



### Field Guide to Brazil (1960)

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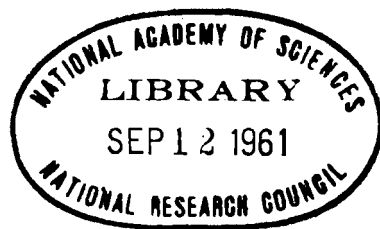
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Field Guide Series Number Five

Committee on International Anthropology  
of the  
Division of Anthropology and Psychology

L FIELD GUIDE TO BRAZIL

H. W. Hutchinson  
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## PREFACE

This guide to field research in Brazil is one of a series being issued under the auspices of the Committee on International Anthropology, which was established in 1957 by the Division of Anthropology and Psychology of the National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council. The project has been made possible by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The Committee is composed of the following: Charles Wagley, William R. Bascom, Ralph L. Beals, George M. Foster, Alexander H. Leighton, David G. Mandelbaum, and Bernard J. Siegal, with Mary Jean Kennedy as Executive Secretary.

The proposal that such field guides be prepared came from a conference of anthropologists held at Columbia University in December, 1956. The Committee has treated the project as an experimental one, recognizing that the audiences to be addressed are rather diverse, e. g., the research worker with a project and area in hand, graduate training seminars, the social scientist wanting to make professional contacts, and that the materials would have to be stated mostly in general terms. Specific information might become rapidly outdated, and discussion of some of the most crucial and delicate problems concerning relations of the anthropologist with governing authorities, the indigenous elite groups, and other interested parties in a given field situation might have to be glossed over. Five significant areas were chosen by the Committee for a first set of field guides: India and Pakistan, Japan, a zone of West Central Africa, Oceania and Brazil. It is hoped that, should they prove useful, similar guides may be prepared on other important areas, whether under the Committee's auspices or otherwise.

The purpose of these field guides is to provide information which the research worker, entering an area for the first time, should have in order to plan his trip, get clearances from governments, deal with interested scientific institutions and scholars, comport himself properly in relations with local leaders, and establish generally a favorable working status for himself prior to the point where he applies his professional techniques to the problem in hand. These matters of administration and diplomacy complicate scientific work in every area, but they are rarely referred to in the literature on "field work methods." They are particularly serious for the anthropologist, who must live and work in indigenous settings often in remote places. Yet, they also face the scientific visitor in any other discipline. An economist or entomologist

may find his work hampered by a non-cooperative official, or access to local helpers blocked as a result of antagonizing a religious leader. It is hoped, therefore, that, though the guides have been prepared by anthropologists, and for convenience are addressed to anthropologists, they will prove to be of use to research workers in other scientific fields.

The Committee chose in the case of each guide an anthropological specialist with recent field work experience in the area concerned to write a first draft, with the exception of India, for which two authors were chosen. The resulting manuscript was put into the hands of at least four carefully selected additional specialists, who undertook to offer their comments in writing. Members of the Committee also read the manuscript and discussed it in a formal meeting. For the India and Africa guides, special conferences were held, the first at Stanford University and the second at Northwestern University, bringing together key specialists including senior field workers for a critique of their respective contents. The authors of the initial drafts then reworked their manuscripts to take advantage of the resulting suggestions.

The Committee reviewed various publication possibilities, taking account of the fact that other specialists might want to have a say on their contents, including scholars in countries outside the United States, especially in the areas with which they deal. It has been decided to issue the guides separately, and to distribute each one initially to institutions and scholars known to have an interest in the region concerned. Comments are invited as a basis for revision of the guides, and in relation to the possible preparation of guides for other crucial areas such as the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Such comments should be sent to the Committee on International Anthropology in care of the Division of Anthropology and Psychology, National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D.C.

The Committee is warmly appreciative of the cooperation of Dr. Glen Finch of the Division of Anthropology and Psychology of the Academy—Research Council in advancing the field guide project.

Charles Wagley  
Committee on  
International Anthropology

Washington, D.C.  
August 15, 1961

## I. INTRODUCTION

For the social scientist and particularly for the anthropologist, Brazil consists of two separate worlds: the modern and the aboriginal. The problems involved in research are quite different for these two basic areas.

The contrasts to be found from area to area give Brazil a distinctive flavor and interest. Hand in hand with the contrasting ways of life are the phenomena of change—economic, social, and cultural—the dynamics of the social sciences.

Despite contrast and change, there is recognizable unity in Brazil, which makes it stand apart from the rest of South America. That unity is best expressed by the language, Portuguese. In contrast to the rest of South America, where Spanish is the official language, all Brazilians, with the exception of a handful of Indians, speak Portuguese. Brazil is the world's largest and most populous country that speaks a Romance language.

With a population of approximately sixty-seven million and growing at an annual rate of 2.5 per cent, Brazil is not only the largest South American nation, but is also among the top ten nations of the world in population. In area it is surpassed only by three other nations, the U.S.S.R., Canada, and the U.S. (with Alaska).

This giant went through the turmoils of colonialism and achieved independence over a hundred years ago. It is now politically seasoned and is making the great step from a predominantly agricultural country to an industrialized one. It is conscious of itself as a nation with a purpose and with the potential of taking its place among the leading nations of the world.

In contrast to the Highland South and Central American areas, the Indian problem is greatly reduced—insignificant when viewed in terms of national problems. Nevertheless, the Indian still represents a fruitful field of investigation for those interested in the study of native peoples, for Brazil is one of the world's few areas in which small, isolated tribal groups can still be found, although this condition is rapidly disappearing even in the most distant corners of Brazil.

A considerable amount of national legislation is designed to regulate the fortunes of the Indians. The official body which administers Indian affairs is the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (Indian Protection Service), which is part of the Conselho Nacional de Proteção aos Índios (National Council for the Protection of the Indians). This organization's headquarters are in Rio de Janeiro, and it has established Indian posts in strategic areas of the backlands where different groups can be most easily contacted.

Various missionary orders of the Catholic Church, mainly the Franciscans, Salesians, and Dominicans, are active in Indian affairs, with missionary colonies established throughout the backlands.

There is no good Indian census. There are only estimates of the present-day Indian population, the best of which places the number of Indians between 68,100 and 99,700. This population is distributed into various subcultural groupings ranging from tribal Indians to those indistinguishable physically and culturally from Brazilian peasants, but who take refuge in the legal fact of being Indian and thereby enjoy certain protections and privileges.

There is a body of documentary information available about Brazilian Indians, dating back to the period of contact and conquest. In the present century ethnographic field work has been carried out and recorded in Portuguese, English, French, and German. Today the acculturative aspects are probably the most interesting for study, as even the tribal groups have been modified to some extent by their contact or active avoidance of contact with western civilization.

Visitors continue to be welcomed for independent research, although more and more projects are being undertaken by Brazilian social scientists in collaboration with foreigners.

In the patterns of research in the past few years there can be distinguished four different categories of activities for the visiting social scientist. Each of these categories requires a different approach.

The first category consists of the work of the ethnographers who are interested in independent study of Brazilian Indians. Such study requires preparations for work to be done in distant and often quite isolated regions which may be reached in a matter of hours by plane, but which then put the research worker on his own resources. His success will depend upon his previous planning.

A second category is independent research or contractual research for a government agency carried out in a rural zone. This type of work

requires preparation in a regional context, and the actual field work must be carried out under rural conditions which vary widely in the accommodations and services they have to offer.

A third category consists of the activities of technical advisers or experts assigned to work with a group of Brazilian social scientists. This type of work demands collaboration and interaction with colleagues. It usually involves living in a major city and entering into a round of official activities, as well as extensive travel throughout the country.

A fourth category is teaching. The visiting professor is expected to have something new to offer. He will frequently encounter professionals of different fields among his students. He is also expected to lead in field research. This type of assignment usually requires that the visitor live in a major city and follow the academic schedule of his colleagues.

All of these types of research are challenging, and all can be carried on successfully. There is still room for new and independent research, but the visitor will be subjected to critical appraisal by his Brazilian colleagues who have considerable faith in the efficacy of the social sciences in the solution of problems, and particularly the problems which face Brazil in its endeavors to emerge as a leading nation.



## II. THE NATION: ITS DIVISIONS

There are many Brazils—there are two—there is one—this is a problem which bothers Brazilians and non-Brazilians alike. Nowadays, the drive for industrialization, which in the Western concept implies standardization, makes it necessary to create a nationwide image of the "average man."

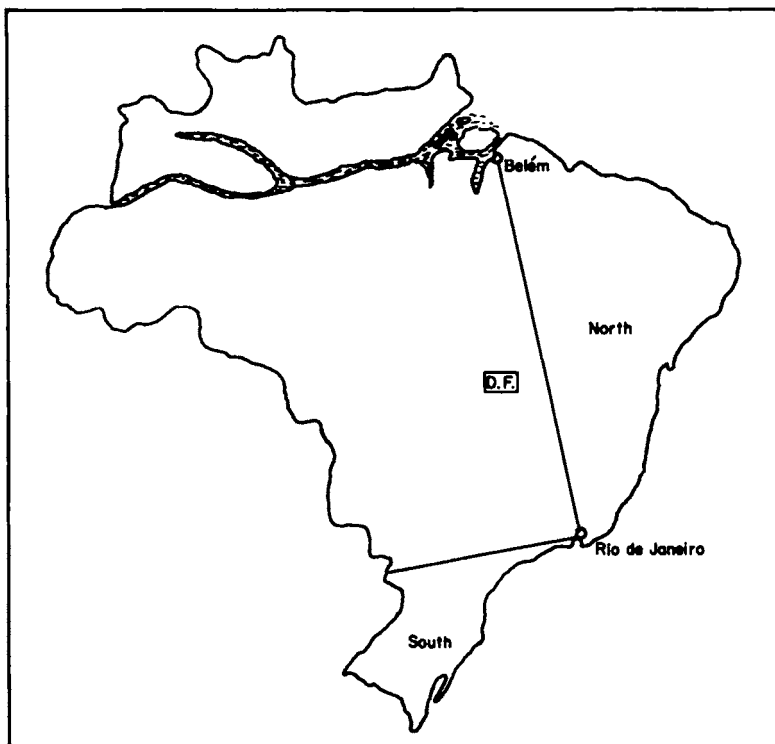
However, the "average man" in Brazil has existed less perhaps than in most other basically Western nations. The very concept of average is foreign to Brazilian culture. The image of Brazilian culture presented to the outside world is usually a resumé of the characteristics of a very small, élite part of the population. Many Brazilian authors present this picture as one of considerable cohesiveness. However, the portrait Brazilians have of themselves, for themselves, is quite different. It is primarily characterized by the differences between various segments of the population. The differences are underlined, compared, and relished. Seeing oneself as an individual and one's in-group as different rather than as average is to be Brazilian.

Perhaps the effect of social living on the Brazilian individual's ideal conduct should be looked at from the point of view of the effect of environment on culture, permissive and ultimately restrictive, but not necessarily deterministic. This aspect becomes a dilemma with the drive to industrialize and with increasing urbanization. The seeds of a basic cultural change of the self concept are being rapidly planted—progress demands conformity, standardization, and sameness in the material and non-material aspects of life. This is probably more difficult for Brazilians to germinate than it was for other peoples who have preceded them in the industrialization process.

Linked with this cultural characteristic of permissive individualism, which may be included as part of basic Brazilian culture, are a number of other factors which make for differences and create the segments mentioned above. These factors are historical, regional, and isolation-contact. These tightly intertwined factors have been responsible for the appearance of culture areas in Brazil. Each area shares features of basic Brazilian culture, but each area exhibits specific deviations and traditions. Each shares responsibility for how far these areas have come towards modernity. One non-Brazilian author speaks of "two Brazils"—the archaic and the new. This is an

oversimplification for handling the diversification of cultural data found in Brazil.

Brazilians themselves tend to make a superficial division of Brazil into two major cultural areas—the North, which corresponds to the archaic, and the South, which corresponds to the new. (See Map 1.)



Map 1. The North and The South

The North includes roughly the area which would fall to the east of a straight line drawn from Belém to Rio de Janeiro. In a general way the characteristics of the North include tradition and adherence to it, and therefore lack of progress in spite of potential. At the same time intelligence, refinement, and political astuteness are combined with indolence and lack of initiative; uneducated, unaided masses stand in contrast to the few who are favored. The North, and especially Bahia, represents for all of Brazil nostalgia for the good life.

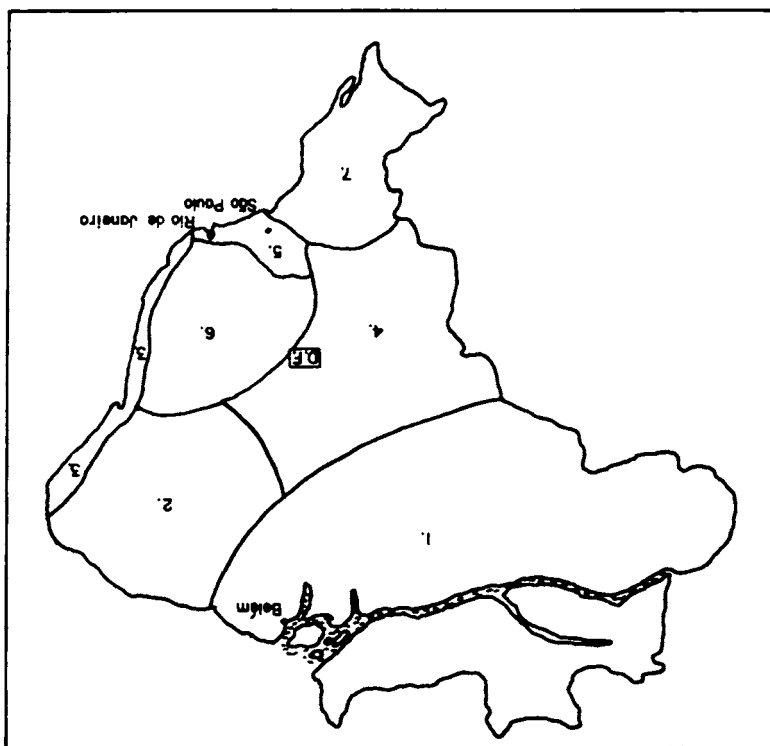
The South, from São Paulo to the Uruguayan border stands in contrast. It is the symbol of material progress, of the 20th century and its lack of tradition, foreign influence (through immigration), and somewhat lacking manners, refinement, and the arts of living. For the nation however, the South, and especially São Paulo is the new pride—the competitive, the modern—the showcase for the rest of the world.

The appearance of a number of culture areas in Brazil is closely linked with the historical development of the nation. This development was characterized by a series of "booms and busts"—or exploitative patterns of settlement and economic cycles. Each economic cycle took place in a different natural area where a series of factors made possible the establishment of civilization and consequent regional adaptations of the old Portuguese colonial culture patterns. Sugar, ores, coffee, rubber, cacao, and cotton were the principal boom products. They were responsible for the regional development of what we now call culture areas. Each development grew rapidly and was then followed by a period of decadence when a new development came into being, and as interest shifted to a new area. The by-passed areas settled back into long periods of economic decadence and cultural stability, intensified by lack of communication with other Brazilian areas and with the rest of the world. This isolation is now being broken down and the old patterns are being rudely shaken by industrialization, science, and progress.

In a recent article, a prominent Brazilian anthropologist reviews the many attempts at area delineations and points out that, although different authors use different criteria for marking off areas, there is general agreement on seven major culture areas: (1) the Amazon, (2) the Dry Northeast, (3) the Northeast Coast, (4) the West, (5) the industrial zone which has its center in São Paulo, (6) the mountainous region, and (7) the South. (See Map 2.)

The Amazon encompasses basically tropical forest environment associated with the great river and its tributaries. Culturally, it is backward in the sense that economically it continues to depend upon the exploitation of natural resources, especially forest products. Much of the population lives at a bare subsistence level. The scene of the former rubber boom, which crashed in 1912, the Amazon region, waits for the future.

The Dry Northeast includes most of the scrubby semi-desert areas of the northern states lying just below the tropical forest environment. This region depends economically on cattle and goat raising, some cotton growing, gathering of nut crops, extracting of waxes, and



- |                        |                           |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Amazonia            | 4. The West               |
| 2. The Dry Northeast   | 5. The Industrial Zone    |
| 3. The Northeast Coast | 6. The Mountainous Region |
| 7. The South           |                           |

Map 2. Culture Areas

subsistence agriculture. It is an exciting region, well-known for its messianic movements. Prone to droughts and their disastrous consequences, it presents a whole array of problems of a technological nature concerned with bringing the environment under control. This region has a very high birth rate. It supplies the rest of Brazil with migrant workers—north, south and west—a constant outward flow of people in search of life.

The Northeast coast is a rather narrow, lowland strip. It runs from about Rio de Janeiro north to a little above Recife. This coastal

strip was the scene of some of the first settlements and includes the cities of Bahia (Salvador) and Recife, the opulent colonial cities whose wealth was based on sugar cane and slave labor. This is a region which presents fascinating aspects—many of these have been incorporated into the regional literature which is some of the best Brazil has to offer. The sugar boom in this area ended about 1750.

The West is probably the least-known area from the point of view of systematic study. It includes parts of Goiás and Mato Grosso. It is an area often compared with the old U.S. far west—a last frontier. It will undoubtedly be important soon, due to the shift in national focus caused by the moving of the federal capital to Brasilia. It is a fabulous area from the point of view of natural resources. At the present time it is used for cattle raising and the rivers are sifted for diamonds. Transportation difficulties retard the area's development and discourage study.

The industrial zone has its center in São Paulo. It is composed principally of a triangle enclosing São Paulo, Belo Horizonte, and Rio de Janeiro. In reality it is misleading to call it industrial, for this area encloses a large part of the great coffee, cotton, and sugar cane plantations and it supports some of Brazil's best herds of cattle. It is the area of most progress—best roads, transportation systems, public services, and income per capita.

The mountainous region consists of those parts of western Bahia State and Minas Gerais in which the principal activity is mining. This was the scene of Brazil's second historical boom—mining for gold, silver, and diamonds in the 18th century. A second phase seems to be developing at the present time. It is concerned with the search for and development of mines for industrial purposes. Culturally this area presents some interesting facets of colonial living patterns which extend into the present. At least two of the cities of the area have been set aside by the federal government as living museums (Ouro Preto and Rio de Contas).

The South includes the states of Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul. It is non-tropical, and is peopled by non-Portuguese and recent immigrants from Europe. The South as a region presents an entirely different face to the world. Recent in comparison with the other areas—not yet the scene of any specific boom—the South nevertheless presents a picture of slow and steady progress. Its economy has been based on subsistence agriculture, lumbering, cattle raising, wine making, and manufacturing of leather goods. It is now slowly turning to industry. Although the South combines Italian, German,

Slavic and other elements in contrast to the Iberian background of the rest of Brazil, it nevertheless is becoming characteristically Brazilian.

Attempts are also being made at dividing Brazil officially into regions, by the Conselho Nacional de Geografia (National Geographic Council). (See Map 3.) All statistical data gathered and presented by the IBGE (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística) follows this regional division. The cultural regions discussed above have one disadvantage here. One state may have territories falling into one, two or more cultural regions (i. e. Bahia) and thus statistics for such regions cannot be found.



- |                     |                     |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. The North        | 4. The East         |
| 2. The Middle North | 5. The Central-West |
| 3. The Northeast    | 6. The South        |

Map 3. The Great Regions of the IBGE

The IBGE division creates five regions:

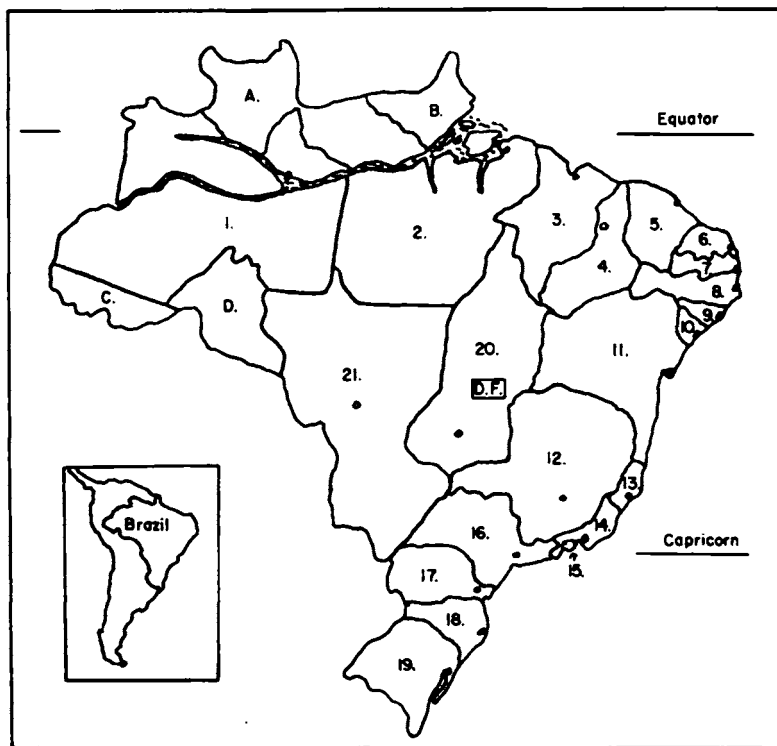
1. North—Rondonia, Acre, Amazonas, Rio Branco, Pará and Amapá
2. Middle North—Maranhão, Piauí
3. Northeast—Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas
4. East—Sergipe, Bahia, Espírito Santo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, Guanabara\*\*
5. Central-West—Goias and Mato Grosso
6. South—São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul.

\*\*As of 1960, the former federal district (Rio) is now the state of Guanabara.

Administratively Brazil is divided into 21 states, four territories, and one Federal District. (See Map 4.) The names of the states are listed above with the territories underlined. Each state has an elected governor and legislature. The territories are governed by a federally appointed administrator. Brasilia, the new federal district, is similar in status to the District of Columbia.

The states are divided into municípios (counties), each município with an elected prefeito (mayor) and camara (aldermen). In 1957 there were 1,895 municípios. This number continually increases due to the continual splitting up of old municípios and the creation of new ones, as the former distritos (districts) into which municípios are divided reach certain standards of population, income and so on. It is worth noting that the sede de município (county seat) regardless of its population size or its income, is formally classified as a city and its population correspondingly classified as urban.

The social scientist going to Brazil must be aware of these different divisions and the meaning of the divisions for Brazilian citizens. Brazilians tend to be regionalistic. They give their primary allegiance to kinship groups which are traditionally connected with a region. Within any given region, the people tend to be bairristas (locally minded), giving their major emphasis to some given locale within a region, and holding locale and its ways to be better for them than the ways of other locales.



<u>States</u>	<u>Capitals</u>	<u>States</u>	<u>Capitals</u>
1. Amazonas	Manaus	12. Minas Gerais	Belo Horizonte
2. Pará	Belém	13. Espírito Santo	Vitória
3. Maranhão	São Luis	14. Rio de Janeiro	Niteroi
4. Piauí	Teresina	15. Guanabara	Rio de Janeiro
5. Ceará	Fortaleza	16. São Paulo	São Paulo
6. Rio Grande do Norte	Natal	17. Paraná	Curitiba
7. Paraíba	João Pessoa	18. Sta. Catarina	Florianópolis
8. Pernambuco	Recife	19. Rio Grande do Sul	Pôrto Alegre
9. Alagoas	Maceió	20. Goiás	Goiânia
10. Sergipe	Aracajú	21. Mato Grosso	Cuiabá
11. Bahia	Salvador	D.F.—Brasilia	
<b>Territories:</b>	A. Rio Branco	C. Acre	
	B. Amapá	D. Rondônia	

Map 4. Administrative Divisions



### III. THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN BRAZIL

The social sciences are part and parcel of Brazilian intellectual life, even though they are unevenly developed. Prior to the early 1930's there was no university system as such. However, in the separate faculties or schools of law, medicine and engineering, some concepts of the social sciences were being introduced. With the establishing of the university system, courses in the social sciences were introduced.

Considerable work was done in those early years of a social-historical nature, as well as reinterpretation of even earlier works of journalists and observers who became known as sociological pioneers.

Certain of the more exotic elements of Brazilian culture were studied and described, such as Africanisms (cultism, foods, and dances). In the field of indigenous studies much work had been done by Brazilians, North Americans, Germans, French, and Italians.

With the beginning of the university system, it was necessary for Brazil to import a number of teachers whose disciplines were part of a university system, but whose disciplines had heretofore not been a part of the Brazilian scene. This was particularly true in the social sciences. The major centers of activity, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, received the collaboration of French, German, and North American professors in geography, economics, anthropology, and sociology. A nucleus of Brazilian students was formed in the thirties and forties. Many of these students took Ph.D.'s in the U.S. and in Europe. The best formed groups are probably found in sociology, anthropology, and in geography. Economics, political science, statistics, and modern history lag.

At any rate, the social sciences have now made considerable progress in Brazil. Most of these disciplines were introduced with applied emphasis. For example (leaving aside the question of Indians), the first institution established, the Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo (School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo), was established in 1933 after the revolution which the state of São Paulo lost. The School was established for the specific purpose of teaching the social sciences and investigating the social milieu with a view to avoiding any repetition of that upheaval.

More recently, the social sciences (especially sociology and anthropology) have been called upon as basic instruments in research which has specific governmental ends in view. These include new educational programs, health programs, and schemes of regional development.

To understand what is happening to the social sciences in Brazil, it is necessary to know about the university system and its way of teaching those disciplines. For the most part, the social sciences are taught in the Faculties of Philosophy, which are a part of each state university. The same is true of the Catholic universities which are now forming. One of the primary purposes of the Faculties is to prepare secondary school teachers, and the curriculum is arranged to that end. The freshman entering the Faculty decides beforehand what his major field of interest is. He then takes an entrance examination which is especially designed for the four-year course offered in that specialty. For the student who has decided to follow social sciences (which are not taught in the secondary schools), there exists the curso de ciências sociais (social science course), a four-year program which includes mathematics, sociology, political economy, philosophy, human geography, general and applied statistics, social psychology, anthropology, ethnography, political science, and ethics.

This has been one of the least successful courses in the university system. It attracts few students, and many of these are mediocre academically. Since the social sciences are not taught in the secondary schools, there are no secondary school jobs available for the successful graduate. This area of study is not yet prestigious. There is little true specialization of sociologists, political scientists, etc. Rather jacks-of-all-trades are the product.

Under the university system as it now is, a professor is restricted to teaching a few basic courses in his discipline—how many times in each semester he teaches the same course depends on how many students there are and whether or not there is a night school as well as the daytime session.

Under this system an anthropologist, for example, seldom teaches his own personal specialty. This has considerable impact on the pursuit of research work by Brazilian social scientists. Rather than synthesizing his field research, thinking, and teaching activities and thus benefiting both himself and his students, he must keep each separate. What suffers is field research. Furthermore the involved examination system at the beginning and end of the school year cuts down his vacation time when he might do research. Leave of absence for research is rare. Lack of funds for social research prevents the carrying out of actual field research

and consequently the teaching of up-to-date data and the stimulation of students. The university system thus tends to promote only bibliographic research.

Although provisions for graduate work are incorporated in the regulations of the various faculties, in only one or two instances (São Paulo especially) has graduate work been pursued. A doutorado (doctorate) is offered in a number of fields. This requires many years of work, especially reading, plus the writing and defending of a thesis. Few students active in the social sciences have been able to complete this lengthy and rigorous training.

An intermediate step, corresponding roughly to the U.S. master's degree, is also provided, called especialização. Again, as in the case of the doutorado this does not function in all the universities, due principally to shortage of teaching personnel. Like the doutorado, it tends to involve a highly personalized relationship between the pupil and professor.

The teaching hierarchy in the faculties is as follows: each subject or discipline taught has a cadeira (chair). The chair is held by a catedrático who corresponds roughly to the U.S. full professor. According to law the catedrático is appointed for life tenure on the basis of a competitive examination which includes the writing of a dissertation as well as demonstrating teaching techniques. At the present time, many catedráticos in the Faculties of Philosophy are those who were originally appointed to their particular chairs when the universities were established in the 1930's and 1940's, and therefore did not undergo the above competitive requirement. Also many are catedráticos contratados, or simply hold a four year contract with the Faculty to teach a given subject. It is presumed that an examination will be opened by the end of four years, which will allow the contratado to be examined and admitted to the chair for life.

The catedrático, whether permanent or contracted, is the professor. He may be assisted by a number of persons. First in rank is the livre docente (free lecturer), who has acquired his doctorate but who has not entered competition for catedrático nor is a catedrático contratado. He is, however, entitled to the rank of professor.

The next category is that of assistentes, or assistants. These may or may not have their doctorates. They hold a contract, frequently on a yearly basis.

Until recently two other categories existed—the auxiliares de ensino (teaching auxiliaries) and auxiliares de pesquisa (research

auxiliaries). In many cases, such as in the University of São Paulo, these individuals are contracted for. In many of the smaller universities these people offer their services gratis in order to gain experience and also in the hope that a contracted assistantship will open for them. In many cases these individuals, who carry a full teaching load and are listed in the official catalogue, donate their services over a period of years. This practice is now being abolished.

The hard core of working social scientists in Brazil has long realized the inadequacy of the school system in relation to social science. In recent years an Instituto is frequently attached to one of the teaching chairs of a faculty. This creation gives considerably more leeway in training and research.

It is possible for the active catedrático (full professor) to establish an institute linked to his chair and to receive funds from a number of different sources. Few or no federal rules govern the activities of an institute. Therefore, in a number of cases what amounts to graduate work can be offered in an instituto, which presents the graduate with a diploma of its own. This diploma, while of no value in the federal government's official recognition and registration of university degrees, shows at least that the course was completed.

A still more recent development which has had considerable influence on the social sciences in Brazil came about when a branch of the federal Ministry of Education wanted to carry out a long range program of social research throughout the entire nation to be used in educational planning. The major obstacle to the carrying out of this work was finding qualified personnel to do the field work. Few or no people were available, and the universities were turning out poorly prepared graduates, incapable for the most part of undertaking work of this scope. Therefore a small center was set up to carry out a special training program in anthropology and sociology, with emphasis on field work.

The Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais (Brazilian Center for Education Research) is supported by Brazilian funds with additional aid from UNESCO particularly in the form of technical aid (educators, psychologists, anthropologists and so on). This Centro is having a profound effect upon the social sciences and particularly upon sociology and anthropology in Brazil.

The Centro has the best social science library in Brazil and by far the best trained personnel. Its major center is located in Rio de Janeiro. It has also established a number of regional centers in Belo Horizonte, São Paulo, Porto Alegre, Bahia and Recife. These work under the basic orientation of the group in Rio. Well financed, this

organization has succeeded in employing most of Brazil's competent people in the social sciences, either full- or part-time. Moreover it has brought about a concentration of their efforts on situations and problems having to do basically with education, although this is broadly defined.

Although the Centro tends to monopolize the productive energies of many of these people, theoretically preventing them from carrying out research in other fields, it has nevertheless been a tremendous stimulus to active research work.

In spite of the advances made in the last thirty years, Brazilian social sciences have not succeeded in keeping up with other developments.

The university system hinders the growth of the sciences because of the rigidity of teaching schedules and because of the nature of the library system. Most of the libraries are divided into separate faculty libraries. This makes cross referencing difficult. Furthermore, the importation of books is almost beyond the financial means of most of the universities because of the adverse differential in the exchange rates between Brazilian currency and hard currencies. Little or no work in translation is going on so that this means of dissemination is cut off.

Most Brazilian social scientists work in isolation, from each other and from other members of their faculties. This is due to factors inherent in the university system as well as in the general social organization of Brazilian society.

While there is a hard core of trained personnel in the social sciences, very many of those called sociologists, for example, are self-taught individuals whose backgrounds are primarily in the humanities and law, not in science.

The continued growth of the universities, both state and Catholic, spreads out even more thinly the number of trained people available. This is part of the growth problem of Brazil. Many competent people are diverted into better paying activities than those that are offered by college teaching and scientific research, especially social science research.

Smaller numbers of students are now being sent abroad for training in the social sciences than previously and smaller numbers of foreign social scientists are being brought in. The cost of graduate training in any one of the social sciences in the U.S. is almost prohibitive for Brazil. Many Brazilians who started graduate training in the U.S., but who did not finish, express dissatisfaction with sociology, or anthropology,

or whatever the discipline happens to be, and the way they get to exercise that discipline. Many of these people are incompletely trained professionally. Faced with the practical necessities of making a living in rather difficult fields, their professional work suffers.

There are a number of glaring omissions in the development of the social sciences in Brazil. Little or no attention is given to rural sociology, to extension methods, and to community development in spite of the non-urban character of Brazil. Demographic studies are limited almost entirely to the Conselho Nacional de Estatística (National Statistics Council). Linguistics also is lacking despite the abundance of indigenous languages and the variations of the modern languages found in Brazil. Archaeology and physical anthropology also are spotty. There is little modern development of political science or of modern history. There is lack in the field of economics, and as yet little or no work being done in behavioral theory.

#### IV. SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS IN BRAZIL

There is a bewildering array of scientific institutions and organizations in Brazil. Some are old; some are new; still newer ones are being formed. Some try to stimulate the sciences, some distribute research funds, some do research, and others teach.

In the following, an attempt is made to distinguish types of scientific institutions and to identify those that seem to be the most active.

Professional organizations hold fairly regular meetings. One of the difficulties that these organizations face is that distances are great in Brazil and transportation is costly for members of professional organizations to attend meetings. This has given most Brazilian professional meetings a rather distinct flavor. To a great extent meetings are financed by a host university, frequently in cooperation with the municipal government of the locality. Participating members are invited to the meetings and transportation and lodging are usually provided. A meeting takes on something of a special character—the Governor, the Rector of the University, the Prefeito and other dignitaries of the state and local governments appear, frequently offering banquets, cocktail parties, and receptions. Provisions are made for the whole group to visit the sights of the city and of the countryside and to witness exhibitions of regional dances. Many of the papers presented at the formal sessions are of high quality. The extracurricular activities, seeing what is characteristic of the area, meeting people outside one's own discipline, and the friendliness of the gathering make a Brazilian professional meeting a real highlight, and one which a visiting anthropologist certainly should not miss.

Some of the professional associations are:

##### Associação Brasileira de Antropologia

c/o Manoel Diegues Junior, rua da Matriz, 92  
Botafogo, Rio de Janeiro, Est. da Guanabara

##### Sociedade Brasileira de Sociologia

c/o Frank Goldman, Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências,  
e Letras, São Paulo

Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros

Seção Regional de São Paulo, P.O. Box 8105, São Paulo

Comissão Nacional do Folclore

c/o Renato Almeida, IBECC, Rio de Janeiro

Sociedade Brasileira de Genética

c/o O. Frota-Pessoa, Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências,  
e Letras, São Paulo

Most of these associations publish news bulletins which are sent to the members more or less regularly. They also either publish or arrange for the publishing of scientific journals such as the Revista de Antropologia. In addition, most publish the papers given at the annual meetings.

There are also a number of governmental and semi-governmental agencies which play an important role in connection with the social sciences. These are of value to the prospective field worker in Brazil.

The Conselho Nacional de Pesquisas (National Research Council), Rio de Janeiro, as its name would indicate, is an over-all coordinating agency for all the sciences. However, the CNP only partially includes the social sciences in its orbit of activities. It is nevertheless an important organ of information, particularly for those interested in sciences related to the social sciences.

Similarly, IBECC, Instituto Brasileiro de Educação, Ciência e Cultura (Brazilian Institute of Education, Science and Culture), plays an important role in regard to the social sciences. It is principally a sponsoring agency and an important source of information. It sometimes sponsors scientific meetings when local funds are inadequate.

The CBPE, Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais (Brazilian Center for Educational Research), was created under the larger program of INEP, Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos (National Institute of Pedagogical Studies), which in turn is linked to the Ministry of Education and Culture. The CBPE is basically an institution with an applied objective. It uses the social sciences, and particularly the techniques of sociology and social anthropology throughout Brazil to gather data to be used for the planning of a new educational system.



This Centro maintains its master center in Rio de Janeiro. It also has a number of regional centers (see p. 15). The Centro has set up a training center for research workers in the social sciences. As instructors, it uses Brazilian anthropologists and sociologists and some foreigners supplied by UNESCO. This center has been in operation for a number of years and has a solid core of research workers. It is carrying out a broad program of bibliographic and field research. Through its tie with its regional centers, the Centro has many of Brazil's leading social scientists working for it, directing field teams as well as doing some original bibliographic work. The Centro in Rio also has Brazil's finest social science library.

For the social sciences, this is probably the most important institution in Brazil. A visitor to Brazil should be able to get useful information from the people at work here, and particularly orientation about the possibilities for carrying out research work in many regions of Brazil. It would probably also be possible to find research assistants here, if the project in some way ties in with the Centro's broad aims.

Another important agency located in Rio is CAPEX, Campanha Nacional para o Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nivel Superior (National Campaign for the Improvement of Personnel in Higher Education). This organization is basically oriented toward education and its problems, especially higher education. CAPEX is the major agency of the Brazilian government for hiring foreign professors in the social sciences and in all fields of education. For the visitor to Brazil, CAPEX' major contribution is as a source of information about teaching and research in the universities. In addition to importing foreign specialists, this organization sends Brazilians abroad for training and it supports many new teaching and research projects throughout Brazil. The monthly bulletin it issues is an important source of information.

The Fundação Getúlio Vargas in Rio de Janeiro is another important institution for the observer and student of the contemporary Brazilian scene. The Foundation is particularly active in the field of economic analysis. The monthly report published by the Foundation, the Conjuntura Economica (in Portuguese and in English), is an invaluable source of accurate and up-to-date information. The Foundation is a possible source of research assistants.

The Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, which publishes and interprets census data, is of the utmost importance to the social sciences. The Anuário Estatístico (a yearly publication) and the trimestral statistical bulletin and the laboratories which produce them are useful to the social scientist.

This organization is now completing the Encyclopedia of the Municipios—some forty volumes following the regional division of Brazil mentioned earlier. The Encyclopedia contains specific historical, geographical, statistical, economic and pictorial data about each of the almost two thousand counties in Brazil.

The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios maintains the Museo do Indio in Rio de Janeiro. For those interested in work among Brazilian Indians contact with this organization and its parent supervisory body, the Conselho Nacional de Proteção aos Índios, is necessary. Official permission of this organization is necessary in order to undertake studies of the Indians, unless one chooses to work through one of the religious orders which cares for certain groups of Indians. The cooperation of the Service and, through it, the cooperation of the Brazilian Air Force for transportation and supply assistance, becomes almost a basic requirement.

In addition to securing the permission and cooperation of the Indian Service, it is also wise for the research worker to establish contact beforehand with some Brazilian research organization which is interested in the area to which the ethnographer wishes to go. Such organizations include the regional museums and institutes (see Appendix B).

A major international organization is also located in Rio de Janeiro. This is the Centro Latino Americano de Pesquisas em Ciências Sociais (The Latin American Center for Research in the Social Sciences), which is the UNESCO Latin American research center. (The UNESCO Latin American teaching center is established in Santiago, Chile). Brazil contributes financial support to this center and the director is a Brazilian anthropologist. A visitor to Brazil should make contact with this organization which, while it does not carry out specific research projects, coordinates and supervises broad areas of anthropological, sociological, and economic research in Brazil as well as throughout the rest of South America. This is a clearing house of news for social scientists. The Centro publishes a monthly Bulletin. Arrangements can be worked out for the research worker to be attached to this center in order to carry out specific projects in Brazil. UNESCO has been important in the social sciences in Brazil and is outstanding for the stimulus it gave to the studies of race relations, carried out in the north under the direction of Charles Wagley, in Rio by L. A. Costa Pinto and in São Paulo by Florestan Fernandes.

There are two other institutions in the North which are of interest to the social scientist. The Instituto Joaquim Nabuco in Recife, Pernambuco, is under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. It can supply

information that will aid the investigator interested in the Northeast coastal and interior areas.

Farther south, in the capital of the state of Bahia is the Fundação para o Desenvolvimento das Ciências na Bahia (the Foundation for the Development of the Sciences in Bahia). This Foundation was established several years ago by the Secretary of Education of the State of Bahia. Its first program in the social sciences was a series of community studies. The Foundation supports projects in all of the sciences. It can help finance projects of Brazilians and foreigners. It has information and facilities to offer to the visitor interested in research in the state of Bahia.

These are the principal scientific institutions which can be of help to the visiting anthropologist. Their functions for the visitor are primarily in providing information about areas, bibliographic material, and informants and other key persons who become necessary for successful field work. These organizations also can often aid in making travel arrangements.

There are numerous museums in Brazil. The following are the most important for the social scientist:

The Museu Emilio Goeldi in Belem is known principally for its ethnographic collections and its tradition of research among Brazilian Indians. The Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro has an excellent ethnographic collection. Its personnel are part of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Also in Rio is the Museu do Índio which deals with the Brazilian Indian. It is also maintained by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

In São Paulo, the Museu Paulista is an ethnographic and historical museum. The Revista do Museu Paulista carries on a long tradition of excellent papers on the Brazilian Indians. In early 1960, some of the personnel of the Museum were active in establishing the Instituto de Pré-História e Etnologia.

In Paraná, the University of Paraná in collaboration with the Divisão do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (Division of the National Historic and Artistic Patrimony) maintains the Museu de Arqueologia e Artes Populares in Paranaguá, Paraná.

Most of the state capitals have state museums. These are historical for the most part. Also in a state capital there may be an Instituto de Geografia e História, which is generally non-scientific in outlook, but frequently has a good library. Some of the best libraries in the social sciences to be found in Brazil are private libraries.

Rather than examine the long list of institutes which exist—some only on paper, some actually functioning—it is perhaps more worthwhile to go over the major centers of activity in the social sciences.

Rio de Janeiro has traditionally been the center of the Brazilian world, and this has been as true for the social sciences as for other aspects of Brazilian life. Undoubtedly the change of the capital from Rio to Brasilia will bring about a shift in this emphasis. Plans are under consideration for the establishment of a major university and museum in Brasilia, and undoubtedly more such moves will be made. However, for the time being, Rio continues to be the most active center.

In Rio, the University of Brazil gives courses in the social science program of its Faculty of Philosophy, and in the newly created Instituto de Ciencias Sociais, which plans an eventual graduate training and research program.

Also important is the Pontífica Universidade Católica, and its newly created Escola de Sociologia e Política do Instituto de Estudos Políticos e Sociais. This school offers a four-year course in the social sciences.

Outside of Rio there are a number of other active centers. In the north is the Museu Goeldi in Belém. A good deal of data on the modern aspects of the Amazon Valley also exists in the archives of the unsuccessful Superintendência do Plano de Valorização Econômica da Amazônia, located in Belém. This is an economic development organization for the entire valley.

Moving southward, the next active center is Recife, Pernambuco. Here are the Instituto Joaquim Nabuco and the Centro Regional de Pesquisas Educacionais. The Faculty of Philosophy and the state museum are also important centers in Recife. These centers are particularly concerned with Afro-Brazilian aspects, and with data of modern Brazilian culture in general.

In Ceara there is the Instituto do Ceará, founded in 1887, which has published its journal, the Revista do Instituto do Ceará, annually since 1887. This Institute has one of the finest historical collections in Brazil.

A little further to the south, in Alagoas, is the Comissão Alagoana de Folclore. Folklore in Brazil, while not actively taught in the Faculties, nevertheless holds a place of honor as an intellectual pursuit. Alagoas is one of the more fascinating areas for this type of study.

In Bahia there is another active center in anthropology. The Faculty of Philosophy offers a four-year course in the social sciences. The Fundacao which has already been mentioned is an important contact point. It publishes a quarterly bulletin. Also in Bahia is the Instituto de Economia e Financas, a semi-governmental organization working in collaboration with the University of Bahia. This again is a developmental institution. It uses the methods and data of the social sciences as a basis for state planning in all fields.

In Minas Gerais, the state University has an active center in economic and political studies, as well as in sociology. The University Council publishes the trimestral journal, Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos.

In São Paulo two different units of the University are active in the social sciences. First is the Escola de Sociologia e Política, the oldest (1933) teaching center in the social sciences in Brazil. This institution is probably unique in all of South America. Recently turned into a Foundation, the Escola, as it continues to be known, has a four-year undergraduate program and a two-year graduate program leading to the degree of Master of Social Sciences. This school is a semiautonomous part of the University of São Paulo, and is probably the most flexible of all Brazilian institutions in this field.

The Faculty of Philosophy also has a strong department which gives a four-year course in the social sciences, as well as the types of graduate work previously described. Many of the people of the Faculty are connected with the regional center of educational research.

The Faculty of Philosophy is also active in the field of human genetics. It does original research and, under a Rockefeller grant, offers a special course in human genetics.

The Museo Paulista has already been mentioned.

In the state of Paraná there is another interesting development. Here work is being done in the social sciences, and especially in archaeology and human genetics, as well as in modern Brazilian culture. There is a Conselho de Pesquisas (Research Council) in the Faculty of Philosophy which acts as a coordinating organ for scientific activities in the state.

In summary, flowing out from Rio de Janeiro there is a strong current of applied anthropology and sociology, as well as economics. There is a certain concentration on the use of the social sciences for educational research and planning and for regional development. A

good deal of pure research goes on—ethnology and archaeology in the far north, social anthropology and folklore in the central regions, economics and a start on political science in Minas Gerais, ethnology, social anthropology and human genetics in the São Paulo region, and archaeology and human genetics in the south.

Certain other sources are potentially important for the social scientist. Among these are the various semiautonomous commodity institutes, such as the Instituto de Açúcar e Alcool, the Instituto Brasileiro de Café, the Instituto de Cacau (Bahia), and the Instituto Brasileiro de Máté. These institutes frequently have excellent specialized libraries dealing with all aspects of the crop with which they are concerned, and also have a number of persons interested in the social sciences who have done spade work in the field. These institutes have their own statistics bureaus and some of them issue regular journals which carry information of value to the social scientist.

Information, leads, tips, and facilities can be provided by the state as well as by federal bureaus of agriculture. Materials relating to land tenure, land use, migration, and immigration data can be found in these bureaus. Most of the state governments also maintain their own statistical organizations and issue their own anuários, or annual statistical data.

A non-scientific source of pictorial data is the archives of the popular magazines O Cruzeiro and Manchette. Journalism has traditionally had a high prestige role in Brazil, and these publishing concerns in Rio have some excellent photographic material from all the regions of Brazil. The Sunday papers in the principal cities carry important articles by prominent scholars as well as useful book review sections.

## V. U.S. AND EUROPEAN INTERESTS IN BRAZIL

A number of the U.S. Foundations and U.S. business corporations have interests in Brazil. The U.S. government also has several active agencies in Brazil.

The Rockefeller Foundation maintains a permanent office in Rio de Janeiro. Its principal interests in Brazil are in medicine, agriculture, and human genetics.

The Ford Foundation is developing an interest in Latin America. For the time being it may restrict its activities to economics and education.

The Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation offers aid for research in South America, particularly Chile. It has also contributed towards Brazilian studies.

The Guggenheim Foundation, Carnegie Corporation, the National Science Foundation, and the National Institute of Mental Health have all supported studies in Brazil. The U.S. Educational Defense Act, Title IV, makes available fellowships for the study of Portuguese language and culture. The Social Science Research Council has a new program of grants in support of research on Latin American countries for social scientists and humanistic scholars.

Three American Universities have special Brazilian programs—New York University, the University of Wisconsin, and Stanford University. The New York University program has been in effect for two years, the Wisconsin program is just finishing its second year, while Stanford will start its program this year. New York University has instituted a "junior year in Bahia," and the Wisconsin program is considering doing the same, perhaps in Porto Alegre. Vanderbilt University at one time had a Brazilian Institute and may reactivate its program in the near future.

Among government agencies, the Fulbright Commission (United States Educational Commission) has an office in Rio de Janeiro. Fulbright grants in the U.S. are administered by the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, Committee on International Exchange of Persons, 2101 Constitution Ave., Washington 25, D.C. This agency is

becoming an important contact point between American and Brazilian scholarly institutions. It administers exchanges of students and of professors. One difficulty with the Fulbright program is that it does not pay sufficiently. Payment is made in cruzeiros (the Brazilian unit of currency) at a rate which was calculated some years ago before inflation had gone as far as it has. The result is that the Fulbright salary is not enough to support a man and his family. At times the Fulbright grantee may receive a modest supplemental amount from the host institution, but this cannot be depended upon. The Fulbright program does provide unique opportunities for experience within the Brazilian university system, either in teaching or research. This is most satisfactory when the grantee has already been in contact with Brazilian colleagues and has been requested by the colleagues' university.

A little-used research or study opportunity is that provided by the Buenos Aires Convention Fellowship, handled in the U.S. by the Department of State and in Brazil by CAPES. Here again, payment is in the currency of Brazil, and some supplemental source is necessary.

The Organization of the American States also is a source of support for those wishing to study in Brazil.

United States governmental interests in Brazil center in Rio de Janeiro, where the Embassy is located. There are U.S. Consulates in most of the state capitals, particularly those which are port cities. Inquiries can be directed to the Cultural Attaché in the Embassy or to the USIS representatives in the consulates. General assistance can be given to American citizens at any of these consulates.

The U.S. State Department in cooperation with the Brazilian Government maintains binational centers in most of the large cities. These centers, usually called the União Cultural Brasil-Estados Unidos, provide information about the U.S. and conduct English courses for the local Brazilian population. They usually have libraries which are non-technical for the most part. A visiting anthropologist is frequently asked to give talks at these centers, and they are often good places to make contacts which will be useful in field work, and even to look for assistants—for translating, for interpreting, or for general field work.

The U.S. Government Point Four Program in Brazil is fairly extensive. It covers business and public administration, geology, engineering, education, agriculture, and public health. Participants in the Point Four Program have a wealth of knowledge and experience in Brazil which could be of value to the social scientist going to Brazil for the first time. Point Four personnel have had experience in many of the regions of Brazil and with many different Brazilian sub-cultures.



Michigan State University, Purdue University, and the University of Southern California have contracts with the International Cooperation Administration for work in Brazil.

In addition to government agencies active in Brazil, there are many North American business firms whose offices are most often located in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and in some of the other state capitals. São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro have U.S. Chambers of Commerce which work very much in the same way as the Chambers of Commerce in any U.S. city. They hold luncheons, have guest speakers, and, most importantly, provide news in English of developments on the industrial, commercial, and social fronts.

The question arises as to how much the social scientist going to Brazil wishes to identify himself with North Americans and the U.S. Colony. It is difficult to answer this, for whether the scientist will unduly prejudice his relations with the Brazilian community by too close relations with the U.S. Colony depends upon the character of particular research projects. Some individuals, especially those who have gone to Brazil in a teaching capacity, seem to feel that no harm comes to them from consorting almost exclusively with North Americans after class hours. Others who have gone for research primarily have attempted to divorce themselves from much connection with their compatriots.

Most of the large cities have colonies—U.S., British, and others. Many of these people have been in Brazil for years and know their way about very well. Because of this they can often give helpful instructions about many of the everyday problems which crop up when living in another culture. This is particularly true for wives who, in most cases, need some guidance as to food, measures, prices, and so on.

Many of the individuals in these colonies have formed prejudices and misinterpretations of many aspects of Brazilian life which it would be better for the social scientist to avoid, particularly at the beginning of his residence in Brazil when he is apt to be highly impressionable. Constant company with these colonies prolongs the language-learning period and makes mastery of the language difficult.

Increasing nationalism makes it easier to offend one's colleagues whether in the teaching field or in research by too close association with North Americans and too little with Brazilians. It is not easy to combine the two associations, for this usually leads to considerable constraint on the part of the Brazilians. The best course must be determined at the time.

European scientific interests in Brazil have been greater in the past than they are now. Brazil's earliest intellectual ties were with

France. With the creation of the university system, many French professors were imported. French influence since World War II has decreased to a great extent. However, French ethnographers continue to be interested in Brazilian Indians, and a few individuals maintain their contacts with modern sociology and anthropology. The Museu de l'Homme in Paris is famous for its ethnographic collections. The universities of the Sorbonne, Lyons, and Toulouse have trained Brazilian students, especially in geography, and their personnel have gone to Brazil to do field work and to teach in Brazilian universities. The Faculty of Letters at Toulouse, however, has the only specialized program—Estudos Luso-Brasileiros—in which both Portugal and Brazil are treated. Courses about Portuguese culture and Brazilian culture are offered in Portuguese at this institution.

For the historical antecedents of Brazilian culture the Iberian Peninsula is obviously important. The University of Coimbra and various governmental agencies having to do with overseas affairs are primary contact points. The Portuguese government maintains the Gabinete Português in most of the large Brazilian cities. This is an institution somewhat of the same nature as the União Cultural Brasil-Estados Unidos, except that it does not do any teaching. However, the gabinetes frequently have historical material available.

The Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian in Lisbon has announced that it is undertaking to publish a bibliographic bulletin which will include materials relating to Luso-Brazilian studies.

The Dutch are also becoming interested in Brazil—particularly from the point of view of tropical agriculture and cattle raising. The Netherlands School of Economics at Rotterdam and various governmental agencies are stimulating research in Brazil in relation to the period of Dutch occupation of northern Brazil and the more recent colonization activities of Dutch settlers in southern Brazil.

Japan is also undertaking study of the movement of Japanese nationals to Brazil and their adaptation to the Brazilian environment and culture. The Universities of Tokyo and Kobe are the principal centers of this movement.

Two international congresses are also important. These are the Congress of Americanists, whose publication carries much material on both Brazilian Indians and on contemporary Brazilian culture. The other is the International Colloquium on Luso-Brazilian Studies, whose proceedings also bring together international scholars interested in Portuguese and Brazilian culture in almost all aspects. This Colloquium, which has been held four times, was started by the Library of Congress.

**The first meeting was held in Washington in 1950, and the most recent, the fourth, was held in Bahia, Brazil, in 1959. The proceedings of the first three are already published, and those of the fourth should be ready shortly. The fifth meeting has been tentatively scheduled to be held in Angola in 1961 or 1962.**

## VI. PREPARATIONS FOR THE FIELD

One of the basic preparations for the field is the mastery of the Portuguese language. A knowledge of Spanish will aid in learning Portuguese, otherwise the two languages are quite distinct. A knowledge of Portuguese is essential for field research, and for teaching. Although Brazilian students must study English in secondary school, few of them become sufficiently proficient to understand lectures in English.

Preparation for the study of Brazilian Indians requires a mastery of Portuguese since the interpreter normally will speak only the native language and Portuguese, and the field worker will have to be able to work with the interpreter in Portuguese.

Translators are difficult to find, even in the large cities. One procedure which has been used a great deal in teaching is for the lecturer to write out the entire lecture and have it mimeographed for distribution at the time of class. In this way students can at least follow what is going on. Even this procedure is unsatisfactory, particularly if the lecturer is giving several courses. There often is not enough time to write out each lecture completely and have it mimeographed.

For active field research it is necessary that the anthropologist be able to converse in Portuguese. Most informants are patient with the struggling linguistic apprentice, but they usually have little or no patience with one who speaks no Portuguese at all.

Reading in Portuguese is also essential—not only in order to read newspapers (although in Rio and São Paulo one can get a small, daily English language newspaper), but also in order to learn what has been written by Brazilians about themselves. Some of the better known works, such as Casa Grande e Senzala (The Masters and the Slaves) and Os Sertões (Rebellion in the Backlands), have been translated into English, but the translated works are few in comparison with those written only in Portuguese.

An effort should be made to speak English clearly, so that in situations where one's Portuguese falters, one can go on in English and a certain percentage of Brazilians will understand. The research worker's name should be especially well pronounced. Calling cards are an essential item and considerable rapport is gained through the exchange of these cards.

Before leaving the U.S., the anthropologist or other social scientist should also familiarize himself with U.S. collections of Brazilian writings in his field. The best library is probably the Library of Congress, but also Columbia University, the University of Florida, New York University, Vanderbilt, Stanford, and the University of Texas are good. The library at the University of Wisconsin is not as yet satisfactory, since the program there is relatively recent.

Each year a number of Brazilian professors and students come to the U.S., to teach, to study, or to travel. It is wise for one to make contact with some of these people before going to Brazil. Some of them come by means of the Fulbright Program, others through the International Institute of Education, still others through the U.S. Department of State, by means of Foundation grants, or under the auspices of Protestant church groups. These individuals can often be of great assistance by giving introductions to their families in Brazil and also to academic, professional and governmental colleagues. One of the first ways to break into a Brazilian circle is by acting as a portador—that is, by taking some small object in one's luggage and delivering it to the person's family.

It is also worthwhile to seek information from North American students who have recently returned from Brazil. They can give helpful information about the currency exchange situation, which fluctuates rapidly, and about current customs regulations.

Each visitor to Brazil must have a visa, which can be procured after the U.S. passport has been issued. It can be obtained at any of the Brazilian Consulates located in the major U.S. port cities or at the Brazilian Embassy in Washington. These are formalities which must be complied with. Aside from health and character references the visitor must also establish proof of financial support while in Brazil. Under the Fulbright program this is done automatically. An individual going with a Foundation grant must show that the grant is sufficient for the length of time he intends to remain.

It is best to ask for a special visa, which allows a longer stay in Brazil than does the usual tourist or businessman's visa. Usually satisfactory arrangements as to the length of time in Brazil can be worked out easily.

Upon arrival in Brazil for a prolonged stay the visitor must register with the Secretaria da Segurança Pública, giving name, age, sex and occupation, plus date of arrival, flight number, etc. The airlines furnish a document stating that one actually arrived on the flight indicated. The police will issue a carteira de identidade. This identity

card is used for all Brazilians and non-Brazilians and should be carried at all times. If the research worker moves about the country, staying periods of months or more in each place, he must take his identity card to the local police and register with them. This card is necessary in order to obtain a driver's license, to register an automobile, and for banking purposes.

The nature of the field trip and the length of time one expects to remain in the field will determine the amount of luggage and the type of equipment to be taken. Customs restrictions are severe; furthermore they change rapidly in response to Brazil's efforts to cut down on imports in its battle against loss of Brazilian currency. It is important to find out from the nearest consulate or the Embassy exactly what one has the right to take into Brazil duty-free, since in many instances duty amounts to 100 per cent of the value of the object. Duty on automobiles, for instance, is very high. The same is true of recording and photographic equipment.

It is easier by far to take in accompanied baggage—that is, baggage which goes along with you on the plane or boat. In this instance you can take it through customs yourself. Unaccompanied baggage is different. If you go by plane and send baggage by ship, be sure on arrival to get a statement from the airline indicating when you arrived and the quantity of baggage you brought with you on the plane. In order to get unaccompanied baggage through customs, it is best to hire the services of a despachante (a forwarding agent) who is equipped to deal with the formidable barriers of the customs people. His services will cost some money, but are worth what they cost.

Under normal circumstances (excluding the question of autos) most of what a research worker takes in with him is duty-free providing it is part of the original shipment. Anything else sent to Brazil afterwards will be subject to duty. This includes films, tapes, and so on, so it is wise to take a sufficient supply from the start. Kodachrome film is not developed in Brazil, but must be sent either to the U.S. or Europe. The processed slides return to Brazil duty-free. However, there is considerable risk of losing one's slides. If it is necessary to see colored slides, or colored motion picture film while still in the field, it is better not to use Kodachrome. Ektachrome, Ansco, Ferraniacolor, as well as black and white can be adequately developed, printed, and enlargements made in any of the principal cities.

One other formality having to do with the mechanics of entering Brazil and settling there, at least if the research worker is going to remain in one of the large cities, is going to the tabelião, the Brazilian counterpart of our notary public. However, the system is somewhat

different there. One goes to the tabelião and fills out signature cards. These cards are put on file in the tabelião's office. There is no charge for this service. Later, if the researcher is to make any contractual agreements, the copy of the contract with the signatures of both parties is sent to the indicated tabelião for comparison confirmation of the signatures. This is necessary in renting a house or signing any official documents. A fee is charged for this confirmation.

To drive an automobile in Brazil, a Brazilian vehicle operator's license is required. Since the U.S. does not participate in an international agreement honoring licenses of other countries, it is necessary for a U.S. citizen to take a vision test, a health examination, a written test, and reading and driving tests in order to acquire a license. Except in cases of governmental personnel, to whom courtesy is extended in this matter, one must know sufficient Portuguese. In some areas, operators' licenses are examined at roadblocks. Automobiles must be registered. To register a car, it is best to use the services of a despachante, for considerable red tape is involved. Before taking a car from the U.S., it is imperative to find out whether it must be brought back from Brazil, or under exactly what circumstances it can be sold there.

In Brazil, the school year is reversed. The academic year is divided into two semesters—the first starts the first of March and runs until the end of June. The second semester starts the end of August and runs until the end of November. Therefore there are two vacation periods; the month of July, and the months of December, January and February. If the scientist has hopes of making contact with Brazilians in his field it is well to do so first by letter, making sure that the Brazilian is not away from home—on vacation, at meetings, or in the field. July is a particularly active month for professional meetings. The four vacation months are good months in which to find field assistants. It is better to arrange this beforehand by writing to the institution with which one expects to have the most contact.

## VII. PROFESSIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

The procedure for the establishment of professional relations with Brazilian social scientists and government officials will not be the same for everyone intending to go to Brazil. The nature of the work to be done will determine to a great extent the exact paths one must follow—and the details must be worked out for particular projects.

However, a few considerations can be mentioned here. First of all is deciding on the port of entry. Rio de Janeiro is still the "front door," and it is worth any extra expense and time involved to enter Brazil through Rio. Even if the ultimate destination is Manaus on the upper Amazon, it pays in many ways to go all the way south to Rio, and, with official blessings, to return north later.

While in Rio, it should be possible to make the rounds of such agencies as CAPES, the Centro Latino-Americano de Pesquisas em Ciências Sociais, the Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais, and museums. With the aid of colleagues in these agencies, courtesy calls can be made on the various ministries and other departments whose services and duties may have some bearing on the field work to be done.

Exchange of calling cards and letters of introduction, and the acquisition of letters of introduction to key persons in the state and rural areas, are of great benefit.

Fulbright fellows are expected to enter at Rio and are usually met at the plane by a representative of the Commission. Those who are not on Fulbright appointments will do well to visit the Fulbright office and locate other Americans under the program who may be working or teaching in the area to which they are going.

In Rio the research worker can start getting accustomed to shaking hands innumerable times with both men and women each time he meets them and leaves them, as well as learning to use the first name of the person to whom he is talking, preceded by the title Dr., Prof., or Sr. The stranger also learns to introduce himself by saying his name out loud at the moment of first meeting, and in addition exchanging calling cards.



In the case of a field project among Brazilian Indians, careful work is necessary in Rio. This should have been started by letter before the research worker left the U.S. Arrangements for transportation and supply lines are made here. It should be remembered that the few Indians left in Brazil constitute an emotional subject for many Brazilian anthropologists and each one has his opinion about how the Indians should be treated. The situation is further complicated by a certain amount of competition between the Church and Indian Bureau in regard to the care of Indians.

Also while in Rio the research worker should be able to begin to feel the currents which may be at cross-purposes within the professional community.

After a fairly thorough visit in Rio, the field worker can proceed to the capital of the state in which he intends to carry out his work. Armed with the information gathered in Rio, letters of introduction, and hotel reservations, he is ready to undertake the first part of the actual field project, which is laying the groundwork on the local scene.

As in Rio, courtesy visits are necessary in the state capitals. After making contact with the professional colleagues located in the city, the research worker should visit the Rector of the University, the Director of the Faculty of Philosophy, and certain governmental officials such as the Secretary of Education and the Secretary of Health.

The local anthropologist is an essential link in the success of any field-work project. It is safe to say there is an anthropologist in every port or capital city. Before leaving the U.S. it is best to have started contact with him by letter. If American colleagues returned recently from Brazil cannot indicate the name of the required person, the research worker should consult the International Dictionary of Anthropological Institutions published by the Wenner-Gren Foundation in 1957. The new journal, Current Anthropology, also lists most of the Brazilian social scientists. A Brazilian directory, Instituições de Pesquisa published in 1957 by CAPES lists the names, addresses, affiliations and specialties of practically all the scientists throughout Brazil in any field. Letters asking for more up-to-date information can be addressed to the CAPES organization, since it is making considerable effort to keep new and accurate information on file.

A warm welcome is usually extended to the visiting anthropologist, who will receive valuable orientation and practical aid from this source. Having a colleague put one in touch with the proper local authorities, archives, public and private libraries, mapping agencies, and key people who can give further aid and information, such as introductions

to the prefeitos of municípios in which the field work may actually be carried out, simplifies greatly the initial tasks.

It may be possible to enlist the active collaboration of the local anthropologist in the field work. This has many advantages for both sides, and success seems to depend more upon the personalities involved than any theoretical or methodological orientations. In any event the field worker will be dependent to a great extent on the local anthropologist.

It may seem that a local anthropologist has considerable free time, but this can be deceiving. With a few exceptions, mainly in Rio and São Paulo, the Brazilian social scientist is not teaching on a full-time basis and the low salary which accompanies part-time academic work must be supplemented by income from other occupations. Some individuals have two or three jobs simultaneously, and therefore are not as free as their easy-going manner may indicate.

The Brazilian social scientist usually has family responsibilities which are augmented by the network of extended family relationships which occupy most of the free time he has. This frequently makes it necessary to confine professional relationships to the working day only. Usually some attempt will be made to invite the visitor to the Brazilian's home for presentation to his immediate family. This is a necessary occurrence, and yet one which can be highly unsatisfactory. If the Brazilian and his family do not speak English, and the visitor and his family (if present) do not speak Portuguese, such a gathering can be quite painful for all concerned. As a result one is frequently left on his own for evenings and weekends. On the other hand, if the initial social gathering is a success and communication is established, the visitor will have many doors opened for him socially as well as professionally.

In the larger cities there tend to be cliques whose lines run all the way back to Rio. One type is faithful to a former mentor, or to a theoretical or a national orientation, while another holds its own views. It is possible for the visitor to walk between these groups, visiting and being friends with both sides.

Frequently the visitor is asked to teach a class or two, or to give an evening lecture. These are good opportunities to look over the students, especially when looking for an assistant. The matter can be broached delicately, making sure not to try to hire away someone's favorite pupil who is already at work for his teacher.

The search for a suitable community is complicated by a number of factors, such as lack of adequate public transportation throughout the

interior, great distances involved, lack of rapid communications, and in many instances lack of hotels or even pensões in the small towns of the interior. For these and other reasons, the research worker must have some kind of personal transportation. He may have brought his own vehicle. Or he may have to depend on local state authorities to help him by allowing him to go into the field with school inspectors, malaria service personnel, and others who travel considerably using official transportation. These are matters which the research worker must work out for himself in collaboration with the local Brazilian anthropologist.

Once the community is chosen and housing arrangements are made, there remains the question of letters of introduction to the prefeito, or the leading citizen, to the municipal statistics agent, and to the local school principal.

If the project involves a cattle ranch study or a large plantation study, it becomes necessary to get an introduction to the landowner. In many instances the research worker will have to stay in the "Big House," the guest house, or the administrator's house as a guest while carrying out his study. This may impose some limitations on his freedom as well as raising questions of propriety, payment, and social obligations.

Once in the field, the research worker is on his own, responsible for himself and for any assistants he has taken with him. However, if he has done the proper groundwork in Rio, in the state capital, and in the choosing of the community, he should experience no difficulty as far as professional relations are concerned. Relations with the community are something quite different and will be treated below.

One other aspect of professional relations remains to be discussed. In recent years less individual research has been carried out in Brazil by American anthropologists and sociologists. Rather the tendency has been for North American social scientists to go to Brazil in the capacity of advisers or technicians to the various applied science organizations, such as CBPE and el Centro Latino Americano. This position calls for quite different kinds of professional relations.

The individual undertaking this sort of activity will find that there is little or no opportunity for individual research. Rather, he is expected to assist in the carrying out of research projects already planned by others and which may be well under way when he arrives on the scene.

A current of nationalism causes many of the younger Brazilian social scientists to feel that they no longer need the tutelage of foreign

experts in the social sciences, particularly in the social sciences as the cornerstones in the building of a modern Brazil. This tendency places the expert in a rather delicate position; nevertheless, he can make a contribution.

The importance of handling Portuguese competently is even greater in this situation than in one where the research worker is carrying out his own project. He may find that something is expected of him which is quite outside his field of competence, or else, as has happened, which he feels is a useless research plan which will add nothing to the problem at hand. Before accepting such a commission, it is well to have it completely understood on both sides what the expert is to do. It may be better not to go than to spend a year of almost complete frustration as far as the work is concerned. At the same time, some of the best insights and understanding of contemporary Brazilian culture are coming out of this type of association, particularly in the field of national character studies, since the range of research projects and sites is far larger and more organized than any individual study could be, due to the resources behind it.

A third area in which the social scientist is participating, is that of teaching in various universities, under the Fulbright Act. In distinction to a decade or more ago, the visiting professor does not occupy a chair, but rather is attached to the catedratico who does occupy it. Rather than designing his own course, he must teach what is already on the agenda of the department. If the professor cannot speak Portuguese his teaching will suffer, and furthermore, his relations with the catedratico and the rest of the staff of the faculty will be almost non-existent. He will be shown his classroom, told the hours at which he is to meet the class. He will be isolated from the rest of the activities in the faculty. Relations with students are also limited by lack of communication, or are restricted to banalities.

## VIII. RELATIONS WITH THE GENERAL PUBLIC

How much contact the research worker has with the general public depends upon where he is going in Brazil. If he is going to remain in Rio or São Paulo he can lose himself as he can in any large city, coming and going pretty much as he pleases. His dress and behavior aren't too noticeable to too many people. However, if he goes to a rural area everything about him will stand out—he will be pinpointed from the moment he arrives, and everything about him will be discussed and judged. This is particularly true in the north, less so in the south where his physical type merges far more easily with the more Europeanized population. If his wife and children are along, they too will be on show.

Very often the newspapers will pick up the arrival of a social scientist and, depending upon the work he intends to do, will give more or less space to him in the papers. If he is joining a faculty as a visiting professor, there is usually a perfunctory notice sent to the papers by the faculty itself. If the research worker is a senior member of his profession he will be called upon for interviews.

If the research worker is going to the interior to study Indians, this more exotic activity will rate more space. He may even be asked to write a series of articles for the paper about the actual field experience.

In any event, he will be asked to state the research project and explain what he hopes to learn. Reporting in these instances is usually fairly accurate, as Brazil has good journalistic traditions.

Throughout his stay in Brazil, the social scientist is also expected to be an interpreter of North American life, explaining the racial situation, the political situation, university system, and primary and secondary education.

In some of the rural areas he may be asked to tell about movie stars, their personalities and activities, as well as about other international figures.

Many Brazilians who have little contact with North Americans except through the movies and press have developed definite stereotypes

concerning them. Outside the two great centers of Rio and São Paulo, these stereotypes are little challenged and if the research worker does not live up to them it is frequently said that he is not like an American.

Americans are supposed to be tall, blond and blue-eyed, a physical type attractive to Brazilians, even though they feel more at home with a brunette or moreno.

All Americans are wealthy—an obvious fact shown by the equipment and appliances draped on their shoulders plus the freedom with which they move about from area to area, the too-high tips they give, and the too-high salaries they are inclined to pay. It is an easy step to charge them too high prices and to exploit them in other little ways. The American who takes this game in bad spirits will soon have a reputation as a penny pincher.

Americans are also thought to be heavy drinkers and in fact many of those in permanent residence frequently are. Brazilian drinking patterns differ from ours and it is only in recent years that whiskey and mixed cocktails have become stylish. This is pretty much limited to the larger cities and to the upper classes. The Brazilian who usually has his principal meal at midday does not honor the cocktail hour the way we do. His numerous cafezinhos seem to provide all the stimulus he needs. On special occasions he will break out a bottle of sweet vermouth or perhaps cachaça. Also on occasion beer will be served. In general women do not drink alcohol.

The American is also expected to be punctual and to the point. Brazilians feel that they themselves are just the opposite—lax about punctuality and seemingly never coming to the point. Many other things are discussed first—family, friends, and the political situation—before the business matter is brought up. Neither of these stereotypes is 100 per cent true.

Americans are known to be honest and sincere. This, in a way, compensates for their general lack of culture.

This sort of list could be extended indefinitely. The point is that each individual must clarify his own personality in order to establish good rapport in general. At times, when a couple goes, they will be judged quite differently. The husband frequently passes the acid tests, while the wife does not. American men in the field seem much more capable of adjusting than do American women, and it is frequently heard that so-and-so is a fine man, simpático, not at all like an American, but his wife just is not up to him. This is one of the reasons that the wife should prepare herself for the trip as much as the husband.

Again, knowing the language is the first and greatest aid. Conversation among women in Brazil has to do with household affairs—births, bringing up children, life-cycle celebrations such as baptisms, servants, preparation of foods, the latest styles, and the latest movies and theater.

In rural areas, once the local leading citizen learns that a foreign social scientist is in the area, he will generally seek him out and attempt friendship, extending his round of social life to the anthropologist.

In any event, the field worker should take the role of an intellectual which automatically places him in an upper class category, and he is expected to behave as other upper class people behave. During the initial period it is probably better to remain in this relationship towards the general public, particularly in the rural areas. There is then a specific frame of reference in which the local population can place the anthropologist. After awhile this relationship can be broadened and no one will be confused nor lose prestige.

The research worker who goes to a small rural community will be an object of great curiosity. Explaining what he is there to do, how he does it and why he does it can become tiring. But if he remembers that the rural community for the most part never heard of anthropology nor of the idea of studying the common, everyday activities of small isolated groups such as themselves, it becomes easier to deal with this problem. Frequently, in spite of explanations, the community will mark the research worker as an historian or as a student trying to write a book, and let it go at that. In mining areas, however, much of the populace will forever suspect the research worker of being a prospector, and he must make the best of it.

The unmarried female anthropologist is at somewhat of a disadvantage in a rural setting. However, she can get considerable work done by the simple expedient of making contact with the local school teacher, perhaps even living with her, and persuading her to accompany her and participate in the field research. Unmarried women do not move about rural regions alone without a good institutionalized reason.

The male research worker should also be careful about going into the homes of informants when the husband or some other male relative is not there.

On the whole, relations with the small community are easy to establish and maintain. Once the community sees that the research worker is a serious person, genuinely trying to learn the local customs and enjoying certain local amusements, he will be accepted. It is worth his spending the initial period of field work in orienting himself as to the local ways, and taking those as his own patterns.

The problem of cultivating informants will vary from place to place. At times one can pay certain individuals for repeated depth interviews, or for providing other information over a long period of time. Usually informants will be pleased to give information about themselves and their communities without direct payment. In contrast to many other world areas, Brazilians enjoy talking about themselves and their way of life. However, a birthday present for the informant, or one of his children, or a souvenir from a distant city, is definitely necessary.



## IX. PHYSICAL ADJUSTMENT

There are many varieties of climate in Brazil, and although there are few extremes of either temperature or moisture, the climate is not monotonous. The temperatures in the equatorial region of the Amazon are fairly high throughout the year, but they are never as high in those regions as they are in the summer in the lower middle latitudes. Temperature, however, is not the only problem. Along the coast and northern river regions, the humidity, combined with occasional lack of wind, causes one to feel the heat excessively, as well as creating a problem of mildew. For the most part, life is comfortable in the coastal cities throughout the year. The temperatures in Rio de Janeiro are something like those of Charleston, South Carolina, in the summer time, and certainly no colder than Miami, Florida, in the winter months. In spite of the small change, one definitely feels that a different season has arrived, and notes that the general population changes its attire to a certain extent.

South of Rio the temperature pattern changes to much cooler in the winter. The same is true of the highland areas—that is, back of the narrow coastal plain. São Paulo, for example, has temperatures as low as 32°F. in July and August. For these areas, winter clothing is needed, and particularly clothing suitable for indoor wear since most houses do not have provisions for heating. However, the cold season is usually accompanied by clear sunny skies, so that the over-all effect is invigorating. Farther west, out into Mato Grosso, the days are warm during June, July and August, but apt to be very cold at night. These are the best months for field work in this area from the point of view of personal comfort. During the rest of the year, the temperatures are higher in general, and there is much rain. The total effect is one of dampness and warm, sticky weather.

In the far south, in Rio Grande do Sul, in Santa Catarina, and at times even up into Paraná, there may be light snow storms in the winter time. Frosts spread up into the state of São Paulo. The summer months in the south have considerable rain and fairly high temperatures.

Health conditions vary throughout Brazil. Malaria has been brought almost completely under control. However, Schistosomiasis Mansoni (a liver parasite spread by snails), which was formerly limited to the northern areas, now seems to be spreading southward because of the

large numbers of migrants. Swimming in fresh water streams and ponds in populated areas is best avoided. Doença de Chagas (tripanosomíase americana), the South American form of sleeping sickness which is spread by a species of beetle which burrows into taipa (clay) walls, is now recognized and can be treated. Nevertheless, those going to rural areas and living in taipa houses do well to spray thoroughly the little holes which appear from time to time in the taipa. Aside from these rather serious but fortunately rare diseases, few other things are apt to bother the research worker as much as intestinal upsets. For these it is best to have an appropriate remedy with one at all times.

Medical supplies of all sorts are available in all the larger Brazilian cities, and the usual run of home remedies can be found in most of the small towns. Modern antibiotics and other drugs are manufactured in Brazil by American and Brazilian firms. Medical treatment is adequate in Rio and São Paulo where there are excellent hospital facilities. In the other major cities treatment is good, but hospitals are fewer. Nurses are very few. In case of hospitalization, one's spouse, or in the case of children, one of the parents usually remains in the hospital with the patient. Many small towns in the interior lack doctors altogether. When in the far interior with the Indians, the research worker is on his own as far as medical aid is concerned.

Housing is largely a matter of luck. In general, housing is short, whether in a large city, small city, or small rural town. The lone male research worker will not have much difficulty, nor will his housing be as costly as for a couple or family. In the large cities it is possible to find a furnished apartment or even a furnished house which is very comfortable and also very expensive. In the smaller state capitals usually no furnished houses or apartments are available and it may be necessary to make arrangements at a hotel or pensão (boarding house) or else rent and furnish an apartment or house. Occasionally in a city where there is a foreign colony, one can rent a vacation house—that is, a house belonging to someone going on a three-month or six-month home leave. In this case, luxurious quarters may be rented fairly cheaply. Many times part of the agreement is that the renter will continue to employ the same household help so that the family of the research worker or teacher will find itself being trained by the servants into someone else's living patterns. This can be satisfactory, or quite the opposite.

In cases of research in the interior small towns, housing may become a problem. Frequently there is no pensão and the research worker is forced practically to beg for a house. He usually finds one that is less than adequate. Repairs, additions and modifications are not expensive if done in the local style and these usually make a small house

satisfactory. Furnishings can be borrowed, bought, or improvised. In areas where there is no electricity and therefore no refrigeration, and also where there is practically no fresh food distribution system, it is best to hire a local person to do the shopping and prepare the food. In areas where fresh meat is available only once a week, it must all be cooked the same day so that it will keep. Other than in the largest cities it is best to avoid fresh milk and butter; powdered milk and canned butter are available almost everywhere. For preserving some items, it is sometimes possible to make a deal with the local bar which frequently has a kerosene refrigerator.

In rural areas where there is no running water, it is necessary to follow the local practice of storing water in clay pots. In such instances there are usually individuals in the town who undertake to bring water to the houses from the nearest wells or springs. Under these circumstances it is best, of course, to boil the water, which can then be put in a ceramic filter pot for cooking.

In all, when living in a small rural town, it is best to follow the local patterns by hiring a local cook or housekeeper, and at the same time to establish one's own supply lines with a good store in the nearest city. A portador can be of great help here. If disinclined to establish housekeeping, the research worker can frequently make arrangements to take his meals with some local family.

Since Brazil is industrializing rapidly, household appliances which formerly were imported and very expensive are now available in various qualities and prices. Prices, in comparison with those of the U.S., are still relatively high for many items. Imported items have prestige value, and, while it is perfectly possible to equip a house with Brazilian products, visitors to the house will be definitely disappointed by a lack of U.S.-made goods. At the end of the field period these imported things can be sold for fairly good prices. In fact, in the major cities one of the favorite Sunday activities consists in taking the ads from the newspapers of returning Americans, and going from house to house, buying various items. Television is available in Rio, São Paulo, Porto Alegre, Belo Horizonte, Bahia, and their immediate rural areas. A TV set is an excellent linguistic aid, as well as an introduction to a great deal of the popular culture. The pictorial news as well as an introduction to a great deal of the popular culture. The pictorial news of the Reporter Esso helps one keep up to date. A record player is an asset in the rural areas where there is electricity. Excellent Brazilian records are available. Electric blankets and bed pads are a great comfort in southern Brazil in the winter time, as is a good portable electric heater. Batteries of all types are available in the large cities for radios. The electric blender is almost a must

in a Brazilian household, as is the electric floor polisher. Both are available as are vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, and washing machines. Frozen food is not yet available so a freezer is of little use. Modern Brazilian furniture is excellent—although expensive. Linens, beds, and tables run the whole price range; dishes, pots, and pans the same.

In the major cities upper class Brazilians are high-style conscious, following the latest French and Italian creations. Some excellent ready-made wear is available, but for the most part Brazilians have their clothing made for them. Although the prices are rising for this constantly, excellent dresses for women and suits for men are not too expensive. Sports clothes are available in all price ranges and are usually ready-made. Too-bright colors for men are not advisable, nor anything with a deer motif. (The deer is the symbol for male sexual inversion.) Wash-and-wear fabrics are not available; most Brazilians prefer their clothing starched.

In southern Brazil, warm clothing is necessary for the winter months. Good woolen sweaters are available at fairly low prices, as are woolen socks, scarves, and underwear. Women frequently wear woolen slacks during the winter when in the house or going to the street markets, but not for town wear or when invited out. Overcoats are definitely necessary in the wintertime.

Soaps, soap powders, lotions, and creams are available throughout Brazil. The better French and British toilet preparations find great favor, and most American products are manufactured in Brazil under the same trade names.

Many brands of good cigarettes are manufactured and sold in Brazil. Recently a number of companies has started marketing a satisfactory pipe tobacco. American cigarettes and tobacco, however, are still sought by many. They are sold in most tobacco shops in the major cities, but at a very high price. Bahian cigars are highly esteemed by many North Americans.

The traditional popular alcoholic beverage has been cachaca, a single-distillation rum. Recently whiskey (usually Scotch) has become the most popular drink in many circles. It is imported and very expensive. A few Brazilian companies have started making and selling a passable product which is about half the price of the imported whiskey. Excellent gin, vermouths, and other wines are manufactured in Brazil. Coca-Cola and other soft drinks are found everywhere.

The cost of living in Brazil is high. In general, services are low, but manufactured products high. Food costs about the same as in the

U.S., at least in the São Paulo area which is the best served. In other areas it is somewhat higher. In the São Paulo and Rio areas good pasteurized milk, butter, graded eggs, high quality fresh vegetables, many kinds of fruit, and good meat are all available in excellent supermarkets. In the north the situation is quite different—poor meat in general, few fresh vegetables, good tropical fruit, untrustworthy milk and milk products, eggs expensive and scarce. It is necessary to rely on canned goods and to switch to rice and beans as the major accompaniments of meat. Problems of procuring satisfactory food in the interior have previously been mentioned. Tap water in most of the large cities is filtered, chlorinated or otherwise treated, and is generally safe. Those who prefer can buy bottled spring water almost everywhere at a fairly low price. Most Brazilian bread is excellent.

In the southern part of Brazil (Rio south), there are excellent, reasonable-price restaurants, as well as expensive and high class restaurants. In other cities there are usually one or two good public eating places, but the best are usually in the tennis clubs, yacht clubs, and golf clubs. The food in upper class Brazilian homes is usually plentiful, wholesome, and well prepared. An excellent cook book in English and Portuguese, prepared by the Hospital dos Estrangeiros in Rio, can be purchased. This explains the weights, measures, and names of ingredients, and gives recipes.

Field work in Brazil is frequently difficult for American women who are not accustomed to directing the work of a cook and household servant. It is also difficult for those who are not willing to try new foods or new ways of preparing food. Those who take infants or small children with them are well-advised to visit a Brazilian pediatrician or some other, long-time, resident physician whose name can be indicated by the consulate, in order to have the local diets explained, and to relieve themselves of the worry of trying to duplicate exactly what they have been accustomed to in the U.S.

Most of the equipment a visiting anthropologist would need for his work is available in Brazil, but imported and expensive. It is best to take a recorder, camera, film, and so on if they are going to be needed. Some of the older electric installations are 50-cycle, but these are now few and far between, and for the most part the current is A.C. 60-cycle. Typewriters are also available, but again, imported and expensive. Many makes of automobiles are manufactured in Brazil, but all of them are costly. A U.S. auto commands a good resale price, if it can legally be sold. Fords, Chevrolets, and Jeeps can be serviced and repaired almost anywhere, as can the Volkswagen. Gasoline stations are situated in the small towns, but as one goes west beyond paved roads it is wise to inquire about distances and gas, as well as whether there have been extra heavy rains which would impede passage.

Overland travel is slow, although inexpensive. Most travel is done by air, and Brazil is extremely well served by airlines. The research worker frequently finds that he has large distances to cover in the course of his work. Once the initial experience of a long train, bus, or truck ride is over it is more satisfactory to use the airlines when possible.

Although the social scientist going to Brazil with dollars has a definite advantage, it must be remembered that inflation is rampant there. The cost of living goes up about 30 per cent per year. As the value of the cruzeiro falls and one receives more cruzeiros per dollar, the price in cruzeiros goes up. It is possible to maintain a living standard equal to that in the U.S. in the larger cities, but this costs more all the time. The basic pay for an individual under the Fulbright Program equals about \$400 per month, plus an allowance for each dependent. This for the uninitiated in Brazil is insufficient for rent, food, schooling, automobile and the other normal expenses of a family.

Even a field project in a rural area becomes costly. While the stay in the field is fairly inexpensive mainly because one does without the appurtenances of city life, the intermediate stopovers in the city will cut into any research budget, as will any sickness or accident which requires the research worker to go to the city for treatment.

The budget planning for a trip should be carefully worked out in advance with information as to the latest exchange rate, its trend, and the actual prices of goods and services in Brazil at that time.

## X. RESEARCH NEEDS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Although Brazil has been widely studied by anthropologists and sociologists in recent years, the aspects predominantly chosen for study have been the more exotic ones exclusive to Brazil, and which could be handled by the traditional techniques of anthropology.

Among these are ethnographic studies of Indian groups; acculturation studies of Indians, Italians, Germans, and Japanese; numerous Afro-Brazilian studies having to do with religion, food, music, and dance; many studies of race relations; a number of works on dramatic internal migrations; and most recently a rash of community studies, of which there must be at least forty, seeking to establish regional patterns of life and attempting to determine traditional culture patterns.

Many areas of Brazilian culture have been ignored, and consequently no techniques have been developed for the study of these. Few or no people have followed Gilberto Freyre's initial studies of the Brazilian family—its structure, its role, its relationship to economics, politics, and control patterns, its flexibility, and its adaptation to changing conditions.

While many small community studies have been made, practically no studies of the principal settlement patterns—the plantation in its various forms and the cattle ranch—have been made. Latifundium is much talked about, but few or no field studies have been carried out examining the social and cultural as well as economic role of the large land unit, and its adaptation to changing circumstances.

For several decades Brazil has made excellent census enumerations, but little analysis has been made of the demographic data collected. Little or no work has been done in making outline maps based on this data. Furthermore, very little work has been carried out in municipal studies, particularly in charting municipal boundary changes, the loci of regional power organizations and population shifts.

The principal characteristic of Brazil today is change. Briefly and oversimply described, Brazil is a great, unified nation, which has traditionally been characterized by a small, powerful elite, backed up by rapidly increasing underdeveloped masses. Both these units are undergoing rapid change, as is true of many other modern nations. The

basic ingredients of the change are the same—rapidly breaking down isolation, the entry of former subsistence groups into a money economy, a gradual rise of living standards and of expectations, the spread of transportation and communication systems, public services such as education and health care, rapid industrialization, urban growth, and the constant desire for more and accelerated change.

All the problems involved in easing, accelerating, and expanding the results of these changes face the Brazilian people as they face others. In a practical way they also face the Brazilian social scientist, who is called upon to give advice to action agencies about phenomena which he has as yet not studied. In turn, he expects his foreign colleague to be able to help him.

There is room for research which has to do with the fitting of new technologies to Brazilian culture and its subcultures, whether in the field of medicine which is making great strides but not yet reaching the wider population, in education which is expanding but which still falls short of the mark, or in the many other fields which are undergoing rapid development.

The great research challenges, particularly for the anthropologist, lie in the study of values and the consequent discovery of the direction of the changes taking place so rapidly. Little or nothing at all is being done in this area. Large questions such as the emergence of a middle class, or of middle class values, or of the general ideological orientation of the culture are being ignored.

The historical lessons to be learned in Brazil during its long period of leaving colonialism, establishing political stability, and uniting its widely spread subcultural groups into a nation, which could be of use to the newly emerging nations of other continents, have been ignored.

While many Brazilians and non-Brazilians have written impressionistic accounts of the ethos of Brazilian culture, no studies have yet been undertaken in the field of national culture. The problem is frequently mentioned but nothing is done about it.

In physical anthropology little has been done other than the taking of bodily measurements. Growth studies under special conditions of tropical and subtropical environments, under different regimes of nutrition, have not been done. The recent impetus in human genetics has opened up new vistas, but the research has been done primarily by biologists. The application of genetic studies to Brazil's special conditions of first-cousin marriage present an exciting field of inquiry.



Little or no archaeology has been undertaken in Brazil, with one or two notable exceptions. Yet in spite of the apparent flatness of the indigenous past, much remains to be done. Recent studies by Murphy among the Mundurucú have shown that new approaches can be worked out in the ethnographic field, which still presents many facets for study. In fact there is still much work to be done in the study of Indians in Brazil. There is a number of tribes along the Guiana frontiers and the Xingú region which have never been studied. Furthermore a number of tribes such as the Borôro and Carajá need further study. This may be the last decade in which it will be possible to do studies with groups anywhere near aboriginal conditions. The best recent guides to the possibilities in this field are in an article by R. Heine-Geldern and another by Darcy Ribeiro in UNESCO International Social Science Bulletin, Vol. IX, no. 3, 1957.

While anthropology has much to offer, so have political science, government and economics which go beyond the standard introductory level to deal with unknown problems of rapid development, and modern history which seeks out the dynamics of the past rather than just dates.

There are two specific sources dealing with research possibilities in Brazil. One is by Donald Pierson and Mario Wagner Viera da Cunha, "Research and Research Possibilities in Brazil," Acta Americana, 1947. The other is by Gilberto Freyre, Problemas Brasileiras de Antropologia, Rio de Janeiro, José Olympio, ed., 1959.

Brazil is an exceptional laboratory for the social sciences. As a nation it has faith in the use of these disciplines, and Brazilians as individuals make research easy for the visitor, displaying a rare willingness to guide him through the intricacies of their culture.

## APPENDIX A

### NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PRINCIPAL BRAZILIAN ORGANIZATIONS

1. CAPES (Campanha Nacional de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior) Avenida Marechal Camara 210, 8º andar, Rio de Janeiro, Est. da Guanabara Dr. Anísio S. Teixeira.
2. Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais  
Rua Voluntários da Pátria 107, Rio de Janeiro, Est. da Guanabara  
Dr. Anísio S. Teixeira
3. Museu Nacional  
Quinta da Boa Vista, Rio de Janeiro, Est. da Guanabara  
Dr. Luis Castro Faria
4. Serviço de Proteção aos Índios  
Avenida Graça Aranha 81, 4º andar, Rio de Janeiro, Est. da Guanabara  
Orlando Villas Boas, Diretor-Geral
5. Fundação Getúlio Vargas  
Praia de Botafogo 186, Rio de Janeiro, Est. da Guanabara  
Dr. José Garrido Torres
6. Associação Brasileira de Antropologia  
Rua da Matriz 92, Botafogo, Rio de Janeiro, Est. da Guanabara  
Dr. Manuel Diégues Júnior
7. Centro Latino-Americano de Pesquisas em Ciências Sociais (UNESCO)  
Avenida Pasteur 431, Praia Vermelha, Rio de Janeiro, Est. da Guanabara  
Dr. Manuel Diégues Júnior
8. Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE)  
Avenida Franklin Roosevelt 166, Rio de Janeiro, Est. da Guanabara  
Dr. Hildebrando Martins

9. **Instituto de Ciencias Sociais**  
**Universidade do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, Est. da Guanabara**  
**Dr. Manuel Diéguas Júnior**
10. **Fulbright Commission**  
**Avenida Rio Branco 131, sala 401, Rio de Janeiro, Est. da**  
**Guanabara**  
**Dr. Fernando Tude de Souza**
11. **Escola de Sociologia e Política do Instituto de Estudos Políticos**  
**e Sociais**  
**Pontifca Universidade Católica, Rio de Janeiro, Est. da Guanabara**  
**Dr. Artur Heihl Neiva**
12. **Museu Paraense "Emilio Goeldi"**  
**Belém, Pará**  
**Dr. Eduardo Galvão**
13. **Instituto do Ceará**  
**Fortaleza, Ceará**
14. **Instituto Joaquim Nabuco**  
**Avenida 17 de Agosto 2187, Recife, Pernambuco**  
**Dr. Rene Ribeiro**
15. **Fundação Para o Desenvolvimento das Ciencias na Bahia**  
**Graça 13, Salvador, Bahia**  
**Dr. Thales Azevedo**
16. **Instituto Mineiro de Estudos Sociais**  
**Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais**  
**Dr. Manuel Almeida**
17. **Fundação Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo**  
**Rua General Jardim 522, São Paulo**  
**Dr. Cyro Berlinck**
18. **Departamento de Sociologia e Antropologia**  
**Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciencias e Letras da Universidade de**  
**São Paulo**  
**Caixa Postal 5459, São Paulo**  
**Dr. Egon Schaden**

19. **Sociedade Brasileira de Genética**  
Departamento de Biologia Geral  
Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras da Universidade de  
São Paulo  
Prof. Oswaldo Frota-Pessoa
20. **Sociedade Brasileira de Sociologia**  
Caixa Postal 8105, São Paulo  
Prof. Frank Perry Goldman
21. **Museu Paulista**  
Caixa Postal 8032, São Paulo  
Dr. Sergio Buarque de Holanda
22. **Departamento de Antropologia**  
Faculdade de Filosofia da Universidade do Paraná  
Curitiba, Paraná  
Dr. José Loureiro Fernandes
23. **Laboratorio de Genética**  
Faculdade de Filosofia da Universidade do Paraná  
Curitiba, Paraná  
Dr. N. Freire-Maia
24. **Centro de Estudos e Pesquisas Econômicos**  
Faculdade de Ciências Econômicas  
Avenida João Pessoa, Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul  
Prof. Pery Pinto Diniz
25. **Museu Regional Dom Bosco**  
Campo Grande, Mato Grosso  
Padre Angelo Venturelli

## APPENDIX B

### PRINCIPAL LIBRARIES

1. **Biblioteca Nacional**  
Rio de Janeiro, Est. da Guanabara
2. **Biblioteca Municipal**  
Rio de Janeiro, Est. da Guanabara
3. **Biblioteca do Instituto Nacional do Livro**  
Rio de Janeiro, Est. da Guanabara
4. **Biblioteca do Museo Nacional**  
Rio de Janeiro, Est. da Guanabara
5. **Biblioteca do Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais**  
Rio de Janeiro, Est. da Guanabara
6. **Biblioteca Pública Municipal**  
São Paulo, São Paulo
7. **Biblioteca Central da Universidade de São Paulo**  
São Paulo, São Paulo
8. **Biblioteca Pública Municipal**  
Curitiba, Paraná
9. **Biblioteca da Universidade da Bahia**  
Salvador, Bahia

## APPENDIX C

### PRINCIPAL SERIAL PUBLICATIONS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Revista de Antropologia

Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras da Universidade de São Paulo

Dr. Egon Schaden, editor

Boletim da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras da Universidade de São Paulo

Sociologia I

Sociologia

Fundação Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo

Dr. Alfonso F. Trujillo, editor

Educação e Ciências Sociais

Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais

Rio de Janeiro

Da. Clotilde da Silva Costa

Boletim do Centro Latino Americano de Pesquisas em Ciências Sociais

Rio de Janeiro

Dr. Manoel Diégues Júnior

Boletim Informativo. Série Estudos e Ensaios. Série Informação. Série Levantamentos e Análises.

CAPES

Rio de Janeiro

Dr. Almir de Castro

Boletim Estatístico

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatístico

Rio de Janeiro

Dr. Hildebrando Martins

Conjuntura Economica

Fundação Getúlio Vargas

Rio de Janeiro

Dr. Denio Nogueira

**Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagogicos**

**INEP**

**Caixa Postal 1669, Rio de Janeiro**

**Dr. Anisio S. Teixeira**

**Publicações**

**Conselho de Pesquisas da Universidade do Paraná**

**Curitiba, Paraná**

**Dr. José Loureiro Fernandes**

**Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos**

**Universidade de Minas Gerais**

**Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais**

**Prof. Orlando M. Carvalho**

**Técnica**

**Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Ciencia na Bahia**

**Salvador, Bahia**

**Dr. Thales Azevedo**

**Boletim do Instituto Joaquim Nabuco de Pesquisas Sociais**

**Recife, Pernambuco**

**Dr. Renato Carneiro Campos**

**Boletim do Instituto Nacional de Pesquisas da Amazonia, nova série:**

**Antropologia**

**Museo Paraense Emilio Goeldi**

**Belém, Pará**

**Dr. Eduardo Galvão**

## APPENDIX D

### SELECTED BACKGROUND REFERENCES

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