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The Society

Brazil

September 1973

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY

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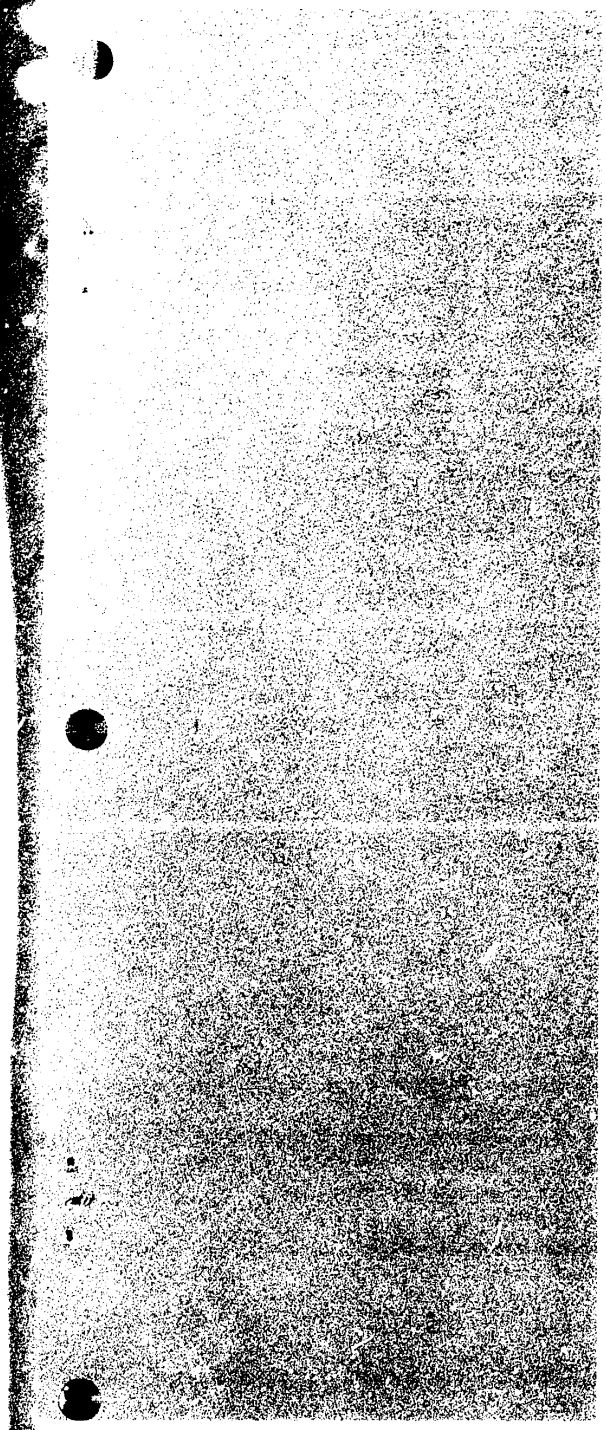

BRAZIL

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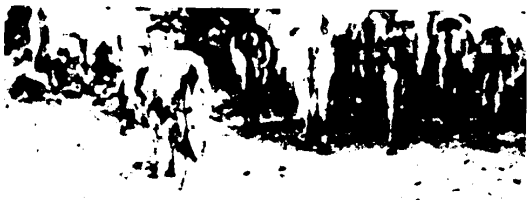
This chapter supersedes the sociological coverage in the General Survey dated January 1970.

FIGURES



A nation of great diversity, Brazil is undergoing rapid change as the society becomes more urban and industrialized. Agriculture's share of the labor force has declined, while that of industry has gained steadily, but the gap between the lives of urban and rural Brazilians is widening. (U/OU)

The Society

A. Intrcduction (U/OU)

Brazil presents one of the most extraordinary cultural diversities to be found anywhere. Diversity in the society results from a number of factors, including climate, topography, ethnic variety, ecology, historical circumstance, and economic development, including rapid industrialization. A large nation of wide contrasts and profound differences, Brazil nevertheless has achieved a remarkably homogenous national identity. Brazilians take great pride in their country's economic and social achievements and believe that the nation is on the way to becoming a world power.

Despite its achievements, Brazil faces serious problems. Since 1930 fundamental social, economic, and political changes have taken place, most noticeably in the cities; these changes have not yet penetrated into many rural areas, where most of the population still lives in deplorable conditions. In the Northeast region (Figure 1) most peasants are wage earners on plantations. For the most part the rural masses live in unsanitary huts, receive less than the minimum wage, are undernourished, in bad health, and illiterate. Many of them are no more than migratory workers, and thousands flock each year to

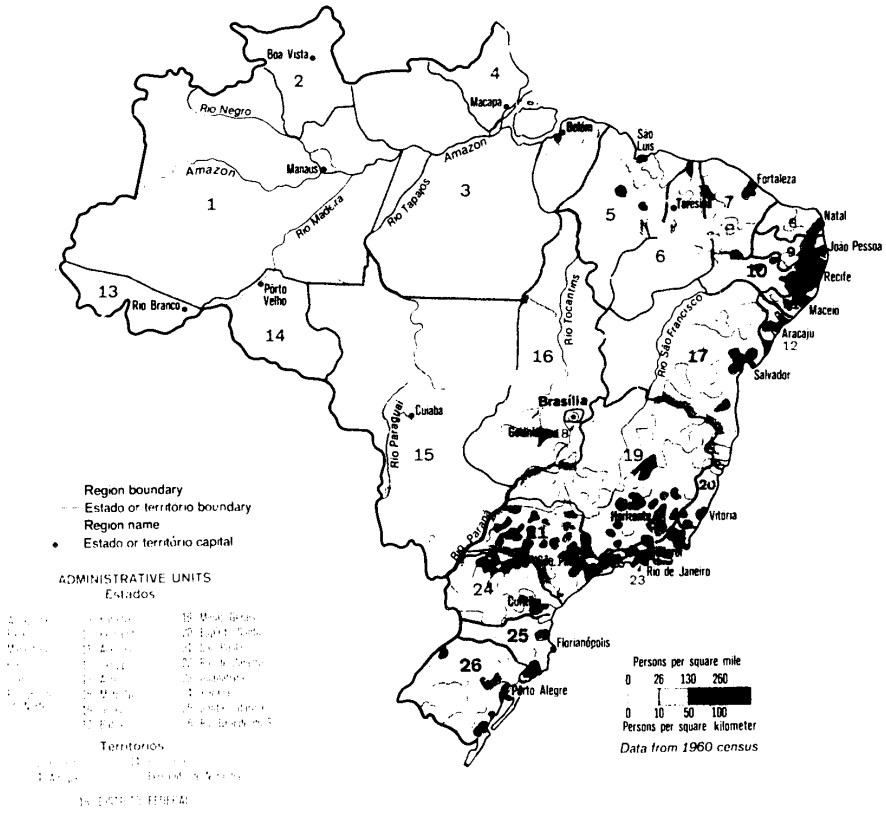


FIGURE 1. Regions, administrative divisions, and population density (U/OU)

the cities and settle in urban shanty towns. This transfer of poverty from the countryside to the city has placed heavy burdens on inadequate welfare services and has underlined the need for agrarian reform.

Rural discontent is increasing, although most rural people are still passive, pessimistic, and resigned. Even the urban middle classes are frustrated by the gap between their rising aspirations and what they can afford. The Brazilian scene is marked by imbalances and shortages, aggravated by the very rapid growth of population. There are serious shortages of housing, schools, and hospitals, as well as of skilled workers, doctors, nurses, teachers, and trained personnel of all sorts.

The Medici administration has launched ambitious programs to combat the high illiteracy, improve education, and develop further the vast interior by large road-building, hydroelectric and other projects. Like its military predecessors since 1964, it is continuing to focus on economic development and some inflationary curbs, while maintaining extremely narrow limits on political activity.

B. Structure and characteristics of the society

1. Racial aspects (U/OU)

Few nations have a population more diverse in racial and national origin than Brazil (Figure 2). Most Brazilians are descended from one or more of three groups which began intermingling in the 16th and 17th centuries: the Portuguese colonists, the native Indians, and the African Negroes. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, other Europeans, especially Italians, Germans, and Poles, immigrated to Brazil, and after 1908 a number of Japanese and Lebanese arrived. Mixing of the races through the years has

FIGURE 2. Native Brazilian children attend school with children of Italian, German, and Japanese immigrants (U/OU)

created so genetically complex a population that some authorities consider Brazilians to be a new and distinct people. European civilization, especially the traditions, customs, and language of Portugal—and, to a degree, the traditions and customs of Italy—form the basis for Brazilian culture. At the same time, the tropical environment and elements from various other European, African, and Amerindian traditions have contributed to the development of a uniquely Brazilian character and culture. The national characteristic of cultural absorption and metamorphosis led Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre to call Brazil a "tropical China."

The unassimilated Indian element is very small—approximately 2% of the total population according to a 1960 estimate, and much less than that today. Largely because of the sparsity of the indigenous inhabitants and the primitive level of their civilization, Indian influence on Brazilian culture and physical appearance has not been great, although Indian names for places, animals, and plants survive throughout Brazil. Unlike the Aztec, Maya, and Inca civilizations, whose highly developed cultures resisted the European imprint, the Brazilian aborigines lived at a hunting and food-gathering level of development and were comparatively pliant and vulnerable. Although there were five main linguistic groups within the territory which is now Brazil (the Tupi-Guarani along the coast, the Tapuya in the northeastern area, the Arawak in western Amazonas, the Caribs in the northern and central areas, and the Guayeuru in Mato Grosso), they lived in hundreds of small, isolated, and nomadic bands. Even within the main language groups, there was little bond in linguistic affinities; most groups were either unacquainted with or hostile toward others. Following the period of European exploration and settlement, the indigenous population for the most part was decimated by disease, slavery, and force of arms, or was eventually absorbed into the mixed portion of Brazil's population. Most of the Indians who continue to follow a tribal way of life live in the northern and western border regions and in the upper Amazon Basin. Indians in an early stage of assimilation are located mainly across the northern part of the country and in some western areas.

Bringing with them a technologically superior civilization, the Portuguese subjugated and exploited the natives, forcing them to supply labor for the economic development of the new settlements. Some Indians resisted, and many fled into the interior. Many were willing to accept the protection of the Jesuit missionaries, who played an important role in the early history of Brazil by dedicating themselves to the protection and conversion of the Indians. The activities of the Jesuits aroused the resentment of the plantation owners, but the missionaries won a partial victory in the Crown's decision in 1574 which granted the Jesuits control over Indians resettled in villages but which allowed the colonists to enslave Indians captured in warfare. Many Jesuits took up arms against their own countrymen in defense of their Indian wards; this was probably a contributing factor to the expulsion of the Jesuits from Brazil in 1759.

The Indians for both psychological and physical reasons were poorly adapted to plantation labor, and, with the introduction of sugarcane in the mid-16th century, the need for labor became acute. As a result, the colonists turned to importing slaves from Africa. At least 4 million and perhaps as many as 18 million Negroes were brought to Brazil by the middle of the 19th century. Most came from the west coast of Africa, but some were imported from Arabic-speaking areas, such as the Sudan. Negroes and persons of mixed Negro and white ancestry are found throughout Brazil, but the African element predominates in the State of Bahia and along the east coast as far south as Rio de Janeiro. In these areas, African traits survive in language, dress, food preparation, music and dance, folk tales, and religious cults. Many of these cultural traits have not been confined to the Negro portion of the population, but have been incorporated into the regional culture.

The white or near white population, while located throughout the country, predominates in the southern States of Sao Paulo,[1] Santa Catarina, Parana, and Rio

[1]For diacritics on place names see map, Figure 1, and the list of names at the end of the chapter.

Grande do Sul. This concentration is largely the result of European immigration during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Many European immigrants settled in these states because the climate permitted the same mixed type of farming they had practiced in Europe.

Not only have the white, black, and Indian racial groups been together in Brazil for about 400 years, but conditions have been conducive to miscegenation. Few women arrived with the early Portuguese colonists. The absence of white women, therefore, coupled with the inferior status of women in general and the superior status of the white men, gave early settlers almost unhampered access to Indian women, especially slaves. The importation of African slaves resulted in a comparable pattern. Consequently, a large group of racially mixed persons developed within a few generations. There was relatively little crossbreeding between the Indian and Negro, however, largely because of the culturally determined division of labor among the Indians. Agricultural work was considered woman's work, so the Indian men fled the plantations; African men were more tractable and accepted agricultural duties, causing the Indian women to despise them.

The only immigrant group which resisted assimilation into the Brazilian population until the late 1950's was the Japanese. They settled mostly around Sao Paulo, where many were originally employed on coffee farms. Many, especially younger Japanese, have since shifted to family truck farms or have moved into cities. There are now about 600,000 people of Japanese ancestry in Brazil.

2. Language (U/OU)

Portuguese, the national language, is spoken by more than 98% of the people. Inasmuch as Brazil's population constitutes nearly half that of the continent and in several Andean countries a large percentage of the people continue to speak only Amerindian languages, Portuguese is probably more widely spoken in South America than is Spanish. The Brazilian takes pride in his national language and continually seeks new ways to express himself, delighting in word inventions and colorful phrases. Portuguese as spoken by most Brazilians, therefore, often differs significantly from the forms taught in the schools, which are based on the language spoken in Portugal, with traditional rules and literary usage.

A law sanctioned in 1938 requires that all instruction must be given in Portuguese, and courses in the language, given by native speakers, are compulsory. Names of enterprises, such as businesses, cooperatives, and even foreign agricultural colonies, must be in Portuguese. Immigrants are encouraged to learn the language as rapidly as possible, and the great majority of them, originating in countries where languages of Latin derivation are spoken, experience little difficulty in doing so. The linguistic similarities of Spanish and Italian, for example, may be influential in accelerating the process of acculturation among these immigrants.

The principal Indian languages—Tupi, Ge, Carib, Arawak, and Nambicuara—are still spoken but by only a few isolated remnants of the Indian population. When the Portuguese first arrived in Brazil, Tupi was generally spoken among the natives along the coast and throughout the Amazon Basin. The Jesuits learned Tupi and used it as a means of communication among even those Indians whose native language was of a different stock. It eventually became the lingua franca, popular among all segments of the population except for the social elite, and in Maranhao and Para it was used exclusively in the pulpit. It appeared for a time that it would become the language of Brazil, or at least a second language, since the ratio of Tupi speakers to Portuguese speakers in 17th and early 18th century Brazil was three to one.

Portuguese was, however, the official language and the necessary one for communicating with the mother country. In the 18th century a number of outstanding literary works, including the renowned dictionary by Antonio de Morais Silva, renewed interest in Portuguese. All this literary activity, coupled with the expulsion of the Jesuits, who were the principal popularizers and promoters of Tupi, assured the supremacy of the Portuguese language in Brazil.

The direct rivalry between Portuguese and Tupi can be attributed to the relative purity that Portuguese retained in the New World. Portuguese was reserved for the intellectuals and upper social strata of the colony, who took pride in the purity (that is, similarity to the European language) with which they used it. Not until the 19th century, when it began to filter down to all the social levels, did Portuguese come into contact with both Indian and African languages and undergo change to any extent. Both Tupi and the African languages contributed significantly to the vocabulary but had no apparent influence on the structure of Brazilian Portuguese. Although Portuguese remains effectively the same language as that spoken in Portugal, the vocabulary and pronunciation of the average Brazilian differ enough to complicate communication with a native of Portugal.

Regional linguistic differences are readily apparent, but they constitute no barrier to understanding. Variations occur mainly in slang vocabulary and in

pronunciation, particularly of vowel sounds. A Brazilian can usually place the speech of a countryman both geographically and socially. The speech of an educated person or one of the upper levels of society (the two are usually synonymous) more closely resembles that of Portugal and carries prestige. The value placed upon a regional variation, however, depends on the circle of listeners.

Of all the regional variations, the idiom of Rio de Janeiro exerts the strongest influence because of its use on radio and television programs broadcast from Rio and heard throughout a considerable area of the country. A *carioca* (native of Rio de Janeiro) has departed most sharply from traditional Portuguese. He generally speaks very rapidly, slurring his words and pronunciation. The main characteristics of the speech of Rio appear throughout most of Minas Gerais, Espirito Santo, and Rio de Janeiro States. The South, particularly the State of Rio Grande do Sul, exhibits other variations in speech, such as the use of clear final vowel sounds and the strongly rolled double *r*, which are probably the result of linguistic diffusion from Spanish-speaking Uruguay and Argentina. The *Paulista* pronunciation in Sao Paulo resembles this speech and contrasts with that of the *carioca*. In the Northeast, unstressed vowel sounds are more open than anywhere else in the country and, as in the other regions, a large number of purely local terms and expressions distinguish speakers from this area.

Knowledge of more than one language is considered to be a sign of education and carries prestige. In the 19th century, when French manners and customs were highly regarded by all Brazilians, French was the second language among the educated elite. Although still popular, it has been surpassed by English, which is considered to be of greater commercial value. Because of the emphasis on acculturation, few children of immigrants, except in the most rural areas, retain the language of their parents.

The retention of foreign language and cultural traits on the part of immigrant groups, especially those from Germany and Japan, was viewed with disfavor by many Brazilians, who considered it a threat to national unity. During the Vargas era, these foreign elements were described as "cysts" in the body politic, and various policies were instituted to encourage assimilation, such as the legal prohibition of elementary education in foreign languages.

Language study is required of all students after they reach the high school level. The greatest emphasis on language learning occurs in schools offering a classical curriculum. There, five languages are required—Latin, Greek, Spanish, French, and English. One year of Spanish is considered sufficient, in part because of the similarity between it and Portuguese, but 3 years each of French and English are required. In scientific or technical schools, only the modern European languages are required. Among the noneducated Brazilians, few speak more than Portuguese.

3. The family (U/OU)

The most striking and perhaps the most relevant single aspect of Brazilian culture is the family. In an otherwise individualistic or amorphous social system, the extended family has developed a strong sense of community and cooperation among its members. The highly valued self-directedness and self-sufficiency of the personality, although respected within the family, do not interfere with the obligations of family membership. On the contrary, there is a tendency to value the individual socially as a member of a given kin group rather than an isolated personality. Thus, personal status has traditionally been derived from family status.

The structure of the modern family has been influenced by the colonial plantation family system, in which a large, extended family lived under one roof, sharing domestic tasks, in an isolated frontier environment. Controlled by a powerful patriarch, the system included numerous distant relatives, employees, and slaves who were all dependent on the family fortunes. The kinship ties were thus reinforced by interdependence, common residence, participation in a common industry, and the sharing of a common culture. Various social activities, usually to commemorate a family event, constantly served as a reminder to the family of its unity.

The family maintains its predominant role in the society and is the focal point of social life, although there is a tendency, particularly in the urban areas, to expand the circle to include a larger number of friends and acquaintances. In upper and middle class families a large network of kin is important for the economic advancement and social life of the individual, and, even among the poorest people in the urban slums, the family structure is the most powerful cohesive force.

Nevertheless, the modern family is beginning to lose its all-embracing quality under the influence of urbanization and economic diversification, which adds to the opportunities for a young person to live without the assistance of his family and in a different household. Parents still have a great deal of influence over their children but can no longer choose marriage partners or careers for them. Although the reputation of a young woman is still extremely important, she is freer to meet young men without a great deal of chaperonage, especially in the urban areas.

The most common living pattern today is the nuclear family—a man, his wife, and their children. Most individuals still maintain contact with a large number of more distant relatives, however, and a man with a large family is envied. The complete network of kin, either paternally or maternally related to a person through blood, marriage, or godparent tie and which he recognizes as his kinsmen, are known as his *parentela*. Depending on the stability of his community and his class background, this group may be insignificant or as large as an entire village. The large *parentela* is more characteristic of the upper and middle classes, both in the city and in the country, than it is of the lower classes. In areas where the upper classes are descendants of the plantation aristocracy, the *parentela* is particularly influential. Marriage is likely to occur within the class of the parents and often in the same town, strengthening the ties between the major families.

Often a distant relative is chosen as a *compadre* (godparent), in which case the relationship is close and lasting. Nonrelatives, however, can also be named. They become ritual kin of the child and thus enlarge his kinship circle. There is a tendency among lower class parents to name as godparent a more prosperous individual who can be of assistance to the child.

Migration has had a detrimental effect on the kinship group, especially in the lower classes, where the migration of a family member usually means loss of contact with him altogether, since most of these families are illiterate. The middle class individual too is cut off from the larger family by migration between towns and movement between classes. Thus, the extended family is most often found in the traditional upper classes.

The upper and the middle class urban families are similar in most respects but the latter usually has fewer kin. Frequently, the middle class individual has either moved from one area to another or one class to another, losing contact with the rest of his kin group in the process; however, he usually values large, extended families. In rural areas, the middle and upper classes both have more extensive ties than the lower classes. Middle and upper class women tend to work in banks, stores, offices, and in social service fields. In 1968 nearly all of the elementary school teachers and half of the secondary school teachers were women.

In general, the lower class family tends to be unstable and lacks the large cohesive *parentela* of the other classes, since the economic basis of the family is uncertain and children must often migrate to other areas for better economic opportunities. Rural families that own land are more apt to be stable, since the family can remain in the same area. In the drought-ridden Northeast many families are left to the care and control of the mother while the father migrates in search of work. The father is apt to send money to support his family when he finds work, and he may even return. In the meantime, strong ties continue between the mother and her in-laws, as well as with her own family.

Over half of Brazil's population is urban; the rate of migration to the city has been especially high since 1950. The lower class family has been most deeply affected by this trend, since most of the migrants come from this stratum, entering the ranks of the poorest in the city. Although many migrants simply move from one rural area to another seeking a better situation, some migrate to nearby towns and perhaps later to large cities. In a study in 1966 it was found that most migrants who moved from one rural area to another took their wives and children with them, but of the migrants to Brasilia, only one-third came with their families, one-third planned to send for their wives and children later, and one-third were single. Those who came together, however, came by mutual consent. All but about 13% of the group that moved to Brasilia decided jointly to move.

Among migrants in the urban population women slightly outnumber men. Many such women find jobs as domestics and are unwilling to sacrifice their independence for a permanently binding marriage, while others are forced to remain spinsters because of a shortage of men. Both groups add to the number of women who engage in temporary relationships rather than permanent marriages.

Marriages can be formalized by either civil or religious authorities. Civil marriage constitutes recognition of the union by the state; it insures social security and official recognition of the marriage for the purposes of inheritance. Church marriage is the traditional form of establishing a union and continues to be the accepted norm in isolated rural communities. Upper and middle class couples almost invariably have both forms; lower class families have only the religious ceremonies or, in many cases, dispense with a formal marriage altogether. A type of common law marriage called *amasiado*, or living in friendship, is very common, having the advantages of being inexpensive, easy to break if the partners wish, and possible after a previous official marriage. Because illigitimacy is not recognized in Brazilian law, the offspring of such unions have general legal status. Since no divorce is permitted in the country, a marriage is a permanent, binding contract. A form of legal separation exists, termed *desquite*, by which a

couple officially separates and divides its material goods. It is granted only on grounds of proven adultery, attempted murder or grave injury of the spouse, or voluntary abandonment for 2 continuous years. Although still relatively infrequent, the number of *desquites* is increasing.

Many lower class couples fail to contract any form of marriage and live *amasiado*. In many rural areas, both religious and civil authorities are absent, so that any other form of marriage is impossible. Although some *amasiado* relationships are temporary, many are long-lasting and relatively stable unions recognized by the community as marriage. The relationship may last from a few years to a lifetime. Usually, socially accepted patterns of mutual assistance and obligation define the relationship between an established *amasiado* pair. In some cases, the men take little responsibility for the children, and the education, training, and care of the progeny are the duty of the mother. She may rule the family but usually will consult the father and consider his wishes.

Women are traditionally considered secondary to men, and their primary function is defined as serving their husbands and rearing their children. Men exercise a dominant role in the financial and decisionmaking aspects of the family. Children are valued and are taught proper moral behavior by their fathers. Young men are given considerable freedom to explore and develop their character and ability to make decisions, while young women are often confined to the house, both to assist the mother and to safeguard their reputations. The situation is changing, however, as women increasingly attend schools and universities and enter the working world (Figure 3).

Kinship has traditionally dominated Brazilian economic life. Practically all commercial and industrial enterprises were once family owned and administered, and many still are. In business and professional life kinsmen constantly called upon one another for favors and support. Kinship groups are still very important in small towns, and *parentela* and patriarchal families still tend to dominate economic life in the industrial centers and in the northern part of the country. Members of the new economic elite, though some of them were immigrants without families, have nevertheless adopted the same patterns of familism and nepotism which characterized the traditional power structure, and which limited efficiency in both business and government.

Kinship has been important in politics also. In the early years of the 20th century certain well-known patriarchal families in each state dominated local political parties, and even national politics were based on coalitions among large regional families. Nepotism—still prevalent—was expected and was rife in government service. This was an important cause of the widespread laxness in political morality, pervading corruption in government, inefficient administration in both government and government-owned enterprises, and a sprawling and often venal bureaucracy.

4. Class structure (U/OU)

a. Urban-rural and regional differences

In general, Brazilian society remains stratified with well-defined lines of class membership, pronounced status differences, and limited vertical social mobility.

FIGURE 3. Higher education is drawing more women (U/OU)

In the urban areas, however, there is continuing change, largely undirected, accompanying the development of an urban technological culture. Among significant trends are the mass movement to the cities; emergence of a new class consciousness among both urban and rural lower classes; and growth of the industrial elite and of the urban white-collar and industrial blue-collar workers.

Since the 1930's, industrial development, improved transportation, and better communications, combined with and contributing to the spread of a money economy and the rush of rural people to the cities, have begun to erode the traditional lines of social stratification. With increasing social mobility and geographic movement, several important new urban social groups have emerged within the past three decades—the middle or white-collar sector, the upper class industrial entrepreneurs, and the industrial working class. From the standpoint of their leadership potential and the continuing trend toward an urban industrial society, their influence may be expected to grow.

Vast geographic distances and regional isolation sharply delineate differences in social structure in various parts of the country. The most marked contrast is perhaps still the one that separates modern urban from traditional rural society, but a clear distinction is not present because of a broadening range of variation within the urban and rural sectors. For example, in the South the middle class is large and complex and has begun to expand into rural occupations, the per capita income is relatively high, and most people are literate. Income and degree of wealth are more significant criteria of individual status than the traditional factor of family and lineage.

At the opposite extreme is the Northeast region and the isolated Central-West, where life expectancy, living conditions, and income are such that the great majority of the population must be classified in the lowest social level. Here social structure remains much as it was in colonial society—a two-class system in which the small class at the top of the social hierarchy has a monopoly on land, wealth, and power, and the mass of the people at the bottom live in complete dependence upon them. Islands of modernism exist in the larger cities of the region, such as Recife, which exhibits the complexity and variation in social stratification characteristic of other urban centers. The middle class is concentrated in these few centers and is absent in the countryside, except for a few government officials and managers of large estates.

Between these two extremes in terms of social organization is the area that includes most of Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais States. Society in this zone has been changing rapidly and is best described as transitional, juxtaposing large modern cities and a few flourishing rural agricultural areas with areas that exhibit a rigidly hierarchical society similar to the colonial prototype.

Despite sharp regional and rural-urban differences, class considerations are universally important; the class structure in some respects is a national one and increasingly tends to displace the distinctions between the country's many regional environments as improvements in education, transportation, and communication draw ideas and people together. Members of the urban upper class, because of the traditional prestige attached to landowning, continue to obtain rural estates whenever they have the wealth and opportunity to do so. In this way they frequently come in contact with the rural gentry, increasing class solidarity through intermarriage and mutual interests. The urban middle class is also expanding into the rural areas, where they find employment as farm managers and government officials.

b. Upper class

According to some authorities, the upper class comprises between 3% and 7% of the population and is maintaining this percentage through natural increase. The birth rate in the urban upper class is approximately as high as that of the other classes, and its infant mortality rate is somewhat lower, because of better nutrition and medical care.

By the beginning of the 20th century a group of "traditional families" had supplanted the nobility of the empire and had become dominant in the country's political, social, and economic life. To a large extent, they carried on the aristocratic traditions of the empire and preserved the paternalistic attitude of the aristocracy toward the lower class. Through intermarriage this group absorbed other families, which had achieved wealth and political position after the advent of the republic in 1889. Members of the upper class could list the names of those who belonged to it, not only in their own region but in other parts of the country. Membership in one of these prestigious families was nearly always a prerequisite to economic, professional, social, or political success. Although many members of the upper class resided in the cities, especially politicians and members of the legal and medical professions, the basis of the class was wealth derived from large-scale agriculture and cattle raising.

After the emancipation of the slaves and the establishment of the republic in the late 19th century, a new upper class, which was predominantly urban in

its orientation emerged. It was made up of persons who had gained prominence in the new government, industrial and commercial entrepreneurs, and some members of the rural elite who, having been deprived of slave labor, turned to urban pursuits. Within a short time the new elite had also developed landed interests through intermarriage with the rural gentry. Despite the merging of the two groups and the continued tie between the members of the traditional elite and their rural landholdings, a large segment of the new upper class had interests that were mainly or largely urban, many members dividing their time between plantations or cattle ranches and their homes in the metropolitan centers.

Largely in the last 30 or 40 years, the processes of urbanization have given rise to another segment of the upper class usually called the industrial elite. Often of non-Portuguese immigrant background and middle class origins, the members of this group have usually gained economic success through their own entrepreneurship or that of their parents. Because the prerequisite of distinguished family ties continues to be essential for membership in the social elite—as is wealth—the new industrial upper class has assured its acceptance through intermarriage with the more firmly established elite. Thus, a merger, parallel to the one that occurred 50 years ago between an old and a new elite, is occurring between the two segments of the urban upper class. The continued importance of family and lineage in determining elite status serves mainly to exclude persons who have acquired very recent wealth through questionable dealings and speculation or persons whose behavior, attitudes, and values do not conform to those of the established upper class.

Members of the urban elite retain many traditional aristocratic values and frequently seek alliances with rural upper class landowners. Although they are usually more cosmopolitan than their rural counterparts and have traveled widely in Europe and North America, they continue to attach great prestige to landownership. At the same time, because their source of income and consequently their power and status depend upon commerce, industry, and capital, they are actively involved in the management and administration of their enterprises—evincing a preoccupation with moneymaking that is generally disparaged by the more tradition-oriented landed gentry. To a degree, these vigorous entrepreneurs are overwhelming the traditional elite and appear to be transforming them while retaining basic humanistic values.

The urban elite group has demonstrated a high degree of national pride, partly because elements of this group have played a prominent role in the nation's history. Furthermore, this group derives its wealth primarily from trade and industry and is intensely interested in the country's economic development and political stability. Its members are also concerned with technological development and a successful foreign trade policy and have shown considerable dynamism and an innovative spirit.

c. Middle class

The middle class, which is concentrated in the urban centers, has become increasingly important numerically since the 1920's. In the late 1960's it comprised between 15% and 25% of the population.

Since the early 19th century, Brazil has had a small group of people who might be considered middle class. These were the families of men who were clerks in government offices or who were engaged in other white-collar occupations. The army, too, has been a means of upward mobility and has been dominated by the middle class. Immigration from Europe to southern Brazil added to this small class. Since World War II, the middle class has increased greatly and is still growing. The expansion of the federal, state, and municipal civil service has provided many white-collar positions, and, with the growth of industry and commerce, many such jobs have become available in offices and stores. Furthermore, the demands of an expanding population have resulted in an urgent need for professionals, such as chemists, nurses, and engineers.

The core of the middle class is made up of the white-collar workers, such as clerks in the better stores, nurses, schoolteachers, secretarial and middle-level administrative employees, as well as most scientists, academicians, and army officers. A relatively large number of persons have elite ancestry, but the majority are of lower class origins.

There is a tendency among the middle class to identify with the upper class and conform to their values. This frequently leads to personal conflicts, because insufficient finances prohibit matching real behavior with ideals. Although the ideal is for women to remain in the home, daughters and even wives do accept office employment to enable the family to live at the desired higher standard. Persons often disdain the economically productive pursuits they are forced to engage in, and children are encouraged to pursue professions traditional among the upper class, neglecting careers with less prestige but higher income.

Most middle class Brazilians attempt to provide their children with at least a secondary education, since education is one of the main routes to higher status. If at all possible, the children are educated in private schools; while tuition is not expensive by North American standards (US$10 to $15 per month) it represents a heavy drain on the middle class pocketbook.

In general, the members of the middle class attach great importance to material possessions and are conscious of fashions in clothing and furniture. They are anxious to have modern housing and are susceptible to fads and advertising. Most families have at least one maid, several radios, and possibly a television set, attend movies frequently, and read magazines and newspapers. Because their wants exceed their income, they buy on credit and are usually in debt.

Because of its recent emergence, the disparate social and economic origins of its members, and the heterogeneity of its composition, the middle class has not yet developed a sense of group solidarity and class consciousness. It continues to accept the values and ideals of the upper class. Furthermore, inflation and individual economic concerns have preoccupied most members of the urban middle sector, diverting their attention from political and social matters. Nevertheless, its members exhibit a growing degree of political unity and a similarity of interests that may enable them to assume a role of national leadership. As the largest segment of the voting population, they have some influence on the course of national policy—although elections have a less direct role than before 1964. Through their attainment of high positions in the military, they have achieved another base of power. The members of the middle class are generally well educated and aware that political and economic stability are interdependent. Among the issues on which they focus their concern are educational expansion, industrialization, urban growth, and national economic development.

d. Lower class

The great majority of the Brazilian people belong to the lower class, some, especially in rural areas, existing in semistarvation. They earn their living as workers in cane fields and on coffee plantations, as cowboys on the ranges in the South and ranches in the Northeast, as rubber collectors in the Amazon valley, as sharecroppers on large estates, as squatters living by subsistence agriculture on other people's land, as renters of land, and even as owners of small parcels of land. Many have migrated to large towns and cities, where, for lack of education and training, they work as laborers, mostly on construction projects.

For most of those who remain in rural areas, the pattern of life has not changed significantly over several centuries. Economic security is sought through the establishment of a *patrao* (patron)-worker relationship with a member of the rural elite. Essentially, such a relationship is an economic one between employer and worker, landlord and tenant, creditor and debtor. It is highly exploitive, yet it involves paternalistic obligations on the part of the employer, landlord, or creditor, in exchange for which he expects loyalty and political support. The *patrao* system provides security in time of need, frequently the only form of social security available; the relationship thus established is an intimate one within the confines of a rather rigid protocol. While the *patrao* system is still important, it is no longer strong enough to tie rural workers to the land; large-scale migration to the cities has underlined the need for land reform and an improved agrarian order.

The urban lower class is probably the fastest growing segment of society, supplemented by an uninterrupted flow of rural migrants and by its own high birth rate. Members of the urban lower class, like their rural counterparts, generally lack the attributes of education, occupation, housing, income, dress, and manners that characterize people in the middle and upper classes. Often such individuals are second generation residents of the slum areas, perhaps descendants of people who moved to the city after the abolition of slavery. Many are manual laborers, but others have acquired skills and are employed as artisans, mechanics, cabdrivers, busdrivers, gas station attendants, clerks, or peddlers in the markets.

The lack of skills and education of many of the recent migrants to the city limits their prospects for employment and their ability to adjust to urban life. Unemployment and underemployment in this migrant population are high, and the life style is relatively unchanged from that of the peasantry. They merely exchange rural poverty and unemployment for the same conditions in the urban context. Although they occupy the lowest levels of urban society, the urban migrants are still intrigued by the city life, lights, dancing, films, and soccer games, and by the general air of *movimento* (movement), a term used by Brazilians to describe the rapid and active pace of urban life.

These migrants retain traditional values and continue to seek out familiar associations and

institutions—particularly the Roman Catholic Church, close personal associations based on the family model, and the security of a *patrao*, whether it be an employer, a union leader, or a political organizer. Their aspirations have not yet exceeded their level of income; they are occasionally able to buy items that are symbolic of status in the country—a radio, clock, wristwatch, or phonograph. They often consider themselves only temporary residents of the city and dream of returning to their own village, carrying with them their newly acquired material possessions and perhaps enough money to establish a small store. Few urban migrants ever return, however; their children grow up, and they may gain a few years of education and become fully accustomed to urban life.

Slightly above the unskilled, unemployed, and illiterate in status are persons who possess some skill or training and therefore have a greater measure of economic security than recent migrants and other unskilled workers. They gradually merge into the industrial workers' segment, both wishing for a greater share of material benefits.

e. Social mobility

A U.S. Government study in 1971 suggested that social mobilty is considerable among certain sectors of the population but extremely limited among others. The study divided the population into five vertical levels on the basis of income. The lowest level contains families with less than $100 per capita income, mainly farm laborers—a group of miserably poor people which numbers over 20 million and is still growing. Brazil's population at the mere subsistence level has been increasing for 400 years; in 1972 it was about as large as the total population of 1920. Most people in this category are trapped there because of poor health and a lack of education. Less than 1% of them escape into a higher level each year; these are basically the few youths who obtain schooling.

The second level, containing families with between US$100 and $200 per capita income, included some of the better off in rural areas and many of the new arrivals in the cities. This income group developed slowly during the first half of the 20th century out of the very poor. They were far enough ahead of the bottom group in diet, education, and adaptability to facilitate mobility whenever the opportunity arose, as during the 1950's and again in the late 1960's.

Many of the able and ambitious members of this income group rise into the third level, the urban proletariat—families with a per capita annual income of between US$200 and $500. This sector has grown from about 7 million people in 1950 to approximately 40 million in 1970. The average family may have five members earning a total of $2,000 per year. They are participants in modern society, owning electrical appliances such as radios and refrigerators, but rarely an automobile. Since most members of this group are better off than their parents were, they are fairly satisfied with their status. Those who are dissatisfied are prevented by government restrictions from striking or otherwise showing their frustration. The children in this group get only 1 to 4 years of education, which is inadequate for a middle class job. Less then 1% of this level rise higher annually.

Those who are able to obtain a high school or technical school education usually are able to climb to the fourth level, families with US$500 to $1,000 per capita income, and many of them then soon ascend to a fifth level, those with a per capita annual income of over $1,000. This level, which at its top contains the small wealthy sector, has over 12 million people who, in general, enjoy a standard of living equal to that of middle class West Europeans or North Americans. Brazil's middle class, one of the 10 largest in the world, is over 2½ times as large as in 1950. Over half of the adults in the middle class started in a lower income group. This study did not attempt to quantify separately the very small top income group.

The study suggests that economic self-improvement of individuals in Brazil has dramatically reduced the effect of traditional hereditary barriers to social mobility at least in some areas. Technological development and industrialization have created demands for more skilled workers and new specialties. Although they remain in a broadly conceived lower stratum, such workers hold a social and economic position higher than that of the nonskilled laborer. A similar pattern of subdivisions prevails with variations throughout all echelons of society. Economic and technological development has created demands for more consumer goods, resulting in an increase in sales personnel and clerical, secretarial, and managerial positions.

Still another factor in social mobility has been the population explosion coupled with increased urbanization. For the first time, the individual can cloak himself in anonymity if he so desires and move up the social ladder so long as he manages to conform to the requirements of his new status. For the most part, however, elevation in the social hierarchy still takes place within the broad boundaries of each class, and the person who climbs from rags to riches in a single lifetime must overcome great obstacles.

The average lower class individual and even most of those in the middle class cannot hope to achieve this goal. What the socially ambitious person generally strives for is to move up one or two rungs on the social ladder within his own class and, by judicious selection, to marry his children to persons of still higher status. Thus, although mobility is slow, it is possible for the members of a family to raise themselves from lower to middle or from middle to upper class in two generations.

In the last few years the government has taken some measures that have, directly or indirectly, increased social mobility. Undoubtedly the most important is the expansion of state-supported education. Increased opportunities for social mobility may also be a product of programs such as construction of the Trans-Amazon Highway and expansion of industry in the Northeast. Through such projects people are brought into contact with modern society and in some cases are allowed job opportunities formerly unavailable. Because there probably will always be a large, cheap labor force in the settled rural areas, for most of them the only chance for improvement seems to be to leave for the cities or for agricultural colonies such as the government is establishing under the National Integration Program along the Trans-Amazon Highway.

5. Social values and attitudes (C)

a. Regarding the nation

Nationalism is a characteristic ingredient of Brazilian attitudes and is best illustrated by the Portuguese word *ufania;* to Brazilians, this word connotes pride and optimism juxtaposed with somewhat a defensive attitude. Such sentiments are in part the outgrowth of a conviction of the potential greatness of the country coupled with a recognition of the obstacles to be overcome before the greatness can be realized, as expressed in the saying "Brazil is the country of the future—and always will be."

Common customs, language, and religion had laid the foundation for national unity, in the 17th century. But the nation lacked political institutions which could surmount the problems posed by the lack of speedy communications and the predominance of state political machines.

Under President Vargas, who came to power in 1930, the government cultivated broader popular participation in government and called on the nation to redress social and economic injustices. National symbols were created, and nationalistic legislation, such as that restricting immigration and foreign capital and requiring that the Portuguese language be used in all schools, was passed. National integration and cultural assimilation were also encouraged by the works of scholars such as Gilberto Freyre, who maintained that the crossbreeding of Negroes, Indians, and Europeans had created a new distinctively Brazilian race and culture.

Under the democratic system after 1945, regional competition again became significant, but the forces of national unity were also strengthened. Urbanization and industrialization continued to undermine provincial attitudes, and the development of better transportation networks and of modern means of communication helped to overcome the isolation of the rural communities and of one region from another. The governments of the period succeeded, for example, in convincing important sectors of the population that the periodic droughts and the general impoverishment of the Northeast region were a national problem and not merely a regional one. National election campaigns, carried out vigorously even in the more remote regions, began to introduce larger audiences to the meaning of citizenship and to national issues.

Since the coup d'etat of 1964, the government has been more highly centralized than in the past. Regional competition has lost much of its political significance, since the exercise of initiative on the part of state governments has been greatly curtailed. Federal intervention in state and local affairs has had the effect in many cases of taking the normal functions of government out of the hands of civilian officials and placing them under the centralized structure of the military.

A factor affecting the cultivation of national pride and unity has been a relative lack of national heroes. Because of the absence of a revolutionary war and of wars genuinely threatening national sovereignty, there are few military heroes, and the political figures revered by some have been held in disrepute by others. Brazil, however, has a sense of national historical continuity rare in the Western Hemisphere. The country has never felt the need to reject its European heritage. It never suffered a major civil war and was never forced to adapt to a loss of national territory.

Domestic frustrations have often been diverted by international aspirations. Throughout the 20th century the country has aspired to a larger role in world affairs. In the early 1960's the independent foreign policies of Presidents Janio Quadros and Joao Goulart aimed at cooperating with the nonaligned nations. Under the control of the armed forces, the government since 1964 has sought to build support for

its foreign policies by emphasizing the relationship of internal and continental geographic features to national security and development. Geopolitics has become an important part of the curriculum of every major university.

Nevertheless, to many citizens the state has remained a rather distant entity. Outside the more developed southern part of the country, the direct influence of the central government has only recently been felt. In much of the remote rural interior, the local community or plantation is virtually self-contained and isolated from national and state affairs.

Although *civismo* (good citizenship) is often cited as a widely shared value, it has remained, for the most part, an abstract concept. Even those who expect most from the state rarely indicate a corresponding sense of personal obligation to it. Strong loyalties are generally reserved for relatives, friends, patrons, and local religious leaders. The struggle of many for physical survival has left little room for concern about the national welfare.

Legalism, like *civismo*, has been more in evidence as an ideal than as a practice. The upper and middle classes have a strong juridical sense and take pride in the fact that their government has traditionally been a government of laws. The lower classes have had little understanding of their rights under the law and have been puzzled by the complicated procedures involved in the functioning of the bureaucracy. Members of the upper class, on the other hand, have often been able to use their influence and personal connections to expedite the operations of government bureaus. A wealthy landowner, for example, may use his ties with the tax collector, the labor inspector, the local judge, and the police to obtain special favors.

One reason for the lack of understanding of the rights and duties of citizenship has been a lack of institutions, public or private, that performed the service of civic education. Schools have taught the verbal expressions and symbols of *civismo* but have generally failed to impart its deeper meaning and practical application. The local political bosses (*coroneis*) merely told their clientele how to vote and the political parties made only limited contributions toward educating the population in civic affairs. Governments have made some progress in this area through adult education programs.

In the early 1960's intensive programs of civic education were carried out by teams composed of university students and worker-priests. These teams, which worked in urban slums and rural villages, combined literacy training with instruction in civil rights and in methods of community action to ensure protection of those rights. The activities of the "peasant leagues" in the Northeast and other groups participating in the Popular Mobilization Front also stimulated political awareness among the lower classes. The coup d'etat of 1964 put an end to such activities. The new government, through the media, the schools, and through billboards in public places, launched its own campaign of civic education, emphasizing the responsibility of all for the maintenance of order and the capture of insurrectionists. The government campaigned against corruption, one of its principal themes; and some of the more widespread practices, such as tax evasion and dealing in contraband, have been greatly curtailed. Public attitudes toward the Medici government remain a matter of speculation, since the communications media are controlled and virtually all public expressions of dissent are discouraged.

For the majority of the population, who have not participated in the political system, a gap between ideals and experience has created ambivalence toward the system. Even the literate of the lower and lower middle classes have been taught in the rural areas to vote with their landowners or political bosses rather than to make independent decisions, and for those who have moved to the city, political dependence has often been shifted to the union leader or a foreman.

Nonparticipation or guided participation and the observance of the actual, as opposed to the ideal, system has led many to an attitude of cynicism. The people in the past did not expect the government to be impartial, and the use of bribery and influence was considered usual and, in some cases, even justified. But despite the historic prevalence of oligarchic manipulation of the political system and the consolidation after 1964 of authoritarian control, the ideals of constitutionalism, democracy, and civil libertarianism have persisted. The military government, while suppressing civilian opposition and repressing dissent, has tried to maintain the outward form of constitutional government with separate executive, legislative, and judicial branches. Even though the Constitution itself grants almost unlimited powers to the executive, the idea of exercising power under constitutional legitimacy has remained important. Schoolchildren are taught that they live under a democratic system, although of necessity it operates under certain temporary limitations. The government has created a considerable propaganda mechanism, including journalists and psychologists and using the cinema, television, and radio, as well as posters throughout the country proclaiming "The revolution of 1964 is irreversible, and will perfect Brazilian democracy."

b. Attitudes toward exploitation of the land

Except for owners of large plantations, the traditional Brazilian attitude toward the land was that it is to be exploited and left behind. With few exceptions, the Brazilian peasant differed profoundly from his European counterpart. He seldom fertilized his land, following instead slash-and-burn techniques closer to aboriginal than to European patterns. He has tended to be seminomadic, planting and collecting in one locality until forced to migrate, generally by the exhaustion of his land. This "extractive" mentality has contributed to the failure of the Brazilians to settle their land and to the relative poverty of rural areas. Unlike the United States and Canada, Brazil has neglected to establish an effective national land tenure system; inadequate surveys, clouded titles, and the absence of a homestead law have discouraged permanent settlement on the land. The traditional attitude has been modified as some agricultural areas have become more thickly populated.

One of the principal goals of the construction of the Trans-Amazon Highway is to develop part of the country's unexploited land in a rational way. A program is under way to open the immense territorial expanse the highway system crosses to organized colonization and agricultural settlement by landless families, principally from the impoverished Northeast. This idea was conceived on the basis of the success of the Belem–Brasilia highway in attracting agricultural colonists. It is estimated that between a million and 2 million people have settled along that highway in the last 10 years, making a prosperous livelihood from farming and cattle raising. Unlike the Belem–Brasilia highway, which was settled in a random fashion, colonization along the Trans-Amazon Highway is being supervised by the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA). Although only 2,000 families have been settled along the roadway, INCRA has mentioned settling as many as 100,000 families by 1977. The success of the colonization project and the success of the highway are indelibly joined together. The Trans-Amazon project is not without its dissenters. Many Brazilians feel that the financial resources diverted to its construction could be better used for other purposes. Ecologists maintain that the soil cannot support the kind of agriculture planned for the area, and that the cutting down of so many trees will upset the precarious balance of nature peculiar to the area. Some sociologists predict that the opening of a roadway will serve to draw more people to the crowded cities than colonists to the rural areas. Moreover, INCRA's ability to accomplish its goals has been questioned.

c. Attitudes toward minority groups

The adjustment of non-Portuguese immigrants to the Brazilian social environment has required considerable change on their part. Most were German, Italian, and Polish in origin; a lesser number came from Japan and the mid-East. Except for a few isolated communities, most European immigrants have been assimilated into the Brazilian culture, have married outside their national group, and speak Portuguese. This was not the case in the beginning, for these colonists came in groups, settled in groups, retained their national language, and generally considered themselves superior to the Brazilians around them. Unlike the seminomadic peasants elsewhere in Brazil, these colonists brought with them the European mixed-farming system, establishing small farms with a balanced variety of crops, livestock, and dairy products, and built solid houses of wood or brick, which contrasted with the adobe walls and straw-thatched roofs of other rural houses. They also lacked the usual Brazilian disdain for manual labor. This characteristic was true of the Germans, in particular.

Many Germans resisted assimilation most tenaciously; the government during World War II closed German clubs and schools, and forced acculturation by requiring young men from southern areas to do their military service in northern areas, where they learned the national language. In political terms, Europeans have been well assimilated. For example, the many Brazilians of Italian origin in Sao Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul are spread out geographically so that it seems impossible to link an "Italian vote" to any particular political tendency. Japanese immigrants, on the other hand, remained largely unassimilated until the 1950's. They married within their own group, and most continued to speak Japanese. Many Japanese have settled near Sao Paulo, where they have specialized in truck farming, supplying Sao Paulo with most of its fresh produce. They also now have important places in the industrial and financial communities.

Sao Paulo provides numerous examples of self-made men who, although the sons of immigrants, rose to positions of wealth and influence. These men include hotel magnate Jose Tjurs, whose parents were Russian; industrialist Francisco Matarazzo, Jr., son of Italian immigrants; banker Amador Aguiar, son of an illiterate Portuguese peasant; and financier Nagib Audi, son of a Lebanese immigrant.

The aboriginal Indian peoples probably never numbered more than 1.5 million. They began to blend with the whites in the 16th century, so that the tribal

Indian population is fewer than 130,000, scattered in the remote areas of the far west and the Amazon Basin. Even in the 1970's tribes have been discovered that have had almost no contact with white men. The original tribes were decimated by massacre, enslavement, and disease. In the 20th century not even the idealistic efforts of Marshal Candido Rondon, who founded the Indian Protection Service and gave it the motto "Die if necessary, but never kill," could protect their dwindling ranks from further encroachment. The Indian Protection Service itself became a vehicle for exploitation of the Indians after Marshal Rondon's retirement in the late 1940's. Charges of atrocities culminated in a scandal of gigantic proportions in December 1967 and the replacement of the service with the National Indian Foundation. The Indians who have survived are in poor health and live in poverty. The penetration of roads into previously undeveloped areas of the Amazon Basin continue to bring the Indians into contact with other Brazilians, and in some cases friction is the inevitable result. Some Indian groups have been moved off their lands to make way for roads and colonization projects, and more are likely to be affected in the future. According to a government spokesman, the goal of the government's policy is to integrate the Indians into the economy as producers and consumers. The issue of whether to protect the Indian from outside influence or to integrate him as rapidly as possible into the rest of society is still highly controversial in Brazil. No matter which policy is followed, it appears inevitable that, with the opening up of the interior, the majority of Indian tribes remaining will either be assimilated into the frontier society or will die out through a combination of low resistance to civilization's diseases and armed clashes (Figure 4). The government resources allocated to the foundation are neither sufficient to move many Indians to adequate reservations where they can be protected, similar to the renowned Xingu Park, nor to maintain an adequate patrol and medical service to supervise areas the Indians presently inhabit. In early 1973, world famous anthropologists Claudio and Orlando Villas Boas, the founders of Xingu Park, declared that they were retiring from their 50 years of work with the Indians because each time they contacted a new tribe they contributed to the destruction of the Indians' culture.

Brazilians feel that their country's racial mixture is a real international asset and a national contribution to world harmony. The Constitution provides for equality before the law, and a law adopted in 1951, known as the Affonso Arinos Law, imposes large fines

FIGURE 4. Civilization's march into the interior has driven many Indians to the cities (U/OU)

for proven discriminatory acts. Color prejudice does exist, however, largely as an aspect of class discrimination. Because of the limited opportunities for upward mobility, the rule of thumb "the darker the skin, the lower the class" often applies. A disproportionate number of darker people are in the lower work categories, with the exception of a few fields such as sports. Because of the tendency to marry within one's own social level, a member of the upper class is likely to be of predominantly European descent. Any Indian blood in the family usually has been acquired several generations earlier, although many upper class individuals, taking pride in even a small degree of Indian ancestry, may overemphasize it.

The Brazilian vocabulary is rich in terminology that can be used to denote any color or physical type. In addition, there are words that not only distinguish a person's physical appearance but further indicate his occupation, regional origin, or some other attribute. Yet even a complete glossary of color terms used in Brazil would fail to tell the whole story, because classification may also be sociologically conditioned. Popular terminology distinguishes a variety of hues

and shades, some of which are visually recognizable, while others possess social rather than physiological reality. *Brancos* are, generally, persons whose appearance is definitely European. It is common to refer to those with light hair, skin, and eyes as *brancos finos* (refined whites) and those whose physical characteristics are more markedly Mediterranean, that is, darker skin and hair, as *brunettes* (brunets).

Preto (black) is both the official and vernacular term applied to Negro physical types. The word *Negro* is seldom used except in a scientific sense to describe race, any other use being considered derogatory and insulting. *Pretos* of lighter skin are referred to as *fulos* (a corruption of *fullah* to denote *fulani*—Islamized Negroes of the West African Sudan). *Cor do carvao* (color of coal) and *retinto* (dyed) are very dark negroid types. *Amarelo* (yellow), the only fairly clear-cut color designation, describes Asians, represented in Brazil chiefly by Japanese and a few Chinese.

Pardo is a catchall term that includes all persons not otherwise classified. It makes no racial distinctions as, for example, between Indians or light-colored Negroes. The army for identification purposes distinguishes *pardo claro* (light brown) and *pardo escuro* (dark brown), and popular usage denotes a myriad of different shades of *pardo*. Most *caboclos* (a name given to acculturated Indians, which is now used also in reference to copper-colored mulattoes and most peasants of the interior) are classified as *pardos*, as are persons of mixed blood. Brazilians use the general terms *mulatto* for persons of white and Negro mixture and *cafuso* for a cross between Indian and Negro.

d. Regarding foreigners

While Brazilians are often highly critical of the United States, U.S. society represents, at least materially, the type of society to which they aspire. Many educated Brazilians view themselves as occupying an intermediate position between the United States and Europe, tied to the former by the direction of social change in their way of life, and to the latter by their cultural traditions. Brazil maintains close ties with Portugal, although in a slightly patronizing fashion; today the cultures of the two lands are very different. Brazilians have been outgrowing a certain sense of inferiority vis-a-vis Europe and North America; for the first time, large numbers of Brazilians are taking sightseeing trips within Brazil itself. Brazilians find the British efficient and reliable though not cordial; they admire the ability of the Germans but strongly objected to the "master race" concept. They are on generally friendly terms with the other American republics but resent the Argentine assumption of racial superiority.

e. Personal characteristics

In general, the southern part of Brazil is similar in history and culture to the northern part of the United States, and northern Brazil, with its background of a slave-based plantation economy, resembles the southern United States. Although there are also many exceptions to these similarities, they do provide the basis for some comparisons. Regionalism has been as important a factor in Brazilian politics, economics, literature, and art as it has been in the United States. Brazilians frequently refer to their country as "many Brazils." They characterize the *Bahiano* from Bahia as eloquent and superficially brilliant. The *Paulista* from Sao Paulo is considered an energetic, efficient businessman; the *Paulista* in turn looks upon his industrialized state as a locomotive pulling 21 empty boxcars, representing the rest of Brazil. The *carioca*, as inhabitants of the city of Rio de Janeiro are called, is stereotyped as sly, urbane, talkative, and fun-loving. The *cearense* from the northeastern state of Ceara is considered a keen commercial man, while the *mineiro* from Minas Gerais is characterized as politically minded, highly traditional, and the possessor of a dry sense of humor.

Individualism is highly regarded and has been called the dominant motive of action in the value system. Each person is expected to be self-reliant and independent and to look after his own interests. He has the freedom to follow his own inclinations and ideas so long as they do not conflict with his family obligations. The family serves as the major organizing force in an otherwise amorphous and individualistic society. The general lack of social welfare agencies and the financial instability caused by inflation contribute to the sense that each person, especially a *patrao*, must look after himself and his dependents.

In many urban areas, however, change is becoming more desired and has even been termed the "enemy of backwardness" by some. Another barrier to social change is a lack of involvement in problems beyond those of the immediate family and friends. A resident of Rio de Janeiro may ignore the misery of the *favelados* (slum dwellers) unless he has personal contact with one of them (Figure 5). These attitudes are changing, however; the Superintendency for Development of the Northeast (SUDENE), the federal government's development project started in 1959, represents a massive, impersonal attempt to improve the economic situation of that part of the country.

FIGURE 5. The autobiography of Carolina Maria de Jesus, a resident of Rio de Janeiro's slums, made many educated Brazilians aware of the daily struggle for life of the urban lower classes (U/OU)

Brazilians generally have a somewhat easygoing approach to life and a confidence that "God is a Brazilian and at night corrects the errors that other Brazilians make during the day." Brazilians have a sense of humor about themselves and an awareness of the ridiculous; they are often appalled by the seriousness with which most Spanish-Americans view themselves. Often the Brazilian hopes to achieve his goal by approaching it indirectly, "playing it by ear" and relying on *jeito*—a combination of luck and ability to maneuver, cajole, and influence. It is typical of Brazilians to adopt a complicated and ritualized maneuver to get around a problem. People display great tolerance and patience during the process. Even getting a driver's license or making a phone call may be a difficult and taxing operation. The people generally display tolerance and resignation toward the inconveniences of life in overcrowded cities, occasionally releasing tensions by attending the very popular soccer games or by participating in carnivals.

Although professional soccer dates only from 1933, Brazilian audiences follow the sport with a devotion that may be unmatched anywhere in the world (Figure 6). During the late 1960's the National Sports Confederation had some 1,500 professional soccer clubs among its 20,000-club membership. No city or town of any size is without its soccer club. Nearly everyone can afford to see a major game occasionally at standee prices, which often run as low as US$0.10, and radio coverage of games is followed with excitement in remote rural areas. The Marcana Stadium in Rio de Janeiro, built for the 1950 World Cup soccer matches, can accommodate up to 200,000 persons, including standees. An indication of popular enthusiasm is shown by the fact that a moat surrounds the stadium's playing field to keep off overenthusiastic spectators. Another is the bedlam occasioned by the custom of bringing along transistor radios to hear as well as watch the contests. On November 19, 1969, when Pele, the star of the Santos professional soccer club, scored the thousandth goal of his distinguished career, a circumstance duly reported to the world by the international wire services, it was a matter for national celebration. Brazil's conquest of the World

FIGURE 6. Soccer stars are national heroes (U OU)

Cup in 1970 was a source of great national pride, and President Medici enhanced his popularity by identifying himself and his administration with the nation's sports triumph.

C. Population

Deficiencies in statistics greatly complicate the analysis of population trends in Brazil. No official records are kept of emigration or of internal migration, and in many areas, records of births and deaths are incomplete or nonexistent. The Brazilian censuses (Figures 7 and 8) are considered more accurate than those in many other countries of Latin America, but the census of 1960 apparently dropped sharply in quality and was never fully tabulated, and there have been many questions about the reliability of statistics based on it. The census taken in September 1970 is eventually expected to fill many of these gaps, but thus far only very minimal preliminary data are available. The slowness in releasing the figures probably is based in part on the size and complexity of the undertaking, but also the government is highly sensitive to the use of preliminary figures, on such subjects as income distribution, by domestic and foreign critics intent on embarrassing the regime. (U/OU)

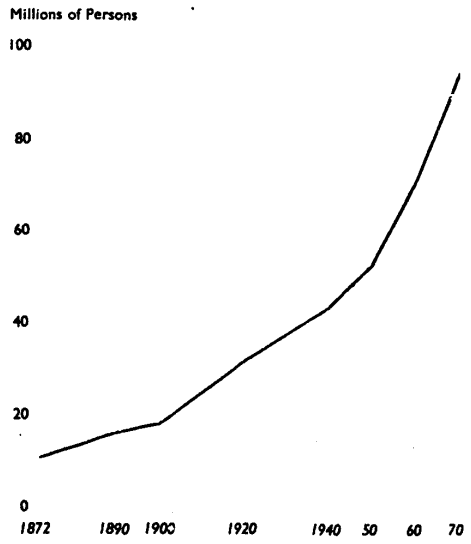


FIGURE 7. Population growth by census year (U/OU)

1. Size and growth rates (U/OU)

With a population estimated at 101,035,000 in mid-1973, Brazil is the world's seventh most populous nation. It has almost twice as many inhabitants as Mexico, its nearest rival in terms of population in Latin America, and four times as many as Argentina, the second most populous South American country. Brazilians comprise more than half the people of South America, and their numbers are expected to double, reaching over 200 million, by the year 2000.

On the basis of the reported population in 1960 and 1970, the estimated rate of natural increase during the decade was about 2.9%, a decrease from the approximately 3% annual rate registered during the previous decade. Errors in the census may mean the real rate between 1960 and 1970 was closer to 2.8%. Brazil's high rate of natural increase, like that of many developing nations, is primarily a result of a sharp decline in the death rate accompanied by only a slight decline in the birth rate. Although the infant mortality rate has declined sharply in the past 20 years, it remains one of the highest in Latin America, with wide regional variations within the country. In 1970 the infant mortality rate ran as high as 205 per 1,000 live births in Recife in the Northeast; in rural areas of that region the rate probably was considerably higher. The decline in infant mortality and other death rates has more than doubled life expectancy at birth since the latter part of the 19th century. In 1971 life expectancy was estimated at 63.1 years. Although advances in health and sanitation have resulted in a

FIGURE 8. Population statistics (U/OU)

	1950	1960	1970
Population*	51,944,397	70,119,071	93,204,379
Average annual growth rate (percent)	*3*	*3*	*2.9*
Birth rate (per 1,000 inhabitants)	43.2	41.7	36.5
Death rate (per 1,000 inhabitants)	19.2	11.7	7.8
Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births)	170	120	85-95

*May be low due to undernumeration.

notable rise in life expectancy in the developed South, the gain has been much less in other areas, particularly the Northeast.

2. Age-sex structure (U/OU)

Continued high fertility and reduction of infant and child mortality have made Brazil a very youthful country; the age-sex structure of the population in 1970 is compared with that of the United States in Figure 9. About 42% of the population is 14 years old or younger, and less than 11% is 50 or over. The high proportion of younger people means that Brazil has a very large number of dependents for each wage earner and that the nation also faces an enormous task in providing education. The population in both urban and rural areas is almost evenly divided between male and female; the estimated ratio is 100.6 males per 100 females.

3. Racial composition (U/OU)

The bulk of the population is derived from three major ethnic components, which during four centuries have become amalgamated to an extraordinary degree: European (particularly Portuguese and Italian), African Negro, and to a lesser extent American Indian. More recent immigration has brought additional European elements, Japanese, and also Christian Arabs from Lebanon and Syria. The Arab community totals about 3 million, most of whom are located in the States of Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Guanabara, Parana, Rio Grande do Sul, and Goias.

Figures pertaining to racial percentages have only marginal value, since there has been such a high degree of amalgamation that it is difficult to determine a person's racial composition with any degree of accuracy. Determination of race is also impeded by two cultural factors: in Brazil, race is based not simply on color but also on other physical characteristics; and there is a preferential bias in favor of white characteristics so that individuals tend to describe themselves as lighter than they are. In the 1950 census, when respondents stated their own color rather than leaving it to the census taker as was done earlier, the responses were as follows (in percent):

White	61.8
Brown	26.6
Negro	11.0
Yellow	0.6
	100.0

The 1951 antidiscrimination law eliminated references to race, so that the 1960 and 1970 censuses did not include racial percentages. An unofficial estimate in 1960 described the population as follows (in percent):

White	60
Mixed	30
Negro	8
Indian	2
	100

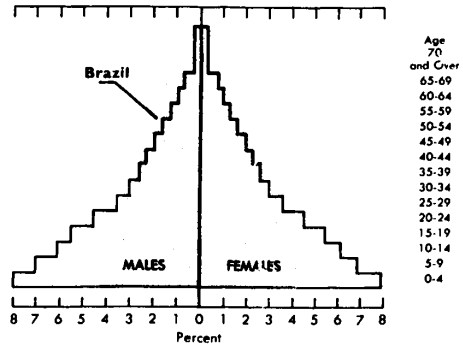


FIGURE 9. Population by age and sex, Brazil and the United States, 1970 (U/OU)

4. Immigration and emigration (U/OU)

Immigration, although an important factor in population growth in the past, has not been a significant source of population gain in recent decades. Between 1884 and 1964 nearly 5 million immigrants entered the country, with six countries—Italy, Portugal, Spain, Japan, Germany, and Russia—contributing 4.3 million of these. Portugal and Italy contributed approximately equal amounts, totaling over 62% of all immigrants during the 80-year period. Other countries adding significantly to the total were Austria, Turkey, Poland, Romania, France, the United States, the United Kingdom, Lithuania, and Argentina; lesser numbers have immigrated from most of the remaining countries of Europe, the Middle East, and other South American countries. Japanese immigration started in 1906, and over 200,000 had arrived by 1957; the largest group came in the years 1925 to 1935 (Figure 10).

Over 1.1 million immigrants came to Brazil during the decade just before 1900, representing the largest number in any 10-year period. During that decade the ratio between immigration and natural increase as a cause of population growth was about 1 to 3. During the years 1900 to 1920, the ratio dropped to 1 to 6, and between 1920 and 1940 it was 1 to 10. During recent

FIGURE 10. Descendents of Japanese immigrants (U/OU)

years it has become still lower, as the number of immigrants declined steadily from an annual average of 60,000 in the mid-1950's to 6,378 in 1971. In the mid-1960's there were only about 21 aliens and naturalized Brazilians per 1,000 of the total population.

Official immigration records, particularly during the early period, do not completely reflect the real situation, as many immigrants returned to their native lands or migrated to another country. The overall return rate for the period between 1884 and 1962 appears to have been about 30%, with a relatively high rate of return for Italians, Spanish, and other Europeans, but a low one for Japanese, nearly all of whom chose to remain in Brazil.

The basic legislation governing immigration, Decree-Law Number 7467 of 1945, and Decree-Law 941 of 1970, set both qualitative and quantitative limitations. In most cases, immigration from a particular country may not exceed 2% of the total number of persons who entered Brazil from that country during the preceding 50 years. Immigration is limited in general to those persons deemed capable of contributing to the country's economic and social development. Naturalization requires 2 years of residence for a citizen of Portugal, 3 years for persons coming from other countries and engaging in agriculture or industry, and 5 years for all others. The total of persons naturalized has averaged about 3,000 annually since the late 1960's. Several sections of the 1945 Act promote the use of selective immigration to settle unoccupied lands, establish new population centers, or contribute to industrial growth. Individuals entering under these provisions are required to sign contracts agreeing to engage in agricultural or industrial undertakings for a specific time. Settlement of immigrants is a responsibility of the National Institute for Immigration and Settlement, created in 1954. Particular emphasis is placed on attracting agriculturists, but out of 6,887 immigrants in 1970 only 235 were listed as agriculturists. Agreements for administration of immigration and colonization programs have been concluded with the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, and Japan, and Brazil cooperates closely with the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, created to assist refugees and other persons desiring to emigrate. Although Brazil's need for immigration is greatest in the agricultural sector, most newcomers, except the Japanese, have shown a decided preference for urban settlement.

The number of emigrants totaled approximately 55,000 during 1960-70, resulting in a net immigration to Brazil of 120,000 during that period. This net immigration compared with a total of 553,000 during 1950-60. The emigrants included a significant number of engineers, physicians, and scientists. This "brain drain" has become a matter of serious concern to the government. Some programs have been undertaken to encourage skilled Brazilians who have gone abroad to return, but the degree of success of these efforts is uncertain.

5. Geographic distribution and density (U/OU)

Historically an agrarian country, Brazil is now officially more urban than rural (Figure 11). The 1970 census indicated that Brazil had acquired an urban majority in the mid-1960's, the urban population having grown from about 45% of total population in 1960 to 56% in 1970. The figure may reach 67% by 1980. The 1970 census classified as "urban and suburban" those areas having 2,000 or more residents, thereby including not only the urban centers but also rural pockets and fringes of the *municipio* (county) in which the center is located. Thus, many of the localities classified as urban have few if any urban characteristics.

Brazilians, throughout the course of the country's history, have been a highly mobile people. Although the study of these internal migrations is still in an early stage, it is clear that the most significant migrations are those that have extended agriculture into new

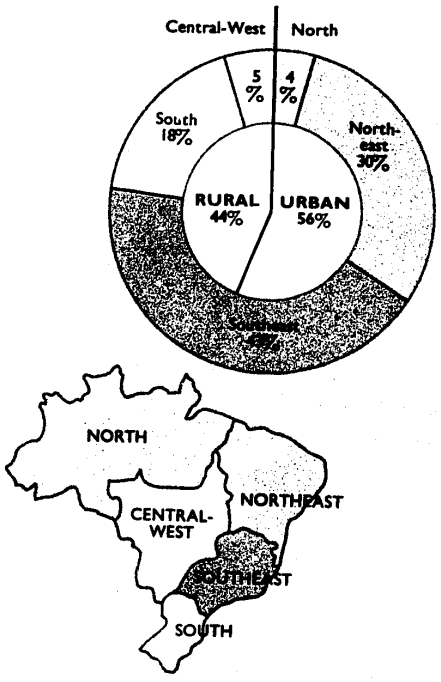


FIGURE 11. Population by major regions and urban/rural distribution, 1970 (U/OU)

areas and those that have drawn people from the countryside to the cities and towns. Migrants participating in both of these movements came primarily from the older rural regions. The net migration from these areas—particularly in the Northeast—during the 1950-60 period included about 7 million people, of whom 6 million moved into urban areas and 1 million moved to new agricultural frontiers. An estimated one-third of those who left rural homes during this decade found the move unsatisfactory and returned to their original points of departure, and some moved from one urban area to another, but there was no discernible movement of people from established urban localities to new rural homes. Although no official data are yet available on the 1960-70 period, the migration trends evident in the previous decade probably continued.

Of the several types of migrations since World War II, by far the most significant has been the shift from country to town. During the decade between 1960 and 1970, the growth rate of the rural sector was 1.1% annually, whereas for the urban sector it was 4.6%. Migration combined with natural increase has resulted in a tremendous expansion in Brazil's cities (Figure 12). In 1970 almost 79% of all urbanites lived in cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants, and 94 cities had more than 100,000 people. Although in absolute terms Sao Paulo continued to have the greatest population increase, the most rapid rate of growth during the decade was recorded by Brasilia. It is possible that Goiania, the capital of Goias State, is growing even more rapidly than the Federal Capital.

Almost the only area which has taken steps to try to stem the wave of migration to urban areas has been Sao Paulo State. In July 1971, the mayor of Sao Paulo noted that some 200,000 migrants converged annually on the Greater Sao Paulo area (the city plus the 36 surrounding *municipios*) and that the city could not adequately provide housing or public services at the rate required. He recommended that the city replace its slogan of "Sao Paulo Can't Stop" with "Sao Paulo Must Stop." Greater Sao Paulo, with over 8 million people in 1970, is one of the largest metropolitan areas in the Western Hemisphere. The annual growth rate of 5.4% during the period 1960-70 would mean a doubling of population every 14 years. Some 87% of the migrants to Greater Sao Paulo are illiterate, more than 50% have serious health problems, and almost none have job skills. Part of the state's effort to resolve the problem has been to train some workers and aid others in returning to their original residence. Also, since 1972 areas in the state outside of the Greater Sao Paulo zone have been assisted in providing economic opportunities for migrants from other states and for their own residents, thus deterring them from moving to the metropolis. The rapid growth of cities in Sao Paulo State, such as Campinas and Sao Jose dos Campos, suggests that such programs have some feasibility, but they probably will not stem the flow toward Greater Sao Paulo (Figure 13).

FIGURE 12. Population growth of principal urban areas (U/OU)

	1920	1950	1970
Sao Paulo	579,033	2,198,096	5,978,977
Rio de Janeiro	1,157,873	2,377,451	4,315,746
Belo Horizonte	55,463	352,724	1,255,415
Recife	238,843	524,682	1,084,459
Salvador	283,422	417,235	1,027,142
Porto Alegre	179,263	394,151	903,175
Fortaleza	78,536	270,169	872,702
Belem	236,402	254,949	642,514
Curitiba	78,986	180,575	624,362
Goiania	...	53,389	389,784

... Not pertinent.

FIGURE 13. Growth of central Sao Paulo from about 1920 to 1961 (U/OU)

The basic migratory movement from old agricultural regions, especially from the impoverished Northeast, to open up new agricultural lands began early in the country's history and is still in progress. The movement has been carried out by individual settlers and by government and private settlement programs. From 1950 to 1960 the population growth in newer rural areas was more than five times that in the older; this was especially evident in booming Parana State. The large State of Minas Gerais has the largest outward migration, largely because of its proximity to the wealthy States of Guanabara, Sao Paulo, and Parana.

According to the 1970 census, the national population density was 31 persons per square mile, but density in the various regions varies widely. As in 1960, the coastal lowlands and the southern plains and plateau remain the most densely populated parts of the country (Figure 1). In 1970 the State of Guanabara (the former Federal District), which encompasses the

city of Rio de Janeiro, had 3,685 inhabitants per square kilometer, representing the greatest density of any state in the nation. The relatively inhospitable natural features of the Central-West and Northeast highlands have resulted in a scanty population there, and much of the great Amazon Basin remains uninhabited. The predominant form of farm-village settlement in most parts of the country is the long village, a series of farms strung out at right angles to a watercourse or road. The settlement pattern remains incomplete for, although urbanization is progressing rapidly, vast areas in the interior consist of empty land still awaiting settlers. The Medici government is making considerable effort to populate these areas through colonization projects operated by INCRA.

6. Population policy (C)

Birth control is one of the most sensitive and controversial subjects in Brazil; there is both concerted opposition against and growing public support for the limitation of births. The opponents of family planning continue to give widespread attention to traditional arguments and even appropriate new factors such as the results of the 1970 census and Brazil's current impressive rate of economic growth. Nevertheless, organized and open resistance is weakening. The practice of family planning is spreading, especially in urban areas. Important interest groups are emphasizing the country's demographic problems, and high officials of government are known to favor a franker debate on the question, even though they remain silent for the moment.

Brazilians find themselves caught between the overlapping waves of two attitudes toward population growth. The traditional attitude emphasizes expansion of population and uses terms like colonization, occupation of space, exploitation of resources, and national greatness through a sizable population. The newer attitude is centered on planned national development and is slowly beginning to incorporate the contribution of demography to the analysis of economics, urbanization, health, and the quality of human existence.

The development of a policy of population limitation has been hampered by the traditional desire for more people. In an analysis of Brazilian national aspirations, the historian Jose Honorio Rodrigues calls occupation of the vast nearly empty lands of Brazil "a national dream." Before World War II, manpower was the basic need in the predominantly agricultural society. It was only the postwar industrial expansion that led planners to place more emphasis on an adequate supply of trained labor rather than on mere numbers of workers.

Brazil's historic need for population was not only economic, but also linked to security. Portugal, and afterwards Brazil, always feared that some other country would take advantage of the lack of population to annex some of its territory. This possible security threat has been a particular preoccupation of the armed forces, which have advocated programs to settle the interior rapidly. In addition, the Brazilians' desire for an important world role has reinforced the opinion that a large population is an asset.

The 1960's in Brazil, as in other Latin American countries, opened a period when many people—mainly in urban areas—began to adopt contraceptive practices and when pressure groups began to urge new approaches to the subject of demographic growth. The major groups favoring population control include many economists and medical men. A private organization, the Brazilian Society for Family Welfare (BEMFAM), founded in 1965, is the only important family planning organization in the country. BEMFAM, which is affiliated with and largely supported by the International Planned Parenthood Federation, now operates 70 clinics in some 17 states. Abortion is illegal, but the prevalence of abortions—estimated in 1965 at 1.5 million annually—makes the law unenforceable. Propaganda for contraception is also illegal, contraceptive devices are freely sold in pharmacies.

The issue of population control has been a very sensitive one for the government; no official at the national level has ever come out openly in favor of it. The official position of the Medici administration apparently is that voiced by Finance Minister Antonio Delfim Neto, the only cabinet member to speak publicly on the issue. Delfim Neto has argued that the high rate of economic growth will provide jobs for the increased population and that a program large enough to affect the birth rate would divert resources that could be more effectively invested in increased production; moreover, birth control eventually will be adopted on an individual basis, with no need for the government to become involved. Some cabinet members, such as Education Minister Jarbas Passarinho, privately favor more involvement in population control, but their positions in the government could be jeopardized by opposing the official stand. In June 1971, the government of the State of Rio Grande do Norte became the first official body to sign an agreement to aid BEMFAM in its efforts to limit population growth. The state government agreed to provide offices and staff to BEMFAM for the operation of clinics to "offer information and services necessary for the promotion of family welfare." BEMFAM signed a similar

agreement with the State of Alagoas in 1972, and there are also agreements with mayors of several cities.

The Catholic Church in Brazil is probably the most open to family planning of any in Latin America. Officially the episcopate supports the position of Pope Paul VI in his encyclical *Humanae Vitae* opposing artificial birth control, but in practice some bishops and priests accept contraception on an individual basis. Leading Brazilian theologians in articles and books have disagreed with Pope Paul. Several theologians are regular participants in the seminars of BEMFAM, in which they state that the practice of family planning does not contradict the teachings of the Catholic Church.

Other sectors of the population also are divided on the issue. The overwhelming majority of military officers practice family planning and generally recognize the negative impact of population proliferation on the standard of living of the average Brazilian. Some older, more senior officers oppose birth control because of their traditional upbringing and their long acceptance of the belief that Brazil needs more people to speed its development—a concept unchallenged until quite recently. Newspapers reflect the dual pressures of the traditional and modern policies. Only two major newspapers, *O Estado de Sao Paulo* of Sao Paulo and *O Globo* of Rio de Janeiro have strongly and consistently campaigned for family planning. A few newspapers rigidly oppose the idea, while the majority seem to vacillate.

Extreme nationalists of both the left and right have always been strongly opposed to birth control and exploit the issue whenever possible. They have labeled birth control a "conspiracy" by the more developed countries, especially the United States, to "keep the Brazilian giant down."

The decline in the birth rate may be evidence that family planning is gaining ground, although the high abortion rate probably also has been a major contributing factor. Officials of the Medici administration such as Delfim Neto are using this trend to support their view that the reduction of demographic growth will occur without a government campaign behind it. It is likely that the birth rate will continue to fall throughout the 1970's.

D. Societal aspects of labor

1. Employment opportunities and problems (U/OU)

Preliminary data from the 1970 census indicated that the economically active population totaled approximately 30 million. Although over half of all

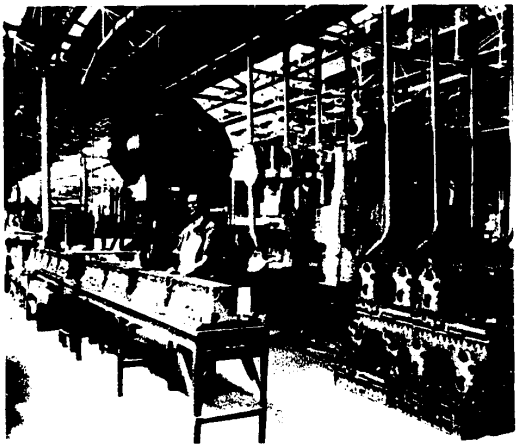


FIGURE 14. Worker in a modern automobile factory in the growing industrial center of Sao Jose dos Campos (U/OU)

Brazilians now live in urban areas, the largest single bloc of workers is engaged in agriculture. Some 3 million agricultural workers receive no remuneration, and many others receive only token payment for their services. Reflecting the rapid expansion of industry, workers in this sector now represent the second largest bloc in the labor force (Figure 14).

Although extensive efforts have been made to develop sparsely populated areas, the concentration of the labor force in the broad coastal strip is likely to continue for many years and to be accentuated by continuing industrial expansion in the South and Southeast. The geographic distribution of the labor force continues to be strongly affected by the migration of rural workers to the cities. This trend has had a marked impact on the agricultural sector, which declined from about 52% of the labor force in 1960 to only 42% in 1970. The trend away from agriculture generally means an improvement in the lives of the workers concerned. Those in the agricultural sector have the least schooling—the average farm worker has received only 1 year of education, and over 50% have had none at all. They also have the lowest pay—on an average of the equivalent of US$28.50 per month in 1970. Some 250,000 of these workers are now leaving the land every year to seek better jobs. Since most of the cities are in the coastal area, this migration has largely affected this region. The five States of Sao Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, Guanabara, Minas Gerais, and Rio de Janeiro—which occupy only 14% of the national territory—contain about 75% of the industrial labor force.

Although every census since 1940 shows an increase in the share of the total labor force represented by manufacturing workers, they represented less than 8% of the labor force in 1970. These workers—who are concentrated largely in Sao Paulo—constitute the elite of the manual labor force. Although not generally satisfied with their income or working conditions, these workers have gained considerable benefit from the growth of the manufacturing sector during the past two decades.

Some occupational specialization is apparent among the ethnic groups. Established families of Portuguese origin, descendants of early settlers, probably contain a higher than average proportion of owners and managers. They dominate the retail food industry—bakeries, groceries, and restaurants—although many are engaged in other retail trade service activities. Those of other European background predominate in heavy industry. Japanese Brazilians, of whom over half a million are located in the State of Sao Paulo, are chiefly truck farmers. The tribal Indians, who live in the interior and were not included in the census data, are engaged chiefly in subsistence agriculture, hunting, and fishing. Although slavery was abolished in 1888 and many Negroes have acquired skills or entered professions, the proportion of Negroes employed in unskilled occupations is much above the national average.

The number of women in the work force has increased as follows (in millions):

1960	4.1
1970	6.2

Some women have achieved well-remunerated positions of responsibility; most, however, perform routine occupations and usually receive less pay than men doing the same kind of work. Their representation in the well-paid industrial labor force of Sao Paulo has increased dramatically in the years since World War II. Still, in the 1960 census women comprised 63% of all service workers; some 28% of the entire labor force were so engaged. The predominance of females in this field results primarily from their employment as teachers and clerical workers, as well as domestic servants. Females are increasingly active economically as a result of the growing relaxation of the traditional prejudice against women working outside the home or the family enterprise. Relatively few females are employed in trade, an occupational sector that offers substantial employment to women in some other Latin American countries. Few women are found in union leadership positions, and there is no movement to encourage such leadership among women. Banking and telephone unions have a high proportion of women members, but usually the women's departments in these unions are devoted solely to social activities. The highest work participation rate for males is in the ages of 25 to 49, whereas for females it is highest in the ages 15 to 24. At older ages, it suffers a progressive decline for both groups. The relatively higher rate of female participation at younger ages probably results from the considerable migration of young women from country to town, their employment as domestics and in other service occupations, coupled with their early withdrawal from the labor force following marriage and assumption of family responsibilities.

The participation of children in the labor force seems to be declining with the increasing availability of education. The number of working children under the age of 15 generally has been considerably higher than the official estimates, which have not included children working in concession stands, as bootblacks, or as lottery ticket sellers. In addition, the laws prohibiting employment of minors have been largely overlooked in view of family need and the lack of schools. Most Brazilians probably have been in the labor market since age 14. In the immediate future, the educational reforms being gradually implemented are likely to change this picture. The decision to implement the constitutional requirement for free, public education for all children age 7 to 14 may mean some children who formerly dropped out of school after only one or two years will remain in school longer. The increasing emphasis on developing some vocational skills in school should make children better able to earn a satisfactory living when they do end their studies.

The Brazilian workers' greatest problems are unemployment and—more commonly—underemployment, the lack of education and specialized training, and a high turnover rate in jobs. Real wages grew rapidly during the late 1950's, but the inflation of the early 1960's caused considerable erosion. The government's anti-inflation campaign from 1964 to 1968 kept wages down, and only since then have they kept up with or gone slightly ahead of the inflation rate. The government's refusal to permit strikes and the lack of authentic representative spokesmen for labor are roadblocks to workers' efforts to improve their lot. The government since 1964, in making policy affecting the workers' interests, has almost never sought their views.

During most of the past decade the economy has been under heavy and increasing pressure to supply new jobs. The labor force has been increasing in size

by an estimated average of 1.2 million annually. At the same time, an increasing number of marginal jobs has been endangered both by mechanization and introduction of better agricultural practices and by a shift from labor-intensive to capital-intensive operations in industry.

Unemployment is primarily a problem of the unskilled and semiskilled. The shortage of skilled and technical workers is such that they have little trouble finding jobs. In addition, unemployment affects the two sexes unequally. Government surveys in various parts of the country in 1968 showed unemployment of females from one-third to one-fourth higher than that of males.

Underemployment is a serious problem, and the underemployed are vastly underpaid. In the mid-1960's underemployed persons were estimated to represent as much as 40% of the labor force. The problem is most serious in the agricultural sector where whole families work to produce a living at the subsistence level, and where elimination of the work of one or more family members would not result in any perceptible drop in production. In the urban sector, underemployment is especially serious among the unskilled engaged in marginal retail trade and personal services. The relatively low wages paid to unspecialized and manual labor has often resulted in overhiring in many labor-intensive industrial enterprises, commercial services, and the larger plantations. In the case of better educated people, the problem of underemployment is often countered by holding two or more jobs, a frequent situation among teachers and civil servants. Government agencies at all levels tend to be heavily staffed, and the work hours generally allow workers the time necessary to supplement their income with a second job.

2. Attitudes toward work (U/OU)

Historically, Brazilians' attitudes toward work and wealth have reflected Portuguese colonial traditions and the plantation society. In this environment, standards of gentlemanly behavior developed which placed high value on mental rather than physical activities and on wealth acquired genteelly rather than through strenuous effort. The ideal man traditionally gained wealth as a landowner, professional man, or public administrator and was able to enjoy a dignified and leisurely life. In the past, efficiency was not highly valued, but attitudes are changing rapidly in the industrialized areas of the South and Southeast where the rewards for effort are more apparent. In the agricultural zones, effort does not always produce greater income or prestige and, therefore, has not been generally valued.

In the past some sections of the upper classes have had an aversion to business and industrial activity, and the most prestigious careers were medicine and the law. Since the 1940's engineering and economics have become increasingly popular fields. A "get rich quick" attitude toward wealth prevails in much of the country. A history of boom and bust in economic life has reinforced the attitude that wealth is more the result of good fortune than of careful planning and hard work. Great fortunes were made quickly during the sugar, gold, diamond, cotton, rubber, cocoa, and coffee booms. In contrast, there has been relatively little interest in establishing a stable business built up over the years with a small profit margin. The native Brazilians' reluctance to engage in economic activities which required long-term investment of money and energy proved an advantage for immigrants. Many Italians and Portuguese bought small businesses such as groceries, and Japanese became wealthy through intensive truck farming. Their descendents are influential members of the business and industrial community.

Because manual work in industry tends to be regarded as inferior, those who have achieved a basic education and therefore are better prepared to acquire skills tend to seek higher social status through service employment in banks, commercial houses, and public administration. Because most of the services sector of the labor force is made up of people unable to find work elsewhere, a general lack of skills and a low level of productivity are characteristic in much of that sector. A high degree of mechanization in the big, modern factories has greatly increased the productivity of industrial workers, whereas agriculture and the services sector have continued to lag far behind.

3. Organization of labor (C)

a. Government control

The heavy hand of the government in all labor matters—settlement of disputes, regulation of wages and working conditions, and control over the leaders of worker and employer organizations—has prevented the development of an independent labor movement. The long-term effects of denying unions an independent role may well be the weakening of influence of the democratic leaders and the strengthening of those of the radical left. There is little doubt that if free elections were permitted, many of the unions would replace their present officers with persons of more radical views.

Labor leaders, especially at the national and state levels, have been forced to make their influence felt through political action, either by lobbying at the

Ministry of Labor and Social Security or by associating with prolabor political figures. More than any other Brazilian politician, former President Joao Goulart used labor for political ends. When he was Minister of Labor and Social Security (1953-54) in the Vargas Cabinet, his diligence in manipulating the labor movement to promote Vargas' Brazilian Labor Party so incensed the military that they forced his removal. As Vice President under Kubitschek (1956-61) and as President (1961-64), Goulart controlled the appointment of labor leaders to high patronage positions and helped many pro-Communists reach positions of prominence in labor in return for the support of the Communist Party in electoral campaigns. He apparently attempted to build up a Communist-led labor force to counter industrialist and military pressures and yet keep it sufficiently under his control to prevent a complete Communist takeover. His strategy proved successful in 1962 when political strikes called by the extralegal Communist-led Workers General Command (CGT) helped build up pressures which forced the Congress to return full presidential powers to him. At the time of Goulart's ouster, four of Brazil's six major labor confederations were dominated by the Communists.

Following Goulart's downfall, many Communist and pro-Communist labor leaders went into hiding or exile or were arrested. Documents were found showing that the CGT misused trade union tax funds for Communist-front political activities, that the CGT was promoting mutinous efforts by army and navy noncommissioned officers, and that it planned a nationwide general strike to support closing the Congress if the legislators did not pass Goulart's reform program within 30 days. The Castello Branco government prohibited further activity by the CGT, most of the CGT leaders suffered suspension of their political rights under an Institutional Act, and federal intervention was ordered in the national and state confederations and local unions controlled by the CGT. Most of these unions continued operating under government-appointed trustees (interventors) or provisional committees until investigations were completed and new elections authorized. Most of these elections took place; only about 20 interventions are still in effect.

The Consolidation of Labor Laws (the labor code), promulgated in 1943 when Getulio Vargas was dictator, was designed to make both labor and management subordinate to the government. The code provides that both workers and employers be organized in syndicates, federations, and confederations, from local to national levels, under the strict regulation of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security. The government's extensive prerogatives include the power to refuse to charter a union, to withdraw any union's charter, to nullify the results of elections, to veto any candidacy in such elections, and to intervene when deemed necessary. Most importantly, the government controls the distribution of the *imposto sindical* (trade union tax, 1 day's pay per year per worker); this control enables the government to play a dominant role in labor affairs, since most state and national labor organizations have little other income. In addition, the government can offer many well-paying positions in the ministry and in social security institutes to cooperative labor leaders.

The paternalism inherent in the relationship between the government and labor, spelled out by the Constitution and the labor code has been the subject of much contention. The considerable detail in which the law spells out the terms of conditions for employment, coupled with the dependence of unions on government collection of funds as their principal sources of income, has been criticized as blunting organized labor's independence of action. An opposite position has held that the laws give labor a security it could not otherwise have attained, and that, without the provision of funds the unions could not have developed a broad membership basis.

The Ministry of Labor and Social Security enforces labor legislation, functions as the official control point for organized labor activities, and supervises a variety of semiautonomous agencies concerned with labor. The ministry's labor functions are performed through regional delegates in the states, as well as in the Federal District. Under the ministry, national departments have the following functions:

LABOR

Enforces labor standards and collective agreements, processes appeals against fines for violation of standards, passes judgment on violation of laws by unions, and supervises an inspection service. Charters labor unions, advises them on procedure, audits their accounts, and offers instruction in human relations, leadership, and labor law.

MANPOWER

Studies labor supply and demand, supervises technical and vocational training, and acts as coordinator of employment service activities. Maintains a labor register and issues identification cards to workers.

WAGES

Administers the preparation and enforcement of wage legislation, assembles data on prices, and maintains cost of living and wage indexes.

LABOR SAFETY AND HYGIENE

Conducts research on industrial accidents, drafts labor hygiene regulations, conducts research on occupational illnesses, and administers laws and regulations concerning child and female labor.

Regional labor delegates exercise locally the law enforcement responsibilities of the National Department of Labor. With broad authority in the state to which he is assigned, the regional delegate has jurisdiction over all workers with the exception of seamen, port workers, and fishermen, who are supervised by regional maritime labor delegates attached to port captaincies under the Ministry of the Navy.

b. Workers' organizations

Guilds and mutual benefit societies have existed since the colonial era, and constitutions since 1891 have asserted the right of association and freedom to combine in labor unions. Modern unions were not organized until the beginning of the 20th century, however, and were not legally recognized until 1907.

Under President Vargas in the 1930's a corporative state was established, patterned on Portuguese and Italian models. Labor was brought under government control as a basic element in the new governmental system. Using the Italian *Carta Lavoura* as a model, Vargas removed the freedom to organize competing trade unions, and limited organization for each economic sector to a single union. Unions not conforming to the new plan were declared illegal.

Under the system prevailing since then, governmental supervision of internal union affairs does not end with the ministry's right to prescribe the conditions of recognition and jurisdiction. The law specifies the administrative pattern for unions at all levels, including terms of office, qualifications and responsibilities of officers, and procedures for holding union elections. The ministry states when union elections shall take place and has the power to annul the results and to order new ones under government supervision.

The Minister of Labor and Social Security is empowered to intervene in the operation of a union if, in his opinion, the union is not adequately fulfilling its function. He may remove union officers and appoint a deputy to administer the union in case of violations of union regulations, which are also punishable by fines, suspension of the union, or revocation of the charter.

The government regulates the income and expenditures of each union, whether of employees, employers, or self-employed. Unions must present their budgets for the approval of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security and account for expenditures in annual reviews. A major source of financial support for the government is provided by the union tax collected annually from each employer, nonagricultural employee, and the self-employed, whether or not a union member. Employers pay in proportion to their capital investment. They deduct the worker's tax and forward it to the Bank of Brazil in the name of the union to which the worker belongs. If no union is organized in that locality, the money goes directly to either a corresponding federation or confederation, or is paid to the Union Social Fund.

Only one union is permitted for a given trade or occupation in any one geographic area. Since a union may obtain legal recognition when it includes one-third of the workers in its field in the area of its jurisdiction, labor leaders have been able to benefit from the collection of the union tax from all workers, even when the leaders have organized only the required minimum.

Union leaders assert that total membership is about 12 million, but only around 10% of the members are active in the affairs of the unions. Membership claims are exaggerated in order to gain government funds, which are distributed to the unions on the basis of the number of affiliated workers. According to the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, in November 1971 there were 6,053 labor unions, professional associations, and employer organizations.

Five or more unions may band together to form a federation; three or more federations, usually organized on a statewide or interstate basis, may form a national confederation, of which a maximum of eight are permitted. The largest and most important of the eight national labor confederations is the National Confederation of Industrial Workers (CNTI), with an estimated membership of 6 million. The others are the National Confederation of Commercial Workers (CNTC), 3.5 million; the National Confederation of Agricultural Workers (CONTAG), 2.5 million; the National Confederation of Land Transport Workers (CNTTT), 500,000; the National Confederation of Air, River, and Maritime Transport Workers (CNTTMFA), 450,000; the National Confederation of Workers in Credit Institutions (CONTEC), 250,000; the National Confederation of Communications and Publicity Workers (CONTCOP), 100,000; and the National Confederation of Educational and Cultural Workers (CNTEEC), 30,000 members.

There is little cohesion among the eight workers' confederations, a situation in accord with the wishes of the government, which wants to prevent any possibility of joint action by the organizations. Brazilian labor law does not sanction central organizations comparable to the AFL-CIO in the United States, or the Trade Unions Congress of Great Britain. Under the corporate concept spelled out in the 1943 Consolidation of Labor Laws, the federal

government itself, through the agency of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, performs the central function in the labor movement.

Since the Vargas era, Brazilian governments have used "tame" labor leaders, openly labeled *pellegos* (stooges), to maintain control of organized labor. One prominent *pellego*, for example, is Ary Campista, president of the CNTI. Campista has maneuvered himself into positions of prominence in every administration of the past 20 years. Others, some of them relative newcomers who have achieved prominence since the military came to power, have also personally profited from their positions in government-directed agencies. Few, if any, people remain as labor leaders unless they are prepared to go along with the policy line indicated by the ministry.

In 1971 the ministry stipulated completion of a special educational program on such subjects as union administration, welfare, and economics would be a requirement for all candidates for union offices. At a pilot course in late 1971, the classes included lectures by civilian officials and military officers on union matters, as well as such political topics as national security and the 200-mile territorial waters issue.

Since the early 1950's unions affiliating formally with international worker organizations have been required to obtain authorization by presidential decree for such affiliation, although some informal international union ties were not affected. Regulation of foreign ties was tightened substantially in 1968 after a leftist-inspired political campaign aimed against association of Brazilian unions with anti-Communist international labor groups. A decree was issued prescribing strict control over all aspects of labor's international relations, as well as the operations of international labor bodies with interests in Brazil. The International Labor Organization (ILO) was specifically excepted from this control.

Under the terms of this decree, unions wishing to affiliate with an international group, and international organizations wishing to establish offices or representation in Brazil, are required to submit applications to the Ministry of Labor and Social Security for consideration; approval by the President is required. The decree further stipulates that representatives of international labor bodies are subject to supervision by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security. They must submit annual financial reports and projected budgets to the ministry, as well as any additional information requested.

Four of the eight national labor confederations (CNTI, CNTC, CNTTT, and CONTCOP), are affiliated with the moderate International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and its Latin American associate, the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT).

The overt influence of communism in Brazil's organized labor movement is in virtual eclipse. During the early 1960's, however, Communist influence had been strong in the leadership of many unions, and had been in control of three national federations and the Peasant Leagues of rural workers. In 1962, 60 Brazilian labor leaders attended the Fifth World Congress of the leftist World Federation of Trade Unions in Moscow.

Since the end of World War II, there has been increasing interest in Latin American labor displayed by the international trade secretariats that during earlier years had concerned themselves principally with European and North American labor programs. The secretariats having affiliates in Brazil are the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International Federation and the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers. Brazilian labor also cooperates with the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), a labor-oriented assistance program in which United States private enterprise, labor organizations, and foreign assistance programs participate jointly. AIFLD has worked with Brazilian labor in educational programs including leadership training for union leaders, and a variety of social projects. Another program involving direct union-to-union cooperation is a personnel exchange program enabling union-leader delegations from the United States and Brazil to visit one another, and to encourage maintenance of such a relationship on a continuing basis. Programs with Brazil and Japan were the first two of this sort undertaken by the United States labor movement.

The Medici government, like its predecessor, has viewed the activities of foreign labor organizations, which are in part aimed at developing a more active and politically independent movement in Brazil, as a possible threat to strict government control over organized labor. The government has also been extremely sensitive to any foreign criticism, and at a meeting of the ILO in June 1972, Labor Minister Julio Barata declared that the Brazilian Government "would not accept advice on its labor policy from any nation."

4. Management organizations (U/OU)

Some of the management associations are spontaneous in origin, having evolved from a coming together of commercial leaders in the old seaport cities. Their principal aims are to exchange mutually

important information and to influence the government on matters of concern to the business community. Among the most prominent of such bodies is the Commercial Association of Rio de Janeiro. Founded in 1834, it provides its members with advice and guidance in a wide range of business matters, maintains an extensive commercial library, and acts for its members in dealings with the government. It is the senior member of the Federation of Commercial Associations of Brazil, which publishes an important commercial periodical, *Revista das Classes Produtoras* (Review of the Producing Classes).

U.S. business firms have their own representation in the 50-year-old American Chambers of Commerce for Brazil, with principal chapters in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, in which the U.S. ambassador and the U.S. consul general, respectively, serve as honorary presidents.

Management associations with industrial rather than commercial orientations have come into being with the growth of industry since World War II. Of particular significance among these has been the Brazilian Association for the Development of Basic Industry. Created in 1955, this organization furnishes advice to its members, arranges the pooling of high-level industrial skills, and serves to draw together other management organizations with industrial interests. Management of the mining industry is represented by the Brazilian Mining Association, which was founded in 1963.

A second kind of management association was brought into being with the restructuring of organized labor during the late 1930's. As set forth in the Consolidation of Labor Laws, employers unions (*sindicatos empregadores*) made up of employers and self-employed persons are organized by economic sector in categories like those of the worker unions, except that provision is also made for associations representing the professions. Like the labor unions, the management unions (associations) are supported by a union tax prorated among the local, state, and national organizations. It is levied on members and nonmembers alike. For employers, the amount is determined on the basis of the company's capital assets; for the self-employed, it is calculated by the local association subject to confirmation by the National Department of Labor.

Five or more employer associations may combine to form federations, and a confederation may be formed by three federations. The principal officially chartered employer organizations are the National Confederation of Industry (CNI) and the National Confederation of Commerce (CNC). They administer vocational training programs and maintain statistical sections, administrative branches, and economic staffs which make special studies of economic problems. On the local level employer organizations negotiate collective agreements and represent employers in regional labor courts and also represent them in relations with Congress and state and local assemblies on matters concerning them.

Apart from these officially recognized organizations for employers, employers in practice have relied extensively upon such private groupings as the Council of the Producing Classes of the State of Sao Paulo to protect their interests. The government itself generally has preferred to act through executive groups composed of government and industry representatives, instead of consulting the trade associations. A group of this type, for example, proved very effective in converting the automobile industry from assembly plants to full production facilities.

A similar type of employer organization, the rural association (*associacao rural*), was brought into being by legislation in 1945. The local associations are joined into federations, formed usually on a statewide basis, and all federations are combined in a national confederation, which by the end of 1964 was made up of over 2,000 local associations and a membership of some 514,000.

A 1966 decree law revised the rural employer association system by creating a National Confederation of Agriculture, replacing the old organization established under the 1945 legislation. The new plan called for the transformation of the old local associations either into ones similar to the local urban employer groups, or into civil nonprofit organizations.

The Association of Christian Business Executives (ADCE), an affiliate of the international Union of Christian Patronage, is a Catholic lay management organization. Founded in 1961, the ADCE promoted a type of liberal Christian Democratic program during the Quadros and Goulart regimes. Because of this activism, it subsequently was viewed by the leaders of the 1964 revolution as being "socialistic" and therefore undesirable. Consequently, a number of pressures were brought to bear on the ADCE which caused it to decline in size and importance. It now has about 500 members. The programs it supports are minimal and not very significant; two small cooperative factories established in the 1960's have had no success. Although church officials, such as Eugenio Cardinal Sales of Rio de Janeiro, have urged the ADCE to become more involved in social action projects, the organization's present conservative

leadership and the government's hostility are likely to prevent adoption of any programs such as those undertaken before 1964.

5. Labor legislation (U/OU)

The principal provisions regulating labor are contained in the Consolidation of Labor Laws, promulgated in 1943 and amended in 1967. Among other matters, the consolidation regulates the work day, wages, labor safety and hygiene, and individual and collective labor contracts and contains rules of procedure for labor courts. In practice, conditions of employment are prescribed by law in such detail that only a relatively narrow field remains to be defined by bargaining between labor and management. Such matters as working hours, days of rest, vacations, contracts and retirement are covered by legislation, which appears to be observed in urban localities. The Statute for the Rural Worker, passed in March 1963, was intended to give farm workers the same protection as urban labor. Certain different rules apply to employment in the countryside, however, and the wide dispersal of the rural localities makes enforcement of regulations almost impossible in many farm areas.

Personnel seeking employment must present to the prospective employer a work card (*carteira profissional*) issued by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security. This card provides information concerning the dates of previous service and the amount of remuneration but does not include qualitative evaluation of performance. Except in the major cities, few facilities are available for verification or evaluation of an applicant's performance record.

Only officially recognized labor unions and the corresponding employer associations are empowered to negotiate a collective contract. It then must be ratified by two-thirds of the membership in the negotiating union and is not effective until approved by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security. Once approved, the contract has the force of law. It is valid for a period not to exceed 2 years, and the 1-year contract is customary. It is designed for application at either the industrywide or regional level. Although collective contracts are occasionally negotiated informally between individual firms and local unions, they are not enforceable until registered with the Ministry of Labor and Social Security or a labor court.

The settlement of labor disputes and to a large extent the administration of collective wage agreements are handled by three levels of labor courts, although the executive branch can intervene in some cases, even overruling labor court decisions. All labor courts include representatives of workers and employers, in addition to appointed judges. Most grievances are heard at the local level in the conciliation boards; disputes over collective agreements are generally handled at the regional level of tribunals. Negotiations between unions and employers or employer associations are supervised by the regional labor courts, which issue decisions on terms and conditions of work. Maximum legal wage adjustments, however, are now controlled by the indexes calculated by the National Department of Wages of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, and the labor courts' role is to conciliate within these limits. In only a few instances is agreement reached by direct negotiations between worker and employer organizations. Whenever agreement cannot be obtained at the local or regional level, appeal may be made to the Superior Labor Tribunal, which is the highest labor court of appeals. Because the labor courts have to deal with so many cases, some involving nonpayment of wages to individuals, heavy workloads and long delays in hearing cases are common.

The right to strike, subject to government regulation, was recognized by the 1946 Constitution, but legislation implementing this provision was delayed until 1964. A simple majority at a meeting of the general membership of the union is required to declare a strike, but the government has established a variety of preconditions that inhibit the declaration and implementation of a strike. Another obstacle to the exercise of this basic right is government control of labor unions through its legal power to replace union leaders.

Minimum wages are more meaningful in Brazil than in many other countries. First established in 1936, the system in theory now covers all wage workers except public employees and domestic workers. Minimum wages are fixed by the National Wage Policy Council, whose members are the Ministers of Labor and Social Security, Transportation and Public Works, Industry and Commerce, Mines and Energy, and Planning and General Coordination. This body is assisted by the National Department of Wages, an administrative division of the Labor Ministry which performs technical studies on the subject. This department does periodic cost-of-living research to set minimum wage levels for different lines of activity in the various regions and to determine the currency adjustment indexes to be applied to wages. Wage rates may be set in collective labor agreements or by decision of the labor courts. The law requires minimum wages to be revised at least every 2 years, but rising costs of living have made annual

adjustments necessary. In the Northeast, in particular, the minimum wage as prescribed by law has often tended to coincide with the standard hourly, daily, or monthly regular payment. In more prosperous parts of the country, such as Guanabara and Sao Paulo, the legal minimum has provided a kind of yardstick as actual wages are often determined on the basis of multiples of the legal minimum wage. In addition, apprentices between the ages of 14 and 18 legally may be paid half the minimum wage. It is reportedly a common practice to hire young people at this reduced wage, without offering the benefits of apprenticeship training. In rural employment, which still makes up a substantial proportion of the national total, the frequently informal nature of work contracts coupled with the relative absence of government inspection makes enforcement of the legal minimums difficult.

A substantial part of a worker's income consists of fringe benefits, which include severance pay, social security, paid vacations and holidays, premium pay for overtime and night work, family allowances, and a "13th month" bonus. The degree to which workers, particularly in rural areas, receive these benefits varies greatly. The cost to the employer of the supplemental benefits required by law varies between 35% and 55% of the total payroll, according to the size of the firm. Voluntary benefits provided by employers represent an additional 8%-20% of the average employer's labor costs.

The government also provides some direct benefits to workers, including scholarships for children in secondary school. Another program channels funds from the federal lottery to unions for use in their educational, health, and recreation programs.

Severance pay amounts to 1 month's wages, at the highest rate paid the worker, for each year of employment. In addition, the law stipulates that employees gain permanent tenure after 10 years of service in an enterprise. Social security provides 1) old age pensions; 2) retirement pensions; 3) survivors' pensions; 4) disability pensions; 5) paid sick leave; 6) medical and hospital services; 7) maternity benefits; 8) funeral grants; 9) unemployment insurance; and 10) special programs for food distribution and medical aid. In addition, the bulk of workers' housing has been financed through social security institutes. After 1 year's employment a worker is entitled to a paid vacation of 20 working days. There are 7 legal national holidays, and each state and each municipality may declare up to 7 additional local holidays. The average number of paid holidays is between 12 and 14. The legal premium for overtime and nightwork is 20%. Supplemental payments for work performed under unhealthful conditions are prescribed by law, but enforcement is erratic.

Family allowances are paid by establishments whose workers are covered by the social security system. A monthly allowance of 5% of the appropriate legal minimum wage is paid to employees and workers for each child under 14 years of age. If both parents are employed, each receives allowances for the same children. The cost is borne entirely by the employer. The "13th month," or Christmas bonus, is equal to 1 month's pay, without deductions.

The law guarantees the right of all workers to government-financed rest clinics and vacation resorts. Establishments which are located more than 2 kilometers (approximately 1.25 miles) from a school and which permanently employ more than 30 illiterate minors are required to furnish primary education to their workers. Employed persons (except those in positions of trust) whose transfer for the convenience of the employer involves a change of residence are entitled to a premium of 25% over their regular wages for the duration of their service in the new locality.

Unsatisfactory working conditions contribute to low productivity. Safety laws are seldom enforced outside the large industrial cities. In 1970, accidents affected approximately one in every seven workers. The Industrial Social Service is a private organization compulsorily supported by industry through a federal law which imposes a 2% tax on industrial payrolls. No governmental funds are provided to this organization, which has a central agency and regulatory departments in each state of Brazil. The Industrial Medicine Service is expanding, although it is not yet very effective outside the main industrial centers. In rural areas working conditions depend largely upon the good will of the individual employer.

The normal working hours for commercial and industrial establishments are 8 hours a day and 48 hours per week. According to law, workers are paid 20% extra for overtime work in most occupations. However, the number of hours permitted is limited by law, and a special permit must be obtained for work on holidays. Effective enforcement of these regulations is often lacking. Agricultural workers are usually at the mercy of their individual employers and their own needs when determining the number of hours they work. Workers covered by the Consolidation of Labor Laws were formerly entitled to annual vacations only after 12 elapsed months of employment, but 1967 legislation established the right to leave in proportion to the length of time of employment.

Equal pay for equal work is required by law but is difficult to enforce. For both women and minors, the legal provisions are hedged with terms such as "equal productivity," and definition is generally left to the judgment of the employer.

Night work (between 10:00 p.m. and 5:00 a.m.) is prohibited for minors under the age of 18. Until 1969 it was also, with a few exceptions, prohibited for women at any age. In August of that year, however, legislation amended the Consolidation of Labor Laws to make it possible for women to work at night in a broad range of economic activities. Medical approval and previous communication to the appropriate local labor authority is required.

Women may work overtime only when authorized by a physician and may, in general, not work in excess of 48 hours a week. Children under the age of 18 may work overtime only in specific emergencies.

Children under the age of 12 may not be employed under any circumstances, and those under 14 may work only in connection with occupational training, in welfare institutions, or in family undertakings under supervision of the head of the family. They may not work in occupations designated as unhealthful.

A Tenure Guarantee Fund, financed by an 8% payroll tax, was established in 1967 as an alternative to the older tenure system. Under the new plan a worker is entitled to funds deposited on his behalf in the event of dismissal without just cause, and, in addition, a worker may make withdrawals under certain conditions. A worker's equity in the fund is not limited by term of employment or any given job.

E. Living conditions and social problems

1. Living conditions (U/OU)

Brazilian living levels are about average for Latin America but fall well below those in Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. National indexes in Brazil, however, are misleading, since there are great disparities between regions. In the South and Southeast the levels of living approximate those of southern Europe, while in the Northeast, which is the largest and most populous underdeveloped area in the Western Hemisphere, living conditions are comparable to those in Southeast Asia.

The government has long recognized that most of the people do not receive enough income to attain an adequate standard of living. An estimated 60 million to 70 million people live at the subsistence level or below. The disparities in income between the wealthy and the poor apparently are increasing. The Finance Minister has noted that while all economic groups improved their positions between 1960 and 1970, the real wages of the poorest groups rose by 24% while the wealthiest 10% of the population had an income increase of 60%.

In rural areas most people live in poverty and a few in luxury. In urban areas the same extremes prevail, but there is a growing middle income group, especially numerous in the cities of the industrial South and Southeast. The rural masses have for the most part accepted without question the living conditions with which they are familiar, but their situation has worsened with the gradual breakdown of the *patrao* (patron)-worker relationship, which gave them some security in times of crisis. The benefits of wage laws and regulations, in general, are not enjoyed by sharecroppers. The sharecropping system is widely practiced, but arrangements are usually verbal and so informal that regulation of compensation is almost impossible. Most frequently, a small parcel of land is rented for 3 days per week of *condicao* (obligatory work) in the fields of the landholder. This work is customarily remunerated at half the minimum wage. On larger parcels of land, the *condicao* can be supplemented by the landowner's taking to up to half the product grown by the sharecropper.

Rural Brazilians grow a single crop for the market rather than a variety of crops for home consumption. Since his cash income is low and he uses it to purchase nearly all of the commodities he needs, as well as much of his food, the peasant has little left for anything else. In fact, he usually spends more than he earns and is in debt to his employer or the shopkeeper. Real wages in rural areas have reportedly decreased steadily since the late 1950's, and the living conditions of the majority have worsened. Farm wages are the lowest on the national scale; workers in the South and Central-West earn about US$100 to $200 a year and some workers in the Northeast as little as $30. Minimum wage protection is relatively ineffective. Rural unemployment and underemployment are widespread, particularly in the Northeast, where some 4 million persons without land or permanent jobs constitute a migrant labor force continuously in search of work. In some areas, especially those affected by droughts, intolerable conditions have forced great numbers to migrate to the cities. Many return to the countryside after saving a little money; those who remain in the slums, although pessimistic, probably regard their living conditions as better than those of their rural counterparts, with better educational opportunities for their children, protection of labor unions, and greater benefits through the urban welfare system.

Although considerably higher than those for rural workers, real earnings for many urban workers are also low. Since 1940 important gains in real income and in consumption levels have been noted only in the industrial states, principally Sao Paulo. Workers who have transferred from agricultural to nonagricultural pursuits and from unskilled to skilled levels have participated in these gains; those in the textile and other slightly mechanized industries have barely maintained their real income level, and, at least during the 1964-67 period, unskilled workers' incomes declined. The slowness in the rise of income levels is largely the result of the restrictive wage policies imposed by the governments since 1964. About half of the workers receive little more than the officially established minimum wage, and this has barely kept up with inflation. The minimum wage is defined as one which in a given locality is capable of satisfying the workers' normal needs for food, shelter, clothing, health, and transportation costs. There are five minimum wage jurisdictions throughout the country, each with its own minimum wage scale based on local cost-of-living studies. In May 1972, the minimum monthly wage in Brasilia and the States of Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Guanabara, and Minas Gerais was about US$50, while in the Northeast it was about $30. Basic wage payments are accompanied by substantial supplementary payments, ranging from 30% to 55% of the basic wage costs, the extent depending principally on the size of the employing enterprise. In addition, voluntary payments by employers represent up to 20% of the wage costs.

Little information is available on workers' purchasing power nationwide. Most studies deal only with the situation of the workers in Sao Paulo, who are the nation's most skilled and best paid. The majority of residents of the city of Sao Paulo (about 3.25 million) are members of lower class families with an income between two and six times the minimum salary, according to a survey done in 1972 for the municipal government by the University of Sao Paulo's Institute for Economic Research. The average family in this income group was found to have 4.72 members, with a median per capita income of just US$29 per month.

The typical lower income family spends its money as follows (in percent):

Food	45
Housing	19
Personal expenses	14
Clothing	7
Transportation	7
Health	6
Education	2

In April and May 1971, the newspaper *Jornal da Tarde* conducted a survey of Sao Paulo workers at the lowest economic level—those whose incomes are less than US$50 per month. The average wage earner in this category has one job (95%) and is the only income earner in the family (91%). He never completed primary school (80%). His family of four spends 56% of their income on food, but they eat meat only occasionally. After food, housing, and transportation are paid for, only 3% of the family's income is left for clothing, entertainment, and other expenditures. They are likely to own a radio but not a sewing machine, television set, refrigerator, phonograph, or washing machine.

Those workers who lack either educational background, intelligence, or ambition and who consequently are unable to move up into more responsible jobs continue to suffer a decline in their purchasing power. Most workers fall within this category. On the other hand, many thousands of other workers are improving their skills and moving up into better paying jobs. As they do so, their aspirations for the better things in life increase, with the result that many of them are getting into debt by buying "luxury" items, invariably on credit at high interest rates and in some cases beyond their means. According to a study carried out in 1971 by a union-sponsored research organization, much of the income of Sao Paulo workers above the lowest level now goes for domestic appliances. Whereas 10 years ago few Sao Paulo working class households had electric household appliances, 87.5% now have television sets; 75%, sewing machines; 72%, electric mixers; 64%, refrigerators; and 52%, record players. Working class families have been stimulated to purchase these items by easy access to credit and because advertising has influenced them through radio, television, and newspapers, creating a desire for status symbols. The automobile is rapidly becoming the most sought after status symbol and increasing numbers of low income families are making great sacrifices to buy one. Reportedly 15% of the Sao Paulo metalworkers now own cars, even though their average monthly income is only about US$70, and few earn the $175 monthly that it has been calculated is the minimum income needed to afford a car. Although more members of the family have gone to work, working class families have not really been able to afford the items they have been purchasing, and to pay for them they have decreased their consumption of nearly all basic food items. The working class' neglect of its diet may have serious effects on health.

According to a study by the University of Sao Paulo, that city's average middle class family, with an

income of between US$234 and $467 per month, spends a higher percentage of its income on housing than do families of either the lower or upper class because it is the economic class with the lowest percentage of homeowners. Social pressure compels the middle class to live in better housing, yet most families of this class lack the financial means to buy a home. As a result, they spend on the average 20.2% of their income on housing, much of it in rent, while the average lower class family spends only 18.7%. Although this is a small spread in percentage terms, in absolute terms it is often substantial.

Since the 1930's, when the wave of migration to the cities began, the shortage of adequate housing has been one of Brazil's major social problems (Figure 15). Although there are no firm data on the housing deficit,

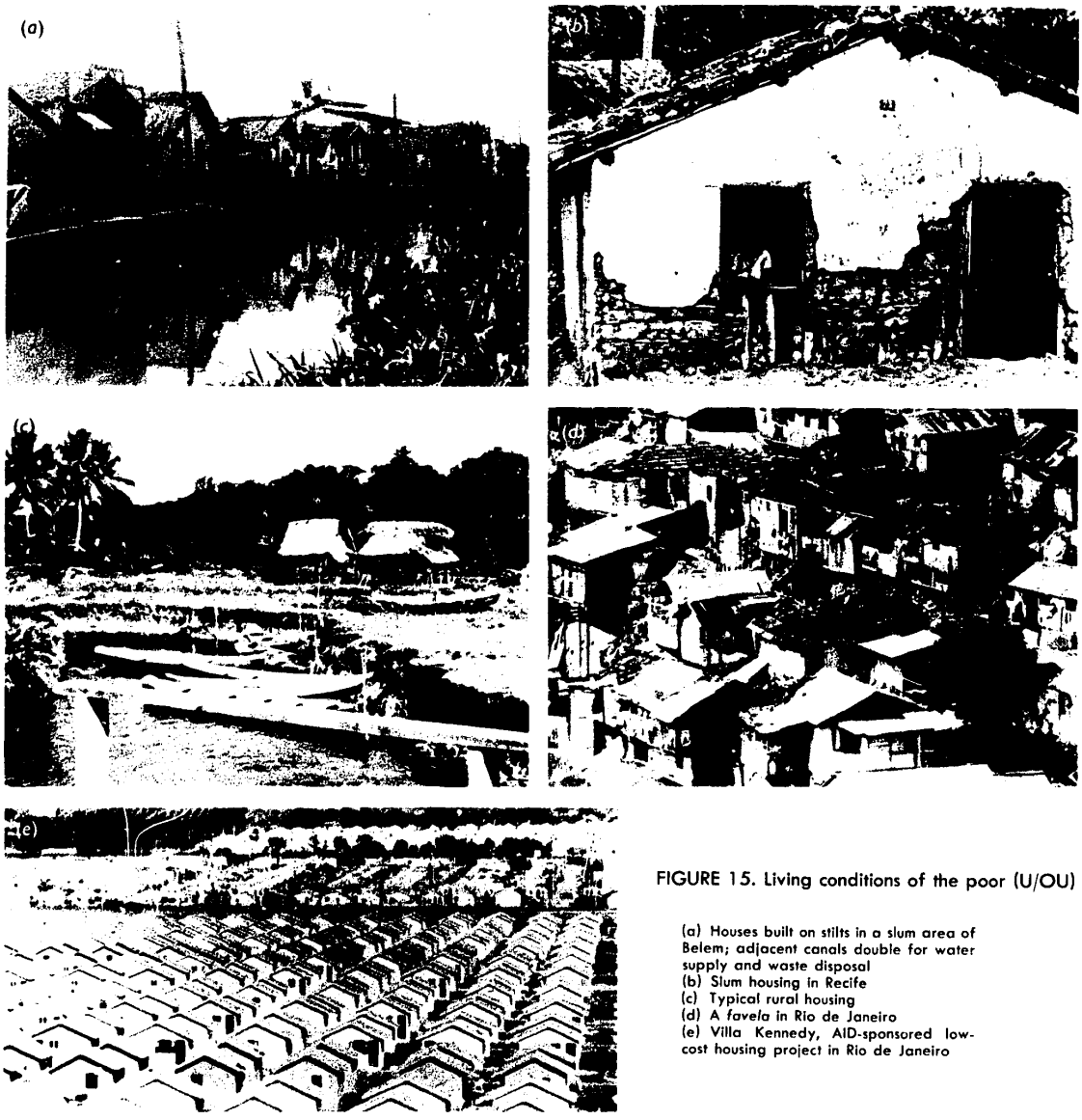


FIGURE 15. Living conditions of the poor (U/OU)

(a) Houses built on stilts in a slum area of Belem; adjacent canals double for water supply and waste disposal
(b) Slum housing in Recife
(c) Typical rural housing
(d) A *favela* in Rio de Janeiro
(e) Villa Kennedy, AID-sponsored low-cost housing project in Rio de Janeiro

it was estimated in 1965 at 10.5 million units. The president of the National Housing Bank (BNH) has said that 800,000 new units must be constructed each year to abolish existing slums and meet population growth. The problem may have worsened since 1965, despite intensified government efforts to alleviate it.

The most obvious evidence of the housing shortage is the improvised housing constructed by migrants on vacant land around large cities. These jerry-built communities (called *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro, *corticos* in Sao Paulo, *malocas* in Recife) consist of shacks made of packing cases or odd scraps of lumber for walls; zinc sheeting, canvas, rough tile or flattened oil cans for roofs; and bare earth for floors. The shanty's area is perhaps 8 by 14 feet, sometimes divided into two rooms and housing a family of five or six people. There is little furniture and rarely enough space for beds. Customarily, there is no electricity, toilet facilities are lacking, and water is carried in oil cans. The only walks are often crossed by deep and jagged gullies formed by water erosion of the soil.

Estimates of the number of people living in these communities range from 10% to 30% of the urban population, although the latter figure is probably much too high. In Rio de Janeiro they were reported to have doubled between 1950 and 1960, when they represented 11.6% of the population. The slums may include as much as 50% of the population of Recife. In more recent years, however, the population of such areas in large cities has been declining, partly because some residents have made enough money to move into more adequate housing, and perhaps even more importantly, nearly all large cities are carrying out slum erradication programs. On the other hand, the slum population of small and medium-size cities may be expanding.

In the countryside housing conditions are as diverse as those found in the cities. Manor houses of the Northeast sugar plantations and the ranches of the *sertao* are frequently gracious, rambling establishments of great size and luxury. Not far from Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, however, are found the houses characteristic of most of the rural areas. These are two- and three-room wattle-and-mud houses, often with five or more persons sleeping in the same room. Windows, when they exist, are usually without glass; the uneven dirt floors collect filth; and the walls may harbor the insect whose bite transmits the incurable Chagas' disease. Of the small towns, only a few have electricity, public sewerage, or water supply systems, and these utilities usually serve only public buildings and occasionally the homes of the wealthy. A small fraction of rural houses has sanitary services (mostly cesspools and pits); since only a few families build outhouses, their drinking water, tapped from natural sources, is frequently polluted. Middle class housing is seldom found in rural areas, except for homes of plantation and ranch managers and in the South, where wooden dwellings with steeply peaked roofs are reminiscent of Germany or Switzerland.

The principal difficulty in meeting the home construction problem is in financing, although gains have been made. The private sector had shown relatively little interest in this kind of investment; and the public sector, heavily burdened with other commitments, had been unable to allocate adequate funds to low-cost housing construction. For many years the construction industry had stagnated as inflation had reduced savings, and those savings generated were channeled into fields that offered quicker profits. As late as 1966 inflation was at an annual rate of more than 40%, credit for housing was limited to 2 years, a downpayment of 50% was customary, and annual interest rates ranged upward from 12%.

The housing investment climate, however, began to change in 1964. The previously rigid controls were gradually relaxed to a point where owners of apartment buildings could charge rents commensurate with the demand for accommodations. The year of 1964 was marked also by enactment of legislation establishing the National Housing Bank (BNH) as the principal source of loans for new housing. An independent entity within the Ministry of Finance, the bank works with the Ministry of Planning and General Coordination in regulating the housing operations of national savings banks, social security funds, and other sources of housing investment.

BNH was established with an income consisting of a 1% payroll tax on all salaries coming within the scope of the Consolidation of Labor Laws. The bank had little effect during its first 2 years of existence, a time during which its efforts were concentrated on planning programs and developing subordinate agencies. In 1967, however, it became a significant factor in generating an unprecedented flow of resources into the construction industry. The number of housing units financed by BNH increased from 60,400 under construction in 1966 to 167,300 in 1967. During the same time span, the number actually completed increased from 27,900 to 50,600.

By the end of 1971, BNH had financed construction of over 780,000 homes and was meeting the credit needs of up to 25% of all home construction. In late 1971, a new National Housing Plan was developed to improve the efficiency of BNH and its subsidiary

agencies involved in home financing. With the changes introduced by the plan, BNH was expected to be able to meet 40% of the total demand for home financing by 1980 and to supply 60% to 70% of the financial needs of the middle class housing sector by 1975. Activity in the areas of rural and low-income housing, however, may be limited because of the BNH goal of becoming profitable.

As part of its role in providing housing financing, BNH established in 1966 the Brazilian System of Building and Loan Associations and acts as a central bank for this entity of over 100 member organizations. In 1968 BNH extended its managerial operations to urban infrastructure with the creation of the Sanitary Financing System, which is composed of state and municipal governments and private entities.

Housing for the lowest economic sectors remains a serious problem which may be worsening as cities such as Rio de Janeiro carry out massive programs intended to eliminate slums. Although some low-cost housing is being provided for persons displaced by these programs, it is often too limited to accommodate more than a small percentage of them. Even a small rent may be more than the affected people can afford. Such housing is also likely to be on the outskirts of the cities or at some distance from them, far from jobs, stores, and schools. The main impetus for clearing the slums may be the desire of developers to obtain valuable land, which can then be used to construct high-rise apartment buildings. Construction of public housing apartments is limited by the fact that BNH may finance construction only of homes and apartments designed for ownership by the occupant.

In January 1973, President Medici announced the establishment of a new government program aimed at relieving the pressures of inadequate housing conditions in urban areas, mainly among the lower classes. The National Popular Housing Plan calls for a major expansion of the central government's support, in collaboration with state and municipal housing agencies, for the construction over a 10-year period of 2 million units of individual family housing for wage earners whose monthly family income is less than $130. BNH will furnish 80% of the resources for the program and the states and municipalities will make up the remainder. The program, like previous less ambitious ones, will test the administrative ability of both the federal and local agencies, as well as their ability to generate and allocate the large financial resources required.

The rural sector has only begun to receive much attention. Although BNH is supposed to provide funds for rural housing, this area in fact has received only 1% of total BNH financing since 1964. The president of BNH has justified this distribution on the grounds that the rural population is growing very slowly and that the housing problem there thus is not as serious as in urban zones. He also noted that farmers were able to obtain very low interest loans from agricultural development banks to finance housing.

Since 1964, and particularly in recent years, the government has been devoting increasing attention to reforming the agrarian structure, characterized by large numbers of subsistence plots and huge holdings covering much of the arable land. Reform measures have included an amendment to the Constitution to allow payment for expropriated lands in long-term bonds carrying a currency adjustment clause, a transfer to the federal government of the proceeds of a rural property tax, and promulgation of a land statute. Between 1966 and 1970, 45,000 families occupying 2,276,367 acres received property deeds or were otherwise given possession of land. In the same period 2,157 families received 372,970 acres of land purchased by the state or distributed by private owners under public auspices. Under the government-financed land settlement program, 10,000 families were settled on 81,510 acres. Finally, under the program for "spontaneous" land settlement, 7,100 families were set up on 185,744 acres.

In July 1970, all responsibility for agrarian reform, rural colonization, and related programs was given to the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA), an autonomous agency under the Ministry of Agriculture. The INCRA will play a major role in implementation of two Medici government programs for rural areas. The National Integration Program, instituted in June 1970, is responsible for extending agricultural services to the Amazon Basin, integrating the strategy for settling the Amazon Basin with that for developing the Northeast, and redirecting migration from the Northeast toward the watered valleys in that region and to the new agricultural frontier in the Amazon so as to head off movements toward the major urban centers.

The Program of Land Redistribution and Encouragement to Agroindustries in the Northeast and North (PROTERRA), instituted in July 1971, complements the work under the National Integration Program in the same area. Scheduled investments will be raised by reallocating part of the program of tax incentives for investment in the North and Northeast and from the funds of other federal agencies. PROTERRA's main objectives are to finance the purchase of land for small and medium-sized farms, promote increased production of agricultural inputs,

finance the expansion and modernization of agroindustrial undertakings (particularly sugar refining), guarantee minimum export prices, and develop agricultural research programs.

2. Welfare (U/OU)

Public welfare activity is heavily dependent upon state initiative, with federal assistance aimed primarily at supplementing and coordinating local and regional efforts. The major exception is the social insurance system, which is national in character. The prime federal social welfare organization is the National Council of Social Service in the Ministry of Education. Its main duties have consisted of planning and carrying out distribution of federal subsidies to private and state organizations. The Constitution of 1969, however, called for considerable fiscal centralization, and the decentralized system of welfare administration may be modified.

Other ministries participating in welfare activities include Labor and Social Security, Health, Interior, and Agriculture. The National Nutrition Service, financed from employer-employee contributions to social security and some other sources, endeavors to improve the food distribution system, conducts a nutritional research program, and furnishes inexpensive meals to factory workers and schoolchildren. The Brazilian League of Assistance is a voluntary relief organization supported by a tax on employers. In addition, a union tax imposed on workers is used by the unions in providing welfare services, as well as in conducting regular union activities.

Welfare programs receive assistance from a number of foreign governments and international agencies, such as the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), and specialized agencies of the United Nations, such as the Children's Fund, the World Health Organization (WHO), and the International Labor Organization (ILO). Assistance was given to the Northeast from the West German Government through private Brazilian organizations. Social development projects were aided by U.S. private nonprofit foundations, such as Kellogg, Ford, Rockefeller, the Institute of International Education, the American Foundation for Overseas Blind, the World Rehabilitation Fund, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Salvation Army, the Catholic Relief Service, and the Protestant Church World Service.

The disparity in areas served by welfare agencies reflects differences in state wealth and private initiative. The imbalance in types of welfare services offered is indicative of federal governmental interests in such fields as maternal and child welfare, health conditions, rural assistance, nutrition, and municipal housing. Concepts of preventive and rehabilitative social action appeared after World War II and are limited to projects of social counseling and vocational rehabilitation. There are almost no general relief services, family casework offices, or public works programs designed to relieve unemployment. Some public work projects are usually carried out in the Northeast when severe droughts disrupt the economy there.

Theoretically, everyone is assured of work and other minimal conditions under the labor code. Nevertheless, the poor, aged, unemployed, deserted, and abandoned are without resources beyond occasional care in charitable institutions.

The prevailing attitude of most Brazilians toward public welfare activities (especially where facilities are lacking) seems to be, "The national government has to give us a push." Local municipal councils like to interpret their public assistance responsibility as building bridges, roads, markets, police stations, or other tangible projects. For basic improvements in the general condition of education, sanitation, public health, or even medical facilities, the people tend to look beyond local authorities.

Social security is not concentrated in one single agency, but the major role in this field devolves upon the National Institute of Social Welfare (INPS), created in November 1966 to merge six former pension and retirement institutes. The INPS has charge of the General Social Security System and covers risks for all gainfully employed persons. Also of importance are the Government Employees' Welfare and Relief Institute and the pension and retirement funds of the armed forces and of the employees and officials of municipal and state governments and various agencies.

In 1970 about 8.8 million persons were insured under the INPS and some 2 million under other systems, representing about one-third of the economically active population. The general system covers illness, maternity, disability, old age, death and family allotments. In 1969 some 349,000 persons received benefits under health insurance, 681,000 under maternity coverage, 489,000 under occupational accident and illness insurance, 1.2 million received survivor's benefits, and 92,000 other benefits.

The social security system is controlled by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security through its National Department of Social Welfare. Also exercising functions in this field are the General Inspectorate of Finances, which supervises and audits

the financial condition and operations of the funds of other agencies; the Council on Social Welfare Appeals, an administrative tribunal for jurisdictional control, and the Boards of Social Welfare Appeals, one to each state, which hear appeals against the decisions of the INPS on benefits, contributions, and the relationships of beneficiaries.

Brazil has no civil defense organization, but disaster planning and the concept of joint effort to meet emergencies are developing. Police and firemen, the armed forces, the Brazilian Red Cross and other volunteer agencies, and foreign governments supplement the Brazilian Government's efforts when emergencies arise. Task forces are set up to provide medical care and immunizations, distribute food and clothing, and construct emergency housing. After a major flood in Recife in 1966 the armed forces and other government organizations developed a disaster plan for the area and eliminated much of the confusion and lack of coordination which generally arise.

Natural disasters which frequently necessitate joint efforts are floods, droughts, and earthquakes. In addition to assisting at such times, the army civic action program provides regular medical care to civilians in remote areas, mostly in the North and Central-West. The navy's Amazon Flotilla provides medical assistance and food to the population along the river, and the air force flies medical aid to Indian tribes in the interior, transports the seriously ill to hospitals, and collects health data. The Brazilian Air Force, at the request of the Argentine Government, assisted in flood relief in the border area in 1966 and in that same year transported medical supplies to South Vietnam.

3. Social problems (C)

Nationwide statistics are lacking, but the available evidence suggests that crime, narcotics addiction, alcoholism, prostitution, juvenile delinquency, and suicide are increasing. All urban areas are facing these problems, with Sao Paulo as usual in the forefront. The public has a low opinion of law enforcement officers, a view reinforced by recurrent instances of graft, bribery, and other scandal. Offenses against the person (particularly aggravated assault, but including murder) are most prevalent, followed by crimes against property and by sexual offenses. Much of the crime is committed by teenagers, whose activities consist mainly of mugging, petty thefts, and theft of automobiles and weapons. These offenders come mostly from migrant families but include some teenagers of middle and upper class families, an indication of declining family stability.

According to *O Estado de Sao Paulo*, one of Brazil's gravest "social tumors" is the large number of homeless children, many of whom turn to crime to survive. In nearly every large city there are many children who live by shining shoes, washing cars, begging, stealing, selling drugs, and prostitution. In some cities, children are responsible for 75% of the crimes investigated by police. A police official said in early 1973 that some 30,000 minors were in public and private institutions in greater Sao Paulo, but that this number was less than 10% of the homeless children in that area. Most of the minors—even those who have committed crimes—who are picked up by the authorities are soon back on the streets because of the lack of facilities to care for them. The only institution that appears to be seriously dealing with the problem is operated in Guanabara State by the National Institute for Protection of Minors, created in 1964. This facility serves only the Rio de Janeiro area, however, and even in this limited area the number of needy children far exceeds the maximum that can be adequately cared for.

Throughout the country penal facilities to house adult offenders are also seriously inadequate. In 1972, a Rio de Janeiro police official said that many convicted persons had to be released because of lack of space in jails. He attributed the growing dimension of the problem to the rising crime rate.

Prostitution is a serious social problem. Prostitutes cater to the upper and middle class male almost exclusively; among the lower classes the rules of chaperonage and segregation are far less stringent. The law prescribes penalties for contributing to the institution of prostitution but none for the practice itself.

The number of alcoholics was estimated in 1973 at over 4 million. Alcoholism was considered responsible for over half of all traffic accidents, for many lost work days, and for the growing incidence of desertion of families by husbands. In addition, most suicides were committed under the influence of alcohol. Treatment for alcoholism is difficult to obtain, particularly for members of the lower classes, among whom the problem is most common.

In the early 1970's Brazilian authorities became aware that drug addiction was becoming an increasingly serious problem. Marijuana, which is grown in southern Brazil and in Paraguay, is the most prevalent drug; some 75% of arrests for drug abuse involve marijuana. Amphetimines and barbituates manufactured in both legitimate and clandestine factories in Uruguay and Argentina easily enter Brazil across the long, relatively lightly patrolled borders with these countries. In addition to professional

smugglers, frequent use is made of truck drivers, students, and other travelers to transport the drugs across the borders and into southern Brazil. Thus far, there is little evidence of significant consumption of cocaine, morphine, opium, and heroin, but the authorities fear that as Brazil's prosperity increases so will the demand and supply of these drugs. Brazilian authorities have said that the seizure of a large quantity of heroin on board a U.S. ship in Rio de Janeiro in October 1972 constituted evidence that international drug traffickers are using Brazil as a transit point.

Until 1972, Brazilian authorities, preoccupied with matters of internal security, gave relatively low priority to the drug problem. Moreover, coordination was lacking among the various law enforcement agencies involved in combatting the drug traffic. The Federal Police have overall enforcement and coordination responsibility, but military agencies and state police departments are also active. A tough new drug law was sanctioned in October 1971, but implementation was handicapped by the lack of an adequate infrastructure. While the federal and state governments have taken a strong moral stand against drug trafficking and use and have increased their enforcement capabilities, little has yet been done in the area of education and treatment. The numerous pressing health problems have forced the authorities to allocate their limited resources to more immediate needs and to relegate drugs to a position of low priority. The ratio of addicts who are treated and then return to drug use is believed to be very high. A Drug Prevention Council was established under the Ministry of Education in early 1972 to wage an antidrug campaign directed primarily at youth. The campaign is to be low keyed, however, because some officials fear that too much publicity may stimulate interest in drugs. An extensive education program initiated in Sao Paulo State was halted in 1971 because officials felt it might lead to increased drug usage.

F. Health (U/OU)

1. Environmental factors affecting health

The level of health is generally low, although there are wide regional and social variations. Marked progress has been made against some communicable diseases and health hazards since the late 1940's, but most of the gains have been made in the southern part of the country, while the North and Northeastern regions remain generally primitive. The average life expectancy in 1970 was 63.1 years. The mortality rate has dropped noticeably since the 1950 census, indicating some progress in the field of public health, but some diseases—especially tuberculosis—have increased in incidence because of migration to urban areas and the consequent overcrowding in slums. Efforts to improve health standards have been impeded by the shortage of medical manpower, the inadequacy of transportation and communication facilities, and the passivity of the people.

The average daily food consumption per person is estimated to provide 2,900 calories. This is among the highest in Latin America, but wide variations exist among the social classes and regions. The average intake in the Northeast, for example, is only about 1,450 calories. Moreover, the monotonous diets in many areas contain too many carbohydrates and too few vitamins, minerals, and proteins; even in the more favorable average diet of the metropolitan Southeastern areas there is a shortage of calcium. Malnutrition is the major medical problem, especially in the Northeast and among children. The state government of Ceara, for example, stated in May 1971 that one-third of the preschool age children there suffered from malnutrition.

In late 1972, the Congress sanctioned the creation of a National Institute of Food and Nutrition under the Health Ministry. The institute would have control over a National Nutrition Program, which would provide some direct assistance to the needy, but would be involved primarily in disseminating information about nutrition. The information program would include the creation of a folkloric personality who would transmit advice through newspapers, radio, and television, and the establishment of special orientation courses in elementary schools. The government called for intensive efforts to overcome the extreme reluctance of Brazilians to change their dietary habits, even when improved health could result from such changes.

The production, transport, and distribution of foods are inadequate, as are storage and refrigeration facilities. It is estimated that one-third of the food spoils before it reaches retail markets. Control measures regarding sanitary food handling are not well enforced, particularly in the interior. Meat is properly inspected only when it is destined for foreign markets. Flies and mosquitoes are prevalent, and screening is rare. Supermarkets in the major cities have high sanitation standards, but in general the small size of retail meat outlets increases the likelihood of unsanitary human handling and minimizes the likelihood of inspection. Visitors to the country should beware of untreated fresh vegetables and unpeeled fruits. Adequately pasteurized milk is available in most of the large cities. The sale of raw milk has been prohibited since October 1969.

The humid climate and lush swamps of northern and western Brazil favor propagation of disease-bearing and harmful animals and plants. The animals include many species of mosquitoes, biting and blood-sucking flies, filth flies, lice, fleas, ticks, and mites, other arachnids and insect pests, scorpions, mollusks, helminths, reptiles (especially the coral snake, tropical rattlesnake, bushmaster, and pit viper), rodents, vampire bats and cebus monkeys (the latter two are carriers of yellow fever). There are dangerous fish, such as the piranha, and numerous allergenic and toxic plants.

No city or town has adequate water and sewerage facilities, and water is not potable anywhere in the country unless it is boiled or chemically treated. According to census statistics, the percentages of private habitations with running water, toilets of some type, and electric lights were as follows:

	1950	1960
Running water	*16*	*21*
Toilets	*33*	*51*
Electric lights	*24*	*39*

Establishment of environmental sanitation systems is primarily an urban undertaking. As estimated by the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) at the end of 1968, about 27% of the population had some kind of public water supply. This included 46% of the urban and 5% of the rural residents. Adequate public sewerage was provided for 12% of the population, all of it urban. Facilities were most extensive in the large cities, particularly in Sao Paulo which, despite its rapid rate of growth, had a relatively small shantytown slum population. In 1969, however, a Brazilian magazine estimated that 1.2 million in Sao Paulo State were without direct access to a public water supply. In the country as a whole, in 1968 some 45% of the country's municipalities had water supply systems, and 34% had sewerage lines. Extension of the water supply system is an urgent need; millions of people, according to the 1969 estimate, suffer from amoebic dysentery and other waterborne diseases as a result of drinking polluted water (Figure 16).

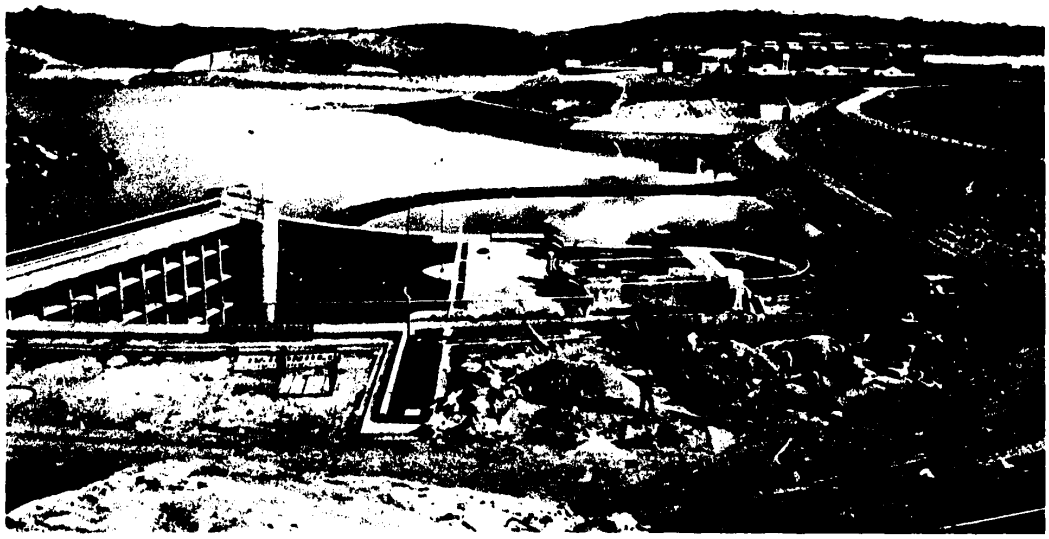


FIGURE 16. The expansion of water supplies requires major investments. Here, finishing touches are put on an addition to Sao Paulo's water system. (U/OU)

In the countryside, primitive environmental sanitation is to some extent offset by the personal cleanliness of the people. The rural sanitation program is directed primarily at reducing water pollution and eliminating disease vectors, such as the malaria-carrying mosquito and the schistosomiasis-carrying snail. In addition, during the late 1960's between 12,000 and 15,000 cesspools and septic tanks were installed annually.

Garbage and trash collections are regular and adequate in the major cities but are virtually nonexistent in their satellite shantytowns. In general, waste disposal services are best developed in the South and scantiest in the cities of the Northeast.

International loans for water supply and sewerage systems from 1962 through 1968 included US$113,060,000 for water and $14,650,000 for sewerage from the Inter-American Development Bank, and $21,695,000 for water and $2,500,000 for sewerage from the U.S. economic assistance program. The estimated national matching funds were the equivalent of $186,161,000.

In 1970 the national government announced long-range health and sanitation programs as a part of "Objectives and Bases for Government Action." The sanitation program is to be carried out mainly by the Ministry of the Interior through subprograms established by the National Housing Bank with 25% of the investment to be made by the municipalities. In general, the program aims to provide at least 50% of the urban population with adequate sewerage by the end of 1980. Little improvement for the rural population is indicated. The program also seeks during this period to provide water systems for about 80% of the urban population. However, among the obstacles to transmitting potable water is the continued practice of Brazilian engineers of installing low-pressure distribution systems.

The surge of interest in the United States in environmental pollution control has reached Brazil, where there has been increasing press discussion and serious interest in the environmental sciences on the part of leading engineers and scientists. This interest brought renewed attention, for example, to the uncontrolled sewage contamination of Rio de Janeiro's famous beaches. Efforts have been undertaken in this area, as well as to reduce diesel exhaust fumes and other air pollution. The 1970 report on health and sanitation programs pointed out that in Sao Paulo the concentration of sulfurous anhydride in the atmosphere was twice as high as the normal rate in the United States. The report called for the creation of national guidelines for environmental pollution control and for agreements with states and municipalities for the study and control of pollution problems. Concern was also expressed about industrial wastes and the longstanding misuse of soil, forests, and wildlife. However, government officials have stated that Brazil's first priority must be rapid economic development, even though this process at times may create environmental problems.

2. Disease

Health hazards vary so substantially in nature and intensity according to economic and social conditions and by locality that nationwide statistics lose much of their significance. In 1970, the general mortality rate in rural localities was about twice that in state capitals. Infant mortality in some rural parts of the Northeast was three times that in capital cities.

Data concerning the principal causes of death are slow to appear and are complete only for Sao Paulo State. Late in 1969, however, a voluntary organization named the Brazilian Welfare Legion reported that malnutrition was the direct or contributory cause of most infant and many adult deaths. The legion estimated that more than half the children born in 1970 would die in infancy or live without sufficient natural resistance to disease because of inadequate nutrition. To combat this inadequacy, the National Nutrition Service has developed a school level program, along with its other duties.

Available data indicate that during the 1960's the principal recorded causes of death were diseases of early infancy and heart ailments, the latter attributed to the strains of increasing urbanization. Other major causes, varying from year to year in order of precedence, were vascular lesions affecting the central nervous system, cancer, pneumonia and influenza, gastritis and enteritis, and tuberculosis.

The most common of the ailments of infancy are diphtheria, gastroenteritis, and parasitic diseases, all related to lack of proper sanitary practices. Other diseases common among the young include malaria, tuberculosis, influenza, whooping cough, and diphtheria. Malnutrition after weaning is a contributing factor in all of these. In addition, in the rural areas where a doctor or trained midwife is rarely in attendance at deliveries, the incidence of infant death from tetanus is probably high.

Respiratory ailments represent the most widespread health hazard and are responsible for about one-fourth of the deaths at all ages. Pneumonia and influenza are most prevalent in the South. Tuberculosis is endemic in all regions and most frequently affects those in the economically productive age groupings. The country's

antitubercular campaign, developed with assistance of PAHO, maintains a network of regional tuberculosis laboratories.

Among the most serious of the parasitic diseases is schistosomiasis (liver flukes), contracted by eating the snails and mollusks that act as host to it, and by wading in or drinking polluted water. The disease occurs primarily in the Northeast and along the coasts, but it can be transmitted by human feces and is spread by migration from farms to cities and by the expansion of irrigation works. In 1971 the Ministry of Health estimated that as many as 8 million people, largely in the Northeast, were infected by it. Schistosomiasis is fatal only occasionally, but its victims are often so weakened that they are unable to work. A major tool in the campaign against it is a molluscicide sprayed into those watercourses used for irrigation. A new approach toward helping the victims of the disease involves an injection of the drug hycanthone, which reportedly has suppressed the disease in 90% of test cases.

Chagas' disease, named for the Brazilian physician who first identified it, is an incurable parasitic ailment that debilitates the victim and, through heart damage may eventually cause death. The carrier of the disease, an insect called the *barbeiro* in Brazil, lives in the walls and thatch roofs of the wattle-and-daub houses in the countryside. The disease is endemic in rural areas, and reportedly some 2 million people are infected. Dr. Humberto Menezes of the Sao Paulo Medical School has had initial success in working on a vaccine, but he has estimated that it may not be perfected for some years.

The third major parasitic disease is hookworm. Its principal incidence is in the Northeast, where most of the children are reported to be suffering to some extent from it or from some other parasitic worm. Late in 1969 a Brazilian magazine published the estimate that 25 million people were suffering from hookworm.

Goiter, primarily a consequence of iodine shortage, is endemic in the Northeast and Central-West. An estimated 1 million persons suffer from hypertrophied (abnormally developed) thyroid, commonly referred to as *papo*. The simple preventive is consumption of iodized salt. Salt iodization has been required by law since 1956.

An antimalarial campaign has made significant advances in bringing that disease under control. Brazil was the only nation of the Americas in the 1960's where smallpox continued to be endemic; between 1960 and 1968 Brazil had over 90% of the cases reported in the Western Hemisphere, although smallpox accounted for an average of only about 3% of all deaths. In March 1972 the government said that no cases had been reported in the preceding year and that 90 million persons had been vaccinated. The World Health Organization withdrew Brazil's name from the list of countries where smallpox is endemic.

Since 1958 the National Leprosy Service has campaigned for early detection of the disease and for greater emphasis on home treatment. A network of dispensaries records new cases and treats as outpatients many of those afflicted with contagious forms of the disease. In addition, usually in connection with the leprosariums, there are more than thirty preventive units for children and other persons who have been in contact with contagious persons. The Brazilian School of Leprology is responsible for discovering that bacillus Calmette-Guerin, the standard tuberculosis vaccine, can also immunize against some forms of leprosy. In mid-1971, however, it was reported that this disease was still a major medical problem, with cases probably totaling a quarter of a million or more, giving an unofficial prevalence rate of about 25 cases per 10,000 population. Contrary to some earlier assumptions, it is less prevalent in the poverty-ridden Northeast than in the Central-West and even in states such as Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Sao Paulo, which have the best health conditions in the nation.

The common form of yellow fever, possibly the country's worst health hazard in earlier years, was eradicated from the entire country by the late 1950's. The rarer jungle type continued to occur sporadically in the Northeast, but during the years 1964-68 an average of fewer than 15 cases were reported annually, except in 1966 when a small outbreak resulted in 167 reported cases. In April 1972 the government stated that no more cases had been reported the previous year in Para or Maranhao States and that it planned to close the eradication program against the mosquito vector, the *aedes aegypti*, by the end of 1972.

Bubonic plague entered the country in 1899 and caused a series of epidemics. It was later virtually eradicated from the cities but has persisted in some rural areas where the thatched huts and dirt floors offer shelter for rats. During the years 1959 through 1968 the 1,100 cases reported in Brazil represented about one-fourth of those reported in the Western Hemisphere. In 1970, 375 cases were reported in Brazil. Plague has been most serious in rural parts of the Northeast, where all of the most recently reported cases occurred. The heaviest incidence in 1968 was in Ceara State with 198 cases. An additional 46 cases were reported in parts of Pernambuco adjacent to the Ceara border.

Poliomyelitis is present but does not appear to constitute a major health hazard. The Ministry of Health started a program in March 1972 to immunize in the following 2 years 16 million children. Among the zoonoses (animal diseases transmissible to humans), rabies is believed the most prevalent. Trachoma occurs mainly in the States of Ceara, Paraiba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, Bahia, Minas Gerais, Sao Paulo, Parana, Mato Grosso, and Rio Grande do Sul but is being brought under control, and each year fewer cases are reported. There are no comprehensive statistics on the incidence of venereal disease, but isolated investigations undertaken in 1960 led to an estimate that 112.6 per 100,000 people were infected with some form of the ailment.

In connection with construction of the Trans-Amazon Highway and other projects in the Amazon region, the government in 1971 established the "Osvaldo Cruz" project to prevent people going into the area from taking diseases into the region, as well as to prevent them from being attacked by diseases present there.

3. Medical care

The level of public health, long an area of low priority for the government, nevertheless has been improving. The death rate has been cut in half in the last 30 years, as a result of major gains in the fight against contagious diseases, especially malaria, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, and dysentery. Yet, contagious diseases still account for 40% of all deaths; the death rate from such illnesses is three or four times higher than in other underdeveloped countries, even those with much lower per capita incomes, such as Ceylon or Bolivia.

The distribution of medical care is extremely uneven among regions, between city and countryside, and among income groups. The numbers of doctors, nurses, and other medical specialists is comparatively low in relation to the population. In 1970, according to the Minister of Health, there were 47,000 physicians, resulting in a ratio of over 2,000 people per physician, compared to 1,630 per physician in Latin America as a whole. Moreover, over half of Brazil's physicians are in the wealthy and urbanized States of Guanabara and Sao Paulo, and three-fifths are in state capitals. In Rio de Janeiro there is a doctor for every 350 people, while in the State of Maranhao there is one doctor for every 18,000. Many small communities and rural areas have no resident physicians. Brazil's almost exclusive reliance on private medicine has also worked against the effective use of preventive programs, many of which can be carried out only in mass campaigns. People have not been taught better dietary and sanitary habits, and national campaigns against specific diseases have not been mounted with the planning and resources needed for full success largely because few doctors and few administrations have felt that preventive medicine was important. All levels of government combined have seldom spent more than 3% or 4% of their resources on health.

President Medici, upon taking office in 1969, said that his top priorities would be education, health, and agriculture, a change from the past priorities of industry and infrastructure. Considerable advances have been accomplished in agriculture and education, but there has been little progress so far in health. The Health Ministry has been unable to protect its budget from severe cuts. Only moderate progress has been made in the contagious disease program and in the assault on waterborne diseases. The Ministry of Health has also been rewriting the national health laws.

There are, however, some favorable signs. Health services, even though of low quality, are now more available to the poor, the farmer, and the Northeasterner. Preventive medicine is now taught in several medical schools and has become a live topic in the medical journals. The government and the people are coming to the realization that this neglected area is critical to development, and the government is looking for effective programs.

About half of all federal spending on health now comes from sources other than the Health Ministry budget. The establishment of the Water and Sewerage Revolving Fund in the National Housing Bank was probably the most important recent development in health in Brazil. Increased water service and sewerage are expected to drastically cut the high incidence of contagious waterborne diseases, the leading cause of death and illness in Brazil. Also the health services run by the Labor Ministry under the social security program for half of the urban work force have improved.

Another hopeful sign is the fact that the drastic decline of the midsixties in the number of medical and dental school graduates has been reversed, and the numbers of doctors and dentists are expected to increase faster than the population in the 1970's. In addition, a program to improve the quality of instruction at medical schools and to broaden the curriculum has begun. However, nursing schools still graduate only about one-third as many nurses as they did 10 years ago, and courses for nursing assistants, which once graduated several hundred students per year, have disappeared.

The limited supply of professionals is heavily concentrated in private hospitals, where salaries are higher; public hospitals rely largely on partly trained and untrained personnel. In rural areas graduate nurses are almost unknown; auxiliaries must perform duties ordinarily undertaken only by physicians. Women in rural areas, however, often prefer receiving the advice and ministrations of a midwife to those of a physician or public health nurse, and the use of midwives is widely accepted, even in the hospitals.

In 1968 there were 26,770 dentists, or about 3 per 10,000 of the population. Even more than physicians, dentists tend to establish themselves in large cities and in the wealthier part of the country. The occasional dental services performed in rural areas consist almost entirely of tooth extractions; even in the cities, preventive care among lower income groups is seldom sought.

Pharmacists play an important paramedical role, often taking the place of physicians in localities where regular professional care is not available. In small towns they often prescribe for clients from as many as 75 home remedies maintained on hand, as well as from the variety of more potent drugs that are often sold without a prescription. Native healers are consulted frequently, particularly in the rural areas and sometimes also in urban shantytowns.

In 1970, hospitals, clinics, and other major health centers numbered as follows:

Private	3,246
Public	584
Total	3,830

Hospital beds totaled 354,373, the ratio per 1,000 people having increased as follows:

1964	2.9
1970	3.1

The occupancy rate of hospital beds tends to be fairly low. Some large industrial and commercial enterprises and associations, such as the major mining companies and sugar plantations, have their own programs, usually in isolated localities but also in some urban centers. Medical services are also provided by a considerable number of social service associations of employers too small to provide them alone. Theoretically, workers served by these programs are eligible for the medical assistance provided by the regular social security medical system. The uneven distribution of social security resources, however, makes it desirable or necessary for enterprises to establish or participate in voluntary programs. In addition, a few labor unions are reported to maintain facilities for ambulatory patients.

The first significant social insurance program for medical care was applied to railroad workers in 1923. Expanded to include commercial and industrial workers in 1934 and 1936, respectively, it has since been further extended to include other worker groups. In 1963 agricultural workers were made eligible for benefits earlier accorded to urban labor. Social security medical care, available to dependents, as well as workers themselves, in 1963 was available to an estimated 25% of the population. Current data are not available, but in early 1970 it appeared likely that there had been a moderate proportional gain in coverage as a consequence of extension of the social security program to additional segments of the working population. Care is provided through institutes covering the major areas of employment such as industry, commerce, and transportation and a single Institute of Providence and Welfare of State Employees.

The Ministry of Health has proposed establishing a medical program intended ultimately to provide services for all persons but following the basic principle of medical care as a private undertaking. The program would organize services on a regional basis, through 84 local structures to be known as health areas, each under direction of nonprofit civil entities made up of professionals enrolled in the plan, representatives of the public sector, and well-known members of the community. The plan would permit the patient to select his own doctor, dentist, and hospital and to make payments proportionate to his economic condition. The program was reported already in effect in 1970 on a pilot basis in portions of the Southeast and Northeast and to be serving some 800,000 people.

It was anticipated that beneficiary contributions to the program would represent about 46% of the cost, the balance coming from the federal government, the states, and the municipalities. Reportedly indigent people would be treated free, and others would contribute according to income.

G. Religion

1. The special role of religion (U/OU)

Brazil, with a population of over 100 million—about 93% of whom are nominally Roman Catholic—has the largest Catholic population of any country in the world (Figure 17). There is, however, less religious homogeneity than this fact would seem to indicate. Perhaps only 15% of the Catholics actively practice their faith and follow church teachings. These are mostly women and children; men, as in other Latin American countries, rarely attend Mass unless it is in

FIGURE 17. Church of St. Francis in Ouro Preto. The plan and sculptural decoration are attributed to Antonio Francisco Lisboa, called O Aleijadinho (1730–1814). The first truly Brazilian artist, O Aleijadinho made adaptations in the baroque style of the 18th century and is best known for his sculpture. His religious statues in Minas Gerais are visited each year by thousands of pilgrims. (U/OU)

memory of a deceased relative or friend. Furthermore, many nominal Catholics also adhere to spiritualist cults, a practice for which the Catholic Church denies sacramental communion to the participants. Catholicism, nevertheless, is intimately related to the history of Brazil and has been a powerful force in unifying the nation. Catholicism permeates the national culture, not so much as an active religious system but as a way of life, and the church is a fundamental national institution. Brazil also has a comparatively large Protestant population, which, although only about 3.3% of the Brazilian population, is equal to the total population of several Latin American countries.

Catholic influence in Brazil began in 1500 when a Franciscan monk accompanying the Portuguese explorers offered Mass on the Brazilian shore and dedicated the new territory as the Land of the Holy Cross. Accompanying the Portuguese colonists who followed were great numbers of clergy and religious, mostly Franciscans, Benedictines, Capuchins, and Jesuits. The last were especially active and were largely responsible for establishing the educational system and, in general, preserving much of Portuguese culture transplanted to the new world. The Jesuits, however, in their efforts to prevent the enslavement of the Indians, clashed with the powerful landowners. In 1759 the Jesuits were expelled, and they were not readmitted until 1842. Because of the isolation of large estates, Catholicism became a religion of the colonial family, centering about the plantation manor, and Mass was celebrated in the manor chapel. The priest was often one of the sons of the household, ordained sometimes when only 15 years old, and the clergy became allies and adherents of the patriarchal system. Priests customarily married or took mistresses, religion became domestic and festive, slavery was tolerated, and the moral strength of the church diminished. African cult practices arose to rival and fuse with the Catholic heritage.

High dignitaries of the church often were more concerned with politics than with religion partly because they, as a highly educated segment of the population, were also called upon to perform government service. It was through this intellectual elite, however, that liberal and republican principles entered the colony. Freemasonry, which became popular in the 18th century, was closely connected with independence movements, and some clergymen were among its most active members, remaining so until the latter part of the 19th century. Involved in politics, conspiracies, and revolution, priests and laity mingled closely. Relations between the state and the church were marred in the 1830's by disagreement with the Holy See over the appointment of a bishop in Rio de Janeiro who was identified with radical doctrines. When that dispute was resolved by a more conciliatory attitude in Brazil, however, relations resumed a peaceable course until the 1870's. This relationship was fostered by the comparatively liberal character of Luso-Brazilian Catholicism, less puritanical than its Spanish counterpart, and by the corresponding tolerance consistently exhibited by the emperor who, for instance, welcomed Protestant missionaries as well as Protestant immigrants in Brazil.

In 1872 Freemasonry became the issue in a more serious dispute. The Pope had denounced the Masonic Order in the Encyclical of 1864, as a consequence of the anti-Catholic activity of some Masonic groups in Europe; but in Brazil the order flourished and counted numerous clerics among its members. Active in the independence movement in an earlier epoch, the Masons had lost their revolutionary inclinations. The

government and lower clergy were united in their rejection of the papal denunciation; however, the upper reaches of the church hierarchy were bound to respect the encyclical, and the issue became one of discipline. The government, as personified in the emperor and the Supreme Court, sided against the Brazilian bishops and was met by equal obduracy on the part of the Holy See. The government eventually adopted a less stubborn attitude and alienated liberal republican sentiment without necessarily healing the wounds inflicted on the church.

After the downfall of the monarchy in 1889, the new government decreed in 1890 the separation of church and state. The state relinquished any claim to competence in spiritual matters, a major improvement from the church's point of view over the traditional tendency of the state to intervene in ecclesiastical affairs. Although the separation, confirmed by the first Constitution of the Republic, ratified in 1891, permitted fairly successful missionary activity by Protestants, the net result was favorable to the church and contributed to the maintenance of religious harmony.

2. Structure of the Catholic Church (U/OU)

The Catholic Church in Brazil is the largest in Latin America, consisting of 31 archdioceses, 120 dioceses, 40 prelacies (separate territories under the Holy See's Office of the Propagation of the Faith), and nearly 5,000 parishes. The church structure is headed by 4 cardinal archbishops, 33 archbishops, and 242 bishops. The National Council of Brazilian Bishops (CNBB) provides central direction and guidance through its national and 13 regional secretaries, although individual bishops exercise substantial local autonomy. The archbishops all sit on the CNBB's central commission, whose secretaries hold specific substantive responsibilities in such fields as public opinion, social action, education, ecumenism, and theology. The CNBB also has several associated, autonomous institutions, and every Catholic entity in Brazil is in some manner connected to it. Technically subordinate, but indirectly a rival to the CNBB, is the Conference of Brazilian Religious Orders (CRB) which has some 60,000 members controlled by a strong secretary general. The CRB carries on monetary exchange, sells religious equipment, and publishes a review that follows the progressive leftist line of its clerical leaders. Although less influential than the CNBB, the CRB is still a force to be reckoned with, especially in advancing the trend toward liberalization.

The religious orders supply some 60% of the total of approximately 13,150 priests, as well as some 40% of the bishops. There are 104 male religious orders and congregations, all of which were founded abroad. The largest is the Franciscan order, with nearly 1,000 priests, followed by the Capuchins, the Salesians, the Jesuits, and the Redemptorists. Approximately 42% of the priests are engaged in parish work, 11% in education, and 7% in extradiocesan work, including some 270 missionary priests working in the North and Northeast. The church in Brazil has long had difficulty attracting young men into the priesthood, and there has always been a shortage, particularly in rural areas. In 1970 there was one priest for each 7,000 Catholics. The problem is compounded by the fact that some priests serve 20 to 30 churches in as many communities. It has been necessary to fill the gap with foreign-born priests; in 1969 it was reported that 42% of the priests in Brazil were from other countries, 84% of them serving with the religious orders. Only about 16% of the diocesan clergy were foreign-born compared with 53% of those in religious orders. The foreign priests come from over 25 countries, with Italy furnishing about one-third and Germany and the Netherlands also making important contributions. In 1964 the foreigners included 400 priests and eight bishops from the United States. The number of foreign priests entering Brazil has been steadily declining, partly because of the declining number of priests worldwide and partly because priests no longer are ordered into missionary work by the church. Foreign priests constitute over 70% of the total in northern and western Brazil, where mission work predominates; in all other areas, they are in the minority.

An important asset to the church in Brazil is the widespread activity of its more than 40,000 nuns belonging to 292 religious orders, including 59 of Brazilian origin. Approximately 87% of the nuns are Brazilian; among the foreign nuns, the largest number comes from Italy, followed by French, German, Dutch, and Spanish sisters. Almost 22,000 nuns are engaged in teaching and carry a large share of the burden of religious instruction, but the schools in which they teach are generally located in the larger population centers, leaving most rural children ignorant of the tenets of their faith. In 1963 it was reported that only 4% of Brazilian children receive religious instruction beyond the rudimentary catechism.

The church has helped to fill a part of the void in the Brazilian educational system, particularly at the secondary level. For many years secondary education was available only in private schools. The church

operates 8,600 secondary schools as well as 10 institutes of higher learning. In 1967, some 10% of Brazil's primary students, 46% of secondary, and 50% of university students attended private schools, most of them run by the church. A continuing problem in the church's educational effort is the fact that, like their lay counterparts, many priests and nuns are poorly prepared to be teachers.

A longstanding and important aspect of lay participation in the church are the *irmandades*, or lay brotherhoods. Established in the 16th century by the clergy, they serve as centers of social welfare, worship, and entertainment. A brotherhood provides security in case of sickness or old age, pays funeral expenses for its members, and sponsors Masses for the good of a deceased member's soul. They are usually centered around a particular saint or religious figure and restrict their membership to certain economic, racial, age, or sex groups. Wealthy men often left considerable amounts of money and property to the brotherhoods, enabling them to establish orphanages and hospitals, build churches, and establish retreats.

Each brotherhood usually includes members of only one parish, although the local brotherhood may also be a chapter of a larger national society. In the late 1960's there were about 25,000 associations with 4.2 million members, totaling 5% of all nominal Catholics.

Depending on the nature of the organization, the attitude of the church officials toward the brotherhoods is mixed. Some of the lay brotherhoods have become more powerful than the clergy in certain areas, and church leaders see them as a competitive force. It is not uncommon in rural areas for the practices of the local brotherhoods to represent unorthodox religious beliefs, and the parish priest may seek to change radically these organizations. In other towns or regions, however, the church may see the brotherhood as a bulwark of Catholicism, reinforcing traditional spiritual practices against the inroads of modernism.

3. Recent trends in the Catholic Church (C)

The Catholic Church in Brazil traditionally has been on the side of conservatism. Its stand on national issues related to religious matters has sometimes proved decisive; it sucessfully opposed in 1945 and again in 1952 a bill that would have legalized divorce. Yet a candidate for Vice President, Joao Cafe Filho, who favored such a law, was elected in 1946 despite church opposition. Nevertheless, the church's opposition to divorce continues to prevent its legalization; only legal separation (*desquite*) is permitted.

Since 1920 some segments of the church have been aware of its need for a new role in the world and in society. During the 1930's and 1940's the church became more involved in social and political problems, as the thoughts of liberal Catholic writers such as Jacques Maritain of France and Alceu Amoroso Lima, Brazil's most prominent Catholic thinker, became widely known. At the same time, about one-third of the episcopate supported the doctrine of Integralism, a Brazilian concept promising order, stability, and improvement of the standard of living of the rural masses. During President Kubitschek's term of office, 1956-61, a period of rapid economic development and industrialization, some of the prelates became even more concerned with the country's social, economic, and political problems. The imbalance between the relatively wealthy, industrialized South and Southeast and the rest of the country, as well as the poverty of much of the population, gave added impetus to their increasing involvement.

The papal encyclicals of the 1960's have had a strong impact on the church, particularly John XXIII's *Mater et Magistra* (Mother and Teacher, 1961), and *Pacem in Terris* (Peace on Earth, 1963), especially with their discussions of the rise of the working class, colonialism, the problems of underdevelopment, and the dignity of labor and its primacy over capital. Paul VI's *Populorum Progressio* (The Development of Peoples, 1967), and the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) have also contributed to a basic, liberal ideology centered on social justice for the masses, institutional reforms, a concern for man and the human community, and the importance of social action to extend Christian influence in the world.

Differences over how to solve the problems plaguing Brazil have caused divisions within the clergy, making it difficult for the church to speak with a single voice. There is a broad spectrum of views among the prelates on the proper role of the church, ranging from the extreme conservatives, who share the Medici government's position that man's spiritual life should be the preeminent concern, to radicals, who have assisted groups using violence to combat the government. Most of the Catholic hierarchy, and probably a majority of the priests, hold to more moderate positions between these two extremes.

The moderates, although relatively progressive on social questions, tend in general toward conservatism on matters touching the dogma, internal organization, and discipline of the church. The moderates also strongly believe that peace and unity in the church must be preserved. Hence, they frequently favor compromises to prevent unseemly altercations with

the civil authorities. Probably the preeminent spokesmen for the moderate sector are Agnelo Cardinal Rossi, formerly Archbishop of Sao Paulo and presently a senior official in the Vatican; Eugenio Cardinal Sales, Archbishop of Rio de Janeiro; and Avelar Cardinal Brandao Vilela, who, as Archbishop of Salvador, also holds the honorary title of Primate of Brazil. These prelates and other key moderates have gradually come to accept views originally enunciated only by the progressives. They believe that unless the church takes positive action to assist the people in bringing about necessary changes, even at the risk of interfering in secular matters and incurring the displeasure of the temporal authorities, there will be a radicalization in which the people will turn against the church and against democratic solutions.

Possibly 10% to 20% of Brazil's bishops, and a higher percentage of the priests, can be placed in the progressive category. They place more stress than the moderates on the need for rapid change in the social and economic structures of Brazil and are somewhat more willing to criticize the government on particular issues. Several times since 1969, for example, the CNBB has publicly expressed concern about the regime's authoritarian methods and occasional resort to brutal treatment of leftist opponents. The progressives now occupy the key positions in the direction of the CNBB.

The president of the CNBB is Bishop Aloisio Lorscheider, who, at the time of his election in 1971, was 46 years old, the youngest man ever elected to this office. He has outspokenly opposed several government actions and has attempted to convince military officers that these methods were counterproductive. Bishop Lorscheider is particularly concerned about the lack of men entering the priesthood and the increasing rate of departure of priests from the church. According to the CNBB's Center for Social Research and Religious Statistics, some 688 priests—most of them young—abandoned their vocations between 1966 and 1969, and nuns were leaving at an even faster rate than priests. His cousin, Ivo Lorscheiter, auxiliary bishop of Porto Alegre, occupies the second highest post in the CNBB, that of secretary general.

Another active leader is Paulo Evaristo Arns, who succeeded Cardinal Rossi as archbishop of Sao Paulo in 1970 and became a cardinal in March 1973. Formerly known primarily as a teacher and scholar, Arns, after assuming his post in Sao Paulo, on several occasions angered some military and civil authorities by his criticism of their actions. He has organized several thousand Sao Paulo residents into "basic committees" to discuss urban problems such as job conditions, housing, and isolation, which the prelate has said is the number one problem in his huge archdiocese.

One influential progressive prelate, Bishop Jose Maria Pires of Joao Pessoa, has said that rather than interpreting events in the church on a "progressive versus conservative" basis, it would be more realistic to describe any struggle that may exist as between the "younger clerics, more fervent and more impatient to obtain results, as opposed to the older ones, perhaps more prudent, but equally interested in and committed to achieving the same results."

The most consistent clerical thorn in the side of the government since 1964 has been Helder Pessoa Camara, archbishop of Recife and Olinda, in the Northeast. He is a personal friend of Pope Paul VI, who elevated him to the archbishopric. Dom Helder's concerns center on the need for rapid economic development, particularly in the Northeast. He maintains that the misery of the poor can be blamed on the monopoly of power by the rich and that the poverty of underdeveloped nations is caused by the affluence of the developed nations. His pronouncements during his frequent foreign travels have earned him considerable attention in the press outside Brazil, although rigid censorship deprives him of a forum at home. His criticism of the government has aroused the deep hostility of many military and conservative civilian Brazilians, who regard him as a threat to the church. Most moderate prelates consider Dom Helder a maverick, outside the main current of the church in Brazil, but they feel obliged to defend him, as a representative of the church, from criticism and pressure from the government. At times, other bishops are willing to identify themselves with Dom Helder's stands. In May 1973, 13 bishops of the Northeast joined him in issuing a report which charged that the situation of the poor in that region was deteriorating. The paper also accused the government of using harsh repressive measures to insure that there was no change in the social structure that could improve the life of most of the people. Dom Helder has not opposed all the government's actions; in certain areas such as changing the structure of rural landholdings, he has urged all sections of the society to encourage the government to take more action.

A small radical sector within the church appears to be confined almost completely to priests and seminarians, although the security officials at times have included some bishops, such as Dom Helder, on the "black list." A number of the radical priests worked with Catholic worker and student groups such

as the Catholic Workers' Youth Movement, Catholic Secondary School Movement, and the Catholic University Student Movement, although these groups now are circumscribed in their actions by the hostility of the government, which sees their emphasis on social problems and the inequities of capitalism as being outside the legitimate realm of the church. The Popular Action (AP) organization, which evolved in 1962 out of the Brazilian Catholic Action movement, took a steadily leftward course including cooperation with Marxists and espousal of violence to overthrow the government. The AP never had the support of more than a small minority of the clergy, and now few priests seem willing to associate themselves with an organization that is high on the government's list of subversive movements.

Perhaps as many as 40 clergymen have been arrested since 1968 for alleged involvement with extreme leftist groups. The largest group were several seminarians belonging to the Dominican order who in 1969 were apprehended and charged with collaborating with the National Liberating Action organization headed by terrorist Carlos Marighella.

In contrast to the radical clerics is a small but still powerful group of reactionaries who believe the mission of the church is solely to guide the spiritual lives of the faithful. They view social problems as inherent in the human condition and counsel the virtue of charity, rather than political action, as a means to ameliorate them. They are closely associated with the existing social and political structure and either want to keep the church out of all political involvement or else believe that the church has a duty to support the legally constituted government authority.

The extreme right in the church is represented by men such as Dom Geraldo Proenca Sigaud, the archbishop of Diamantina, who is convinced that the Catholic Church in Brazil is thoroughly penetrated by Communists. The reactionaries have publicly disassociated themselves from the "clamorous and demagogic" pronouncements of the progressives, and they regard Dom Helder as an abomination. Dom Geraldo attacked Dom Helder so strenuously, in fact, that he scandalized the progressives and ultimately generated sympathy and support for Dom Helder and his campaign for nonviolent change.

Despite the opposition of the conservatives, the trend toward more church involvement in social and economic fields seems certain to continue. One influence in this direction is the changing form of education in the seminaries. The Recife Theological Institute, the principal training school for priests in the Northeast, has been radically reformed. The seminarians study a broad range of social and natural sciences, read secular journals and newspapers, and are encouraged to relate Biblical teachings to problems of modern society. Further, they live in small groups with families in the urban area and are encouraged to become deeply involved with pastoral work and independent sociological studies to give them a better understanding of the problems of the people they seek to help. The institute's program, originally regarded as outrageously radical by traditional seminarians, is now being closely watched by the Vatican and could become a model for modernizing other seminaries.

Because the seminaries do not turn out a sufficient number of priests and because foreign priests are not able to fill the growing gap, the church has increased its program to create more lay ministers (Ministers of the Eucharist) to perform certain religious functions, thereby relieving the priests of some of their more routine pastoral duties. The church is turning to the Study Movement (*cursilhos*) to provide a pool of lay activists in economically poor parishes. The Study Movement is composed mainly of middle and upper class Catholics who hitherto lacked the organizational form or action programs to put their good intentions to use. Even with these attempts to fill the manpower needs of the church, the requirements of its ambitious programs will be very hard to meet.

4. Folk Catholicism (U/OU)

The beliefs of most Brazilians have been heavily influenced by American Indian, African, spiritualist, and European folk concepts, creating a mixture known as folk or popular Catholicism. This mixture is most apparent in isolated rural areas with few priests, as in the North and Central-West, where it is the predominant religion. Many of the same ideas also appear in urban areas, but there the veneer of formal Catholicism is likely to be more in evidence.

These forms of religious belief sometimes appear among middle and upper class Catholics, as well as in the lower classes. It is impossible to estimate the number of adherents since one form of the religion shades imperceptibly into the other, and elements of folk Catholicism may appear in many churches.

Religion is considered by members of these sects to be a technique for controlling the supernatural and exerting some influence on the operations of nature. Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, endowed with the characteristics of African gods or Indian spirits, are regarded as protectors and helpers of those on earth, and emphasis is placed on persuading the saints to aid men in this world more than on achieving salvation in

the next. When an individual is in trouble, sick, or in need of help, he prays to a saint and makes a vow to perform some act of piety or repayment if the saint fulfills his wish.

Curing plays an important part in folk religion, since doctors are scarce and disease is an ever present problem. Health may be regained through a vow to the right saint or through a faith healer. Miracles are expected and believed to occur; a saint can gain a reputation as an especially effective and miraculous healer. Occasionally, miracles are associated with priests or holy men, who quickly gain fame and a large following.

Saints are thus regarded as protective helpers who can dispense health, life, tranquility of spirit, good luck, and protection if they choose, but can also cause sickness, unhappiness, and bad luck if they are displeased. Their displeasure does not result from sins, however, since they do not demand moral purity, and the only recognized sin is lack of respect for the saint. The concept of the opposition of good and evil is nonexistent; thus, the threat of punishments or rewards in the afterlife makes little impression.

Each village may have its own patron saint, and various saints are patrons of different activities. Saint Christopher protects travelers, and Saint Benedict watches over rubber gatherers. The Virgin Mary, Christ, and the saints are all considered as equals, and there may be several "Jesus Christs" in different localities, each regarded as distinct. In general, Christ is a more distant figure than the Virgin Mary and the saints.

Because of familiarity with the ritual of Catholicism, many of its elements are used in magic practice. Saints assume the proportions of independent and powerful spirits which can be tricked, coerced, or paid to grant special favors. Prayer and the sacraments have an efficacy of their own, and a rosary said from left to right may have an effect quite different from when it is said from right to left.

Religious movements prophesying the end of all troubles and the birth of a new age have periodically emerged from the folk Catholic traditions of the rural masses, particularly in the arid Northeast. Such movements usually center around a religious figure who predicts the coming of a Messiah to save the world and eliminate the oppressors. Followers usually must adhere to a strict moral code prohibiting drinking, extramarital sex, and participation in the corrupt world. A situation of extreme poverty and desperation usually sparks such a movement, and the periodic droughts of the interior of the Northeast, the *sertao*, have often provided this situation. During a series of droughts between 1877 and 1919, an estimated 2 million people in this area died of starvation and disease.

One of the most famous movements was led by Antonio Conselheiro, the Counselor, between 1893 and 1897, during a period of intense drought that had caused mass migration and starvation. Conselheiro was a holy man who wandered through the *sertao* curing the sick, preaching sermons, and living on alms. He gradually gained a reputation as a faith healer who could work miracles. He predicted the end of the world and the return of King Sebastian, a 16th-century Portuguese king who had mysteriously disappeared, to free all people from their tribulations. Because of his opposition to the Republic, the government sent troops to arrest him, but his followers resisted and overcame them. Conselheiro and his followers then withdrew into a fortified town, called New Jerusalem, which they defended against four successive government expeditions. Although the village never surrendered, by the end of the fourth attack in 1897 only four people were left alive. This epic struggle was chronicled in 1902 by Euclyides da Cunha in *Os Sertoes* (*Rebellion in the Backlands*).

Similar sects continue to arise. In 1938 police dispersed a religious community of 2,000, taking its communal church and confiscating its cattle and crops. In the 1960's a man claiming to be a reincarnation of both Cicero, another messianic leader, and Conselheiro established a community in Bahia. He had about 2,000 followers and preached rigid adherence to Catholicism, hard work, and abstinence from tobacco and alcohol.

5. Protestantism (U/OU)

Adult members of Protestant denominations represent approximately 3.3% of the total population, and their numbers are increasing. Protestantism is a relatively recent arrival, having been introduced for the most part by German Lutheran immigrants in the mid-19th century. Southern Baptists from the United States arrived soon after the Civil War, seeking the security of a slave economy; they stayed on even after slavery was abolished in 1888, and their religion flourished. The Presbyterian Church came to Brazil in 1869. With the separation of church and state in 1890, the various denominations were able to begin work in earnest. In the process of its growth over the past century, Protestantism has acquired a distinctly Brazilian character; individual churches, most notably Pentecostal, have become self-generating, native Brazilian movements.

Membership in Protestant denominations has been increasing rapidly. There are now over 3 million adult members. The largest denomination is the Pentecostal Church, which is estimated to have nearly 2 million members. The most important Pentecostal sects are the Assembly of God, the Christian Congregation (*Congregacao Crista no Brasil*), and Brazil for Christ. Other large denominations are the Lutheran (600,000), Baptist (350,000), Presbyterian (180,000), and Methodist (70,000). In addition, there are about 100,000 Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Seventh-day Adventists. The greatest concentration of Protestants is in the South: Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Parana. In these states most Protestants are of German descent and are Lutherans.

The various Protestant denominations reflect, in great measure, the social structure of the country. Episcopalians, Evangelicals, Lutherans, and Methodists recruit most of their members from the middle class, the old traditional families, and the intellectuals. The Baptist and Anabaptist churches appeal mostly to artisans and commercial employees, while the Pentecostal Church is popular with the lower social and economic classes in urban areas. The Pentecostal sects are characterized by extensive use of music in the services, by great devotion to "divine will," a belief in miraculous cures, and in the ability to "speak in tongues." The Pentecostals have concentrated on straight, fundamentalist evangelism and have not expended significant effort on education or social programs. In general, traditional Protestantism, with its emphasis on study and self-improvement, appeals mainly to members of the middle class, and to those who aspire to reach middle class status.

There are more than 12,000 Protestant ministers, about the same number as Catholic priests. When the number of deacons and lay leaders is added, the figure is between 30,000 and 40,000. The ratio of pastors to church members is about 1 to 275, remarkably different from the Catholic ratio of 1 to 7,000.

In addition, the Protestant clergy are more indigenous than their Catholic counterparts; the overwhelming majority are native-born Brazilians. Between 2,000 and 3,000 foreign-born missionaries are engaged in operating two hospitals, 47 clinics, 38 seminaries, and 632 schools. The Pentecostal Church reportedly has no foreigners at all among its more than 10,000 pastors. Even in the Baptist church, where the foreign missionary element is relatively important, less than 10% of the ministers are foreign. Most of the non-Brazilian Protestant missionaries are from the United States, although there is a significant number of British ministers in both the Anglican and Presbyterian churches. In general, because of the autonomy of the Brazilian Protestant churches, the foreign missionaries have little voice in church policy.

Clergy and laity have a close relationship. The Pentecostal Christian Congregation has no formal clergy; anyone can become an elder or church leader if he seems to evidence spiritual gifts and is ordained or approved by a board of church members.

Protestants are engaged in extensive social welfare activities, placing particular emphasis on education. They have established a number of highly regarded schools—such as Colegio Bennett (a school for girls in Rio de Janeiro) and MacKenzie College in Sao Paulo (a commerce and engineering school)—that are attended by both Catholics and Protestants.

As the Catholic Church has become more involved in efforts to improve the lot of the underprivileged, the leaders of the Protestant churches have instead become more conservative and have tended to withdraw from controversial social action projects. Protestants, who have spent many years gaining acceptance in Brazilian social life, apparently are unwilling to risk their gains by criticizing the government or by engaging in activities that could prove unsettling to the "Establishment." Caution has also caused them to reject ecumenical overtures from the Catholic Church. Many young Protestants, however are more progressive than their elders and are frustrated to discover that they often have more in common with young Catholics than with members of their own faith.

Despite the conservative trend in the leadership of the Protestant church, the overall effect of Protestantism is dynamic, and it is likely to remain a force for change in Brazilian society. It will also, however, probably continue to be largely apolitical, and thus will be far less likely than the Catholic Church to run into major problems with the government.

6. Jewish and other groups (U/OU)

There are between 140,000 and 150,000 Jews, mostly in the States of Sao Paulo and Guanabara. Despite their small numbers, the Jews have made important contributions to Brazilian life since its earliest days. Many have risen to positions of importance in the government—there are several Jewish deputies in the Congress—and in the business community. The Jewish community operates about 30 schools, educating several thousand children. Anti-Semitism has never been a serious problem in Brazil, but occasional incidents crop up. For example, sporadic press attacks have accused prominent Jewish

members of the journalistic community of writing "blasphemous" articles regarding Christ.

Another prevalent form of religion in Brazil is spiritualism, ranging from intellectual sects such as Kardecism to the numerous Afro-Brazilian fetish cults such as Macumba, Candomble, and Umbanda, which are similar to Voodoo. The Catholic Church estimates that as much as one-fourth of the population, despite the fact that they are nominal Catholics, participate at least occasionally in such rites. Kardecism, founded on the writings of the Frenchman Alan Kardec, generally finds its adherents in the more intellectual circles, mainly in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo and among persons with more than an elementary education. The religion is based on a belief in multiple reincarnations of the human soul, ultimately ending in union with God. It accepts Jesus Christ as an exceptional Jew who achieved this state much more quickly than others. In 1966 it was reported that Kardecism had about 750,000 adherents and some 3,000 places of worship. Because of their concern for the spirits in other humans, spiritualists emphasize charitable works. In spite of their relatively small numbers, they maintain almost as many hospitals, clinics, asylums, and shelters as the Catholics and almost half as many schools.

The African slaves brought their traditional religious beliefs with them to Brazil, where they were mixed with Indian, Catholic, and spiritualist ideas (Figure 18). Cults proliferated, largely among the poorest classes of society. In general, these cults combine spirit possession and supernatural curing with African traditions of music and dance. One of the most rapidly expanding cults is Umbanda, an African-influenced version of spiritualism. Established in the 1930's, it had grown to an estimated 180,000 members by 1966, although the groups are so fluid and membership so unstructured that it is impossible to obtain accurate statistics. Furthermore, many followers list themselves as Catholics or spiritualists. It is a predominantly urban and Negro phenomenon, although many non-Africans are also attracted to the sects, and some middle class elements are being attracted.

Another type of Afro-Brazilian cult, the Gege-Nago, is similar to Umbanda but more influenced by African ideas, principally those of West African tribes such as Yoruba, Hausa, and Gege. Brazilians have largely taken over the African pantheon of deities, or *orishas*. The African version centers around a fetish, or material object endowed with the supernatural power of a certain deity. Each deity is associated with a certain fetish, color, force of nature, and day of worship. For example, the god of evil, Exu, has a head

FIGURE 18. Priest of an Afro-Brazilian cult (U/OU)

molded from clay with eyes and mouth of shell as his fetish, his consecrated holy day is Monday, his colors are red and black, and the animals sacrificed to him are the buck goat, rooster, and dog.

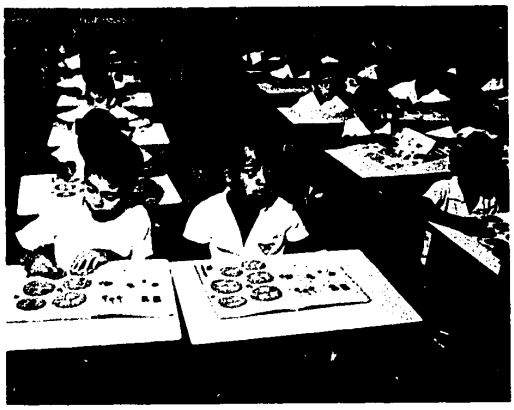
The religious cults of Brazilian Negroes have served as a focal point for solidarity among them. The cults are as much socially as ethnically oriented. Those who attend the ritual are invariably of the lower classes. Should one of their number elevate himself in the social strata, a farewell feast may be given him, since it is recognized, indeed expected, that he will no longer attend the ceremonies. This may change as the cults become more acceptable among the middle class.

Other religious groups are primarily immigrants who have maintained their traditional religion. The Maronites—members of a Catholic Uniate church in communion with Rome—are confined to a single immigrant ethnic group, the Syrians. Buddhists, who number probably more than 175,000, are found only among the Japanese immigrant population. Shintoism, the official religion of Japan, has few adherents.

H. Education (U/OU)

1. Extent of schooling and literacy

A grossly inadequate educational system and a consequent high percentage of illiterates have long



been recognized by Brazilians as being among the country's greatest weaknesses. Although qualitative gains and growth in enrollment since World War II have been extensive, progress in education has been retarded by a number of factors, one of the most important of which is the immensity of the country and the sparsity of settlement in many areas. Despite the constitutional provision for free and compulsory elementary schooling for all children ages 7 to 14, about 30% do not attend school at all; in Guanabara and Sao Paulo nearly all such children attend for at least a while, but in the Northeastern States of Ceara and Pernambuco the attendance drops to about 60%. Many rural children are unable to obtain even a primary education because of the lack of schools in some localities and shortage of teachers and facilities in many others. In 1972, 70% of the country's schools had only one room and one teacher. Many teachers are poorly trained; nationwide about 40% do not meet certification requirements, and this figure may reach 80% in some rural areas. Furthermore, even though public education is free, the cost of books, schools supplies, and, in some cases, uniforms is beyond the means of many low-income families. The curriculum generally has been geared to the needs of an elite leisure class and is not very meaningful to urban children of the lower economic strata or most of those in rural areas. Poor health limits the ability of many to learn.

The most frequently heard criticism, however, has been the lack of adequate intermeshing of the educational levels and between one kind of school system and another. Taxing qualifying examinations result in the loss of much of the student population through examination failure. Moreover, rigid curricula make it difficult or impossible for students in the middle of their studies to change from one education goal to another or to broaden their educational foundation.

The literacy rate is somewhat misleading because of the disparity in development throughout the country and because of the basis on which literacy is judged—an individual's declaration of ability to read. According to preliminary results of the 1970 census, two-thirds of the population 15 years or older are said to be literate. On this criterion literacy in the major cities may exceed 80%, while in the predominantly rural and backward areas of the Northeast it is probably over 40%.

2. Evolution and projected reforms

The educational system, originally begun under the Potuguese colonial rule to serve the needs of the upper class, has changed little in its basic philosophy in the intervening four centuries. Established by the Jesuits, it was designed for the leisure class and emphasized classical erudition in preparation for advanced study at the University of Coimbra in the mother country. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1759, this tradition persisted, with its emphasis on encyclopedic learning, its contempt for practical knowledge and labor and crafts, and its exaltation of privileges for the elite. The concept that education is an adjunct to social status and a key to personal and political advancement became firmly fixed. Although the Constitution of 1824 established the right of all to free elementary education, lack of financial support, teachers, and popular interest, as well as opposition from the upper class, made this legislation ineffective. In 1834, responsibility for elementary and secondary education was delegated to the provinces (later states), while the crown retained control of higher education, but both systems were incomplete. There was no relationship or continuity between elementary, secondary, and higher levels of education, nor was there communication between schools at the same level.

The first Constitution of the Republic (1891) provided in essence for the continuance of the traditional character of education. It stipulated that the federal government should organize the arts and culture of the country. Elementary and normal schools remained in the hands of the states. Secondary schools, although nominally under the direction of the government, continued to be unregulated private preparatory centers for higher professional studies. Higher education was under federal control.

An educational reform decree in 1928, coupled with the revolution of 1930, marked a decisive break with

the past. For the first time, the educational system was aimed, at least theoretically, to reach all children, and an attempt was made to integrate education within the structure of other social institutions. The reforms of 1930, implemented in the Constitution of 1946, became the foundation of a system that was to undergo little change until the enactment of educational legislation in 1961. The Constitution of 1946 made education the right of all, to be imparted at home and in the school with the purpose of inspiring ideals of liberty and human solidarity. The first federal legislation outlining the policy and bases of national education was passed in 1948.

In 1961 the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education sought to provide the framework for a general reform and modernization of the educational system through its decentralization and a revamping of the curriculum. A 24-member Federal Council of Education was established and given investigative, planning, and decisionmaking responsibility, while the Ministry of Education was charged with carrying out its decisions. Similar bodies exist on state and *municipio* levels. Nevertheless, many of the defects inherited from the past have remained and have been publicly discussed in newspaper and journal articles indicative of changing goals and conflict in Brazilian society. The validity of traditional educational concepts is questioned, as higher education becomes accessible to more people. Pure erudition is becoming less esteemed as the industrialized sectors of the economy increase their demands for personnel with practical skills and knowledge, but most university students continue to hold middle class goals, aspiring mostly to the benefits of a classical education.

The Medici government has established three major objectives in education: to improve the quality of instruction, raise enrollments, and integrate education with programs for scientific and technological development. The high priority given to education is demonstrated by the increase in investment. Total federal expenditures in education more than doubled from 1961 to 1970, growing at an annual rate of 11.2%, considerably higher than the annual increase in the GDP. About 10% of federal expenditures are devoted to education; this is scheduled to rise to 15% in 1973. The Ministry of Education was fifth in order of total allocations from the federal budget in 1963; it led all other ministries in 1970. Furthermore, the ministry's budget is now protected by presidential decree from the arbitrary reductions to which it formerly was subject. In 1972, the total funds budgeted to education were $1.3 billion, of which the federal government provided $372.4 million (28%), the states $771.4 million (58%), and the municipalities $186.2 million (14%). Although the federal government's financing responsibility applies basically only to higher education, it is also transferring funds from federal tax collections to the states and municipalities to assist in improving the primary and secondary systems.

In addition to the important quantitative changes in the education system, major reforms in its structure are under way. One of the most important is the restructuring of the inefficient Education Ministry, a primary goal of Minister Jarbas Passarinho. He has said that the next decade is likely to see even greater transformations in education as its vital role in making possible continued economic development becomes better understood.

3. School system

Historically, the school system has consisted of 4 years of primary school, and 7 years of secondary school divided into a 4-year basic secondary cycle (*ginasio*) and a 3-year advanced secondary cycle (*colegio*). Approximately half the students who complete primary school do not go on to secondary school.

Since 1970, however, a Department of Fundamental Education (DEF) within the Education Ministry has been working on an ambitious program to combine the primary and *ginasio* cycles into an 8-year "fundamental education" cycle—the "Operation School"—to be available to all children between 7 and 14 years of age. This program involves much more than simply changing the names of the units; it includes a complete restructuring of the educational philosophy and practices applicable to these levels. While secondary education is to retain the 3-year *colegio*, the ratio of 75% pre-university to 25% vocational students would be reversed so as to better meet middle level manpower requirements for continued economic development. The Ministry of Education is to direct this transformation and to supply technical assistance to the states as needed. Each state is to be responsible for planning, administration, and implementation of this program within its borders.

Legislation authorizing this transformation was sanctioned by Congress in 1971, but its implementation will be long and difficult. The following discussion relates mainly to the system existing in 1972.

The school year is 10 months, beginning on March 1 and ending in December but with a 30-day vacation in July. Most primary public schools allow a midweek

holiday, usually on Thursdays, in addition to Sundays. The traditional schoolday lasts 4½ to 5 hours but, owing to lack of facilities, especially in the rural areas, the schoolday is often shortened to 3 hours or less.

At the national level, general supervision of the educational program and operation of the federal and private elementary and secondary schools are conducted by the Ministry of Education. The Federal Council of Education is responsible for the formulation of educational policy. At the state level there are state secretariats of education and state councils of education but in many states they suffer from shortages of qualified personnel; considerable operational responsibility remains at the national level.

Preschool education is not a part of the national educational structure and is not compulsory. Nursery schools and kindergartens, intended for children up to the age of 7, are maintained by public and private groups, but preprimary schooling is developing slowly and almost exclusively in urban areas. Many teacher training schools maintain experimental preschools, but the greater initiative comes from private sources. The government encourages businesses employing mothers with children under 7 years of age to maintain nurseries and kindergartens, either with their own funds or in cooperation with the government. In such preprimary schools as exist, the child usually attends for 2 years.

In 1961 control of most of the elementary schools passed to the state governments, although a few schools remain under federal and municipal control, including those in the territories where education remains a federal responsibility.

In 1972, Education Minister Passarinho stated that approximately 70% of the children between 7 and 14 years of age were attending school, meaning that 3 million to 5 million remained outside the system. Enrollment percentages vary widely between different areas of the country and between rural and urban districts. Most urban children have access to a full 4 years of primary school, and many who complete primary school are able to continue in the first cycle of secondary school. Only a fifth of those who enroll complete the fourth grade within 4 years, however. Inadequate facilities and unrealistic promotion requirements remain obstacles to the student flow through the system.

Paralleling the national population growth trend, the number of primary schools (about 150,000) has been rising faster in urban areas than in rural areas—at annual rates of 6.4% and 5.6%, respectively. Primary and secondary school enrollment increased from 1960 to 1970 as follows, in millions:

	1960	1970
Primary	7.0	13.5
Secondary	1.2	4.1

However, a very high dropout rate and a large number of grade repeaters concentrate over half the primary enrollment in the first grade. Rural schools of only one or two grades are also contributing factors; however, 35% of the students even in the state capitals are first graders. The dropout rate is one of the major shortcomings of the educational process. About 50% of those entering first grade do not continue to the second, and less than 19% reach the fourth. The percentage of those who continue drops to 10% upon entering the *ginasial* cycle, to 5.4% at the beginning of the *colegial* cycle, and to 3.9% by the last year of secondary school. Thus, of every 100 students enrolled in the first grade less than four reach the last year of high school. The number of grade repeaters, especially in primary school, is high, and many of these eventually become discouraged and leave school completely.

Enrollment in secondary schools, the traditional bottleneck in the educational system, also has increased rapidly. However, only about 20% of the children from 12 to 19 years of age are enrolled. Until recently, most secondary students were in private schools, many operated by the Catholic Church. Now, however, although there are more private than public schools, over 50% of the students are enrolled in public schools, a circumstance leading to severe overcrowding and multiple shifts in many public institutions. Even so, the public schools are able to accept less than half of their applicants. With the rapid growth of elementary school enrollment and the concurrent improvement in retention rates, the public secondary school system must look forward to further pressure on its physical facilities during the 1970's.

In secondary schools the student may choose among general academic, business, industrial arts, agricultural, or normal (elementary school teacher training) curriculums. The academic course—college preparatory in either science or humanities—is by far the most popular because of the prestige it lends and has traditionally claimed the great majority of secondary students. By 1965 academic enrollment had declined to 72%, indicating an increased interest in vocational subjects. Two changes in the secondary system probably encouraged this. More flexible curriculums since 1961 have made it possible to transfer from one track to another. In addition, all secondary schools—

not just the academic—are called either *ginasio* or *colegio*. Those other than the academic are known, for example, as *ginasio industrial* or *colegio normal*, thus adding some status to the normal academic courses.

Nevertheless, secondary education remains predominantly academic and encyclopedic in the classical tradition of Europe and most of middle-level public schools [illegible] a major bottleneck for the university education of children from lower income families, who cannot afford the tuition charges of the private schools.

One provision of the 1971 educational reform law places increased emphasis on vocational education in the *colegio* cycle. It is intended to give students the preparation needed to enter the labor market in a competitive position for middle class occupations, as well as performing the traditional function of providing academic skills needed by students who intend to go on to higher education. Attention is also being given to isolated rural areas, which contain large numbers of children who lack access to education. The development of a system of rural, live-in schools is a priority project of the Education Ministry. In 1970, the National Campaign for Community Schools, a private, nonprofit organization which received support from the Education Ministry, was assisting nearly 1,000 municipalities, mostly in the rural interior to operate 1,234 schools enrolling nearly 274,000 students.

4. Higher education

Only about 4% of the 18- to 21-year-old population is enrolled in higher education. A principal barrier has been the demanding university entrance examination (*vestibular*). Less than half of the entrants into the last year of *colegio* qualify to take the *vestibular*, and only a minority are successful in passing it. The passing rate improved from 36.8% in 1962 to 41.7% in 1968, but passing a *vestibular* does not necessarily mean admission. This depends on the number of vacancies available for the entering class, and these vary in accordance with the popularity of the fields of specialization, which the candidate must select before undergoing examination. The extraordinary difficulty of the university entrance examinations has made it nearly impossible for the student to pass without tutoring. It has, accordingly, become customary for those who can afford it to devote as many as 3 years to *cursinhos* (informal preparatory schools) relatively expensive institutions outside the regular school system. A 1965 survey found that 65.7% of the first-year university students questioned had taken a *cursinho* course at least once. The necessity of *cursinho* preparation after completion of secondary school, itself largely in private institutions, has acted as a filter in further limiting the enrollment of young people with lower socioeconomic backgrounds.

Higher education is both public and private. In 1972 more than 530,000 students were enrolled in 43 universities—all but eight public—and over 500 other institutions of higher education, mostly "isolated faculties." As stipulated by the 1961 Law of Directives and Bases, universities must contain under a common administration at least five institutes or schools of higher learning and facilities for research and professional training. "Isolated faculties," on the other hand, are simply separate schools of education, dentistry, law, or accountancy, organized and operated without benefit of a "university" umbrella. The difference between universities and "isolated faculties" is not as great as it appears, since faculties within universities are much more independent and isolated than are colleges within U.S. universities. Higher education was conducted in "isolated faculties" of law, medicine, and engineering until 1934, when the first Brazilian university, the State University of Sao Paulo, was established, followed in 1939 by the National University of Brazil in Rio de Janeiro (later known as the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro). The founding of modern universities revealed the almost complete lack of Brazilians qualified to teach the natural and social sciences, and professors had to be recruited from Europe and the United States. Scientific research is still heavily weighted with foreign specialists. While this situation has promoted vigorous growth and some research which is attracting worldwide attention, the traditional emphasis on the humanities still limits Brazilian scientific progress. Moreover, in general, the universities are badly administered and have obsolete faculty systems and excessively rigid and unrealistic curriculums. A further problem is that graduates in engineering, law, and medicine often do not employ their acquired skills but enter politics or business instead.

Each university is administered by a rector and a university council. The rector is chosen by the President of the Republic from a list provided by the university council composed of the heads of the various faculties and other organizational units at the faculty level, an alumni representative, and the president of the student body.

Universities have administrative, instructional, and disciplinary autonomy within the limits of the law. Although the Federal Council of Education gives and suspends accreditation and approves new curriculums,

each faculty continues to operate as a quasi-independent institution with its own curriculum. The resulting administrative and academic duplication is inefficient and expensive and severely limits the variety of course selections open to the student.

The teacher at the university holds a position of prestige. Socially, he is regarded at least as upper middle class even though he may have come from a working-class background. Except at the University of Brasilia, nearly all professional appointments are part-time undertakings. Salaries are substantially higher than those in elementary and secondary schools, but the rates of pay offered do not compare favorably with those in other occupations open to university graduates. Pay is not the principal incentive to university teaching, however. A man who has enjoyed a successful professional career may take up a university professorship as a matter of status, and, conversely, a professorship has often led to a career in public life.

The 1968 student-professor ratio was six to one for undergraduates and three to one at the graduate level. These ratios are misleading, however, because teachers usually work only part time. The three teaching levels are instructor, assistant professor, and lecturer. At the top of the teaching hierarchy is the *catedratico* (faculty chairman), who holds life tenure, although in many instances he does not work full time at his university assignment.

The *catedra* (chair) is filled by selection from a list reviewed by a board of peers on the basis of degrees, publications, and previous experience, plus either a written examination or public defense of a research undertaking. *Catedraticos* appoint the instructors and assistant professors on their faculties and, in general, hold veto power over intrafaculty policy matters. Generally a conservative group, the faculty chairmen have attracted some criticism, and the university reform program initiated during the late 1960's appears likely to result in the deemphasis or outright abolition of the position.

The National Institute for the Development of Education and Research, created late in 1968, is establishing a national education fund to consolidate federal financing to education, particularly at the university level. In addition, under a new system for the university staff, teaching personnel will be grouped in three teaching-load categories: a minimum of 12 hours a week, a minimum of 22 hours a week, and full time. A new pay scale has also been established to make full-time teaching more attractive. A decree for this purpose was issued early in 1969.

In the late 1960's the basic organizational structure of the university system began a process of fundamental change. The new University of Brasilia established an introductory program to avoid an overlap in basic courses, and the University of Sao Paulo announced that beginning in 1971 the academic year would be divided into three-quarters of 12 weeks each of actual classroom work. Examinations would be given outside these periods. In this way, a student repeating a course would be able to make up lost credits in a single quarter.

A working group on university reform, appointed in 1968, recommended conversion of the faculty system into one based on academic departments, and implementation of this recommendation has commenced. In the pioneering University of Sao Paulo, the university statutes were revised in general to replace the powerful faculties with institutes or departments as teaching units, enjoying only limited administrative authority.

Although the Medici government has dedicated substantial resources toward raising the quality of higher education in the fields of science and technology, and the number of trained people is growing, most students are still enrolled in the traditional disciplines of literature, education, and law. The relatively low number of students enrolled in certain fields, such as agronomy and veterinary medicine, may not reflect student preferences so much as the shortage of vacancies in these disciplines. New facilities for scientific study, such as those under way at the giant University of Sao Paulo, will alleviate the shortage. Upon successful completion of his course of study the student receives a title that, when properly registered, establishes his right to practice a profession. For example, lawyers receive the degree of *bacharel*, and graduates in philosophy and letters receive a *licenciado*. The degrees are at the same level, except that the recipient of the *licenciado* may qualify as a secondary school teacher. The degree of *doutorado* is also awarded upon successful completion of undergraduate work, but it carries greater prestige. Requirements for it vary among institutions, but the common additional requisite is a thesis based on independent study.

Postgraduate enrollment is small (probably about 5,000) but is increasing. It is limited by the fact that professional education, predominant in the university system, is offered at the undergraduate level. Schools and training programs established since World War II have attempted to remedy the lack of trained administrators. An outstanding example is the Getulio Vargas Foundation, established in 1944 to carry out

research, training, and technical assistance in the field of public and business administration. The foundation includes the Brazilian Institute of Administration, which, in addition to conducting research, courses, and seminars, supervises the Brazilian School of Public Administration in Rio de Janeiro and the School of Business Administration in Sao Paulo; the Brazilian Institute of Economics; the Institute for Professional Selection and Orientation; and the Institute for Public Law and Political Science. Of these, the best known is the Brazilian School of Public Administration, which has as its primary purpose the development of a corps of trained administrators for federal, state, and municipal government, as well as for the autonomous government agencies. The school has earned fame throughout Latin America. The success of the Vargas Foundation has led some more traditional universities to organize themselves as foundations.

5. Vocational training

Vocational training in commerce offered by the secondary school system is supplemented by the National Service for Commercial Apprenticeship (SENAC), which offers training varying from apprenticeship on the job plus some elementary education to important experimental programs. Completion of many apprenticeship courses entitles the graduate to enrollment in a technical lower-secondary school at an appropriate level after passing an examination; in the case of more advanced courses, a secondary degree may be awarded, enabling the recipient to apply for admission to an institution of higher learning.

Created in 1946, SENAC is financed by a tax levied on commercial firms employing more than 100 persons and determined according to the wages they pay. SENAC course enrollment increased by about 170% between 1963 and 1967 when 81,000 persons were enrolled, 16.8% of whom were under age 18. In 1969 it was estimated that SENAC training was reaching about 10% of the employed youths under age 18.

The National Service for Industrial Apprenticeship (SENAI) is generally similar to SENAC in manner of operation, although emphasis is on the training of youth between the ages of 14 and 18. Organized in 1942, SENAI administered more than 100 trade schools throughout the country in 1968, with an enrollment (195,000) double that of 1961. It has been criticized for not fully meeting the demands of industry for trained personnel, but there are some indications that many SENAI graduates do not seek industrial work. The organization's leaders have recognized that its off-the-job training has limited application to industry and have assisted some industries in establishing their own in-service training. The U.S. assistance program has participated in projects training several hundred SENAI staff members.

Other in- ing has been accomplished by the Inte- Training Program. Established b- ecree in 1963, the program until 1971 on training workers for the manufacturin- At the end of 1971, it was reorganized to extend its activities to the upgrading of professional and teaching staff at all levels of the primary and service sectors, in fields such as instruction in agricultural technology and marketing, advice to firms on how to train their personnel, and labor market surveys.

In July 1972, the Ministry of Labor and Social Security launched a National Program for Developing Skilled Workers. The program's main goal is to train 1.5 million workers by the end of 1975 in areas such as civil construction, federal public service, tourism, fishing, and labor union administration. The program is directly in line with Finance Minister Delfim Neto's theory that efforts to improve education and job skills will result in a more equitable distribution of the national income.

Except in the regular school system, there have been relatively few vocational training opportunities in agriculture. Schools at the secondary level do, however, offer to young people and adults courses comparable to those of SENAC and SENAI. In addition, many rural centers maintain short courses in home economics for girls.

6. Literacy and adult education

Since 194- a number of programs to reduce illiteracy have been undertaken. A major goal of the Medici administratio- is to reduce the number of illiterates in the population 15-35 years old from 8 million (in 1970) to 2 million in 1974, and to eradicate illiteracy as a basic prob- m by 1980. In an important step toward achieving this goal, President Medici launched in September 1970 the Brazilian Literacy Movement (MOBRAL). MOBRAL operates at three levels: through national and state coordination centers, and over 3,000 municipal committees. It is focused on community initiative and involvement at the municipal level. MOBRAL usually offers 3-month courses at minimal cost. By the end of 1971 MOBRAL's programs had benefited more than 3 million people, of whom 1.3 million completed the entire course, designed to attain functional literacy.

The directors of MOBRAL hope to reduce the drop-out rate below the present 50%.

A number of states are experimenting with radio as a means of transmitting both formal and adult education—including MOBRAL programs—to remote interior areas. Although experiments in educational television date from the early 1950's, this form of special education remains in an intermediate stage. Only two channels, in Pernambuco and Sao Paulo, are in operation. In addition, closed-circuit programs have been initiated in Guanabara and Rio Grande do Sul. Feasibility studies with respect to the use of a fixed-position satellite system reportedly have been made.

Most of the other states are planning to use educational television, but there are serious handicaps to overcome in a country of vast distances. The costs of an extensive video-teaching program severely tax educational financial resources, which are already heavily strained; planning seems not to be fully coordinated; and teachers fully qualified for the television broadcasts are hard to find.

The subject matter of most of the programs aired appears to concern cultural enrichment rather than development of basic education and skills. A television course, however, has been developed to prepare young people over the age of 16 to qualify for a *ginasio* certificate. In addition, a private foundation with headquarters in Rio de Janeiro has undertaken to prepare technical personnel for the educational television program and, in general, to coordinate the program.

Installation of about 300,000 receivers in classrooms and communities is an eventual goal. The developing program, aimed at raising the general level of cultural awareness rather than at supplementing the regular school system, envisages varied curricular content, such as public health training, community development, nutrition, cultural integration, and general information.

In late 1972, the Education Ministry was planning to establish its own cultural and educational network. Its programs would teach subjects from primary school through university level.

7. Noncurricular student activities

Brazilian students—particularly those in higher education—represent a sector of society whose influence far outweighs their numerical strength. The average age of university students tends to be higher than that of students in the United States, and this characteristic tends to enhance their influential role. Youth frequently have to wait one or more years after secondary school to enter a university; moreover, most students hold full- or part-time jobs, and take longer to complete the university program. The political power of the students—and intellectuals in general—also derives in large part from the prestige which Brazilian society accords to intellectual attainments. Other factors were the largely elite nature of the educational system and the concentration of student groups in the cities, where links have long existed between the student groups and discontented labor elements.

Although most students are generally apathetic and apolitical—only 10% to 20% normally participate in student politics—they share many attitudes with the activist minority. One is a faith in Brazil's "great destiny" and a deep disappointment in its present day reality. They see around them the poverty and illiteracy of the masses, the undeveloped natural resources, and inequality of opportunity. Because of the apathy of the majority of university students, a minority of Communists and leftist-ultranationalist extremists were able until 1964 to control the major student organizations and use them as instruments of political pressure. The dominant organization was the National Students' Union (UNE); during the Kubitschek, Quadros, and Goulart administrations the UNE was supported by the government, but control lay in the hands of the Communists through a united front with a radical student group, Popular Action.

Since the advent of military-led government in 1964, the capabilities of this extremist leadership—as well as student organizations in general—have been almost completely nullified. Through the Suplicy Law, enacted in 1964 by the Castello Branco administration, the government at first sought to break the hold on the student movement of Communists and other extreme leftists by abolishing the major student organizations and substituting new ones which were to be controlled by democratic student leaders. Most students, however, opposed this law and continually urged its repeal. In early 1967 the government amended the Suplicy Law to abolish all student groups at state and national levels, while permitting organizations within the individual universities and their schools (faculties). The law also banned student strikes and involvement in political activity. Moreover, all secondary school student organizations, except athletic, civic, cultural, and social groups, were declared illegal. Partly in protest against these increasing restrictions on their activities, student agitation became frequent in the mid-1960's. The peak year of student action against the military regime was 1968, particularly after a student was

killed by the police. The government closed down all student representative organizations and temporarily occupied the campuses of some of the major universities. The following year it promulgated decree-law 477, which punishes any student condemned for "subversive activities" with expulsion or suspension for three years. Decree-law 477 has been applied over 40 times and continues to be a tool that the regime can use, although these occasions have become less frequent because of the decline in student activism. When student militancy can be defined as "a question of national security," few students are willing to risk expulsion or prison in order to challenge the government.

These pressures have made the average student politically timid. Rio de Janeiro's universities have been seized by a craze for politically safe activities such as ping-pong, table football, and chess, while student representatives claim drug-taking has increased. Little or no interest can be aroused in elections to student bodies or university councils, and one student has summed it up by saying: "All we are concerned with is survival."

At least publicly, the government does not favor such a withdrawal. In 1971 the Minister of Education stated that a student "cannot ignore the problems of the world in which he lives. His participation demands a knowledge of the great forces at work in the present-day world. It is therefore absurd to order him to forget the social injustices, the problems of underdevelopment, the contradictions within the society in which he lives, and above all, the contradictions in the educational system on which his professional future depends."

In 1967, the government established a program known as the Rondon Project to try to channel some of the students' energies into constructive fields—and out of politics. The project, similar to the U.S. VISTA program, is intended both to make the students aware of the problems of Brazil's remote areas, particularly in the Amazon Basin, and to provide assistance to the residents of the areas in the form of medical care, development of human resources, road building, and construction. Under the control of the Interior Ministry, the Rondon Project also receives support from other government agencies and from the armed forces, as well as from the remote communities themselves, which provide lodgings and, in some instances, food for the group of students assigned to the respective projects. An outgrowth of the Rondon Project has been the installation of 10 branches of university campuses in backward areas for the purpose of developing centers of economic and social growth, as well as experimental fields for university students. New campuses are scheduled to be established both in the Amazon area and in the Northeast.

I. Artistic and cultural expression (U/OU)

Brazilian intellectual and artistic development dates largely from the end of the 19th century and—with few exceptions—had no appreciable significance before 1920. Despite the existence of a leisure class possessing the customary material and intellectual requirements for developing a high culture, no sustained attempt was made to produce an authentic Brazilian literature, art, or music before the 20th century. The major figures in Brazilian literary and artistic development are almost entirely contemporary; a number of them are still alive and still creating important works.

Brazil was dependent on the intellectual resources of Portugal until the arrival of Dom Joao VI at Rio de Janeiro in 1808. No printing press, public library, college, or university was allowed in Brazil prior to that date. Education was available in Brazil only to a small elite group; advanced study was permitted only in Portugal. Unlike Mexico and Peru, Brazil could boast of no pre-Columbian artistic development on its own soil, and its intellectual forms were imported from the mother country. Art forms, particularly in architecture and the related arts, developed and were put to the service of the church, but architecture was in the baroque style imported from Portugal and Spain, and baroque in Brazil achieved its highest level of development as interior ornamentation, with lavish use of gold, diamonds, emeralds, wood carvings, and sculpture. Following independence, Portuguese models were replaced by those of France, and Brazilian artists, architects, writers, and intellectuals in general reflected French schools of thought. The Brazilian people were only beginning to look with interest at their national origins but mainly without the leadership of the elite, whose intellectual interests continued to be focused on Europe. For this reason, 20th century intellectual and artistic expression in Brazil has been largely a middle sector phenomenon. The great majority of the population, functionally illiterate, isolated, and impoverished, have remained uninterested in literary and artistic themes except in the field of folk art.

Contemporary achievements in Brazilian cultural development had their origins in the Week of Modern Art held in Sao Paulo during February 1922—a gathering of young intellectuals and artists in revolt against the heavy domination of art forms by

European patterns. The Brazilian environment was recognized as an authentic source of inspiration for a distinctive literature, art, and music. The exhibition featured Brazilian themes in cubist and expressionist art, along with concerts of modern music and readings of poetry authored by members of the group. The 1920's were a turbulent but fecund period in Brazilian history, with many of its events centered in Sao Paulo, where the revolutionary consequences of a rising industrial order were being felt. In 1923 the First Brazilian Congress on Regionalism, held in Recife, emphasized regional historic values, which subsequently became the heart of a movement in the Northeast producing a rich literature of social criticism based in large part upon the findings of the social anthropologist Gilberto Freyre. In 1934, also in Recife, the First Congress on Afro-Brazilian Studies drew attention to Negro contributions to the formation of the national character and culture. This reinterpretation of Brazilian racial history constituted a third literary trend of the new era. The three movements—modernist, Northeast regionalist, and Afro-Brazilian—formed the basis for the emergence in the mid-20th century of genuinely Brazilian art and literary forms.

Brazilian intellectuals have traditionally devoted themselves chiefly to literary achievement, and their fondness for verbal brilliance and classical erudition still persists, but in the 20th century they began to develop an interest in science and social problems. Alberto Santos-Dumont was the first man to fly a dirigible. Oswaldo Cruz, for whom the well-known South American school of tropical medicine is named, freed Rio de Janeiro from plague, yellow fever, and malaria. Carlos Chagas discovered the insect which carries Chagas' disease. J. Florencio Gomes founded an institute famous for developing serums to counteract snake poisoning, and Miguel Osorio has won international prizes for research in physiology. Gilberto Freyre is internationally known as a social anthropologist. Nina Rodrigues' study of the Negro initiated important work in social anthropology. Although the country has produced few widely recognized philosophers, the social and political thought of Alceu Amoroso Lima, inspired by Neo-Thomism and the Social Christian Movement, has been influential since the mid-20th century.

1. Architecture, painting, and sculpture

Architecture has become the major Brazilian art form in the 20th century, and the work of a number of prominent architects has exerted a perceptible influence upon European and North American architecture. The leading pioneer is Lucio Costa (1902-), a gifted student of the French architect Le Corbusier and master planner of the new capital city of Brasilia in the late 1950's. The architecture of the buildings of Brasilia is largely the creation of Oscar Niemeyer Soares Filho (1907-), who exercises the major single influence on the younger generation of Brazilian architects. A student of Costa's in the 1930's, Niemeyer had collaborated with him earlier in designing the Palacio da Cultura in Rio de Janeiro, a building completed in 1939 and still considered one of the best examples of modern architectural design. Niemeyer's sense of elegance and feeling for plasticity have transformed modern functionalism into an original style particularly well adapted to the Brazilian scene. His fame is so widespread that his sketches for Brasilia were published all over the world long before they were complete. His creativity is illustrated in the presidential palace and in the Pampulha chapel near Belo Horizonte.

Since 1964 Niemeyer has been in political disfavor, and the more traditional tastes of the military authorities have limited governmental support for architectural innovation. His design for a new airport in Brasilia was rejected in 1968. Niemeyer, however, has been commissioned to design public buildings for several foreign governments. Meanwhile, his protege, Sergio Bernardes, whose Brazilian Pavillion won the grand prize for architectural design at the 1958 Brussels World's Fair, has been commissioned to design hotels in Manaus and Recife. The former is to feature a dome some 500 feet high, of transparent materials, enclosing the entire structure. In Recife he plans to make use of the dramatic qualities of the ocean; two floors of the hotel are to be under water. The late Affonso Eduardo Reidy, who was particularly concerned about the sociological aspects of architecture, was responsible for the country's most outstanding example of low-cost housing, the Pedregulho development, fitted to the contours of a hill in the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro.

Comparatively little native painting of any sort had been produced in Brazil by the end of the Empire except for the works of a few regional colorists. During the 19th century, having abandoned religious subjects in favor of historical scenes and portraits, serious painting remained nonetheless lifeless, dull, and academic, closely following the French masters. Dutch, French, and German artists were primarily responsible for the record of Brazilian art after 1800. Rejection of these narrow and formalistic styles was the original purpose in organizing the 1922 Week of Modern Art in Sao Paulo. Led by the Lithuanian-Brazilian painter, Lasar Segall (1890-), the movement

was dedicated to creating an indigenous or national art but, as an initial effort, consisted of Brazilian adaptations of such new European departures as expressionism, cubism, and fauvism.

Not until the 1930-50 period did Brazilian painting come into its own with the original contributions of Candido Portinari (1903-62) and his associates. Portinari's concern with social problems is reflected in his symbolic paintings of Negro, white, mulatto, and Indian workers. His canvasses depicting the flight of starving refugees from barren Ceara in the Northeast burst forth with power and emotion. He ranks with Mexico's Diego Rivera as one of the best of the modern impressionists. In 1942 he finished four murals in fresco for the Hispanic Institute of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. The most noted of his later murals is a bitter allegory on war at the U.N. headquarters in New York.

A new phase of modern art began with the end of World War II, when Brazilian architecture began to win international acclaim and aroused interest in the country's other arts. The postwar scene has been characterized by the appearance of an even larger number of good artists, the interest of wealthy collectors in Brazilian art, the creation of study centers that are among the best in the world, and the development of art criticism, which is manifested especially in the newspapers. In the late 1940's modern art museums were established in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro (Figure 19). In 1951 the first Sao Paulo Biennial was held; its subsequent success has placed it on a level with the Biennial of Venice and the Carnegie International.

Manabu Mabe, the son of Japanese immigrants, has become one of Latin America's bestselling abstractionists since taking first prize in the 1959 Sao Paulo Biennial. In addition to the primitives, expressionists, and abstractionists, some artists are concentrating on geometric and line drawings. The forms, at first known collectively as concretism because of their relationship to the schematic lines of modern Brazilian architecture, has led to greater interest in collage and the use of relief.

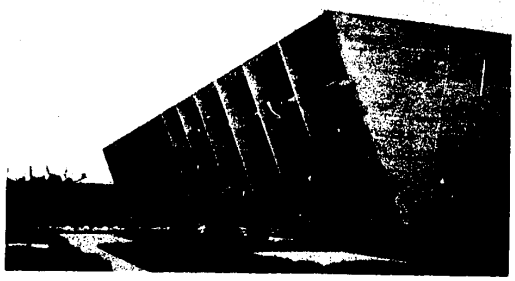


FIGURE 19. Museum of Modern Art, Rio de Janeiro (U/OU)

Among the new trends that enjoyed some popularity in the late 1960's were the works of the figurativists, or pop artists, such as Glauco Rodrigues and Gastao Henrique. Techniques of engraving, including woodcutting, which has traditional roots in the country, have become highly developed. The field is dominated by women, of whom Fayga Ostrower, Maria Bonomi, and Edith Behring are probably the best known.

In the early 1960's art galleries proliferated in all the larger cities. The painting boom was deflated in the latter half of the decade, however, as a result of increasing disaffection between the government and the artistic community. Censorship of exhibits has been common, and art museums, formerly heavily subsidized by the government, by 1970 were being forced to rent out rooms for parties and conferences or to sell their paintings in order to meet expenses.

Sculpture, which has been the least developed of the major arts in Brazil, has tended to be largely stereotyped and academic. The most significant Brazilian sculptor was Antonio Francisco Lisboa (1730-1814), called O Aleijadinho (The Little Cripple), who lived in Minas Gerais, where he produced religious art and architecture of unsurpassed brilliance. His most famous sculpture, a group of 12 prophets carved in soapstone, stands in front of a church in Congonhas (Figure 20). The first truly Brazilian artist, O Aleijadinho also designed the architecture of several baroque churches, the most famous of which is the Church of St. Francis in Ouro Preto (Figure 17).

The modernist movement in sculpture has largely taken the form of architectural integration. The compositions of Bruno Giorgi, noted for their linear simplicity and gracefulness, include *The Warriors* at the Plaza of the Three Powers in Brasilia. The main entrance of the Presidential Palace is adorned by the *Bronze* of Alfred Ceschiatti, who also contributed the conventional reliefs in the church designed by Oscar Niemeyer at Pampulha and the War Memorial, consisting of military figures, in Rio de Janeiro. Maria Martins is noted for sensuous and exuberant representation of tropical vegetation. The monumental wood sculpture of Mario Cravo utilizes the contours of the wood itself as a major element of the composition. In the 1960's he worked primarily with

FIGURE 20. Five of the twelve prophets, which form O Aleijadinho's greatest work (U/OU)

metals, creating allusions to animal and vegetable life through the use of masses f nuts, hoops, and metal sheets.

2. The performing arts

a. Music

Art music based on native themes has developed vigorously since the turn of the century. Brasilio Itibere da Cunha (1848-1913) and Alexandre Levy (1864-92) were the first to incorporate folklore as thematic material into their music. Da Cunha's orchestral rhapsody, *Sertaneja*, is generally considered the point of departure for authentic Brazilian music; Levy's symphonic *Suite Brasileira* incorporated a samba. Afro-Brazilian rhythms and melodies characterize the ballets and orchestrations of contemporary composer Francisco Mignone, whose works have been performed in Europe and the United States.

The creative giant in Brazilian music, Heitor Villa Lobos, (1890-1959), was also the most prolific composer in the Western Hemisphere. Writing in nearly all genres, secular and sacred, he produced more than 1,500 works for symphony, chamber groups, chorus, piano, organ, guitar, and voice. Recognized worldwide, Villa Lobos orchestrated the complex musical idiom native to Brazil. His symphonic poem, *Amazonas*, and his *Dansas Africanas* are cited as outstanding examples of his work, in addition to the famed *Choros* (choral songs) for orchestra and children's suites. As director of music in the Federal District, he revolutionized music instruction in the entire country.

Oscar Lorenzo Fernandez, a contemporary of Villa Lobos, is also known throughout the Western Hemisphere, both as a conductor and a composer largely of music drawn from Indo-American themes. Camargo Guarnieri (born in 1907) has made a refined and polished use of folk material for piano and especially chamber music, and has had considerable influence on younger generations of composers. In the mid-20th century a new current of atonal music evolved, led by Claudio Santoro and Guerra Peixe. Among the younger composers are Osvaldo Lacerda, a pupil of Guarnieri; Marlos Nobre, who has worked with the Argentine Alberto Ginastera at the Latin American Institute for Advanced Musical Studies in Buenos Aires; and a Sao Paulo experimental group of young musicians, including Willy Correia de Oliveira, Rogerio Duprat, and Gilbert Mendes, working closely with avant-garde poets.

Brazil has produced many internationally known performing musicians, including pianists Guiomar Novaes, Joao de Souza Lima, and Maria Antonia de Castro and classical guitarist Laurindo Almeida. Bidu Sayao was for many years a leading soprano at the Metropolitan Opera Company of New York. Olga Praguer Coelho is a noted folk singer and guitarist.

As in the case of scholars and artists in other fields, a number of outstanding musicians are living abroad. Blaming the government for "a total lack of reasonable conditions" for serious musical activities, Eleazor de Carvalho, one of the foremost conductors of symphony orchestras for some 30 years, announced in December 1969 his decision to leave the country. The daily *O Estado de Sao Paulo* commented that the Fourth International Festival of Song, in October 1969, was essentially an amateur show, as all of the country's major composers and performers were absent.

b. Theater and cinema

The commercial theater traditionally presented little more than light comedy until 1943, when a highly successful play by Nelson Rodriques criticized the mores of the time. A serious experimental theater movement, sparked by the immigration of European directors schooled in avant-garde staging techniques, appeared shortly thereafter in Sao Paulo and by 1950 had spread to several cities. Since midcentury several Brazilian dramatists have received international recognition, including Pedro Block, for his *The Hands of Euridice*, staged in 1950, and Guilherme Figueiredo for *The Fox and the Grapes*, which has been staged since 1953 in more than 30 nations. In his *The Rogue's Trial* in 1957, regional playwright Ariano Suassuna expressed the mood of social rebellion in the Northeast through a medieval religious allegory. Jorge Andrade, influenced in style and staging by Arthur Miller and in content by Eugene O'Neill, has reinterpreted the nation's history in a series of experimental works, the most outstanding being *Moratorium* (1956). Andrade's works have been considered a link between regional expression and the socially and politically committed drama that characterized the Arena Theater of Sao Paulo.

After 1964 it became increasingly difficult to stage the type of play for which the Arena Theater group had become noted, as social protest was considered offensive by the military authorities. Thus, the initiative in dramatic development was assumed by a new group associated with the Workshop Theater of Sao Paulo, which applied avant-garde staging techniques to old plays of various national origins. In 1969 a new movement began, involving young playwrights inclined toward themes similar to those employed by the Arena Theater group but attempting to adjust to the political situation by presenting their social protest through subtle symbolism; among these dramatists are Plinio Marcos, Jose Vicente, and Leilah Assumpcao.

The great popularity in recent years of Afro-Brazilian music has contributed to a new dimension in theatrical production and has given the Arena Theater a new lease on life. One of the most successful of the musical plays has been *Arena Tells About Zumbi*, written in 1965 by Augusto Boal and Gianfrancesco Guarnieri with music by Edu Lobo. This political satire invites the comparison of historical periods 270 years apart by the dramatizing of a 17th century slave uprising.

Although motion picture production has been hindered by the limited market for films in Portuguese, the Brazilian cinema has created a valid style of its own in both subject matter and photographic technique. In the early 1950's *O Cangacero* (The Bandit) by Lima Barreto, was a prizewinner at the Cannes Film Festival. The *cinema novo* movement launched in 1955 achieved international prestige when five of the 19 feature films produced in 1962 won prizes at festivals and were purchased for distribution abroad. A leader of the movement, Glauber Rocha, received the award for the best director at Cannes in 1969.

Among the most successful films in the vein of neorealism was Pereira's *Vidas Secas* (Dry Lives), produced in 1963, which dramatized the hardships and violence of rural life. Paulo Cesar Saraceni's *O Desafio* (The Challenger), portraying the moral dilemmas and insecurities of city life, was favorably received at the Rio de Janeiro Film Festival in 1965. *Orfeu Negro* (Black Orpheus), depicting Carnival time in the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro, and *Garota de Ipanema* (The Girl from Ipanema), both written by the poet Vinicius de Morais and making use of the syncopated rhythms of the *bossa nova*, delighted foreign audiences in the 1960's.

In the latter half of the 1960's, however, moral and political censorship and inadequate funding hindered creativity and innovation. Lack of planning and disinterest in marketing techniques were also cited by a group of cinema critics meeting in Rio de Janeiro in September 1969 as reasons for the slump in the film industry. By 1970 several of the most talented directors, such as Glauber Rocha, had left the country.

3. Literature

Brazil entered the stage of world literature in the 20th century with two outstanding personalities, Euclides da Cunha (1866-1908) and Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis (1839-1908). Da Cunha's 1902 masterpiece, *Os Sertoes* (published in English as *Rebellion in the Backlands*), presents a sociopsycho-

logical treatment of the Northeastern plainsman at the turn of the century. The book helped create a climate of self-criticism, preparing the way for the development of a truly Brazilian literature. Machado de Assis, by contrast, described interpretively the aristocratic and urbane society of Rio de Janeiro at the end of the Empire, creating distinctly Brazilian psychological character types. Machado da Assis' 1900 novel *Dom Casmurro* has been described as Brazil's greatest literary production. Since the 1930's the Northeast regionalist group has produced a literature of international standing, probing deeply into the roots of Brazilian social problems. The site of original Portuguese colonization in the Western Hemisphere and center of the traditional culture and landed elite, the Northeast coastal region had produced most of Brazil's literary figures down to the 20th century. From the Northeast came the 19th century poets Castro Alves and Goncalves Diaz; the novelists Jose de Alencar, Aluizio de Azevedo, and Domingos Olympio; the positivist philosopher Tobias Barreto; the critic Sylvio Romero; and the statesmen essayists Joaquim Nabuco and Ruy Barbosa. At the turn of the century came Graca Aranha, descended from Northeastern aristocracy, whose novel *Canaan* has been described as an anticipation of the modern social novel of Brazil.

Dominating the 1920's, the modernist surge was characterized by a preoccupation with things Brazilian (*brasilidade*), by the use of Brazilian vernacular instead of the archaic literary language of classical Portuguese, and by themes from Indian and Negro legends. Although concerned mostly with poetry, modernism influenced nearly every phase of Brazilian literature, and above all the developing novel of the Northeast. Its introspective interest in Brazil and innovations in literary language channeled the course of new fiction in the Northeast as elsewhere in the nation.

One of the most fruitful and artistic undertakings in Brazilian history, the regionalist movement in the Northeast was begun under the influence of Gilberto Freyre, who returned to his native Pernambuco in 1923 after graduate study under Franz Boas at Colombia University. Freyre organized the Congress on Regionalism in Recife and set the example by such epochal studies of Brazilian social development as *Casa Grande e Senzala* (published in the United States as *The Masters and the Slaves*). The regionalist movement diverged from the iconoclastic modern school in its psychological concern for the sources of Brazilian culture and in its attempt to discover a set of values in harmony with the Brazilian conditions of life.

After Vargas seized power and set in motion his revolution of 1930, Brazilian culture seemed to take on new life, and the novelists of the Northeast began to produce works that were predominantly sociological and focused upon the wretchedness of the lower classes. The initial incredulity of the critics in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo gave way to anxiety with the discovery that the problems of the Northeast, as revealed in the novels, were an index of the weakness in the entire Brazilian social structure.

By the mid-1930's, the Northeasterners had won acceptance throughout Brazil with novels that were often works of art as well as social documents. Jose Americo de Almeida had shown the flight of the refugees from the drought areas in *A Bagaceira* (Cane-Trash) of 1938. Raquel de Queiroz followed in 1940 with *O Quinze* (The Year Fifteen) with a similar setting. Jorge Amado told of the exploitation of workers in southern Bahia in *Cacau* (Cacao) and of the horrors of slum life in the city of Salvador in *Suor* (Sweat).

The novel in the 1960's was in the forefront of Brazilian artistic expression, using the new trends of modernism. The tendency of Northeastern writers to concentrate on sociological themes is complemented by the tendency of writers to the south to emphasize psychological, moral, and intellectual factors. This has led several critics to interpret modern literature strictly in terms of regionalism. All, however, are imbued with the same desire to spell out the national character. Reflecting the fact that the city and its problems have come to dominate the national scene, more and more modern novels are set in an urban environment.

4. Folk arts

A rich variety of native arts has resulted from the cultural blend of Portuguese, African, and Indian elements. The figureheads, used on boats on the Rio Sao Francisco, are among the outstanding examples of folk sculpture. Carved in strong and simple style and towering several feet above the bow of the boat, they depict women, animals, and characters from Afro-Brazilian folklore. The country's folk pottery (Figure 21) continues to reflect the Indian rather than the Portuguese tradition, and many of the weaving techniques found throughout the nation are Indian in origin. Weaving in straw is highly developed in the North and Northeast, and in the cattle-raising regions of the Northeast, sophisticated leatherworking techniques may be found. The art of lacemaking was inherited from the Portuguese. Goldsmithing has been highly developed in Minas Gerais, Goias, and Bahia.

FIGURE 21. Folk art of the Northeast (U/OU)

One of the greatest folk festivals in the world is the Brazilian Carnival, which precedes the Lenten season (Figure 22). It is celebrated throughout the country but is most spectacular in Rio de Janeiro where all ordinary business stops for at least 3 days, while millions of *cariocas* (natives of Rio de Janeiro) and visitors move through the streets to the graceful rhythm of the samba. In addition to the spontaneous street dancing and the private balls, parades of costumed dancers are accompanied by small orchestras with homemade instruments, representing various neighborhoods and towns. Until recent years costumes were often designed to poke fun at such institutions as the government, the church, and the military. Prizes have traditionally been offered for the best new songs, often composed by individuals or groups from the *favelas* (slum areas).

FIGURE 22. The spectacle of Carnival (U/OU)

In the mid-1950's a style of music resembling American jazz was combined with the percussive rhythms of the samba, resulting in a new form of popular music, the *bossa nova*, cool, intimate, urban, and often containing political and social satire. The popularity of the *bossa nova* spread throughout Europe and the United States in the 1960's through the performances and recordings of Sergio Mendes, Antonio Giberto Jobim, Joao Gilberto, and others.

After 1964 a new generation of composers and performers largely abandoned the *bossa nova* for protest songs based on ethnic and folk music. The lyrics indicated a preoccupation with liberty and decried hunger, misery, and social injustice. A favorite among the young and winner of the second prize at the annual Festival of Song in 1968 was *Caminhando* (Walking). The lyrics, appealing for social change, were offensive to the government; the song was banned, and its composer-performer, Geraldo Vandre, left the country.

In early 1970 *Aquele Abraco* (That Embrace), by exiled composer Gilberto Gil, was a popular favorite.

Ostensibly a tribute to the beauty of Rio de Janeiro, it used obscure symbolism to register political protest. For the most part, however, the folk music boom had been eliminated by 1970, as almost all of its prominent composers and performers had left the country. Some of these figures have since returned to Brazil, but in order to continue their musical careers have had to mute their criticism of the government.

J. Public information

Brazil ranks high among Latin American nations in all aspects of public information. However, the high rate of illiteracy, the poverty of many of the people, and the vast distances involved limit the use of modern communication facilities. Informal means of communication continue to play an important role in the rural areas. Individuals place considerable reliance in information gathered by word-of-mouth in marketplaces, churches, family gatherings, and country stores. Mass media are concentrated largely in the state capitals and in the more urbanized Southeast and South. Radio broadcasting is the most efficacious means of reaching the great majority of people. The increasing availability of cheap transistor radios has enabled many people to expand their awareness of both local and world affairs. Other means of communication include gazettes, bulletins, and special publications distributed by federal, state, and municipal authorities and the armed forces; posters, both printed and handmade; and signs and symbols appearing not only on walls in urban areas but also on hillsides in rural regions. (U/OU)

Brazil has numerous publishing houses, but books are costly by Brazilian standards, and cheap paperbacks are not yet widely distributed. The cost, therefore, limits the book-reading public mainly to the middle and upper classes. Brazil has over 2,000 libraries, containing over 11 million volumes, and over 200 museums. Nearly one-quarter of both the libraries and museums are located in Sao Paulo. Many, however, belong to universities or other private institutions and are not open to the general public. Even the universities have serious shortages of books, particularly technical ones which must be imported at great cost. (U/OU)

A substantial number of channels of communications are controlled by single families or corporations, each of which owns newspapers, radio and television stations, and possibly a publishing house. In the past the influence of these groups and their political associates has gone far to maintain freedom from extreme governmental interference, and the larger newspapers have tended to be conservative in outlook. The existence of a number of schools of journalism has contributed to the fairly high quality of publications, and the use of U.S. and European news services has insured extensive foreign coverage in the larger dailies. (U/OU)

1. Newspapers (U/OU)

Approximately 250 daily newspapers are published in Portuguese with a total circulation of about 2 million. The more important are listed in Figure 23. More than half the dailies are published in the state capitals, and almost all of their total circulation is absorbed by these cities. In other parts of the country hundreds of newspapers, published less than four times a week, are serving several million readers.

Established communications dynasties or corporations control a number of the larger newspapers. The late Francisco de Assis Chateaubriand's Associated Daily Newspapers and Radio Stations, for example, includes a chain of some 30 newspapers, 15 television stations, 23 radio stations, 33 periodicals, and a news agency. As a rule, such media have reflected the political viewpoints of the controlling families. Few newspapers have been considered mouthpieces of particular political parties, but most have usually reflected their political orientation through the editorial pages and through the amount of space given to the speeches and activities of various personages. In order to appeal to different categories of readers, a newspaper chain may publish widely varying types of newspapers. Thus, the Chateaubriand chain has published both *O Jornal* and *Diario da Noite* in Rio de Janeiro; the former strongly supports private enterprise and appeals to upper class businessmen, and the latter is a popular daily read widely among lower income groups. Other important dailies in the Chateaubriand chain are *Correio Brasiliense*, published in Brasilia, and the *Diario de Sao Paulo*.

An outstanding daily is *O Estado de Sao Paulo*, founded in 1875 and owned since 1902 by the Mesquita family. *O Estado's* coverage of foreign news is extensive. It has branch offices in all the larger cities of Brazil and has staff or part-time correspondents in major cities throughout the world. Another leading daily, *O Globo*, published in Rio de Janeiro, is a conservative newspaper influential among the upper class and, along with *O Estado*, read by the literate public regardless of their political viewpoint.

Other important newspapers in Rio de Janeiro are *Correio da Manha*, a morning daily founded by Edmundo Bittencourt and known for good quality

FIGURE 23. Major daily newspapers (U/OU)

TITLE	LOCATION	CIRCULATION	REMARKS
Correio Brasiliense	Brasilia, Federal District	15,000	Chateaubriand newspaper
Brazil Herald	Rio de Janeiro	16,000	English-language newspaper
Correio da Manha	....do	102,000	A leading newspaper
Diario de Noticias	....do	70,000	Moderate opposition
Jornal do Brasil	....do	185,000	Wide news coverage
Jornal do Comercio	....do	30,000	Oldest newspaper in Rio de Janeiro; independent; conservative
O Dia	....do	195,000	Sensational, labor
O Jornal	....do	120,000	Leading newspaper of Chateaubriand chain; commercial news; conservative
A Noticia	....do	80,000	Sensational
O Globo	....do	200,000	Conservative
Tribuna da Imprensa	....do	30,000	Nationalistic, opposition
Ultima Hora	....do	100,000	*Do.*
Diario da Noite	Sao Paulo	30,000	Independent
Diario de Sao Paulo	....do	40,000	Chateaubriand morning newspaper
Diario Popular (evening)	....do	30,000	Long established
O Estado de Sao Paulo	....do	200,000	A leading newspaper, conservative, sometimes critical of government
Folha da Manha (morning) and Folha da Noite (evening)	....do	200,000	Independent
A Gazeta (afternoon)	....do	35,000	Conservative
Noticias Populares	....do	25,000	Sensational
Diario de Noticias (morning)	Salvador	10,000	Democratic
Estado da Bahia	....do	16,000	*Do.*
Estado de Minas	Belo Horizonte	50,000	Chateaubriand newspaper
Folha de Minas	....do	10,000	Independent newspaper
O Diario	....do	12,000	Catholic newspaper
Correio Popular	Campinas	3,000	Independent
Diario de Povo	....do	3,000	*Do.*
O Estado (evening)	Florianopolis	5,000	Long established
O Estado do Parana	....do	...	State government views
Diario do Parana	....do	...	Chateaubriand newspaper
O Povo	Fortaleza	15,000	Conservative
Correio de Paraiba	Joao Pessoa	5,000	Wide news coverage
Diario de Pernambuco	Recife	25,000	Oldest newspaper in Latin America; agricultural and commercial interests; Chateaubriand newspaper
Jornal do Comercio	....do	40,000	Conservative
Correio do Povo	Porto Alegre	120,000	Independent, conservative
Diario de Noticias	....do	20,000	Chateaubriand newspaper
Jornal do Dia	....do	32,000	Catholic newspaper
Folha da Tarde	....do	20,000	Independent
A Tribuna	Santos	36,000	Conservative
Pacotilha	Sao Luis-Maranhao	20,000	Chateaubriand newspaper

... Not pertinent.

reporting and serious coverage of both domestic and foreign events, and *Diario de Noticias* and *Jornal do Brasil*, which since the early 1960's have been critical of Castro's Cuba and the Soviet Union.

In Sao Paulo three widely read newspapers are *Folha da Manha*, *Folha da Tarde*, and *Folha da Noite*, all published by the same corporation as separate dailies. They have been independent in political orientation.

Outside of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo a number of newspapers have more than purely local appeal. The *Correio do Povo* of Porto Alegre and *Diario de Pernambuco* of Recife, founded in 1825, have reputations for being conservative. The Samuel Weiner chain, which has followed a leftist-nationalist line, publishes various editions of *Ultima Hora* in Porto Alegre, Recife, Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and other cities.

Among the newspapers appealing to readers with particular interests is *A Gazeta Esportiva* of Sao Paulo, devoted to sports news. The *Jornal do Comercio* of Rio de Janeiro, established in 1827, serves the commercial community. The *Brazil Herald* of Rio de Janeiro is directed to English-speaking readers; other dailies are published in German and Japanese.

Sensationalism, often focusing on scandals in the personal lives of major political figures, is characteristic of much of the press. This feature is largely a legacy of the strict government censorship imposed during the Vargas era and during the present period (see Government Controls, below). The leading newspapers, however, have tended to avoid this type of reporting, and in the 1960's schools of journalism began emphasizing the need for objectivity and good professional standards.

In the metropolitan press, foreign news coverage is remarkably thorough. The first few pages of leading dailies are often devoted almost entirely to such news, and stories from abroad are interspersed with domestic news on the following pages. Domestic news stories are usually printed without bylines, but bylines are used by some columnists in leading newspapers.

Most newspapers rely heavily on advertising for revenue, and advertisements consume a great deal of space. Daily editions of the larger newspapers vary between 45 and 60 pages in length. Sunday editions may run to as many as 190 pages. The minor metropolitan newspapers and most of those published outside Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro may vary between 10 and 25 pages.

A number of news agencies, both foreign and domestic, provide the press with national and international news. The government press agency has agreements with international news agencies through which news of Brazil is disseminated abroad. The Associated Daily Newspapers and Radio Stations (Chateaubriand) chain has its own news agency, which serves the various newspapers and radio and television stations under its control.

Among the foreign news agencies most frequently used are United Press International (UPI) and the Associated Press (AP) of the United States and Reuters of the United Kingdom. News material from *Agence France Presse* (AFP) and the Italian agency, *Agencia Nazionale Stampa Associata* (ANSA), is also used. Representatives of *Telegrafnoye Agentstvo Sovietskovo Soyuza* (TASS), *Agenstvo Pressi Novosti* (APN), and *Radio/TV Moscow* are stationed in Brazil but are more involved in newsgathering than in distribution. In early 1970 *Prensa Latina*, the Cuban press service, was barred from operating in Brazil, and all Communist newspapers in the country were shut down.

In January 1970 representatives from 13 Latin American newspapers meeting in Mexico City signed an agreement calling for an investment equivalent to US$1 million during the succeeding 2 years to establish a news agency designed to report on hemispheric and world affairs from a Latin American point of view. Four of the 13 signers of the agreement were representatives of Brazilian dailies—*O Estado* and *Diario Popular* of Sao Paulo and *Jornal do Brasil* and *O Globo* of Rio de Janeiro. During its initial stages, the news agency was to have a contract with Reuters to train staff members and organize communications.

Since the founding of Brazil's first newspaper in 1808, journalism has been regarded by Brazilians as a legitimate channel for advancing literary and political careers; contributors to newspapers and periodicals have frequently been persons prominent in public life. Throughout the history of the country the press has often criticized governments and influenced political trends. In the early 1970's criticism was greatly restrained but was still, on occasion, frank and pointed.

2. Other periodicals and book publishing (U/OU)

Brazilian magazine production, which far exceeds that of any other Latin American country, includes several hundred weekly and monthly periodicals, seven of which reach a sizable national audience (Figure 24). Among the smaller periodicals, those concerned with art, entertainment, and sports are the most popular. There are also periodicals and journals dealing with the sciences, religion, literature, geography, and history. Many publications cater to special interests such as education, home economics, farming, and labor. Among the more popular women's magazines are *Claudia*, *Contigo*, and *Capricho*. Some 200 journals, bulletins, and reviews, including many government publications, deal with economic, social, and academic subjects. Among these is *Revista Brasiliense*, organ of the prestigious Getulio Vargas Foundation concerned with studies of the Brazilian economy.

In 1968 an estimated 60 million books, most of them soft-cover, were printed in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, where most of the 250 to 300 publishing houses are concentrated. This output included an estimated 15,000 new titles in a great variety of fields, and translations of some 900 foreign books. The latter is a category of increasing importance in the bigger bookstores in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, possibly

FIGURE 24. Major magazines (U/OU)

TITLE	CIRCULATION	REMARKS
Selecoes	320,000	Portuguese-language edition of *Readers Digest*
Realidade	240,000	Popular, general subjects
Fatos e Fotos	190,000	Pictorial, appeals to less educated
Manchete	190,000	Pictorial weekly, middle-class readership
O Cruzeiro	160,000	Pictorial weekly, conservative, middle and upper-class readership
Veja	120,000	Popular, general subjects
Visao	70,000	Weekly Portuguese-language edition, similar to *Time* and *Newsweek* in layout and editing

because of its appeal to the growing middle class, which constitutes a large proportion of Brazil's book purchasers (Figure 25). Large numbers of books are imported from North America, and others from France and Italy.

In 1969, according to a survey made by a writer in *Manchete*, there were less than 1,000 bookstores in the country, of which some 200 were in Sao Paulo, 100 in Rio de Janeiro, and 100 in Porto Alegre. In Recife, a city with approximately the same number of inhabitants as Porto Alegre, there were 20 bookstores. Brasilia had only five bookstores, as compared with the small city of Juiz da Fora in Minas Gerais, which had 50. Many other stores also sell books, however. In 1969 over 15,000 drugstores were authorized to sell books. The government is the largest publisher and printer with its National Press, the official printing establishment; agencies of the government, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and institutes, such as the Getulio Vargas Foundation, have their own printing and publishing plants. Newspapers often own and operate publishing houses, thus reinforcing the concentration of mass media in the hands of several large families or organizations.

FIGURE 25. Educated Brazilians are voracious readers (U/OU)

3. Radio, television, and motion pictures (U/OU)

More people are reached daily by radio than by any other medium. Transmitters cover the country. In 1972 there were about 12 million radio receivers, most of which were in the coastal and southern areas. Many small towns use public address systems wired to radio receivers. Transistor sets are becoming so popular that the worker who has saved money often makes a transistor radio his first purchase. A limited number are distributed free or at low cost for listening to literacy lessons. Radio broadcasting is largely in private hands, but the federal and some state governments, the Catholic Church, and some universities also operate transmitters. All stations must carry the daily hour-long federal government program *Hora do Brasil*, which reports official activities and plans. About 20% of air-time is devoted to advertising, 10% to news and sports; a high percentage of the remainder features music, while civic, educational, and religious programs and government propaganda are heard occasionally. Almost all programs are in Brazilian Portuguese; there are a few special-audience programs in Japanese, English, Spanish, French, and German. A number of stations are used almost exclusively for educational purposes.

Television has been expanding rapidly. As of 1972, there were 56 TV stations, with numerous relay transmitters. Most are in the heavily populated areas of eastern and southern Brazil. There are some 7 million sets, with about 25 million viewers. Most TV stations are privately owned, but the federal government has one in Brasilia. Television, including the government station, derives its income from advertising.

There are no networks of the sort found in North America, but most privately owned stations belong to associations. Of these, the Chateabriand chain is the largest with a total of 13 stations. Many of the larger newspapers and most of the radio stations operate television stations.

Television programs are similar in content to North American programs. There are also programs on agriculture, nutrition, health, and women's interests. The programing on the commercial stations includes many TV series purchased from the United States and old motion pictures with Portuguese subtitles.

Brazil's approximately 3,900 theaters with a seating capacity of about 1.9 million show motion pictures to audiences of around 27 million per month. In some areas films reach more people than do radio or newspapers; many small towns have a film at least once a week. Educational and documentary shorts are frequently used for instruction. The Brazilian movie industry produced nearly 100 feature motion pictures in 1971, although only 47 feature-length films were produced in 1972. Several Brazilian films have won international prizes. An occasionally enforced law requires a fixed percentage of films shown to be Brazilian made. About 80% of the films are imported, notably from the United States and also from Japan, France, West Germany, Spain, Italy, Mexico, the United Kingdom, and Portugal. Most are subtitled in Portuguese.

4. Government controls (C)

Except during the Vargas dictatorship and the present military governments, the press has suffered fewer restrictions in Brazil than in most other Latin American countries. Since 1824, successive constitutions have provided for freedom of expression without censorship, and freedom of the press was generally observed until the first Vargas administration in 1930. Vargas created a Department of Press and Propaganda, which both enforced censorship, aimed mainly at his political opponents and the foreign language press in Brazil, and put out a favorable image of the government. The degree of freedom of expression enjoyed between 1945 and 1964 was governed by the extent to which a President wished to invoke articles of the Constitution that would limit individual rights, or decrees of the Vargas regime still technically in force that, if applied, could limit these rights.

The Castello Branco administration, which ushered in the present line of military-led governments, favored increased supervision of the press, culminating in a national press law passed by Congress in January 1967 and a national security decree in March 1967, which *inter alia*, makes it a crime to spread false, tendentious, or distorted news which endangers Brazil or offends the "honor or dignity" of high officials. Institutional Act No. 5 of 13 December 1968 and the subsequent tightening of national security laws have further muzzled the press and have drawn severe, but largely unavailing, criticism from the Inter-American Press Association.

After promulgation of Institutional Act No. 5, government controls were increased under a system of self-censorship that encouraged the press to avoid publication of anything that might lead to prosecution under the security law. In June 1969 the government issued a set of recommendations and suggestions warning the press against printing criticism of official economic policy, labor strife, comments of a political nature by religious leaders, reports on legally dissolved organizations, or interviews with persons deprived of their political rights. A presidential decree issued in January 1970 banned the publication or broadcast of any material "offensive to morals or good customs" and required that publications, imported or produced in Brazil, be checked by Federal Police before being placed on sale. The preamble of the decree stated that lewdness in the press and in broadcast programs was considered part of a subversive plot endangering the nation's security.

Pursuant to this decree, an implementing regulation on precensorship of books and periodicals was issued by the Ministry of Justice which requires advance submission of manuscripts to the Federal Police. If they have doubts about a publication, they would refer it to the Minister of Justice, who would decide whether it should be prohibited.

Many journalists, writers, and publishers attacked the unconstitutionality of such prior censorship. The impossibility of precensoring all publications, plus this public outcry, quickly persuaded the Justice Minister to issue a modifying instruction exempting from previous censorship such publications as are purely philosophical, scientific, technical, and pedagogical in nature, as well as those which do not have themes relating to sex, morality, and good taste. Still, the threat of censorship can be used as a weapon by the government.

Censorship of newspapers and news periodicals is difficult to pin down because of the generally informal manner in which it often takes place and because of its uneven application. Newspapers usually have not been required to submit their copy prior to publication to government censors, and there is generally no hard rule about what cannot be published. Word of taboo subjects is communicated individually to the news media mostly on an *ad hoc* basis. The military's chief interest as to what should not be published lies in the field of national security and in protecting Brazil's image. The guideline the army has on occasion relayed to newspapers suggests that articles specifically

on terrorism, the torture of prisoners, and the arrest of subversives should be cleared with the regional army press office prior to publication. But the military is also sensitive to other issues with seemingly more tenuous ties to national security. The difficulty that newspapers have in obtaining clear approval of even sanitized articles on certain subjects, moreover, frequently acts as a deterrent to publishing them. Some newspaper officials have said they would prefer to have onsite censors rather than the informal, often arbitrary system now used.

In addition to the military, the Federal Police may impose censorship conditions. In Bahia, for example, the Federal Police seem to exert a dominant role in censorship; in Rio de Janeiro the army and the Federal Police appear to divide the responsibility between them. In some cases, the National Intelligence Service reportedly also has exercised censorship.

A paper's traditional orientation (liberal or conservative) probably also determines to some extent the degree to which its articles and editorials are subject to scrutiny. Some editors have complained about *O Estado's* apparent immunity because of its conservative and prestigious reputation, as well as its solid financial basis; however, in late 1972 even *O Estado* became a particular target of the censor's hand. In view of the continuing press censorship and uncertainty as to what may be printed, the occasional daring of some editors and publishers is somewhat surprising. They face an ever-present threat that if they go too far in exceeding the written and unwritten limits, the issue may be confiscated, the paper can be closed, and they can be sentenced to prison. The pattern with regard to punishment is similar to that of enforcement; it seems to vary considerably in its severity from one jurisdiction to another.

Radio and television news reporting is subject to strict censorship guidelines, which roughly parallel those of the written media. Each radio and television unit is required to designate a member of its directorate who is held personally responsible for the content of news programs. The censorship of the programs seems to be based on both political and moral criteria. In mid-1972 the Communications Ministry announced that a "Code of Conduct for Brazilian Television" would be developed. The most important portion of that code will probably be a requirement that all programs be videotaped and submitted to censorship before being broadcast. How inclusive the videotape requirement might be is still unclear, for exceptions presumably would have to be made in the case of news shows and certain other live programs. The big networks appear reconciled to complying with such a requirement since they have the necessary resources and seem to prefer federal censors rather than the arbitrary criteria of regional censorship officials. Independent stations already use videotape shows for a large portion of their programing.

In November 1972, the Communications Minister said that a government study had recommended that Brazil begin a domestic communications satellite program. As a first step, Brazil would rent channels on the Intelsat-4 satellite in 1973, and the second stage, to be achieved in 1976, would be the launching by the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) of a Brazilian satellite.

Censorship of motion pictures by the government was initiated in 1932; all films, domestic and foreign, are subject to censorship; and in 1969, of 7,428 films checked, 10 were banned entirely and many others were cut. Motion picture advertisements indicate the minimum age of those admitted. In Rio de Janeiro children under 14 are not allowed to attend showings starting after 6:00 p.m. even if accompanied by adults. In Sao Paulo children are admitted after 6:00 when accompanied by adults but not after 10:00 p.m.

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Glossary (u/ou)

Abbreviation	Portuguese	English
ADCE	*Associacao dos Dirigentes Cristaos de Empresas*	Association of Christian Business Executives
AIFLD	....	American Institute for Free Labor Development
AP	*Acao Popular*	Popular Action
BEMFAM	*Sociedade Brasileira do Bemestar da Familia*	Brazilian Society for Family Welfare
BNH	*Banco Nacional de Habitacao*	National Housing Bank
CGT	*Comando Geral dos Trabalhadores*	Workers General Command
CNBB	*Confederacao Nacional dos Bispos Brasileiros*	National Council of Brazilian Bishops
CNC	*Confederacao Nacional do Comercio*	National Confederation of Commerce
CNI	*Confederacao Nacional do Industria*	National Confederation of Industry
CNTC	*Confederacao Nacional dos Trabalhadores no Comercio*	National Confederation of Commercial Workers
CNTEEC	*Confederacao Nacional aos Trabalhadores em Educacao e Cultura*	National Confederation of Educational and Cultural Workers
CNTI	*Confederacao Nacional dos Trabalhadores na Industria*	National Confederation of Industrial Workers
CNTTMFA	*Confederacao Nacional dos Trabalhadores em Transportes Maritimos, Fluviais, e Aereos*	National Confederation of Air, River, and Maritime Transport Workers
CNTTT	*Confederacao Nacional dos Trabalhadores em Transportes Terrestres*	National Confederation of Land Transport Workers
CONTAG	*Confederacao Nacional de Trabalhadores na Agricultura*	National Confederation of Agricultural Workers
CONTCOP	*Confederacao Nacional dos Trabalhadores de Comunicacoes e Publicidade*	National Confederation of Communications and Publicity Workers
CONTEC	*Confederacao Nacional dos Trabalhadores em Empresas de Credito*	National Confederation of Workers in Credit Institutions
CRB	*Conferencia de Religiosos Brasileiros*	Conference of Brazilian Religious Orders
ICFTU	.....	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
INCRA	*Instituto Nacional de Colonizacao e da Reforma Agraria*	National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform
INPS	*Instituto Nacional de Previdencia Social* ..	National Institute of Social Welfare
MOBRAL	*Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetizagem* ...	Brazilian Literacy Movement
ORIT	*Organizacao Regional Interamericana de Trabalhadores*	Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers
PROTERRA	*Programa de Redistribuicao de Terras e de Estimulo a Agroindustria no Nordeste e no Norte*	Program of Land Redistribution and Encouragement to Agroindustries in the Northeast and North
SENAC	*Servico Nacional de Aprendizagem Comercial*	National Service for Commercial Apprenticeship
SENAI	*Servico Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial*	National Service for Industrial Apprenticeship
SUDENE	*Superintendencia de Desenvolvimento do Nordeste*	Superintendency for Development of the Northeast
UNE	*Uniao Nacional dos Estudantes*	National Students' Union

Places and features referred to in this chapter (u/ou)

	COORDINATES			
	°	'S.	°	'W.
Amazon Basin (*drainage basin*)	2	30	60	00
Amazon River (*stream*)	0	10	49	00
Belém	1	27	48	29
Belo Horizonte	19	55	43	56
Brasília	15	47	47	55
Buenos Aires, Argentina	34	36	58	27
Campinas	22	54	47	05
Congonhas	20	30	43	52
Curitiba	25	25	49	15
Diamantina	18	15	43	36
Florianópolis	27	35	48	34
Fortaleza	3	43	38	30
Goiânia	16	40	49	16
João Pessoa	7	07	34	52
Juiz de Fora	21	45	43	20
Manaus	3	08	60	01
Nova Iguaçu	22	45	43	27
Olinda	8	01	34	51
Ouro Prêto	20	23	43	30
Pôrto Alegre	30	04	51	11
Recife	8	03	34	54
Rio de Janeiro	22	54	43	14
Rio São Francisco (*stream*)	10	30	36	24
Salvador	21	59	38	31
São José dos Campos	23	11	45	53
Santos	23	57	46	20
São Luís	2	31	44	16
São Paulo	23	32	46	37