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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Patricia Ellen Thorpe for the
Master of Arts in Anthropology presented October 24, 1972.

Title: Continuity of A Traditional Social Pattern: The
"Man-Patron" Relationship in Contemporary Northeast
Brazil.

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:

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Tom Newman

Northeast Brazil is a region characterized by economic poverty and human misery. Poor ecological conditions contribute to the nature of the dilemma, but another factor in the apparent cultural stagnation of the Northeast, may be the persistence of values and social practices traditionally aligned with the colonial sugar plantation system. Thus, this thesis represents an examination of the continuity of a given pattern, the man/patron relationship. This pattern is a contemporary parallel to the master/slave relationship which was the key to understanding of the social system of the colonial period. An historical overview reveals the

nature of the traditional system, which proceeded to decline in the late nineteenth century. A review of present day conditions of the rural worker in the Northeast indicates numerous aspects of the colonial system which remain almost as they were. This review is followed by several case studies which particularly reveal various manifestations of the man/patron pattern in contemporary situations other than those associated with the remaining sugar industry.

The information presented in the case studies was collected in 1968-69 when the author was living in Recife on a Fulbright-Hays grant. The case studies do not represent conclusive documentation but, rather, provocative evidence that certain aspects of the traditional social system, namely the man/patron pattern, persist in a contemporary society which is no longer solely dependent on nor dominated by the production of sugar. Furthermore, the thesis implies that the continuity of traditional cultural patterns may, in fact, obstruct efforts of economic and social development.

CONTINUITY OF A TRADITIONAL SOCIAL PATTERN:
THE "MAN-PATRON" RELATIONSHIP IN CONTEMPORARY NORTHEAST BRAZIL

by

PATRICIA ELLEN THORPE

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

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1972

TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES:

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND ITS CULTURAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

The aim of this study is to examine one aspect of the traditional colonial sugar industry and plantation system, the man/patron relationship, and its expression in contemporary Northeast Brazilian society. It is, therefore, a study of culture change and persistence as seen in the transformation of the sugar industry, a socio-economic configuration that dominated the tropical regions of the Americas between 1550 and 1900. After that time, mechanization and modernization severely affected the sugar industry and its associated plantation system. Wagley and Harris discuss this change process in a study of Latin American subcultures and they comment as follows (Heath; 1965:52):

. . . at least two broad types, the Engenho Plantation and the Usina Plantation subcultures, may be found throughout Latin America. No matter what crop the plantation produces, there has been a transition from the old traditional enterprise to the modern industrialized establishment analogous to that which has taken place in sugar production. Everywhere this transition has involved a shift from a more personal and stable set of relations between the classes to a mobile, impersonal one based on economic values and urban standards. It has involved a change from a small and relatively homogeneous society to a larger and more variegated one; and it has led to a more important role for national institutions and patterns on all levels of plantation life.

However, while in different places, similar events, such as

abolition and industrialization, greatly modified much of the New World plantation system, Northeast Brazil appears to be an exceptional region where aspects of the traditional culture persisted despite the progressive decline of the colonial system. Indeed, Hutchinson (1956:6) could have had this area in mind when he wrote that the

. . . influences of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have not been felt with equal intensity throughout the American sugar producing regions. In limited areas, large sugar mills owned and operated by powerful corporations with veritable factory towns may be found. In other sugar producing areas the transition is less complete and many patterns out of the traditional past of the areas have persisted and have been adjusted to the new conditions.

What happened in Brazil, and elsewhere in the sugar growing regions of the New World, represents a synthesis of new production methods with the system which preceded it.

Accordingly, Mintz states (1956:315):

The present day culture of the area must be seen as a result of the cultural synthesis of the pre-1900 patterns and the subsequent innovations into a new way of life.

Abolition and the declaration of the Republic catalyzed the formation of new political policies and conceptualization of national social and economic goals. These, in turn were introduced into a cultural context enveloped in decades of colonial control. It follows that the epoch of social, political and economic prominence of the Northeast relates to that colonial period when sugar provided the crux of the Portuguese bid for eminence in the world trade market. Since the decline of the sugar industry, however, in the late nine-

teenth century, the Northeast has been largely ignored as a viable economic resource. Both economic and social development were retarded until the 1960's when perhaps, one could venture, the future regional potential of the Northeast was recognized. Foreign aid funds and development programs focused on this area during the past decade. However, the efforts have accentuated the fact that the potential is more accurately hoped for than assumed, for the salient feature of the Northeast is not its obvious possibilities for the future, but rather its grim status of the present. As an area plagued by drought and populated by masses of undernourished, uneducated and generally propertyless persons, the outstanding characteristic of the Northeast is the incredible poverty and the lack of provision to deal with the prevalent human dilemmas of unemployment, lack of food and poor health facilities, etc.

Therefore, in discussing synthesis of new methods with a preceding system, Northeast Brazil represents a region in which the influences from the past are very significant in shaping the present culture. But, it is not the antiquity of the preceding system per se that wields the greatest effect on any change, it is the relative stability of the existing system which determines how receptive or resistant to change a given system will be. For example, in examining the social organization associated with Brazilian sugar plantations during the colonial period, one must consider how closely certain key variables function

in terms of integrating the entire system, as well as the ways in which the integrating factors are reinforced in terms of daily behavior.

If we accept the premise that today's culture is a synthesis of old and new, the task is to discover where the respective features intermesh. Specifically, therefore, this thesis undertakes to examine the master/slave relationship in the context of the colonial sugar plantation system and then in the contemporary social system of the Northeast. I hypothesize that this relationship was the key to the maintenance of the culture which characterized Northeast Brazil throughout three hundred years of sugar production. The relationship became deeply embedded in the social structure and, inspite of the fact that the economic basis for the relationship has since declined (family owned, slave-labor plantations) as a result of abolition and accompanying changes, the master/slave or man/patron relationship continues to be instrumental in determining the nature of interpersonal relationships in contemporary society. To clarify this point, the man/patron pattern can be defined as a social pattern derived from establishing a social or business relationship in terms of the values and practices which traditionally governed the master/slave syndrome; the "master" had property, family name, wealth, education, political associations; the "slave" was a servant to the master, had few personal possessions, no property to speak of, and little, if any, education. This then was the theme

of the social structure in the plantation era--there were slaves and there were masters, and as if these statuses were ascribed at birth, even after the abolition of slavery, the persisting association of values characterizing each role continued to shape the nature of social interaction in the Northeast.

It is imperative to understand this phenomenon if one intends to interpret or promote change in the Northeast. New social patterns accompanying new social and economic institutions may overlies the traditional system, but certain traditional patterns, particularly the master/slave or man/patron syndrome continue to function as viable elements in present day society. To demonstrate this, I shall first discuss the master/slave relationship in its historical context in Brazil and then present examples of how the configuration of traditional values persists as an influence in not only the present day sugar industry, where one might logically assume it continues, but show, furthermore, how, as a significant feature of the social organization for several centuries, the master/slave relationship influences social situations in contexts other than those directly connected with the growth and manufacture of sugar. In sum, the master/slave relationship was the key to the traditional social system in the Northeast. And what I refer to as the man/patron pattern, and variations of it, is a sequel to the traditional master/slave syndrome. It is thus essential, in attempting to analyze or conduct social and business

relationships in the Northeast, that one perceive the nature of the man/patron relationship and acknowledge its persistence and its manifestation in contemporary society.

I. THE HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

If one envisions the transformation of family owned, slave labor plantations to corporate owned, wage labor operations, one might logically suspect that the process would involve the eventual disintegration of the traditional social organization based on the existence of masters and slaves. Indeed, as both mechanization and abolition contributed to the decline of the plantation system, it followed that former slaves became property owners and previously resident masters managed to operate their automated refineries in absentia. But, as change proceeds at a differential rate, depending on elements in the culture, one might also rightfully expect a variety of social and economic transformations throughout the sugar growing regions of the New World during the last of the nineteenth century.

This thesis focuses on Northeast Brazil, because a study of the "sugar culture" reveals and indicates a notable case in terms of cultural continuity. Accordingly, and with respect to the Northeast, Hutchinson comments (1957:4):

The cultivation of sugar cane, over a period of two hundred years or more, developed into a remarkably stable way of life. For centuries, the sugar industry was a family enterprise, based on slavery, and generation after generation exploited the same plantation with the same crop, to which they developed a strong loyalty.

Indeed, power and prestige became closely identified with ownership of large tracts of land and involvement in the sugar industry, and, in some instances, families have maintained control of their inherited interests in the face of changes wrought by mechanization and abolition. In the Northeast, modern sugar factories are commonly family corporations and the supply of raw sugar continues to come from individual, family owned plantations which have conserved their original boundaries. Owners of these plantations are often descendents of the aristocratic landholders of the past and many of their workers are descendents of slaves who lived on the same plantation (Hutchinson; 1957:8).

Although, as in Puerto Rico and the southern United States, the sugar industry in Brazil was exposed to innovations in planting and refining methods in the late nineteenth century, there was definitely a continuation of the plantation tradition in the Northeast, whereas in the other areas, sugar production was almost completely transformed into big business, corporate operations. Perhaps, the greater amount of capital investment available to Puerto Rico partially explains the more extensive transition of techniques and labor arrangements there than in Brazil. On the other hand, studies by Elena Padilla Seda (Steward, 1957) and Sidney Mintz (Steward, 1957) indicate that this one variable certainly can not explain the great contrast between the Northeast and Puerto Rico, for despite the historical similarities in terms of the structural composition of colonial sugar plantations,

certain behavior patterns and attitudes distinguish Brazil from the beginning. This is largely a reflection of Portuguese heritage and the nonviolent manner in which the Portuguese colonized the Brazilian territory (Castro; 1966:65).

In Northeast Brazil, the period of Portuguese colonization was not preceded by an indigenous agrarian society. On the contrary, the region was unevenly populated by Indians who were hunters and gatherers and, in some cases, limited horticulturalists. Essentially, the Portuguese discovered a virtually uninhabited expanse of virgin land and their initial contacts with the local population consisted of trading trinkets for Brazilwood. A classic statement from Josue de Castro (1966:68-69) reports that:

According to what has come down to us, the Indians had already passed beyond the upper stages of savagry and arrived at the lower stage of barbarism in Lewis Morgan's terminology. They knew how to make pots and weave nets; and when they were not on the move, they practiced a rudimentary agriculture based on manioc and corn, from which they obtained a number of foods, particularly manioc meal, a food requiring a relatively complicated preparation.

Apparently, the Portuguese tried to maintain trading relationships with the Indians in order to insure their laborious efforts in supplying the wood products which were the most important trade goods of the time. However, reciprocal agreements between the Portuguese merchants and the Indians began to deteriorate in 1532 with the Crown's issuing royal land grants to the Portuguese nobility. From then on, Castro reports (1966:71) Indians were sought as slaves, for with the advent of the land grants, the Portuguese became seriously

involved in colonizing Brazil, and besides bartering raw materials from the natives and shipping them to Europe, they began to clear and work the land itself. In addition, the Portuguese economy, during the sixteenth century, was in poor condition relative to other European mercantile nations. Dutch mercantilists increasingly dominated world commerce, and the Portuguese, although they had discovered a potentially vast resource in Brazil, were comparatively ill-prepared to develop and profit from their good fortune. Portugal had few human or material resources available for colonization of such a great territory, which perhaps is one reason why the Dutch eventually challenged the Portuguese hold on Brazil in the early part of the seventeenth century. The Brazilian colony became an especially rich resource when the Northeast began to supply sugar to the world market. In sum, the Portuguese settled Brazil in order to fortify their weak position in the European mercantile system and in doing so, transported to Brazil the feudalistic agrarian system which had functioned in Portugal for centuries (Castro; 1965; Southey; 1822:Vol. I). As such, Brazil represented an extension of Portuguese society, and the Northeast, in particular, was the center for the aristocratic society descended from Portuguese nobility. It was this group of persons who received royal land grants from the Crown, and, who in turn, became the masters of the immense sugar plantations, which, in Brazil were known as engenhos.

The ensuing development and stabilization of the sugar plantation system led to what Leeds referred to as the "static

agrarian society" (1964:1331). Whereas, Portugal proceeded to keep step with most technological advances originating in Europe, Brazil remained an agrarian state characterized by many cultural features inherited from medieval Portugal. This sequence of events is particularly represented by the Northeast, where, despite recent and intensive efforts to industrialize and economically reform the nation as a whole, this region has remained traditional. This subsequent conservatism, or as some say, backwardness, can partially be accounted for by several other factors, too. First of all, the region is geographically isolated--especially from other areas of Brazil, such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. These are the areas undergoing the most change. Between the Northeast and these urban, industrial centers, communications and transportation connections are still very inadequate, and, in some places, do not exist at all. Furthermore, the dire ecological conditions of the Northeast make the area very unattractive for new settlement and investment. So, although this area thrived during the height of the Brazilian sugar empire, the region has failed to remain a viable contributor to the national economy since the end of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER II

THE TRADITIONAL PLANTATION SYSTEM:

NORTHEAST BRAZIL

Portuguese colonization of Brazil was exploitative, for although they did not extract minerals, at first, as did the Spanish in their colonies, the exportation of sugar from the Northeast constituted a valuable treasure to the mercantile economy of Portugal. Even today, one can see that little was contributed by the Portuguese in terms of architectural aesthetics or art and handicrafts. Perhaps the rich folklore of the Northeast depicts best the cultural legacy from the colonial period. It remains largely unwritten except for the literary contributions of the Northeastern authors such as José Lins de Rêgo, José America de Almeida Eudides da Cunha, and Gilberto Freyre and Jorge Amado. It is through these accounts as well as historical documents that the stories of severe droughts and the pervading influence of the sugar plantations system repeatedly tell of the suffering in the Northeast. The wealth from the sugar always remained in the hands of a few families, with little dissemination to the majority of human beings involved in the industry; the ecological conditions affected everyone (Castro, 1965).

The plantation system in Brazil was similar, in general design, with those of the other sugar growing regions in the

tropical Americas. The distinctive characteristics of this system are described as follows (Mintz; 1956:330):

1) the functions of laborer and employer were sharply distinct; 2) the system was based on commercial agriculture, except in periods of depression; 3) the system was representative of a capitalistic stage of agricultural development since the value of slaves, land and equipment necessitated the investment of money capital, often in large amounts and frequently borrowed, and there was a strong tendency of the planter to assume the attitude of a business man in testing success by the ratio of net money income to capital invested; 4) there was a repeated trend towards specialization--the production of a single crop for market.

In conclusion, one historian has asserted (Mintz; 1957:330):

. . . the genesis of the plantation system is to be regarded as a phase of colonial expansion of capitalism necessitated by the industrial environment peculiar to certain parts of the New World, the character of the races and population that entered into the fabric of the colonial empire, the commercial and colonial ideas of the several nations participating in the task of colonization and the technical character of industry at that period.

In Brazil, this colonial sugar industry developed in the Northeast, where the land along the coast, in what are now the states of Bahia, Alagôas and Pernambuco, is well suited for the cultivation of cane. It was in this region, known as massape, that the distinctive Brazilian engenhos were established. Perhaps Gilberto Freyre, a Brazilian sociologist and novelist, has written the most well known account of the sugar monoculture of the Northeast and the characteristic engenhos (1936). He writes of the relations of the masters in their "big houses" (casas grandes) with their slaves in their "huts" (senzalas) and of how the sugar industry shaped the nature of Brazilian culture. Other Brazilian historians

such as Antonil (1950), Hollanda (1948), Castro (1965), and Wanderly (1946) have also written of the conditions and circumstances of colonial life in the Northeast. Collectively, they present a picture of a stable, tradition-bound society based on wealth from sugar, and, in sum, the history of the Northeast depicts a society in which the few aristocratic land-holding and slave-owning families dominated the poor, laboring masses economically, socially and politically. In the words of Josué de Castro (1965:65):

The sugar culture of the Northeast institutionalized white aristocracy in the role of seignor and principally over the black as slave. It established the house as mansion and degraded the workers hut into a slum. It gave value to the cane fields and the rest of the land became contemptible.

The destruction of the forests or fields and the otherwise total domination of the sugar industry over the nature of the Northeast assured the subordination of all resources to the aristocratic rule of the sugar planters and the merchants who marketed the sugar abroad.

How can one describe the actual domaine of the sugar planters who were called senhores de engenho? Perhaps one of the best accounts of what an engenho generally consisted of is offered by Wagley and Harris (1965:49-50):

Although there were local differences, sugar cane plantations during the period of slavery seem to have followed a similar pattern throughout the area. The center of the plantation, and the community or neighborhood which it formed, was the mansion in which the owner, his large family and the many domestic servants lived. A chapel, which was either attached to the mansion or situated near it, served as a church for the owners and for the slave workers. Behind the mansion were

the slave quarters--a street of huts. Nearby there were sheds used to store tools and equipment and to house the oxen and the other animals. A storehouse, where the food and other supplies for the field hands were kept and periodically distributed, was also a common feature. Then, nearby, there was the engenho which was a small sugar factory containing a mill driven by hand, by animal traction, or by water power. Such plantations were generally situated on water ways which furnished easy transportation to market centers. Characteristically the plantation settlement pattern was a concentrated one resembling that of a small village.

They further add,

The number of people on such plantations was generally not large during the slave period. On the average, no more than 200 to 300 people lived on a relatively large plantation, and within this small "village-like" society, social relations tended to be intimate and highly personal. The members of the owners family were tied together into a large, extended patriarchal group. Between these aristocrats and slaves there was a stable set of relations often accompanied by personal intimacy and intense loyalty. It was in other words a "caste" society made up of Negro slaves and European owners in which each caste was conscious of the rights and obligations of the other. Leadership was provided automatically by the dominant European group, and economics, religion, and almost all aspects of life were directed and controlled by the aristocratic owner or his administrators.

In addition, there are several quotes from historical documents which I would like to include in order to amplify the above description. It is difficult to perceive how exclusively the natural and human resources were devoted to the cultivation and processing of sugar in Northeast Brazil. There are in fact many prosaic passages written about sugar, attributing to cane qualities of regality--the point being that sugar was the focus and source of almost all livelihood in the Northeast for approximately three hundred years. The following quote provides further information about engenhos

which emphasizes this point (Southey; 1822:674):

. . . the production of sugar was the chief object to which the inhabitants of the coast applied themselves. An engenho could not be well conducted unless artificers in every trade necessary for its concerns were attached to the establishment. Every engenho, therefore, was a community or village in itself, more populous at this time than many of the towns which have been enumerated. About eight square miles were required for the service of an engenho, half in pasture, half in thicket and woodland. A donatary would give land to any person who would settle on it and grow cane, which they were to carry to his mill for a fair price; and he would pay them for carrying wood there. In the large engenhos from fifty to one hundred Negroes were employed.

With regard to the type of "masters" who owned the sugar plantations, Koster, a British traveler, who wrote a graphic travel diary, comments the following (Southey; 1822:780):

. . . the Pernambuvans appealed to the achievements of their ancestors as conferring upon them the proud distinction among other Brazilians; and the representative of the great families, who had distinguished themselves in that tremendous struggle, (the Dutch war) had the true character of nobility. Everything had an air of permanence about their estates. None of the slaves were even sold . . . from a feeling too noble in its nature and origin, and too beneficial in its effect to be called pride, though pride mingled with it.

With respect to the slaves, Koster remarked:

In a state of slavery, it is a blessing thus to be attached to the soil. The slaves in these circumstances had all the comforts which they required in such a climate: their huts were neat, they had their gardens, in which they cultivated bananas and tobacco; and they reared pigs and poultry. Those who were born upon the estate were sometimes permitted to add one of the family names to their own; even if they were not attached to their master, they were proud of the family to which they belonged. . . . This paternalism on the part of the masters was reciprocated by the slaves with a feeling of loyalty and grateful subjugation.

No doubt, Koster was influenced in his interpretations by his upper class hosts, who sought to show him the good-side

of the plantation system. However, despite the fact that there are counter reports of abusiveness and contemptible practices regarding slave treatment, in general, the historical documents indicate a strong familial-type bond existed between many slaves and their masters. This sense of fidelity and servitude which so often characterizes the Brazilian slave on the plantation is also reported with respect to slaves belonging to persons other than sugar planters (Southey; 1822:782):

. . . upon the great family estates, slavery has something of a feudal characteristic. Among the small proprietors, who are mostly people of color, it is alleviated, as it is among the orientals and among the savages, by the parity of conditions, in all other respects between the master and the slave. They work together and fare alike and this equality induces a sense of honorable pride in the slave; he enters into the interest and the feelings of the family of which he is a member and will not suffer a word to be spoken against his master without resisting it.

Koster is essentially reporting that even where there were no physical and ancestral differences between master and slave, as was the case on the large plantations, the master/slave relationship still involved a sense of subservience on the part of the slave and a sense of paternalism on the part of the master which were tempered with a close and even intimate pattern of interaction.

The following accounts describe the conditions of slaves who did not have beneficent masters, and perhaps Freyre had such circumstances as the following in mind when he stated (1936:liv) that the worst features of the

old system have persisted to this day still causing misery for the bulk of the population. Accordingly, Koster reports:

The character and description of the owner may be plainly understood by the appearance of the slaves; upon estates where the proprietor is not resident, or which are in the hands of a speculator of little or no capital. . . . The Negroes have neither time, nor strength nor heart to provide any comfort for themselves. The usual routine is that the slaves begin work at six o'clock, and continue till half past five or six, with intervals of half an hour before breakfast, and two hours at noon. Sometimes there is homework, for an hour or two after the field labor; and in crop time, which is from four to six months they work through the night as well as the day, being relieved every six hours. The slave receives in the year two shirts and two pair of drawers and perhaps two straw hats; he has a mat to lie on, and a piece of baize for a coverlet. If the master feeds him instead of allowing him the Saturday for raising his own provision, his food consists of manioc flour and beef jerky or salt fish: the Saturday's work, even with the aid of holy days, is not sufficient, unless he works for his master by the piece, and is thus enabled to win time for his own use. Instances of abominable cruelty sometimes occur in the treatment of slaves; but they are less frequent than in former times and excite a very general feeling of indignation and abhorrence. It is observed, that slaves, when made overseers, are more unmerciful than the free men and men from Europe than natives of the land; that women are more cruel to their slaves than men.

I shall include some further details on the nature of slavery because certain aspects of the conditions surrounding slavery in the colonial period are relevant to the nature of the man/patron relationship as expressed in contemporary society. To continue, therefore,

The law which empowers them to purchase their own freedom, is sometimes set at naught by the master; but not frequently, for by doing so, the public opinion is offended. A slave, who is exerting himself for this purpose, is always distinguished by his industry and steady conduct. In large towns many slaves are employed as handicrafts, boatmen or porters, paying to their owners a certain sum weekly. Such men, if they do not

fall into evil habits, to which their way of life exposes them, may redeem themselves in ten years, allowing for their necessary expenses, and something for indulgence. Female slaves are less able to provide for their redemption, but they are not wholly without means; they make sweetmeats and cakes for sale, and some of them are hired out as domestic servants. Many are emancipated at the death of their owners, and rich proprietors generally set some at liberty during their lifetimes. The woman who shall have reared ten children, is declared free, by a law more benignant in appearance than in reality, because its benefits can extend to very few; and it becomes the keenest aggravation of the keenest sense, when the parent forfeits her claim to liberty because of the death of her child. A more effective law, worthy of introducing wherever the abomination of slavery is permitted, provides, that the owner shall manumit an infant at the font, if any person offers twenty milreis, as the price of its freedom. Free men frequently emancipate their illegitimate offspring in this manner; and it is not uncommon for the sponsors thus to confer the greatest of all benefits upon the babe for whom they pledge themselves. In the hope of this, a bondswoman sometimes requests persons of quality to become sponsors to her child; thinking that either at the ceremony or at some future time, from feelings of kindness or of dignity, they will not suffer their godchild to remain a slave; . . . for this tie is highly regarded in Brazil.

What seems very clear in characterizing the relationship between masters and slaves is the sense of noblesse oblige exhibited by the aristocracy and no less catered to by the slaves. There was definitely a system of reciprocity, for whereas the slaves were the possession of their masters and dependent upon them for their entire welfare, the sugar planters, one must remember, could never have succeeded without the labor provided by slaves . . . there was, in this respect, a mutual dependence, and perhaps many plantation owners fully recognized that it was in their interest to maintain their slaves relatively well. Slaves definitely did well to cultivate favorable relations with the master, for escape many

times offered a much worse existence than within the protective confines of a benevolent *engenho*.

I also find it relevant to comment briefly on the plight of the freeman, who in a rigid two class system is still situated at the bottom, albeit he may be free. The free Creole Negroes were mostly employed in mechanical trades. It has been noted (Southey; 1822:787) moreover that,

The free people of color were an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns are supplied was raised by them on small pieces of ground, which they rented from the great proprietors at a low rate.

These men were the first share-croppers or tenant farmers in Brazil. On the other hand, there were reportedly (Southey; 1822:676) freemen who chose to exploit their fellowmen; without the land and status of the sugar planter, these free-men entered into illicit domination over slaves in the same manner practiced on some engenhos. Evidence to this effect comes from an historical passage which reads (Southey; 1822:676):

Persons who had no lands to cultivate, bought slaves in order to live by their labor, and requiring from each a sum weekly, took no further care of them, but let them provide for their own maintenance, and for their weekly poll-tax as they could. If these wretches did not earn enough, as sometimes must have happened, or if they gambled away what they had acquired, they had recourse to robbery and murder; and though the magistrates punished such crimes severely (being perhaps the only crime which were punished at all) they were so frequent that it was dangerous to pass the streets after nights had closed. It is asserted that women of rank and character trained up their female slaves for prostitution, for the sake of profit obtained by thus employing them.

Southey, the British historian who compiled this information, concluded that, "The practices of our own Sugar Islands render credible this and every other atrocity connected with slavery." In sum, the position of the free worker in Brazil was a precarious one situated between the large mass of slaves below and the powerful slave owners above. The free worker was often a small merchant, an artisan, a military man or a would be professional, if he could obtain any education at all. Insight into the status of the free worker in the Northeast is, to some degree, provided by a reference to the living conditions of the average free laborer in 1850 (Burns; 1966:235):

Dry meat, salted and many times spoiled--fish, flour without manior, bad food, a hard bed, an uncomfortable house, ragged clothing are the products which the poor use. Even these come in limited amounts in order not to exceed the budget. Under such circumstances, the family can only suffer.

Having attempted in the preceding pages to describe the social conditions which prevailed in Northeast Brazil in a formative cultural period between 1550 to 1850, I shall include one further statement which both clarifies and expands an understanding of social conditions which developed throughout this period and with which we still contend today. The following is an account of a social issue which appeared in the Recife newspaper, O Diário de Pernambuco, on March 24, 1856; the article is entitled, "The Problem of Large Landholdings in Pernambuco in the Mid-Nineteenth Century":

What future has the continuously growing population of the interior? Will the new additions devote themselves to agriculture? No. The more enlightened part will come here to Recife to seek its fortune, to solicit

some ridiculous job. The rest will go to the towns and to other centers of population and there spend a miserable life because among us there is no industry that offers the free worker security and regular pay.

This region which continues along the entire coast of our province and inland for ten, twelve or fifteen and eighteen leagues is divided into sugar plantations and properties whose dimensions vary from a quarter of a league square to two and three and even four and five leagues square.

Here, as the growing of sugar cane demands, a certain amount of land, which cannot be found everywhere, is devoted to the cultivation of cane. Other parts of the plantation are dedicated to the woods that are necessary for sugar production, the pastures for the care of the oxen, and the gardens for the planting of the manioc indispensable for the feeding of the slaves. But still a major part of the plantations possess vast extensions of uncultivated land that would be especially well suited for the small farmer and which, if cultivated, would be sufficient to furnish abundantly flour, corn, beans, etc., to all the population of the province and of the neighboring provinces with some produce left over for exportation.

The proprietors refuse to sell these lands or even to rent them. If you own thirty to forty contos de reis you can buy a sugar plantation, but if you are a poor and want to rent or buy a small patch of land, you won't find any. This is what makes the unproductive population of the cities, increases regularly the number of solicitors of public employment, and raises daily the crimes against property; and the country becomes poorer day by day in consequence of the increase of the number of consumers while the number of producers remains stationary or at best increases at a much slower rate.

But the landowners say that they are far from refusing the poor people the land they need to cultivate. They say that when these landless poor ask for it they give them at a small rental or at times gratuitously not only the land to plant but the wood to build homes. This does happen but only at the pleasure of the large landowner. Anytime he wants to, for any caprice or because they refuse to vote for his candidates or for any reason, he can order them off the land and they have no recourse. How can you ask these people to plant when they have no certainty of harvesting? What incentive exists to induce them to improve the land from which they can be evicted at any moment?

In conclusion,

On the land of the large property owners they do not enjoy any public right because they do not have any freedom; for them the large landowners are the police, the courts, the administration in short, everything. The lot of these unhappy people differs in nothing from the serfs of the Middle Ages.

This is Northeast Brazil's inheritance--a cultural tradition precedent of over three hundred years of domination by an elite aristocracy which derived all their wealth and power from land and sugar. With the advent of mechanization, in the later nineteenth century, as well as the abolition of slavery, social dilemmas of the kind described in 1856 became further aggravated by the continual increase in number of an alienated, propertyless and miserable lower class whose subservient position had been fixed through centuries of tradition. In this two class system, the sugar planters and merchants, most of whom were direct descendants of Portuguese colonizers, came to measure their status in terms of property holdings, family ties, education and social and political connections. And since such goods and privileges were inherited, it passed from generation to generation, traditional family associations with both land and people became extremely important in assessing ones social position. The basis of this aristocracy and their firmly established tradition of cultural superiority can not be disassociated from sugar. This fact is emphasized by Boxer, when he remarks (1965:348):

Since sugar was for so long the mainstay of the Brazilian economy, the senhores de engenho came to be

recognized as the rural aristocracy and were awarded corresponding privileges and immunities. Gubernatorial and royal decrees exempted their sugar mills, technical equipment and slaves from being seized or distrained for outstanding debts. Their creditors were only allowed to take a portion of the cane ground at harvest time. These privileges were later extended to the lavradores or copyholders who cultivated smaller fields and had their cane ground by the planters.

However extensive the rights of the so called sugar nobility, their status likewise inferred obligations to society. Thus, it has been that the leadership in Brazil, politically, socially and economically has been assumed in great part by the agricultural elite; the elite in the Northeast. As Gilberto Freyre has succinctly said (1937:9-10):

During the decisive period of the formation of Brazil, the history of Brazil was the history of sugar, and in Brazil, the history of sugar attained its major economic importance and human involvement in the Northeast.

CHAPTER III

POST ABOLITION: THE RECENT PAST

In the nineteenth century a number of social and political changes took place throughout the tropical regions in the Western hemisphere where cultural patterns based on the supremacy of sugar had been firmly established for at least two hundred years. For one, slavery was declared illegal and this constituted a major blow to the industry since it was dependent upon slave labor. Under British pressure, Brazil agreed to halt the importation of slaves in 1831. However, the Brazilian public was not then ready to accept such a move and increased numbers of blacks continued to arrive on the slave ships appropriately named, *tumbeiros*, or floating tombs. As the economic emphasis shifted from sugar to coffee (mid 19th century) European immigrants were attracted to Brazil and a middle class began to emerge resulting in increasing public support for the ending of slave traffic. An official ruling, the Quiroz Law of 1850, legislated against the further importation of slaves and gave provisions for the penalties involved in bringing and trading slaves into Brazil. In 1871, the Law of the Free Womb ruled that all children born to slaves were hereafter free men. This law insured the eventual extinction of slavery and the public agitation for emancipation subsided

until 1880 when the Brazilian antislavery society was established. The society initially lobbied for the Saraiva-Colegipe Law of 1885 which declared free all slaves over the age of sixty. Finally on May 13, 1888, the Golden Law emancipating all slaves, and firmly abolishing the institution of slavery was enacted, to the chagrin of plantation owners who, as Burns reports (1966:278) were frustrated, disappointed and who furthermore, refused to accept it. This sequence of events, however, indicated how well focused the political strength of the sugar planters effectively delayed abolition for more than fifty years after the initial demands.

Brazilian slaves had been granted limited civil rights unlike slaves in the United States. The rights included the right to trial by jury, the right to possess property and the right to purchase one's freedom. Furthermore, baptism in the Catholic church gave slaves recognition as human beings whose role in the community was legitimate albeit very low in status. In the United States, on the other hand, slaves had no acknowledged position in society, and henceforth, emancipation created a large group of heretofore unrecognized persons who now had to be incorporated into the social structure. In Brazil, the traditional colonial social structure included slaves in the two class system, and moreover, the precedent of various contractual agreements between the slaves and masters e.g. working a small parcel of land one day a week for personal profit, facilitated

the alleviation of social pressures created by emancipating thousands of slaves. In Brazil, the practice of contractual agreements was extended to include the many persons who did not wish to leave the land. As Hutchinson noted, in fact, (1957:8) many Brazilian laborers continue to work the small plots inherited from their slave ancestors and much of the land still belongs to the same families who operated the original plantations. Thus, the extension of a pattern which prevailed during the time of slavery served to accommodate the emancipated slaves into the socio-economic system which remained largely dependent upon the sugar industry--particularly in the Northeast.

In 1889 the Republic was declared. This event also challenged the position of the sugar aristocracy for they had based much of their social supremacy on their rights as nobility and their fidelity to the Crown. When, therefore, the source of their aristocratic inheritance was severed from Brazil, they suffered from what might be referred to as a credibility gap; their economic dominance maintained their social and political controls, however.

Other major modifications were brought about by technological innovations in the realm of sugar refining. The increased competition on the world market stimulated the introduction of steam powered machinery which made possible the creation of the large central mill. The loss of slave labor was a catalyst in this technological transformation, which is commented upon by Hutchinson (1956:5):

Thus, the "factory in the field" came to the sugar-cane industry and set off a series of changes in the former sugar-cane way of life which reached beyond the sugar plantations into regional economics, into the structure of the local communities and into the social class system. It implied more modern and far greater capital structure for the industry, different types of relations between employer and employee and the growth of a body of skilled workmen and office workers.

He also notes some of the further changes which have occurred in the sugar plantation organization:

Land ownership has passed out of family hands and onto the hands of large scale corporations, the actual owners of which are most often absentee. Administration is in the hands of corporate employees and specialists. The field hands and mill workers are employees of a large, impersonal corporation, basing their rights on labor laws and labor unions rather than on paternalism and traditional family obligations. The corporate, central mechanized mill, which is the center of a large corporate agricultural enterprise is larger than any of the old plantation types and far more efficient. Its operations are based on the cooperative efforts of agricultural, mechanical and chemical specialists. Transportation and communication are better and factory towns of the new type feel the pull of modern urban patterns more strongly than did the old plantation nuclei.

On the whole, the changes outlined above do not typify what has happened in the Northeast. This pattern more accurately characterizes the advances in regions such as Puerto Rico and the southern United States, where greater capital investments and more sophisticated technology were available much more than in Brazil.

Brazilian resources couldn't compete with the American capabilities. Moreover, the Northeast remained an isolated region in Brazil, itself, particularly when coffee became the major export product and left sugar in secondary position

relative to the national economy. Both the geographic isolation and the waning economic importance of the Northeast's sugar production were prime factors in the economic and social stagnation which characterized this area. Patterns which pertained to the plantation system of the slave era continue to constitute the present social system despite new rhetoric; the master is now the employer and former slaves and their descendants are employees or share croppers. Relations between employer and employee remain essentially paternal on the part of the former masters and the laborers are in some ways as dependent as the slaves were for food and housing. But, before discussing this point in detail, I would like to point out that the plight of the ex-slaves is a key factor in understanding the nature of the social structure on the Northeast. Observations regarding the options available to the lower class freeman who has no family status, no education, no property, or other financial resources but who invariably must support a large family, are prime clues to the notion that the traditional social system, so strongly influenced by sugar and the master/slave syndrome continues to function in contemporary contexts. There are two main areas which help illustrate this phenomenon: 1) living and working conditions of the rural laborer and 2) conditions and situations available to the rural migrant.

I focus on these two areas because they reflect several of the salient aspects of the Northeast today. First of all, the Northeast remains agricultural; industrialization, so far

has had little impact on the Northeast (Callier; 1966, Furtado; 1970). The plight of the rural agricultural population is one of the most serious problems of the Northeast for their perpetually precarious economic situation is severely aggravated by the frequent droughts which plague this region. Secondly, the migration of rural inhabitants to the cities, namely Recife, results in tremendous dilemmas of insufficient and inadequate housing and unemployment, to mention only two of the problems connected with the influx of migrants. The fact that so much of the urban population has a rural background makes this an important area for observing the kinds of social relationships that are important in integrating individuals into the urban social system.

Firstly, I shall examine the situation of the rural laborer. In Pernambuco, 73.6 per cent of the mata is devoted to sugar cane. This accounts for 80.7 per cent of the agricultural production of the region (Table I, Appendix). Note that mandioca is the second largest crop. Mandioca is the staple food for the lower class who can not afford fresh fruit and vegetables and meats. Since they have never been accustomed to a diet which includes a balance of nutritious foods, even if such foods are available, they customarily prefer mandioca. I observed this preference when visiting the homes of small farmers living in the interior. In fact, one of the problems of raising a crop such as tomatoes, is marketing them in the interior; the lower class population does not customarily eat much fruit and vegetables. In a

detailed study of the conditions of rural workers in the cane growing regions of Pernambuco, Gonçalves reports the following statistics (1966:117-170):

Table II shows that of all the persons over ten years of age, less than half (49.2 per cent) have a wage paying occupation. Practically all the professions listed are connected with the cultivation and/or processing of sugar; many of the jobs are directly related to sugar cane such as cane cutter 28.1 per cent; weight man 21.7 per cent; cane cleaner 6.3 per cent. All together they comprise more than 60 per cent of the persons who work for wages from whence one can deduce that the structure of the actively employed population is little diversified, and perhaps not much different from fifty or a hundred years ago.

Table III shows that among the 477 residences surveyed, 85.1 per cent of the houses in the cane regions are presented by the employer as a condition of employment. Only 10.7 per cent of the houses are owned by the workers and 2.5 per cent are rented. In other words, 85.1 per cent of the housing belongs to the sugar planter, a situation not unsimilar to when the sugar planter provided housing for his slaves.

Table IV indicates the application of salaries. This information alone reveals a great deal about the living conditions of most of the persons interviewed in this cane growing area. Almost all of their money is spent on food, with only an insignificant fraction being spent on rent. This implies that housing is given as a form of payment for

work. In almost all cases no money is spent on electricity or water, because neither of these facilities is available.

In all, the study implies how little conditions have changed in the past century. As I mentioned, the existence of certain civil rights during the colonial period are important in understanding the continuity of the social system which characterized the plantation system of old. Here, I am specifically referring to the unique aspect of Luso-Brazilian slavery which allowed slaves to work for money on the side in order to buy their own freedom. The laws empowered a slave to demand his or her freedom whenever he or she could offer to the owner the price which was originally paid for him or which he was considered to be fairly worth on the market. In conjunction with this right, it has been noted (Southey; 1822:781) that slaves often contributed to their own support by maintaining small gardens. It was precisely this precedent which facilitated the transition of slave/master to employee/employer, and this practice, largely accounts for the permanence with which so many Northeasterners regard their relationship to the land. Rural laborers became, therefore, integrated into a social system which was structurally equivalent to the social organization of the plantation system of 1750. Thus, despite the technological innovations and the emancipation of the slaves, contemporary labor conditions indicate that the actual social structure has not been modified. As Hutchinson has aptly stated (1956:8) in Brazil, in contrast to other sugar growing regions in the

Americas, emphasis was on the improvement of milling techniques, the further refinement of sugar cane juices and the perfection of the finished product by the central mill. The agricultural methods, on the other hand, planting, cultivation, harvesting and transportation have not been significantly changed from colonial times. Moreover, Hutchinson adds, "With the retention of these older techniques has gone the retention, to a very great degree, of the old accompanying social system." The present social system tends to follow the old traditional family oriented, slave holding complex. The pattern of face to face interpersonal relations developed during the centuries of sugar cane monoculture based on slavery persists in a modified form. Although the relations between the workers and the owner of these family plantations are now those of employer and employee, and not of owner and slave, there is still a highly personal, intimate relationship based on mutual rights and obligations and a sense of noblesse oblige. Even the system of a number of plantations utilizing a central mill (the usina) perpetuates this kind of paternalism, in that relationships between the mill and the individual cane growers are based on a reciprocal set of expectations and responsibilities. This is well illustrated by the fact that most of the laborers on the plantations receive housing benefits from the land owner and, whereas the laborers work the field of the plantation owner, they still maintain small garden plots for their own subsistence.

In another study, Callier (1964) also discusses the fact that most of the small farmers reside on or work land that belongs to big land owners. Small land holders (ten hectares or less) represent 76.6 per cent of the total, and in Pernambuco, occupy only 9.4 per cent of the total agricultural area. In contrast, holdings of 1,000 hectares or more represent 23 per cent of the total land owners, and 23 per cent of the state's agricultural land. To further translate from Callier's study (1964:178-82),

The system of large land holdings is maintained by the practice of tenant farming. The farmer receives a home and a piece of land on which he plants his field, with the help of his family. In exchange, he must work for the owner several days a month, especially during the periods of planting and harvesting. For this "help" he receives a very low salary, or instead, he pays some rent or gives the owner part of his harvest.

On the modern usinas these options for subsistence have disappeared. Instead, one can distinguish only técnicos (technicians) and operários especializados (specialized laborers) who are better paid and housed with social security than the trabalhadores agrícolas (field laborers) who have no specialization and who receive a very low salary and live in vilas operárias (worker's residences) which, for the most part, resemble slave huts.

In the sugar cane zones, the social structure reflects a culture based on a monocrop economy and slave labor. There is a social pyramid which still has the administrators and the landowners on top. They substitute the traditional slave masters. The agricultural laborers, stationed at the bottom,

represent the former slaves. Callier outlines the present social system as follows:

Since a great deal of the land is fractioned, it is not uncommon for a small land owner to work parcels of land that are not contiguous. Most small property owners barely maintain themselves, and their economic marginality is aggravated by the harsh natural environment that often provides no water for crops or stock. Moreover, there is constant pressure from the bigger land owners to allocate the better land to sugar production. As frequently occurs, many small land holders are finally obliged to renounce their independence and become salaried workers in order to secure enough income to support their families. Since most of these persons are illiterate, they do not have access to the class of technicians and specialists. The only route of social mobility is to migrate to the city where they can seek a different occupation and better pay than they receive in the cane fields. Callier reports (1964:9) that almost three fourths of the migrants arriving in Recife from the interior are former

agricultural laborers from the cane regions. Charles Wagley (1954:3-22) has referred to this group as the "subculture of the fazenda" (farm). He furthermore suggests that Brazilian society consists of the following distinguishable subcultures:

Rural

Cabocla-----Rural Independents

Fazenda-----Salaried Workers & Share Croppers

Metropolitan

Lower Class

Upper Class

The rural independents usually live in isolated areas of the interior. They are small farmers who use slash and burn techniques of agriculture, fisherman and men who own small herds of cattle. At the other end of the spectrum, the upper class can be characterized by the large land holders descended from the colonial plantation owners. Large old families and families with business interests as well as the higher ranking military families and the bureaucratic executives represent the upper class, also. The subculture of the rural laborer, which is of main interest here, is characterized by a subordinate/superordinate relationship between land owner and worker. On the large estates and in the communities dominated by these estates, the religious, political and economic leadership is concentrated in the hands of the land owners. The workers, per se, remain dependent upon their patrons for food and housing and instructions on how

to vote, etc., and maintain relations through personal ties rather than official negotiation.

What is the nature of the urban environment the rural migrant encounters in Recife? First of all, the urban environment is more heterogenous than the rural, e.g., in Recife there are a number of lower class neighborhoods which each have a unique identity. The homes in these neighborhoods are not large or elaborate. Their yards are not lawns, but rather dirt and in many cases the houses are not separated by walls and fences as in the more expensive districts. Homes do not generally have running water or electricity, although there are street lights and centrally located water faucets. The inhabitants of these neighborhoods are generally employed as domestic servants or wage laborers of some sort. Because of the open nature of the housing arrangements, there are many interpersonal ties within the neighborhoods, but each district is, in itself, a closed community in the sense that an outsider is easily recognized and there is a sense of comradeship among those who live in the same district. Neighborhood solidarity is often reinforced by the competition between local soccer teams since the Brazilians are such avid fans. Personal contacts are very important in these neighborhoods, as a means of security in terms of reciprocal favors as well as in terms of providing initial acceptance and guidance for the newcomer arriving from the interior. Such relationships are generally with relatives at first, and relationships developed between neighbors become important after one becomes a member of a given

neighborhood. Kinship and pseudo kinship alliances provide emotional and financial assistance to the rural migrant and alleviate anxiety caused by the unfamiliarity of the urban environment. In the city, one must contend with more impersonal relationships in ones daily activities, because it is not possible to know everyone, as in a small community. It is in this sense that the neighborhood resembles a small rural community; it provides the emotional environment which counteracts the impersonal nature of a big city. The personal ties one has aid in finding a job and knowing other people and in a general sense facilitate the assimilation of the rural citizen to the urban culture. Influence and behavioral models from neighbors and relatives serve as a means of "coaching" an individual in coping with the new situations and in developing behavioral patterns characteristic of metropolitan living--these patterns range from learning how to cross the street to knowing to take the bus across town.

Family ties have traditionally been important in Brazil. Socially, economically and politically, the extended family has been a primary unit in Portuguese history as well as in the development of Brazil (Williams; 1969:52). Compadrade has been a way of extending familial bonds to non-relatives as a means of securing protection and guidance of a child. The functions of the family is the most obvious expression of the fact that in Brazil, emphasis is put on personal, sympathetic or primary rather than on impersonal,

categorical or secondary relationships. One feels that human understanding and sympathy can be achieved only through the more intimate forms of contact with people. Even today, people prefer personal visits to telephone conversations, as a means of conducting business. Thus, high emotional value is attributed to blood relationships, godparenthood and friendship. These three type of social relations are likely to encroach upon any other form of institutionalized relationship, whatever be its degree of remoteness of social distance (Williams; 1969:58).

The importance of the family is reflected moreover in the extension of familiar attitudes to those not actually members of the family but in close contact with the family. An example of the paternalism characteristic of Brazilian culture is, of course, the relationship between the master and his slaves. He cared for them and their families in a way that demonstrated his paternal concern. They, in turn, were loyal to the family and the family name, in much the same fashion a son or daughter. The paternalistic position of the plantation owner towards the slaves is paralleled by the paternalistic attitude exhibited by the upper class towards the lower class. Perhaps one of the best contemporary examples of this tendency is the nature of the relationship between upper class patrons and their domestic servants. During my stays in Brazil, both as an exchange student and on a Fulbright, I had ample opportunity to observe the interactions of maids, cooks, gardeners and chauffeurs and their

respective employers, thus, the following comments are based on personal experience in a variety of situations.

The stance of servitude on the part of the servants is exhibited through loyalty to the house, and patron family. A good servant is in turn, given housing--in servants quarters--which are usually built in the back of the house or apartment or in the backyard. Even the most modest apartment will have a small (7 x 4 feet) room and adjoining bathroom usually located off the kitchen for the purpose of housing a maid. Servants also generally receive clothing for most patrons at least provide clothes for the maid or cook to wear while working and many times older clothing from the "masters" family is given to the servants for their families and themselves. Servants, generally receive all their meals at their employers home and I have observed numerous occasions that servants take left over food home to feed their children. Besides these remunerations servants also receive a small wage--probably about \$30 a month (100 NCR in 1968-69). If a servant doesn't live in, the employer generally provides extra money for the bus trip to and from work.

Beyond conditions of employment a servant who stays with a family for a number of years is frequently regarded as somewhat of an extra familial member. Illness of the servant or a member of his family is known and often attended to by the mistress of the house. Joyful events, such as births, and marriages are acknowledged by patrons with gifts

and time off. It is not common for a well-liked and favored servant to ask the patron to be godfather or godmother of a child. The advantage to lower class persons in forming an alliance with an upper class patron through compadrazgo is in assuring social security for their child. It is a very personal relationship which not only reinforces the obligations of the servant to the employer but which also provides for the paternal guidance of the young, lower class persons by the dominating aristocracy.

Another illustration of extending family rights to servants is the practice of including them at Christmas and upon all other important family occasions. Servants customarily receive an extra month's pay at Christmas as well as regular Christmas presents like clothing, or household equipment. Not only do patrons give presents to their servants but often to their servants children as well.

There are, of course, many cases wherein the maid, cook, gardener or driver is not considered a "good" servant: perhaps they are not dependable, are constantly ill, are too slow to learn, or they steal from the patron. In such cases, no bonds of familiarity ever form or reach the point of being reinforced in the afore mentioned ways. By contrast, however, families who have loyal "responsible" servants proudly introduce them to visitors and take care of them well--by providing the extra benefits like clothing and housing. Such a relationship also implies mutual respect whereby patrons do not generally verbally abuse their servants or overwork

them. Most servants get one day off a week which is usually Sunday.

Families with children are particularly familiar with servants since they entrust their children to them in so many instances (i.e. to take children to the beach for a walk, or to the cinema, etc.). The familiarity, however, usually results in the servants knowing as much or more about the children and how to handle them as the parents. Difficulty arises when children try to pull rank on a maid by doing something their parents wouldn't allow. Sometimes, the servant has a strong personality and can control the child although in other cases, I have seen children bluntly remind servants of their superior status by proceeding to do as they please. Watching children interact with servants sheds valuable insight on upper class values--for it is quite apparent that upper class Brazilian children conceive of themselves as young aristocrats and much of their training in this role is acquired through interaction with servants.

It should be quite clear by now that the many aspects of the domestic servant/patron relationship represents a cultural parallel to the traditional master/slave pattern of interaction and reciprocal rights and obligations. Thus, among persons who have never been in a cane field and who disdain the concept of slavery one can observe many of the same attitudes and practices (of paternalism and subservience) that characterized the traditional man/patron syndrome.

CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDIES

I have examined the conditions of the rural worker in the Northeast and discussed the conditions regarding domestic help as illustrations of cultural areas wherein practices and values obviously reflect the past. These are relatively overt examples of cultural continuity compared to the more subtle manifestations of the man/patron pattern in contemporary business contexts. In most present day situations, the pattern is obscured by the superimposition of social practices and positions and titles (e.g., President, Vice President, Executive Manager, Administrative Assistant) accompanying the bureaucratic administration of economic development.

The intermeshing of such new cultural features with the older persisting aspects of culture have been referred to as "interlocking networks" by Anthony Leeds (1964:1333). The man/patron relationship provides a good example of this phenomenon in Northeast Brazil. The relationship, per se, represents a traditional social pattern which was a key to the nature of interpersonal interaction in a social system which characterized the Northeast for several hundred years. Furthermore, in examining the relationship in contemporary expression, the man/patron phenomenon does represent an "interlocking network" in the sense that it serves to link

traditional values with cultural elements recently borrowed or evolved. The point to be made in using the man/patron illustration is that there is a persistence of the values by which people establish interpersonal relationships and these values, therefore, continue to shape the nature of the social system despite a new look created by industrialization, urbanization and the dissipation of the sugar plantation system.

The following data provide samples of situations wherein cultural innovations are juxtaposed with traditional institutions. In describing the cases, I have attempted to note the presence of values related to the man/patron syndrome which pertain to patterns of social interaction. The first case deals with the sugar business and clearly reflects the conservative nature which has traditionally characterized the sugar aristocracy. The second case reveals persisting social patterns as they underlie a facade of new organization. The remaining data presented as case three, illustrate other instances where the man/patron relationship is variously manifested in different contexts.

IV. CASE STUDY #1

The JERON program was a joint Brazilian/U.S. attempt to accomplish several related goals all of which are aligned to problems involving land reform in the Northeast. JERON specifically aimed at the sugar industry and the lands and resources connected with sugar production. The program was

in existence approximately three years, during which time it was administered by the director of the USAID program in Recife. This man was also the counsul for the U.S. diplomatic mission in this region, so the joint weight of his position theoretically lent considerable credibility and facility to program operations.

Briefly, JERON was conceived to promote 1) more efficient land use, 2) more crop diversity and 3) redistribution of land. Methods involved were ultimately designed to assure the giving of land, both good and bad, to the government who would in turn, reallocate it to small farmers or cooperatives, and offer to the "donor," as it were, government loans at low interest; such loans applied to improvement of the land and other technological assistance which would supposedly increase the total output of a given usina's sugar crop. The recipients of the land would also have access to technological assistance including economic advising as well as use of technical equipment. It is understood that the U.S. has encouraged the Brazilian government to pursue the redistribution of land in the Northeast as a means of combating the gross inequities in the social and economic systems. However, on the other hand, the sugar industry remains important not only to the regional economy and the national economy but the U.S. as well, since America imports a good deal of annual Brazilian crop.

The U.S. has encouraged the Brazilians to attempt these agricultural reforms, while simultaneously offering a premium

price for sugar on the world market. This would appear to be a contradictory policy from the point of view of the usina owners in Brazil, for decreasing their amount of land would seemingly effect their total output. Technical improvements and other investments might compensate for land loss but, strictly speaking, participation in the JERON program appears to be a large risk for the usina owner--given the unpredictable conditions of the world sugar market as well as ecological variables which frequently elude human control.

This being the case, what incentives exist for involving usinas in the program? What, in other words, is the position of the director of JERON in getting participants for the program?

In theory, JERON is a program well designed to accomplish goals of land reform. In actuality, there are conflicting interests which largely preclude any amount of enthusiasm for the program on the part of the Brazilians who own usinas. Despite political pressures to participate in the program, the fact remains that the large usina owners, most of whom are not in residence on the usinas, do not see it in their personal interest to give up any land. Unless in dire need of financial assistance, the JERON program does not offer the usina owner anything to which he does not formally have access. Being of position and wealth, any usina owner can secure loans to improve technology--but given the labor supply, there is no great incentive to technologically renovate the usina, and thereby mechanize

the entire operation since this would eliminate the jobs of men and women whose only work is to the cane fields. The implications are already clear--the question of land redistribution is related to technological development which in turn is not only a matter of financial resources but also a social dilemma involving the employment and welfare of countless persons. Given the traditional sense of obligation sugar planters have felt towards their laborers, it is understandable that such matters would enter into any decision involving considerable reorganization of the techniques and resources. If nothing else, this argument would effectively explain their reluctance to relinquish their lands even if they were merely concerned with profits--for the U.S. premium paid on the world market of approximately 60 to 80 dollars a ton, appears to sufficiently encourage usina owners to retain every bit of their property. A specific example is the Cavalcanti family of Recife who represented one of the few usinas to participate in the JERON program. The Cavalcantis own one of the oldest homes on the elite Avenida Boa Viagem in Recife, and they have been traditionally involved in the political and social leadership of Pernambuco since the Cavalcanti family has been in sugar for centuries. Involvement in the JERON program caused great ambivalence for Mrs. Cavalcanti who was very concerned that her son would not possess the family lands that had supported the family for generations. She reportedly remarked, to an informant, "What will my son do if he can't make a living growing sugar?"

The problem of inflation, 23 per cent in 1970, caused sufficient difficulty for sugar producers, anyway, let alone the possibility of reduced land resources. Even with the same amount of land it is difficult to maintain the same income year after year. The Cavalcantis have approximately 250 persons on their usina, and they are not paid in wages, but in rent, food and clothing. In other words, their employment on the usina is their life--the usina is their world, and Mrs. Cavalcanti expressed both worry about her responsibility to these people and the possible results of any drastic changes in the usina system as pertaining to her own income.

IV. CASE STUDY #2

The Cooperative program in Pernambuco provides an example of how traditional patterns of social interaction and traditional values continue to influence behavior of persons involved in movements and organizations introduced from the outside. In other words, the co-ops illustrate how traditional patterns of interaction underlie, and in part, undermine, the operation of programs that have recently been set up under the direction of outside agencies.

The Cooperative program began in 1962-63 as a joint effort of Brazilian and U.S. agencies. Throughout the 1960's the Peace Corps was directly involved in the establishment and administration of co-ops, in Pernambuco, although in every case, the co-op was founded and supported by local interests. Most of the small towns in the interior have

co-ops which service the small farmer with general merchandise, and, sometimes, technical or financial assistance. I became most familiar with such a cooperative in Afogados, a town located about 200 miles from Recife, a distance which takes ten hours by bus. The case of the Afogados co-op illustrates clearly that the traditional man/patron relationship influences the business management of the co-op despite the existence of a formal organization imported, as it were, along with the concept of the cooperative. It is important to note, at this point, that there is no precedent in the traditional culture for the idea of a cooperative. The entire concept of contributing to the general welfare is not an aspect of the culture of the Northeast, particularly the rural Northeast. In the whole region, the people have forever been victims of drought, famine and disease. As such, the Northeast is an extremely impoverished region, and the ability to physically survive the hardships have largely depended upon familial support as well as ingenuity and stamina. In brief, the subsistence level in the Northeast is incredibly low for most of the population. Gilberto Freyre has mentioned in fact, that living conditions for the majority of persons is worse than in times of slavery, when at least the master would provide the essentials such as shelter and food. Surplus is a relatively unknown commodity and the concept of sharing with persons outside the family is rarely expressed. People strive for themselves so much that little time or effort can be afforded in terms of

helping others. This fact can be documented with several illustrations: 1) There is one field well in Afogados and it belongs to Zé Vera. He is a relatively prosperous farmer, and the water is for his use alone. In contrast to Zé Vera's mechanized water supply and irrigation system, neighboring farmers spend eight to ten hours a day making sure there is sufficient water for their plants and animals. In this sense, there is no cooperation or division of personal resources. 2) A second example involves the Church, which one might think would promote community cooperation, but there is no institutionalized effort as such. On the contrary, when Afogados suffered from a serious famine in the fifties, the Church, in Afogados, under the present Bishop, gathered as much food as possible and distributed it in the face of a starving mob which had organized to storm the city and steal what they could. The Church, in this action, was not encouraging the people to cooperate among themselves. Rather, the Bishop assumed the responsibility of saving the people by using the power of his position and the Church's resources. His action was not unlike that of the master who dominates and protects the slave, and the slave, in turn, responds with gratitude and service.

The Bishop also plays an important role in the cooperative movement in Afogados, and it is relevant to mention some of the Bishop's activities in attempting to describe the nature of his position in the program. Historically, the Bishop has been involved with political programs in education.

Prior to the Revolution of 1964, he was associated with MEB (Movimento de Educação Básica) since this program operated in the interior primarily through the local radio stations. The Bishop happens to own the radio station in Afogados, which is the only station within a radius of seventy miles. MEB was virtually destroyed in the Revolution and, consequently, SORPE, an agency of the Catholic Church, became the leader in community education. The Bishop was very involved in this program through both his interests in the Church and the radio station. Moreover, he simultaneously supported the cooperative movement as well as the sindicato (union) movement. He was reportedly much more active in the sindicato movement, however. Nevertheless, his participation and patronization was actively sought by both organizations since the Bishop lent considerable prestige with his attention and connections. With regard to the co-op in Afogados, the Bishop exerted his influence through Luiz Marquez, the President of the co-op. It is this relationship which most specifically illustrates the man/patron phenomenon. The relationship reveals that the major influence in the decision making comes from the Bishop, for according to the traditional values, he holds the superior position. His position is dominant vis a vis Luiz Marquez, despite Luiz Marquez' title of President, because, in terms of property, family and connections the Bishop far outranks, so to speak, any of the co-op officials. The Bishop comes from Recife, where he was educated in private schools. In Afogados, he not only owned the

radio station, but also the sole jeep. He reportedly had an attractive mistress, and it was also common knowledge that the Bishop had close associations with politicians and journalists. Luiz Marquez, on the other hand, was a poor farmer who struggled to support his ten children. His position as president of the co-op was attributed to his relationship with the Bishop, for Luiz was an avid participant in Church affairs. Although Luiz Marquez personally takes his role as president quite seriously (he introduces himself as o presidente), it was apparent that this position did not have much status in the community. Zé Vera, for example, disdained Luiz Marquez for his role as the figure head president of the co-op. Moreover, Zé Vera refused to be a member of the co-op for reasons relating to his dislike of the Bishop.

In sum, this case emphasizes the continual influence of values which pertain to the traditional system of measuring a person in terms of property and family, etc., instead of responding to an individual in terms of position, responsibility or title. The social organization of bureaucracies dictates that persons be recognized in terms of their qualifications and duties. However, traditional values in the Northeast often disregard abilities and performance in lieu of such things as wealth, possessions and associations. This is precisely the case with the co-op, where the president is ineffectual, in terms of his position because he does not have family name or importance, wealth, education or alliances

with such people. He holds his position because of his friendship with the Bishop, who uses Luiz Marquez's subordination to influence the co-ops policies. The Bishop has this power by virtue of his social status and wealth. It is a classic example of the man/patron relationship as it operates in a way which subverts the intended nature of the co-op.

IV. CASE STUDY #3

A) Joel Souto Maior is not wealthy, nor does his family have political or social influences. However, Joel received a scholarship from SUDENE to do graduate study at an American university in the area of hydro-geology. There is a great need for Joel's knowledge and ability in the Northeast, for the water resources are only recently developed. For industrialization and improved agriculture, it is imperative to channel the limited supply efficiently and effectively. Therefore, Joel's study in the U.S. justly obligated him to return to the Northeast (Recife) to contribute to the efforts of SUDENE. When he returned, however, he was not given the opportunity to utilize his knowledge. To his dismay, he was assigned to work in the library, and only sent to the field very infrequently, and then, to remote areas. Apparently, Joel's education was not appreciated but was regarded as a threat. He reported that this was not just the case with older personnel whom one might expect to be threatened by youth, but he also posed a

threat to younger men who possessed all the associated attributes which traditionally and theoretically accompany a higher education. Since Joel had no family prestige or wealth or political connections, it was as if the legitimacy of his knowledge and experience was denied. He spoke of going to Rio or São Paulo where he felt it was much easier to be accepted on one's own achievements. He was quite ambivalent, however, for he felt committed to the efforts to develop the Northeast and he resented the fact that in the Northeast people still pay homage to such things as family name, etc., or discriminate for lack thereof.

B) A phenomenon which can be documented many times over is the use of Americans as patron by enterprising Brazilians who wish to achieve some vertical mobility in the social system. It is interesting, of course, that the Americans who run the embassy and programs such as AID and Food for Peace, etc., do not, for the most part, come from the upper echelons of American society. They are generally "average" citizens whose jobs overseas afford them many luxuries they would not otherwise have in the States. At their overseas posts, many Americans have a life style, in terms of material wealth and social activities, similar to that of the wealthiest local residents. And, notwithstanding the nouveau riche, the local elite commonly have had great wealth and prestige for generations. For numerous political reasons, most of which are obvious, Americans are readily accepted as members of the local upper class. They

easily gain entrance into restricted social clubs and are often included in select social activities. In short, without regard for family name and background, the Americans are ipso facto members of the upper class and thereby obtain immediate and uncontested dominance over the rest of the society merely because they look wealthy and have a significant political presence. Thus, Americans afford great opportunity for servants and Brazilian friends to associate with the patron class of society. Furthermore, Americans, who are generally unaware of the Brazilian values, more readily accept alliances with Brazilians who have no background, as it were.

A good example is the man who worked at the American Consulate in Recife as a driver and photographer. Hêlio had a high school education and no political or social contacts, since his family has little money. He, however, made contacts through the Consulate with journalists whom he would otherwise not have met. He began a business of taking wedding pictures on days he was not on duty at the Consulate. Only by constantly saying he worked with the American Consulate would other Brazilians hire him for jobs. It was as if his association with the Americans lent him the prestige necessary for people to want his services. With the money he earned from photography, he is building a small shop where he will sell electrical equipment. In essence, Hêlio's contacts with the Consulate gave him a superior position, and relative to his peers, his accumulated wealth

and social connections afforded him great advantage. Another such example is that of an artist in the Northeast. It will suffice to say that his work was unnoticed and not at all valuable until some Americans bought some of his work and displayed it in their living room. Although this artist has lived and worked in the same place for years, his reputations became tremendous shortly after the Americans discovered him.

C) Cases of persons in positions of importance, who do not possess any qualifications for the job, present another expression of the man/patron pattern. The selection of personnel by virtue of their name and relationships rather than their experience or ability exemplifies the influence of values which derive from the time when one man could simultaneously play ten roles since the most important factor in assuming the position was the individual's personal prestige. In the following case it is clear that such criteria do not contribute to sound leadership.

Cesar is an economics student at the Catholic University in Recife. During the evenings he works for a local newspaper. His family has little political influence or wealth, but, in 1968, Cesar married a girl from a large and important family in the Northeast. It is quite apparent in observing the Collier family interact, that one is first treated as a family member and secondly as a professional person. The Colliers have important military contacts, and through these, Luci's father was appointed the Minister of Transportation in Pernambuco. This is a very strategic position, finan-

cially and politically, for Brazil is presently in the process of trying to link the Northeast with the southern part of the country in terms of transportation and communications. Upon his appointment, Sr. Collier made Cesar the director of the bus terminal in Recife. Buses are the primary means of transportation in the Northeast, and being the biggest terminal in the region makes the Recife terminal extremely important to the economy of the Northeast. Cesar knows nothing about transportation systems and joins the knowledgeable ranks of his two brother-in-laws who were also given appointments in the operation.

This variety of examples attempts to provide some concept of the fact that traditional values persist at many levels of society in the Northeast. It is indeed difficult to recognize some of the areas in which aspects of the man/patron relationship manifest themselves. It is nevertheless evident, that in each case, the persistence of traditional values contributes to the status quo of the social system.

CHAPTER V

CLOSING COMMENTS

The aim of this study was to examine the nature of a persisting social pattern in Northeast Brazil--the man/patron relationship. The historical overview reveals that this relationship was an essential feature of an entire social system aligned with the intensive production of sugar during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Also, certain facts and observations regarding the present conditions of rural workers and domestic servants indicate that in these areas in particular there is obvious continuity of cultural practices which were deeply embedded in the sugar plantation system. Furthermore, data presented in the case studies offers some indication of the persisting influence traditional values, as exemplified by the man/patron syndrome, continue to have on the nature of the social structure in the Northeast. Although in some instances, the manifestation of the man/patron relationship is obscured by contemporary social forms and labels, this study indicates that the criteria by which individuals establish and conduct relationships represent the continuity of values which distinctly characterized the master/slave syndrome.

Celso Furtado, at one time head of the Agency for Development of the Northeast (SUDENE), is a prominent

Brazilian economist who has recognized that if traditional values continue to dominate key areas of the culture, they may, as such, contradict and, in a sense, defy, the institution of newer ideas and practices. He implores the need to recognize this matter in dealing with the economic and social dilemmas facing Brazil as a whole, and in this respect, he states, (1970:108-9),

There exists an inconsistency between the interests of those groups that control the process of capital formation and the interests of the community as a whole. The core of the problem is not, however, in the behavior of the agents who make decisions in the economic field, which may be guided by strict criteria of rationality. Rather, the core of the problem resides in the structural relations that determine the field within which the relevant decisions are made. This being so, we have to ask if a policy capable of stopping the long term tendency towards stagnation will not have to assume a form of conscious and deliberate action to create structural relations and induce patterns of behavior which are capable of begetting social processes which will necessarily result in economic development.

Conceived as a strategy for modifying a social and economic structure, the policy of development can only exist in a society that has become actively conscious of its problems.

I agree with Furtado's statement of the problem and submit that data in this study as evidence to this effect. The very fact that the man/patron relationship still functions as a prevalent, albeit obscured, social pattern, indicates the preservation of the status quo despite the efforts of programs which have attempted to altercate the situation. If modification of the two class system, wherein vertical mobility is improbably, is the desired goal, this will not come about solely from economic development and investment

of dollars. A change in attitude must occur, as Furtado has implied, whereby people are judged on personal merit rather than inherited characteristics, and competition and free enterprise are not impeded by traditional patterns of exchange and reciprocity. No matter how many schools and jobs exist, there is no social equity in a society in which people interact according to ascribed roles. The persistence of the man/patron pattern indicates that such is the case in the Northeast--and until such traditional values and social patterns cease to be reinforced, economic and social development will be thwarted.

Moreover, these initial observations regarding domestic servants, first prompted me to suspect that certain social patterns in contemporary society perhaps directly reflected the traditional social structure associated with the plantation system. Interestingly enough, therefore, although the master/slave system had long since been abolished, economically as well as socially, there appeared to be obvious parallels persisting in present day relationships--the nature of the domestic servant/dono relationship was the first of these parallels I noticed. It led me to look for further data representative of other possible manifestations of the master/slave syndrome in contemporary society. The case studies, therefore, represent several areas in which further research would be valuable in terms of better understanding the persistence of the heretofore dominant master/slave pattern. The case studies are in no way conclusive documents,

but rather valid indications that a traditional social pattern is apparently the basis of given social interaction and relationships in diverse areas of today's society.

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APPENDIX

TABLE I
PRINCIPAL CROPS OF THE MATA--1964

Type of Crop	Area in Hectars	Value of Production (Cr. \$1,000)	
Pineapple	456	146.458	
Agave	242,7	84.903	
Cotton	4.211	290.263	
Rice	142	5.589	
Banana	5.178,9	2.720.341	
Sweet Potato	2.549	549.590	
Coffee	9.420,3	449.825	
Sugar	209.515	52.691.057	74%
Coconut	8.750,4	1.954.879	
Lima Bean	1.071	56.546	
Black Bean	4.479	364.510	
Tobacco	141	7.511	
Orange	840,6	728.520	
Castor Oil Plant	196	4.410	
Manioc	27.733	4.454.964	
Corn	9.454	474.042	
Tomato	181	267.425	
Grape	24,8	15.212	
TOTAL	284.485,7	65.275.445	

(Andrade; 1966:69)

TABLE II
PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION

Specification of Area	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total
Total	100,0 (113)	100,0 (98)	100,0 (114)	100,0 (224)	100,0 (116)	100,0 (89)	100,0 (94)	100,0 (848)
Cane Cutter	31,8	45,9	6,1	39,4	26,6	12,4	21,3	28,1
Weight man	15,8	18,4	42,8	24,2	4,3	7,9	35,0	21,7
Hoer	1,8	3,1	19,3	1,3	31,8	48,4	7,4	13,8
Cane Cleaner	6,2	--	13,2	3,6	14,7	4,5	2,1	6,3
Exchange man	10,6	1,0	4,4	8,0	2,6	--	5,3	5,2
Squad Leader	2,7	3,1	1,8	1,3	--	3,4	5,3	2,2
Oxcart Driver	3,5	1,0	0,9	1,8	0,9	1,1	1,1	1,5
Assistant Driver	--	--	--	2,2	6,0	1,1	--	1,5
Ax man	--	1,0	0,9	1,8	--	--	4,3	1,2
Motorist	0,9	3,1	0,9	1,3	0,9	--	--	1,1
Coachman	1,8	--	--	1,3	0,9	--	2,1	0,9
Driver of Pack Animals	1,8	1,0	--	0,9	--	--	3,2	0,9
Watchman	2,7	1,0	--	--	--	4,5	--	0,9
Mason	1,8	--	--	0,9	2,6	1,1	--	0,9
Herdsmen	0,9	--	--	--	1,7	--	3,2	0,7
Hay Cutter	--	--	0,9	2,2	--	--	--	0,7
Military Police	--	4,1	--	--	--	--	1,1	0,6
Tractor Driver	2,7	1,0	--	0,4	--	--	--	0,6
Stable man	0,9	--	--	0,4	--	1,1	1,1	0,5
Knife Sharpener	0,9	1,0	--	0,4	--	1,1	--	0,5
Carpenter	--	3,1	--	0,4	--	--	--	0,5
Administrator	--	--	0,9	--	0,9	2,2	--	0,5
Other	13,2	12,2	7,9	3,3	6,1	7,8	7,5	8,6

(Gonçalves; 1966:128)

Note (Table II) that of the persons who are 10 years old or more, less than half (49.2%) maintain a wage paying occupation. Practically all the occupations listed are connected to the agricultural industry of sugar. The first five jobs, in fact, comprise at least 60% of the persons holding wage paying occupations. 9

TABLE III
GENERAL HOUSING CONDITIONS

Specification of Area	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total
Total Number of Houses	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
<u>Area of Occupation</u>	(61)	(59)	(59)	(120)	(59)	(59)	(60)	(477)
Own	--	--	42,4	5,8	--	20,3	11,7	10,7
Rent	--	--	3,4	2,5	3,4	8,5	--	2,5
Given by Employer	100,0	96,6	50,8	90,9	96,6	67,8	86,6	85,1
Given by Others	--	3,4	3,4	0,8	--	3,4	1,7	1,7
<u>Construction Material</u>								
<u>Walls</u>								
Brickwork	6,6	8,5	25,4	13,3	22,0	6,8	5,0	12,6
with plaster	45,8	44,1	45,8	25,8	49,2	35,6	56,6	41,1
Lath	36,1	35,6	18,6	36,7	23,7	45,7	20,0	31,7
and plaster	11,5	11,8	10,2	22,5	5,1	11,9	16,7	14,0
Other	--	--	--	1,7	--	--	1,7	0,6
<u>Floor</u>								
Brick	11,5	33,9	32,2	18,3	50,8	20,3	15,0	24,9
Cement	24,6	20,3	25,4	15,0	6,8	30,5	11,7	18,7
Dirt	63,9	45,8	42,4	66,7	42,4	49,2	73,3	56,4
<u>Roof</u>								
Tile	96,7	96,6	94,9	95,0	100,0	98,3	95,0	96,5
Galvanized Sheet	--	1,7	5,1	0,8	--	1,7	5,0	1,9
Zinc	0,3	--	--	1,7	--	--	--	0,8
Other	--	1,7	--	2,5	--	--	--	0,8

(Gonçalves; 1966:129)

TABLE IV
APPLICATION OF SALARY

Specification of Area	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total	Percent
Total of Families	61	59	62	120	59	59	60	477	
Food	1,600	1,446	1,352	2,740	1,466	1,113	1,390	11,107	80.7%
Rent	--	--	--	4	--	--	--	4	
Fuel	31	25	20	70	22	26	26	220	
Light	--	--	3	--	--	--	--	3	
Water	1	--	--	--	2	--	--	3	
Medicine	67	114	80	194	48	94	35	632	4.4%
Sanitary Products	77	53	63	93	65	54	47	452	3.2%
Education	1	4	2	7	6	6	2	28	
Clothing	105	86	61	241	38	77	36	644	4.5%
Smoke and Drink	99	71	110	141	69	33	74	597	4.3%
Other Expenses	9	13	14	73	8	12	7	136	
Total	1,990	1,812	1,705	3,563	1,724	1,415	1,617	13,826	

(Gonçalves; 1966:152)