exceeded 2,000. These numbers do not include, of course, those individuals who were brought to Brazil as slaves, as they can hardly be called immigrants. Just as the number of slaves being imported declined with the mid-nineteenth century suppression of the slave trade, the number of actual immigrants increased in response to the new demands for labor. The number of immigrants in 1859 was 19,000, and the annual average between 1855 and 1862 was 15,000. The number of immigrants in 1866 was 40,000. The annual average of immigrants between 1851 and 1871 was 10,000.

The immigrants in the mid-nineteenth century took up occupations which are indicative of the middle sector positions which they were to swell in later years. One such occupation was schoolmaster. Lopes Gama wrote, in 1842: "Any Frenchman, any Englishman, any Swiss, etc., any cunning creature from those countries, coming to Pernambuco and having no other mode of livelihood, at once announces that he is going to share with us his great enlightenment." Other positions held by these immigrants were merchant, dressmaker, dentist, doctor, midwife, governess, builder, mason, cabinetmaker, carpenter,
small farmer, and farm worker. However, the number of these mid-nineteenth century immigrants was relatively small in terms of later immigration.

As indicated above, the extent of immigration was closely tied to the state of the slave labor system in Brazil. One observer notes that, "European immigration ... was never an important element in the history of Brazil so long as the institution of chattel slavery survived." The relationship between immigration and the decline of slavery is apparent when one looks at numbers of immigrants in terms of the changing legal status of slavery. With the Law of Free Birth in 1871, the annual average of immigrants rose to greater than 20,000. The 1872 census reveals that of a total population of 9,930,478, 1,510,806 were slaves, and 243,481 were foreign-born. For 1885, the year in which Negro sexagenarians were freed, the number of immigrants was 35,000. In 1887, the number was 56,000. In 1888, the year of slavery's abolition, the number of immigrants was 133,253. By 1888, the total number of European immigrants living in the Empire was 750,000.

However, the greatest waves of immigration were yet to come, for massive immigration was largely a turn-of-the-century phenomenon. Between 1884 and 1963, 4,998,565 immigrants came to Brazil, half of this number arriving between 1889 and 1913. The number of immigrants
in 1903 was 85,410. The number in 1913 was 192,683. Between 1914 and 1919, the annual average dropped to 39,730, and the number in 1922 was 35,000. Although the number climbed again to 137,000 in 1926, the annual number of immigrants began to decline and has continued to the present.\textsuperscript{397} The bulk of immigration to Brazil has been confined to the period of 1887 to 1934: "Prior to 1887 the movement into Brazil was a mere trickle, and since 1934 immigration has been restricted by a quota system."\textsuperscript{398}

The European dominance of immigration to Brazil is seen in Table XIX on page 156.

The number of immigrants, coupled with their European origins, were essential to the recent formation of the middle sector in Brazil. The statements of two observers illustrate this situation:

Because of their contact with the more advanced industrial cultures of Europe, they (immigrants) brought new attitudes, new skills, and new perceptions to Brazil... They organized new commercial and industrial enterprises and provided the core of skilled workers and foremen. They and their descendants formed a solid base for a growing middle class...\textsuperscript{400}

The foreign immigration population forms the basic core of the middle class of large Brazilian cities. They come primarily from Europe. They bring various skills and attitudes: a high degree of labor and manufacturing technology, and an advanced conception of proper and adequate living standards. They are thus quickly absorbed into the high paying industries...\textsuperscript{401}
### TABLE XIX

**NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF IMMIGRANTS TO BRAZIL: 1884-1949**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top Ten Countries</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1,428,700</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>1,251,375</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>586,880</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>188,830</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>178,250</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>110,988</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>86,764</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>78,455</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>53,006</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>40,058</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although many immigrants came from Europe's less industrial states, their industrial knowledge was still greater than that of the native Brazilians.

Relatively recent foreign immigration has been essential to the growth of the middle social sector for several reasons. Stated negatively, the immigrants did not come from the social patterns of traditional Brazilian culture. Stated positively, the immigrants came from cultures with more developed industrial and commercial traditions. And, needless to say, industry and commerce are essential to the development of a significant middle sector. Another reason the immigrants increased the numbers of the middle sector is a racial reason. The immigrants were white, yet they lacked the resources and family backing to be upper-class, at least initially. Finally, the immigrants contributed to the development of another phenomenon characteristic of middle sector growth: the growth of the cities. Let us now turn to a brief look at the urban population throughout Brazilian history.

The early concentration of wealth in the plantation system successfully quashed significant urban growth. The sugar plantations "...strangled at their very beginning the urban populations which came to gravitate in the orbit of the great landed proprietors and to live in dependency on them." Yet, as early as colonial times, some of the
landed aristocracy's financial power began to slip from their hands. At first, the plantation owner developed a dependency on the supplier of slaves. Then, the fluctuations of the market for sugar forced the plantation owner into a dependency on the urban agent and the urban bank.\textsuperscript{403} With the growing debts of the plantation owners, and their growing dependency on intermediaries and merchants, "... the cities continued to become richer and increase in prestige."\textsuperscript{404} The dependency of the landed aristocracy on urban financiers was heightened with the increase in debts from "... the expedients to which these lords of the manor have recourse in maintaining their train of life."\textsuperscript{405}

Nonetheless, urban centers remained largely undeveloped until the twentieth century. Early in this century, conditions seemed to coalesce promoting urban growth: coffee created large amounts of wealth, immigrants arrived in large numbers and many of them gravitated to the cities, the railway system was improved, commerce expanded, and, perhaps most important, industry began to develop.\textsuperscript{406} Since the early twentieth century, another important factor in urban growth has been internal migration. In 1940, 3,451,000 Brazilians were living in a state other than the state of their birth, or 8.3 per cent of the population. In 1950, this number had risen to 5,206,000, or about 10 per cent of the population. Rural-urban migration is
largely responsible for this change, and the main direction of this migration is towards the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In the 1950 census, 36 per cent of the total population was classified as urban, and by 1960 this percentage had risen to 45. Cities with populations of greater than 25,000 increased in population by nine million between 1950 and 1960, or 48 per cent of the total national increase. While the national urban population was 11.3 million in 1950, this number had increased by 80 per cent in 1960. The rate of urban growth is further seen when one considers that the absolute urban increase accounted for 70 per cent of the national population increase in the 1950-1960 decade. Yet, as will be demonstrated below, Brazil remains largely rural.

A brief look at the composition of the urban population over the years will illustrate the link between urban growth and growth of the middle social sector. During the colonial period, the cities contained something of an aristocracy of their own made up of the higher military, civil, and ecclesiastical officials: viceroys, captains-general, governors, commanders, high-ranking army officers, judges, and bishops. The urban population also included professionals, and merchants and others engaged in commerce. Since this group was quite small and dependent
on the rural society, it cannot be overstressed that the colonial urban centers were "... a reflection of the prevailing rural conditions." 

This situation continued during the Empire. During this period, factories manufactured soap, candles, and cloth, and European immigrants worked as cabinetmakers, hairdressers, apothecaries, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, dressmakers, and cheesemakers. Agents, slave traders, doctors, and lawyers were also urban residents. In addition to the European immigrants, impoverished upper-class whites and free blacks and mulattoes also practiced trades and crafts. However, during the Empire, "... the cities and towns of Brazil were to all intents and purposes dependencies of the country..." The cities of Brazil did not become urbanized until the twentieth century. Yet, even prior to this century, one can see numerically (and perhaps socially) insignificant precursors of a middle social sector.

Although I only have evidence on this point from a study of one Brazilian community, I might note the tendency to bi-polarity brought about there by the rural-urban cleavage. In the community studied by Harris, the townspeople look down on the country people as inferior, simply because they are country people. When the rural resident comes to the town, "... he is expected to wear ill-fitting
clothing, use colloquial speech, and be proverbially slow and timid in his thought and behavior.¹⁴¹ In this way, the stratification system is polarized on yet another basis.

In concluding this brief demographic survey, I will recapitulate some of the demographic changes relevant to social stratification. The heavy influx of European immigrants, at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, had several effects on the stratification system. These immigrants, coming from industrial nations, were able to play an essential role in the developing Brazilian industry and commerce. The European immigrants not only contributed to the growth of the middle social sector in this way, but they assisted this growth in two other ways as well. The immigrants were white, and since they lacked the resources on arrival to be upper-class, they often occupied a position between the non-white lower class and the traditional white aristocracy. A third effect of the European immigrants was their contribution to the growth of urban centers. A commonly accepted tenet of social development is the correlation between urban development and the development of a middle social sector. With the assistance of European immigrants as well as rural-urban migrants, Brazil's urban centers have grown rapidly in the twentieth century in response to economic development.
Urban growth is crucial to the development of a middle sector for several reasons. One reason is the middle-level employment opportunities which urban centers provide. Another reason is the tendency toward less retention of traditional social patterns in urban areas, as opposed to rural areas. Regarding this tendency, one point must be made about Brazil: the population remains today predominantly rural. Table XX on page 163 illustrates this situation. Of Brazil's municipalities, only 11.1 per cent contained more than 10,000 inhabitants. Of Brazil's administrative districts, 83.8 per cent contained under 1,000 inhabitants each. As was noted earlier, the rural population in 1960 comprised 65 per cent of the total, and the 45 per cent classified as urban includes communities smaller than 25,000. Of Brazil's total population of 70,119,071 in 1960, 32,471,377 were classified as urban, living in urban and suburban zones of administrative centers of municípios and distritos, and 37,647,694 were classified as rural. Of Canada's total population of 18,238,247 in 1961, 12,700,390 were classified as urban, living in cities, towns, and villages of 1,000 or more, and 5,537,857 were classified as rural. There seems to be some justification for this statement made by one observer: "Quantitatively and qualitatively, Brazil's population is one
### TABLE XX

**RURAL VERSUS URBAN COMMUNITIES IN BRAZIL, 1950**

*(Seats of "Municipios" and "Distritos")*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Inhabitants</th>
<th>Seats of &quot;Municipios&quot;</th>
<th>Seats of &quot;Distritos&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 1,000</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000-1,999</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>29.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000-4,999</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000-9,999</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000-19,999</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000-49,999</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000-99,999</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000-over</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,887</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of the most rural in the entire world."

In terms of the growth of the middle social sector, I might note, once again, three factors: European immigrants did not arrive in significant numbers until less than one hundred years ago, urban growth did not become significant until the twentieth century, and the total population today remains predominantly rural. Now let us turn to the final section of this essay, the section which tests my hypothesis of bi-polarity by reviewing the nature of the social stratification system throughout the course of Brazilian history.
Traditionally, Brazilian society has been characterized by a two class system of social stratification. This was particularly true of the rural society, which has always been predominant. At the top of the social scale was the patriarchal white lord of the plantation. At the bottom of the scale were the Negro and Indian slaves. However, from the beginning, a middle group existed which included freedmen of various racial types who worked as tenant farmers, agricultural laborers, small merchants, and artisans. This middle group's members also worked as cowboys, landstewards, plantation foremen, and skilled craftsmen. But it cannot be overemphasized that the traditional society was basically composed of two castes: the masters and the slaves.

Not only was this social structure present rurally, but it was also to be found in the urban centers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During this period, the big houses of the plantations had their counter-parts in the mansions of the cities: "On the noble floor lived the master, and on the ground floor downstairs, his slaves, and many families had 60 or 70 persons who were not necessary." Distinctions were made between upper and lower
strata in virtually every area of activity. The Negroes and the poor had their own saints, St. Benedict and St. Onofre, respectively. The dance of the samba was reserved for slaves and Negroes. The nobility ate ham, raisins, and green peas, while the lower class ate dried beef, salt cod, and squash. During the colonial period, catfish was also considered a lower-class food, and was called Old Mulatto. Straw-thatched huts and shanties were dwellings of the lower class. Children of the upper class were nursed on cow's milk or the milk of a wet-nurse, while lower-class children were nursed on goat's milk. Members of the upper class often slept in beds, while those of the lower slept in hammocks. Special prisons were reserved for military officers and holders of academic degrees. Hospitals had separate sections for patients of the upper class and for patients of the lower class.421

As Brazil is a traditionally rural country, the traditional lower class was composed of rural workers: sugar and coffee workers, cowboys, rubber collectors, sharecroppers, squatters, and some small peasant landholders.422 At the beginning of the twentieth century, this group still comprised the bulk of the lower class. However, the lower-class ranks were now being swelled with the artisans, domestics, and manual laborers of the cities. The early twentieth century lower class may be characterized
as "... largely illiterate and in one way or another dependent on the traditional upper class." 423

Today, Brazil's lower class may be divided into three groups. One group is made up of small-scale farmers. The general dependence of this group on the upper class is seen in a few figures regarding landholding. In 1950, 15 per cent of all landowners owned 85 per cent of the registered landholdings. In 1950, one out of four farmers owned the land he cultivated. 424 The second group in the lower class today is even more dependent on the upper class. The members of this group are the workers on the large mechanized plantations. As was noted earlier, the corporation owning such an enterprise usually provides the workers with houses, stores, a school, a chapel or church, a soccer field and club, water and electricity, and medical assistance. 425 The lower-class worker in this situation is held dependent by means of the company town. The third group in the lower class, the urban workers, is somewhat less dependent than the rural counterparts. Many rural-urban migrants pour into the cities because of the miserable rural conditions, the lure of the cities, and the opportunities created by industrial growth. Many of these migrants seek positions in construction work, factory work, or generally marginal labor. Yet, many rural-urban migrants end up in the "favelas," the shantytown slums. There they
retain a rural life-style in such ways as seeking a substitute for the rural "patrão," and keeping chickens and pigs. This urban group "... is still rural in its orientation and to a large extent traditional in its point of view." These, then, are the three groups which form the descendants of the lower half of Brazil's traditional bi-polar system of social stratification.

Similarly, today's upper class is both changed and unchanged. The traditional upper class derived their great fortunes from many slaves, cattle ranches, and sugar or coffee plantations: "If they were not themselves fazendeiros (plantation lords), their exalted positions were either directly or indirectly based on agrarian fortunes accumulated by some member of their family." This group was highly literate, lived in luxury with many servants, and sent their children to private schools. The ideals of the traditional upper class were based on privileges. They did not favor political and social equality, and they were openly on the side of privileges for themselves: "Life for him (the traditional aristocrat), the son of somebody, ought to be a sum of rights and privileges, never a sum of work, responsibilities, and duties."

As early as the Empire, the landed aristocracy was compelled to share some of its power with a new upper-class
element, an element with wealth based on industry and commerce. In the later years of Dom Pedro's reign, the Emperor created a considerable number of barons and viscounts who had distinguished themselves as successful businessmen. But the major change in the composition of the upper class did not come until after 1930, when industrialists truly began to occupy positions equal in power to the landed aristocrats. Many of this new upper class were immigrants of Italian, German, Jewish, and Lebanese origins. Many have risen through the opportunities created during the Vargas regime, and many have made their fortunes in industry and commerce. The last twenty years have seen new opportunities exploited by individuals amassing wealth, gaining political influence, education, and professional competence.

However, the traditional landed aristocracy has not, by any means, disappeared. Some have recently become industrialists, politicians, and successful businessmen. Some have become big-city bureaucrats and professionals, and some members of the traditional upper class have generally diversified their investments. Some have also preserved their power by industrializing and consolidating their rural holdings, and by intermarrying with the industrial upper class.

Intermarriage of the traditional with the new upper class does not mean that all traditional upper-class
ideals are changing. On the contrary, the new aristocrats seem to be adopting many of the traditional values. The directors of the new agricultural corporations identify themselves with the old plantation families. More generally, another observer notes that, "... the new elite has adopted the same patterns of familism and nepotism which characterized the traditional power structure." A third observer notes: "These new members of the Brazilian upper class have identified themselves with the old aristocracy, and they have adopted aristocratic values and imitate old aristocratic behavior, as far as that is possible under modern urban circumstances." The upper class today has been estimated to constitute 2 per cent of the population and to be almost entirely white.

Although a middle social sector existed from colonial times, this sector seems to have largely been marginal. As was noted earlier, colonial social stratification was, to a great extent, defined in racial terms. Yet, it was not simply a question of white and non-white. At the top of the social scale were those Brazilians of Portuguese birth; these were followed by colonials born in Brazil; next came Indian-white mixtures; Negro-white mixtures followed; still further down were the Indian slaves; at the bottom of the social scale were Negro slaves. A socially undefined element existed between the masters and the slaves. This element
included freed Negroes and mulattoes, runaway slaves, all
types of mixed-bloods, and whites reduced to poverty.
The formation of urban nuclei and intensive racial mixture
produced another intermediate group. Members of this
group occupied such positions as artisan, free worker,
civil servant, and businessman. This group also had no
real place in the bi-polar scheme.441

One Brazilian historian sums up the situation of the
middle sector during the colonial period as follows:

In the stifling atmosphere of plantation agriculture,
there was no room for any other major activity.
Anything that was not connected to the large-scale
production of a few commercially valuable commodities
destined for export was doomed to be a miserable,
small-time, secondary activity. It did not and could
not offer prospects for lucrative employment on a
higher level. And thus anyone who remained outside
the narrow circle of plantation agriculture, and in
practice this meant nearly everyone except the
masters and the slaves, was condemned to dismal
prospects.442

Those free men who were soldiers, peasants, or artisans,
"... enjoyed virtually no individual or class privileges
in the social order."443 The population of the backlands,
made up of free workers, mixed-bloods, bodyguards, and
backwoodsmen, "... had no advantage over the mass of the
slaves except that of nature in the raw and of an atmosphere
of freedom."444 This group, neither masters nor slaves, was
marginal. This situation pertained throughout the colonial
period and into the days of the Empire.
During this period something of a bourgeoisie developed in the cities composed of merchants, bankers, and exporters.  

This commercial element was despised by the landed aristocracy and excluded from that group: 

"Only through the hard process of ... divesting himself of the taint of business, rendering some notable service in war or peace, and acquiring large tracts of land could a descendant of this group win admission to the native aristocracy." The middle sector throughout the period of slavery has been described as follows: "Free men who were not landowners were so few in number that they did not dare form a group or resist the impositions of the landed proprietors." 

The system of social stratification was not radically changed by the transition from colony to Empire: "Declaration of Independence and a monarchial regime little modified the old social and economic system: the same superior and subordinate groups kept to the traditional relationships and reciprocal dependence." Nonetheless, the Empire began to create the positions essential to the growth of a middle sector. These positions were necessary in the expanding government: positions organizing the state, building an army, and performing judiciary, legislative, and executive functions. With the development of the coastal cities, new positions opened up in the infant
commerce, new professions, Army, and Church. Yet, these positions remained largely outside the productive system. 449

One illustration of the marginal middle sector during the Empire is seen in the attempts of those financially successful individuals outside the landed aristocracy to enter this aristocracy. The successful tradesman or recent European immigrant would, when able, buy a sugar or coffee plantation. Another means of entering the landed aristocracy was through marriage. When a plantation owner was deeply in debt to a merchant, the merchant might cancel the debt in return for the hand of the landed aristocrat's daughter in marriage. 450

Since early in the nineteenth century, government clerks, municipal and state employees, commercial workers, white-collar workers in general, and small landholders made up a middle social sector. From the mid-nineteenth century, European immigrants swelled the numbers of this group. But the middle sector remained insignificant in numbers and, to a great extent, identified its outlook with the values of the landed aristocracy. 451 Thus, "The burgeoning urban class of business and professional men still had negligible influence." 452 The negligible influence of the middle sector during the 1822-1930 period is attributed by one Brazilian to the fact that the middle sector elements,
... were formed and grown in the framework of our under-development, as by-products of the urbanization of a country which remained agricultural and did not offer conditions for the participation of the middle classes in the productive process... Their resulting unavoidably marginal position made them direct parasites of the Government.453

One observer views the period following the abolition of slavery as one in which the landed aristocracy was strengthened. This strengthening in São Paulo is attributed to the inflow of immigrants and foreign capital, expanding and reinforced in the north with the assimilation of the freed Negro into the new capitalist economy, and the accompanying reconstruction of wealth in the sugar zones.454

Another observer describes the 1870-1920 period as one in which the social structure remained basically unchanged from earlier times. The position of the now-free rural worker remained unchanged. In the upper stratum, "The patterns of patriarchal society persisted because both the rural aristocracy and the educated, urban elite of lawyers, physicians, and merchants shared the values of that society."455 Another observer notes for this period that because the economy was still based on monoculture, this urban group "... had to find one of its points of support in the landed aristocracy..."456

Wagley notes that the middle sector hardly existed in the first decade of the twentieth century. Individuals
in middle positions existed, such as professional people, army officers, public officials, small businessmen, and white-collar workers. But this observer states:

Yet, as they so often tend to do today, they identified themselves with the values of the traditional upper class. In the cities, they formed, in a sense, a group marginal to the traditional upper class. In the rural areas they were a provincial and local upper class.

The real beginning of middle sector growth was not until 1930. With the political revolution of that year, the government "... assumed increasing responsibility for the economic and social welfare of the nation and its people." Middle sector positions multiplied with the multiplication of municipal, state, and federal employees.

Industry was also beginning to expand at a rapid rate, and demanded many middle level employees. With the development of industry and an internal market, came the multiplication of middle level positions in many service areas: commerce, banks, transportation, utilities, advertising agencies, real estate companies, fiscal and legal organizations, brokerage offices, the professions, and an infinite number of small organizations.

The trend begun in 1930 has continued to the present time. The federal, state, and municipal civil service continue to expand. Industry and commerce continue to create jobs in stores and offices. The demand for the services of professionals continues to increase. In the
last twenty-five years, growth of the middle sector has been rapid. One observer estimated in 1964 that the middle sector comprised perhaps one-quarter of the total population.

Another observer has described the middle sector today in some depth. Members are economically autonomous, of medium wealth and income. Those who are salaried depend primarily on their intellectual abilities in business, industry, agriculture, bureaucracy, the professions, the clergy, the armed forces, education, and the services. Occupation and education are fundamental criteria for classification into this sector. The middle sector's expansion in the last two decades coincides with government interest in economic planning and technological specialization. The middle sector accounts for 40 per cent of the total population.

Although the middle sector can no longer be considered marginal in terms of numbers, the values and attitudes of this sector are those of a group in limbo. This lack of class consciousness was discussed at the outset of this essay, but I will here briefly relate Wagley's description of this situation. The middle sector identifies with and shares the social values of the traditional upper class. The members of the middle sector live in a world of radio, television, cinema, and theater. They want and need
telephones, refrigerators, washing machines, typewriters, autos, and good clothes. Although they have trouble affording the necessities, their aspirations often exceed their means, and many buy on time and are in debt. They entertain beyond their means, and employ servants. Members of the middle sector hold a deep disdain for manual labor in any form. They hold certain upper-class values as desirable, but these values can be little more than ideals: the woman’s place is in the home, close ties with kin, and the value of humanistic education. 463

The picture which emerges is one in which the middle sector shares the values of the upper class as ideals, but lacks the means to put these values into practice. Although the middle sector disdains manual labor, its members work very hard at white-collar positions. Although the middle sector cannot practice the same life-style as the upper class, members of the middle sector seem to group themselves with the upper class, as a group opposed to the lower class.

Another observer speaks of this ambivalent position of the middle sector:

Left in the lurch is the middle class, which has also grown with the move to the cities, but which has not constituted in Brazil the basic, decisive element which has brought about stability in Europe, particularly in the United Kingdom, and in the United States. 464
Let us now turn to the criteria of class rank in terms of the continuing identification of the middle sector with the upper class. In one community studied, class rank is said to be based on four gradients: economic, educational, occupational, and racial. The economic gradient is measured by property owned, annual cash income, housing, clothing, performance of labor, variety of foods, and leisure time. The educational gradient is measured by years of school, use of erudite language, and literacy. The occupational gradient is determined by menial labor, intellectual effort, and control over others. The racial gradient is simply white being better than black, and mulatto in between. Although the economic gradient allows quite a range of variation, the other three gradients contain some clear distinctions between the upper stratum and the lower stratum. Chances are high that a man who performs manual labor, or is illiterate, or is black, will be found in the lower stratum. The dichotomies in these three gradients are clear: manual labor/non-manual labor, illiterate/literate, and black/white. I should not overstate this point, because the observer notes that a man's class rank is determined by a combination of these four gradients, and the negative value of any one can be offset by the positive value of the other three. Yet, this observer
divides the middle stratum into two groups. No great differences exist between the members of these two groups, economically, educationally, and occupationally. The distinction is racial, and the middle groups thus disappear:

The darker individuals, however, belong to the lower middle stratum and, hence, are part of the lower class. The lighter individuals belong to the upper middle stratum and, hence, are part of the upper class.467

In another community studied, four factors are also said to be considered in determining a man's class rank, but one of these factors is different. In addition to wealth, education, and race, an individual's family origin is an important consideration.468 Here, then, three of the four factors can also be dichotomized. In addition to the illiterate/literate and black/white dichotomies, is the "great family"/common family dichotomy. Thus, the stratification system again tends to group into a lower stratum and a higher stratum.

A third community studied is said to base class rank primarily on two criteria. One of these criteria is money, which is indisputably quite variable. The second criterion is family.469 Again one of the two factors in class rank, family, is a factor which can be easily dichotomized.

Finally, I might note one finding of a recent study of stratification in Brazil. In this study, the class identification of individuals was found to correlate more
highly with their occupational and educational characteristics among urban residents, than among rural residents. Table XXI on page 180 portrays this finding. Urban social patterns are often considered to be the precursors of national social patterns. If this is the case, then occupation is becoming a more important criterion of class rank. But the criterion of occupation involves a blatant dichotomy basic throughout the history of Brazilian social stratification: the manual labor/non-manual labor dichotomy.

The social attitude against the performance of manual labor dates from the beginning of the Portuguese occupation of Brazil. The first Portuguese settlers in Brazil came from a Portugal which had been using African slave labor for almost a century. And for many centuries before that, some of Portugal's most difficult agricultural labor had been done by Moors. Early in colonial days, a common expression was, "Trabalho é para cachorro e Negro," (work is for a dog and a Negro). This attitude is further illustrated by a passage from a letter written in 1726 by the Governor of Rio de Janeiro to the Portuguese Crown: "... the mines certainly cannot be worked except by Negroes, both because they work harder as because the whites and Portuguese immigrants, even if they were bred with a hoe in hand, no sooner do they set foot
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Provinces</th>
<th>Metropolis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's occupation</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's education</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in Brazil than they refuse to work... An anecdote from the colonial period will also illustrate this anti-manual labor attitude: "Needing the services of a locksmith he went to fetch one, only to be left cooling his heels for hours while the locksmith waited for the arrival of a hired Negro to carry his tools, since to carry them himself through the streets of the city would be unworthy of a free man.

A line was early drawn between those who performed manual labor and those who did not. Acceptable positions for the Brazilian of Portuguese origin included holding, in addition to plantation ownership, a sinecure with money at the end of each month, a gold mine, a government concession to sublet to a third person, or an administrative legal post obtained through friendship with a minister of state. "Gentlemen's" careers also included the Army or Navy, the Church or priesthood, law, and, for the most progressive, medicine. The Kingdom demanded the following oath from its colonists: "I swear that I will perform no manual labor so long as I can get a single slave to work for me by the grace of God and the King of Portugal." It is difficult to believe that this oath could have been more than an ideal of behavior.

This prejudice against manual labor continued into
the days of the Empire. In 1845, labor is said to have been considered degrading. For even a poor young man, to learn a trade was thought of as an insult: "Work, in the opinion of the proud Brazilian, was the function of the unfree."  

The São Paulo newspaper, Correio Paulistano, on November 14, 1861, defined the working class as, "... the persons and their families to whom fate has not conceded a single advantage that is not acquired by the sweat and fatigue of labor."  

This attitude was not abolished with the abolition of slavery. The former masters continued to live in their leisurely manner. The freedmen "...tried to conceal their origins by cultivating the same reservations as their former masters against labor..." The late nineteenth century European immigrants did not share this disdain for manual labor. Yet, as was mentioned earlier, it was not long before their adaptation to Brazilian culture produced in them the traditional prejudice against manual labor.  

The prejudice against manual labor today continues to divide the population into those who work with their hands and those who do not. A good illustration of this prejudice is seen in the proliferation of small stores in one community studied. Here is found a tremendous number of stores and a small number of customers. Thus:
Owning a venda (store) does not bring wealth, but it is one of the most desirable occupations known to the community. ... The venda owner has lots of time to sit; he has endless opportunities for ruminative chats with the people who happen by.482

One observer has described the national situation as follows:

In Brazil almost the entire nation has inherited all of the vicious attitudes towards human toil that are the inevitable aftermath of a system of slavery. To work with the hands is considered degrading, is the indelible mark of inferior social position, is a stigma to be avoided as one would shun the plague.483

It is this attitude which groups the middle sector with the upper class, as a stratum opposed to the lower class. Manual labor cannot be avoided by the mass of Brazilians: the sharecroppers, the rural peasants, and the urban lower class. Yet, although members of the middle sector may hold two or three jobs simultaneously, these jobs are always white-collar.484 A successful factory foreman or key technician may enjoy a higher standard of living than many members of the middle sector, but "... as long as he earns his livelihood by manual labor he will not be accepted as a member of the middle class."485

From the preceding discussion, a picture emerges of the Brazilian social stratification system comprised of three strata, which in many senses can be reduced to two. Several observers maintain that, to a great extent, social stratification remains bi-polar. Wagley notes that in most communities, the population is divided into two
groups. The man in the upper group wears a clean suit, white shirt, shined shoes, has been to high school, has servants, and does no manual labor. The man in the lower group is badly dressed, illiterate, and does manual labor. This situation is especially true of small communities. This bi-polarity is seen in the studies of two Brazilian communities. In an Amazon community, the sharpest lines of social cleavage are drawn between the upper class and all those below them. Thus, "In our studies of standards of living, of education, and of other socio-economic factors, it was between these two classes that the most marked differences were noted." The situation is similar in another rural community studied: "The people themselves normally recognize only two (classes): os bons, a phrase which might be translated by the slang expression, 'the big shots,' and os pobres, or the poor people." Although bi-polarity is predominant in the vast traditional regions, it is not limited to rural society. One observer notes that the two strata hierarchy is influential in industrialized areas. As was discussed earlier, bi-polarity is supported by the concentration of the bulk of Brazil's wealth in the hands of a few. Providing equally strong support is the tendency in Brazil for poverty to be institutionalized: "... because
of the concentration of property and wealth, the relative absence of middle-class groups in many regions, the concentration of the population, both rural and urban, in the unskilled labor categories, the lavish use of labor in the production process, the ease with which a vegetative existence can be carried on, and the lack of social, economic, and climatic propulsions to continuous work activities, the classes which constitute the bulk of Brazil's population live in poverty.\textsuperscript{490} Another observer presents another set of reasons for the institutionalization of poverty in Brazil: an inflation which consumes the wage raises of the lower class, while it is used by the upper class to increase their income; a school system which eliminates the poor from the higher elementary grades by requiring special paid tutoring to continue; and the differential treatment given those who possess the outward symbols of poverty, such as dress, speech, and manners.\textsuperscript{491}

We may be able to speak of a growing middle sector in Brazilian social stratification, but closer examination reveals an ambivalent situation. The situation, throughout Brazilian history, is one in which this sector has been marginal. Although the middle sector today includes a large proportion of the population, the middle sector remains marginal in many respects. Brazil continues, to a great extent, to be a two class society. Is it any wonder,
then, that the middle sector lacks a class consciousness?
VII. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Throughout Brazil's history, many aspects of society have strengthened a bi-polar tendency in social stratification. The economic structure was characterized by three factors which involved the control of the many by the few: large-scale agriculture, feudalism, and slavery. Out of this heritage came two phenomena which polarize Brazilian society: paternalistic treatment of employees, and the concentration of Brazil's wealth in the hands of a few.

The Brazilian kinship system has also strengthened the tendency to bi-polarity. The power of the aristocratic patriarchal family dominated Brazil for centuries. The patriarchal family served to maintain the aristocracy's concentration of power, and fostered an on-going dependency of the poor on the rich. This dependency often took the forms of patronship and godparenthood. Finally, the bi-polar tendency was also strengthened by Brazil's racial situation. The enslavement of Indians was followed by the extensive importation of African slaves. Since the long history of slavery did not end until 1888, a strong attitude among Brazilians survives placing manual labor as slave's work. Although slaves no longer exist in Brazil, the non-European population continues to occupy the lower social stratum. Racial prejudice serves to maintain this group's social position. The bi-polar
tendency is strengthened by the general rule that black equals poor, and white equals rich.

Despite the effects of these factors, a middle social sector has come to constitute a sizable proportion of Brazil's population. The growth of the middle sector has been aided by the formation of a racially mixed group. But of much greater importance to the growth of the middle sector has been the relatively recent extensive European immigration, and the development of urban centers. The middle sector has developed with Brazil's governmental expansion and the nation's economic development in the twentieth century, particularly since the Second World War.

The values of the middle sector are, in one sense, those of a group in social limbo. The members of the middle sector seem to think of themselves as allied with the upper class, as a group opposed to the lower class. The members of the middle sector share some characteristics with the upper class, such as literacy and non-performance of manual labor. On the basis of these shared characteristics, the middle sector attempts to identify itself with the upper class. But this identification can be little more than a fantasy-ideal, for the middle sector does not share the same circumstances as the upper class. Obviously, upper class members cannot maintain their positions by
leading completely leisurely existences. Although manual labor may only be performed by the lower class, the members of the upper class must perform extensive mental labor to maintain themselves. This need for mental labor is even more critical for the middle sector. The members of the middle sector do not have the security of upper-class wealth and family. The members of the middle sector are constantly struggling: struggling to keep their heads above the lower class, and struggling to emulate the behavior of the upper class, a behavior beyond their means. In the course of this struggle, a middle sector member may hold several jobs simultaneously, and may find himself deeply in debt. The middle sector is a group distinct from the upper class, for as much as the members may wish it, they do not share the same circumstances as the upper class.

The picture which emerges from this investigation of Brazilian social stratification is complex. Although the values of the middle sector may be viewed as those of a group in limbo, we may be talking about the fantasy values of this group. Perhaps the real values of this group are formed, but remain to be distinguished from the fantasy values. Perhaps the middle sector is still too new a group to have yet developed a set of unique values.
But to return to the matter of bi-polarity, the presently known values of the middle sector seem to play an interesting role. Brazilian society continues to be largely bi-polar, but the existence of this middle group prohibits a perfect bi-polarity. From what is known of middle sector values, they do not challenge this imperfect bi-polarity. Although the existence of a middle group may be considered a misfit in the stream of Brazilian history, the values of this group fit neatly into the bi-polar tradition. But if the middle sector continues to grow, its eventual development of a consciousness which does challenge bi-polarity seems inevitable.
19. Lipset, p. 139.
20. Lipset, p. 145.


41. Johnson, pp. 40, 42.

42. Johnson, p. 31.

43. Wagley and Harris, "Typology," p. 441.


47. Johnson, pp. 3, 5.


56. Johnson, pp. 5-10.


58. Johnson, p. 3.


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79. Rollie E. Poppino, Brazil: The Land and People (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 120.
80. Wilgus, p. 140.
84. Arciniegas, p. 109.
87. Poppino, p. 50.
89. F. De Azevedo, p. 89.
90. Wilgus, p. 139.
91. Arciniegas, p. 100.
92. Wilgus, p. 178.
94. Wagley, Introduction, p. 28.
96. Alden, pp. 452-3.
97. Alden, p. 41.
98. Wilgus, p. 226.
103. Freyre, New World, p. 131.
104. Furtado, pp. 146-7.
108. Freyre, Masters, p. 434.
110. In F. De Azevedo, p. 46.
111. Calogeras, p. 23.


114. In Boxer, p. 45.


120. In Rodrigues, Brazil and Africa, p. 25.

121. Prado, p. 175.

122. Poppino, p. 149.

123. Furtado, p. 124.

124. Haring, p. 86.

125. Furtado, p. 89.

126. Furtado, p. 90.


128. Furtado, p. 100.

129. Furtado, p. 42.


131. Wilgus, p. 323.


133. Loeb, p. 88.

134. Frank, pp. 169-70.

135. Frank, pp. 169-70.


138. Poppino, p. 245.

139. Baer, p. 25.

140. Poppino, p. 261.


143. Poppino, p. 273.

144. Loeb, p. 78.


146. Poppino, p. 278.
147. Wagley, Brazil, p. 10.
150. Loeb, p. 74.
152. Wagley, Brazil, p. 16.
153. Loeb, p. 75.
157. Smith, p. 70.
160. Poppino, p. 54.
162. Furtado, p. 48.
164. Smith, p. 407.
165. Prado, p. 234.
166. Prado, p. 220.
168. F. De Azevedo, p. 55.
169. In Smith, p. 412.
170. Smith, p. 419.
171. Frank, p. 231.
172. Frank, p. 250.
175. Poppino, p. 213.
176. Haring, p. 69.
177. Morse, p. 170.
178. Loeb, pp. 94-5.
180. Baer, p. 100.
186. Frank, p. 191.
188. In Horowitz, p. 63.
189. Smith, p. 527.
190. Smith, p. 527.
191. Morse, p. 11.
192. F. De Azevedo, pp. 92-3.
194. Poppino, p. 74.
203. Pierson, p. 329.
208. Harris, Town, p. 156.
209. Freyre, Mansions, p. 73.
212. T. De Azevedo, Social Change, p. 11.
215. Freyre, Mansions, p. 60.
223. Smith, p. 541.
231. Smith, p. 542.
233. Willems, *"Family,"* p. 343.
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256. Poppino, p. 302.
260. Candido, *"Family,"* p. 298.
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265. Harris, Town, p. 152.
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269. Poppino, p. 59.
270. Smith, p. 139.
272. Oliveira Vianna in Smith, p. 139.
278. Freyre, Mansions, p. 236.
282. Pierson, p. 31.
283. Smith, p. 150.
286. Freyre, Masters, p. 175.
287. Freyre, Masters, p. 177.
292. Ramos, Negro, pp. 20-1.
293. Ramos, Negro, p. 20.
297. In Freyre, Masters, p. 245.
299. F. De Azevedo, p. 58.
300. Freyre, Masters, pp. 311, 411.
306. Henderson, p. 73.
307. Freyre, Mansions, p. 31.
308. Freyre, Mansions, p. 31.
309. Freyre, Masters, p. 429.
310. Freyre, Masters, p. 428.
311. In Freyre, Mansions, p. 402.
315. Rodrigues, Brazil and Africa, p. 49.
316. Smith, p. 147.
319. Pierson, p. 119.
320. Pierson, p. 120.
321. Pierson, pp. 147, 150.
324. Pierson, p. 323.
325. Poppino, p. 198.
326. Pierson, p. 322.
327. Pierson, p. 159.
331. Freyre, Mansions, p. 335.
332. Freyre, Mansions, p. 338.
334. Freyre, Mansions, pp. 204, 368.
341. Calogeras, p. 189.
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343. Ramos, Negro, p. 56.
344. Ramos, Negro, p. 56.
345. Pierson, p. 51.
347. Calogeras, pp. 252-8.
349. Haring, p. 105.
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357. Poppino, p. 289.
360. Pierson, p. 179.
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376. Harris, "Race Relations," p. 58.
378. In Harris, "Race Relations," p. 52.
379. Harris, "Race Relations," p. 56.
380. Pierson, p. 204.
388. Poppino, p. 190.
391. Poppino, p. 190.
394. Haring, p. 100.
396. Poppino, p. 190.
397. Wilgus, p. 343.
398. Smith, p. 218.
399. Smith, p. 226.
402. F. De Azevedo, p. 72.
404. F. De Azevedo, pp. 72-3.
405. F. De Azevedo, p. 79.
406. F. De Azevedo, p. 83.
412. Haring, p. 66.
413. Harris, *Town*, p. 141.
414. Smith, p. 166.
417. Smith, p. 162.
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439. T. De Azevedo, Social Change, p. 44.
443. Poppino, p. 56.
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450. Freyre, Mansions, pp. 9, 11.
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465. Harris, Town, pp. 97-100.
467. Harris, Town, p. 106.
471. Freyre, New World, p. 54.
476. Freyre, New World, p. 87.
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482. Harris, Town, p. 73.
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490. Smith, p. 288.
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