# Beyond poverty: the Negro and the Mulatto in Brazil

## INTRODUCTION

The most impressive aspect of the racial situation in Brazil appears under the trenchant denial of the existence of any "color" or "racial" problem. Racial prejudice and discrimination, as racial segregation, are seen as a sort of sin and a dishonorable behavior. Thus, we have two different levels of reality perception and of action connected with "color" and "race": first, overt, in which racial equality and racial democracy are supposed and proclaimed; second, covert, in which collateral functions perform through, below, and beyond the social stratification.

This overlay is not exclusive to race relations. It appears in other levels of social life. In the case of race relations it emerges as a clear product from the prevailing racial ideology and racial utopia, both built during slavery by the white-dominant stratum — rural and urban masters. Slavery was not in conflict with the Portuguese law and cultural tradition. The Roman law offered, to the Crown ordinances, elements with which it would be possible

to classify "Indians" and "Africans" as things, as moveable property, to establish the social transmission of social position through the mother (according to the principle partus sequitur ventrem), and to deny to the slave any human condition (servus personam non habet), etc... On the other hand, slavery was practiced on a small scale in Lisbon, and was attempted in Açores, Madeira, Cabo Verde and São Tomé, pioneering the modern plantation system. But slavery was in conflict with religion and mores created by the Catholic conception of the world. This conflict, of moral nature, did not give to the slave, in general, a better condition and more human treatment, as Frank Tannebaum believed. It only brought about a tendency to disguise things, separating the permissive from the real being.

Nevertheless, Brazil has a good intellectual tradition of penetrating, realistic, and unmasking objetive knowledge of the racial situation. First of all, the conservative pride had given rise to very clear distinctions (as usually happened to masters and some aristocratic white families, arrogantly self-affirmative on matters of racial inequality and race differences). Second, some outstanding figures, leaders of the ideal of national emancipation and abolitionism, as José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, Luiz Gama, Perdigão Malheiros, Joaquim Nabuco, Antonio Bento, etc., tried to point out the nature of the white behavior and value-orientations, connected with Negroes and Mulattoes. Third, "negro movements" after the First World War (especially in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro during the 20's, 30's, and 40's), as well as intellectual Negro conferences on race relations, have contributed to a new realistic perception and explanation of the complex Brazilian racial situation.

Findings of modern sociological, antropological, and psychological investigations (Samuel Lowrie; Roger Bastide and Florestan Fernandes; L. A. Costa Pinto; Oracy Megueira; A. Guerreiro Ramos; Octavio Ianni, Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Renato Jardom Moreira; Thales de Azevedo; Charles Wagley, Marvin Harris, Henry W. Hutchinson and Ben Zimmerman; René Ribeiro; João Baptista Borges Pereira; Virginia Leone Bicudo; Aniela Ginsberg; Carolina Martuscelli Bori; Dante Moreira Leite, etc.) have confirmed and deepened the evidence discovered by earlier writers. In the present discussion, I will limit myself to three special topics: roots of the competitive social order in Brazil; some objective evidences of racial inequality and its sociological meaning; the Brazilian pattern of racial prejudice and discrimination.

# 1. ROOTS OF THE COMPETITIVE SOCIAL ORDER IN BRAZIL

As occurred in all modern countries in which slavery was connected with colonial exploitation and the plantation system, the

Brazilian society faced great difficulties in spreading and integrating the competitive social order. Literally speaking, this social order emerged from the rupture of the old colonial system, but its evolution was more an urban phenomenon until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Slavery and the relative importance of freedmen as a source of an earning social category were a great obstacle to the differentation and universalization of the competitive social order. The reason is very well known. As Louis Couty pointed out, the devaluation and degradation of work produced by slavery impeded or obstructed the constitution of a wage-earning class in urban and in rural areas, as the emergence of a small farmer sector. Because of this, until the middle of the nineteenth century the market economy didn't give rise to a typical modern organization, in a capitalistic sense, of work and economic relations. Only in a few cities, competition performed some basic constructive functions, and could integrate roles or positions of some social agents (landlords or planters, as suppliers of tropical products; agents of export-import business; native and foreign merchants and traders; some bankers or financial agents; professionals, teachers and bureaucrats; the few manufacturers and factory workers; technicians, artisans, skilled workers, etc.).

With the interruption of the slave traffic and emancipationist laws this sector began to enlarge and to grow. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the crisis in the slavery system — which attained a structural and irreversible trend at the decade of sixty — reached its climax. Then the modernization of the urban sector became a strong and autonomous social force, operating simultaneously through economic and political levels. This was an historical point of inflexion, in which the disintegration of the master-slave social order and the integration of the competitive social order appeared as concomitant social phenomena (2).

In this large context, the situation of Negroes and Mulattoes was affected in three different directions. Until this period as slaves or as freedmen, they have had a strong and untouchable position in the structure of economy. As soon as the entire structure of the system of production began to change, this position was menaced on two fronts. The international market supplied the country with immigrants who came from Europe and looked for richer and developing areas, to work as wage-earning class, rural and urban, or as traders, merchants, shopkeepers or manufacturers. On the other side, white traditional families started to move from the interior to great cities, and poor or dependent people (3) arose as a growing wage-earning sector. In the North and Northeast, the relative economic stagnation of plantation economy stimulated two correlative processes — the sale of the surplus slave labor to coffee plantations in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais; and the conso-

lidation of positions of Negro and Mulatto freedmen as agents of free labor (unskilled or skilled, especially in the growing urban economy). In the rapid developing regions of coffee plantation (particularly in São Paulo), newcomers, foreigners and nationals absorbed the best economic opportunities, even in rural areas, accelerating the crisis of slavery and converting Negroes and Mulattoes, predominantly, into a marginal sector of the population and into a subproletariat. In areas of the South, in which the foreign colonization was combined with small farmers, or those in which the cattle ranch predominated, controlled by powerful traditional families, Negroes and Mulattoes were also out of competition for new opportunities, monopolized by Europeans, or remained in disguised dependence or marginal positions (4).

Thus, as a general conclusion: the victim of slavery was also victimized by the crisis of the slave system of production. The social revolution of the competitive social order started and finished as a white revolution. Because of this, white supremacy was never menaced by abolitionism. On the contrary, it was only reorganized in other terms in which competition had a terrible consequence—the exclusion, partially or totally, of the ex-agent of slave labor and of freedmen from the vital flux of economic growth and so-

cial development.

At the zero point of their inclusion in a new social order, therefore, the Negro and the Mulatto had several choices, all spoliatory and deplorable. First, the return to the region of their origins (or of their ascendants), that is, to some rural areas of the Northeast, or a stagnant and backward community in the interior of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, or Rio de Janeiro. This solution implied a submersion into a natural economy of subsistence. Second, the permanence as a rural laborer, in general changing from the old master to a new employer. This solution, as the ex-slave didn't have institutions and cultural tradition like the immigrant, and had, on the other hand, to compete with him in terms of low payment (5), implied permanent incapacity to use domestic cooperation, resultant techniques of thrift, and social mobility as a mechanism for accumulation of capital and competition. Third, the concentration in a big city, like São Paulo, and the conglomeration in slums. This solution implied permanent or temporary unemployment for men, parasitism and over-burdening for women, and general "anomie" for all. Life in the city rarely was the equivalent of sharing opportunities in the city. Three succeeding generations have known what social disorganization could mean as a style of life. Fourth, the flight to little cities, in which the semiskilled, skilled, or artisan could protect himself from the competition with whites (foreigners or nationals), and start a new life. This solution implied a voluntary acceptance of disadvantageous

positions with no hopes in regard to the future. It had the same meaning of the absorption of freedmen in the North-east, acquired during the period of disintegration of slavery. The destiny of agents then was a function of the stagnation or progress of the selected community, a matter of blind chance.

From this perspective, it is clear that the problem of Brazilian Negroes and Mulattoes is, above all, a problem created by the incapacity of the national society to develop rapidly a growing capitalistic economy, able to absorb ex-slaves and freedmen in the labor market. Because of this, they were expelled to the periphery of the competitive social order, or to semi-colonial and colonial structures inherited from the past. These semi-colonial and colonial structures performed important functions in the maintenance of the rural economy especially where plantations, cattle ranches, and villages were (or are) dependent on semi-capitalistic forms of work (6).

One could argue that, in this aspect, ex-slaves and freedmen underwent the destiny which is common to "poor people" in Brazil. The destitution of slaves and the elimination of freedmen by effects of competition with free European immigrants would sociologically explain that process. Nevertheless, as Caio Prado Jr. has pointed out (7), slavery didn't prepare its human agent to become a free worker, even as unskilled or semi-skilled laborers. Behind the social structure of the master-slave social order, the "slave" and the "Negro" were two parallel elements. When the "slave" was eliminated by social change, the "Negro" became a racial residuum. He lost the social condition which he acquired under slavery and was expelled, as "Negro", downward to the bottom of "poor people", at the exact moment in which some of these sectors were sharing opportunities opened by free work and the constitution of a wageearning class. Thus, the Negro was victimized by his position and his racial condition. He started, by his own means, the process by which he could be metamorphosed from "Negro" to a new social being (8). But, when he was trying to impose upon himself and upon indifferent whites the "Second Abolition", this attempt was refused and condemned as a manifestation of "racism" (9). In other words, it was denied to him a self-affirmation as "Negro" in spite of his social marginality as such.

# 2. EVIDENCES OF RACIAL INEQUALITY AND ITS SOCIOLO-GICAL MEANING

If the description given above is correct, changes in social structure that have occurred in Brazilian society from the abolition of slavery until now have had no profound effects (or very slight effects) on the racial concentration of wealth, social prestige, and

power. The lack of objective indicators do not permit a complete verification of this conclusion. The last census (in 1960) has excluded racial aspects of the Brazilian population. Nevertheless, the census of 1950 offered some useful information.

It is well known that the percentage of different racial stocks (or color categories) varies in each physiographic region of the country (cf. Table I). In consequence, the degree of concentration of each racial stock (or color category) in different regions varies with clear intensity (cf. Table II).

Nevertheless, two basic indicators — occupational position and level of schooling — which we could use through the census data, reveal a basic trend of monopoly of the best opportunities by whites. We have selected the position of employer and complete educational levels in some representative states and in the country as the best accessible indicators. They involve expressive roles, values, and cultural traditions in terms of evaluations of prestige of the white, control of power, and upward social mobility.

The basic sociological evidence of the data is not negative. Considering that slavery was ended only sixty-two years ago (with reference to the census of 1950), also the total negligence of human problems of "poor people" in general, and of the destitute population of slave origin, the lack of value orientations and experience with economic, social, and cultural requisites for the developing competitive social order predominantly among Negroes and Mulattoes, the indifference or disguised opposition of whites to a democratic sharing of economic and educational opportunities with these sectors of the Brazilian population, etc., the census data shows an improvement of the situation by the effort of these color groups in order to take possible advantages in freedom and progress. Most of issues, naturally, are connected with the gradual acquisition of new value orientations and cultural traditions, the importance of Negroes and Mulattoes as economic agents (as labor force or as predominantly small entrepreneurs), and the discovery and use of educational opportunities as a ladder to the social integration and upward mobility. The importance of these aspects is greater than it could be realized at a first glance, because of the cumulative effects of the economic, social, and cultural process involved in the future of new generations.

Nevertheless, the progress has been too moderate and deceptive. In reality, Negroes and Mulattoes were projected into the stratum of poorest people, which doesn't shares (or shares very little) trends of the economic development and socio-cultural change. Even in regions where Negroes and Mulattoes constitute the majority of the population, as in the Northeast and East (in which they constitute, conjointly, 53.7% and 47.3%, respectively, of the region; and in which they are more concentrated — 72.8% in the Northeast

TABLE I

# Brazilian Population: Physiographic Regions and Color Groups (1950).

Physiographic	* (		Calor Goups			Totol
Regions	Whites	Negroes	Mulattoes	Yellows ••	No declaration	1 Otal
North	577,329 31%	90,061	1,171,352	1,446 0.07%	4,467	1,844,655 100%
Northeast	5,753,697 46%	1,374,899	5,839,729	216 0.002%	25,936 0.2%	12,494,477 100%
East	9,978,386 52.8%	2,959,42 <b>3</b> 15.6%	6,007,294	5,967 0.03%	41,937	18,893,007 100%
South	14,836,496 87%	1,093,887	696,956 4%	316,641 2%	31,313 0.2%	16,975,29 <b>3</b> 100%
Central-West	981,753 56.5%	174,387 10%	571,411 32.3%	4,812 0.3%	4,602 0.3%	1,736,965 100%
BRAZIL	32,027,661 61.6%	5,692,657 11%	13,786,742 26.6%	329,082 0.6%	108,255 0.2%	51,944,397 100%

Census data Brasil. Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. Conselho Nacional de Estatística, Recenseamento Geral do Brasil. Rio de Janeiro, I.B.G.E., 1956. V. I, p. 5).

<sup>..</sup> Asiatics, predominantly Japanese.

TABLE II

Brazilian Population: Percentage Distribution by Color Groups, According to Physiographic Regions . (1950)

REGIONS	WHITES	NEGROES	MULATTOES	YELLOWS
North	1.8%	1.6%	8.5%	0.4%
Northeast	17.9%	24.1%	38.7%	%90.0
East	30.8%	52.0%	43.5%	1.8%
South	46.3%	19.2%	5.1%	96.2%
Central-West	3.06%	3.1%	4.0%	1.5%
BRAZIL	100%	100%	100%	100%

• Cases without declaration of color were omitted

and 95.5% in the East by color group), they have an extremely poor participation in the position of employers and in the best educational opportunities. In terms of States, the range of inequality relating to employers' positions gives to whites a striking supremacy (they share these positions in a proportion of 3, 4, 5, and even 6 or 8 times to one Negro). The same occurs in relation to Mulattoes instead of being in a better situation than the Negro (whites share employers' positions, on the average, in a proportion which oscillates between 2, 3, or 4 times more than Mulattoes, excepting in the case of Rio de Janeiro). The same trends are reproduced in the sharing of educational opportunities especially at the level of secondary school and university, in some states in a shocking manner. (See Tables III and IV). The comparison of data furnished by these tables with these of Table V shows that the exclusion of Negroes and Mulattoes from the best economic and educational opportunities follows the same general pattern in the eight selected States. The predominance of Mulattoes, considered alone, or Negroes and Mulattoes, considered together, makes only a slight difference even in the more "mixed" and more racially "democratic" States.

The meaning of this data is evident. The racial structure of Brazilian society, until now, favors the monopoly of wealth, prestige and power by the whites. The white supremacy is a reality in the present, almost in the same way it was in the past. The organization of society impels the Negro and the Mulatto to poverty, unemployment or underemployment, and to the "Negro's job".

# 3. THE BRAZILIAN PATTERN OF RACIAL PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

Only now Brazilian social scientists are trying to discover the real explanation for this deplorable situation. As Costa Pinto has pointed out, the basic explicative factor is inherent in the persistence of some deep-rooted attitudes and racial orientations of whites to treat Negroes and Mulattoes as subalterns (then to subalternize them). These attitudes and racial orientations are predominant among the upper and middle white classes; but they also appear in the lower classes, and even in rural areas especially in the South.

For many Brasilians, these attitudes and racial orientations are products of "external influence", a negative contribution of immigrants and the modern mass media of communication. They were and are considered an "imported cancer" (10), to be extirpated by law and formal control. However, various researches made by Oracy Nogueira; Roger Bastide and F. Fernandes; L. A. Costa Pinto; Octavio Ianni, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, and Renato Jardim Moreira have shown that these described attitudes and racial

TABLE III

Employers by Color Groups - Brazil and Selected States (1950).

STATES		Nur	Number	300	Pe	Percentage of Each Color Group	ach Color Gro	ďn
-2-	Whites	Negroes	Mulattoes	Asiatics ••	Whites	Negroes	Mulattocs	Asiatics ••
	5,089	208	3,132	88	4.5	6.0	1.4	34.2
Pernambuco	21,121	904	5,836	17	4.0	0.7	1.2	34.6
	28,178	5,295	20,837	01	6.8	1.6	2 .8	15.6
Minas Gerais	85,084	3,910	15,949	107	6.4	1.0	2.5	14.6
Rio de Janeiro	46,477	447	1,283	759	8.2	6.0	0.8	12.5
São Paulo	146,145	2,561	1,396	9,179	5.1	8.0	1.2	10.1
Rio Grande do Sul	49,008	429	576	91	4.2	0.5	0.7	80 80
Mato Grosso	5,171	401	1,330	94	99	2.3	2.5	6.8
BRAZIL	519,197	19,460	78,448	11,018	5.1	6.0	1.8	10.2

• Census data. Cases without declaration of position were omitted (excepting in Pará, where these cases were included).

Educational Levels Completed by Negroes and Mulattoes - Brazit and Selected States (1950) \* TABLE IV

States         Primary         Secondary         University           Negros         Mulatices         Primary         Number         % total ••         Number         % total ••           Paria         1,599         2 2         85         0.6         10         0.5           Negros         2,536         3.2         85         0.6         10         0.5           Negross         2,589         2.2         85         0.6         10         0.5           Negross         4,589         24.2         2,371         19.2         180         0.5           Negross         17,732         8.3         192         0.5         7         0.5           Mulatices         17,732         8.3         666         2.1         88         1.5           Mulatices         17,742         37.1         44,772         15.2         578         10.1           Negross         10,4         4,54         15.3         4,777         4.6         4.4         0.2           Negross         10,4         1.3         1.5         4.7         4.6         4.4         0.2           Negross         2,1         1.0         1.0         1.4				Completed Educational Levels	cational Levels		
Mulatto         Number         % total**         Number         % total**         Number           ss         27,536         32.2         85         0.6         10           ucc         5,899         3.3         192         0.5         180           ss         42,669         24.2         2,889         8.0         189           ss         17,732         8.3         666         2.1         88           ss         17,732         8.3         44,772         15.2         189           ss         17,732         8.3         44,772         15.2         578           faneiro         44,541         5.4         471         0.4         44           faneiro         44,541         5.3         2,035         0.8         112           ss         104,315         118.7         9,895         4.1         725           co         76,652         4.3         1,659         0.6         96           ss         31,585         1.8         1,659         0.6         96           ss         22,543         5.3         775         1.0         74           ss         22,899         0.6 <t< th=""><th>States</th><th>Prin</th><th>nary</th><th>Seco</th><th>ıdary</th><th>Univ</th><th>crsity</th></t<>	States	Prin	nary	Seco	ıdary	Univ	crsity
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ucco         5,899         3.3         192         0.5         7           erais         42,669         24.2         2,889         8.0         189           serais         17,732         8.3         666         2.1         88           serais         78,742         37.1         44,772         15.2         578           serais         78,742         37.1         44,772         15.2         578           ferrais         36,805         5.4         471         0.4         44           fameiro         44,541         5.8         2,035         0.8         1112           fameiro         44,541         5.8         2,035         0.6         459           fameiro         44,541         5.8         2,035         0.6         459           fameiro         44,541         18.7         9,895         4.1         725           fo         76,252         4.3         1,879         0.6         95           fa         10,091         1.9         310         0.4         14           fa         1,757         1,009         1,14         1,4           fa         1,291         2,2         775 <td>Mulattoes</td> <td>27,536</td> <td>39.4</td> <td>2,371</td> <td>19.2</td> <td>180</td> <td>9.5</td>	Mulattoes	27,536	39.4	2,371	19.2	180	9.5
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faneiro         44,541         5.8         2,035         0.8         112           is         104,515         13.7         9,895         4.1         725           is         76,652         4.3         1,879         0.6         95           is         31,585         1.8         1,659         0.6         95           inde do Sul         10,091         1.9         310         0.4         14           is         11,702         2.2         775         1.0         74           cosso         2,543         5.3         59         0.8         3           is         12,911         27.0         1,148         16.2         89           551,410         0.2         41,410         4.2         3,568	Mulattoes	103,082	15.3	4,757	4.6	459	2.8
s 104,511 5.8 2,035 0.8 112 725 6.75 6.652 4.1 13.7 9,895 4.1 725 6.75 6.652 4.3 1,879 0.6 95 170 1702 2.2 1775 1.0 775 1.0 775 1.0 74 775 12,911 2.7.0 1,148 16.2 89 5.51,410 10.2 41,410 4.2 3,568	Rio de Janeiro						
ss 104,315 13.7 9,895 4.1 725  O 76,652 4.3 1,879 0.6 95  inde do Sul 10,091 1.9 310 0.4 14  is 11,702 2.2 7.75 1.0 74  is 12,911 2.7.0 1,148 16.2 89  55,3 55,410 10.2 41,410 4.2 3,568	Negroes	44,541	5.8 8.8	2,035	8.0	112	0,2
Co         76,652         4.3         1,879         0.6         95           is         31,585         1.8         1,659         0.6         170           inde do Sul         10,091         1.9         310         0.4         14           is         11,702         2.2         775         1.0         74           osso         2,543         5.3         59         0.8         3           is         12,911         27.0         1,148         16.2         89           228,890         4.2         6,794         0.6         488           551,410         10.2         41,410         4.2         3,568	Mulattoes	104,315	13.7	9,895	4.1	725	1.6
S         76,652         4.3         1,879         0.6         95           nde do Sul         10,091         1.8         1,659         0.5         170           is         11,702         2.2         775         1.0         74           costo         2,543         5.3         59         0.8         3           is         12,911         27.0         1,148         16.2         89           228,890         4.2         6,794         0.6         488           551,410         10.2         41,410         4.2         3,568	São Paulo						
ss 31,585 1 8 1,659 0.5 170  nde do Sul 10,091 1 9 310 0.4 14  ss 11,702 2.2 775 1.0 74  ss 12,911 27.0 1,148 16.2 89  228,890 4.2 6,794 0.6 488  551,410 10.2 41,410 4.2 3,568	Negroes	76,652	4.3	1,879	9.0	36	0.5
nde do Sul 10,091 1.9 310 0.4 1.4 1.4 1.0 74 7.5 11,702 2.2 7.75 1.0 7.4 7.5 1.0 7.4 7.5 1.0 7.4 7.5 1.0 7.4 7.5 1.0 7.4 7.5 12,911 2.7.0 1,148 16.2 89 89 89 89 89 89 89 89 89 89 89 89 89	Mulattoes	31,585	1.8	1,659	0.5	170	4.0
10,091 1.9 310 0.4 1.4 1.4 1.0 7.4 1.4 1.0 1.7 1.0 7.4 1.4 1.0 7.5 1.0 7.4 1.4 1.0 7.4 7.4 1.4 1.0 1.0 7.4 7.4 1.4 1.0 1.0 7.4 1.4 1.0 1.0 1.4 1.2 1.0 1.0 1.4 1.4 1.2 1.0 1.0 1.4 1.4 1.2 1.0 1.0 1.4 1.4 1.2 1.5 1.5 1.4 1.4 1.5 1.5 1.5 1.5 1.5 1.5 1.5 1.5 1.5 1.5	Rio Grande do Sul					,	
11,702 2.2 775 1.0 74  cosso 2,543 5.3 59 0.8 3  is 12,911 27.0 1,148 16.2 89  228,890 4.2 6,794 0.6 488  551,410 10.2 41,410 4.2 3,568	Negroes	10,01		310	0.4	14	0.1
2,543 5.3 59 0.8 3 12,911 27.0 1,148 16.2 89 228,890 4.2 6,794 0.6 488 551,410 10.2 41,410 4.2 3,568	Mulattoes	11,702		775	0.1	74	9.0
2,543 5.3 59 0.8 3 12,911 27.0 1,148 16.2 89 228,890 4.2 6,794 0.6 488 551,410 10.2 41,410 4.2 3,568	Mato Grosso					,	
228,890 4.2 6,794 0.6 4.8 551,410 10.2 41,410 4.2 3,568	Negroes	2,543	55.58	59	0.8	<del>م</del>	0.5
228,890 4.2 6,794 0.6 488 551,410 10.2 41,410 4.2 3,568	Mulattoes	12,911	27.0	1,148	16.2	68	8.0
228,890 4.2 6,794 0.6 488 551,410 10.2 41,410 4.2 3,568	BRAZIL						
55 551,410 10.2 41,410 4.2 3,568	Negroes	228,890	4.2	6,794	9.0	488	0.2
	Mulattoes	551,410	10.2	41,410	4.2	3,568	2.5

Census data omitted in cases without declaration of color and grades (excepting in Pará, where only cases without declaration of grades were excepted).

Total number of persons who have completed the specified level of education in each State.

TABLE V
POPULATION BY COLOR IN THE EICHT SELECTED STATES (1950) •

STATES		COLOR	0	GROUPS		T. T. C.
	Whites	Negroes	Mulattoes	Yellows	No Declaration	TOTAL
NORTH	100	774.02	1	1	004.0	
raia	28.96	5.32	65.39	875	0.25	1,123,273
NORTHEAST Pernambuco	1,685,028	316,122	1.386.255	88	7.697	3.895.185
	49.63	9.31	40.83	0.00	0.22	100
EAST Bahia	1,428,685	926,075	2,467,108	156	12,551	4,834,575
	23.55	19.10	51.03	0.00	0.26	100
Minas Gerais	4,509,575	1,122,940	2,069,037	2,257	13,983	7,717,792
Rio de Janeiro (GB.)	1.660.834	292.524	415.935	1 089	7 196	9 977 451
	98.69	12.30	17.50	0.04	0.30	100
SOUTH São Paulo	7,823,111	727,789	292,669	276,851	14,003	9,134,423
	85.64	7.96	3.21	3.03	0.16	100
Rio Grande do Sul	8,712,239	217,520	226,174	495	8,393	4,164,821
	89.14	5.22	5.43	0.01	0.20	100
CENTRAL-WEST	070 070	000 12	200	0700		1000
Maio Grosso	53.32	9.78	35.89	0.70	0.30	100

<sup>•</sup> Information compiled from "Estudos Demograficos N.º 145" (elabordao por Remulo Coelho), Laboratório de Estatística do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografía e Estatística - Conselho Nacional de Estatística, Rio de Janeiro, 1955.

orientations are an inherited cultural pattern, widespread in Brazil-

ian society as much as slavery was in the past.

Thus, at the core of the Brazilian racial problem is the persistence of an asymmetrical pattern of race relations, built to regulate the contact and the social ordination between "master", "slave", and "freedman". As happened in the South of the United States, this type of asymmetrical race relation involves a sort of ritualization of racial behavior (12). The master's domination and the same ritual, by which emotions and feelings could be put under control and masked. In Brazil, this type of ritualization had the same functions, reinforced by the Catholic pressure to preserve, in some apparent sense, the Christian way of life of masters, slaves, and freedmen.

Racial prejudice was inherent in the asymmetrical pattern of race relations because it was a necessary element in basing the slave-master, or freedman-white relations in the "natural inferiority" of Negroes, and in the efficient performance of slavery and subjugaton of slaves and freedmen. At the same time, the discrimination was inherent in the slave-master social order, in which the proper manner of behavior, clothing, language, occupations, obligations and rights of the slave and the freedman were rigidly prescribed (12). The persistence of the two elements after the disintegration of slavery is explained by the fact that the class system had not destroyed all structures of the ancient régime, especially structures of race relations (13).

It is necessary, nevertheless, to take into account that this result is not only part of a process of cultural lag. Under dependent capitalism, the class system is unable to perform all destructive or constructive functions it has had in developed capitalistic countries (14). Two processes run together — the modernization of the archaic, and the archaization of the modern, as a normal factor of structural integration and evolution of the society. In reality, as soon as the Negro and the Mulatto were put predominantly outside of the economic, social, and political reconstruction, they became marginal partners.

The crisis of the asymmetrical pattern of race relations started even before the Abolition. However, as the Negro and the Mulatto had lost their importance as historical social agents, they suffered the static effect of their new social position. Only now, thanks to internal migrations, to the economic progress produced by the national integration of society, and the weak upward social mobility, they acquired conditions to cope with the white supremacy,

predominantly in a disguised and accomodative way.

In spite of some active resistance of whites, not to these phenomena, but to some outstanding upward-mobile Negro and Mulatto personalities, this long period of starvation contributed to

maintain the ritualistic freezing of racial relations. The Negro and the Mulatto, as individuals, but especially as a color minority, are not free to use aggressive competition against whites, and to explore social conflict to fight against the racial inequality. In this context, it is very clear that the price of race tolerance and race accommodation is paid by the Negro and the Mulatto.

For these reasons, color is not an important element in racial perception and racial consciousness of the world by the white. He has never been menaced, until now, by the disintegration of slavery and by competition or conflict with Negroes and Mulattoes. The white only perceives and is conscious of the Negro and the Mulatto when he faces a concrete, unexpected situation (15), or when his attention is directed to questions related to "color problems".

For the same reasons, the "Brazilian racial dilemma" is also complicated. Not so much because whites, Negroes, and Mulattoes play the expected roles of disguising or denying the "color prejudice" and "color discrimination", but because the only opened way to change the racial situation depends on gradual, very slow, and irregular prosperity of Negroes and Mulattoes. Under this aspect, it is out of question that prejudice and discrimination, in the forms they assume in Brazil, contribute more to maintain the asymmetric pattern of race relations than to eliminate it.

This means that, sociologically considered, color prejudice and discrimination are a structural and dynamic source of "perpetuation of the past in the present". Whites do not victimize Negroes and Mulattoes consciously or willfully. Normal and indirect effects of functions of color prejudice and discrimination do that without racial tensions and social unrest. Because they restrict economic, educational, social and political opportunities to the Negro and the Mulatto maintaining them "out of the system" or at the margin and on the periphery of the competitive social order, color prejudice and discrimination impede the existence and the emergence of a racial democracy in Brazil.

### CONCLUSIONS

This general discussion was oriented by some basic assumptions. Sociologically considered, the structural element of the Brazilian racial situation has two distinctive dimensions. One, which is specifically social. It is connected with the impossibility (faced by underdeveloped capitalistic and class societies of Latin America) of creating a competitive social order able to absorb different sectors of population, even partially, in occupational and social strata of the system of production. The other is, by its nature, the color problem, a complex heritage from the past, continuously reinforced

by trends assumed by inequality under dependent capitalism, and preserved through the conjoint manifestation of prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behavior on the basis of "color".

These two elements work together in a manner that they produce cumulative effects dynamically adverse to the change of the racial structure of society, inherited from the past. The social order is changing and, with it, patterns of race relations. Nevertheless, the relative position of color groups tend to be stable, or to change very slightly.

It is beyond question that the most important factor, on the average, is the structure of a class society under dependent capitalism. The static effect of the extreme concentration of wealth, power, and social prestige severely impedes or restricts even the upward social mobility and the integration in the competitive social order of white racial stoks. Figures given by numbers and proportions of whites who attained employers' positions (or who monopolize the best educational opportunities) are striking. A comparison with the Japanese suggests that, among whites, there prevails a definite trend to maintain and perhaps strengthen either economic and political privileges or social inequities, at the expense of all color and poor groups, including the "white poor people".

However, static effects are clearly stronger when we consider Negroes and Mulattoes. Instead of the relative advantage of Mulattoes with regard to Negroes, they also share economic, social, and political inequities of the Brazilian society in a very hard way (if we compare the percentages of color composition and concentration of population with the distribution of employers' positions and the best educational opportunities). Some could argue that "passing" - so easily, especially in regions in which Mulattoes constitute the majority or a large part of the population - would explain these adverse figures. But in reality, this argument has no sociological meaning. Each color group, sociologically understood, embraces people who consider themselves and who are accepted under a given color category. On the other hand, our research with Bastide has shown that overlapping or crossing, in terms of color lines, is more complicated than it had been presumed. As some "light" Mulattoes try to "pass for white", others refuse to do that and even prefer to classify themselves as "Negroes". This was a surprising result. Indeed, the import suggests a dramatic situation which cannot be denied or hidden.

The economic, social, and cultural condition of the Negro is the most terrible aspect of the entire picture given by the census data. In the 1950 census, Negroes comprised almost 14 million (11% of the total population), but they shared less than 20,000 opportunities as employers (0.9%), predominantly at modest levels, and only 6,794 (0.6%) and 448 (0.2%) had completed, respectively,

courses in secondary schools and universities. A situation like that involves more than social inequality and insidious poverty. It presupposes that affected individuals are not included as a racial stock in the existing social order, as if they were not human beings or normal citizens.

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1 Cf. L'Esclavage au Brésil. Paris, Guillaumin, 1881. - Le Brésil en 1884.

Rio de Janeiro, Faro & Lino, 1884.

2 As a large frame of reference: Fernandes, F. A Integração do Negro na Sociedade de Classes. São Paulo, Universidade de São Paulo, 1965. v. 1, cap. 1. — Bastide, R. & Fernandes, F. Brancos e Negros em São Paulo. 2.ª ed. São Paulo, Cia. Ed. Nacional, 1959. cap. 1-2. — Ianni, O. "O Progresso Econômico e o Trabalhador Livre". In: Hollanda, S. Buarque de. História Geral da Civilização Brasileira. São Paulo, Difusão Européia do Livro, 1964. v. 3, p. 297-319. — Prado, Caio (Jr.). História Econômica do Brasil. 2.ª ed. São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1949. cap. 19.

3 In general, a racial mixed sector of population, in the south phenotypically and socially "white". The process occurred simultaneously in the cities

and in the rural areas.

- 4 With reference to the Northeast and the emergence of a free labor market, the considerations are based on an unpublished study by Barbara Trosco, on the freedman in Bahia. With reference to São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná e Santa Catarina, cf. Bastide & Fernandes. Brancos e Negros... Fernandes. A Integração do Negro... Cardoso, F. Henrique. Capitalismo e Escravidão no Brasil Meridional. São Paulo, Difusão Européia do Livro, 1962. Ianni, O. As Metamorfoses do Escravo. São Paulo, Difusão Européia do Livro, 1962. Id. Raças e Classes no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 1966. Cardoso, F. Henrique & Ianni, O. Côr e Mobilidade Social em Florianopolis. São Paulo, Cia. Ed. Nacional, n.d.
- 5 On the low wages of the rural free labor, see Costa, E. Viotti da. Da Senzala à Colônia. São Paulo, Difusão Eutopéia do Livro, 1966.

6 See bibliography in note 4.

7 Prado, Caio (Jr.). Formação do Brasil Contemporâneo Colônia. São Paulo, Martins, 1942. p. 341-2.

8 Cf Ianni. As Metamorfoses... - Fernandes. A Integração do Negro...,

v. 1, cap. 1, v. 2, cap. 5.

9 Cf. Bastide & Fernandes. Brancos e Negros..., cap. 5. — Fernandes. A Integração do Negro..., v. 2, cap. 4.

10 See especially Bastide & Fernandes. Brancos e Negros..., cap. 5.

11 Cf. Doyle, B. Wilbur. The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South; a study in social control. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1937 (and especially the Preface by Robert E. Park, p. XI-XXIV).

12 Cf. especially Bastide & Fernandes. Brancos e Negros..., cap. 2.

13 See especially Fernandes. A Integração do Negro..., v. 2, cap. 6.

14 Cf. especially Fernandes, F. Sociedade de Classes e Subdesenvolvimento.

Rio de Janeiro, Zahar, 1968. cap. 1.

15 Because of this, some techniques, applied by North-American psychologists, social psychologists, anthropologists or sociologists in the personal study of perception of race, race differences or race identifications are inefficient in the study of Brazilian situation.

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