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Migration and Socioeconomic Status in Brazil: Interregional and Rural-Urban Variations in Education, Occupational Status, and Income

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Archibald O. Haller, Manoel M. Tourinho, and David B. Bills and José Pastore *University of São Paulo*

This paper provides data on the comparative socioeconomic status of nonmigrants and migrants in and to Brazil's main regions and rural and urban locations. Special attention is directed to those who have moved from rural to urban areas, because these people have been the center of considerable concern to scholars and planners.

As in most other nations the rural and urban shares of Brazil's population have changed markedly over the last decades. Between 1950 and 1970, for example, the urban population grew from 36 to 56 percent of the total, during a period in which the total population itself increased from 52 million to 92 million. Obviously a large portion of the urban growth was due to the influx of rural migrants. Growth in industrial employment, averaging 4.12 percent per year over this period, made a considerable contribution to the urban population increase. So also did the growth in employment in other non-farming sectors of the economy, which averaged 4.49 percent per year (Merrick and Graham, 1979). During those years, too, Brazil's urban poor came more and more into public view. The nation's great cities, such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, respectively 7.1 million and 8.1 million residents in 1970, are fringed by working class suburbs and dotted with shanty towns, usually called *favelas*. For the most part, it has been the *favelados*, people of the favelas, who have caught the world's attention. Part of their visibility is due to serious social research reports, such as that of Perlman (1976), and part may be due to other mass media representations, autobiographies, movies, and novels—numbers of which have appeared in other Western languages. Not surprisingly, it is widely believed that the rural-to-urban migrants are carriers of poverty to the cities: as Merrick and Graham put it, "One function of the migration process is that it has brought poverty from the remote countryside to the

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cities, where it is much more visible." Indeed, it seems to be widely believed that those who compose the farm-to-city migration streams are the poor, the uneducated and the unemployable.

It would appear that most of the research bearing on the Brazilian poor has been conducted among urban populations, as has been the case in other Latin American countries (Balan, 1969). Sometimes socioeconomic status (SES) comparisons of rural-to-urban migrants and urban immigrants are made. Curiously, in view of the foregoing, the most adequate of these studies appear to show a picture in which the migrants are only a little, if at all, lower on most indicators of socioeconomic status than the nonmigrants are, and that a great many of the poorest, least prepared, are not migrants at all.

The importance of secure data on the socioeconomic status of migrants is attested by the large number of studies devoted to the question, not only in Brazil but in many other countries as well. The reasons for this are fairly obvious. National employment, welfare, housing and other policies, and similar policies of the receiving cities, are conditioned by the presumed capacities of those entering the cities. But while most research attention has been directed to selected cities, it is obvious that data collected only in such cities is not enough to provide a very complete grasp of the rural-urban socioeconomic flow patterns even of the cities, much less those of the whole nation. And transactions among unequal regions form an important part of the pattern.

Until very recently quantitative research on this and like topics has been severely handicapped by the unavailability either of appropriate data or the concepts by which to exploit them. To map even the main lines of the socioeconomic cityward-countryward and interregional SES patterns of a nation requires: 1) concepts by which to think systematically about socioeconomic status variations within a population and operations by which to measure these variations reliably and validly; 2) concepts and methods to identify and measure socioeconomic and demographic variations among regions; 3) operations by which to determine rural or urban origins and destinations of individuals; and 4) large-scale probability samples permitting generalizations to national, regional, and rural-urban parameters. For all practical purposes the required concepts and methods have emerged during the past generation, some only very recently. In particular, the last of the above requirements has been an immense barrier. Only within the last two decades or so have even the richest of nations mounted the massive sampling, interviewing and archiving apparatuses necessary to collect and analyze such data. Similarly, only recently has the equipment needed to process it come into being. It would appear that, to date, these new possibilities have not been used to provide the simultaneously interregional and rural-urban analyses which a secure interpretation of the socioeconomic differentials among such migrants and nonmigrants requires. Brazil is one of the nations for which data of this magnitude and quality have become available.

The purpose of this paper is to determine the comparative

socioeconomic attainments of adults of farm and nonfarm origins who resided in Brazil's urban and rural areas in 1973, and to determine how the attainments of those of rural origins varied according to the farming class of their fathers and to their own farm-nonfarm occupations.

METHOD. This is to be accomplished by a rather detailed cross classification of Brazilian adults on whom data were collected in 1973 by the *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* (IBGE) in the *Pesquisa Nacional de Amostragem de Domicílios* (PNAD: National Household Sample Survey). This four-stage national probability sample includes detailed social mobility data on each member ten years of age or older from every sampled household. The number of households was set by IBGE at 90,600 and the numbers of individuals falling into the sample is N = 279,212. Of these, the 95,565 who were fifteen years or over and for whom data are complete form the fundamental units of analysis of this study. For men and women taken separately, the basic cross classifications are of size 3x3x2x2: *regional origin*—birthplace in one of three national socioeconomic and demographic ("sociological") regions—the South, the Northeast, and the Frontier: *regional destination*—1973 location in one of the above; *residential origin*, defined as farm (father was a farmer) or nonfarm (father was not a farmer); *residential destination*—rural (living in one of the nation's 360 micro-regions having thirty percent or more of its 1970 population employed in agriculture) or urban (the obverse of rural). This breakdown permits a systematic comparison of persons of farm origins with those of nonfarm origins and with rural residents of farm and nonfarm origins, all by regional origins and destinations. Those of farm origins are then further broken down into their class origins and into farm and nonfarm 1973 occupations. These class origins were selected: *Fazendeiros* (landowner-employers), and *trabalhadores rurais* (small farmers without employees, and farm laborers), most of whom were classed in the original data as *trabalhadores de enxada*, or "hoe workers"—sharecroppers, day laborers, regular employees, etc., whose main tool was the hoe). These further breakdowns allow a determination of the extent to which the poverty stricken and presumably inept rural masses contribute to the levels of poverty in the cities.

Altogether, the study provides a rather definitive statement of the direct socioeconomic status effects of rural migration into the cities, taking into account the effects of sex and a series of population origins and exchanges resulting in educational selectivity and in differential occupational and income status attainments. Obviously, the empirical generalizations proferred in this paper pertain only to Brazil's 1973 adult population. This appears to be the most detailed and comprehensive such study yet undertaken in Brazil and perhaps in any other developing nation. The results and the methods may therefore be of much wider interest.

Age cut-off. The youngest people analyzed herein were fifteen years old when the survey was taken. The Brazilian government assumes that ten years is the lowest age at which a person would reasonably be included in the labor force. As we shall see from

the averages to be presented later on, most people do not spend many years in school. The normal age of entrance is seven years. Most people do not go beyond elementary school, which for these sample members was either four or five years, depending on where they grew up. (In 1971, the system was changed. But this does not affect those fifteen or over who were studied in 1973.) By the age of thirteen or fourteen, most have dropped out of school. As of 1973 most fifteen-year-olds were in the labor force.

Dependent variables. Education is one of the dependent variables measuring socioeconomic status. We presume that most migrants finished whatever education they had before they left home. In effect, education is taken to be a measure of the earning and work capability the person brought with him to his 1973 home. It is measured in year-equivalents. The question on the PNAD schedule and the coding scheme classed each person as to whether he merely attended or actually completed the highest educational cycle in which he had ever enrolled. There are four such cycles, plus "no schooling." Since each cycle normally consists of a specific number of years (elementary, up to 5; 1st middle, 6 to 9; 2nd middle, 10 to 12; and university, 13 to 15 or more) a fairly accurate year-equivalent educational score may be easily constructed, counting completion as equal to the specified number of years, and in-cycle dropouts as if each completed one-half of the cycle. This procedure was followed.

Occupational status scores were calculated for each of 92 groups of occupations, from a canonical weighting of each, based upon the education and the income of those in the occupations included in the group. Each occupation was thus assigned a score equal to the average for its group. Arbitrarily, the absolute minimum possible was set at zero, and the maximum at 100 (Bills and Godfrey, 1980). The scale was constructed following principles which have become more or less routine since Duncan (1961) published his "Socioeconomic Index for All Occupations" (SEI), although this one was designed specifically for use in Brazil. Occupational status scores were calculated for the subject's current occupation, his first job, and his father's occupation when the subject took his first job.

One caveat should be noted. In modern Brazil, it is widely believed that the pinnacle of the occupational hierarchy is populated by rich farmers (*grandes fazendeiros*), industrialists, and high-ranking military officers. The PNAD data code industrialists and fazendeiros together. Likewise they group all military personnel together. It has been demonstrated that the Brazilian elite stratum (the top two percent or so) does include quite a few industrialists, fazendeiros, and military officers (Haller and Godfrey, 1980). However, among the set called "industrialists" there are many more who own small plants than who own large ones. Similarly, there are many more owners of medium-sized than of immense farms, and many more lower-ranked military personnel than general officers. Consequently, the average scores for these three occupations are not especially high. The highest scores go to occupations—doctor, etc.—whose education and

earnings are uniformly high, even though few of these people actually rise to the apex of the system. Still, indexes of occupational status are intended to reflect the averages, not the extremes, of the occupations they represent. The present scale is highly valid and reliable for the purposes for which it is employed.

The socioeconomic status variable we refer to as "income" is more accurately called "annualized income, estimated in U.S. dollars of 1973." The PNAD schedule includes two sets of questions designed to elicit the subject's normal earnings, one for those paid by the week or less and the other for those paid by the month. These figures were prorated to a full year and the so-called "13th month salary" (the normal bonus) was added to each. These figures were converted to their average 1973 U.S. dollar equivalents. It is this figure which is used to indicate income. Again, this must be used with caution. Annualizing short-term reports of income assumes that there is no correlation between the pay the subjects report and the time they worked over the year. In actuality, these assumptions probably can only be approximated, not met. Consequently, the annual income of the poor may have been overestimated. Furthermore, it is our impression that a high proportion of Brazilians obtain money from sources other than wages, and that the amount may increase at an accelerating rate. If so, the use of annualized reported earnings will underestimate the income of the better paid. All in all, we speculate that the income of the poor probably has been slightly overestimated and that that of the well-to-do probably has been underestimated. Nevertheless, employed with caution, this variable is probably quite useful. In the tables presented herein, the reader may wish to deflate the lower means slightly and inflate the higher means more or less correspondingly.

BRAZIL'S REGIONS. In a loose way, Brazil's ecological, demographic and socioeconomic regional differences are obvious to the most casual observer. Mostly in the tropics, its land surface is made up of hills with high, rolling plains whose climate is benign, together with hot, humid lowlands, most of which are heavily forested. It is quite densely populated near the coast and sparsely populated in the vast reaches west and north of a line paralleling the coast about 600 kms. inland. The South has a strong commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural system and is especially populous. The Northeast is poor and rather densely populated, and the western Frontier remains almost unoccupied. It is not surprising, then, that the Brazilian government and quite a few research workers have attempted to develop precise regionalizations of the country. Our own research team (Haller and Olson, 1980) has employed micro-region socioeconomic data provided by IBGE and demographic data collected by G. V. Fuguitt (Yoder and Fuguitt, 1979) to develop several regionalizations of the nation. The most parsimonious is a two-dimensional system which divides the country into three regions: 1) the moderately affluent and populous South (parts of Minas Gerais, and Mato Grosso do Sul, south to the national borders); 2) the densely populated and poor

Northeast (Espírito Santo and Bahia, northeast along the coast up to and including the northern halves of Piauí and Maranhão); and 3) the undeveloped, sparsely populated Frontier. These regions are roughly indicated in Map 1 and are described in Table 1.

As used for the data analysis in this paper, the regions are defined by state boundaries, which is slightly less precise than the above. The South includes Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais and the southern states. The Northeast includes Espírito Santo, Bahia and the states north of this to and including Piauí and Maranhão. The eastern borders of Mato Grosso do Sul, Goiás, and Pará mark the eastern end of the Frontier. The latter extends out to the Western and Northern national borders. The Frontier deserves a few additional comments. Its population is concentrated in three places. The first two are cities. Manaus is a commercial and light manufacturing center in the heart of the Amazon forest, 1200 kms. inland from the mouth of the Amazon River. The second is the western city of Rio Branco, about 1200 kms. WSW of Manaus. The last is in Mato Grosso do Sul. On the western border of São Paulo, its economy is clearly an extension of the latter.

ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE. Several facts should be kept in mind while interpreting the data we are about to present. First, Brazil's population has been growing at a very fast pace, nearly doubling in the 23 years from 1950 to 1973, the year these data were collected. This means that the settled areas have become much more densely populated. The Frontier has also experienced growth, especially near the State of São Paulo. Second, this growth has been dramatic in the large cities. Between 1960 and 1970 each of the eight largest metropolitan centers—ranging from 1 to 8 million in 1970—increased by over 50 percent. But, third, this does not imply that the rural population has fallen. Indeed from 1940 to 1970, the rural population increased by over 60 percent. Fourth, the growth in the economy has been generally high over the generation preceding 1973, and in the prior decade was one of the highest anywhere, hitting about nine percent in 1969 and 1970. Fifth, demographic and economic growth have proceeded in ways which have had enormous effects on the nation's urban and rural populations, although these are still not fully understood. The growth of manufacturing and agriculture have been well documented (Baer, 1978; de Mello, 1978). São Paulo's industrial plant is the most productive in Latin America and one of the largest anywhere. Today Brazil exports automobiles and airplanes, among other things. Regarding agriculture, coffee production in particular has grown more or less continuously for about a century. This, too, has been centered in the South. There, export crop farming has modernized rapidly. Today, for example, São Paulo's great fazendas rival the most productive farms in the world. Modern export agriculture is strong over much of the South. It is growing in nearly all settled regions of the Frontier and is fairly strong in the humid coastal areas of the Northeast. Near some of the large cities, urban market-basket farming is also becoming more like that of the richer Western countries. As time passes, all the above are drawing more upon advanced technology

MAP 1

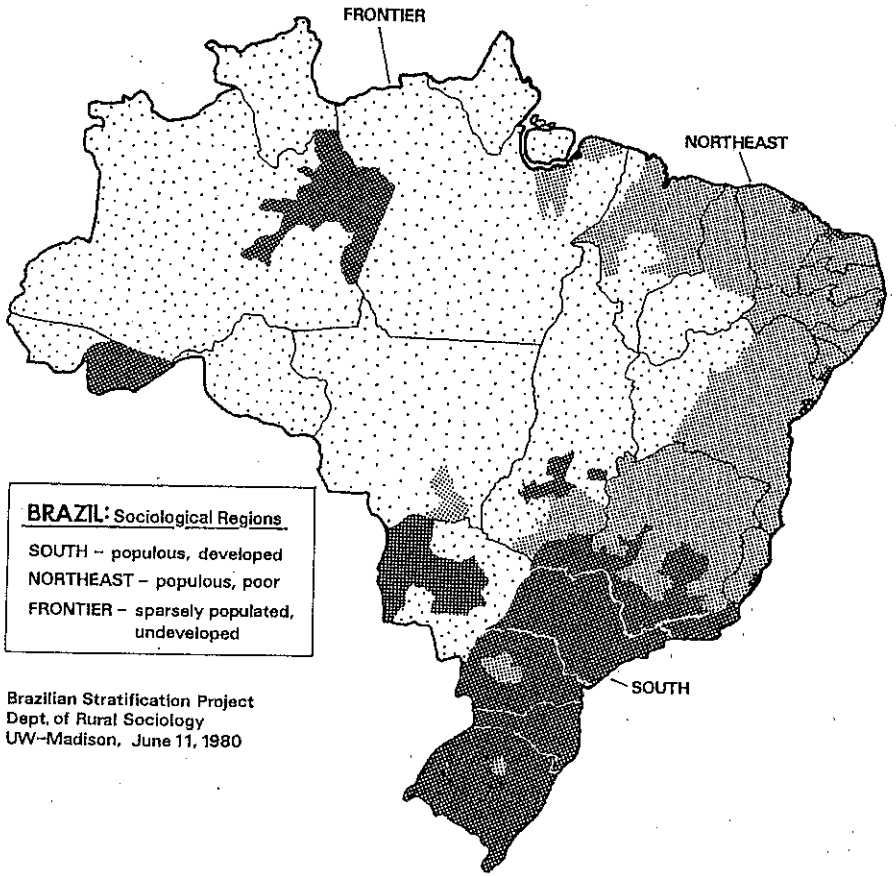

TABLE 1. BASIC SOCIOLOGICAL REGIONS OF BRAZIL (1970 DATA)[1]

Item	Regions[2]			Brazil
	South	Northeast	Frontier	
Population	54.7 million (58%)	29.7 million (32%)	8.7 million (9%)	93.1 million
Land surface (km^2)	1.5 million (18%)	1.5 million (18%)	5.4 million (64%)	8.5 million
Population density (persons/km^2)	36	19	<2	11
Monthly income (cruzeiros)	Cr$371/person	Cr$157/person	Cr$218/person	Cr$287/person

[1]The regionalization was conducted as a part of the larger project which includes the present paper. Original data were taken from the Brazilian national statistical service (IBGE). Demographic data were compiled and were provided by G. V. Fuguitt. Parts of this have been published (Yoder and Fuguitt, 1979). The socioeconomic data were provided by Dr. Speridião Faissol from the archives of IBGE in Rio de Janeiro. We thank both Drs. Fuguitt and Faissol for their generosity.

The statistical data in the table were calculated from Langoni (1973:81) and IBGE (1975:22, 26, 38). The exact boundaries of the three regions vary slightly from data set to data set. Hence the income calculations must be taken as rough, though not unreasonable, estimates.

[2]The states comprising these regions are: *South*—Parts of Minas Gerais; all of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul. *Northeast*—Most of Minas Gerais, Bahia, and Maranhão; part of Piauí, and all of Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and Espírito Santo. *Frontier*—Parts of Bahia, Piauí, and Maranhão; and all of Mato Grosso do Sul, Mato Grosso do Norte, Goiás, Pará, Amapá, Roraima, Amazonas, Acre, and Rondônia.

and less upon human labor.

Yet the whole modern sector of farming, export and domestic, is growing in the midst of a prior system, which we shall call *fazenda-roça*. It employs a little capital, a "hoe-technology," and large numbers of hand workers. This requires a bit of elaboration. It is poorly understood even by some Brazilian scholars, and it is essential to our comprehension of the socioeconomic variations linked to interregional and rural-urban migration. The fazenda-roça system exists all over Brazil, though it is more prevalent today in the Northeast than elsewhere. It seems as natural to Brazilians as the family-farm system does to people of the United States. It is a Brazilian union of two even earlier systems: subsistence slash-and-burn horticulture (the roça), and extensive export plantation farming and ranching (the fazenda). The typical fazenda-roça unit consists of a tract of privately owned land, usually held by a family whose head is the *fazendeiro* (landowner-employer). Most such families usually live on the fazenda, but many have a second or even a primary home in a nearby city or town. The wealthiest often pursue nonfarm occupations on a full-time basis and leave the management of the fazenda to an administrator. It is not unusual for a wealthy fazendeiro family to own several fazendas. Yet truly wealthy families are proportionately rare among the full range of fazendeiros. Scattered over the property are the garden plots (roças) and shacks of from two or three to several dozen common laborers (here, rural laborers and their families). The fazendeiro owns the buildings and the land. The rural laborers have the right to use the shacks and to plant roças for themselves. In return, they work the fields of the fazendeiro and tend his animals. The rural laborers may be sharecroppers, wage workers, or seasonal workers; they may be hoe workers, cowboys, unpaid family farm workers (*agregados*), or migrant farm workers. The owners may also hire workers from off the fazenda. Often, tiny private holdings or squatter plots lie in the interstices between fazendas. These "*minifúndia*" are often too small to provide money income, so their holders seek work in the neighboring fazendas. (For an enlightening description of a large but otherwise quite ordinary fazenda, see Johnson, 1971.)

The fazenda side of the fazenda-roça system has often been excoriated, occasionally described. It is easy to see why: it lends itself to rather extreme forms of human exploitation. But so far as we know the system has not been analyzed. It is more than odd that a system so widely disliked is so resistant to change. It is our belief that despite its obvious costs, both fazendeiros and rural laborers have found it indispensible for economic reasons. Even today many fazendeiros, especially in the Northeast, face serious uncertainties from unpredictable variations in rainfall and from market changes which they can neither foresee nor control. In years when crops are good and markets are favorable, fazendeiros can do well. Because labor is cheap and technology primitive, they live through the bad years without suffering much. In the years when rain is plentiful and markets are good, the rural laborers and their families obtain plenty of food from their roças

and earn a little money from the fazendeiro. When the rain is good but markets are bad, money will be short but the roça will provide enough food for the rural laborers' families to survive. It is only when the Northeast's vicious droughts come—perhaps once in seven to ten years—that the fazenda roça system completely fails to support the rural laborers. In such times large numbers of poor *nordestinos* flee to cities and to the South.

Obviously this system is declining most rapidly in the areas where weather and markets are more stable. And it is by-passed in the new agricultural settlements of the Frontier. It is most durable where it provides the best hedge against adversity. It is characteristic in the Northeast *sertão* (back country) where the weather is unpredictable and export cash crops confront severe and unstable competition. Yet it exists almost everywhere, and probably even today involves most of the farm people of Brazil.

Because of the recency of these changes, for the fathers' generation a farm occupation was probably a valid index of rural residence, and a nonfarm occupation was probably an equally good index of urban residence. On the other hand, by 1973, living in an agricultural microregion was probably a good index of rural residence, while living in a nonagricultural microregion seems to have been a good index of urban residence. This lies behind the operational definitions of rural-urban origins and destinations used herein.

UNEMPLOYMENT. In Brazil today, it is unusual for a worker to be considered as unemployed. Those who are of working age and who are neither in school nor working as full-time housewives are almost always engaged in some sort of remunerative work. Some will have two or three different jobs; others only a single part-time activity. These receive a more or less regular income, but some workers are unpaid, as in the case of those who work at unremunerated jobs in family businesses. Underemployment is much more common; in these data its effects are seen in the low average earnings reported by respondents. Actually, only 1.3 percent of the men and 0.4 percent of the women were reported to be hunting for a job at the time the interviews were taken.

RESULTS

The analysis is divided into two parts. The first, based upon Tables 2-4, presents the means of education, occupational status and income for the various combinations of residential and regional origins and destinations. Each of these tables presents precisely the same set of cross classifications for each sex by each of the three dependent socioeconomic status variables, education (estimated grades completed), occupational status scores, and income (annualized and expressed in 1973 U.S. dollars). Actually, a discussion of the whole set of comparisons would be informative. Here, however, we shall attend only to the pattern of mean socioeconomic status of rural-to-urban (RU), urban only (UU), urban-to-rural (UR), and rural only (RR) origins and destinations.

In the discussion of these comparisons, though not in the tables, we ignore cells with less than 10 cases. They are too unstable to take seriously.

In the second part, based on Tables 5-7, we present the corresponding means for people originating in two classes of farm people. These are landowner-employers (fazendeiros), and rural laborers (trabalhadores rurais). For this analysis, a person was defined as originating in a family of fazendeiros if at the time he took his first job his father was reported to have been a farmer, to be self-employed, and to be an employer. (Some, who came from the very largest farms, might not appear here because their fathers may have had other occupations which were more salient.) Those doing unskilled work or who were small holders without employees were classed as Rural Laborers (trabalhadores rurais). (In 1973, as today, farm jobs requiring skilled workers were rare.) More exactly, in the 1973 PNAD data, these two classes of farmers who were the fathers of the subjects had the following average occupational status (OS) scores: Fazendeiros or landowner-employers —10.92; and Trabalhadores rurais or rural laborers—1.26. In the analyses to come it should also be recalled that few, if any, of the very wealthiest fazendeiros—those who are from the Brazilian elite stratum—appear here, for they live in or near the cities and they have nonfarm occupations.

RURAL-URBAN AND INTERREGIONAL ORIGINS AND DESTINATIONS. Here we present only the pertinent inferences from Tables 2-4. Rough indications of magnitude will be given by presenting the approximate ranges, using whole numbers qualified by pluses (+) or minuses (-).

Educational attainment. Table 2 presents the educational data. The main inferences are that, with 5 to 8 years of schooling, those of urban origins who live in urban areas (UU) are generally better educated than those of the other categories (UR, RU, RR), and that rural residents of rural origins (RR) tend to be the most poorly educated (1+ to 3+ years). Rural migrants to the urban areas (RU) and urban-to-rural migrants (UR) are in the middle (with 2 to 5 years). Northeasterners who are in any sense rural, whether by origin or by destination, are strikingly unschooled (1+ to 3-), except for those who migrated to the South. These patterns hold for both men and women. The general picture is that while urbanites from urban areas are better educated, the rural people who come to the cities tend to be at least literate and they are better schooled than those they left behind.

Occupational status. Again those of urban origins who reside in urban areas (UU) fare best (20+ to 41-). (See Table 3, p. 131.) Except for the low scores of rural Southerners of farm origin (5+) and some farm categories of Northeasterners (4+ to 10), categories involving rural people (UR, RU, RR) seem rather like each other. Again, it is the urbanites of urban origins who fare best. Rural people of farm origins (especially Northeasterners and rural Southerners) tend to have taken over the menial jobs. City dwellers of farm origins and rural people of nonfarm origins occupy a middle position.

Annualized income. The main inferences to be drawn from Table 4

Table 2. Education by Sex, Residential and Regional Origin and Destination.

Destination	Origin							
	MEN				WOMEN			
	FARM		NONFARM		FARM		NONFARM	
	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N
Frontier								
Rural								
Frontier	2.82	634	4.32	678	3.06	496	3.92	1,041
Northeast	1.67	15	2.77	14	1.68	12	1.98	13
South	1.22	5	16.30	1	----	0	3.73	11
Urban								
Frontier	3.87	1,968	6.01	3,412	3.82	1,306	5.21	5,116
Northeast	1.25	3	8.33	33	1.75	6	7.08	53
South	5.40	68	8.30	220	4.34	68	6.60	302
Northeast								
Rural								
Frontier	2.57	219	3.06	137	2.28	127	2.67	197
Northeast	1.35	10,490	2.39	2,970	1.23	8,748	2.29	6,401
South	1.73	593	1.93	124	1.00	364	1.65	195
Urban								
Frontier	2.94	644	5.27	584	2.87	251	3.92	822
Northeast	1.81	9,750	4.73	7,944	1.70	7,024	3.91	12,658
South	2.85	3,090	5.20	2,663	2.29	1,581	3.91	3,814
South								
Rural								
Frontier	3.28	66	4.65	42	3.21	49	4.51	68
Northeast	1.67	70	4.98	36	1.65	66	4.37	62
South	3.12	7,360	4.62	1,761	2.75	5,560	3.93	3,193
Urban								
Frontier	3.97	727	6.85	686	3.71	371	4.92	1,053
Northeast	2.02	244	7.20	206	1.56	184	5.40	295
South	3.20	22,059	6.37	28,602	2.83	13,895	5.20	40,354

Table 3. Occupational Status by Residential and Regional Origin and Destination.

Destination	Origin							
	MEN				WOMEN			
	FARM		NONFARM		FARM		NONFARM	
	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N
Frontier								
Rural								
Frontier	11.37	604	18.13	543	16.99	348	24.15	300
Northeast	4.36	14	14.00	11	9.18	9	3.51	5
South	7.72	5	94.49	1	-----	0	8.94	3
Urban								
Frontier	16.63	1,828	24.65	2,615	18.03	912	27.03	1,670
Northeast	10.03	3	36.57	23	9.62	4	41.52	17
South	21.44	63	35.08	173	21.89	47	30.25	134
Northeast								
Rural								
Frontier	13.36	205	16.72	119	13.42	83	25.31	45
Northeast	4.74	10,191	10.13	2,465	6.01	6,656	12.98	1,788
South	4.88	586	8.18	116	3.62	145	13.65	35
Urban								
Frontier	16.83	597	24.34	490	14.61	169	22.84	233
Northeast	8.41	9,277	20.43	6,024	9.82	4,888	22.26	3,566
South	15.43	2,733	34.85	2,273	12.40	996	20.71	1,421
South								
Rural								
Frontier	14.41	60	20.91	34	18.84	36	25.27	24
Northeast	4.33	65	16.16	31	7.28	48	19.42	13
South	5.39	7,197	15.47	1,588	5.16	3,978	20.60	882
Urban								
Frontier	17.23	679	30.26	572	17.13	262	29.23	301
Northeast	9.13	233	26.69	157	9.04	98	30.80	68
South	11.00	20,311	26.06	22,846	11.89	8,690	25.80	13,785

are presaged by those we have already seen. Urbanites of nonfarm origins tend to report somewhat higher incomes. Rural residents of farm origins and Northeasterners in or from rural areas, as well as outsiders going to rural Northeastern areas, tend to be quite low. This pattern holds for both men and women, despite the fact that the women report earnings which are only a half or less of those of men. For present purposes, the most important observation is that farm-reared urban residents are generally poorer than those of urban origins.

General comments. On the whole women fare worse than men, and Northeasterners of rural origins and rural destinations tend to have strikingly low statuses. So also do farm-reared residents of rural areas. With certain exceptions, urban residents of farm origins are not especially low on these three status variables. While they tend to be noticeably less well schooled, have lower status jobs and earn less than urbanites of nonfarm origins, they fare about as well as rural residents of nonfarm origins and quite a bit better than those they left behind on the fazendas.

CURRENT STATUSES OF FARM-REARED PEOPLE BY FARM CLASS OF ORIGIN AND BY REGIONAL AND RESIDENTIAL DESTINATIONS. It is obvious that the fazenda-roça system is tied to a dichotomous rural stratification system. And it is the migratory rural lower stratum which is believed to swell the ranks of the urban poor. In this section we compare status data at the point of destination for persons whose fathers were fazendeiros (landowner-employers) or were trabalhadores rurais (rural laborers). These comparisons are made for each of the three status variables and for (currently) nonfarm men, farm men, nonfarm women, and farm women. When taken together with the foregoing, the results of these comparisons should indicate whether and to what extent the status characteristics of the rural masses tend to lower those of people living in Brazil's urban areas. They also show what in fact happens to such people—whether they move to the cities or stay in the country.

Education. Comparative data on the educational attainment levels of those originating in fazendeiro families versus those of rural laborers' families are presented in Table 5. The first inference is that nonfarm sons of rural laborers of all categories tend to have but little schooling (2 to 4 years). Nonfarm sons of fazendeiros, especially in the urban areas, are rather better educated. Except in the South, nonfarm sons of fazendeiros who are living in rural areas tend to have educational attainment levels about like those of rural laborer origins. Sons of Northeastern rural laborers have especially low educational levels.

It appears that the educational levels of all categories of sons of farmers who are themselves farmers are low. This is especially true of those originating in or going to the Northeast, whether they farm in rural or urban microregions. Sons of rural laborers have slightly but rather uniformly less schooling than those of fazendeiros.

The educational pattern of non-farm women is much like that of similar men. Daughters of fazendeiros living in urban areas tend to have the most schooling. Nonfarm daughters of rural laborers

Table 4. Annualized Reported Income (Current U.S. Dollars), by Residential and Regional Origin and Destination.

Destination	Origin: MEN — FARM $\bar{X}$	FARM N	NONFARM $\bar{X}$	NONFARM N	WOMEN — FARM $\bar{X}$	FARM N	NONFARM $\bar{X}$	NONFARM N
Frontier								
Rural								
Frontier	751.47	539	942.30	506	425.36	230	448.37	234
Northeast	347.36	12	2,516.08	12	192.26	6	393.88	1
South	921.48	4	4,463.95	1	------	0	------	0
Urban								
Frontier	1,251.80	1,766	1,552.90	2,518	449.91	728	724.39	1,385
Northeast	214.63	3	3,264.81	21	244.28	2	1,066.41	13
South	2,129.10	60	3,338.83	166	899.24	32	1,271.57	107
Northeast								
Rural								
Frontier	1,019.13	200	1,157.81	117	425.84	58	928.87	38
Northeast	475.08	8,538	612.19	2,258	206.20	3,049	293.23	1,141
South	750.11	497	726.64	112	382.94	46	252.70	19
Urban								
Frontier	1,308.45	580	1,916.16	475	472.87	126	817.96	173
Northeast	605.01	8,181	1,112.96	5,764	236.92	3,026	499.93	2,791
South	1,137.81	2,735	1,765.52	2,260	554.18	738	740.71	1,118
South								
Rural								
Frontier	2,402.91	51	1,548.73	31	518.41	25	482.68	13
Northeast	598.30	53	2,564.57	29	274.42	14	750.75	7
South	1,062.20	5,052	1,204.65	1,350	442.01	887	673.33	505
Urban								
Frontier	1,699.41	654	2,868.36	566	508.50	207	996.01	232
Northeast	960.45	203	2,967.37	143	320.28	52	886.77	48
South	1,072.36	18,183	1,939.78	22,178	484.76	5,419	870.70	10,780

Table 5. Education of the Farm-Reared Currently Engaged or Not Engaged in Farming, by Sex, Class and Region of Origin and by Residential and Regional Destination.

Destination	Origin: FARM — Fazendeiro (Landowner-employer) X̄	N	FARM — Trabalhador Rural (Rural Laborer) X̄	N	NONFARM — Fazendeiro (Landowner-employer) X̄	N	NONFARM — Trabalhador Rural (Rural Laborer) X̄	N
I. MEN								
Frontier								
Rural								
Frontier	3.40	14	1.97	245	4.79	27	3.23	347
Northeast	----	0	1.99	13	0.00	1	0.00	1
South	----	0	0.78	4	2.50	1	----	0
Urban								
Frontier	4.64	47	2.48	393	7.03	147	3.90	1,380
Northeast	----	0	2.50	1	----	0	0.00	1
South	----	0	2.44	8	12.24	10	4.56	51
Northeast								
Rural								
Frontier	4.66	2	1.87	75	3.35	21	2.85	122
Northeast	1.87	755	1.10	7,619	3.23	210	1.96	1,907
South	2.03	38	1.60	467	5.00	1	2.25	86
Urban								
Frontier	3.38	5	1.49	69	5.26	45	2.93	524
Northeast	2.22	379	1.12	5,366	6.14	314	2.41	3,690
South	3.78	18	1.43	549	5.36	202	2.96	2,321
South								
Rural								
Frontier	3.20	10	2.20	20	5.40	6	3.58	31
Northeast	2.67	10	1.24	48	4.23	2	2.24	10
South	3.43	359	2.87	5,514	5.48	96	3.90	1,391
Urban								
Frontier	5.31	16	2.67	155	8.57	42	3.95	513
Northeast	2.36	15	1.23	141	9.62	8	2.64	80
South	3.86	904	2.38	9,606	6.37	959	3.61	10,591
II. WOMEN								
Frontier								
Rural								
Frontier	2.42	5	1.70	78	4.10	26	3.27	387
Northeast	----	0	1.65	4	0.00	1	2.02	6
South	----	0	----	0	----	0	----	0
Urban								
Frontier	0.00	1	2.51	34	6.59	99	3.63	1,172
Northeast	----	0	----	0	----	0	1.76	6
South	----	0	3.23	6	6.77	5	4.22	57
Northeast								
Rural								
Frontier	----	0	0.77	12	2.92	13	2.38	102
Northeast	1.26	371	0.92	4,507	2.56	427	1.46	3,445
South	0.52	7	0.96	109	2.74	18	0.90	231
Urban								
Frontier	2.50	0	0.73	12	7.26	18	2.64	221
Northeast	1.69	77	0.99	2,197	5.14	327	1.80	4,422
South	2.21	10	0.97	116	4.21	97	2.26	1,359
South								
Rural								
Frontier	0.00	1	2.55	4	6.60	10	2.40	35
Northeast	2.50	3	1.39	32	0.50	4	2.05	28
South	3.12	135	2.68	3,064	4.68	144	2.71	2,217
Urban								
Frontier	0.37	1	2.66	6	7.12	37	3.35	327
Northeast	1.86	5	1.19	44	5.24	13	1.28	122
South	2.32	122	1.98	2,753	6.42	818	2.78	10,202

and those from the Northeast are quite low. With education levels ranging only from 1- to 3+, daughters of fazendeiros and rural laborers who were currently in farming tend to have received hardly any education at all. Southern women fared best; but at such a low level, this cannot mean much. Not surprisingly, Northeasterners were the lowest of all. Regarding the education of the urbanites among these people of farm origins, the main observation is that educational levels are highest among those of nonfarm origins currently residing in urban microregions. The averages are lower among farmers and among those in more remote microregions, whether farmers or not.

Occupational status. Table 6 presents these data. The means of nonfarm men tend to be uniformly rather high. They are, indeed, not much lower than those of the nonfarm-reared urbanites we observed in Table 3. Nonetheless, a few points may be made. On the whole, nonfarm urban resident sons of fazendeiros tend to have the higher status jobs. Sons of rural laborers are a bit lower. The scores of men of farm origins who are engaged in farming are practically all extremely low, ranging (for cells of size 10+) from 2- to 9-. This means that most of the sons of farmers who are themselves farming tend to be in the lower status farm jobs—that relatively few have become fazendeiros. This holds in all regions, although in the urban microregions of the South and the Frontier, sons of fazendeiros seem slightly more likely to rise a notch or two above the others on the agricultural ladder.

For the most part, nonfarm daughters of farm families have mean occupational status scores rather like those of comparable men. Women who are nonfarm daughters of fazendeiros and who live in urban microregions appear to have rather impressive occupational status scores. At a bit lower level, so do similar women living in rural microregions. Rural laborers' nonfarm daughters are generally a bit lower, of course, but even these range from 12+ to 23+, scores which are not far out of line with those observed earlier for urban-dwelling women of nonfarm origins. The occupational status picture of farm women from fazendeiro and rural laborers' families is quite different. There the scores are nearly uniformly low. The best conclusion is that regardless of class of origin (as measured here), farm-reared women who are engaged in farming tend to be employed in the most menial occupations.

The main conclusion to be drawn here is that those nonfarm men and women who now live in urban areas, but who were raised on farms, tend to have jobs which are only a little lower in occupational status than those of long-term urbanites. It is those who stay in farming, whether in urban microregions or those more remote, who are employed in the lowest status jobs.

Annualized income. Table 7 presents this variable. Nonfarm sons of fazendeiros who reside in urban microregions make rather more money than others do. There appears to be no clear pattern of differentiation between the rural nonfarm sons of fazendeiros and all the categories of sons of rural laborers. Regarding farm sons, those from fazendeiros' families appear to do better than the others, especially the Southerners and Frontiersmen farming in

Table 6. Occupational Status of the Farm-Reared Currently Engaged or Not Engaged in Farming by Sex, Class and Region of Origin and by Residential and Regional Destination.

Destination	Origin: FARM — Fazendeiro (Landowner-employer) X̄	N	FARM — Trabalhador Rural (Rural Laborer) X̄	N	NONFARM — Fazendeiro (Landowner-employer) X̄	N	NONFARM — Trabalhador Rural (Rural Laborer) X̄	N
I. MEN								
Frontier								
Rural								
Frontier	4.77	14	2.30	246	17.98	24	18.15	320
Northeast	-----	0	4.66	13	1.24	1	-----	0
South	-----	0	4.37	4	17.46	1	-----	0
Urban								
Frontier	7.41	47	2.94	393	31.84	139	19.67	1,249
Northeast	-----	0	10.91	1	-----	0	9.14	1
South	-----	0	1.70	8	47.66	8	19.99	47
Northeast								
Rural								
Frontier	2.27	2	2.76	75	19.97	21	19.60	108
Northeast	4.76	756	1.80	7,620	22.69	184	16.48	1,631
South	2.10	38	2.45	467	51.84	1	19.62	80
Urban								
Frontier	2.22	5	2.54	69	26.78	43	18.17	479
Northeast	5.09	379	1.88	5,366	33.18	280	17.46	3,251
South	3.16	18	2.72	549	25.50	167	18.20	1,999
South								
Rural								
Frontier	3.98	10	3.71	20	29.98	5	23.52	25
Northeast	4.25	10	1.62	48	46.21	1	18.42	7
South	4.00	359	1.80	5,517	27.90	83	20.26	1,237
Urban								
Frontier	9.65	16	4.58	155	36.24	38	20.12	470
Northeast	4.92	15	2.35	141	34.41	8	21.07	69
South	6.39	904	2.55	9,606	29.37	816	18.83	8,995
II. WOMEN								
Frontier								
Rural								
Frontier	2.53	5	2.54	78	29.66	15	21.04	250
Northeast	-----	0	0.95	4	14.60	1	15.69	4
South	-----	0	-----	0	-----	0	-----	0
Urban								
Frontier	10.91	1	1.67	34	32.25	75	17.41	801
Northeast	-----	0	-----	0	-----	0	9.63	4
South	-----	0	0.95	6	30.13	3	24.47	38
Northeast								
Rural								
Frontier	-----	0	1.63	12	15.89	10	15.32	61
Northeast	1.63	371	1.12	4,507	27.74	221	18.14	1,556
South	0.94	7	0.95	109	37.25	3	11.98	26
Urban								
Frontier	10.92	0	1.24	12	32.04	14	14.11	143
Northeast	2.72	77	1.23	2,197	33.62	220	15.76	2,394
South	0.95	10	1.10	116	19.63	55	13.67	815
South								
Rural								
Frontier	0.95	1	1.66	4	40.35	8	14.78	23
Northeast	0.95	3	0.95	32	14.60	1	23.08	13
South	1.00	135	1.12	3,064	38.53	63	20.30	716
Urban								
Frontier	0.95	1	3.48	6	33.68	29	15.46	226
Northeast	0.95	5	1.71	44	41.56	5	13.38	43
South	2.24	122	1.58	2,753	33.36	504	15.41	5,310

Table 7. Annualized Reported Income (Current U.S. Dollars) of the Farm-Reared Currently Engaged and Not Engaged in Farming by Sex, Class and Region of Origin and by Residential and Regional Destination.

Destination	Origin: FARM — Fazendeiro (Landowner-employer) X̄	N	FARM — Trabalhador Rural (Rural Laborer) X̄	N	NONFARM — Fazendeiro (Landowner-employer) X̄	N	NONFARM — Trabalhador Rural (Rural Laborer) X̄	N
I. MEN								
Frontier								
Rural								
Frontier	1,589.83	12	550.19	196	860.26	23	839.74	308
Northeast	---------	0	365.35	10	196.94	1	---------	0
South	---------	0	988.34	3	787.76	1	---------	0
Urban								
Frontier	3,690.62	44	1,016.37	345	2,315.39	134	1,115.29	1,242
Northeast	---------	0	232.31	1	---------	0	196.94	1
South	---------	0	532.83	7	7,156.20	8	1,441.89	45
Northeast								
Rural								
Frontier	---------	0	709.15	71	1,137.02	21	1,199.38	108
Northeast	696.42	584	394.49	6,167	1,281.44	173	616.60	1,614
South	579.34	34	731.75	385	4,911.89	1	842.58	77
Urban								
Frontier	402.81	4	891.52	59	2,247.80	42	1,285.51	474
Northeast	1,184.05	297	386.61	4,415	2,130.74	272	722.99	3,197
South	2,697.40	15	640.72	490	2,252.95	168	1,153.35	2,061
South								
Rural								
Frontier	1,608.34	4	1,349.79	17	1,805.52	5	3,347.79	25
Northeast	1,126.67	9	372.63	36	929.26	1	1,057.63	7
South	1,673.04	232	954.87	3,555	1,502.13	79	1,234.79	1,186
Urban								
Frontier	8,395.19	14	1,448.17	139	2,779.90	39	1,467.60	461
Northeast	678.12	10	471.75	120	7,483.45	8	1,141.77	66
South	1,829.28	718	692.31	7,764	2,506.35	781	1,216.49	8,921
II. WOMEN								
Frontier								
Rural								
Frontier	393.88	1	453.46	27	1,274.85	10	375.73	191
Northeast	---------	0	115.87	3	131.29	1	295.41	3
South	---------	0	---------	0	---------	0	---------	0
Urban								
Frontier	787.76	1	493.23	12	692.90	64	424.81	651
Northeast	---------	0	---------	0	---------	0	244.28	2
South	---------	0	464.54	1	4,242.70	2	670.86	28
Northeast								
Rural								
Frontier	---------	0	295.41	2	339.21	8	445.55	48
Northeast	261.48	91	193.85	1,527	269.12	168	208.78	1,263
South	---------	0	336.18	24	1,302.63	3	316.05	20
Urban								
Frontier	---------	0	245.34	4	1,095.62	10	426.64	112
Northeast	501.06	28	191.05	816	504.12	185	227.24	1,997
South	464.54	1	377.74	38	681.32	47	555.55	652
South								
Rural								
Frontier	---------	0	4,463.95	1	522.96	7	294.81	17
Northeast	---------	0	160.46	3	---------	0	311.70	10
South	563.26	6	358.69	313	936.19	47	445.71	521
Urban								
Frontier	131.29	1	454.85	1	904.39	23	460.11	182
Northeast	---------	0	224.89	11	922.40	5	274.11	36
South	557.92	30	379.81	874	988.58	420	454.91	4,095

urban microregions. Sons of rural laborers do less well, especially those in the Northeast and even, to an extent, in the South. The reported incomes of these men are much lower than that of comparable nonfarm men.

The annualized income of farm-reared women currently in nonfarm jobs is quite low. Best off are daughters of fazendeiros who are farming in the urban microregions of the Frontier and the South. Worst off are daughters of rural laborers of all categories and daughters of Northeastern fazendeiros who themselves are farming in the Northeast. The income data are presented in Table 5 (p. 134). The only one thing that really needs to be said about farm-reared women who are farming is that their earnings are uniformly quite low. As with education and occupational status the main conclusion to be drawn is that the farm-reared nonfarm people living in urban areas, especially those who are sons and daughters of fazendeiros, are better off than those in the more remote rural microregions; and that those who farm in urban areas are better off than those farming in more remote areas.

CONCLUSION

This paper presents an attempt to determine whether the migrants from Brazil's rural areas are educationally ill-prepared to work in the cities and whether their occupational status and incomes are particularly low. Such questions are extremely difficult to answer with secure evidence. The present analysis attempts to do so. It suggests a view more or less as follows. In general, the educational, occupational and income attainments of Brazilians are low by comparison with those of richer countries. Those who were born and remain in the urban areas are indeed better off in these respects than are those who come from, go to, or remain in the rural areas. Regarding region, those going to, coming from, or remaining in the Northeast—especially the rural Northeast—have particularly low mean levels on these variables.

Yet when region is taken into account, rural people who migrate to the urban areas do not have especially low means. More precisely, they are a little lower than the means of life-time city people, about the same as those of nonfarm people who move to the rural areas, and they are quite a bit higher than those of farm origins who remain in the rural areas. This is especially true of the vast numbers of landless rural workers whom we have called trabalhadores rurais. The main conclusions are, first, that relatively few of the rural people who come to the cities are, by Brazilian standards, poorly educated people, and second, that the socioeconomic statuses of rural nonmigrants—particularly Nordestinos—are noticeably lower than those of other categories.

* * *

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