

DEFINING "URBAN" AND "RURAL" IN BRAZIL

URBANIZAÇÃO EM REGIÃO SUB-DESENVOLVIDA: O CASO DE ELDORADO PAULISTA. By EVA ALTERMAN BLAY. (São Paulo: Centro de Estudos Urbanos e Rurais, Universidade de São Paulo, 1975. Pp. 146.)

PÓRTO ALEGRE: HISTÓRIA E VIDA DA CIDADE. By FRANCISCO RIOPARDENSE DE MACEDO. (Pôrto Alegre: Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 1973. Pp. 241.)

METABOLISMO SOCIAL DA CIDADE E OUTROS ENSAIOS. By RUBEN GEORGE OLIVEN. (Pôrto Alegre: Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 1974. Pp. 78.)

Latin American elites have always regarded the city as a symbol of prestige, authority, and wealth—despite the fact that prior to this century most of the area's population and productive resources were located in the countryside.¹ Nowhere was this contradiction more apparent than in Brazil, whose planter-rancher elites enjoyed virtually undisputed social and political dominance until a few decades ago. As early as the 1820s, however, those same planters were enrolling their sons at the São Paulo and Recife law schools, cultural oases where students immersed themselves in French literature, German philosophy, Brazilian politics, and riotous living. Some of the graduates took up professional careers as imperial magistrates; but even those who opted for the life of a back-country slaveowner retained a fondness for town mansions, opera houses, and parliamentary chambers. In this sense, Brazil's ruling class became culturally urbanized long before the economic base and the labor force began their historic shift toward the cities.²

Today the Brazilian government's census bureau defines more than half the population as urban, albeit by an elastic criterion that includes some town centers of less than two thousand inhabitants. To most intellectuals, the city is synonymous with modern Brazil; conversely, rural society represents the past—what Euclides da Cunha nostalgically termed "the bedrock of our race." The romantic backlash that stung Euclides was felt even more acutely by a later generation of regional novelists (José Lins do Rego, Jorge Amado, Érico Veríssimo) and social historians (Oliveira Vianna, Gilberto Freyre), who extolled the patriarchalism of the sugar plantations, the epic struggles among land barons on the cacao frontier, or the clan solidarity and warlike spirit of *gaúcho* cattle ranchers.³ As if to retrieve yet another part of this heritage, Brazil's social scientists after World War II looked beyond the cane and coffee fields toward the receding realm of the peasantry. Anthropologist Emílio Willems led the way by studying the independent *caipira* peasants of São Paulo state, who had been largely forgotten during the coffee-plantation boom of the preceding hundred years. Willems' book (1947) and follow-up research by his students attracted considerable notice among educated *paulistas*.⁴ Meanwhile North American so-

ciologist T. Lynn Smith produced the first edition of his now-classic *Brazil: People and Institutions* (1946), a comprehensive tome covering demographic trends, settlement patterns, agriculture, and social institutions, which devoted far more of its text to rural Brazil than to the nation's growing cities.⁵

These publications inaugurated a ten-year period of "community studies" in Brazil, including those by Donald Pierson, Charles Wagley, Marvin Harris, and Harry W. Hutchinson.⁶ Influenced by Robert Redfield's earlier anthropological work in Mexico, the foreign scholars deviated from Willems' approach by showing how rural society interacted with towns and cities. Harris, for example, described his small town in the backlands of Bahia as a stratified society whose members held urban values and practiced bureaucratic, commercial, or artisan occupations. Economically the town depended on sharecroppers in the adjacent rural area, but disdained them as social inferiors. The results of this study suggested that by the mid-twentieth century urban culture and behavior had spread to low-ranking centers throughout the interior of Brazil.⁷

Rural research by Brazilians picked up again during the early 1960s. Recent years have seen a proliferation of literature on messianic movements, social banditry, and *coronelismo*—mostly dealing with the Northeast⁸—and renewed investigations of peasant society, especially in São Paulo. Sociologist Antonio Candido, in his book on the sharecroppers of Rio Bonito, constructed a precise economic definition of the paulista peasantry and a social definition of the rural neighborhood (*bairro rural*), a dispersed settlement comprising a few score families of subsistence cultivators. Updating Willems' picture of isolated peasant enclaves, Candido decried the disorganizing impact of urban influences on caipira culture.⁹ Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz introduced a comparative dimension with her study of nine rural neighborhoods, in which she showed the diversity of caipira responses to economic change. Among her conclusions was the discovery that some peasant neighborhoods of smallholders and sharecroppers have successfully converted from subsistence agriculture to the production of cotton or cattle for urban markets, while at the same time maintaining their traditional religious festivals, mutual aid, and egalitarian social relations. Other neighborhoods have suffered from disorganization and emigration owing to the adoption of wage labor or the encroachment of paved highways. Whether they have succeeded or failed in meeting the modern urban challenge, however, all peasant communities have a history of economic integration with a larger region, selling food surpluses and forest products to towns or coffee plantations.¹⁰

With the encouragement of Pereira de Queiroz, research on similar topics has continued at the Centro de Estudos Rurais e Urbanos of the Universidade de São Paulo. One result of these efforts—and one of the books being reviewed here—is the case study entitled *Urbanização em região sub-desenvolvida*, by Eva Alterman Blay. The author supervised a team of nine students who conducted field research in the extreme southeast corner of São Paulo state, during July 1969. Like the areas studied by Candido and Pereira de Queiroz, the municipality of Eldorado Paulista was economically backward and dependent on subsistence agriculture; but unlike the previous work, this study focused on the small town that served as the municipal seat. A sample survey of sixty-four households in

the town, life histories of household heads, interviews with local leaders, and statistics from national censuses provided a data base on population, migration, economic activities, schooling, politics, and use of the mass media. The researchers were trying to determine whether or not Eldorado Paulista, which had an "urban" population of approximately twenty-four hundred out of eleven thousand in the *município*, really qualified as an urban center according to sociological criteria.

What they found was an economically sluggish town, located on a dirt road 28 kilometers from the main São Paulo-Curitiba highway. The town's few appurtenances—a plaza surrounded by a parish church, some well-built houses, half-deserted streets leading to humbler dwellings on the outskirts, plus two bank agencies and an assortment of family-owned bars, general stores, barber shops, and other retail establishments—announced its principal function as a service center for the rural area nearby. Thanks to state support, primary and junior-high education were offered; a normal school operated precariously with municipal funds. Among town residents in the survey, commercial and service occupations accounted for 79 percent of those gainfully employed, leaving only 17 percent employed in agriculture and 4 percent in small-scale industry—banana processing or brick-and-tile manufacture (p. 64, table 17). Many local youths, finding employment opportunities limited to domestic service or odd jobs, permanently left home for the big city. Those who departed were replaced by newly arrived rural migrants, who gradually augmented the town's population in spite of the exodus. Subsistence farmers were being forced off the land by expansion of large landholdings, some of which grew cash crops for export or beef cattle for sale within the region. On other, less dynamic *fazendas*, underutilization of land placed constraints on rural economic growth and labor absorption.

Social modernization had made some inroads by the late 1960s. The town had a truncated class structure: on top, a petty bourgeoisie of public officials, school teachers, and shopkeepers (39 percent of employed persons in the sample); beneath, the lower class of artisans and manual laborers (48 percent); and in between, a small group (13 percent) of "nonmanual" workers—vendors, truck drivers, soldiers (p. 81). The middle class, despite having only a slight income advantage over the other groups, scored significantly higher in education, newspaper reading, and radio listening, and generally held "modern" values and goals. Modernity, however, had definite limits in Eldorado Paulista. The biggest landowner, who hired wage workers to grow bananas for export, also dominated local politics in the manner of an Old Republic *coronel* (boss). Although traditional saints' festivals had declined and Protestantism and spiritism had spread among the townspeople, no sweeping secularization had occurred. Associational life still centered on religious groups. National news was followed with interest among persons who read or listened to the radio, but only a minority ever attended the cinema and television was virtually unknown.

The author's conclusion that the town of Eldorado Paulista does indeed qualify as urban—in atmosphere as well as function—seems acceptable and agrees with findings from other studies. She further characterizes the town as

an "administrative city" (*cidade administrativa*), typical of the lowest-threshold service centers in Brazil's urban hierarchy (pp. 123–26, 134–37). An objection may be raised here, about the alleged representativeness of this particular town. The author deliberately chose a municipality in the Ribeira Valley, one of São Paulo's pockets of rural underdevelopment, apparently because Pereira de Queiroz had previously conducted research in the same region. Unlike many parts of the Brazilian Southeast, this area never produced coffee and thus remained outside the mainstream of nineteenth-century economic growth. Towns that had been more closely linked to coffee, such as those of the Paraíba Valley, did suffer a decline when the soil lost its fertility and the agrarian frontier moved on; but at least they possessed a dynamic tradition, which contributed to the region's industrial resurgence in the twentieth century. Even Willems' municipality of Cunha had changed dramatically by the time Robert W. Shirley restudied it in the 1960s. Benefiting from the growth of nearby Guaratinguetá, Cunha had developed a diversified, market-oriented agriculture with emphasis on medium-sized dairy farms, and the town had acquired many new businesses and services. Politics were evolving away from *coronelismo* toward populist-style electioneering and rational administration of justice.¹¹ Clearly, Cunha was doing much better than Eldorado Paulista.

Another variant of rural society, the coffee município in northern Paraná researched by Maxine L. Margolis, underwent a boom-and-bust transformation even swifter than that which Stanley Stein's Vassouras experienced a century ago. In the brief period 1951–71, Margolis's frontier farmers swung through the coffee cycle, struggled against soil exhaustion along with the vagaries of frost, plant disease, world prices, and government policy, briefly sought salvation in a frenzy of cotton growing, then shifted to cattle raising when small operators sold out to absentee *fazendeiros* and moved west to new coffee lands in Paraguay. The out-migrants took with them their demand for the town's goods and services, leaving the once ebullient urban economy as slack as a punctured balloon.¹²

In light of these comparisons, Eldorado Paulista appears to fit near the underdeveloped extreme of the small-town spectrum in southern Brazil. The selection of this município, which limits the generalizability of the findings, reflects Brazilian scholars' continuing quest for rural roots. The book does present systematically gathered data, however, to test hypotheses derived from sociological theory; hence it is a useful addition to the literature. The fact that the students were able to spend only a few weeks in the field certainly accounts for the lack of detailed information on agriculture, living standards, or politics. Inevitably, foreign anthropologists, trained by Wagley and funded for many months of on-site resident research, have drawn more complete and nuanced portraits of their communities. These writers have also adopted a rather different viewpoint. Shirley and Margolis in São Paulo as well as Shepard Forman in the Northeast have observed the increasing integration of rural dwellers with national and international systems, and have noted the vulnerability of peasant and townsman alike to metropolitan forces beyond their control.¹³ In the case of Eldorado Paulista, after reading Blay's impressions of a stagnant, isolated back-

water, one is startled to learn that the town has direct daily bus service to a city of eight million people!

At a time when giant urban centers are extending their reach, via motorized transport and electronic media, to touch the remotest corners of their hinterlands, the city looms large in the Brazilian consciousness. The remaining two books under review, by Francisco Riopardense de Macedo and Ruben George Oliven, nevertheless provide evidence that Brazilian intellectuals have yet to evolve a convincing interpretation of their urban history and culture. As an architect and city planner, Riopardense de Macedo brings professional expertise to his writing; but the result can scarcely be called urban history. Save the last chapter, which contains a developmental sketch of Pôrto Alegre's geography and social ecology, the book treats episodes rather than historical process.

The author's predilections—and omissions—are worth examining, for they speak eloquently about his concept of the city. Almost a third of the text is devoted to the eighteenth-century settlement by Azorian immigrants, including the styles of domestic architecture they brought with them (a section researched in the islands and illustrated with typical house plans), the negligence of ship captains that compounded the perils of the trans-Atlantic passage, and the establishment of the nucleus at Pôrto Alegre in 1752. The town's founder, an army officer who moved the capital of the province to Pôrto Alegre in 1772, is the subject of a biographical chapter documented from the Lisbon archives. All this concern for the early settlers stands in stark contrast to the author's insouciance toward the nineteenth-century German and Italian immigrants—he begrudges them a single paragraph (p. 210)—whose diversified farming and craft manufactures laid the basis for Pôrto Alegre's industrialization.¹⁴ Like other coastal cities, Pôrto Alegre had been cast in the Lusitanian mold, as an outpost of commercial and territorial imperialism. As if to underscore the persistence of that legacy, Riopardense de Macedo recounts the siege of Pôrto Alegre during the Farroupilha rebellion in the late 1830s, when the city served as a base for imperial troops and became an objective hotly contested by the opposing forces.

Of the city's trade, industry, and population growth¹⁵ we learn almost nothing, yet more than a hundred pages are consumed in an exhaustive chronicle of parks, plazas, and monuments. Here the author dotes on another element of the Iberian tradition—the city as symbolic artifact, designed to advertise the beliefs and aspirations of the ruling class. He goes as far as to list the names of local notables honored by statues and plaques in the downtown area—monuments that deserve more careful maintenance, he claims—thereby inadvertently reminding us that the elite has always thought of the city center as its own preserve (pp. 127–29). Another chapter describes in detail a city plan commissioned in 1914 and drawn up by a local architect, which envisioned widening and extending streets to form an embryonic spoke-and-wheel traffic pattern. Although the emphasis on streets and circulation owed a debt to the earlier remodeling of Rio de Janeiro, in the background one can perceive certain guidelines of sixteenth-century Iberian city planning, attenuated but not absent in Brazil.¹⁶ Riopardense de Macedo's fascination with the plan for Pôrto Alegre—most of which was never carried out, complying with a more recent tradition¹⁷

—accords with his concept of the urban planner as “the architect of the community,” whose job is to distribute physical facilities across the cityscape to coincide with population densities and movements (p. 230). In the same breath he dismisses sociology as being of no use to the planner—a disreputable argument¹⁸ that one suspects is related more to political than to professional considerations.

Whereas architect Riopardense de Macedo preoccupies himself with the physical structure of the city, sociologist Oliven—in the lead essay of his book—comes to grips with the social psychology of urbanites. All he does, unfortunately, is to rehash standard North American theories—from Louis Wirth, Robert Merton, David Riesman—without saying a word about their appropriateness to the Latin American context. We are told that the city attracts rural migrants with its promise of freedom and opportunity, that the new arrivals are cut loose from their cultural moorings and suffer through an anomie transition before adapting to urban life, that the nuclear family replaces the extended family as the primary reference group, that urban society is permissive with regard to deviance but indifferent to personal misfortune, et cetera. Such clichés yield no hint of the decades-long debate over Redfield’s folk-urban continuum, Oscar Lewis’ “urbanization without breakdown” and his later “culture of poverty,” or the anthropologists’ recent attack on the marginality concept;¹⁹ nor, at the elite level, does Oliven acknowledge the implications of Fernando Henrique Cardoso’s findings on conservative attitudes among São Paulo’s industrial entrepreneurs or Anthony Leeds’ description of the in-group strategies used for career advancement—and out-group exclusion—in Brazil.²⁰

One example from Oliven’s essay—his emphasis on anomie—reveals the author’s uncritical acceptance of European and Anglo-American models. Other scholars have met with strong criticism for their attempts to apply the theory of anomie to nonindustrial or developing societies.²¹ Recalling Durkheim’s argument that anomie—the “painful unrest” caused by the escalation of material wants and the amoral pursuit of wealth—afflicts the rich more than the poor,²² one can deduce that urban elites in Latin America are protected from that malaise by their attachment to noneconomic status indicators (family, education, profession) and by their kin groups and cue-transmitting networks, which serve as orienting constellations in the social universe. The Latin American poor, on the other hand, may experience Merton’s type of anomie, which arises from a gap between “cultural goals” and “institutionalized means” for achieving them.²³ Squatter-settlement research since the mid-1960s casts doubts on this hypothesis, however: in general, newly urbanized migrants make a realistic assessment of the obstacles they face, strive toward modest objectives of self-improvement, and practice mutual aid to compensate for lack of access to urban institutions.²⁴ Symptoms of anomie do appear among the insecure middle classes, whose members—many of them hobbled by a poverty-line income—struggle for a foothold higher up the ladder.²⁵ Though their numbers are increasing rapidly, such people are still a minority in urban Latin America.

Taken together, the three books reviewed here make only a small contribution to our knowledge of Brazilian urbanism. The Blay monograph is the

only one of the three that will appeal to a wider audience of urban specialists, since it brings survey research to bear on theoretical questions about small towns. Riopardense de Macedo's book, despite occasional flashes of insight, belongs to the genre of urban antiquarianism, so well developed in Brazil. As such, it will have some value to historians dealing with Rio Grande do Sul. Oliven's essays are little more than undergraduate lectures in social theory, unseasoned by any Third World ingredients.

The worthiest of these books is symptomatic of the centralizing tendency in Brazilian social science. Urban studies of high quality, like so many other products, seem to come almost exclusively from the city of São Paulo or its hinterland. For more than twenty years paulista sociologists have been rewriting the standard wisdom on such disparate topics as race relations, the nature of social classes, social mobility, political socialization, and cultural adaptation in the city.²⁶ Historians—sometimes branded as the troglodytes of the social-science tribe—have made the breakthrough from description to explanation, in trying to account for São Paulo's spectacular development.²⁷ Perhaps the "São Paulo school of sociology" will have the galvanizing effect on urban research in Brazil that the "Chicago school" had on North American urbanologists fifty years ago. If so, the Brazilian image of the city will be sharply focused on the paulista plateau, with the capitals of Brazil's other regions reduced to an indistinct blur on the periphery. But since São Paulo, despite its growth, has not achieved the suffocating primacy of a Buenos Aires, it would be inappropriate for the *bandeirante* metropolis to become—like post-1945 Buenos Aires²⁸—the nation's principal laboratory for urban research. Better to follow the lead of Paul Singer, whose comparative economic history of five Brazilian cities²⁹ supports hypotheses at a higher level of generalization. Regardless of whether the research is urban or rural, only theories built from a stratified sample of cases will survive repeated testing under a variety of regional conditions.

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NOTES

1. For the cultural roots of this attitude, see Richard M. Morse, "A Prolegomenon to Latin American Urban History," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 52 (Aug. 1972): 359–94. Stuart B. Schwartz has published a comparative article based on the urban-orientation thesis, "Cities of Empire: Mexico and Bahia in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 11 (Oct. 1969):616–37. Not all historians agree with this thesis as applied to rural elites: e.g., Rolando Mella, *The Latifundio and the City in Latin American History* (Toronto, 1971).
2. The classic statement on the urbanization of the planter elite is Gilberto Freyre's *The Mansions and the Shanties: The Making of Modern Brazil*, ed. and trans. Harriet de Onís (New York: Knopf, 1963).
3. Euclides da Cunha, *Rebellion in the Backlands (Os Sertões)*, trans. Samuel Putnam (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), p. 481, note 5. A sampling of the novels, first published in the 1930s, and 1940s: José Lins do Rego, *Plantation Boy*, trans. Emmi Baum (New York: Knopf, 1966); Jorge Amado, *The Violent Land*, trans. Samuel Putnam (New York: Knopf, 1965); Érico Veríssimo, *Time and the Wind*, trans. L. L. Barrett (New York: Macmillan, 1951). The two most important social histories: F.

- J. Oliveira Vianna, *Populações meridionais do Brasil: História—organização—sociologia*, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1952; vol. 1 first pub. 1933); Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves (Casa Grande e Senzala): A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, 2d ed. rev. (New York: Knopf, 1956; first publ. 1933).
4. Emílio Willems, *Uma vila brasileira: Tradição e transição* (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1961); first pub. as *Cunha: Tradição e transição em uma cultura rural do Brasil* (São Paulo: Secretaria da Agricultura do Estado, 1947). For a critique of this work and for research and publications by Willems' students, see Robert W. Shirley, *The End of a Tradition: Culture Change and Development in the Município of Cunha, São Paulo, Brazil* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1971), appendix A.
 5. T. Lynn Smith, *Brazil: People and Institutions* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946; 4th ed. rev., 1972).
 6. Donald Pierson (with the assistance of Levy Cruz and others), *Cruz das Almas, a Brazilian Village*, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 12 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1948); Charles Wagley, *Amazon Town: A Study of Man in the Tropics* (New York: Knopf, 1964; first pub. 1953); Marvin Harris, *Town and Country in Brazil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956); Harry W. Hutchinson, *Village and Plantation Life in Northeastern Brazil* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1957).
 7. Harris, *Town and Country*, pp. 274–89.
 8. Shepard Forman gives a recent overview of messianism and social banditry in his book *The Brazilian Peasantry* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1975), chap. 6. On coronelismo, see Eul-Soo Pang, "Coronelismo in Northeast Brazil," in *The Caciques: Oligarchical Politics and the System of Caciquismo in the Luso-Hispanic World* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973), pp. 65–88 (notes on pp. 171–78); and Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz, *O mandonismo local na vida política brasileira e outros ensaios* (São Paulo: Alfa-Omega, 1976).
 9. Antonio Candido, *Os parceiros do Rio Bonito: Estudo sobre o caipira paulista e a transformação dos seus meios de vida*, Coleção Documentos Brasileiros (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1964).
 10. Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz, *Bairros rurais paulistas: Dinâmica das relações bairro rural-cidade* (São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1973), esp. pp. 121–47.
 11. Shirley, *The End of a Tradition*.
 12. Maxine L. Margolis, *The Moving Frontier: Social and Economic Change in a Southern Brazilian Community* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1973); Stanley J. Stein, *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850–1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957).
 13. Shepard Forman, *The Raft Fishermen: Tradition and Change in the Brazilian Peasant Economy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970). For a more general statement of this thesis, see Forman, *The Brazilian Peasantry*.
 14. On the German and Italian immigrants' contribution to development, see Manuel Diégues Júnior, *Imigração, urbanização, industrialização* (Rio de Janeiro: Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educativas, 1964).
 15. Traced in broad outline by Paul Singer, *Desenvolvimento econômico e evolução urbana (análise da evolução econômica de São Paulo, Blumenau, Pôrto Alegre, Belo Horizonte e Recife)* (São Paulo: Nacional, 1968), chap. 4.
 16. For a description of the urban renewal carried out in Rio under the direction of Francisco Pereira Passos in 1903–5, see Norma Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals: Architecture and Urbanism in Rio de Janeiro and Brasília* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 37–40. Richard M. Morse summarizes the principal traits of early Brazilian town planning in "Brazil's Urban Development: Colony and Empire," *Journal of Urban History* 1 (Nov. 1974): 39–42.
 17. E.g., the parade of plans drawn up for Rio de Janeiro by Alfred Agache, Le Corbusier, and Doxiadis, from the 1920s to the 1960s. Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals*, pp. 40–63.
 18. For a demonstration that this attitude does *not* descend from Iberian sources, see Richard M. Morse, "Recent Research on Latin American Urbanization: A Selective Survey with Commentary," *LARR* 1, no. 3 (Fall 1965): 59–63.

19. Redfield's theory and subsequent criticisms are summarized by Michael D. Olien, *Latin Americans: Contemporary Peoples and Their Cultural Traditions* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973), pp. 160–67. Oscar Lewis formally presented his theories in two keynote articles, "Urbanization without Breakdown," *The Scientific Monthly* 75, no. 1 (1952):31–41, and "The Culture of Poverty," *Scientific American* 215, no. 4 (1966):19–25; for a critique see Richard M. Morse, "Trends and Issues in Latin American Urban Research, 1965–1970 (Part II)," *LARR* 6, no. 2 (Summer 1971): 29–30. One of the most recent assaults on the theory of marginality, supported by impressive research, is Janice E. Perlman's *The Myth of Marginality: Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).
20. Fernando Henrique Cardoso, *Empresário industrial e desenvolvimento econômico no Brasil* (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1964); Anthony Leeds, "Brazilian Careers and Social Structure, a Case History and Model," in *Contemporary Cultures and Societies of Latin America*, ed. Dwight B. Heath and Richard N. Adams (New York: Random House, 1965), pp. 379–404.
21. Morse, "Trends and Issues," pp. 24–27.
22. Émile Durkheim, *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*, trans. John A. Spaulding and George Simpson, ed. George Simpson (New York: Free Press, 1966), pp. 246–54.
23. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, enlarged ed. (New York: Free Press, 1968), chaps. 6–7.
24. For recent evidence, see Perlman, *The Myth of Marginality*; Larissa Lomnitz, "Dinámica del desarrollo de la unidad doméstica en una barriada de la ciudad de México," in *Asentamientos urbanos y organización socioproductiva en la historia de América Latina*, comp. Jorge E. Hardoy and Richard P. Schaedel (Buenos Aires: Ediciones SIAP, 1977), pp. 349–62.
25. This description applies especially to the so-called "middle class without money" that Andrew H. Whiteford found in Querétaro, Mexico; see his *Two Cities of Latin America: A Comparative Description of Social Classes* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1964).
26. Among the most prominent of these sociologists are Florestan Fernandes, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, and Octávio Ianni. For a conspectus of research by these and other investigators, see Richard M. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil*, new and enlarged ed. (New York: Octagon Books, 1974), chap. 23.
27. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, pp. 333–42. Lucila Herrmann pioneered the socioeconomic explanation of paulista town development, in her "Evolução da estrutura social de Guaratinguetá num período de trezentos annos," *Revista de Administração* 2, no. 5–6 (1948):3–326.
28. Richard M. Morse has synthesized the literary image of Platine urbanism, in "The City-Idea in Argentina: A Study in Evanescence," *Journal of Urban History* 2 (May 1976): 307–30. Much of the social-science research on Buenos Aires has been sponsored by the Centro de Estudios Urbanos y Regionales, at the Instituto Torcuato Di Tella. See the interview by Paul Goodwin, Hugh M. Hamill, Jr., and Bruce M. Stave, "A Conversation with Richard M. Morse," *Journal of Urban History* 2 (May 1976): 350.
29. Singer, *Desenvolvimento economico*.