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SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF URBANIZATION  
IN THE CITY OF RIO DE JANEIRO

by

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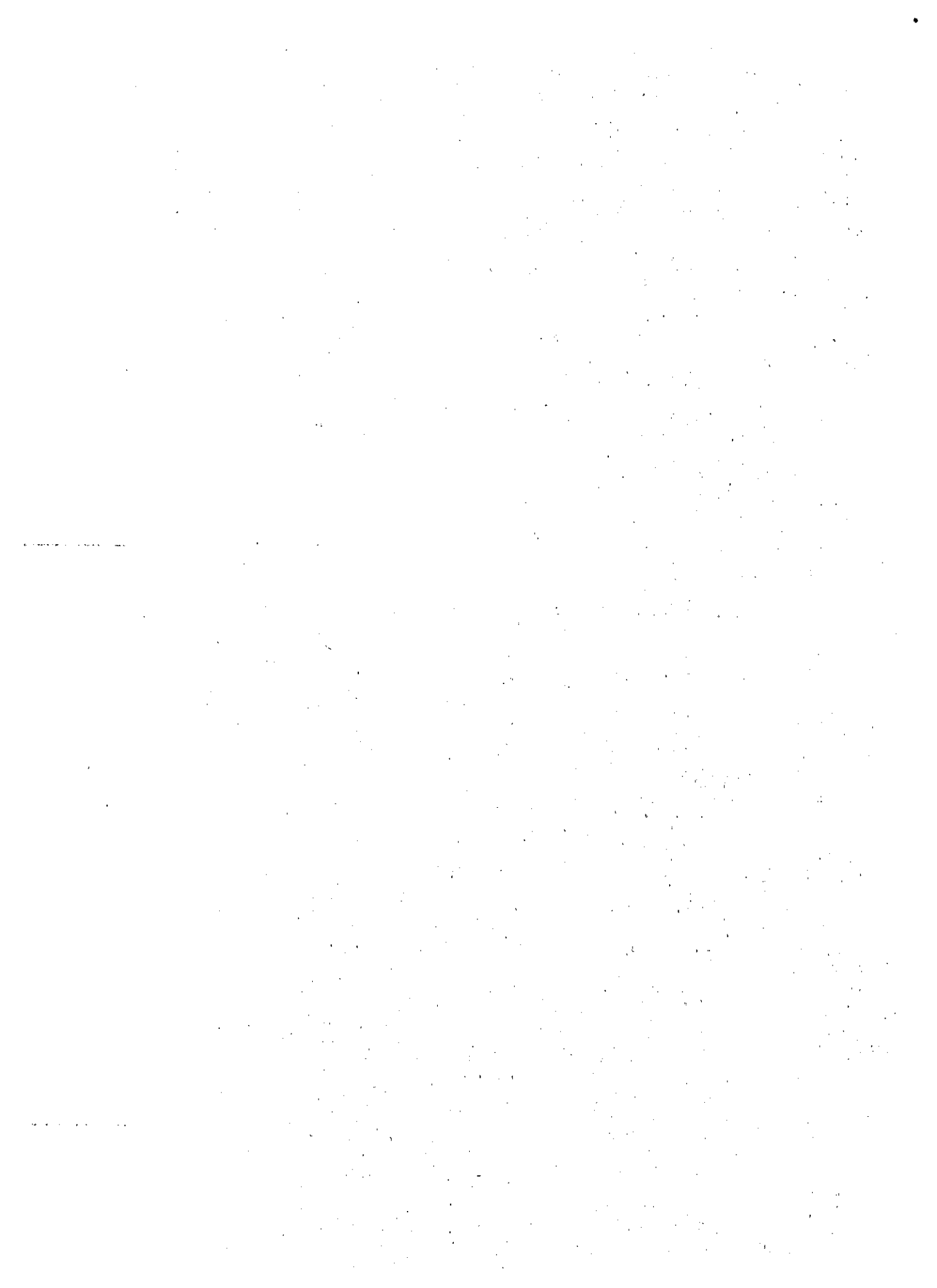


TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF URBANIZATION IN THE CITY OF RIO DE JANEIRO .....	1
1. <u>General housing conditions</u> .....	1
2. <u>Geographical determinants of Favela development</u> .....	4
3. <u>Some socio-economic conditions of Favela development</u> .....	5
4. <u>Migration, social integration and cultural assimilation in relation to family organization and structure</u> .....	7
(a) The nuclear family .....	7
(b) The kin group .....	10
5. <u>Activation of nuclear family and kin-group in migration to the city</u> .....	11
6. <u>The role of the kin-group in Favela life</u> .....	11
7. <u>From rural dependence to urban independence</u> .....	13

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. This is essential for ensuring the integrity of the financial data and for providing a clear audit trail. The records should be kept for a period of at least seven years, as required by law.

In addition, it is important to ensure that all transactions are recorded in a timely manner. This helps to prevent any discrepancies from arising and ensures that the financial statements are based on accurate and up-to-date information.

The second part of the document outlines the procedures for conducting a regular review of the financial records. This should be done at least once a year, or more frequently if necessary. The review should involve a thorough examination of all transactions, as well as a comparison of the records with the actual cash flow and other financial data.

Finally, it is important to ensure that all records are properly stored and protected. This should be done in a secure location, and the records should be backed up regularly to prevent any loss of data.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF URBANIZATION  
IN THE CITY OF RIO DE JANEIRO

1. General housing conditions

One of the characteristic expressions of urbanization in the city of Rio is the growth of favelas,<sup>1/</sup> in which, according to the most recent survey conducted by the Instituto de Pesquisas e Estudos do Mercado, during 1957, live 650,000 of the city's population of 2,000,000. In his book O Negro no Rio de Janeiro L.A. Costa Pinto reports that immediately after Emancipation in 1888 a considerable number of former slaves made their new homes in the hills which dotted and circumscribed the city. There is further evidence of settlements in Providence Hill at the conclusion of the War of Canudos in the last years of the century, a settlement which also accounts for the origin of the name favela, if we are to accept the investigations of a writer in the excellent weekly journal Manchete.<sup>2/</sup>

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<sup>1/</sup> The word favela in its modern usage was defined by the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística as: -

- 1) A minimum number of 50 buildings grouped together.
- 2) Predominance of huts and barracks of a typical rustic appearance, usually made of planks and galvanized sheets or similar material.
- 3) Unlicensed and uninspected buildings on lands of third parties or unknown owners.
- 4) Not included in the general network of sewerage, running water, lighting and telephones.
- 5) Non-urbanized area, lacking proper division into streets, numbering, feeing or rating system.

<sup>2/</sup> According to this writer, one of the earliest settlements of squatters within the city was made on Providence Hill by veterans from the War of Canudos, described by Euclides da Cunha in Rebellion in the Backlands. The hill rises steeply behind Rio's docks, and on the other side overlooks the War Ministry, being chosen on that account by the veverans as a suitable place of sojourn while they daily pressed their claims on the Government for compensation and pensions. They gave the hill the same favela after the Favela Hill from which the final assault was made on Canudos, so called because of the bitter, stinging favela plant which grew upon it in painful profusion. In thus christening their temporary home, presumably they were not only aware of the bitterness of their long wait upon bureaucratic process but also of their anticipated victorious descent on the War Ministry. Later the name favela came to be used for similar settlements on the many city hills and even on flat ground. (See Manchete, 1/9/56 - Rio de Janeiro).

But these two examples must not be thought of as implying that the favela was a characteristic low-class dwelling at so early a period. A more characteristic form of popular housing was the "pig's head" (cabeça de porco) and the "bee-hive" (cortico), names given to different types of collective dwellings or rooming-houses established usually in what had been large town houses of the rich.

According to the Census, in 1890, immediately after Abolition, one quarter of the population lived in these; i.e., 18,338 families lived in 1,449 collective houses; and by 1906 the number had grown to 3,041. But from the beginning of the century the movement away from the centre of the city had already begun, and in 1904-5 there was a great increase in travel on the suburban railway. Between the 1890 and 1906 censuses, the proportion of suburban dwellers to the total moved from 17.78 per cent to 22.60 per cent while the gross population increased from 522,651 to 811,443. Between 1906 and 1920, the increase in city and suburban population was about equal - approximately 173,000 each - but between 1920 and 1940 the city hardly increased (14,382) while the suburbs went up by 591,886. Thus, throughout most of this period, population increase was taken care of by the existence of available low-rent suburban lands for building, and a fair transport system, though housing standards for the poorer classes were low, and 57,889 houses could be described as "rustic" in the "Estatística Predial" of 1933. One of the important changes which accompanied the growth of the suburbs was the rapid diminution in the number of collective dwellings which had been the typical overcrowded habitations of the poorer classes in the centre of the city hitherto. It has been suggested that the collective house was a cultural relic of the senzala or slave house; at any rate, the changeover from this type of dwelling to the independent, though often improvised and rustic house, marks an important cultural change in one sector of the society.

Perhaps the best accounts of the unstable and marginal life of the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro in the earlier part of the century are to be found in the works of Lima Barreto, the great Negro writer and bohemian, who died in 1922, whose Clara dos Anjos is notable in this respect.

/As from

As from about 1930, a change in this process took place which led to a very rapid growth of the favelas through a wave of in-migration due to both push and pull factors. The year 1930 marked a sudden fall in the world prices for Brazilian agricultural products, and consequently a decline in the low standard of rural livelihood, followed by increased migration from the neighbouring states of Minas Gerais, Espirito Santo and Rio de Janeiro to the city. It also marked the beginning of a new political phase in which government efforts were directed to developing industries to supply internal markets, not only to compensate for the unfavourable exchange position which threatened Brazil's power to import, but also as a means of moving towards greater economic independence. The growth of new factories and their demands for a labour force led to dislocation of existing patterns of living-travelling-working. The cost of living rose rapidly along with building costs and real estate values, not only at the centre but at the periphery, but the wage-rate barely kept up and at times fell behind; thus, whilst those of the poorer classed already domiciled in the city suffered a worsening of conditions, the new immigrants found it overwhelmingly difficult to establish themselves in rented houses in the centre and suburbs. Furthermore, so great were the suburban increases that the transport system became hopelessly overloaded. When electric trains were introduced in 1937, the immediate result was that during the subsequent six months, the number of passengers immediately increased by 3,948,857. At the present time the appalling mélee at rush hours and the frequent accidents on the suburban lines are enough to discourage the bravest, and results in sporadic outbursts of quebra-quebra or wilful destruction of installations by mobs of angry passengers.

The solution to the housing problem which presented itself to the in-migrants was to build their own flimsy improvised houses on the steep hillsides and vacant lands as near as possible to their place of work, and thus participate in the formation and extension of favelas.

/From 1940

From 1940 to 1950 conditions deteriorated steadily, and the discrepancy between wages and cost of living grew while the city population increased by 613,310, largely as a result of migration from the neighbouring states. The number of "houses of a rustic type" went up from 66,317 to 89,635 between 1940 and 1949 (counted by the National Yellow Fever Service) i.e., an average increase of 2,702 per year as compared with 1,060 per year in the seven years preceding 1940.

Making a calculation on the basis of the Yellow Fever Service count the favela population reaches approximately 400,000, or about 17 per cent of the population of the city, by 1949. By 1957 it had reached 650,000.

## 2. Geographical determinants of Favela development

The centre of the city of Rio de Janeiro, with its docks and warehouses, administrative, business and shopping centre, is an extension of the old city into which were crowded not only the appurtenances of an old commercial and colonial capital, but also the domiciles of merchants, servants, lawyers, priests, statesmen and tradesmen. This was modified to become the centre of a modern city by cutting through first the Avenida Rio Branco at the beginning of the century, and more recently of the Avenida Getúlio Vargas. Today it stands on a "corner" or right-angle, with the Atlantic Ocean to the south, and the sheltered Bay of Guanabara to the east. Thus, instead of having a circumference of 360 degrees, as would a city on a river or in the midst of a plain, its hinterland of terra firme is confined to 90 degrees. But, to make matters worse, the steep barren-rock mountains of the Serra da Carioca range come down to the coast at this point, leaving for the city area itself a restricted shelf dotted with acute outlyers.

Thus the two directions for the expansion of the city are (1) the Southern Zone, generally speaking, a thin strip stretching along the southern coast between sea and sheer mountain, obviously an area destined to be an expensive residential quarter or seaside resort; and (2) a segment of hinterland, between the Serra and the Bay of Guanabara, opening out at an angle of no more than 35 or 40 degrees. This is the suburban area above

/referred to,



referred to, served by 4 railway lines. And here, clearly, owing to the acuteness of the angle of the segment, rapid expansion was bound very quickly to proceed to the limits which could be served by an anything but adequate transport system. At this point, however, these very geographical peculiarities offered some solution. The mountains and small outlying hills, which had hitherto been regarded as too steep for settlement, and especially for the provision of roads and water, now became optional sites for city workers. In this manner, not only were virtually all the hills built upon, but favela settlements spread to cover a number of important level sites, both in the city and in the areas further from the centre.

But geographical factors alone do not account for the growth of the favelas. A more important cause must be looked for in the socio-economic condition of the nation, especially of the relation between wages and rent in town and country, metropolis and interior.

### 3. Some socio-economic conditions of favela development

In the year 1948 the average salary in industry was Cruzeiro 960 and 61 per cent of persons employed in commerce, 74 per cent of manual workers and 50 per cent of persons working in industry, earned under Cruzeiro 1,000 per month. Of male favelados, 52 per cent earned Cruzeiro 600 to Cruzeiro 1,000, and 26.5 per cent earned between Cruzeiro 1,000 and Cruzeiro 2,000. If a salary of Cruzeiro 1,000 per month might be considered as allowing the expenditure of Cruzeiro 200 per month for rent, what few family houses were still available at this rate were all at a great distance from the centre of the city, while the rent of a small apartment nearer in would have cost three quarters to the whole of the total salary in rent. And so great was the rate increase of building costs that the Prefecture of the Federal District was forced to revise its original estimate of the cost of a popular house to substitute the favela dwellings from Cruzeiro 10,000 in 1948 to Cruzeiro 25,000 in 1949.

/In contrast,

In contrast, of the houses in the Favela of Esqueleto in 1948 the declared values were as follows:-

Up to Cruzeiro 1,000	194	14.4 per cent
Cruzeiro 1,000 to Cruzeiro 2,000	291	21.5 per cent
Cruzeiro 2,001 to Cruzeiro 5,000	408	30.2 per cent
Cruzeiro 5,001 to Cruzeiro 9,999	131	9.7 per cent
Above Cruzeiro 10,000	32	2.4 per cent
No information	291	21.8 per cent

Thus the average declared value of a house was worth two to three months' salary, and having been built, left its owner without further responsibility for the payment of rent.

The favela therefore offered to the in-migrant a means of establishing himself and his family as an unbroken unit in the shortest possible time, and with the least possible outlay, in his own house, in conditions similar and sometimes superior to those of his country home.

Thus in one sense the favela performs an inevitable and essential function in the relation between the urban, industrial and rich sector, and the rural, agricultural and poor sector, divided by a quite exceptional socio-economic lacuna. The poverty of the rural areas provides a great pool of cheap labour moving steadily to the city, which serves to hold down the level of wages, and the standard of living of the town working class. In these circumstances the progress of industrial organization has reached a point where the pressure of wage earners obliges the popular leaders of the government to maintain a minimum wage, but not to the point where an organized working class movement can develop and stand out for a standard of living commensurate with the requirements of city life. The favela house is indeed a house of the rustic type, being nothing more nor less than the intrusion, into the interstices of an urban system of life, of rural standards of housing, which, according to the 1940 census made up 65.21 per cent of the domiciles of Brazilians. What is significant, however, and what is overlooked constantly by the city commentators who weep over the favelas, is that though the house-type is "rural", the conditions of life which the

/ favela dwellers

favela dwellers by their illegal initiative secured for themselves, are rated higher by them in most respects than the conditions prevailing in the rural areas from which the greater number of them have come.

4. Migration, social integration and cultural assimilation  
in relation to family organization and structure

The following notes are based on data collected from 279 families covered by a survey done in the Favela of Esqueleto by the local parish church. It was based on intensive interviews with fathers, mothers and eleven-year-old children from twenty-one families; on general quantitative data assembled from a random sample of the whole favela population of the city (taken from publications of IPEME); and on observation.

(a) The nuclear family

The nuclear or conjugal family was the usual household unit. That is to say, most households (i.e., 185 out of 279) consisted of father, mother and the children of one or both, or adopted children, only. A further 25 families had lost the father (19 were dead and 6 had gone away) but had no other accretions. There were a further 23 households in which the nuclear family had lost either father or mother and included other immediate kin, and in almost every case their adhesion to the nuclear family could be explained by the need to substitute for the original father or mother, whose roles as earner and dona de casa, respectively, had been left vacant. Most of these substitutions were effected by married sons or daughters returning to or remaining in their families of origin, with their spouses. Finally there were 17 nuclear families with accretions, most of which could be accounted for by (i) the sheltering of brothers of either spouse who had just migrated from the country and (ii) the sheltering of widowed mothers of either spouse. The few remaining households could not be described technically as families.

It must be observed that this pattern corresponded to custom amongst the rural poor in the areas adjacent to the city from which most of the favelados came. The newly married couple is established independently in a roughly-built house at marriage. These houses are easily built, and

/frequently pass

frequently pass from hand to hand. This is also true of the favela houses. This pattern is in contrast with that which prevails in the household of the fazendeiro, where the nuclear family of the chief frequently lives together with other kin. It is also in contrast with practice observed amongst the middle-class, where joint families and three-generation families were frequent, a situation easily acceptable especially in families of Portuguese and Italian origin, though the younger married women appeared to be discontent with it; the situation was frequently explained in terms of the high level of rents.

The structure of the nuclear family was articulated by four modes of relationship between its members, with each one of which was associated a guiding series of norms. These norms were fully conceptualized and frequently verbalized, departure from them arousing strong moral feelings. The dominant ethic amongst these families was almost entirely deducible from these norms, or their extrapolation beyond the family.

The blood relationship is most important as between mothers and children, committing the mother unrestrained devotion to and care of the child, and committing the child to affection for the mother and to a willingness to look after her in case of need when he is grown up. In the relations between siblings, and fathers and children, the blood relationship is less compelling, though it contributes to the norms of proper behaviour. The situation of the foster child can be used as a test of the relative force of the blood relationship component.

The relationship of super- and sub-ordination is based upon the position of authority of the father-of-the-family, in the sense of role rather than biological relationship. According to the norm, the mother must submit fully to this, as well as the children, and a wife may refer approvingly to her husband as "husband and father to me". Authority carries with it an obligation to teach, guide and protect, the respective members of the family over whom it is exercised, who in their turn must be obedient. Subject to the father, the mother exercises most of the day-to-day authority with the younger children.

/The principle

The principle of authority is also supposed to operate amongst the siblings strictly according to age until about 18 years of age, when the male begins to acquire authority over the female sibling, regardless of age.

Built upon the authority principle, but distinguished from it, there was the relationship of mutual aid within the family, based largely on a practical view of the division of labour and the problems of economic subsistence. Each member of the family was expected to contribute to the common good or "familywealth" according to his competence. Father and mother had their respective responsibilities and were not expected to interfere with one another in carrying them out. The principle became more important as the children grew older and the age-attribution of authority weakened. Thus we shall see that this principle was of relatively greater importance in guiding relation within the wider kin group.

Between husband and wife the blood relationship is excluded and its place is taken by the connubial relationship, in combination with the remaining two. It can be viewed as a continuum between a positive pole of intense mutual affection coupled with exclusively satisfying sexual experience, through varying degrees of affectional fondness, tolerance and indifference to the point where the relationship is broken by separation and one or both the partners seek new mates. It is a critical relationship because of the arbitrary modern manner in which sexual attraction operates to select the marriage partners of the young. This arouses certain expectations which the almost extinct tradition of selection by the parents according to local cultural and socio-economic convenience did not arouse. Moreover, this relationship is critical since a move towards the negative pole is a threat to the total structure of the family. Nevertheless we were frequently reminded that wives were inclined to accept the establishment by their husbands of a new collateral connubial relationship outside the family when their own had become negative, rather than initiate conflict which would end in their husbands leaving the home. In many cases they had come to the city as domestic servants, having been obliged to leave

/their homes

their homes and go to work early. In other cases they had been left on their own by the decease or abandonment of their husbands or fathers, and had come to the city to stay with a relation. In most cases they had only established common-law relations with their present "husbands", who were frequently men who had also left their families of origin to find work and a new life in the city. The absence of the family of origin made the contracting of legal marriage unlikely.

(b) The kin group

The nuclear family of the favelado is an independent socio-economic unit, but its security is assured and the cultural expectations of its members only fulfilled when the potential network of mutual obligations, freely given services, and affections which link it to kin can be realized in practice. Thus when we speak of kin-group, we do not refer to generalized kin up to a certain degree of removal but to the specific group of kin with which the nuclear family interacts frequently, regularly and intimately. Membership of this kin-group is partly decided by the fact that at marriage the individual moves out of his family of origin but maintains the links with its members in a modified form. But these links are not likely to be strong if his or her marriage partner does not also wish to accept his or her "in-law" family on terms of intimacy or if he or she is unacceptable to them. In the case of all the favelados of rural origin which we investigated closely, marriage was preceded by the close and intimate friendship of the two families of the partners, who were thus easily absorbed into the partner's family after the usual periods of namoro and noivado. The country families in the smaller sample were all based on legal marriage and had every appearance of stability.

Kin-groups are brought into existence by marriage and relationships within them are celebrated and reinforced by the appointment of their members as godparents as the children arrive. Sometimes non-kin are given virtual status as kin-group members by being made godparents.

5. Activation of nuclear family and kin-group  
in migration to the city

Of the in-migrants families which were closely observed, there appeared to be two clusters, if considered from the point of view of family formation: (a) those formed before migration and (b) those in which one and usually both of the partners had already broken away from their family of origin before they migrated and who formed their alliances with persons usually in similar circumstances. The first cluster was characterized by legal marriage, relative stability, planned migration of the family assisted by kin-group in place of origin and already in the city, and continuing close interaction with kin-group. In the other cluster we noted that the wife was not living with its family of origin when she started to live in the city.

Since kin-groups are not independent units but interlocking units, they formed a species of chain, and the majority of in-migrants, whether they came to the city with their families or not, nevertheless came as a link in such a chain, being both preceded and followed by kin in persistent movement citywards.

The most important types of assistance given by members of the kin-group to the in-migrant family under the abnormal circumstances of their move to the city were (a) in a few cases, some financial assistance for the move and the initial period of transition, (b) temporary lodging and help in building or acquiring a favela house, (c) making the necessary contacts to find employment for the main earner of the family.

6. The role of the kin-group in favela life

Most of the rural families studied intensively were able to count on several kin-group families living either within the favela or somewhere else in the city. With these families, and these alone, there is constant visiting. It was frequently asserted or implied that the kin-group thus constituted offered the only truly approved area for sociability and the nurturing of close friendship. The men tended to belittle or deny their

/social activities

social activities with their workmates and in the bars, and the women insisted that they avoided intimacies with neighbours, making a point of not going into their houses and forbidding their children to do so.

The exceptions to this rule were in cases of neighbours' sickness, and also the homes of those women who administered remedies of a medical or spiritual nature. A few of the men had had brief experience of the syndicates, but none of them expressed any belief in their usefulness. Anxiety and disapproval were expressed in regard to associating freely with others and to ajuntamentos (gatherings), an exception to this attitude being found in the Protestants whose little congregations were free associations whose members entered into a pseudo-kin relationship (brothers-in-Christ, etc.) and who were prepared to take something at least of the responsibility for one another that they would take for genuine kin. But the attitude which prevailed was certainly that of descompromisso or the avoidance of extra-familial obligations and entanglements. One of the corollaries of this pattern of avoidances was the general ineffectiveness of "public opinion" and the relative unimportance of approval and disapproval communicated from outside the kingroup.

A further corollary was the absence of any local neighbourhood sentiment, and the only neighbourhood joint action observed was the improvement of a road leading to the house of a local "boss", and done under pressure from him, which he was able to exert through certain powers which he had accumulated.

Thus the kin-group emerged as the dominant and almost exclusive sanction group for the behaviour of its members. Within it achievements, failures, good and ill fortune were commented according to the common attitudes of the group, subject to individual variations. Advice was given, help proffered and short-term plans made. The new experiences and perceptions of its members, face to face with the ways of the city, were evaluated within it. In addition to these functions it was the first line of defense of the family, and could be relied upon in case of sickness, unemployment, dispossession, accidents, etc.



7. From rural dependence to urban independence

The rural families, whether labourers, contract-working men or share-croppers, had all lived in and been accustomed to a situation of dependence on a patrão or landowner, whose land they had cultivated and to whom they had looked for a day's work for wages, a house or the right to build a house, land to cultivate on shares or on some other contractual basis, help in cases of sickness or destitution, loans to finance planting - often leading to debt-dependence -, protection and political leadership in a non-ideological sense.

It is not suggested that the countryman was servile in behaviour or in attitude, but that he was obliged to accept a situation in which he was an inferior partner to a contract, and that all the weight of advantage was on the side of the patrão. Should the latter press him too far, then his only recourse was to go elsewhere, but so long as he stayed in rural pursuits, what scanty benefits he might achieve would come to him through some patrão or other.

The ideas formed in the country about the nature of social relations and the "inevitability of the boss" persisted in the town, but the modes of dependence are different.

The in-migrant in the town discovered that the government, though not his employer, was his protector, guaranteeing him a minimum wage if he worked, sick benefits, pensions and at least the possibility of hospital bed in the case of sickness, and a variety of legal rights which were his though difficult to understand and secure. He attributed this protective action of the government in favour of the town worker to Getulio Vargas and his collaborators.

As an employee he looks for more than the simple wage-nexus, hoping to find a bom patrão for whom he will work loyally if he can expect what he regards as his right, the occasional loan, help with medicines and intervention on his behalf in his encounters with the bureaucracy, etc.

Accustoming himself to the large enterprise, in which there is no personal boss relationship, he often finds distressing. His wife, if she is a laundress, will also prize highly such a personal relationship with her /customers. He

customers. He realizes that in exceptional circumstances a patrão can take on the role of a pistolão who will use his influence to help him in his career, or those of his children, and there are few who believe that ability and industry are more effective than a pistolão in getting on in life.

Finally he looks to the saints to protect him and above all to San Jorge, especially devoted to the welfare of the poor. Such protection is sought by prayers, the making of promessas, and keeping the light burning in front of the saint's image. In special circumstances he will go to the cult-house of the Umbanda or to the Spiritists to enter personally into communication with a strong saint through a medium, hoping that the saint or spirit will be able to manipulate on his behalf the social and natural processes which he neither can understand nor control nor predict.

The cultural assimilation of the country in-migrants can be considered best by recourse to the concept of populism. In its Brazilian setting, populism is a dominant characteristic of contemporary urban culture. Considered from the point of view of the classes with property and influence, it is an attempt to maintain traditional privilege and authority in face of the institutions of constitutional democracy; in face of the breakdown of the system of direct dependency which the archaic rural pattern of socio-economic relations maintained, and its replacement by the powerless independence of the urban worker who is linked to the power-centre solely by the cash wage nexus; and in face of the breaking of the social isolation of the rural populace by the rapid development of mass-communications and growing literacy.

The ranks of the populist leaders consist largely of new social elements not traditionally associated with large proprietorship, and to a lesser degree of children of family ensconced in the traditional system, but who could not count upon it for a substantial situation. Viewed from this side populism is concerned with political power at the level of the município, the state and the Union, which is exercised directly and indirectly through the body of funcionalismo. It is supported by structures based on clientage in which benefits are handed down in return for votes and personal loyalties

/in manoeuvres.

in manoeuvres. Most of these structures are informal and non-institutionalized and do not coincide with the formal structures of administration.

Whilst the intermediary ranks receive benefits through the allocation of posts in the system of funcionalismo, jobs, contracts, grants in aid of charitable, cultural and sports enterprises, etc., the masses receive them through defensive labour legislation and access to the services of medical assistance posts, sports clubs, religious and cult groups, etc., subsidized through the intervention of populist leaders at various levels, whose names are given due prominence. Populism does not favour the organization of common interest groups or cooperative groups, and power is usually delegated downwards rather than upwards. Representatives are appointed, but they are seldom elected from below. In its appeal to the masses populism uses symbols stressing the protective role of the great charismatic leaders, and the small scale operators use to the full the confidence of the populace in the great leaders; and even if confidence in the small scale operator was lost, that in the great leader is apparently durable.

Coming from a tradition of rural dependence which we referred to above, the city masses still fit easily into this structure. The ordinary propertyless man feels that he is in no position to improve his lot significantly since he does not know either how to obtain his legal rights or how to operate successfully even in the lower echelons of the power and influence structures. He remains powerless without the intervention of a patrão, a pistolão, the favour of a local boss or pelego, or the special action of a saint or manipulator of saints.

Urban mass culture illustrates this situation in an interesting manner. Probably the three most important pastime of the city populace are: football, jogo do bicho and listening to the radio, and nearly all the families bought newspapers from time to time, and most of them regularly. Through these media the in-migrants soon come to share in the urban culture both actively and as observers. The newspapers most commonly read, "O Dia" and "A Luta" were devoted largely to sport and crime. Each day the reader is likely to see on the front page photographs of the mutilated bodies of suicides and

/victims of

victims of assassinations and accidents. The sensational aspect of the reportage is usually tempered by a note of indignation against the sufferings of the poor, the weak and the innocent, either at the hands of the wicked or through the negligence and heartlessness of the authorities. Leading articles constantly denounce injustices suffered by the poor. The Sunday edition devotes a large section to macumba, Umbanda and other forms of Spiritism, and smaller sections to the Protestant and Catholic churches.

It does not take the in-migrant male long to become a torcedor of one of the great city football teams. He spouses its cause enthusiastically and learns from seeing the matches, listening to radio commentaries and scanning the newspaper, about the great players, their tactics, their strengths and weaknesses. He soon becomes able to take his part in men's group discussions and arguments which centre around football. He comes to share the atmosphere of tremendous excitement on Saturday and Sunday afternoons when the football matches and broadcasts are in progress. But it is not only the excitement and the catharsis which follows it that makes football play such an important part in his world. What is characteristic of the football dramas is that the player succeeds on his merits as a footballer only, and neither birth nor influence nor colour nor education favour him in any way. Thus the football system of relations is equalitarian, with rewards going according to achievement; it is an alternative and compensatory world in sharpest contrast with the everyday world in which the poor, the black, the illiterate, the man without "connections" is disqualified almost before he starts to play.

Another such equalitarian play world, but one in which even women and children have an equal chance, is that of the universal animal gambling game, the jogo do bicho. It is of minor importance from our point of view that many delinquents are associated with it, that it is a highly lucrative form of exploitation, and that large sums have to be paid out for protection to the representatives of the law charged with the suppression of this illegal but universal game of chance. What is important is that each player

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knows that all the limiting conditions of his social life have no influence whatsoever upon his chance of winning. Moreover, it is no exaggeration to say that the bicheiro or collector of bets is usually a man who, whatever his moral character, shares the fullest confidence of his unprivileged client in a way that no other role-holder in the society does.

The importance of radio is related to the exceptional predominance of the family and kin-group as the sanction group for the actions and opinions of its members, and therefore as the main arbiter of values, in comparison with other potential arbiters, such as associations, clubs, religious congregations and organizations, class or colour conscious groupings, etc. A radio program is a common experience for some or all members of the family and its contents are therefore immediately subject to the evaluation of the family as a unit. The most widely listened-to programs were (a) popular serials and (b) variety programs with music, singers and humorists. Of the serials by far the most popular depicted a popular Robin Hood of the sertão called Jerônimo, himself belonging to a family of landed property, but devoted to the interests of the poor and unprivileged share-cropper, squatter and petty-proprietor, who is depicted as living in the interior at the mercy of the great landlords, beyond the effective protection of the law, or else subject to the injustices perpetrated by municipal law officers who are depicted as furthering the predatory interests of the harsh proprietor. The oppressed rural people are shown as quite unable to arrange effective resistance or to take any sort of initiative on their own, but in each episode they are saved by the almost miraculous intervention of the justice-loving Jerônimo.

As regards the other programs which are most popular, they are characterized by (i) the use of music of the popular regional traditions, and of the sambas and other types of songs which have been developed by the urban populace, and (ii) the devotion to "star" singers, the best known of whom, like the great footballers, have reached fame from humble origins.

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Though the cinema is increasingly popular with the town masses in general, the adult in-migrants are not conspicuously interested. Since the great majority of the films are North American, their cultural content is alien and they are difficult to follow because they are spoken in English with written sub-titles in Portuguese flashed briefly on the screen. But the in-migrants children have already learnt the clichés and stereotypes of the North American cinema from the ubiquitous comic books and are nearly all potential cinema fans.

Thus, owing to his background and the socio-economic situation which he confronts in the city, the in-migrant is easily assimilated into those aspects of city culture which partake of what we described as populism. Above all, his pastimes and his religious practices reflect his concern with his powerlessness greatly to improve or even secure his lot by his own and his family's endeavours and his habitual hope for the intervention and protection of a good patrão, a political leader or a strong saint. At the same time, though he as yet has not come to see city society as an open one where achievement and talent rather than privilege and position bring advancement, yet he finds great satisfaction in "play-systems" in which the individual's skills and strength bring success and where good luck may fall to any, regardless of his condition.