

Variations in Occupational Prestige Hierarchies: Brazilian Data¹

Archibald O. Haller
University of Wisconsin

Donald B. Holsinger
Stanford University

Helcio Ulhôa Saraiva
University of Piauí

It is probable that the occupational prestige hierarchy we label "Euro-American urban" is characteristic of all or almost all contemporary societal structures. But whether this hierarchy pervades all parts of all societies is a question which has yet to be answered. The present study emphasizes evidence of intrasocietal variation which may have been overlooked and provides new data consistent with the hypothesis that deviation from the Euro-American urban occupational prestige hierarchy is associated with isolation from that culture. Survey data on occupational prestige hierarchies from three Brazilian communities which vary on an index of isolation are presented. Correlations of the Brazilian occupational prestige hierarchies and the U.S. (NORC) hierarchy diminish with increasing isolation of the sampled populations. These results signal a warning to those conducting research on presumed antecedents or consequences of stratification outside the Euro-American cultural system. Isolated sectors of some contemporary societies may have occupational prestige hierarchies (and therefore systems of stratification) which differ from the well-known Euro-American form.

Among recent studies of occupational stratification there appears to be a consensus that occupational categories are, with insignificant variations, similarly evaluated according to prestige among and within all societies (cf. Hodge, Treiman, and Rossi 1966; and Treiman, in press). At the same time, many studies of occupational prestige are in turn based on

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questionable assumptions about the sampling of respondents and of occupational titles (Haller and Lewis 1966; Hodge et al. 1966, p. 313). The current belief that intrasocietal variations in occupational prestige hierarchies are slight or unimportant (Inkeles and Rossi 1956; Thomas 1962; Tiryakian 1958; Carter and Sepúlveda 1964; Hodge et al. 1966) may be due largely to American sociologists' overgeneralization of research done in urban areas outside the United States and a few other European countries, coupled with Reiss's (1961) use of NORC (National Opinion Research Center) data showing insignificant variation among sectors of the American population. The present work emphasizes some evidence which may have been overlooked, and provides new data regarding the hypothesis that deviation from the Euro-American urban occupational prestige hierarchy is associated with isolation from that culture. Such deviant hierarchies should be sought in remote areas of less-developed societies. The cities outside metropolitan regions should be outposts of common culture and, in fact, the occupational prestige hierarchies of urban people seem to be remarkably similar (Armer 1968).

Research on occupational mobility and status attainment requires a knowledge of the occupational prestige system of the society being studied. In research on the antecedents or consequences of stratification, it is generally assumed that the stratification system of the societies under study is known and is uniform from one part of the society to the other. If regions of such societies have variant occupational prestige hierarchies, such research is almost certain to yield fallacious or misleading results.

Research specifically designed to discover the existence of intrasocietal variation would require the formulation of hypotheses which predict at least some of the specific internal differences. Such hypotheses would also have to account for the widespread intersocietal similarity as well as for the occasional intrasocietal similarity.

Previous researchers have presented, and at least partially tested, two relatively specific hypotheses concerning variations in occupational prestige hierarchies. From seven small samples of Japanese, Costa Rican, and American junior high and high school boys, Haller and Lewis (1966) report a high positive relationship ($r \cong .94$) between (a) the percentage of nonfarm residents among the boys, and (b) the closeness of their occupational prestige ranking to U.S. adult males' rankings. Because of the small sample sizes and because the data, especially those from Japan, were collected as opportunities arose, inferences based upon them must be drawn with caution. Nonetheless, the data suggest a relationship between the complexity of the occupational structure within which one is involved and one's perception of how occupations stand vis-à-vis each other.

In another report using some of the same data, Lewis and Haller (1964) constructed two rank orders based on different ideal-typical stratification

systems. They noted that in the ideal-typical Tokugawa system, warriors were higher than farmers, who in turn were higher than artisans, with businessmen being lowest of all.

They argued that the contemporary expression of the Tokugawa system would be rank-ordered as follows (from highest to lowest): captain in the army, first; corporal in the army, second; farm owner-operator, third; sharecropper, fourth; architect, fifth; carpenter, sixth; manager of a small store in a city, seventh; traveling salesman for a wholesale concern, eighth. This order is almost uncorrelated with the NORC ratings of the same occupations in the United States ($\rho = +.10$). By contrast, the Japanese who adheres to the ideal urban-industrial occupational hierarchy would agree with the U.S. ratings of occupations. Eliminating occupations which existed prior to industrialization, the researchers picked the following eight from the NORC list, rank-ordered as in the United States (from highest to lowest): member of the board of directors of a large corporation, first; owner of a factory employing about 100 people, second; accountant for a large business, third; railroad engineer, fourth; garage mechanic, fifth; machine operator in a factory, sixth; filling-station attendant, seventh; railroad section hand, eighth. They then reasoned that persons with less urban contact would be more likely to evaluate occupations according to the former hierarchy. Figure 1 shows that this hy-

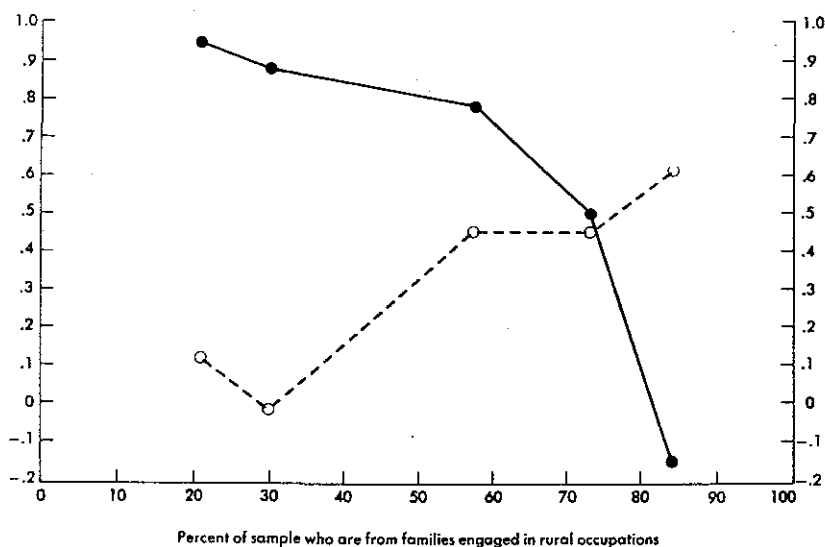


FIG. 1.—Correlations (ρ) of Tokugawa and urban-industrial occupational prestige hierarchies with occupational evaluations of five samples of Japanese adolescent boys by percent of each sample engaged in rural occupations (plotted from Lewis and Haller 1964). — = correlation with industrial hierarchy; --- = correlation with Tokugawa hierarchy.

pothesis was borne out—the greater the proportion of rural workers in the sample, the more closely the rankings correspond to the Tokugawa (first) hierarchy, and the less likely they are to follow the American ratings of the latter hierarchy rankings. The lower the proportion of rural workers, the more closely rankings correspond to those from Euro-American, urban-industrial culture.

These findings constitute a serious challenge to the assumption of intra-societal similarity in occupational prestige hierarchies. They also raise the possibility of intrasocietal differences in other regions. However, hypotheses predicting variations within specific societies will be well founded only if there is a clear rationale behind the variables which account for such differences.

The specification of one such variable and an empirical analysis of its explanatory power in Brazil are the primary concerns of this article. In addition, it presents new data on evaluations of occupations used in previous research as well as evaluations of occupations characteristic of rural Brazil.

Generalizing from the Haller-Lewis hypotheses, we reason that isolation is a necessary source of variation in occupational prestige for the following reasons: (1) Urban culture presupposes a complex specialized division of occupational roles which traditional agriculture, differentiated primarily by sex and age, does not. (2) Urban culture is most highly developed in the countries of Europe and North America (where it penetrates even into many seemingly remote rural areas). (3) Cities outside the latter countries are outposts of Euro-American culture in that they are linked to it by mass media and trade networks which spread shared definitions of occupations. (4) The lack of communication facilities and the absence of, and therefore cognitive meaninglessness of, large numbers of urban occupational roles thus reduce the extent to which outlying groups in developing societies agree with the occupational prestige hierarchy of Euro-American urban societies.

RESEARCH SITES AND PROCEDURES

The new data in this analysis are sample surveys from rural areas of Açucena (state of Minas Gerais) and Bezerros (state of Pernambuco), both in Brazil. In these samples, information was collected on the respondent's evaluations of occupational titles, his contact with mass media, and his own occupation and area of residence. Also used are Hutchinson's (1957) data on occupational prestige ratings of São Paulo University students and NORC data (Reiss 1961) on occupational prestige ratings in the United States. The NORC subjects are obviously an adequate

sample of the bearers of Euro-American urban culture, and the São Paulo students are in intimate contact with the same Euro-American culture.

Açucena

The *município* (county) of Açucena was chosen by means of an index of geographic isolation based on access to cities and major highways. This index indicates that Açucena is among the most isolated 1% of the *municípios* in the state of Minas Gerais. The closest gas station is located 43 kilometers from the county seat (a village), over a dirt road passable only in dry weather. The *município*'s population density in 1960 was 27.9 persons per square kilometer (SNR 1962). The area has always been poor, and in addition has experienced a steady economic decline since the coffee boom of the 1920s. Apart from subsistence agriculture, mining iron ore is the major economic activity of the larger region. In the *município* itself, however, agriculture is the only economic activity. Most of it is at the subsistence level, although a few farmers raise and sell beef cattle for the Brazilian urban market.

From November 1967 to January 1968, trained Brazilian interviewers surveyed 468 heads of households randomly selected from all dwelling units in the most isolated and most mountainous area of the *município*. From the total sample, a random subsample of 100 was selected to evaluate the 71 occupational titles. Within Açucena, the simple division of labor is indicated by the high proportion of farmers—83%. The marked isolation of the county is further indicated by the low level of media contact (see table 1).

Bezerros

The *município* of Bezerros is located in a fairly well-watered plateau in the *Zona do Agreste*, approximately 129 kilometers inland from Recife

TABLE 1
RELATIVE ISOLATION OF AÇUCENA AND BEZERROS

| Variables | Açucena | Bezerros |
|---|---------|----------|
| 1. Complexity of division of labor (% farm) | 83 | 74 |
| 2. Exposure to mass media (%): | | |
| a) Never listen to radio | 37 | 5 |
| b) Never read magazines | 98 | 67 |
| c) Never read newspapers | 98 | 62 |

(1960 population, 1,046,000) on a paved highway connecting that city with the interior of the state. Caruarú, the largest nearby city (1960 population, 64,471), is on the same highway, approximately 25 kilometers west of Bezerros. The *município* is 474 square kilometers in size, with only a few places being mountainous and inaccessible by jeep during the rainy season (early May to mid-July). The 1964 population of the *município* was 37,579—16,316 of whom lived in the city of Bezerros.² In 1964, the population density of Bezerros, 79.3 persons per square kilometer, was substantially greater than in Açucena.

Except for 20 or so family-sized firms producing tiles and bricks, Bezerros has virtually no industrial enterprise. The main source of income there, as in Açucena, is agriculture, but it is a mixed farming economy, producing fruits, vegetables, corn, manioc, as well as milk and beef, much of which is sent to markets in Recife and Caruarú.

In July 1968, interviews were conducted with 121 heads of households by Brazilian and Portuguese-speaking American interviewers trained in the social sciences. An initial plan for equal samples from four subpopulations was aborted, giving the following numbers for each group: (1) city dwellers—35; (2) large farm owners—28; (3) small farm owners—39; (4) tenants—19. The city interviews approximate a random area sample of householders. The farm owner subsample is also near random, as determined by comparison with official ownership records. Because adequate records and maps do not exist, there is no way of checking the randomness of the other two subsamples. For present purposes, all were simply pooled.³

In Bezerros the complexity of the division of labor is low, though not so much so as Açucena because farming is market oriented. Nonetheless, the level of this variable is roughly indicated by the high percentage in farming—74% (because of the sampling procedure this is not a very accurate estimate). Only 5% say they never listen to the radio while 50% report listening every day. The 62% who never read newspapers and the 67% who never read magazines are lower than the 98% nonreaders for both media in Açucena.

² Information provided by personnel of the Bezerros office of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics.

³ To test adequacy of the pooling, the first and second pairs of samples were separated, yielding two groups—one of urban residents and owners of large farms, who are more likely to have been exposed to the Euro-American occupational prestige hierarchy; the other, small farm owners and tenants, who are less likely to have been exposed to that hierarchy. (Note that a substantial proportion of the urban residents are in fact agricultural workers, while some of the large farm owners are employed in business or professions.) As the mean prestige rankings of the two groups correlated at $r = .97$ ($N = 75$ occupations), we conclude that these two groups see the occupational hierarchy in essentially the same way and that the pooling is justified.

Occupational Prestige Ratings

One of the most persistent methodological shortcomings of recent studies of occupational prestige lies in the biased samples of translatable occupational titles. Occupations at both ends of the prestige hierarchy have been oversampled, probably producing spuriously inflated correlations. Moreover, the total number of occupations most visible in a local economy is ordinarily quite small. Our occupational titles (71 in Açucena and 75 in Bezerros) were selected in part to minimize these effects (see Appendix for data on each occupation). Specifically, the criteria were: (a) comparability with existing studies, particularly with the NORC study and that of Gouveia (1965); (b) translatability into a local Brazilian equivalent; (c) balance between high-, medium-, and low-prestige occupations; (d) importance in the local economy.

In both places, respondents were shown an 8.5×14 -inch sheet of paper picturing a ladder with five steps or rungs. Occupations were read aloud by the interviewer and respondents were asked to indicate the prestige (*prestígio*, a word in common usage in Brazil) which "people attribute to" the occupation by pointing to the appropriate rung on the prestige ladder. The final score for each occupation is the mean of all the separate respondent's ratings. In Açucena, the test-retest reliability coefficient for the final mean ratings is $r_{tt} = +.98$.⁴

In order to determine the association among the samples (Açucena, Bezerros, São Paulo, NORC), the mean evaluation of each comparable occupation in each sample was arranged in order from high prestige to low, forming the hierarchy. In the case of evaluations by the U.S. sample, NORC's scores for occupations were used in the computation because the mean evaluations were not available. There is no reason to believe that this procedure appreciably alters the value of the correlation coefficients.

FINDINGS

Both the Bezerros and Açucena samples were rural, traditional, and isolated. However, Açucena is clearly the more isolated of the two, exceeding Bezerros in proportion of farmers, low media exposure, and in difficulty of travel to urban centers. These objective data support the observer's less-formal observations. On a good day, the county seat of Açucena is eight hours by car from Belo Horizonte (population about 1.2 million), the capital of Minas Gerais, and on a rainy day it is inaccessible. In any weather, the county seat of Bezerros is only two hours from Recife,

⁴ Reliability was assessed by reinterviewing a random n th case subsample of 100 sample member after a period of two months.

the capital of Pernambuco. Bezerros is laced with dirt roads mostly negotiable by jeep; jeeps were used for all interviews there. The Açucena sample area has only a few miles of roads; donkeys and horses were used for most of the interviews there.

Our expectation was that relative isolation would influence the association between Brazilian occupational prestige hierarchies and the U.S. hierarchy. Table 2 shows, indeed, that the Açucena hierarchy correlates more poorly with the U.S. hierarchy ($r = +.67$) than does the Bezerros hierarchy ($r = +.82$). Furthermore, São Paulo university students, in

TABLE 2
CORRELATIONS AMONG PRESTIGE RATINGS IN BRAZIL
AND THE UNITED STATES

| | United States (NORC) | São Paulo (Hutchinson) | Bezerros | Açucena |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------|----------|
| United States (NORC) | ... | .87 (23) | .82 (42) | .67 (39) |
| São Paulo (Hutchinson) | ... | ... | .89 (21) | .69 (17) |
| Bezerros | ... | ... | ... | .92 (71) |
| Açucena | ... | ... | ... | ... |

NOTE.—The number within parentheses is the total number of comparable occupational titles used in the correlation coefficient.

Latin America's most important industrial center and with even more intimate links to Euro-American urban culture, proffer a prestige hierarchy which is even more closely correlated with the U.S. hierarchy.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Several questions deserve comment before drawing our main conclusions. Are the apparently divergent hierarchies merely statistical artifacts? If not, are they due to sample members' ignorance? If not this either, then might we determine the sufficient conditions which produce them?

1. It might be argued that the differences among measures of association are not "statistically significant," and thus do not represent real differences.

Probability tests of hypotheses are rarely if ever presented in this research subject, and this article is no exception. The question is how to use the information from the two different classes of sampling units involved—samples of persons and occupational titles. The former are invariably large compared with the latter. Often the samples of people are not drawn randomly from a specifiable universe, and the samples of occupational titles probably never are. But it is obvious that the person-sample sizes

are usually large enough to yield differences in correlation coefficients which (were the necessary assumptions met) would be "statistically significant." The sample sizes of comparable occupations, drawn from two or more person-samples, on the other hand, are rarely this big, sometimes being smaller than 10. Even tiny differences based on large person-samples may appear to be "significant" but actually be unimportant; and even large differences based upon small occupation-samples may appear to be "insignificant" but may actually be indicative of notable variations. Nonetheless, we cannot ignore the fact that the relative magnitudes of the divergences from the NORC ranking are as anticipated. Moreover, Açucena, which was found as hypothesized to have the greatest divergence, is probably the most defensible of the Brazilian samples. Regardless of the unresolved formal problems of statistical inference, it seems reasonable to conclude that these data are sufficient to warrant accepting the hypotheses. We conclude the differences are not statistical artifacts.

2. It may be thought that divergent occupational hierarchies are due to sample members' ignorance of the true occupational hierarchy. Such hierarchies are people's definitions of part of their social realities. There is no sociological basis for assuming that any such hierarchy is the "true" one. Indeed there must surely have been many in the history of the world. Of course, the particular hierarchies are determined by a two-stage procedure in which sample members report on the definitions certain reference groups (say, "people in general") attribute to an object (occupational title). Our respondents usually indicated a prestige score for the occupational titles we showed them. As in the NORC work, we provided categories to check when a person did not know what a title meant. Our impression is that they were generally objective and honest in reporting their evaluations (all the writers participated in the interviewing). Though the possibility cannot be ruled out, we doubt that the variant evaluations are due merely to "mistakes" in estimating the prestige people attribute to the various titles. On the contrary, we think they probably assessed the evaluations of their own reference groups quite well. These rural people are isolated from urban centers but they are not isolated from each other. Furthermore, they know their own language well enough so that most of them have clear definitions of most of the titles we presented them. It seems unlikely that these divergent occupational prestige hierarchies are due to sample members' ignorance of a "one true hierarchy," the one which is characteristic of the centers of Euro-American culture.

3. We have in effect argued that extensive contact with Euro-American culture is a necessary condition for the emergence of a corresponding occupational prestige hierarchy. The sufficient conditions are another matter. Well-established hierarchies which were already present, such as in Japan, or variants based on other factors, will emerge if the necessary

conditions exist. What is the basis for variant hierarchies when they cannot be clearly attributed to a previous system, as in the case of Brazil? First, it may well be that a previous system existed but that it was not neatly codified into a legal structure (as in Tokugawa Japan) or religious structure (as, perhaps, in India). This is surely the case of most historical civilizations, but it is less clear for our small areas. In our areas, a history of plantations and frontier-like mining economies might provide clues, but if so we have not found them. If we could, it might be possible to infer the principles of such a system, and thus to deduce the rank orders of key occupational titles. However this may be, we do not know what sufficient conditions account for divergencies in our samples. We evidently need to devise ways to use extant documents to make such inferences. Another possibility is that new sources of prestige are emerging in the areas. If so, they would likely be tied to the particular current local economic systems and their requirements for competent role performance. And they would only be of passing interest because increasing communication would shortly sweep them away.

These findings and the Japanese data reviewed above (Lewis and Haller 1964) are consistent with the hypothesis that the extent to which a collectivity agrees with the occupational prestige hierarchy of Euro-American urban societies is negatively associated with the collectivity's physical and psychological isolation from Euro-American culture. Haller and Lewis (1966) indicate that biases in sampling occupational titles within societies and difficulties in comparing occupational titles between societies make it unwise to conclude that all societies have roughly similar occupational prestige hierarchies.⁵ This article adds a further warning: important sectors of some societies may have occupational prestige hierarchies quite different from that of Euro-American urban society and from its urban outposts around the world. In some societies the part of the population which is in this sense "non-Westernized" may be greater than the urban "Westernized" part. A collectivity isolated from urban centers will probably lack occupational titles common to the urban centers and may well include occupations little known in such centers. More important, it may evaluate shared occupational titles according to principles which are different from those its own urban people use. In our view this is quite likely to obtain everywhere outside of the mainstream of Euro-American culture. The presence of more than one occupational prestige hierarchy within a society will obviously complicate analyses, such as those urged by Treiman

⁵ Our findings are also consistent with an unpublished study of three Thai groups: university students, teachers'-college students, and peasants. Treiman, Lux, and Hodge (1969) show that, for Thailand, systematic differences in occupational prestige evaluations are related to social structural factors which influence the "sophistication" of those doing the rating.

(1970), of antecedents and consequences of and changes in the occupational prestige position of families and other units within and among societies. Consequently such research will require either (1) the specific demonstration that only one important occupational prestige hierarchy exists—as Reiss (1961) has done for the United States, (2) the explicit utilization of and accounting for other prestige hierarchies in each society under study, or (3) explicit recognition of the fact that results based solely upon the Westernized sectors may not be generalized to other sectors of the same societies.

Beyond the caveats, we hope that these new data on occupational rankings of rural Brazilians will be of use to researchers who are trying to determine the bases of variant occupational hierarchies.

APPENDIX

PRESTIGE RANK ORDER AND MEAN FOR AÇUCENA AND BEZERROS; OCCUPATIONS AND SCORES OF SELECTED NORC EQUIVALENTS

| OCCUPATIONS USED IN BRAZIL | RANKING DATA | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|------|---------|------|------|------|-----------|------|
| | Bezerros | | Açucena | | NORC | | São Paulo | |
| | Rank | Mean | Rank | Mean | Rank | Mean | Rank | Mean |
| Supreme Court justice—Juiz do Supremo Tribunal .. | 2 | 1.67 | 1 | 1.79 | 1.0 | 94 | ... | ... |
| (General in the Army)—General do exército | 1 | 1.66 | 2 | 1.85 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Cabinet member—Ministro do governo | 3 | 1.89 | 3 | 1.87 | 8.0 | 90 | ... | ... |
| (Treasurer of a large company)—Tesoureiro de uma companhia grande | 8 | 2.06 | 4 | 1.95 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| (Civil servant)—Promotor público | 7 | 2.05 | 5 | 2.00 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Head of a department in a state government—Chefe de um departamento do governo estadual | 13 | 2.15 | 6 | 2.03 | 21.5 | 86 | ... | ... |
| Banker—Banqueiro—dono ou diretor de um banco .. | 10 | 2.12 | 7 | 2.04 | 24.5 | 85 | ... | ... |
| Official of an international labor union—Diretor de um sindicato internacional | 16 | 2.36 | 8 | 2.08 | 37.0 | 77 | ... | ... |
| (Bank manager)—Gerente de banco | 12 | 2.14 | 9 | 2.09 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Mayor—Prefeito | 17 | 2.42 | 10 | 2.10 | 17.5 | 87 | ... | ... |
| Member of the board of directors of a large corpora- tion—Diretor de uma grande companhia | 14 | 2.16 | 11 | 2.10 | 17.5 | 87 | 4 | 4.1 |
| University professor—Professor de universidade | 11 | 2.13 | 12 | 2.17 | 8.0 | 90 | ... | ... |
| Railroad conductor—Chefe de trem | 43 | 3.16 | 13 | 2.17 | 57.0 | 66 | 25 | 21.6 |
| Public school teacher—Professora de primária | 25 | 2.60 | 14 | 2.18 | 29.5 | 81 | 9 | 7.8 |
| (Head of railway depot)—Chefe de estação de estrada de ferro | 33 | 2.89 | 15 | 2.24 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| (Army officer)—Oficial de exército | 5 | 1.96 | 16 | 2.24 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Farm owner and operator—Grande fazendeiro | 24 | 2.58 | 17 | 2.25 | 44.0 | 74 | 6 | 5.2 |
| Traveling salesman for a wholesale concern—Repre- sentante de firma comercial | 20 | 2.53 | 18 | 2.29 | 57.0 | 66 | 14 | 13.5 |
| Diplomat in U.S. foreign service—Diplomata | 19 | 2.43 | 19 | 2.35 | 11.0 | 89 | ... | ... |

APPENDIX (Continued)

| OCCUPATIONS USED IN BRAZIL | RANKING DATA | | | | | |
|--|--------------|------|---------|------|------|------|
| | Bezerras | | Açucena | | NORC | |
| | Rank | Mean | Rank | Mean | Rank | Mean |
| (Owner-operator of a pharmacy)—Farmacêutico-dono de farmácia | 28 | 2.73 | 20 | 2.38 | ... | ... |
| Welfare worker for a city government—Assistente social de uma cidade | 23 | 2.57 | 21 | 2.39 | 44.0 | 74 |
| Automobile repairman—Mecânico de automóveis .. | 31 | 2.84 | 22 | 2.42 | 60.0 | 64 |
| Psychologist—Psicólogo | 21 | 2.54 | 23 | 2.46 | 17.5 | 87 |
| (County statistics agent)—Agente de estatística | 32 | 2.86 | 24 | 2.46 | ... | ... |
| Chemist—Químico | 15 | 2.19 | 25 | 2.54 | 11.0 | 89 |
| Corporal in the regular Army—Cabo de exército ... | 34 | 2.94 | 26 | 2.57 | 65.5 | 62 |
| (Manager of a large farm)—Administrador de uma grande fazenda | 36 | 2.99 | 27 | 2.58 | ... | ... |
| Author of novels—Escritor de romances | 39 | 3.04 | 28 | 2.59 | 34.5 | 78 |
| Railroad section hand—Ferroviário | 38 | 3.04 | 29 | 2.63 | 77.5 | 50 |
| (Stonemason)—Pedreiro | 47 | 3.25 | 30 | 2.68 | ... | ... |
| (Hotel owner)—Dono de hotel | 48 | 3.25 | 31 | 2.69 | ... | ... |
| Manager of a small store in a city—Gerente de uma pequena loja na cidade | 40 | 3.05 | 32 | 2.70 | 54.5 | 67 |
| County agricultural agent—Extencionista | 44 | 3.16 | 33 | 2.70 | 39.0 | 76 |
| (Notary public)—Tabelião | 18 | 2.43 | 34 | 2.71 | ... | ... |
| (Police official)—Delegado de polícia | 29 | 2.81 | 35 | 2.79 | ... | ... |
| (Telegraph operator)—Telegrafista | 42 | 3.16 | 36 | 2.88 | ... | ... |
| Policeman—Polícia | 46 | 3.23 | 37 | 2.91 | 47.0 | 72 |
| Bookkeeper—Guarda livros | 30 | 2.82 | 38 | 2.91 | 49.5 | 70 |
| Economist—Economista | 27 | 2.61 | 39 | 2.92 | 34.5 | 78 |
| (Owner of a newspaper stand)—Dono de banca de jornais e revistas | 45 | 3.22 | 40 | 2.95 | ... | ... |
| Artist who paints pictures that are exhibited in galleries—Artista que pinta quadros que são mostrados em galerias | 37 | 3.04 | 41 | 2.95 | 34.5 | 78 |

APPENDIX (Continued)

| OCCUPATIONS USED IN BRAZIL | | RANKING DATA | | | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|--------------|------|---------|------|------|------|
| | | Bezerros | | Açucena | | NORC | |
| | | Rank | Mean | Rank | Mean | Rank | Mean |
| Carpenter—Carpinteiro | English Wording Portuguese Wording | 52 | 3.53 | 42 | 3.02 | 53.0 | 68 |
| (Small land owner)—Sitiantes | | 49 | 3.32 | 43 | 3.03 | ... | ... |
| Owner-operator of a printing shop—Pessoa que tem e opera uma pequena tipografia | | 35 | 2.97 | 44 | 3.08 | 41.5 | 75 |
| Bartender—Pessoa que prepara e serve bebidas no balcão de um restaurante | | 56 | 3.68 | 45 | 3.16 | 83.0 | 48 |
| (Skilled farm worker)—Empreiteiro para um serviço numa fazenda | | 59 | 3.77 | 46.5 | 3.17 | ... | ... |
| (Tailor)—Alfaiate | | 51 | 3.51 | 46.5 | 3.17 | ... | ... |
| (Foreman)—Feitor ou capataz | | 53 | 3.54 | 48 | 3.20 | ... | ... |
| (Settler)—Colono | | 50 | 3.46 | 49 | 3.21 | ... | ... |
| (Soldier, private)—Soldado | | 62 | 3.88 | 50 | 3.21 | ... | ... |
| (Baker)—Padeiro | | 55 | 3.65 | 51 | 3.21 | ... | ... |
| (Watchman living on a farm)—Retireiro | | 73 | 4.30 | 52 | 3.27 | ... | ... |
| Night watchman—Vigia noturno | | 67 | 3.96 | 53 | 3.27 | 77.5 | 50 |
| (Worker on a railway)—Trabalhador na linha do trem | | 68 | 3.97 | 54 | 3.30 | ... | ... |
| Clerk in a store—Caixeiro* de loja | | 58 | 3.72 | 55 | 3.30 | 70.0 | 56 |
| (Owner of a two-wheeled horse carriage which is available for hire)—Dono de charrete de aluguel | | 54 | 3.64 | 56 | 3.31 | ... | ... |
| (Resident farm wage worker)—Morador assalariado numa fazenda | | 69 | 3.99 | 57 | 3.32 | ... | ... |
| (Shoemaker)—Sapateiro | | 63 | 3.89 | 58 | 3.34 | ... | ... |
| (Small merchant)—Dono de quitanda | | 65 | 3.93 | 59 | 3.34 | ... | ... |
| (Petty merchant)—Feirante | | 66 | 3.95 | 60 | 3.35 | ... | ... |
| (Sharecropper who gives third of the crop to land-lord)—Terceiro | | 41 | 3.14 | 61 | 3.36 | ... | ... |
| (Cowboy)—Vaqueiro | | 60 | 3.81 | 62 | 3.42 | ... | ... |

APPENDIX (Continued)

| OCCUPATIONS USED IN BRAZIL | RANKING DATA | | | | | |
|---|--------------|------|---------|------|------|------|
| | Bezerros | | Açucena | | NORC | |
| | Rank | Mean | Rank | Mean | Rank | Mean |
| English Wording—Portuguese Wording | | | | | | |
| Milk route man—Leiteiro entregador de leite | 71 | 4.16 | 63 | 3.48 | 70.0 | 56 |
| (Sharecropper who gives half of crop to landlord)— | | | | | | |
| Meieiro | 61 | 3.82 | 64 | 3.49 | ... | ... |
| (Day laborer)—Diarista | 70 | 4.15 | 65 | 3.54 | ... | ... |
| Lumberjack—Lenhador | ... | ... | 66 | 3.55 | 72.5 | 55 |
| (Woodcutter)—Lenheiro | 72 | 4.16 | 67 | 3.65 | ... | ... |
| (Muleter)—Trapeiro | 57 | 3.69 | 68 | 3.66 | ... | ... |
| Garbage collector—Lixeiro | 75 | 4.44 | 69 | 3.71 | 88.0 | 39 |
| (Luggage handler in railway station)—Carregador | | | | | | |
| de malas de estação | 74 | 4.42 | 70 | 3.80 | ... | ... |
| Farmhand—Peão | 64 | 3.90 | 71 | 3.82 | 83.0 | 48 |
| Physician—Médico | 6 | 2.02 | ... | ... | 2.0 | 93 |
| Priest—Padre | 4 | 1.96 | ... | ... | 21.5 | 86 |
| Lawyer—Advogado | 9 | 2.09 | ... | ... | 11.0 | 89 |
| (Secondary school teacher)—Professora secundária . . | 26 | 2.60 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Reporter on a daily newspaper—Jornalista | ... | ... | ... | ... | 48.0 | 71 |
| (Business manager)—Gerente comercial de firma | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| (Factory manager)—Gerente de fábrica | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Accountant—Contador | ... | ... | ... | ... | 29.5 | 81 |
| (Middle level civil servant)—Funcionário público de | | | | | | |
| padrão médio | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| (Expediting agent)—Despachante | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Driver—Motorista | ... | ... | ... | ... | 80.5 | 49 |
| Chef—Cozinheiro | ... | ... | ... | ... | 72.5 | 55 |
| (Tractor driver)—Tratorista | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Waiter—Garçon | ... | ... | ... | ... | 80.5 | 49 |
| Dock worker—Estivador | ... | ... | ... | ... | 77.5 | 50 |

NOTE.—Standard deviations of Bezerros and Açucena ratings may be obtained from the first author. Parentheses indicate occupational titles which list.

* Literally, cashier in a store.

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