

THE STRUCTURE OF EQUALITY IN A
BRAZILIAN FISHING COMMUNITY

by

CONRAD PHILLIP KOTTAK

1966

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the
Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University.

ABSTRACT

The Structure of Equality in a Brazilian Fishing Community

Conrad Phillip Kottak

From its inception as a nation, Brazil has been highly stratified. Most anthropological and sociological reports on Brazil have been descriptions of communities with sharp class divisions. Yet millions of Brazilians live in communities which lack socio-economic stratification altogether. Such a settlement is Arembepe, a village of 730 people located on the Atlantic coast sixty kilometers north of Salvador, capital of the state of Bahia, in northcentral Brazil.

The dissertation, based on nine months of field research in Arembepe, is an attempt to demonstrate and to explain the absence of socio-economic classes based on differential access to strategic resources within Arembepe. While there are differences in economic status in Arembepe, the community's spectrum of wealth differentials is almost infinitesimally narrow when projected onto the national range. The rank differentials which do exist in Arembepe are normally the results of variations in age-sex and kinship statuses, and of ephemeral characteristics capable of

distinguishing among individuals in their performance of specific activities.

The structure of equality is abstracted from social relations in the community and from encounters between villagers and outsiders. The traditional diagnostics of class placement in Brazil are examined as possible dimensions of stratification in Arembepe. Variables associated with race, occupation, income, wealth, education, and family affiliation are shown to be criteria of hierarchical ranking, but not of stratification in Arembepe. The absence of objective bases for stratification is echoed in the cognitive domain. One finds a distinctive ideology of equality -- a denial of invidious distinctions in success and abilities among villagers. This ideology contrasts with ramified ideologies of class differences in stratified Brazilian communities.

Variables associated with marine fishing, Arembepe's principal industry, are seen as the primary impediments to stratification in the community. There is no basis for differential access to marine resources either in the marine environment, encompassing open sea and mobile game, or in the rudimentary, low-value fishing technology. Secondary impediments to stratification in Arembepe relate to the fact that there has been nothing in the local economy or in the resources in and around Arembepe to attract external capital. As a result, Arembepe has remained relatively

isolated from Salvador and other stratified settlements, and thus from the Brazilian power structure.

The dissertation is also an attempt to examine the normal lives and living conditions of lower class Brazilians and to isolate some of the most significant obstacles to vertical mobility within the national class structure. The underdeveloped economy and the inadequate educational system play fundamental roles in limiting vertical mobility. The different functions of kinship for upper and lower class Brazilians are analyzed. In the upper class, kinship is used to consolidate power and wealth. On the other hand, obligations to share with kinsmen serve to redistribute wealth, to level ephemeral economic differentials, and to maintain members of the lower class in a supine position.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	iv
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	viii
Chapter	
I. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS	1
Arembepe's Place in the Taxonomy of Brazilian Communities	
Ethnographic Precis	
Factors Responsible for the Absence of Socio-economic Stratification in Arembepe	
Conclusions	
II. SOME INTERNAL HIERARCHIES	43
Non-Hierarchies	
Hierarchies, But Not Stratification	
The hierarchies based on age and sex	
Hierarchies on the basis of place of birth	
Race and the non-stratified hierarchy	
Hierarchies based on kinship and marriage	
Occupational hierarchies	
The hierarchy based on education	
Hierarchical differentials in non-kin based sodalities	
Conclusions	
III. HIERARCHIES IN THE MARINE FISHING INDUSTRY	138
Subsidiary Fishing Techniques	
Plank Launch (<u>Saveiro</u>) Fishing	
The marine environment	
Technology of the fishing industry in Arembepe	
Relations of Production	
Limitations to the accumulation of wealth from the fishing industry	
Conclusions	

Chapter	Page
IV. EXTERNAL IMPEDIMENTS TO STRATIFICATION IN AREMBEPE	246
The Weak Patronage System	
Landlords as patrons	
Tourists as patrons	
Divergence of Political and Economic Ties	
Economic freedom: the external articulation of the local economy	
Arembepeiros outside the Community	
Prerequisites to vertical mobility outside of Arembepe	
The nature of vertical mobility	
Incentives to return: alienation in the big city	
Conclusions	
V. THE IDEOLOGY OF EQUALITY	331
Community Spirit	
Diagnostics of Stratification	
The Ideology of Equality in Sharing Behavior	
Conclusions	
VI. CONCLUSIONS	368
Impediments to Stratification in Arembepe	
The Future	
The development of the fishing industry	
APPENDICES	384
BIBLIOGRAPHY	399

PREFACE

I wish to thank the many individuals and institutions who have supported my study of Arembepe, Bahia, Brazil. This study of social relations and economic life in Arembepe is based on a total of nine months in the field. I am grateful to the Columbia-Cornell-Harvard-Illinois Summer Field Studies Program in Anthropology for financing field work in Arembepe in summers (June through August) 1962 and 1964. I also wish to thank the National Institutes of Health and Columbia University for supporting my most recent field research in Arembepe, from June through August, 1965. I am also indebted to the National Institutes of Health for a Predoctoral Fellowship which has supported most of my graduate education.

To the numerous individuals who have contributed to my field research, I am greatly indebted. Of my Brazilian friends and colleagues, I am especially grateful to Thales de Azevedo, Maria Brandão, Valentin Calderon, and Armando Ribeiro. I also wish to thank Peter Gorlin for his invaluable assistance in the field and in the tabulation and analysis of field data in the United States. I acknowledge my debt to Robert Niles Eldredge for having placed his field notes, gathered in Arembepe in summer 1963, at my disposal.

This study was facilitated by the generosity, cooperation, and friendliness of the people of Arembepe. My most profound debt is to Ataydes Alves de Souza, my chief informant, who was also my most enterprising research assistant, and who became a good friend.

I am grateful to Lambros Comitas and to Robert F. Murphy for reading and commenting on this work. I wish to express my deepest appreciation to Marvin Harris, Chairman of my Dissertation Committee, for his patience in reading, criticizing, and editing this manuscript.

I am also grateful to Cecilia Roxo Wagley for typing assistance and to Guillermo Trivino for the maps, graph, and geneaology which appear in this dissertation.

Finally, I am especially indebted to my wife, Isabel Anne Wagley Kottak, for her support, critical acuity, and assistance in Arembepe and at home. She has been my constant companion and colleague in the field since June, 1962. This work owes as much to her knowledge of Arembepe as to my own.

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Population of Arembepe by Age and Sex	50
2. Population of Arembepe by Age Groups, Sex, and Provenience	65
3. Marital Unions according to Provenience of Spouses	66
4. Mean Number of Individuals in Household by Occupation of Household Head	81
5. Marital Status of Arembepeiros according to Age, Sex, and Type of Union	100
6. The Correlation between Marriage Type and Economic Status	101
7. Occupations of Adult Males	108
8. Occupations of Adult Females	108
9. Annual Budgets of Households in Arembepe according to Occupation of Household Head and Areas of Expenditure	110
10. Population of Arembepe by Occupation and Educa- tion Beyond Second Grade	124
11. Population of Arembepe by Place of Schooling	126
12. Large Fish Species by Depth Ranges and Seasonal Exploitation	163
13. Commonly Fished Zones by Season and Depths	165
14. Fishing Zones by Months of Most Intensive Exploitation	166
15. Most Commonly Caught Large Fish Species by Zones	167
16. Fish Species Caught according to Season	169

LIST OF TABLES-Continued

Table	Page
17. Dimensions of <u>Saveiros</u>	171
18. Inflation in Cost of Fully Equipped <u>Saveiro</u> . . .	181
19. Boat Ownership according to Ownership Arrangement and Fishing Roles of Owner(s)	189
20. Ownership of <u>Saveiros</u> according to Half Shares per Individual	190
21. Ordinary Fishermen according to Age Groups . . .	204
22. Average Ages of Fishermen in Arembepe by Fishing Roles	207
23. Age of Captains according to Crew Success	230

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure		Page
1.	Costs of a Cast Net	149
2.	Costs of a Fully Equipped <u>Saveiro</u>	177
3.	Costs of <u>Saveiro</u> Maintenance	179
4.	Fish-Boat Comparison	182
5.	Landowners' Genealogy	249
6.	Expenses and Profits from Coconut Marketing . .	297
Map		
1.	Bahian Bay of All Saints and Northern Coast . .	2
2.	Arembepe	10
3.	Municipality of Camaçari	12
4.	Informant's Map of Ocean Floor	157

CHAPTER I

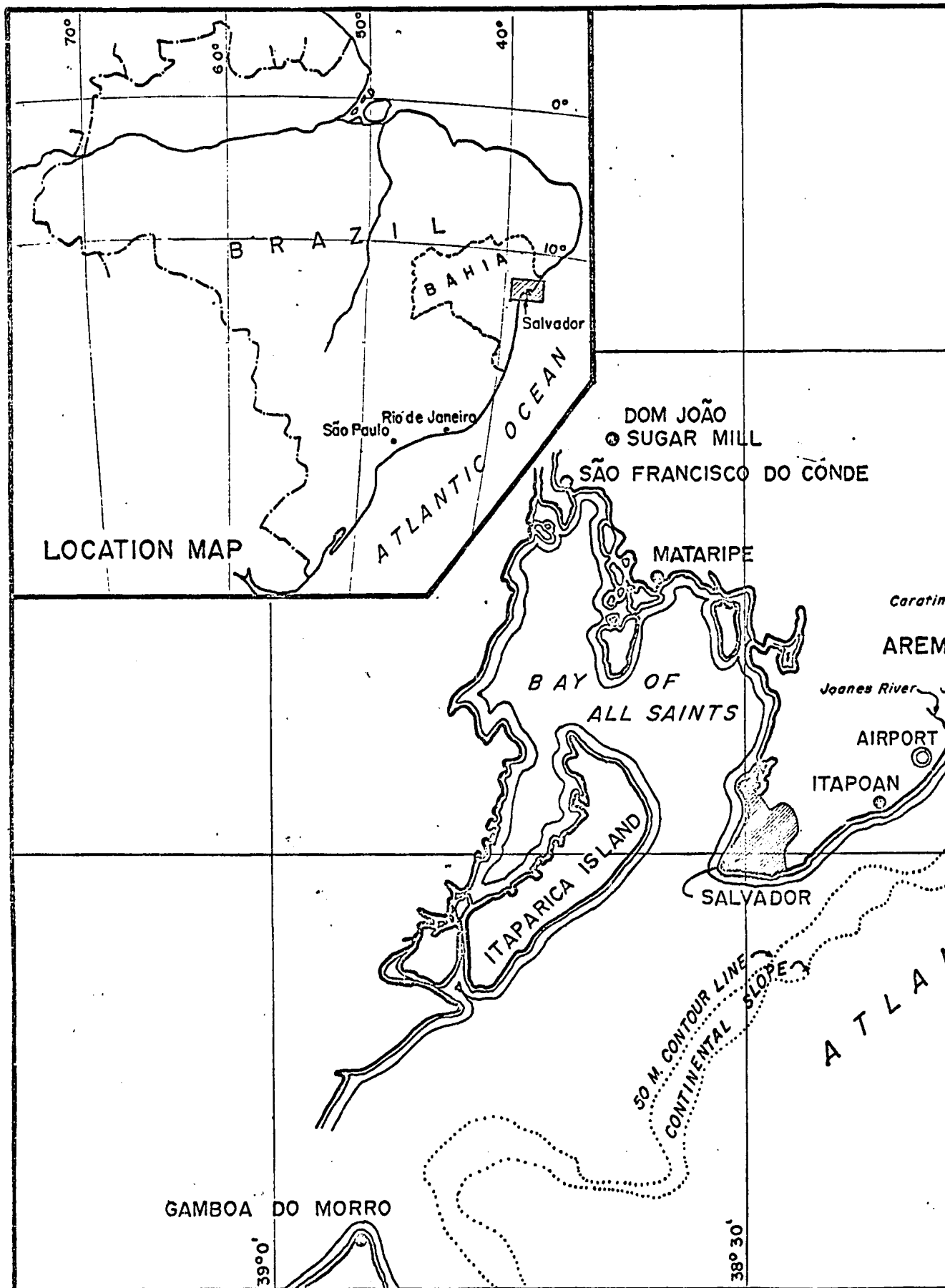
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

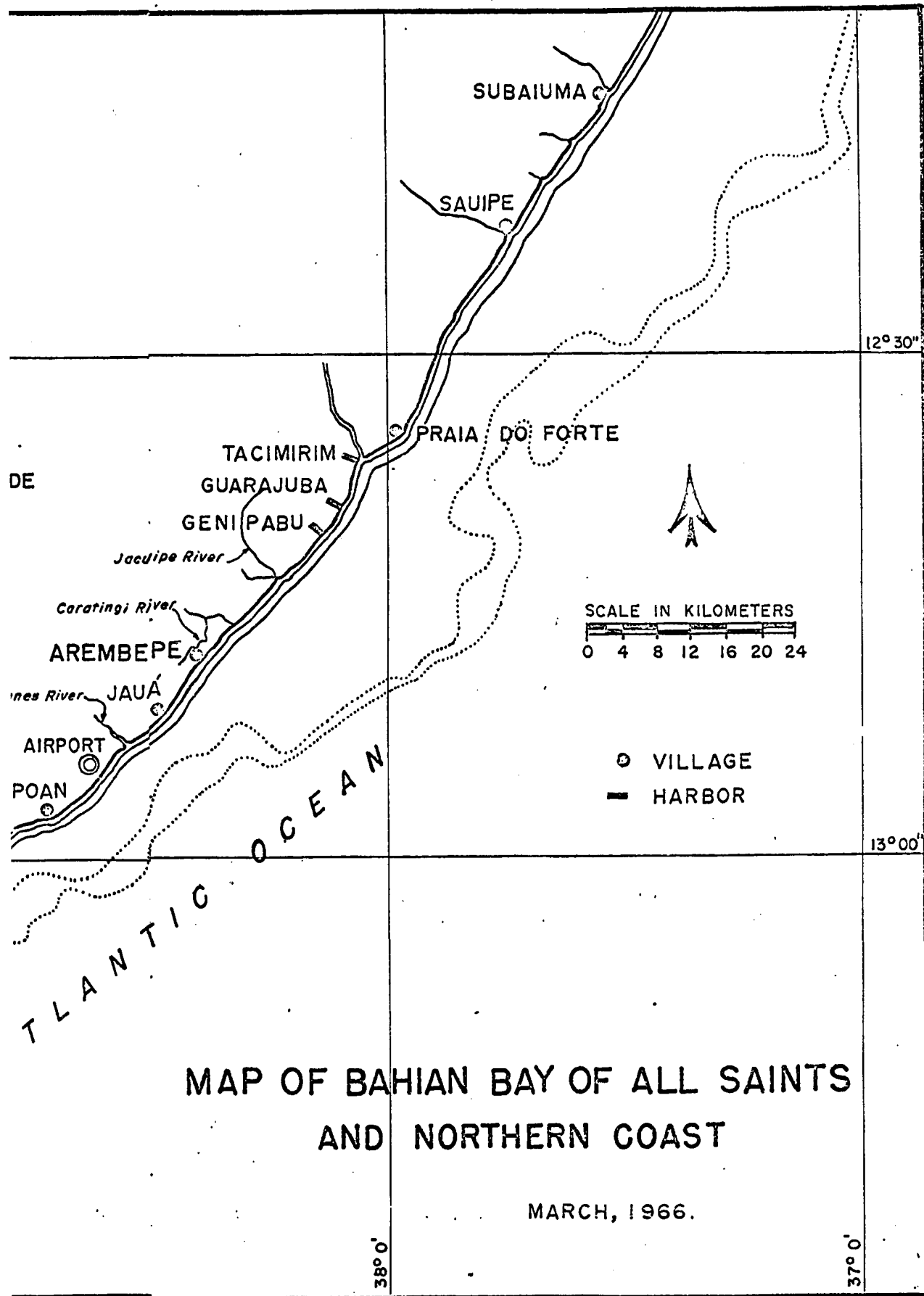
From its inception as a nation, Brazil has been highly stratified. Most anthropological and sociological reports on Brazil have been descriptions of communities with sharp class divisions. One should not forget, however, that few communities in Brazil in themselves provide a microcosmic view of the national class structure. Still others lack class divisions altogether. Such a settlement is Arembepe, a village on the Atlantic Coast just to the north of the city of Salvador, capital of the state of Bahia, in north-central Brazil.¹ All of the inhabitants of Arembepe are members of the Brazilian national lower class.

To explain the absence of clearly defined strata based on differential access to strategic resources, I can isolate no single factor. Instead, I shall attempt to show that seven interrelated factors have acted to prevent both the formation of socio-economic classes and the conceptualization of prestige groups within Arembepe.² In the

¹See Map 1.

²Classes are defined as duosexual groups distinguished from other such groups on the basis of their differential access to strategic resources. Differential access implies differential control over natural resources; technology, or





following paradigm, these factors are briefly listed in order of their importance:

I. Primary impediments to stratification. The nature of the local economy:

A. There is no basis for differential access to strategic resources in Arembepe's primary economic adaptation--marine fishing.

B. There is no basis for differential access in the rudimentary technology which Arembepeiros use to exploit the marine environment.

II. Secondary impediments to stratification. Isolation from the Brazilian power structure:

A. Arembepe has remained relatively isolated from the "booms" and "busts" of Brazilian economic history.

B. Arembepe has never been a marketing or a manufacturing center. It has been a food-producing community rather than a point of convergence and redistribution of products from other settlements.

C. Arembepe has never been the seat of a Brazilian municipality (município). It lacks the political

the means of production; and labor power of humans and animals. Differential access is frequently revealed in differences in income and consumption patterns. "Status groups" are defined as duo-sexual groups distinguished from other such groups on the basis of styles of life. "Prestige" is defined as the way in which informants rank members of their group. "Power" refers to the actual ability of a person or group to improve or worsen the material conditions of others. "Authority" is defined as social recognition of power, or the "right" to use power.

and administrative hierarchies which are generally present in municipal seats.

- D. The primary economic ties of Arembepe are with Salvador, while its primary political ties are with Camaçari, the seat of the municipality which includes Arembepe. Where, by some vagary of Brazilian political zoning, economic and political interests diverge from rather than mutually reinforce one another, the development of socio-economic stratification is arrested.
- E. Although Arembepe is located only sixty kilometers from Salvador, and is an ideal tourist site, it has remained relatively isolated from the middle and upper classes of the city. It has not yet become a tourist center for the Bahian elites.

This is not a "community study," if that term is understood to mean a study in which "the community has served as a sample or unit of observation for the study of a culture or society" (Arensberg, 1961: 241). There is much in Brazil which is not included in Arembepe. This thesis is an attempt to study the factors which will favor or preclude the development of stratification based on differential access to strategic resources in a Brazilian community. It is an attempt to explain the egalitarian nature of social relations and social life in a specific type of community and to link the inhabitants of that community to the national stratified

order which ultimately incorporates them. In support of this attempt, additional objectives will be pursued:

1. To examine the relations of production and the nature of social life in a (Brazilian) fishing community; and
2. To examine the normal lives and life chances of lower-class Brazilians and to demonstrate some of the numerous impediments to individual and group mobility to a more adequate standard of living in a stratified nation. In following this aim, I shall also be specifying the strongest impediments to the economic development of the settlement.

Arembepe's Place in the Taxonomy of Brazilian Communities

Arembepe is a rural, food-producing community with a population of 730 people. Smith (1963: 75) states that Brazil's population is one of the most rural in the world. In the census of 1960, 31,990,938 Brazilians, or 45% of the national population, were classified as "urban." This left 38,976,247, the other 55%, in the "rural" category (Smith, 1963: 75-76). The degree of rurality in Brazil is hardly revealed by these statistics, primarily because of the classification system which the Brazilian census bureau employs. According to census criteria, an "urban" center is defined as any municipal seat or any district seat or vila, the seat of a distrito de paz. However, 83% of all such vilas have

populations which are less than 1001, and 94.7% have populations of less than 2001 (Smith, 1963:78). In addition, 42.2% of all municipal seats in Brazil have populations of less than 2,001, and almost three-fourths have populations which fall below 5001 (Smith, 1963: 78). The degree of rurality in Brazil emerges as clear despite what may be tenuous grounds for the definitions of the terms "rural" and "urban" in the Brazilian census. Arembepe, as a settlement of less than one thousand people who regularly engage in food-getting, must be included in such a rural population.

Ethnographic descriptions of Brazilian rural life have been studies of stratified communities which are generally municipal seats (Harris, 1952, 1956; Hutchinson, 1952, 1957; Pierson, 1951; Stein, 1957; Wagley, 1952, 1953; Willems, 1947; Zimmerman, 1952). The theoretical justifications for such works have been different: (1) to give a microscopic view of Brazilian society through study and understanding of face-to-face personal relations on the community level (Cf. Wagley, 1963: vii). This aim is reminiscent of the "community study method" which has been outlined by Arensberg (1954); (2) to be "case studies . . . of the various ecological and cultural regions of Brazil" (Wagley, ed. 1952: 12); (3) to be studies of socio-economic change or continuity (Stein, 1957; Willems, 1947); (4) to be studies of rural life (Pierson, 1951). Descriptions of social relations in unstratified Brazilian communities are comparatively rare.

Arembepe is a community, a collectivity of actors sharing a limited territorial area as the base for carrying out the greatest share of their daily activities (Parsons, 1951: 91). This definition implies that individuals interact within a local institutional complex which provides a wide range of basic services, yet it also takes into consideration the fact that the community is not necessarily a self-sufficient unit (Cf. Gould and Kolb, 1964: 114-115). Arembepe also satisfies Arensberg's model of the "community": "a natural context made up of natural and full human cooperative living, of living intergenerational and intersexual relationships, of ongoing cultural and interfamilial communication and transmission" (Arensberg, 1954: 120). All of the normal human functions can be carried out in Arembepe. Arembepeiros conceive of their community as having a separate identity. They share a "community spirit" or esprit de corps.

The Brazilian "community" has been defined in a more specialized sense. Smith (1963: 433) sees the Brazilian community as consisting of two parts: (1) a village or town nucleus and (2) the farm families who live in the surrounding areas and make the village their trading, ceremonial, and social center. Wagley (1963: 148) writes that ". . . the Brazilian community is amorphous, not easy to define, lacking in esprit de corps or community spirit. . . ." His definition of the Brazilian community is similar to Smith's and posits a village or small town which is the center or focus

for several rural settlements or "neighborhoods" which are tributary to it.

The same authorities have distinguished between the "community" and other types of Brazilian settlements. Thus, Wagley finds the greatest "community spirit" in the rural "neighborhood." The neighborhood is generally small, including from twenty to forty families who are closely inter-related. It is not generally a concentrated hamlet (Wagley, 1963: 150-151).

Since the criteria for distinguishing between Brazilian "communities" and Brazilian "neighborhoods" are not particularly explicit, e.g., Wagley finds the greatest "community spirit" in the neighborhood, one should not be surprised that Arembepe fits neither of these models. While Arembepe is neither a "community" nor a "neighborhood" in terms of Wagley's and Smith's definitions, it is a "community" according to all of the other definitions cited above.

Ethnographic Precis¹

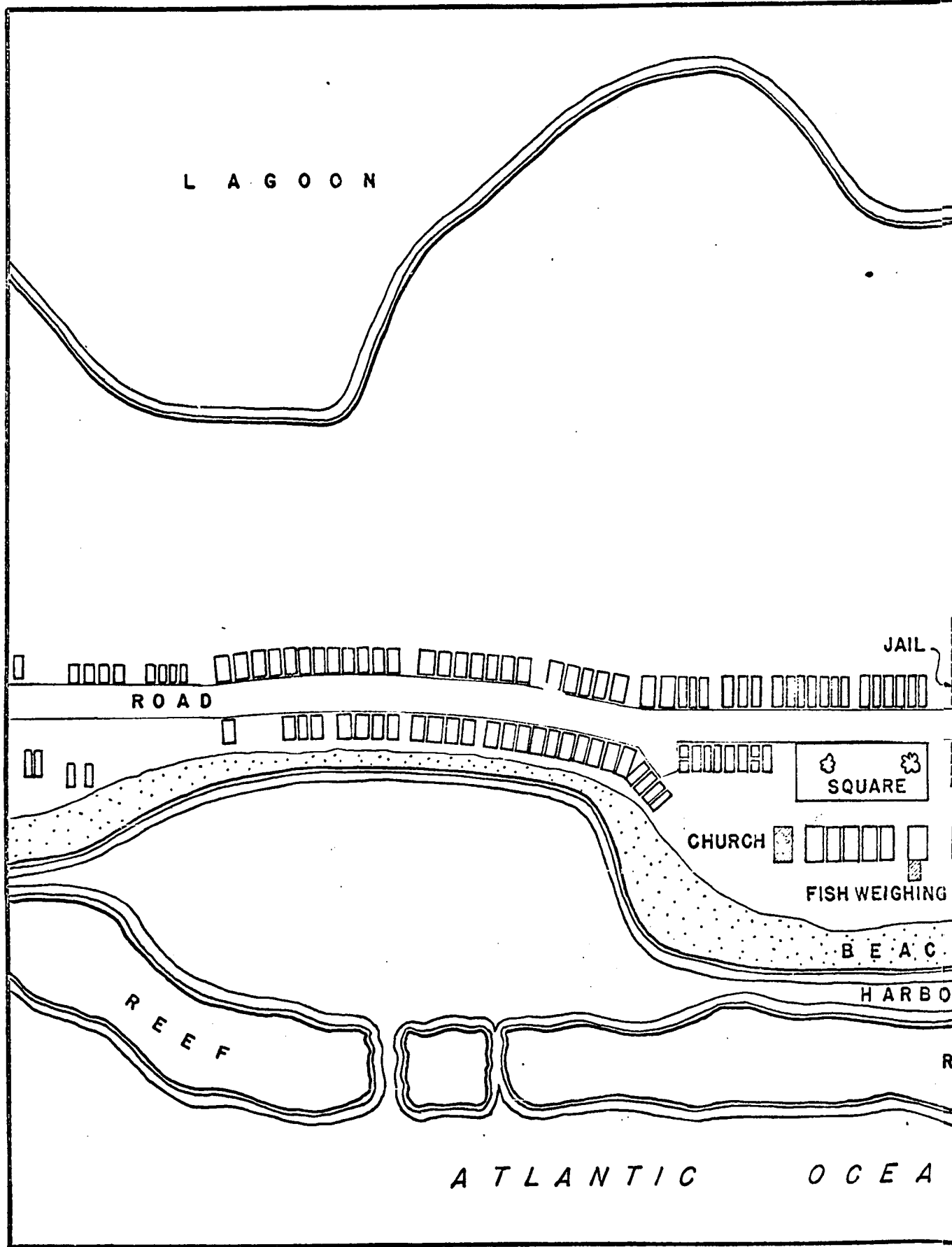
With geographical coordinates 12.45 degrees South and 38.1 degrees West, Arembepe is located approximately sixty kilometers north of Salvador, capital of the State of Bahia. The settlement is fringed on the east by the Atlantic Ocean

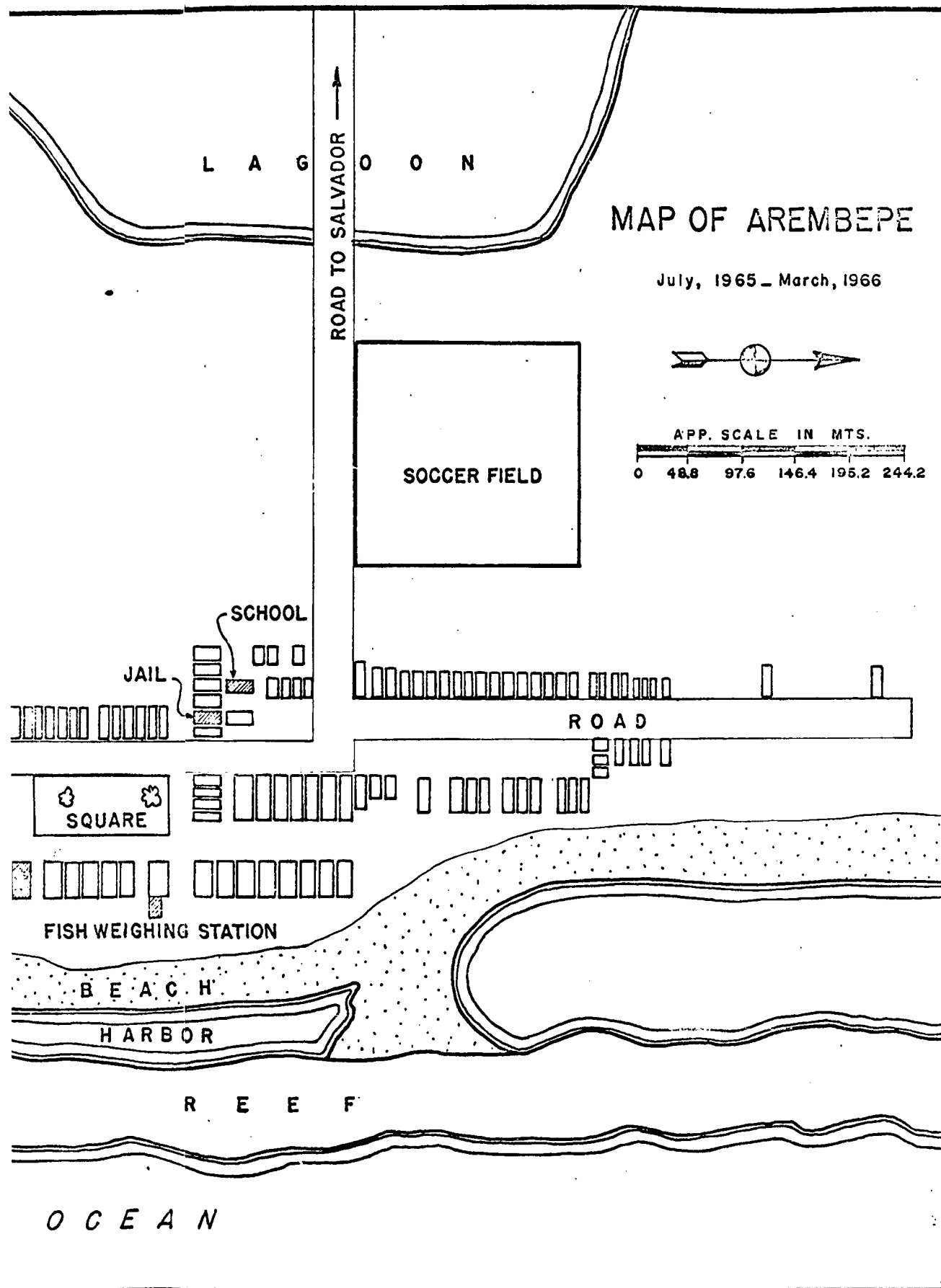
¹This is meant to provide a brief introduction to Arembepe. Data to confirm many of the statements made in the precis will be presented throughout the subsequent chapters.

and on the west by a series of fresh-water lagoons which sometimes dry up during the summer (the dry season between November and March).

The houses of Arembepe are strung along a strip of land with an average width of three-fourths mile between Ocean and lagoons. At the northern and southern ends of Arembepe, huts of wattle and daub have been built among the coconut trees. Moving from south to north, coconut trees become fewer, and houses face each other across a narrow street, which gradually widens to include a central square (praça) with houses closely adjacent on all four sides (refer to Map 2). There are more brick houses and tile roofs as one moves towards the central square. Houses remain of this type as one enters the secondary square to the north. They become wattle and daub huts again at the approaches to the northern extremity. These house types serve as one of the few, but most obvious, signs of socio-economic differentiation in the village.

Arembepe is officially classified as an arraial ("hamlet"). Legal title to the non-tidal portions of the real estate on which the settlement is built belongs to a condominium (condomínio), an undivided estate jointly held by the heirs of a former landowner. The landowners have had little interest in Arembepe in the past, other than in their coconut tree holdings in and around the village. They have never sought to limit directly the freedom of the villagers.



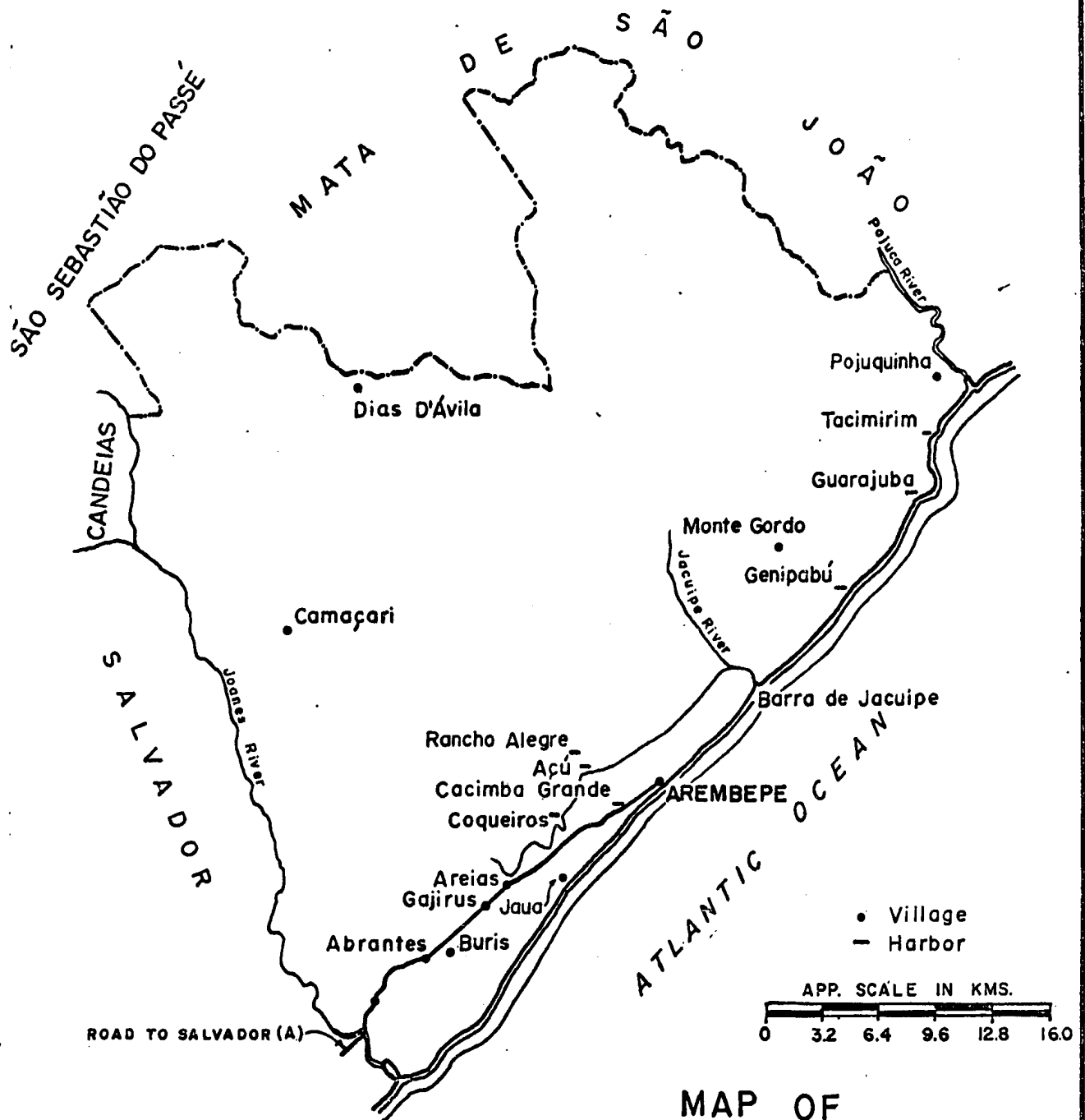


The most articulate of the current generation of landowners has been able to trace the estate back to 1880, when his great-grandmother (MMM) Francisca Ricardo resided on the estate. He surmises that the land came to his ancestors as part of a sesmaria or land grant from a Portuguese colonial official sometime before the independence of Brazil in 1822.

Neither a municipal nor a district seat, Arembepe is included in the sixth rural sector of the district of Abrantes, in the municipality of Camaçari. As one sees in Map3, Camaçari is bounded on the south and west by the Joanes River, on the north by a tributary of the Pojuca River, and on the east by the Ocean. The adjacent municipality to the north is Mata de São João, which includes the fishing settlement, Praia do Forte. Largo das Freitas is the neighboring municipality to the south.

Camaçari, the municipal seat, is located 43 kilometers by paved highway to the north of Salvador. The area of the municipality is 773 square kilometers. In 1962 the State Department of Statistics estimated municipal population as 25,483, giving a population of density of 34 persons per square kilometer (R. Gross, 1964: 4-6).

The origins of the municipality of Camaçari can be traced to September 7, 1562 when an imperial grant awarded lands within the current municipality to Jesuits. The Jesuits aggregated members of indigenous Tupinamba and other Indian groups into two settlements or aldeias, one of which



MAP OF
MUNICIPALITY OF CAMAÇARI

MARCH, 1966

has become the modern Abrantes. From 1890 until 1924 Abrantes was the seat of the present municipality of Camaçari. In 1924, the seat moved to Monte Negro, whose name was changed in 1938 to Camaçari.¹

The history of Arembepe can be given only in broadest outline, for it is murky in the memories of local residents and landowners alike. I have been able to find very few historical references to Arembepe, and none of them provides information about community life. Informants in Arembepe state that the fishing settlement was formerly located two coves to the south of its current site. They call the former settlement Arembepe Velho or "Old Arembepe." The move seems to have been an adaptation to a shift from raft (jangada) fishing to plank launch (saveiro) fishing in about 1900. I shall return to this point in Chapter III.

Writing in 1587 Gabriel Soares de Sousa (1938: 66) refers to "Arembepe" as the only port between the current Praia do Forte and the Joanes River. Since there are in fact other ports: Tacimirim, Guarajuba, and Genipabu, to the north, and Arembepe Velho and Jauá, to the south, one cannot be certain that he referred to the current settlement site. It is also likely that by 1587, Jesuits had aggregated the aboriginal inhabitants of such ports into the two aldeias in the current district of Abrantes.

¹Descriptions of environmental and physical features of the município are available in R. Gross, 1964 and Brandão, 1963.

Roads in different states of repair connect Arembepe to other settlements. The major route connects Arembepe to Salvador. From Salvador a paved road runs past Itapoan¹ (Itapoan is a tourist town which is well known to the Bahian elites.) to the Bahian Air Force Base and airport, some five kilometers further in the direction of Arembepe. Just before entering the airport one turns off to the left onto a clay-surfaced road. Going north he passes through Santo Amaro, seat of the municipality of Largo das Freitas. Leaving the municipal seat, one enters Portão, a settlement on the Salvador side of the Joanes River. After crossing a bridge, the traveler arrives in the district of Abrantes. He soon reaches the district seat, Abrantes or "a vila" to Arembepeiros. About half-way between Abrantes and Arembepe, a road turns off the main route to the east, leading to the agricultural settlements of Gagirus and Pé de Areia, finally reaching Jauá (Cf. Gorlin, 1965), a coastal settlement roughly four miles to the south of Arembepe. Returning to the main route, the traveler proceeds through the agricultural settlement of As Areias and through Cacimba Grande, the sole satellite of Arembepe, to Arembepe itself.

Economic Life

Arembepe is primarily a fishing community. Of the 180 male wage-earners in Arembepe in 1964, 128, or 71.2%,

¹See Map 3.

were full-time fishermen, and 7.8% had fishing as a secondary occupation. More than seven times more men engaged in fishing than in business, the second most common occupation. Slightly more than one-third of adult male Arembepeiros have secondary occupations. Of the secondary occupations, agriculture is the most important: 10.6% of adult males farm as an additional source of food and cash.

Males are the principal cash earners in Arembepe. Few professions are open to women. Nevertheless, most females supplement their husbands' incomes and/or support their children through a variety of small-scale activities. They prepare foods and hats for sale. A few women work as domestics. Others assist their husbands in stores, or run stores themselves.

Coconut trees provide additional cash income to 67, or 42.2% of all inhabited Arembepe households. The coconut tree (coqueiro da bahia) is fully productive after 8 years and yields an average of 9 fruits per tree per year (Cf. Brandão, 1963: 58-59).

Twelve small stores are distributed throughout the village. The fact that Arembepe is a food-producing community prevents the massing of significant fortunes from such small-scale business activities. Since fish takes the place of meat in the normal diets of Arembepeiros, the stores sell agricultural produce, cookies, soft drinks, liquor (cachaça-crude sugar cane rum), charcoal, kerosene, and other products from outside.

There are nine artisans in Arembepe. Only one of them, a boat carpenter, is a skilled professional. There are three other types of artisans: land carpenter (marceneiro), bricklayer (pedreiro), and caulker (calafate).

Few Arembepeiros are employed in local wage work. Ten households employ domestic help or agricultural assistants. Women work for their relatives carrying water and washing clothes in return for food and occasional cash. A few chronic alcoholics prefer work as stevedores and oddjobbers for local storekeepers to more regular occupations.

Opportunities for work outside the community are available with the national oil monopoly (Petrobras) and in commercial fishing. I shall describe the significance of these industries in Chapter IV.

Consumption patterns

Arembepeiros lack conveniences which most urban Brazilians enjoy. There is no electricity, no running water, no local medical facilities, no telephone or telegraph system, and no adequate educational establishment within Arembepe. Items like televisions and washing machines, even if they could be used in Arembepe, would be beyond the financial reach of most villagers. The distribution of different housetypes and of possessions such as bathrooms, brick stoves, radios, sewing machines, refrigerators, and bicycles is indicated in Appendix A. There are 724 rooms, including

382 bedrooms for 728 Arembepeiros, giving approximately one room and one-half bedroom to each villager.

Quantities of certain foods consumed are indicated in Appendix A. The normal household diet includes fish (6 days per week), roasted manioc flour (farinha--seven days), coffee (daily), sugar (daily), salt (daily), pork fat (3 days), tomatoes (6 days), onions (3 days), lemons (6 days), dende oil (daily), vinegar (6 days), beef or dried beef (carne de sertão--once a week), bananas and other fruits and vegetables depending on season. Better-off households are able to supplement this diet with milk, butter, eggs, rice, and more adequate portions of fresh fish, beans, and fruits and vegetables.

Arembepeiros have access to two sources of water. One of them is a well located in Cacimba Grande, a satellite community of eight houses. The other is the lagoon just west of the settlement, which may also be a source of schistosomes (liver flukes). Bathing and clothes-washing also take place in the lagoon.

Demography and social organization

An age-sex profile of Arembepe's population appears in Chapter II. The population of the settlement in 1964 was 730 (372 females and 358 males) living in 159 households. Of all Arembepeiros, 24.5% are immigrants from other communities.

I shall discuss phenotypical characteristics of Arembepeiros in Chapter II. At this point, suffice it to say that most Arembepeiros would be considered Negroids by North American observers.

Household and the Family

The average number of persons per household in Arembepe is 4.5. Seventy-eight per cent of Arembepe's households¹ have male heads, while 22% have female heads. There are significant differences in mean number of inhabitants and generational depth of male and female-headed households. The most common household type is the male-headed household including two generations, accounting for only half of all households.

Marriages in Arembepe are of several types: (1) the legal ceremony, which must be performed by a justice of the peace or other official; (2) the religious ceremony, which takes place in a Roman Catholic church or chapel; (3) a combination of the two; (4) common-law unions (the most common type); (5) visiting common-law unions, which are generally instances of a polygynous male's secondary union. Approximately two-thirds (65.6%) of all adults (ages 14 and older) are now, or have been, in some form of stable cohabiting union.

¹Household head is defined as the inhabitant of a given household who contributes the greatest amount of food and cash income to that household.

The mean number of pregnancies for the 162 women involved in some union is 5.55, while the average number of live offspring in the same sample is 3.21. Arembepeiros use no form of contraception. Women sometimes seek to limit births by inducing abortion. Generally, however, children are valued as sources of income to parents in old age. Arembepeiros say that adult children are obligated to assist parents, that parents should feed their children, and that siblings should help one another. In fact, there is a great deal of sharing, which serves to redistribute wealth among Arembepeiros. The obligations created through kinship are extended through the system of ritual godparenthood and co-parenthood (compadrio), whereby one asks a male and female to stand as sponsors at the baptism of his child. Arembepeiros choose their compadres from among their friends and relatives, who are usually lower class Brazilians. The relationship between godparent and godchild is usually stronger than that between co-parents. I shall return to compadrio in Chapters II and IV.

Political organization

There are four political (broadly construed) functionaries within the community. One of them is the local caretaker of the estate on which Arembepe is located. This Arembepeiro collects rents for house sites, oversees the harvest of the landowners' coconuts, and grants requests to

build houses in the community. Another Arembepeiro is the appointed police official (subdelegado) for the village. The local society (sociedade) or brotherhood (irmandade) of fishermen has two officers, one elected as president or treasurer, the other his appointed solicitor of funds. The major functions of the society are the organization of two celebrations (festas) in June and February. The latter, in honor of St. Francis, is held annually on February 20. The former, honoring St. John, is held on June 23. On these occasions villagers congregate to dance and drink in the society's meeting house. A spirit of conviviality and hospitality pervades the community as Arembepeiros offer food, drink, and lodging to other villagers and to relatives from other communities. Funds for these affairs come from contributions which fishermen make during the year.

Religion

All Arembepeiros are nominally Roman Catholics, although a priest comes to hold masses in the village chapel only twice a year. Women and children usually are the only Arembepeiros who attend these masses. The normal annual religious life is also the province of women, who hold prayer meetings throughout the year in honor of their personal saints. Arembepeiros with physical maladies often consult a medium or curandeiro on the neighboring agricultural estate of Coqueiros. He provides them with names of medicines which

can be obtained in pharmacies in Salvador. Some Arembepeiros take part in candomblé, an Afro-Brazilian cult. Generally, candomblé in Arembepe serves the functions of a miniature celebration. There is music, dancing, and continuous cachaça drinking. Some come to the site of the cult just to "appreciate" (apreciar). Arembepe folklore contains pan-Brazilian demons and creatures: the mother of the water (mãe d'aqua), werewolves, mules without heads, rolling balls of fire, werepigs and transformed witches in the form of butterflies. No elaborate rituals are part of social life in Arembepe. Villagers say that they pray on retiring at night and rising in the morning. Few of them make vows to perform certain deeds if requests are granted by saints. There are no ceremonies prior to boat egress or to any form of normal work.

Arembepe and the world outside

Arembepeiros have bonds based on kinship and economic relationships with inhabitants of all the settlements along the road to Salvador. Villagers regularly meet the residents of neighboring agricultural estates either in Arembepe, where agriculturalists come to buy fish and to market produce, or on the estates, where twenty Arembepeiros farm gardens (roças), small plots, generally one tarefa (.44 hectares)¹ in size. On such plots are cultivated manioc, beans, corn,

¹One hectare (ha.) = 2.471 acres.

sugar, bananas, papayas, oranges, and other fruits and vegetables. The principal economic orientation of Arembepe's fishing and coconut industries is to Salvador, which is also the source of most non-subsistence goods. I shall return to these points in Chapter IV.

Factors Responsible for the Absence of
Socio-economic Stratification
in Arembepe

Among the seven variables which have prevented stratification in Arembepe, two are specifically related to the marine fishing economy. The other five are relevant throughout rural Brazil.

I. Primary Impediments to Stratification
in Arembepe

A. Relationship between marine fishing
and stratification

The sea, in contrast to the land, presents a number of impediments to differential control of its resources. To the rudimentary technology of the Arembepe fishermen, the sea is a virtually limitless frontier. The marine niche which Arembepeiros exploit extends from the coast through the continental slope, which is located slightly more than seven miles offshore. The usual limits of the grounds which villagers fish run from below Jauá, the next fishing village four miles to the south, through a point north of Guarajuba,

a port five miles north of Arembepe.¹ Thus, the fishermen of Arembepe exploit roughly 63 square miles of the Atlantic Ocean. The only obstacles to a larger fishing territory are technological:

There are very few ways in which access to the sea may be limited. An international agreement to which Brazil adheres grants the national government ownership of "territorial" waters extending three miles out from the coastal high tidal mark. In times of war, one can imagine warships or police boats controlling use of the sea, but it is unlikely that such controls would be directed towards small-scale fishermen. Were areas of the sea individually owned, the owner would be faced with the problem of constructing boundary-markers. It would be difficult to imagine any device capable of indicating marine boundaries as effectively as fences and walls on the land. Boundary markers are feasible for tracks where oysters or similarly immobile resources are caught. They are also possible for salmon streams with a stable yield in a small area. But there are severe obstacles to the use of such devices on the open sea.

Marine fishing is basically a hunting activity. Even the most developed fisheries do little to increase the resources of the sea. Fish farming can proceed in restricted areas of water, e.g., ponds and rice paddies, but is virtually impossible on the open sea. Catches may be increased

¹See Map 1.

by avoiding over-fished areas until fish have returned and reproduced. Electronic instruments, such as radar, radio telephone, direction finders, and echo-sounders may aid in the location and exploitation of fish (Cf. Gehardsen, 1958: 993). These, however, represent only improved methods of tracking game. Fishing remains a hunting activity.

In the absence of such modern tracking devices, small scale fishermen, such as those of Arembepe, may develop systems of sighting which direct them to fishing grounds. Fish seek food and refuge from ever larger species in rocky areas of the ocean floor. Arembepeiros locate such rocky areas with reference to landmarks. There are, however, limits to the precision of the human eye, and even when rocky areas are reached, fishermen must wait for fish to come to them. They no longer actively pursue their game, as they could if they had electronic devices.

Successful marine fishing requires individualistic behavior. It is generally the fishermen who regularly work the longest number of hours and who take the greatest number of calculated risks who bring in the largest catches. Those who do not work as regularly explain the greater success of others by calling the latter "lucky." Because the attributes necessary for marine fishing achievement are ephemeral, there is a great deal of vertical mobility within populations of marine fishermen. Having a successful fisherman for a father is no guarantee of one's own fishing success.

Because of the virtual limitlessness of the sea and the unpredictable habits of its game, direct supervision of the actions of fishermen is extremely difficult. One need only contrast a labor force of slaves or free men working in sugar cane fields with a fishing fleet pursuing game over a large expanse of sea. Fishermen are beyond the managerial control of non-workers, while agricultural slaves are constantly close to their master's lash. Furthermore, constant supervision would be incompatible with the individualistic virtues which marine fishing seems to require. Thus, the exploitation of the labor of fishermen by non-fishermen is considerably more difficult than labor exploitation on the land.

The risks which are normally present every day at sea have no counterparts on the land. Fishermen always face the possibility of sudden squalls, which may bring death, personal injury, or loss of boat and fishing apparatus. Profits from marine fishing are uncertain, with considerable variation in size of catch from day to day. A fisherman may find a large catch at a given spot, while the following day at the same site, he may catch nothing at all. In contrast to agriculture and herding, profits from marine fishing are sporadic and come in installments. The farmer plants and lets his crop mature. He receives everything at harvest time. The pastoralist relies on the regular increase of his herds. The fisherman counts on nothing. Luck varies from

day to day and from boat to boat. As Arembepe fishermen say, "It would be wonderful to work in oil (the national oil concern), where salaries are high and regular."

There is little in marine fishing to attract either labor or non-fishing investors. Many of the fishermen in Arembepe pursue fishing careers only because they have been unable to find more lucrative sources of employment on the land. A fisherman's working conditions are far from comfortable. The fishing day is uninterrupted. Personnel remain at sea for long hours, exposed to sun and rain, and with little variation in activity. Non-fishing owners must maintain and repair their boats, and face the same risks of financial loss as fishermen who are also owners. Because of variations in catch, even on large commercial trawlers, fishermen, in major Brazilian ports as in settlements like Arembepe, receive commissions rather than regular salaries. In Arembepe all large fish are divided among the crew members of a particular launch according to a system which I shall describe in Chapter IV. Small fish are treated differently. Some fishermen keep only the small fish which they have caught on their own. Others pool all small fish together and each receives an equal share. Commission payment guarantees a fisherman's interest in his work while regular salaries might decrease work effort and, in view of variation in catches, be less profitable to non-fishing owners.

While I am unable to demonstrate conclusively that any one of the seven factors which I postulate as responsible for the absence of stratification in Arembepe is the unitary cause, I suggest that the first, the virtual impossibility of limiting access to the sea, may be the most important. The sea is a kind of open frontier which is limitless as far as the exploitative technology available to Arembepe fishermen is concerned.

B. Relationship between fishing technology and stratification

The three fundamental variables in all ecosystems of which humans are part are humans, technology, and environment (physical & biotal). The study of such systems is human or human population ecology. The technological apparatus which a given human group uses to exploit a given niche is adapted to that niche only in so far as it functions within such a system. Other technological adaptations are possible, and when adopted change the nature of the particular ecosystem. Thus, technological innovations can allow the more efficient exploitation of a given environmental niche, or they may open new niches.

Arembepe's fishing grounds are reached in wooden launches called saveiros. These boats, whose mean dimensions are 22'3" x 7' x 2'4.5", are propelled exclusively by wind and oars. Each boat has two sails, which are used in accordance with intensity and direction of winds. Marine maps

indicate the existence of additional fishing banks just beyond the daily sailing range of Arembepe's fishing boats. The addition of motorized launches to the fleet could open up such niches for the first time.

The fishing technology of Arembepe revolves around hook and handline fishing from these small boats. There is one large dragnet in the village, and two nylon trammel nets were introduced in July, 1965. The largest capital outlay for boat, net, or any other item in the productive apparatus of the Arembepe fishing industry, bought singly, does not exceed \$200.00 U.S., which is approximately equivalent to the annual earnings of the average crew member who is neither owner nor captain. In view of this fact, the opportunity to buy a boat is theoretically open to all Arembepeiros.

It is clear that differences in technology between two fishing industries can explain the presence of stratification in one and its absence in the other. One could compare the port city of Salvador with Arembepe and immediately see differences in boats and crew size. The large commercial trawlers which operate from major ports throughout the world require large harbors. Such craft can exploit distant banks. Numerous examples of Grand Bank fishermen will come to mind. There is a tremendous difference in scale between the modernized fishing fleets of such countries as Japan, Norway, and the United States and the simple, low-value technology of the Arembepe fisherman.

In most cases, however, the funds which have been reinvested in large commercial trawlers have originated in economic pursuits on the land rather than on the sea (Cf. Gerhardsen, 1958: 992). Once this wealth has been initially invested, the owner of such a craft can continue to derive profits which far exceed the labor and capital which he invests. The resident of Salvador who has recently commissioned what is to be the largest commercial fishing boat operating from the state of Bahia will receive thirty per cent of the proceeds of each catch, while the fourteen members of the crew will divide the remaining seventy per cent. The owner receives far more than any one of his crew members, and almost one-third of their combined share.

On the other hand, the fact of small crews of four and five men and their random distribution with reference to fishing grounds allows a relatively equal distribution of fish, if fishing time is held constant, among all purely fishing households. In such settlements as Arembepe, one-fourth of the total catch of a launch goes to the owner. Since a majority of the boats are co-owned by captains and non-fishermen, each non-fishing owner generally receives only one-eighth of the daily catch. Owners who do not fish often profit less from fishing than fishermen. In Arembepe it is the owner who meets repair and maintenance costs of the vessel. Because of the small size of his share, the

non-fisherman's receipts from fishing are even further reduced after normal annual repair costs have been deducted.

The following generalizations about fishing technology summarize its possible effects on the formation of stratified hierarchies:

1. Receipts of the owner tend to increase in accordance with the capital investment in, and normal maintenance costs of, the craft. They also increase in so far as the boat is motorized and in accordance with the contribution of the owner to supplying the fishing apparatus.

2. Major amounts of capital which are reinvested in fishing ultimately originate in economic pursuits on the land. Once the original outlay of capital has been made, and if the owner receives a sufficiently large percentage of the catch, wealth derived from the fishing industry may continue to reinforce the owner's privileged position with respect to strategic resources of the sea.

3. The most developed fishing technology is the one which exploits the greatest number of productive environmental niches. Vessels must be motorized. They must be large enough to allow maximal production when fishing banks or grounds are reached. They must utilize fishing techniques which permit maximal catches in a given period of time. For most surface dwelling and ranging species, different types of nets provide such instruments. For fish species which are confined to specific depths and which are not surface-ranging,

hook and line may be an effective technique. Under certain environmental conditions where fishing is confined to the continental shelf and never reaches the continental slope, pot fishing may be an efficient adaptation.

4. In any settlement, the further development of the fishing industry through technological innovations depends primarily on the following factors:

- a. overcoming environmental and ecological limitations; and
- b. the capital resources available to the inhabitants of the settlement.

The extent to which the development of a fishing industry can bring about socio-economic stratification depends on the source of capital and the division of the profits from fishing. If capital for the initial investment comes from outside the community, and if significant percentages of total profits accrue to the non-resident owner, fishermen will tend to remain undifferentiated among themselves, but will stand to external owners as members of a subordinate group by virtue of differential access to marine resources. If capital comes from non-fishing residents of the community, stratification could develop within the community, were production and profits significantly greater as a result of the technological innovation. If the income of fishing personnel is high relative to the cost of the technological innovation, greater production could be obtained

without sacrificing the graded socio-economic hierarchy, as fishermen themselves acquire the means of production.

While it is clear that the addition of large boats or motorization can open up new environmental niches, such boats are not found in Arembepe. The productive apparatus of the fishing industry--small boats, owned by one or two men, with no motors, and with hook and line fishing techniques allows little differential access to strategic resources unless there are many boats per owner. There can be no marked economic differentiation between owner and crew member if the former usually receives less income from fishing than the latter.

II. Secondary Impediments to Stratification in Arembepe

The primary impediments to stratification in Arembepe lie in Arembepe's economic base in marine fishing with a primitive technology. The secondary impediments relate to the fact that there has been nothing in Arembepe's economy or in the resources available to Arembepeiros which would attract external capital. Because of this, Arembepe has remained relatively isolated from Salvador and other stratified settlements, and thus from the Brazilian power structure. The external world has not intervened to challenge the relative egalitarianism inherent in the local economy.

A. Isolation from Brazilian economic "booms"

Neither Arembepe nor the municipality which includes it has been influenced directly by a Brazilian economic "boom." Other Brazilian communities which have been described ethnographically have been influenced by sugar cane cultivation (Hutchinson, 1952; 1957), the mining "boom" of the eighteenth century (Harris, 1952; 1956), the rubber "boom" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Wagley, 1952; 1953), and the coffee "boom" beginning in the mid-nineteenth century (Stein, 1957). All these settlements include stratified hierarchies and power differentials between superordinate and subordinate groups. The origins of such hierarchies and power differentials lie in control over items which, unlike Arembepe's fish and coconuts, are of significance to the world cash economy.

According to an extensive report on agricultural relations in the municipality of Camaçari (Brandão, 1963), the economic formation of the municipality must be considered in the light of the general history of the Recôncavo, one of sixteen physiographic zones into which the National Statistics Bureau divides the state of Bahia (Brandão, 1963: 52, IBGE, nd.: 2). Camaçari is situated on the northern periphery of the sugar Recôncavo (see Hutchinson, 1952; 1957), and is a transitional zone between the latter and the Bahian northern littoral (Brandão, 1963: 52). It has been invaded by sugar cultivation and by the plantations (fazendas) and

sugar mills (engenhos) which accompanied it at various times. These invasions have corresponded to the rise of world sugar prices. The latest intrusion, between 1865 and the abolition of slavery in 1888, was extremely precarious and limited in volume. Sugar cane soon retracted in the face of a world economic crisis and exhaustion of appropriate municipal soil (Brandão, 1963: 54-55, 33).

Thus, social relations in Arembepe have never been directly affected by the economy of the sugar Recôncavo. Never in the history of the municipality has there been any man-land relationship which compares in scale to the plantation system just to the south. Most of the agricultural land near Arembepe is rented or share-cropped by farmers who sell part of their produce to marketers from Salvador. The economic orientation of the municipality of Camaçari has been to subsistence agriculture, coconut cultivation, and vegetal charcoal extraction. None of these pursuits requires large labor forces. Within Camaçari there has never been such intensive use of labor and such a tremendous gap between different socio-economic strata, as in sugar, coffee, or mining activities. Nor has there been any opportunity for a middle stratum including foremen and businessmen to develop between owners and workers. Its isolation from the "booms" and "busts" of Brazilian economic history has kept Arembepe an unstratified rural community.

B. Failure to develop as a marketing or manufacturing center

Stratification has not developed in Arembepe on the basis of differential control over traded or manufactured goods. Arembepe's geographical marginality has limited the range of commercial activities open to villagers. The community is not located at a crossroad. Bounded on one side by the Ocean and on the other by freshwater lagoons, there have been severe geographical impediments to Arembepe's being the center of anything. It has remained a food-producing community rather than a point of convergence and redistribution of products from other settlements. Most of the Brazilian communities which have been described ethnographically have been the sites of at least weekly markets or feiras to which rural dwellers bring produce for sale. There is no market in Arembepe, nor is there one in Abrantes. The only market in the municipality is held weekly in Camaçari. Arembepeiros send only a small amount of fish to be sold in Camaçari, and not on market day. Few Arembepeiros go to market in the municipal seat, and none go regularly. They prefer to shop in larger markets in the capital. The agricultural produce which reaches Arembepe remains in the community, where it is consumed.

Because of the limited resources available to its population, Arembepe has never developed as a manufacturing center. The only locally manufactured item which reaches external markets is the "straw" hat made from fronds of the piassava palm. Although most women in Arembepe make hats,

their total income from hats does not exceed \$50.00 U.S. per week. Control of this low value item could not constitute a basis for stratification.

C. Absence of politico-administrative functions

Primarily because its inhabitants have never engaged in any occupation more productive than small-scale marine fishing, Arembepe has been neither a municipal nor a district seat. It lacks the political and administrative hierarchies which are generally present in such centers. Administrative hierarchies act to maintain stratification once it exists in a given community, by guaranteeing that economic power will continue to be wielded by the same people.

The correlation between wealth and political power in Minas Velhas, a Brazilian municipal seat, has been documented by Harris (1956: 101-102). Harris (1956: 45-46) lists thirty-one different civil service occupations (ranging from teacher to animal catcher and rat and flea killer). Only four offices in Arembepe might be considered civil service: teacher, unsalaried police official, caretaker of the estate (for the landowners), and port captain (a federal position). Only the last provides a living wage.

Of the seven occupations which Harris (1956: 45) lists in the professions and services category, only two are represented in Arembepe: sextant and musician. These occupations are not even minor sources of income for the

Arembepeiros who pursue them. The three major professionals found in Minas Velhas--priest, dentist, and pharmacist--are all absent in Arembepe.

Arembepe contrasts strongly with Minas Velhas in the insignificant roles which manufacturing, civil service, and professions and services play in its occupational structure. Camaçari, as a municipal seat, includes most of the personnel found in Minas Velhas and other similar communities. Even in the seat of a Brazilian district, the number of occupations in the civil service and professions and services categories far exceeds that in Arembepe. In Cruz das Almas (Pierson, 1951), there were eleven occupations within these categories. Abrantes includes similar vocations: municipal teacher, tax collector, statistical agent, submayor, fee collector (municipal), justice of the peace, grave-digger, policeman, and postman. The regular and relatively substantial salaries which some of these positions provide, when compared to salaries in Arembepe, also act to maintain stratification in such communities.

D. Bifurcation of economic and political ties

Arembepe's reliance on markets in Salvador must be understood within the context of a more general orientation to the state capital of the entire municipality of Camaçari. R. Gross (1964) has pointed out that Salvador has constantly drained Camaçari of professionals and representatives of a

local upper class. Many of the owners of the largest agricultural estates in Camaçari have sought professional and political careers in Salvador because they could find no buttress for elite status in the municipal economy.

Through 1925 the owner of the estate on which Arembepe is located actually resided in the community. She derived her income and a position in the municipal upper class from her differential access to land, coconuts, and human labor. Because of fragmentation of her estate through inheritance, her heirs could no longer rely on land and coconuts in Arembepe as a basis for elite status. Like other landlords in Camaçari, they sought their fortunes in Salvador. Thus, the only people with traditional ties to Arembepe who might have jockeyed for administrative status (i.e., that of a district seat) for Arembepe have severed their connections with the settlement. The landowners take no interest in local politics. Their political ambitions are directed towards state politics and are unlikely to affect Arembepe.

There can be no correlation between political power in the municipality of Camaçari and the control of Arembepe's fish or coconut trade. Because of the expansion of Salvador, which is Arembepe's principal market, Arembepeiros can always find new buyers for their fish and coconuts. Villagers do not have to fall into the clutches of a single marketer. Even if one individual controlled the marketing of Arembepe's produce, his access could not be guaranteed through a role

in municipal politics, since all the fish and coconut buyers reside in Salvador and its suburbs.

E. Failure to develop as a
tourist resort

Although Arembepe is removed from Salvador by only sixty kilometers, and by virtue of its beach and natural beauty is an ideal resort site, it has remained relatively isolated until recently from the upper and middle classes of the city. Arembepe's failure to become a tourist resort is related to its geographical marginality. As long as the community remained isolated from Salvador, tourists were not attracted to Arembepe in large numbers. To promote tourism in Arembepe required power and capital which Arembepeiros did not possess. The people who will profit most from tourism and from a concomitant rise in the value of their land are the owners of the Arembepe estate. Yet only recently has one of them attained a socio-economic status which has allowed him to speculate on his family's landholdings. Dr. Jorge Camões is the only one of Arembepe's landlords with a university education. He occupies a position firmly in the middle class. His employer, the state division of the National Roads Department, has placed him in charge of the road between Arembepe and Salvador. He has used his position to improve access to Arembepe.

In March, 1965, a clay-surfaced road which appears to be passable year round finally linked Arembepe to the city.

Before this, Arembepe had been virtually shut off from the outside world during the rainy season from June to August. Only vehicles equipped with two differentials could traverse the numerous stretches of mud, two lagoons, and stretches of sand between Abrantes and Arembepe.

While tourists had visited the village during summers, it was only in 1965 that the new road brought winter tourism to Arembepe. Private cars and a daily bus could now reach Arembepe. In response, one Arembepeiro opened the village's first restaurant and boarding house. Although it is an unimposing structure, it is a harbinger of greater developments to come. Catering to the tourist trade could eventually provide a basis for stratification in Arembepe, as it has in Itapoan, which began as a settlement of marine fishermen.

Conclusions

In this introductory chapter, I have attempted to provide a framework which will permit the reader to interpret the ethnographic sections which follow. Arembepe is like thousands of other unstratified Brazilian communities. Its economic base and its ecological placement have prevented stratification based on differential access to strategic resources. There are hierarchies in Arembepe, but they differ from hierarchies in stratified communities. Because there is no basis for differential control of natural resources, technology, or labor, there are no sharp contrasts

in the incomes or standards of living of Arembepeiros. The spectrum of incomes to able-bodied males in Arembepe is almost infinitesimally narrow when projected onto the national range of incomes in Brazil.¹ In Arembepe, as in other unstratified communities, power and authority are embodied in age, sex, and kinship roles. Other differentials in power and authority are based on ephemeral personal characteristics capable of distinguishing among individuals in the performance of specific activities. However, in contrast to stratified communities, no one in Arembepe possesses and exercises real power over others by virtue of his membership in a superordinate socio-economic group.

Although Arembepe has been isolated from the power structure of Brazil, it is included in a nation state. When villagers leave their natal community, they enter a social system in which the traditional cues break down. They become lower class Brazilians. In their encounters with upper and middle class outsiders, Arembepeiros defer to others solely because of placement in strata which stand to each other in a superordinate-subordinate relationship. As lower class Brazilians, all Arembepeiros are limited by a common set of

¹While statistics on the range of incomes in Brazil are not available, the distribution of income-tax returns indicates that some Brazilians earn far more than one hundred times the annual cash income of a fisherman in Arembepe (Cf. Heare, 1961: 57).

impediments to individual vertical mobility and to a general amelioration of their standards of living.

I shall attempt to clarify such limitations in the chapters which follow.

CHAPTER II

SOME INTERNAL HIERARCHIES

An attempt to treat Arembepe as though it were a community in the "primitive world" would ignore its inclusion in an order of socio-economic stratification maintained by a vast nation-state. Arembepeiros depend on the external world for many subsistence products and for virtually all non-subsistence goods. Exchanges are usually regulated by the cash economy. Some villagers participate in elections. Arembepeiros are constantly in contact with outsiders, including upper and middle class Brazilians, both inside and outside of Arembepe. That wealth differentials within the community do not reach the level of class distinctions is particularly clear when one contrasts the wealth and standard of living of any Arembepeiro with that of a member of the middle or upper class. If projected onto the national range of incomes and consumption patterns, the contrasts which exist in Arembepe itself would be barely discernible. Within Arembepe the spectrum of wealth is relatively narrow.

Yet despite the cash economy, the dependence on external markets, elections, and frequent encounters with

middle class outsiders, Arembepeiros have remained surprisingly isolated from the national power structure.

While some villagers have middle class "patrons," people who give them menial jobs or who offer them paternalistic friendship and favors, no one, either insider or outsider, derives large-scale profits from Arembepeiros' labor. The owners of the estate on which Arembepe is located are members of the national middle class. Yet their class positions do not rest on Arembepe's economy or on exploitation of the labor of their tenants.

The stratification differentials which might exist on the basis of land and coconut trees have involved removal from Arembepe. Just as the landowners no longer reside in Arembepe, the few local residents who have inherited access to large estates have left the community. Moreover, they in effect go so far away that they do not bother any one back home with their power. They go up and out. There has been nothing to attract them in Arembepe's economy.

This isolation from the Brazilian power structure is the primary reason why one finds in Arembepe numerous analogies to social relations in primitive societies. Reciprocal exchange continues alongside of market exchange (Cf. Polanyi, 1959:169). In times of stress, neighborliness and kinship are utilized for the redistribution of food. The principal hierarchical differentials are embodied in the

component statuses of the nuclear family (husband, wife, spouse, mother, father, parent, son, daughter, child), in the extension of nuclear family positions (co-mother, co-father, co-parent, godfather, godmother, godparent, god-child), in the behavioral and terminological narrowing of distances between kinsmen ("uncle" and "aunt" include parents' first cousins; "niece" and "nephew" include the children of all first cousins), in role differentials in non-kin based sodalities, and in ephemeral personal characteristics capable of distinguishing among individuals in their performance of specific activities. No one in Arembepe enjoys real power over other villagers by virtue of their differential access to strategic resources.

There is no one to stop Arembepeiros from the pursuit of their own-account activities within the local economy. Through hard work and entrepreneurial expertise, often spanning different occupations, Arembepeiros can create their own sources of wealth. Yet mechanisms constantly act to level wealth differentials and thus to preclude differential access to strategic resources. The kinship, fictive kinship, and marriage systems are among the most effective leveling mechanisms.

While hierarchies form in Arembepe, none of them reaches the level of class distinctions. The hierarchies which will be discussed in this chapter have their origins

in age, sex, place of birth, race, kinship and family affiliations, occupation, education, and political role. First, however, factors which provide the bases for hierarchies in other communities, but which do not serve this function in Arembepe, will be evaluated.

Non-Hierarchies

Absence of Differentiation according to Subculture, Nationality, Language, or Ethnic Group

In many societies and settlements subcultural, national, ethnic, and linguistic groups occupy minority positions. This is not true in Arembepe. The one foreigner who resides in Arembepe is a storekeeper married to a native woman. He came to Brazil from Spain as a boy and moved to Arembepe thirty years ago. He is a naturalized Brazilian and accords with other Arembepeiros in his way of life and customary behavior. He can no longer speak Spanish. With national, linguistic and cultural homogeneity, there is no basis for the formation of hierarchies in Arembepe according to any of these criteria.

Absence of Differentiation according to Religious Affiliation

No distinct religious groups have emerged in Arembepe on the basis of placement in different socio-economic strata. Of the major organized religions, there is no competitor to

Roman Catholicism in the community. When a child is baptized, he assumes a certain status position within Roman Catholic dogma. Far more important, he is incorporated into community social life as a godchild. Later in life, a child can revise his spiritual status and acquire additional godparents. Many Arembepeiros have been confirmed and dedicated to the Church. These ceremonial occasions, on which a child chooses one godparent of his own sex to stand as his sponsor, take place at seven year intervals, and are conducted by a bishop, rather than by an ordinary priest. Later in life, if he is formally married in the Church, one acquires four additional godparents, two of each sex, couples chosen by the bride and by the groom.

Ritual kinship strengthens ties which already exist and creates new bonds. It also serves to elevate certain relationships from profane to sacred levels. Thus a 28 year old unmarried woman who frequently had been seen talking to a fish buyer from Salvador became the victim of other women's gossip. They accused her of having an affair with the fish agent, and called him the father of the child that she was expecting. To combat the rumors, which were untrue, she asked the fish agent to stand as the godfather of the child. In doing this, she rebuked the allegations of a love affair by creating a relationship the sexual violation of which is considered to be incestuous.

The system of ritual kinship is the most important mechanism through which Roman Catholic dogma enters the daily lives of Arembepeiros. There is no resident priest or any other cleric in Arembepe. A priest from Itapoan comes to the village twice a year. On these occasions he performs baptisms, marriages, and masses, and reprimands the women and children who come to Church for their lack of interest in organized religion.

Religious ideology, specifically the "Protestant ethic," has been attributed a role in the development of capitalism (Cf. Weber, 1958). While there are no Protestants in Arembepe, the ethic is strikingly similar to the virtues which successful Arembepeiros constantly stress. One successful boat captain, aged 31, told me jokingly that he was going to become a Protestant because he neither drank nor smoked, and worked hard and reinvested his money for a better life. Precisely because they have attained economic success in village life, those who best fit the Protestant stereotype are the least likely to jeopardize their positions by subjecting themselves to the strict behavior enjoined on Pentecostals and the derision which such an affiliation might bring from other Arembepeiros. When two truckloads of Protestant Fundamentalists from Abrantes, Portão and Salvador arrived in Arembepe on two successive Sundays in winter, 1965, they encountered three drunken "converts" who raised their hands in the holy vow. The

conversion was considered very funny by most Arembepe spectators, including the captain quoted above. When I left the community in September, 1965, none of the drunks seemed to have profited from their "conversions."

While the other organized religions do not threaten Catholicism in Arembepe, there are activities which might be adjudged religious in which Arembepeiros do participate. Most of them are vehicles which allow for association, dancing, singing, and drinking, as is the case with the occasional candomblé. Quasi-religious behavior is also associated with the search for quick, effective, and inexpensive cures to diseases. This is the basis for the success of a shaman-medium (curandeiro) who has opened shop in Coqueiros. Men and women, old and young, and Arembepeiros who enjoy greater and lesser economic success visit Coqueiros to consult the spirit of the medium. For the inhabitants of Arembepe, cut off from regular contact with honest and competent physicians and removed from ready access to expensive drugs, consultation with the shaman and experimentation with his remedies does not seem to be ignorant or foolish. That he is consulted by most Arembepeiros, that he has drawn assistants from among them, and that informants find his solutions satisfactory, affirms the homogeneity of the settlement's population, adopting a common solution to a common plight imposed by the lack of modern medical facilities in northern rural Brazil.

Hierarchies, But Not Stratification

The Hierarchies Based on Age and Sex

Arembepeiros are grouped according to age and sex in Table 1.

TABLE 1

POPULATION OF AREMBEPE BY AGE AND SEX

Age Groups	Males		Females		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
00-09	133	18.2	118	16.2	251	34.4
10-19	63	8.6	73	10.0	136	18.6
20-29	45	6.2	53	7.3	98	13.5
30-39	41	5.6	43	5.9	84	11.5
40-49	30	4.1	37	5.1	67	9.2
50-59	18	2.5	23	3.2	41	5.7
60-69	17	2.3	13	1.8	30	4.1
70 +	11	1.5	12	1.6	23	3.1
Total	358	49.0	372	51.1	730	100.1

The preponderance of females in the population of Arembepe is most obvious in the age brackets between ages 10 and 49. The 206 females in this group account for 53.5% of the total population between 10 and 49, while the 179 males account for only 46.5%. There is a marked differential in female versus

male immigration to Arembepe, as will be shown in the following section. Sixty per cent of all immigrants in the population sixteen and over are females, while forty per cent are males. The numerical predominance of adult females between 16 and 49 is the result of this immigration differential and also of the greater employment opportunities available to young men outside of Arembepe. The fact that adult females outnumber adult males influences social structure and social relations in Arembepe, as will be shown in this section.

If Arembepeiros are divided according to their productive roles in the local economy, there are three groups: primary producers, secondary producers, and dependents. Primary producers include most of the adult males, a few adult females, and no children. Secondary producers are a few adult males, half of the adult women, and a few adolescent boys. The dependent population includes none of the males, half of the adult females, and most of the children. This division is the immediate basis for the construction of a non-stratified hierarchy in which most adult males occupy higher positions than females.

Authority differentials are embodied in the component statuses of the nuclear family and in other asymmetrical kinship statuses. Parents possess and exercise jural authority over their children, and children often consult their parents and heed their advice even after they have grown up and moved out of the parental household. Children respect their

parents and other elders and defer to their opinions and judgments.

The period of most intense economic activity is between ages 20 and 50. Old ages brings declining productivity. The effort which older men and women can invest in their work is reduced. Yet, few Arembepeiros retire from their professions. Most people go on working as long as they can, although they work less regularly than they did earlier in their lives. Old people rely on their children and other kinsmen to support them in their old age. They also derive income from sources of wealth, such as coconut trees, which they have acquired through reinvestment during their active years. Arembepeiros say that one should respect his elders, calling those who were adults when he was born by formal terms (o senhor and a senhora), instead of by the familiar term which is used among age-peers (vôce). Villagers usually adhere to this model. Storekeepers grant old people especially low prices and give them larger portions for their money, especially when these individuals have no one else to support them.

For most positions of leadership in community affairs, one must be an adult male. There are four times more male than female household heads. Kinship through males is more important than kinship through females, and patrilineal ties are the most frequent kinship bonds used to unite working groups. It is the male who makes most household expenditures both in and outside of Arembepe. It is he who provides most

food and cash. He issues orders to his wife and children and has them obeyed. He may strike his wife and is immune from her physical retaliation. It is he who represents the household to outsiders. When my wife entered houses in Arembepe, the male usually volunteered to answer her questions. On the other hand, when I attempted to interview a woman alone, I rarely got her cooperation. Men were always more cooperative and more willing to respond to our questions.

Arembepeiros of both sexes prefer sons to daughters. A man laments his fate if he has sired no sons. A sixty-year old fisherman complained that he had "dug" with five different women and had yet to produce a macho (the term used to refer to a male animal). Arembepeiros openly admit that their preference for sons is a result of the male's greater earning capacity. Villagers say that it is good to have many sons to assist parents in old age.

In return for the greater burdens which he assumes throughout his life, the male receives certain rewards. He has more frequent opportunities to associate in large groups with others of his sex. Groups of men commonly gather in front of the chapel to sit and talk in the afternoons, after the boats have come in. Women rarely approach this male domain. Only young girls and old women are immune to this restriction. They may walk close by the chapel stoop and call out to their fathers and sons, but they never sit down. Women from ten to sixty never come closer than ten feet to

the men and never engage in repartee. Women remain in their houses when they are not getting water, washing clothes, visiting stores or relatives, or making hats. They commonly associate with other women in small groups, generally including female relatives and neighbors. Their contact with males is limited normally to elders and to their own and their husband's close kinsmen. More frequently than women, men leave Arembepe, spend work periods outside of the community, become acquainted with urban life and with areas of Brazil other than Bahia. Males smoke and drink wherever they wish, while women never smoke in public and drink openly only at times of festivals and holidays. There is a dual standard of sexual behavior. Men visit prostitutes and maintain polygynous unions. Women usually remain faithful to one man at a time.

It is impossible to overlook manifestations of machismo (the stud complex) in Arembepe. Strolling through Arembepe during the day, one frequently encounters boys from less than one year up to ten years old wearing nothing or only open shirts. Males swim nude until adolescence, and no Arembepeiro is embarrassed to see them. Girls, however, are usually dressed by the time they are 3 months old. Parents point to their sons' penises with pride. Until their sons are a year old, women often kiss their genitals. Fathers and other adult males often admire and comment on boys' penises, sometimes to the extent of physical stimulation and laughter at

the sight of the child's erection. Among adolescent males masturbation and intercourse are supplemented with bestiality. Nineteen and twenty year olds argue heatedly about the different degrees of pleasure associated with cows, donkeys, mares, pigs, and even chickens.

Girls, on the other hand, from the onset of menstruation through elopement or marriage, participate in what might be called the "moça syndrome." Such girls are called moças, rather than meninas, the term applied to younger girls, or mulher and senhora, which are terms referring to married women. Moças guard their virginity, while distinguishing themselves in bashfulness, apparent stupidity, and constant gossip. Virginity is usually a necessary, but not a sufficient, attribute for attracting an economically successful young man. Two young women say that they have avoided intercourse through age 27, and other villagers consider them to be virgins. They hope to find young men from outside of Arembepe to take them away from the ennui which they find in a small rural community. To stave off an untimely loss of virginity often requires ambitious and powerful parents. They expect and constantly urge their daughters to wait for a civilly sanctioned union. Often a young male's persuasion is more cogent than her parents' desire for a successful son-in-law, and the girl elopes to establish a common-law union. She may also remain alone or in her parents' home as an unmarried mother.

Only in business or with inherited wealth can women earn incomes and enjoy standards of living which compare favorably with households headed by males. Dona Alice runs a medium-sized store. Two of her god-daughters live with her. Her annual income is approximately three times that of the average fisherman, but she must purchase fish, reducing her effective income.¹ Fishermen on the other hand derive subsistence from their occupation. Nevertheless, the small size of her household and the volume of business which she normally transacts (Cr 1,100,000 in 1964)² allow her to maintain a standard of living which is superior to that of any household supported solely by an ordinary fisherman.

Other cases of women with significant independent incomes result from inheritance. Given an equal population of males and females, and in accordance with Brazilian law, inheritance distributes goods equally between males and females.

¹Effective income is defined as the amount of cash income remaining after subsistence expenses have been met. Holding household size and annual cash income constant, household heads, such as fishermen, who derive food from their occupation, have smaller annual food budgets and more money to invest in non-subsistence goods than those who have to purchase fish.

²The Brazilian unit of currency is the cruzeiro, written henceforth as Cr 1. The value of the cruzeiro from 1962 through 1965 is summarized below. This figure is based on the average free exchange rate prevailing in Salvador from June 1 through September 1, 1962, 1963, 1964, and 1965:

Year	Cr. per \$1.00 U.S.
1962	475
1963	620
1964	1500
1965	1800

Of the 66 Arembepeiros who have inherited coconut trees, 33 are males, and 33 are females. Women may also inherit land, shares in boats and access to houses and house sites. When a woman has inherited more than her husband, and when her wealth provides a substantial contribution to household income, she may assume a dominant position in her household.

For example, Dona Claudia, aged 37, is married civilly and religiously to Anatalio, one of the major storekeepers in Arembepe. From her father she inherited the building which is the site of her husband's store, 100 tarefas (44 hectares) of land on the estate of Açu, and 333 coconut trees. She was the largest-scale landowner in Arembepe until she moved to Itapoan, a suburb of Salvador, in 1965. She has a significant source of wealth in trees and derives some income from her tenants' rents. Her husband used the sources of wealth which his wife had inherited to get a start in community economic life. They live in her father's house, which is also their store. Dona Claudia violates the norm of female behavior in the village. She villifies her husband, to his face and to others, calling him "lazy" and "stupid," and complains about his lack of ambition for his children. She took her seven children with her to Itapoan, where she hopes they will acquire educations superior to those available in Arembepe. Her husband remains behind, taking care of the store, and eating all meals with his sisters and cousins. There are ten other women like Dona Claudia in Arembepe who, by virtue of

their inheritance, are dominant or co-dominant over their husbands. These cases stand out as obvious only because of the more commonly observed pattern of complete male domination in all aspects of village behavior.

One of the most poignant results of male dominance and of the numerical preponderance of adult females over adult males is the existence of two allied structural phenomena in Arembepe: polygyny and the female-headed household. Most polygynous unions involve a male in two households, one of which is headed by a female because the male does not regularly reside there, because his support of the household is sporadic, and because such unions are highly unstable.

Twenty-eight of the 159 inhabited households in Arembepe lack co-resident males. Seventeen of them represent two and three generation "mother" or "grandmother" households. Eleven of the 28 are lone widows. Of the first seventeen, eleven receive major support from brothers or children, and four receive some contributions from other households. Only two are completely self-sustaining. One of them is Dona Alice, the storekeeper mentioned previously. The other is a woman with coconut trees. All eleven widows receive major support from other sources.

Thus, there are 22 households in Arembepe which are headed by females and which rely on others to supply the major part of their subsistence and non-subsistence needs. How do the inhabitants of these households live? At least

eight of these female household heads have established temporary unions. Visiting husbands bring cash and food. Having a child is the surest, though inevitable, means of making certain that food and cash will continue. Ironically, by virtue of the very temporary nature of such liaisons, the woman who is forced to enter them may find herself with an increasingly large number of children and ultimately with no male to support them. Other women with no spouse establish and exploit alternative avenues to food, usually based on kinship. A final option is domestic work for relatives, summer tourists, or outside of Arembepe.

Dona Otilia lives in a "grandmother" household with two of her brother's daughter's sons, Julio, aged 11, and Cristovão, aged 9. She calls them "grandchildren," and they call her "grandmother." Her house is made of brick and wattle and daub with a cement floor. It is located in the central square. Dona Otilia inherited the house from her husband. The boys are her daily emissaries to seek fish on the beach. Both know where to find fish for the household. There are two boats to which they go regularly, assured of fish if there is any catch at all. One of them includes their mother's sister's son, Paulo, aged 28, an ordinary fisherman. Paulo can afford to give them fish, since he has only a wife and son to support and lives in a composite household in which the head is wealthy enough to buy fish to support his own immediate family. If Paulo has no fish, the

boys approach Raul, aged 32, captain of a boat whose half-owner Salustino is Otilia's criado (a child whom she adopted informally and raised). Salustino is now living in the town of São Cristovão near the Salvador airport.

If neither Paulo nor Raul has fish, the boys may go to seven other sources, in no particular order of succession, and with no certainty of getting fish from any one of them. These seven boats are represented by the following individuals: (1) a captain who learned to fish with Dona Otilia's husband; (2) a young captain who "simply likes to give." There is no kinship of other connection between him and either the boys or the grandmother; (3) a compadre or co-parent of the boy's father; (4) Cristovão's godfather, a captain and co-owner of a launch; (5) their father's half-brother, the owner of shares in three boats and a marketer for four; (6) Julio's godfather, a non-fishing owner of shares in two launches; (7) a near neighbor of their household, another non-relative who, the boys say, "simply likes to give."

Thus, fish comes to the household from a variety of free sources. The boys' father Vuvu is not a fisherman. He lives in Areembepe, but he remarried after the death of his first wife, the boys' mother, and has additional children. He contributes a weekly cash pittance to the household to provide farinha (manioc flour) for the boys and ultimately for the "grandmother."

Dona Otilia's household is relatively well-situated with reference to sources of food. There are three individuals, each of whom has his own avenues of exploitation. Each boy has a different godfather whom he can approach. Because of the fact that she is not really their grandmother, Dona Otilia can be used to exploit different sources. Simply because she is a more distant relative, the household's span of kinship is wider, and its sources of food are more numerous. In addition, Arembepeiros pity the old woman, who is approximately eighty years old, and the boys. They give to the household when they can afford to, simply because they know that such a household must depend on others.

Dora, aged 28, lives in a very poor household with her three children, the sons of three different fathers. The house is made of wattle and daub, with a dirt floor and a palm frond roof. There are two small bedrooms and a tiny living room. The dining room also serves as an indoor kitchen where Dora cooks over a fire on the ground. The oldest son, aged six, is his mother's emissary to the fish which the returning boats bring to the lower beach in the afternoon.

Dora's current liaison is with one of the most successful captains in Arembepe. Neither of the fathers of her two elder children lives in Arembepe. Her own father is dead, but she has two brothers who are involved in the fishing industry. Her potential sources of food on the basis of kinship are coterminous with those of her children. This is especially

true since she picked her brothers to be godfathers for two of her children. Her supply of fish comes either from her visiting husband or from one brother. The other brother, godfather of her eldest son, rarely contributes to her support, since he has two wives and families whom he must supply with food and money. Thus, when a woman lives only with her children, the kinship span is narrower, and there are fewer kinship links to exploit. Arembepeiros are not as generous with a young woman as with an older one. They assume that she can fend for herself. They do not pity her plight, but attribute it to mistakes on her part. They assign her to the degraded category of rapariga (slut) which is only slightly above "whore" (puta).

Since they do not normally include primary producers, those households headed by women, either widows, grandmothers, or unmarried mothers, tend to fall at the bottom of the economic hierarchy in Arembepe. They do not constitute classes, since classes have been defined as duo-sexual groups. They are simply the structural results of an economy which normally allows only males to earn incomes sufficient to maintain households. If they have inherited wealth, it ultimately results from the economic activities of some male in the past. I shall return to this point.

A sample of 118 Arembepe households ranked according to their total annual expenditures (See Appendix A) includes twelve female-headed households. Their placements were 118,

116, 115, 114, 113, 112, 111, 108, 103, 101, 97, and 67.¹

None of the households headed by women were placed in the upper half of the households budgets. The average of the total annual expenditures for these twelve households was Cr 163,300 (in 1964). Male headed households spent more than three times as much. The mean annual expenditures for male households amounted to Cr 471,000.

The non-stratified hierarchies which exist in Arembepe on the basis of age and sex have been discussed in this section. In their daily verbal behavior, Arembepeiros employ categories which designate groups in the community on the basis of age and sex. Arembepeiros also recognize that their behavior to other villagers is determined by the age, sex, and kinship statuses embodied in the partners to any encounter. Finally, villagers seem to conceptualize differences among men, women, old, adult, and young according to their different economic and social roles in community life.

Hierarchies on the Basis of Place of Birth

Like the hierarchies based on age and sex, differences in provenience do not assign individuals to different socio-economic classes. Approximately one-fourth (24.5%) of the people who live in Arembepe were not born there. In Table 2 one sees that within the group between ages sixteen

¹The household numbered 118 had the lowest budget in the sample, while that numbered 1 had the highest.

and 59, there are 189 females and 158 males.¹ There are two explanations for the preponderance of females in this age group: (1) adult males have increased opportunities of finding work outside the settlement; (2) young females from agricultural estates to the north and west of Arembepe come to the settlement to find husbands. Sixty per cent of all immigrants in the population 16 and older are females, while 40% are males. In the younger group, virtually the same number of males and females migrate to Arembepe.

Arembepeiros distinguish terminologically between insiders and outsiders. A person born in the settlement is a nativo, or filho or filha (son or daughter) of Arembepe. When asked where an immigrant comes from, an Arembepeiro may answer "outside of Arembepe," Açu, "Coqueiros," "the sertão," "the north," etc. Most Arembepeiros, however, are not aware of the exact proveniences of non-natives. While an Arembepeiro may know that his neighbor is not from Arembepe, he rarely cares.

The immigrant to Arembepe almost immediately starts to create social and economic ties within the community. He may become a saveiro (plank launch) fisherman. If so, he will establish bonds with other crew members and fishermen. He will create friendships with his neighbors, and he will

¹In the population under 16, there are 172 males and 158 females. In the population aged 60 and older, there are 28 males and 25 females.

TABLE 2
POPULATION OF AREMBEPE BY AGE GROUPS, SEX AND PROVENIENCE^a

Age Groups	Males		Females		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Born in Arembepe						
15 and under	151	21.3	134	18.9	285	40.2
16 and older	128	18.1	122	17.2	250	35.3
Total	279	39.4	256	36.1	535	75.5
Born outside of Arembepe						
15 and under	21	3.0	24	3.4	45	6.3
16 and older	52	7.3	77	10.9	129	18.2
Total	73	10.3	101	14.2	174	24.5
Grand Total	352	49.7	357	50.3	709	100.0

^aSample of 709 villagers, including 352 males and 357 females.

ask other Arembepeiros to baptize his children. Males have more opportunities to be received into community life than females, for men can associate with other males in bars and in conversation groups on the chapel stoop. The social distance between Arembepeiros and female immigrants takes longer to break down. The immigrant who remains in Arembepe throughout his life usually establishes a variety of bonds

based on neighborhood, fictive kinship, marriage and through his children, with native born Arembepeiros.

Since there are more female than male immigrants to Arembepe, it is not surprising that of marriages of Arembepeiros to immigrants, there were 42 cases in which the husband was born in Arembepe, while the wife came from outside the community. There were only 28 unions in which the wife was a native born woman and the husband an outsider. Data on the provenience of marital partners is shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3
MARITAL UNIONS ACCORDING TO PROVENIENCE OF SPOUSES^a

Provenience of Husband	Provenience of Wife					
	Arembepe		Outside		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Arembepe	43	35.0	42	34.2	85	69.2
Outside	28	22.8	10	8.1	38	30.9
Total	71	57.8	52	42.3	123	100.1

^aSample of 123 marriages.

The differences in provenience of wives and husbands expressed in Table 3 are revealed in social and economic activities in Arembepe. Ties of spouses and of their children tend to be closer to the husband's than to the wife's family. Kinship bonds among males tend to be more important than among females, and females more often look to their affinals for assistance in Arembepe than males do to theirs. The fact of male dominance, which has its origin in the village economy, is reinforced through the spatial removal of the wife's relatives. The relationship between a man and his affinals can be maintained on a friendly basis when his wife's parents and siblings are not nearby to hear complaints about her husband's verbal or physical abuse, failure to provide, or alcoholism. On the other hand, the man's kinsmen are near at hand, ready to support him. His wife remains in a subordinate position.

Children of immigrants have the same chances for success in the economy as children of native born Arembepeiros. In fact, 65% of all children born in Arembepe have at least one immigrant parent.

If one has migrated to Arembepe from a community which is relatively close, and which may be partially included in the social and economic systems of Arembepe, his children may have forgotten that their father or mother was, in fact, an immigrant. Children often could not recall whether their parents had been born in Arembepe, Açú, or Coqueiros; a large percentage of the ancestors of the current population of

Arembepeiros came from the agricultural estates to the west. If ego's father came from the sertão, it is likely that his children will know it, although his grandchildren may not; for the sertão is much farther away, and Arembepeiros exploit such an immigrant for information about his different way of life, and recognize that he may initially differ from them in mannerisms, dialect, and physical type.

The fact that the birthplace of one's parents and grandparents is never used to assign an individual to a stratified group might be considered a function of a more generalized genealogical amnesia which will be discussed later in this Chapter. For reasons which will become apparent, parents' economic status does not limit their children's achievement in Arembepe.

While there may be no lasting discrimination against male or female X or Y because he or she was not born in Arembepe, there are important differences between native born and outsiders with reference to the social and economic networks which they may exploit in Arembepe. A woman with no husband and no kinsmen in Arembepe faces utter destitution if she can find no way to earn income. A man who was not born in Arembepe may have a certain difficulty in initial affiliation with one of the more successful boats in the fishing fleet. A person of either sex lacks access to inherited wealth in Arembepe. One must either provide his own means

of support and create his own relative wealth, or he must leave Arembepe.

There is every indication, however, that those immigrants who remain in Arembepe do as well as individuals born in the community. The hypothesis that being born in Arembepe is positively correlated with economic status was tested using Pearson's coefficient of correlation, r . The coefficient obtained, $r = .081$ is positive as predicted, but is significant neither at the 95% nor at the 99% levels of confidence.¹ Since the null hypothesis cannot be rejected, the data in the sample provide no basis for assuming that place of birth and economic achievement in Arembepe are associated. The coefficient obtained for these two variables is very slight when compared to the coefficient of correlation between sex of household head and economic status, where $r = .424$.² The latter value is significant at the 99% level of confidence.

¹An r of at least .164 at the 95% level of confidence, or $r = .230$ at the 99% level of confidence is needed to confirm the hypothesis. The sample included 117 joint frequencies (degrees of freedom = 115) of birthplace of household head and economic status of household. Economic status was measured directly from the household budget scores contained in Appendix A (Cf. Freeman, 1965: 178-179, 250).

²Male-headed households have larger budgets than female-headed households.

Race and the Non-Stratified Hierarchy

The socio-economic variables associated with phenotype provide the basis for additional hierarchical distinctions within Arembepe. But like the hierarchies associated with age, sex, and birthplace, these do not reach the level of class distinctions. Because of the historical development and the present structure of Brazilian society, there is no reason why one should not expect to find a correlation between light skin color and wealth in Arembepe, as in all other Brazilian communities which have been described ethnographically. However, the correlation of light skin color and wealth in Arembepe reflects conditions of the past rather than those of the present. Only when inherited wealth is considered does an Arembepeiro have an advantage on the basis of the color of his skin. This is a simple result of the fact that legitimate descendents of white and mulatos are more likely to have inherited wealth than darker-skin individuals, who are usually more recent descendants of a dispossessed slave population.

On the other hand, an individual's race never limits his chances for success in occupations or in entrepreneurial activity within Arembepe. As active sources of income, or occupations, are stressed, access to wealth ceases to be a function of phenotype. This is true in the reinvestment of wealth in coconut trees. It is most apparent in the fishing industry.

Since Arembepe is a community in which marine fishing is the principal economic enterprise, social relations are conditioned to a greater extent by the fishing industry than by historical patterns on the land. The hypothesis that a marine fishing economy is unlikely to be associated with a system of socio-economic stratification, given sufficiently rudimentary technology, is confirmed by these data. Were such an economic base capable of creating superordinate and subordinate groups within a settlement like Arembepe, one would expect to find a degree of endogamy which would express itself in some correlation between skin color and ownership of the means of production. It will be shown that this correlation does not hold in Arembepe.

The relationship of skin color¹ to overall economic status

The hypothesis that lightness of skin color is positively correlated with economic status was tested using

¹Since I wanted to test the correlation between race and wealth in Arembepe, it was necessary for me to devise some means of describing the range of observable physical variation among Arembepeiros. I knew that I could not look to informants for such a mechanism. Given the same alter to classify, the racial term applied would vary from ego to ego, from test to test, and from day to day with the same informant. I might have received as many as forty different racial categories (Cf. Harris and Kottak, 1963). I finally chose skin color as a convenient dimension.

I classified a sample of 78.4% of all adult Arembepeiros according to skin color. Scores run from 5, the lightest, glossed as branco, or "white," through 1, the darkest, translated as preto, or "black." 5.1% of the sample scored one or five. The remaining members of the sample were classified as belonging to intermediate categories, glossed

Pearson's coefficient of correlation. The coefficient obtained, $r = .180$ is positive as predicted and is significant at the 95% level of confidence, but not at the 99% level of confidence.¹ While there does seem to be a relationship between race and economic status, it is weaker than the relationship between race and land ownership, which will now be described.

The relationship of skin color to landed wealth

It was my hypothesis that the relationship between race and economic status is a reflection of inherited wealth rather than of sources of wealth created through reinvestment

as follows: 4-mulato claro (light mulato), 3-mulato, and 2-mulato escuro (dark mulato). The classification according to scores was as follows:

5	4	3	2	1	Total	
8	78	134	70	7	297	number
2.7	26.3	45.1	23.6	2.4	100%	percentage

I claim no intersubjective validity for the five-fold division which I finally adopted. Assignment of Arembepeiros to each category depended on sometimes idiosyncratic judgments of three field workers. I am fully aware that considerations such as a villager's political role in Arembepe, the color of his parents, and even the type of house in which he lived might have influenced the North American observers' classification. The size of the sample and the general uniformity with which the ethnographers classified the population (This was tested with all three workers classifying the same people and comparing the results.) should, however, justify the inclusion of this racial scale.

¹The sample included 104 joint frequencies (102 degrees of freedom) of race of household head and economic status of household. Economic status was derived from the data included in the ranking of household budgets in Appendix A.

and entrepreneurial activity. Thus, the lighter the skin, the greater the probability that an Arembepeiro will have inherited land or coconut trees. The coefficient of correlation between race and ownership of land, $r = .223$ is significant at the 95% confidence level, and is larger than the correlation coefficient obtained when race and overall economic status are compared. Most of the land which Arembepeiros own has been inherited.

There is a less pronounced correlation between ownership of coconut trees and lightness of skin. The hypothesis that race and ownership of coconut trees are positively associated was tested using Pearson's r . The coefficient of correlation between these two variables, $r = .124$, is positive as predicted, but significant neither at the 95% nor the 99% levels of confidence. The fact that the correlation between race and coconut tree ownership is much lower than the correlation between race and land ownership reflects the relative ease with which income derived from the fishing industry can be reinvested in coconut trees, although not in land, which is a scarcer resource. Thus, coconut trees may be bought and planted on small plots which Arembepeiros rent, or trees may be inherited. Since access to coconut trees is open to the industrious villager, the distribution of coconut tree ownership more accurately reflects the current socioeconomic structure of the community than does the distribution of land ownership.

The relationship between race and marine fishing

It is in the active economic pursuits, where inheritance is unimportant, that race becomes completely unreliable as a measure of socio-economic status. Skin color and the ownership of sail boats seem to be completely unrelated variables. The coefficient of correlation, $r = -.044$, approaches zero, is negative, and is significant neither at the 95% nor 99% levels of confidence.¹ The approximation to zero indicates independence of race and boat ownership. Boat shares are generally acquired through purchase rather than through inheritance, and in most cases, as will be shown in Chapter III, the capital which is reinvested in boats is earned through fishing activity, either in Arembepe or outside. In this area, a man is either a good fisherman or he is not, and race and fishing skills are completely unrelated.

The relationship between racial type and hierarchy in Arembepe contrasts strongly with the race and class relationships in stratified Brazilian communities. For example, in Vila Recôncavo, a community of the Bahian sugar Recôncavo (Hutchinson, 1952; 1957) with a population of 4,269, only seventeen of the rural inhabitants were considered, by informants and by the ethnographer, to be "pure whites." They

¹For race versus the ownership of land, coconut trees, and boat ownership (number of shares owned) the samples included 104 joint frequencies of the two variables being compared (degrees of freedom = 102). (Cf. Freeman, 1965: 250.)

are all plantation owners, and all of them co-reside in the state capital. There were fourteen whites in the municipal seat, who, with their children, belonged to the local elite or upper class. They occupied administrative positions and were professionals and churchmen (Hutchinson, 1952: 23). The majority of pretos (blacks) were included in the local representation of the national lower class. They were employed menially. No one in this group was classified as a "pure white," although brancos da terra ("whites" with some Negroid ancestry) comprised an insignificant percentage of this group (Hutchinson, 1952: 24).

In a municipal seat in the mountains of southern Bahia (Harris, 1952, 1956), a similar correlation between skin color and membership in a stratified socio-economic group prevails. The association of skin color and economic status reflects exploitative patterns of the past, in which white masters commanded Negro slave labor in mines. On the basis of differences in education, occupation, income, and race, Harris (1952: 69-70) was able to construct three sharply divided "classes," for which any one of the defining variables showed a high degree of correlation with any other. When race is taken as the primary gradient, and education, occupation, and wealth are shown as its functions, the high degree of correlation is explained by the fact that "the rich inherit from the rich; money buys education, and education is a prerequisite for the best jobs" (Harris, 1952: 70). Whites

fill the greatest number of administrative and civil service positions and own the most land.

This brief consideration of other Bahian communities, both municipal seats, both having developed in response to economic booms, both with economic bases on land rather than in the sea, and both with a greater representation of Caucasoid phenotypes than Arembepe, illustrates the reasons (in inverse form) for the relatively weak correlation of skin color and economic status in Arembepe.

Because Arembepeiros do not use phenotypical variation to assign other villagers to different classes, race is not an important focus of life for villagers. One observes no economic discrimination on the basis of race in Arembepe. Two equally successful boat captains, one a light mulato, the other a dark mulato, are the best of friends, as well as compadres. They spend much of their leisure time together. Two poor widows, one "white" the other "black," often sit in front of their adjoining houses and make straw hats together. Presidents of the Fishermen's Society have been of all shades. The local police officer is a dark mulato. Differences in skin shade provide no obstacle to marriage in Arembepe. The caretaker of the estate on which Arembepe is situated, a former town assemblyman in the municipal seat, is a light mulato. His wife, a local schoolteacher, is very dark. The current president of the Fishermen's Society is a dark mulato, and the likely next president, now the captain

of the football club is a mulato of medium shade. The two major entrepreneurs are medium and dark mulatos. The kindred of any Arembepeiro spans a wide range of skin colors. A sample of compadres also includes a wide variety of different phenotypes. In short, in all interaction among Arembepeiros, the bestowal and the acceptance of deference and social honor are based on factors other than race.

Race relations in Arembepe differ profoundly from those in the United States. A descent rule (Cf. Harris and Kottak, 1963) assigns most Americans to one of two racial categories at birth. The only way in which an American Negro with Caucasoid phenotype may change his racial status is by "passing" as a white.

In Arembepe, the racial term applied to a given individual varies with changes in his phenotype, among different individuals classifying him, and with his economic and educational status. Arembepeiros have used as many as nineteen different racial terms to classify the same alter. At least forty different terms are part of the village's normal "racial vocabulary." A profound ambiguity pervades the entire system of racial classification in Arembepe. Villagers do not agree on the abstract relationships of racial terms, over which refers to a lighter or darker phenotype, and about the application of these terms to concrete referents.

Wagley (1958: 415) has stated that a social system which includes a large number of social races¹ in its terminology is incompatible with intense racial discrimination. Segregation is feasible in the United States where there are only two races. But how could separate facilities be provided for the forty different racial categories which Arembepeiros name? Even more relevant, however, is the question of how segregation or directed discrimination could exist if Arembepeiros cannot decide on which groups they should discriminate against and on what the constituency of these groups is. What is reflected in the system of racial terminology in Arembepe is the absence of social races as significant structural groups.

Hierarchies Based on Kinship and Marriage

In the Brazilian upper class, kinship and marriage are means of consolidating power and of confining access to strategic resources. On the other hand, the obligations which arise through kinship and marriage keep members of the lower class in a supine condition by constantly redistributing wealth, leveling evanescent differentials in access to resources, and limiting individual vertical mobility. In the Brazilian upper class certain family lines may be distinguished according to their differential and unimpeded

¹These are racial groups defined socially, emically, or legally, rather than genetically or biologically.

access to strategic resources. However, in Arembepe family affiliation is not a diagnostic of membership in a stratified group.

The family

Wagley has distinguished between different referents when the Portuguese familia ("family") is used by a Brazilian informant: (1) the basic or nuclear family; (2) the parentela or kindred; and (3) the "ancestor-oriented kin group" (1963: 184-204). These three units differ in point of reference. The nuclear family and the ancestor-oriented kin group can be clearly seen by an observer. He can point to parents and their children as forming the composition of the first type. Membership in the ancestor-oriented kin group can be seen from use of the same family name. All of the members of the kin group lay claim to descent, through males and/or females from the same apical ancestor. On the other hand, the parentela, or kindred, cannot be seen by an observer. It is not a group, but a calculation made by Brazilians of their "relatives" or "kinsmen." It often includes lineals, collaterals, and affinals of ascending, descending, and ego's own generation. Each individual has his own personal kindred, the limits and specific personnel of which vary from individual to individual.

Only the nuclear family has basically the same structural form among upper and lower class Brazilians. The kindred is much narrower for an Arembepeiro than for a member of

the national upper class. One searches in vain for the ancestor-oriented kin group in Arembepe.

The relationship between descent groups and stratification

The ancestor-oriented descent group¹ exists in Brazil only when it serves to limit access to strategic resources. Thus, it is part of upper-class kinship. Such a group forms around the ownership of an estate, access to which is transmitted through inheritance. Prestige accrues to the claimants of affiliation with the estate-centered group. The possession of an illustrious "name" in Brazil is still associated with the attribution of social honor and the power which devolves on holders of, or heirs to, such estates. In many cases, the name and the prestige are the only remaining, though tenuous, bases on which individuals lay claim to upper class status. This is why family affiliation may be treated as a diagnostic of stratification in Brazil.

In Arembepe such descent groups do not grow out of nuclear families. Differences among families in their access to strategic resources are constantly leveled out over short generational spans by several effective mechanisms: (1) the fact that as economic success increases, there is an extension of obligations to support kinsmen and fictive kinsmen; (2)

¹This group is similar to the ambilineal or non-unilineal descent group described in the anthropological literature (Cf. Goodenough, 1955 and Davenport, 1959), in that members are recruited and individuals affiliate on the basis of either male or female links to the apical ancestor.

divisive inheritance laws; (3) the nature of the goods and resources which are inherited; and (4) the regular recreation of wealth in every generation. These considerations, which preclude the emergence of descent groups in Arembepe, are also among the most important mechanisms which act to maintain Arembepeiros in the Brazilian national lower class.

Kinship as a leveling mechanism

A man who succeeds economically, either in Arembepe or outside the village, has definite obligations to relatives, affinals, and fictive kin. A man supports his wife and children. As his wealth increases, there is a greater chance that he will support another household, that of a secondary wife and children. His family of procreation will also tend to be larger. Those households in Arembepe which have the highest incomes are also those with the highest average number of inhabitants. This is shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4

MEAN NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS IN HOUSEHOLD BY OCCUPATION OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

Occupation of Household Head	Mean Number of Inhabitants
Ordinary Fisherman	4.33
Captain, Not Boat Owner	5.22
Captain, Boat Owner	5.26
Non-fishing Boat Owner	5.42
Businessman	5.55

Of 118 households (see Appendix A) for which data on annual budgets were available, the 59 in the top half had an average of 5.76 inhabitants, while those in the lower half had a mean of 3.76 inhabitants.

Pearson's coefficient, r , was calculated to test the hypothesis that there is a positive correlation between economic success and low infant mortality. A coefficient of correlation, $r = .169$, which is positive as predicted and significant at the 95% confidence level, was obtained by computing the ratio of surviving children to all live births. The correlation between total number of live births and economic status, $r = .137$, is significant neither at the 95% nor the 99% levels of confidence. In other words, the data fail to indicate a significant correlation between number of live births and economic status. The coefficient of correlation obtained when number of surviving children is compared to economic status is the highest of all, $r = .293$ and is significant at the 99% level of confidence.¹ Because they enjoy better diets, children of the most successful villagers have a better chance to survive than children in poorer households. Because they have more children to feed and clothe, the most successful villagers have less money to reinvest in

¹Economic status was measured by the budget data in Appendix A. Joint frequencies for economic status and ratio of surviving children, number of live births, and number of surviving children were 107, 113, and 114, respectively (degrees of freedom = 105, 111, and 112).

additional sources of wealth, thus limiting their differential access to strategic resources.

Arembepeiros are expected to and do contribute to their parents' support. They send food, if theirs is a subsistence profession such as fishing, and/or money at regular intervals. As his own financial success increases, a man is faced with more frequent requests of more distant relatives for food, money, and loans. Finally, as a man becomes more wealthy, he acquires a larger number of fictive kinsmen.

While there are mutual obligations among compadres or co-parents, the special obligation created through fictive kinship is that of godparent to godchild. The situation in Arembepe contrasts with compadrazgo relationships in other Latin American nations where the bond between compadres is stressed over the cross-generational bond (Cf. Mintz and Wolf, 1950). The intensity of an Arembepeiro's concern for his individual godchild varies with his total number of godchildren, with the number of his own children and with his economic status. The two men in Arembepe whose estimates of the number of their godchildren were the highest (100 and 200) cannot treat each one as a special case on incomes of \$700.00 U.S. per year, especially since both of them have children of their own. In cases like these, the relationships between godparent and godchildren remain ceremonial. The child asks for his godparent's blessing when he sees him for the first time every day, and the child sometimes receives

small presents of money to buy cookies or marbles. Except in the case of an especially favored godchild, the relationship ends here.

There are other cases which contrast strongly with the preceding. Dona Alice, aged 63, legally married, separated from her husband, and lacking children of her own, has taken two of her goddaughters into her household. She acts as mother and master, supporting each girl, offering them affection, chaperoning the older girl when young men call, and using both as domestic assistants and errand runners. To them she is like a mother or grandmother, and they may be her heirs. Like Alice, Dilzete and José Porquinho have no children of their own, and like Dona Alice they have two goddaughters living with them. The relationship between the married couple and their goddaughters is similar to that between Dona Alice and her goddaughters. The children receive food, a place to sleep, and affection in return for their assistance in housework and errands. Dona Alice and the married couple are as prosperous as any adults in Arembepe. Both households are the sites of stores. José Porquinho and his wife have increased their income through plural occupations: agriculture, coconuts, fishing as captain and co-owner of a launch, and business. Dona Alice has used some of the profits from her sales to buy cattle, a radio, and good furniture. Since they have no children of their own, these

two cases represent high standards of living within Arembepe. They can afford to be especially good godparents.

Leveling effects of inheritance laws

According to Brazilian law, an estate is divided among surviving spouse and all children. Thus, the wife receives half and all children divide the remainder. On their mother's death, children divide the other half. Only civilly married spouses may inherit in Brazil. On the other hand, all children, even those of common law unions, who have been registered in the name of a parent may inherit from that parent. Wealth differentials are leveled transgenerationally through these divisive inheritance laws. Because there is a good deal of village exogamy, marriage is not used to reunite wealth dispersed through inheritance. Since large families are correlated with economic success, the fragmentation of wealth is even more rapid.

Dona Claudia's estate is the largest owned by any Arembepeiro. She has inherited one sixth of Açu, an agricultural estate to the west. She shares her land with her mother and two sisters. Each of the three daughters inherited one-sixth of the estate on their father's death. His wife, their mother, inherited the other half. On her death, the three daughters will receive thirds of their mother's share. The total estate includes 600 tarefas (264 hectares, or 652 acres). The 2,000 coconut trees on the estate have also been divided into six parts. D. Claudia is able to maintain a

relatively comfortable living standard and to hold middle class aspirations which recently motivated her, as they had motivated both of her sisters, to move from Arembepe to communities nearer Salvador, where their children can receive more adequate education.

Claudia's children cannot look to their mother's wealth as a secure or inevitable basis for economic achievement either in or outside of Arembepe. When her mother, who is now sixty years old, dies, D. Claudia's estate will be 200 tarefas (88 ha.) and 667 coconut trees. On her own death, this estate will be divided among seven children, leaving each with 29 tarefas (12.6 ha.) and 95 coconut trees. If Claudia's children's families contain the mean number of surviving children for an Arembepeiro couple (3.2), her grandchildren will receive insignificant shares in coconuts and land.

Roberto Antonio, who died in 1953, was a storeowner in Arembepe. Like D. Claudia's father, he reinvested capital from business in land and coconut trees. His estate in land (50 tarefas [22. ha.]) is considerably smaller than Açu, but has 1,600 coconut trees. His five heirs received 10 tarefas (4.4 ha.) of land and 320 fully productive coconut trees each. On their deaths, the estate will be fragmented anew. Parts of it will move out of the family altogether, going to affinals created by civil marriages.

Arembepeiros have valued land not intrinsically, but for what is planted on it. Small-plot farmers in Açú and Coqueiros pay nominal rents of less than \$1.00 U.S. per tarefa per year. The annual income from rents in Açú, about Cr 300,000 to Dona Claudia, her mother, and two sisters, is less than that of the average fisherman. Rents are controlled by national law, and have not risen proportionately with inflation. On the other hand, coconuts bring prices which reflect variations in the national market. D. Claudia and her family are much more interested in their coconut trees than in their land, and they derive significant profits, Cr 630,000 for 1963-64 together, only from the trees.

While farming land is scarce on the estates near Arembepe, access to land, like access to house sites within the village, is inherited and sold through a system entirely independent of the landowners. There have been small plot farmers (roceiros) cultivating land in Açú and Coqueiros since slavery days. Even though the ownership of these estates has changed hands through inheritance and sale, descendants of such small farmers keep on cultivating their gardens. It is the manner of transmission of such plots which confirms the scarcity of land. Each farmer has access to land, or the right to rent land, called a site or sítio. When he dies this right passes on to his legal heirs. If there are no heirs, it reverts to the estate, and the owners of the land can plant their own coconut trees or

garden crops. If the man's heir does not wish to cultivate his father's land, he may sell the site. He sells not the land, but the right to rent the land. One man wanted Cr 1,000,000 (\$500.00 U.S.) in winter, 1965, for his sitio in Açú, which consisted of three tarefas of land and coconut trees. Thus, while the estate owners have the right to sell their fazendas or estates, they cannot, in the absence of court litigation, which is beyond their financial reach, expel farmers from their gardens. Because income from land is dispersed over generations, no estate-centered descent groups either emerge or endure transgenerationally.

The nature of heritable resources

For Arembepeiros land and coconut trees are the most valuable inherited resources. Other inherited items are houses, housesites, livestock, and boats. Access to housesites is inherited in the same way as access to agricultural land on the estates to the west. Arembepeiros pay minimal rents (about 50¢ U.S. per year) for their house sites, also called sitios. They sell access to such sites for sums as high as \$50.00 U.S. In some cases, when houses are made of wattle and daub, the access to the site is more valuable than the structure upon it. While approximately twenty of the houses and housesites in the village have been inherited, most dwellings are relatively recent constructions, since the settlement has been located at its present site for at most seventy years.

Materials and labor input for a "good" house with tiles and bricks manufactured in villages near Arembepe do not generally cost more than \$300.00 U.S. In winter, 1964 the market value of the best house in the community was probably not more than \$800.00 U.S. Other dwellings could never bring \$20.00, such as the one which is constructed entirely of palm fronds, or many of the run-down wattle and daub huts.

The system of transmission of houses and housesites will be changed in the near future. The owners of the land on which Arembepe is situated are currently obtaining the legal right to sell lots in Arembepe to Arembepeiros and to outsiders. When the scheme goes into effect, the lots will be private property in themselves, and as such can be passed on to heirs. If land values in Arembepe rise in response to increased tourism, these lots may come to constitute wealth differentials of considerable value. Nevertheless, the heirs to houses and sites will still be faced with the thorny problem of inheritance among many heirs.

Livestock is not significant heritable wealth. Holdings are small. Almost every Arembepe household has five or more chickens. Others have pigs, sheep, goats, turkeys, ducks, pigeons, or cattle. There are no large cattle holdings among Arembepeiros. The maximal number of cattle for any household is 15, and there are only six households which own cattle. Cattle are valued for their milk, though little of

*

it ever reaches Arembepe from the corrals in Açú and Coqueiros, and for the sale of their meat, especially in February, during the celebration of St. Francis. Cattle are usually allowed to wander freely through the countryside. They are occasionally corraled by an Arembepeiro owner or by a cowboy (vaqueiro) hired by the owner. The same division of estate at death means leveling of wealth differentials. In addition, animals are subject to potentially fatal diseases. In winter, 1965 most of the chickens in Arembepe were killed by a plague. The price of chickens and eggs soared in response.

Thus, the resources which Arembepeiros pass down to their heirs are of low value when compared to the strategic resources controlled and inherited by members of the Brazilian upper and middle classes. In combination with the fragmentation of an individual's estate on his death, the nature of heritable resources tends to erase ephemeral differentials in access to resources from one generation to the next.

Entrepreneurial activity

Finally, the transgenerational perpetuation of wealth differentials is hindered by the creation of new wealth in every generation through entrepreneurial activity. Surplus wealth is constantly reinvested in coconut trees, land, animals, agricultural plots, fishing boats, and other supplies of the fishing industry. In fact, all reinvested and inherited wealth held by Arembepeiros results ultimately from the productive activity of some male at some time in the past.

Successful individuals in all professions seek areas of reinvestment for the capital which they accumulate from their primary occupations. Some retired captains, now ordinary fishermen, derive cash from the coconut trees which they purchased or planted when they were fully active captains. A new generation of successful fishermen is currently creating wealth alternatives on the land.

For example, Eduardo, aged 45, lives in the central square with his wife, one daughter, and his wife's sister's son. His own son lives with an aunt, his godmother, in Salvador, where he attends Junior High School. Eduardo inherited the launch of which he is captain from his father. His mother, an old woman who inherited half of the boat, receives a pittance from her son every week, in lieu of her share. Eduardo rents land in Açú from his mother's brother's wife. His annual rent of Cr 3,000 for two tarefas (.88 ha.) is about \$.50 U.S. per tarefa. On his plot he grows manioc, beans, corn, and has fifty fully productive coconut trees which he planted ten years ago. In winter, 1964, he planted 700 young coconut sprouts, which will begin to give fruit in approximately eight years. He farms his garden with spade and hoe. Like most of the farmers around Arembepe, he has no plow. He uses his lame burro to transport equipment and produce to and from Açú. When he and his wife die, they will leave 750 mature coconut trees to their children. Within one generation,

his children will individually own larger coconut holdings than any one of D. Claudia's seven children.

Raul is the captain and co-owner of a saveiro which he and an associate commissioned in 1959. Born in Monte Gordo, he has lived in Arembepe for thirteen years. He is 33 years old, illiterate and civilly married. He and his wife have four children. He has been the captain and co-owner of three boats, including his present launch. He recently planted 350 coconut trees on the one tarefa of land which he farms in Coqueiros. An additional ninety trees came with the site when he purchased the right to rent. He pays Cr 250 per year (less than \$.25 U.S. in winter, 1964) as rent. In addition to fishing and farming, Raul owns nine head of cattle, which he cares for with the assistance of his twelve year old son. Ultimately, his children will receive approximately 100 coconut trees and at least two cattle each.

Zeca, aged 31, who is married legally and in the Church, purchased access to one tarefa with coconut trees in Coqueiros in 1963. His 320 young trees have not yet begun to flower. He paid Cr 198,000 (\$200.00 U.S.) for the right to rent and continues to pay a minimal rent. On days when he does not fish, for he is also a captain and co-owner of a sail boat, he goes to work on his plot. Most of the food crops produced in his garden are consumed in his own household, but he derives Cr 20,000 - 30,000 per year (U.S. \$15-20) from sale of surplus crops in Arembepe. On his death, his children will

inherit a garden plot, two head of cattle, and whatever additional sources of income their father may yet develop.

Bernardo is one of the most active entrepreneurs in Arembepe. Aged 34 and involved in two common-law unions which have produced seven living children, he owns four shares in three boats, has recently purchased two nylon trammel nets, markets the fish caught by four boats, farms three tarefas (1.32 ha.) in Coqueiros, supplies his mother and half-brother with the capital to operate a store in Arembepe, and markets coconuts and cereal crops. He is the son of a common-law union, with one full sister, one half-brother on his mother's side, and four half siblings on his father's side. His father's estate, fifty tarefas (22 ha.) of land and 2,000 coconut trees near Abrantes went to the four children of his legal union. Bernardo received neither land nor coconut trees from his father.

Arembepeiros respect Bernardo as someone who "helps others, and so God helps him." He has made a financial success despite the fact that he received nothing from his father's sizable (from an Arembepeiro's point of view) estate. His siblings loaned him capital to make initial investments in boats and coconut trees. Bernardo quickly repaid them and now provides them with loans. With his sibling and half-siblings, he has formed a tightly knit working unit in agricultural and business activities. Bernardo owns 1,050 coconut trees which he has either bought or planted at three

different sites. Four hundred of them are fully productive and represent an investment ten years old. The 650 trees which he has recently planted have not yet begun to produce, but when they do, they will bring significant income to Bernardo and his two families. Since he has seven children, his estate will fragment rapidly when he dies. Only his children will inherit the estate, for he is legally married to neither of his two women. It is probable that the value of the estate which Bernardo leaves to his children will equal, if not exceed, that which D. Claudia will leave to hers.

All of the cases cited above indicate the relative ease with which wealth differentials between two family groups tend to be leveled out within a short generational span. Thus, there is no basis for the emergence of the ancestor-oriented descent groups which have been described for stratified Brazilian communities and for the Brazilian upper class. More basic are the household group of man, wife, and children; and an occasional solidary work group based on sibblingship.

The relationship of the kindred
to stratification

The Brazilian term parentela, translated here as "kindred," refers not to a group but to an individual's calculation of his own kinsmen. One can arrive at the limits of the personal kindred in any unit of study by asking an informant who his kinsmen are, what he means by "my family." Authorities on Brazilian social organization have indicated that upper

class informants can list hundreds of people whom they consider to belong to their kindred. In Areembepe, where everyone is a member of the national lower class, this is not the case.

The following passage makes clear the functions which the extended family and extensive calculation of interconnections of kinship have served among the Brazilian upper classes:

Kinship has traditionally dominated Brazilian economic life. As many Brazilian writers have pointed out, many of the important families or clans originated as the owners of sugar and coffee plantations or of vast cattle ranches. In the early days of Brazilian history, the so-called large patriarchal families were an integral part of an essentially agricultural, rural, semifeudal economic regime which depended on slaves for labor. But, in time, the influence of the large parentelas spread from the agricultural regions into the cities. Practically all Brazilian commercial and industrial enterprises were once family-owned and administered. . . . In the world of business and professional life it was expected that kinsmen would constantly call upon one another for favors and support. . . . Kinship also had important functions in politics. In fact, at the beginning of the century, state politics were spoken of as oligarchies dominated by one or two large parentelas. (Wagley, 1963: 196-198).

These functions of the upper class extended kindred are simply not associated with the kindreds of lower class Brazilians. While kinsmen support and assist each other, mutual obligations act to redistribute wealth among a large group, subordinate from the point of view of the nation as a whole, rather than to confine wealth and power differentials to members of a virtually³ endogamous superordinate group.

While the kindred, according to any manner of calculation, is narrower among the poor than among the rich, there are differences in its scope depending on the manner of calculation. When Arembepeiros were asked to list their relatives, they invariably started with their mother, father, and siblings. To make further distinctions, they divided between "mother's side" and "father's side." On either side are the parents and siblings of ego's parent, his own half siblings, and the children of his parent's siblings. No informant who was asked merely to list his relatives included his "second cousins" or any more distant lineals or collaterals.

A calculation of the extent of the kindred which is based on the observation of unelicited verbal behavior of Arembepeiros, yields different results. It is common for informants to call their parents' first cousins by the terms "tio" and "tia," translated as "uncle" and "aunt." While this is usually done, there are occasional exceptions, when ego and such a relative do not regularly interact, or when they are of approximately the same age. A similar treatment is also found with reference to the first descending generation, i.e., children of ego's first cousins are lumped with children of ego's siblings into two sex categories (sobrinho, -a; nephew, niece). When asked specifically whether such "second cousins" were called the equivalents of "uncle" and "nephew," informants usually said that they were. More distant relatives are not generally reckoned to be kinsmen. When

questioned about his relationship to a given individual, an Arembepeiro may call him a primo distante (distant cousin) or a primo terceiro (third cousin), or he may simply state that the person is a parente longe (distant relative) and be unable or unwilling to calculate the relationship.

I was often frustrated by informants because of their inability to specify the actual relationship of a second cousin and, in my attempt to construct a master genealogy for the community, when more than half of the Arembepeiros interviewed could not remember relevant data about their grandparents and even fewer the names of their greatgrandparents. In contrast to those societies in which genealogies are manipulated to rearrange connections in the past (Cf. Murphy and Kasdan, 1959), genealogical ties are simply forgotten in Arembepe. Links are neither consciously repressed nor created, and the ignorance of such links is a direct result of other factors: multiple unions and half-siblingships, a normal lifespan which does not place four generations in contact, a past of slavery in which many of the ancestors of the current generation of Arembepeiros are included, and the general function of kinship groups and reckoning of kinship to redistribute rather than to confine access to strategic resources.

On the other hand, the relatively narrow kindred as calculated by most Arembepeiros also reflects the socioeconomic homogeneity of the village population. When a group

of men regularly fishes together, they may ignore distant ties of kinship among them and explain that "everyone in Arembepe is related to everyone else, so that it does not matter if we are kinsmen or not." While their contention that all Arembepeiros are related is untrue, it reflects the feeling that lengthy calculation of kinship is irrelevant for life in Arembepe and interaction among Arembepeiros. Were it to the material advantage of a villager to remember the name of his greatgrandfather, he would undoubtedly do so.

The obligations of Arembepeiros are confined to a generally narrow kindred including consanguineals, affinals, and fictive kinsmen. The basic kinship unit is the nuclear family, a usually viable economic and household unit consisting of man, wife, and children. Other household types represent different stages in the developmental cycle of the individual household, e.g., a common-law union with children may become a female-headed household if the husband leaves his wife. In accordance with the relative homogeneity of the village population, Arembepeiros say that everyone in the community is the relative of everyone else, even though they may deny or be unable to trace kinship connections to given alters. This ideology reflects the fact that differences among family groups do not correlate with differential and limited access to wealth and chances for economic success. Arembepeiros rarely use family names, signing their full names only when dealing with the outside world, as in registering to

vote. Some Arembepeiros, children of illegitimate unions, were unable to remember their full names. Arembepeiros commonly call others in the community by nicknames derived from names of species of fish, or based on physical attributes. Even first names are avoided when such nicknames exist. Only in rare cases were Arembepeiros able to remember the full names of their parents and grandparents, and even fewer could provide such information for their parents' and grandparents' siblings.

Kinship serves dissimilar functions for upper and lower class Brazilians. Kinship networks drain and redistribute wealth among the lower classes and save the least successful from starvation. In the upper and middle classes, kinship is used to reinforce access to power and wealth, and the broader kindred is linked to the existence of ancestor-oriented descent groups. Family names are important in validating claims to strategic resources, in eliciting favors from members of widespread kindreds, and as a basis for the differential allocation of social honor.

The relationship between marriage and stratification

The marital status of Arembepeiros is indicated in Table 5. The different types of marital union have been explained in Chapter I.

TABLE 5
MARITAL STATUS OF AREMBEPEIROS ACCORDING TO
AGE, SEX, AND TYPE OF UNION^a

Type of Union	Males		Females		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Civil	29	7.8	38	10.2	67	18.0
Religious	13	3.5	18	4.8	31	8.3
Civil and Religious	16	4.3	22	5.9	38	10.2
Common-law	71	19.0	79	21.1	150	40.1
Visiting	2	0.5	10	2.7	12	3.2
Unmarried	47	12.6	29	7.8	76	20.4
Total	178	47.7	196	52.5	374	100.2

^aThe discrepancy between number of married males and number of married females results from the following considerations: (1) Women marry at younger ages than men. Males who are economically adults may not yet have spouses; (2) Some women are married to non-resident males who work regularly or at intervals outside of Arembepé. These absentee husbands were not included in the survey on which Table 5 is based; (3) Only primary unions are treated here. Secondary unions of polygynous males were coded as primary for the woman and secondary for the man. A union was coded as primary if the male spent the major portion of his time in the household of the union in question. When his time seemed to be equally divided between two households, the union of longest duration was coded as primary.

Pearson's chi-square was calculated to test the hypothesis that formal marriage and economic success are associated. Marriages were divided into formal (civil and religious) and common-law (common-law and visiting) unions. Economic status was measured by the range of household budgets contained in Appendix A. Households were divided into an upper and a lower group, each including 58 households, on the basis of their budgets. The data on which the calculation was based are included in Table 6. The chi-square obtained, 9.54, is significant at the 99% level of confidence. There is a definite correlation between marriage type and economic status.

TABLE 6

THE CORRELATION BETWEEN MARRIAGE TYPE AND ECONOMIC STATUS^a

Rank in Household Budget Range (Appendix A)	Type of Union		
	Number		
	Formal	Common-law	Total
Wealthier Half	36	22	58
Poorer Half	16	36	52
Total	52	58	110

^aWhere data on both variables are available.

The strength of the marital bond varies with the kind of union which binds the two partners. If they are formally married, especially if they are legally, or civilly, married, the bond is stronger and more likely to last through the death of one of the partners. If they are involved in a common-law union, no matter how stable, the man's allegiance is weaker.

Formal and common-law unions are created in different ways. In the former case, a young man addresses a request for a young woman's hand to her father or older brother. If the latter consents, a period of formal engagement begins. The prospective husband generally performs a series of activities preparatory to the marriage, the primary one of which is the construction of a new house.

Common-law unions have their origin in elopements. A young man courts a girl, meeting her on the beach or near the lagoon at night. Ultimately, they may have sexual intercourse, and she may elope to the house of the young man or his family. Alberto, a 42-year-old fisherman, told of his elopement. When he was 20 and she 15, he and his wife fled to his house. According to the informant, his wife's parents refused to speak to her for about one month after the elopement.

Because it is the most common type in the village, there can be no outright condemnation of such unions. Arembepeiros recognize that the bond between common-law man and wife is weaker than that between civilly married partners. The man feels no exclusive allegiance to his wife, and is free to estab-

lish secondary unions with other women with impunity. In some cases, common-law relationships are transformed into civil and religious marriages if the husband and the wife have children and think that their union is stable. These formal sanctions usually follow the husband's building of a new house or some other sign of economic achievement. The wife constantly hopes for formalization.

As has been confirmed by calculation of Pearson's chi-square, formal marriages are associated with the highest placement within the village socio-economic hierarchy. Males involved in formal unions are successful boat captains, successful businessmen, boat owners, or others who have accumulated relative wealth through endeavors on the land. If one partner owns coconut trees, land, or any other valuable resource, the union is most likely to be a formal one. The explanation for this is simple, and results from Brazilian law. Only a civilly married spouse may inherit.

Were it not for the stipulation that only legally married spouses inherit, there would be few civil marriages in Arembepe. When a young girl keeps her virginity until she finds a man whom she considers to be a "good catch," relatively successful economically in Arembepe or outside, she demands the security which only a civil union insures. Were this not the case, she would not have waited so long to establish a liaison. On the other hand, some male Arembepeiros are reluctant to establish civil unions, since by law the bond is lifelong. The

man who enters a civil marriage does so for a variety of reasons: (1) because his wife expects it; (2) because his wife has inherited wealth; (3) because he is "responsible," i.e., has achieved a high status position in Arembepe through hard work, saving, and reinvestment, and wants to legitimize his tie to his wife, so that she and their children will be provided for in the event of his death, and (4) because a civil tie brings greater prestige in the outside world.

Marriage may be regarded as yet another mechanism which serves to level wealth differentials. The civil tie, which entitles spouses to inherit, creates one more heir to fragment an individual's estate after his death. In the absence of legal divorce, the civil bond is stronger than that which unites common-law spouses. The obligations to their affinals of Arembepeiros engaged in civil unions are more extensive and display themselves in more numerous exchanges between the "wealthy" son-in-law and his wife's parents and siblings. For example, Nilson, aged 31, a successful fishing boat captain, sends food and money to the household which includes his wife's father, mother, and younger sister. In addition to supporting his own wife and five children, a secondary wife whom he visits, and his grandmother, Nilson has provided places in his crew for two of his wife's brothers. Both of them are his compadres. Thus, he has obligations to two of his wife's brothers' children.

While there is a correlation between marriage type and economic status in Arembepe, marriage is not a diagnostic of

membership in stratified groups. Arembepeiros marry other lower class Brazilians. As he attains success in the local economy, a man is more likely to be involved in a legally sanctioned union. His obligation to assist his wife's relatives is intensified, thus draining part of his newly acquired wealth. I shall return to this point in Chapter V.

Occupational Hierarchies

Like the hierarchies associated with age, sex, birthplace, race, family affiliation, and marriage type, variations in occupation and income do not assign Arembepeiros to stratified groups. While Arembepeiros differ with reference to sources and amounts of income, styles of life, and the possibility to maintain or to ameliorate their living standards, they are always limited by the narrow range of achievement which Brazil provides to its lower class. A number of impediments to the transgenerational perpetuation of wealth differentials in Arembepe have been indicated in this chapter. Any Arembepeiro's access to strategic resources is severely limited by comparison with that enjoyed by a member of the Brazilian upper or middle class. While villagers are limited in their possibilities of advancement within the national class system, there is a success ladder to climb in Arembepe itself. Achievement in the local economy is relatively simple for the industrious, intelligent, "protestant-capitalist" type of individual.

Within Arembepe individuals may choose from among dif-

ferent occupations. Yet, from the point of view of the Brazilian nation, the total range of occupations and achieved statuses open to Arembepeiros is ascribed and circumscribed by factors which are completely independent of their individual wills, abilities, and activities. As for the Brazilian lower class generally, manual work in semiskilled and unskilled occupations is the only area of employment open to Arembepeiros. There is virtually no chance that anyone born in Arembepe or his immediate descendant will be the president of a bank, a university professor, or hold major elective office in the Brazilian government. It is also improbable that he will ever eat dinner at the same table as a member of the upper class.

Descent and occupational status

While sons of Arembepeiros often follow the occupations of their fathers, this is by no means inevitable or invariable. There is considerable variation in employment among the eldest sons of Arembepeiros. Of the eldest sons of 381 adult Arembepeiros, about half of those who are employed (38) were fishermen. One-fourth (20) were employed outside of the settlement in menial and semiskilled occupations. Another fourth (20) were locally employed in business (6), artisanry (6), agriculture (4), and local wage work (4). Of 25 eldest sons of the 127 full-time marine fishermen in Arembepe, fifteen fished. Eight are employed outside the settlement, and one each is engaged in agriculture and artisanry.¹

¹The figures above refer only to primary occupations of fathers and their eldest sons.

Entrepreneurial activity and occupation

The relationship between entrepreneurial pursuits and the transgenerational leveling of wealth differentials has previously been discussed. The statements which follow are meant to indicate how such wealth differentials arise, and why, even within one generation, they are insufficient to constitute a basis for socio-economic stratification.

The attributes which determine success in fishing have, to some extent, been extended to all areas of the local economy. These are characteristics which recall the "Protestant ethic." They involve austerity, intelligence, hard work, willingness to assume calculated risks, imagination and daring, and constant reinvestment for the future. It is impossible to say to what extent these attributes, when they are characteristic of non-fishermen, are called into being by association with marine fishermen. They may equally well be responses to inflation. With rapid devaluation of currency, as has taken place in Brazil in recent years, hoarding and saving can only lead to disaster. To rise within the local economy, one must constantly seek opportunities for reinvestment. Thus, the most successful villagers of all primary occupations generally have one or two additional sources of income. Profits earned in one activity are rapidly reinvested in another. The attributes embodied in the Arembepe version of the "Protestant ethic" reflect the fluid, homogeneous socio-economic structure of the community. These individualistic values promote maximal vertical mobility within the local economy.

Occupational affiliation of male and female Arembepeiros is indicated in Tables 7 and 8.

TABLE 7
OCCUPATIONS OF ADULT MALES^a

Occupation	Males so Employed	
	Number	Percentage
Fishing	128	74.0
Business	19	11.0
Artisanry	9	5.2
Local Wage Work	7	4.0
Outside Employment	6	3.5
Agriculture	4	2.3
Total	173	100.00

^aAges 14 and older. Only primary occupations.

TABLE 8
OCCUPATIONS OF ADULT FEMALES^a

Occupation	Females so Employed	
	Number	Percentage
Small-scale earners ^b	94	47.2
Housewives only	92	46.2
Business	6	3.0
Agriculture	3	1.5
Local Wage Work	2	1.0
Outside Employment	2	1.0
Total	199	99.9

^aAges 14 and older. Most females are also housewives.

^bHat-makers, sellers of prepared foods, etc.

Income varies with occupation. However, a simple specification of annual cash income is an inaccurate measure of placement within the community socio-economic hierarchy. Some occupations provide subsistence, while others do not. For this reason, it is necessary to introduce the concept of effective income--the amount of cash remaining after food expenditures have been deducted from one's annual income. In Table 9, one sees that as the number of different food-producing niches which individuals and households exploit increases, annual food expenses constitute a smaller percentage of the household's annual budget. While fishermen normally earn smaller incomes than storeowners, they derive subsistence directly from their occupation. Unless they are also boat owners or small plot farmers, storekeepers have to spend larger amounts on food, especially on meat, even though they receive food at cheaper prices than other Arembepeiros as supplies for their stores. Thus, it is his effective income which determines the amount of cash an individual can reinvest in alternative sources of wealth.

One might rank single occupations of Arembepeiros according to their effective income values as follows: (1) outside employment; (2) business; (3) marine fishing; (4) artisanry; (5) agriculture, and (6) local wage work.

Outside employment, which will be discussed in Chapter IV, calls for special skills and repays in higher and more regular salaries which do provide greater effective incomes. There are, however, limitations to stratification on the basis of

TABLE 9

ANNUAL BUDGETS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN AREMBEPE ACCORDING TO
OCCUPATION OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD AND AREAS OF EXPENDITURE^a

Occupational Group (Household Heads)	Mean Annual Expenditure in U.S. Dollars			
	Food	Other	Total	% Spent on Food
Ordinary Fisherman	153.33	100.00	253.33	60.5
Captain, Non-owner	196.00	78.67	274.67	71.4
Captain, Half-owner	179.33	125.33	304.67	58.9
Captain, Half- or Full Owner with additional Occupation	210.67	197.33	408.00	51.6
Businessman, Boat Owner	301.33	164.67	466.00	64.7
Minor Artisan	130.00	28.00	158.00	82.3
Storekeeper only	277.33	32.00	309.33	89.7
Outside employment	277.33	185.33	462.67	60.0
Matrifocal and sup- ported	81.33	40.00	121.33	67.0
All Households	182.67	132.00	293.33	62.5

^aU.S. equivalency based on exchange rate of Cr 1500 per \$1.00 U.S. in July, 1964.

outside employment. Those who achieve success in the outside world must sever connections with Arembepe. They go up and out, and bother no one at home with whatever power they may be able to acquire.

Business generally provides higher incomes than fishing. But unless combined with shares in boats, which, as will be shown in Chapter III, are becoming increasingly difficult for non-fishermen to obtain, businessmen are reduced practically to the level of fishermen because they have to buy fish.

While the effective income of the ordinary fisherman, who neither owns nor captains a boat, tends to fall below that of businessmen, captains of fishing boats compete favorably with businessmen and sometimes even with outside employees. Like successful land-oriented Arembepeiros, captains are recruited in accordance with individualistic virtues. Anyone with such virtues can do almost as well on the sea as on the land. Given such attributes, it is probable that the successful captain will have alternative sources of income on the land, either in the form of a garden plot or coconut trees. This was seen in the cases of Zeca, Raul, and Eduardo discussed previously.

Plank launch fishing is a full-time activity, and fishermen have little leisure. It is difficult for them to pursue additional occupations on the land. Almost two-thirds of all fishermen in Arembepe have a single occupation. Yet 37.8% of the 127 fishermen do engage in some subsidiary form of income-producing activity. The most common secondary occupation, for

fishermen as for all Arembepeiros, is agriculture. Almost 12 per cent of the fishermen farm garden plots.

Some of them cultivate crops only for consumption in their own households. Yet others, like Zeca, sell some of their fruits and vegetables. Because he works for almost all of the food which the members of his household consume, Zeca has one of the highest effective incomes in Arembepe. This is revealed in non-consumable possessions, such as a radio and a bathroom, and in the more regular and more varied diet which his wife and five sons enjoy. Zeca's annual budget, Cr 883,762, was the fourth highest out of 118 households in Arembepe according to the arrangement in Appendix A. By 1965, his annual cash income had risen to about Cr 1,775,000¹ (about \$1,000.00 U.S.). When I left Arembepe in September, 1965, he was reinvesting this income in a new boat and in his farm plot.

Businessmen, like others who work on the land, are not tied to a single locale to the same extent as fishermen. They remain on the land, where they may pursue additional sources of income. It is common for a man to leave his wife in charge of their store while he markets coconuts in Salvador or farms a plot in Açú or Coqueiros. Only 26.3% of the 25 businessmen and businesswomen in Arembepe lacked secondary occupations. As for fishermen, agriculture was the most common secondary occupation, as 21.1% of the businessmen farmed.

Business subsumes a variety of different activities:

¹Calculated on the basis of his contribution, the highest for 1964-1965, to the Fishermen's Society.

stores; coconut, fish, cereal, and vegetable marketing, and itinerant commercial pursuits. There are twelve general stores in Arembepe, one for every sixty Arembepeiros and one for every 13 households. All of them also serve as house sites for the storekeepers. Many other households sell different items: fish hooks, cachaça, and prepared foods.

The fortunes which individual storeowners can amass are limited by the relatively equal distribution of Arembepeiros' business among them, by the fact that Arembepe is a food-producing settlement, and by the existence of cheaper markets and stores in Salvador. Local businessmen seem to have had more power in Arembepe before 1950 than they do today. When access to Salvador was more difficult, Arembepeiros depended to a greater extent on locally sold goods. The expansion of Salvador has facilitated access to Salvador from Arembepe, and has allowed villagers to sever their dependence on businessmen in the settlement. This will be discussed further in Chapter III.

Perhaps the most popular store in Arembepe is operated by Anatalio, aged 42, and his wife Claudia, aged 35. Both are native Arembepeiros. They have seven children. Anatalio estimated the annual profits of his store to be Cr 1,200,000 in winter, 1964. Their household budget, Cr 1,125,000, was the second highest in Arembepe for the same year. The household is occupationally plural. Both Claudia and Anatalio make frequent visits to their new farm plot in Açú. When one leaves, the other minds the store. Until 1965 Anatalio owned a share in a boat.

His wife derives income from rents and coconut trees from the land which she inherited in Açú. They used their excess income to clear and plant a three tarefa farm in Açú in 1965. Additional sources of income will be necessary to maintain their living standard, now that Anatalio has severed his connection with the fishing industry. They must also meet the cost of educating seven children in public schools outside of Arembepe. Their annual expenses to meet fees, board, and supplies for three daughters studying outside were Cr 192,000 in 1964.

Arembepeiros do not think of Anatalio and Claudia as wealthy. When I asked if Anatalio was rich, informants invariably answered that "he does all right" (é remediado). There is nothing in his behavior to violate the social relations appropriate to a non-stratified settlement.

Fidelio, aged 30, is the Arembepeiro who had the largest annual budget (Cr 1,201,238) in 1964 (see Appendix A). He was born in Açú and moved to Arembepe in his teens. He is one of six Arembepeiros who receive a major, although not necessarily the largest, portion of their incomes from coconut marketing. Fidelio markets the coconuts for four of the owners of the real estate on which Arembepe is located. He earns Cr 675,000 per year from buying coconuts in Arembepe and reselling them in markets in Salvador. He also runs a small store-bar, farms land in Açú, and owns shares in two boats. He derives income from the 500 fully-producing coconut trees which he planted on his farm plot ten years ago.

115

There are other businessmen who confine themselves to one economic pursuit. Joãozinho, aged 40, and his wife seem content to operate a middle-sized store which gives them a profit of Cr 600,000 per year while simultaneously providing most food, aside from fish, to them and to their seven children. Dudu, aged 25, runs a small store towards the northern end of Arembepe. He sells cachaça cigarettes, and occasionally farinha and fruits. He is also one of three barbers in Arembepe. His estimate of his annual income, Cr 234,000, is below his annual budget of Cr 286,268, which was 92nd out of 118 households ranked in Appendix A. Arembepeiros consider him to be a vagabundo (no-account) and think him funny because he is said to sleep with both his wife and her mother.

Business, fishing, and outside employment are the most lucrative sources of cash open to Arembepeiros. Most ambitious villagers choose one of these professions. However, the most skilled artisans are also industrious and increase their incomes through occupational plurality. Aluísio, the 45-year-old subdelegado (local police officer) learned how to repair boats from his father, who has made many of the launches in Arembepe. Aluísio has his fingers in many pots. He takes care of coconut trees for landowners who reside in Salvador. He owns shares in two fishing boats, and receives profits from marketing their fish. His budget of Cr 713,464 placed his household eighth out of 118.

On the other hand, Odysseus, a 26-year-old bricklayer,

drinks too much to hold down regular employment. He works in Arembepe sporadically, when someone decides to build a new brick house. He lives with his mother and two sisters in one of Arembepe's poorer wattle and daub houses. Their budget of Cr 217,512 was 104th out of 118 households ranked in Appendix A. In 1964 he earned Cr 1,500 per day for the rare days when he worked. Aluísio, however, because of his greater skill, earned Cr 2,500 per day for the same year. Because he is the only practicing boat carpenter in Arembepe, he always has work to do repairing boats in the fleet.

None but the least industrious enter agriculture and local wage work as primary occupations. The only agriculturalists are women who live alone, yet who have inherited access to a garden plot from which they derive subsistence, or men who occasionally work in clearing the plots of other Arembepeiros in Açú and Coqueiros. These paid agricultural assistants earned Cr 1,500 per day in 1965.

Included among local wage workers are four school teachers, whose employment is low-paying, but offers a degree of prestige. The others in this category are oddjobbers, people who hang around stores waiting for errands to run in return for cachaça. They are also coconut gatherers, pickers, and huskers. Pickers earned Cr 1,500 per day in 1964, while huskers earned Cr 750, and gatherers earned Cr 500. Only one household in Arembepe supports itself solely through local wage work. José, the household head, is the only Arembepeiro who makes his living

by picking coconuts. His annual household budget, Cr 166,100, placed him 110th among 118 households ranked according to budget in Appendix A.

Thus, there is a general correlation between income from occupation and the attributes of the Protestant-capitalist. Only the least industrious enter the low-paying professions and confine themselves to a single occupation. The virtues which allow for success in the fishing industry are the same as those which operate throughout the local economy, and will be discussed further in Chapter III.

The Hierarchy Based on Education

Differences in education are never diagnostics of stratification among Arembepeiros. The system of education in which most villagers participate imposes a definite limitation on their mobility within the national class system. Of 331 adults for whom data are available, 114 were illiterate (34.5%) and 217 (65.5%) were at least able to sign their names to vote. The Brazilian standard of literacy, the ability to sign one's name, would be considered to be an inadequate mechanism for defining a literate person in the United States. Very often a signature is all the Arembepeiro can muster. About one-fourth (24.7%) of the adult inhabitants of Arembepe, 94 out of 381, have received no education at all. More females than males are completely unschooled (61 or 30.3% of the 201 adult females in Arembepe have received no education, while only 33 males, 18.3% out of 180,

are unschooled). No one who resided in Arembepe in winter, 1964, had completed more than six grades, while the only person in the community who had completed junior high school (ginásio) has recently moved from the settlement.

The schoolhouse in Arembepe is a bare structure--one large room with two closets in the back. The furniture consists of a number of unarranged combination bench-desks at which the students sit and work on their daily lessons. The teacher sits at a large desk in front of the room. There is no additional educational equipment, not even blackboard and chalk. The school day is divided into two sessions, with the morning session theoretically for older children. There are two teachers, each of whom takes one session.

Schoolroom activities seem ludicrous to an American observer. There is no group instruction whatsoever. The students are assigned exercises in workbooks which their parents must buy. The first of these, called the cartilha, attempts to teach the alphabet. Spelling, theoretically learned through the cartilha, is syllabic. Students begin by learning the entire alphabet. Having memorized the letters in order by rote, they are incapable of recognizing specific letters when they see them in isolation or in words. After memorizing the alphabet, the student turns to vowels and consonants separately. He also learns these letters by rote. Following this, he turns to monosyllabic combinations of consonants and vowels, then to simple words combining the syllables. For example, he is taught to

spell out the word banana in the following fashion: "b,a/ ba; n,a/ na; n,a/ na." No person who has been educated in Arembepe can spell a word without breaking it into syllables. Ba-nana is never spelled b,a,n,a,n,a.

No educational materials are provided to Arembepeiros by the Brazilian government. There are three books which introductory students finish in approximately six years, on the average. Then they move to the grade system and buy books which are designated as second and third grade readers. When the student enters the third grade, he is usually at least twelve years old. He may continue with the third grade reader, or he may seek more advanced books after two or three years.

The youngest students in the class, who may begin to attend school as early as three years old, are frequently ignored until they are six or seven. It is possible for a student to continue in the cartilha, his first book of ABC's, for as long as six years, with an average of three. When a child has mastered the alphabet and elementary arithmetic, he is taught to read aloud and to write by copying passages from texts. He may also acquire rudimentary knowledge of Brazilian geography, history, and natural science. By the time a person finishes his education in Arembepe, he is able to sign his name, to compute figures, and in some cases to read newspapers and love stories written in verse.

On entering the schoolroom, the observer encounters a flurry of seemingly disorganized activity. Students run around

the room, talk, yell, or sit at their desks and work on their lessons. The teacher occasionally utters some reprimand. In a typical winter session, one finds up to forty students. While the morning session theoretically lasts from eight through twelve, the teacher and students usually leave the building by ten o'clock. Thus, forty students compete for 120 minutes of the teacher's time. This would give each one approximately three minutes, if the teacher did not spend much of her time reprimanding noisy children or calling on each for recitation. The average student probably receives about two minutes of individual attention from the teacher. There are 241 children between the ages of 4 and 15 in Arembepe. On the average school-day, about sixty of them enter the schoolhouse. Students attending classes are not the same from day to day. No attendance is taken, and students simply come to morning or afternoon sessions, or both if they wish. They are not matriculated; there is neither a roll book nor a system of grades.

The senior instructor, who has been teaching in Arembepe as a lay professor (profesora lega) for twenty-five years, explained the poor educational system of the settlement by saying that people in the community were not interested in education, as all Arembepeiros were poor and there was no need to study. Parents who wish their children to receive a better education send them to schools outside of the village, in Portão, Itapoan, and Salvador. The increasing fraction of Arembepeiros who have higher educational aspirations for their children represents

121

the most successful people in the settlement. An education outside of Arembepe entails a substantial investment, for there are school fees, books and supplies to purchase, clothing expenses, and sometimes contributions to meet the board and rent of the student living away. Some ambitious fathers have invested their profits in coconuts and other sources of wealth. They know that, in the light of rampant Brazilian inflation, cash savings will provide little assistance to their children twenty years hence.

Only one person born in Arembepe seems remotely likely to study beyond senior high school (colegio). This is Cecilia, the 17-year-old eldest daughter of Anatalio and Claudia. Cecilia is now completing her final year of colegio. She has indicated her desire to study in normal school to become a state-appointed primary school teacher, but she does not wish to teach in Arembepe. Dona Claudia, however, while praising the scholastic abilities of her daughter, confessed her doubt that she and Anatalio could afford the fees and other expenses of normal school. They have six additional children to educate and feel that investment in their three sons is more likely to pay off in better jobs and salaries, which they could share.

There are two municipally appointed and salaried teachers in Arembepe. The senior teacher began to teach twenty-five years ago as an assistant to a state-salaried teacher who had been appointed to Arembepe. There have been no such state-appointed teachers, all with at least primary education, in

Arembepe for the past ten years. Dona Gildete, aged 50, the senior teacher, alternates with Dona Gugu, aged 52, who moved to Arembepe from Salvador in 1964. Neither of them has studied beyond the third grade of primary school. The education that they can impart to Arembepeiros is severely limited by their own lack of formal study. There are also two private instructors, both nieces of Dona Gildete. Both have been educated solely by their aunt. They received fees of Cr 150 per pupil per month in 1964 (\$.09 U.S.). While minimal, this fee is beyond the reach of the poorest families in Arembepe. The procedure of the formal sessions is replicated at the private lessons. The tutor listens to children's recitations and marks out lessons for them to memorize for the following day. Ten children attended private sessions in winter, 1964.

Arembepe's school frequently departs from the Brazilian academic schedule. Sessions stop if one of the teachers leaves Arembepe. In July, 1965, Dona Gildete attended a month-long conference on "modern teaching methods" held in another municipality. The conference lasted two weeks longer than the formal winter vacations for Brazilian schoolchildren, which falls in July. Dona Gugu was unable to open classes, since she was in Salvador visiting her sick mother. It is probable that Arembepe's school is open no more than 100 days per year. Classes, which are nominally four hours, rarely exceed two.

The low salaries paid to all elementary school teachers help to perpetuate the inadequate school system. Gildete re-

ceived Cr 10,000 per month in July, 1965 (\$5.40 U.S.). She anticipates a raise in salary to fifty contos (one conto is equal to Cr 1,000), which is five times her current salary. However, the raise for municipal teachers will depend on their passing an examination, which Gildete fears.

The third grade education available in Arembepe provides villagers with sufficient skills for all jobs in the local economy. Those who study beyond this level, outside of Arembepe, are seeking eventual employment in the extra-local economy. Their skills are superfluous for life in Arembepe. Like many Arembepeiros with aspirations for vertical mobility, if they move up, they move out.

Of those who are locally employed, businessmen receive the most extensive educations. Anatalio, for example, studied in Salvador through the first year of junior high school (ginásio). After ten years of working in stores in Salvador, he returned to Arembepe, where he says that he enjoys a better life. His work in the capital involved low salaries and isolation from community ties. His wife complains that he is not sufficiently interested in educating their children. Their eldest daughter, who is finishing colegio, has no intention of returning to live in Arembepe. Dona Claudia hopes her sons will be able to find more lucrative employment outside of Arembepe than their father. For this reason she moved, with her seven children, to Itapoan in 1965. She wants none of her children to become fishermen nor businessmen in Arembepe.

TABLE 10
POPULATION OF AREMBEPE
BY OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION BEYOND SECOND GRADE

Occupation	Individuals so Employed		Individuals with Schooling Beyond Second Grade	
	No.	%	No.	%
Business	25	6.7	17	4.6
Local Wage Work	9	2.4	4	1.1
Fishing	127	34.1	54	14.5
Housewives only	93	25.0	39	10.5
Female earners	94	25.3	36	9.7
Outside employment	8	2.2	3	0.8
Artisanry	9	2.4	3	0.8
Agriculture	7	1.9	2	0.5
Total	372	100.0	158	42.5 ^a

^aOf total sample.

Only one of the 25 Arembepeiros involved in business has received no education at all, while Anatalio is the only one to have been to junior high school. In Table 10 one observes variation in amount of schooling according to occupation. Table 11 distributes Arembepeiros according to place of schooling.

The placement of local wage workers after businessmen in Table 10 follows from the inclusion of the four local school-

teachers in this category, and from the small membership of this group. The fact that fishing is third reflects the inclusion of captains and former captains. Many of them keep books on their catches and sales. Two groups of females come next. While 30.3% of all adult females in Arembepe have never studied at all, some girls have more time to study, since they may have less to do than males. The low placement of Arembepeiros employed outside the community is a result of their absence in Arembepe when the survey was made. Had all native born who now work outside been included, the placement of this group would have been much higher, for reasons which have been given previously. Finally, Table 10 confirms the low educational status of artisans and agriculturalists. Such work requires only the most rudimentary skills in calculation, and one who is so employed does not need to know how to read and write. Since individuals in these categories are among the least industrious Arembepeiros, one would expect low educational achievement.

Ironically, educational opportunities in the settlement seem to be less adequate now than in the past. For the past ten years there has been no state-appointed or salaried teacher (a graduate of a state teacher's college) in Arembepe. Informants could recall five state teachers who taught there for different lengths of time before this. All of them came from Salvador, its suburbs, or other areas of Bahia. They taught for more than thirty years in Arembepe. The fact that 42.5% of the adult population has studied for at least three years and that

18.4% has studied for more than three years reveals, on the one hand, the past presence of these state-appointed teachers in the settlement when the current generation of adults were children, and, on the other, the fact that 21.6% of the inhabitants of Arembepe have been educated outside of the community, generally in the settlements of their birth, but sometimes in Salvador or other settlements where higher education can be obtained.

Given the limitation in personnel training and essential educational materials, the education which one can obtain in Arembepe today can provide a basis for any occupation within the village itself. On the other hand, for semi-skilled and for all middle-class occupations, higher education is required. Children and their parents realize that if they seek non-menial employment outside of the community, they must study through junior high school. This can only be done outside Arembepe. Until this situation is remedied, the educational system will continue to provide a barrier to upward individual mobility.

TABLE 11
POPULATION OF AREMBEPE BY PLACE OF SCHOOLING

Place of Schooling	Number	Percentage
Arembepe	162	44.3
Outside	47	12.8
Never attended school	157	42.9
Total	366	100.0

Hierarchical Differentials in Non-Kin Based Sodalities

Positions of authority (the socially recognized right to influence the actions of others) and power (actual influence or control over the actions of others) in Arembepe are allocated on the basis of age, sex, and kinship. They are not the power differentials which prevail between superordinate and subordinate socio-economic classes. The few authority positions which have been created in Arembepe by the Brazilian government and by the landownership system will be fully discussed in Chapter IV. It will be shown that even these positions of authority are devoid of operational power differentials.

Different roles in community life based on varying success in local economic pursuits are played out within the Fishermen's Society and the local soccer (futebol) clubs. It is with reference to these sodalities that community solidarity has been threatened and maintained. Through an examination of these associations, one may see the social controls which operate against any one whom Arembepeiros consider to be making an unsupported bid for local power. The brotherhood (irmandade), or society (sociedade), of fishermen dedicated to St. Francis, the community's patron saint, is completely independent of organizations outside the village. It is associated in no way with fishing unions or colonias, types of cooperatives which the Superintendency for the Development of Fishing (SUDEPE)¹

¹A branch of SUDENE, the Superintendency for the Development of the Northeast.

is introducing to other communities along the coast of Brazil (Forman: personal communication).

Arembepeiros recall attempts by syndicatos (unions) based in Salvador to organize a branch of the Fishermen's Union in Arembepe in the late 1940's. Each fisherman was supposed to contribute a fixed sum each month. In return, the proposed benefits would have allowed fishermen to retire at a certain age with pensions. When no immediate benefits seemed to accrue to them through union membership, the fishermen stopped their contributions. They tried in vain to get back the money which they had invested.

Mario, aged 72, came to Arembepe from Itapoan in 1912. Since that time, he has worked in fishing boat carpentry in Arembepe and has made five of the boats which currently fish from the settlement. In 1921 he was appointed by the state government to be port captain for all ports between Itapoan and Praia do Forte. His job is now under federal auspices, and he received a pension of Cr 65,000 per month (in 1964). This amount, which was raised to Cr 90,000 per month in 1965, is equivalent to the salary which he would receive if he were still port captain. Since no one else has been appointed to replace him, Mario continues to oversee port conditions between Itapoan and Praia do Forte. He also obtains government identity cards for fishermen and makes sure that all boats which fish from these ports are registered with the Port Captaincy in Salvador.

In July, 1965, Mario received a letter from the head of

the Bahian Fishermen's Association, who is also the captain of ports in Salvador. The letter indicated that SUDEPE was considering Arembepe as a site for a fishing colonia, or cooperative, and asked Mario to comment on whether fishermen in Arembepe would consider such a proposal favorably. Mario asked Arembepeiros what they thought about a fishing cooperative and found community opinion to be very negative. Fishermen have heard about or remember the ill-fated experiment in the late forties. Most of them told Mario, as they told me, that they would refuse to give money to such an association. Although they admit that pensions for fishermen would be a welcome benefit, they said that they preferred to continue their contributions to the local brotherhood. Thus far (winter, 1965) SUDEPE has sent no representatives to Arembepe.

The development of willingness to participate in a cooperative run by a governmental agency will depend on the magnitude and immediacy of the benefits which accrue to Arembepe fishermen. Arembepeiros want no more promises without immediate results. Among the possibly effective inducements mentioned favorably by fishermen were the creation of a general, all-commodity market in Arembepe, a large ice chest located in the settlement to refrigerate fish, and the cooperative marketing of fish by Arembepeiros rather than by middlemen from outside.

During a four-year span, from 1962 to 1965, there were changes in the structure and functions of the local brotherhood of fishermen. These changes illustrate the extent to which

success in the fishing industry is allied with control of the local sodality. The brotherhood has two officers, who occupy their positions for a two-year term. The most important officer, the treasurer, is elected every second February just before the celebration to honor St. Francis. The successful candidate appoints a collector (procurador) of funds. The latter collects the contributions from captains and owners of fishing boats, deducted from their marketed catches. He delivers the assembled funds to the treasurer at three or four month intervals.

In 1962 the sole function of the Society was the organization of the celebrations honoring St. John in June and St. Francis in February. The officers used the funds which came from the contributions of the fishing boats to purchase supplies in Salvador and to transport them to Arembepe. All of their duties were performed at the times of the festivals, and they had little to do as officers during the rest of the year.

Both officers have traditionally been successful fishermen, generally the captains who contributed the largest amounts to the Society for the one- or two-year period preceding the election. In February 1964, Aluísio, aged 45, son of the port captain, and local police officer, became the first non-fisherman to hold the office of treasurer. Aluísio, who was born in Arembepe, is the only active naval carpenter in the village. He also owns shares in two boats and markets the fish from his launches. Prior to his election he had proposed modifications

in the functions of the Society. He wanted it to assume some of the features of a mutual aid society. After his election, he began to call it a sociedade rather than an irmandade. He also told people that he was the presidente (president) rather than the treasurer of the society. Under his administration, the society has begun to make loans to destitute fishermen and to award a flat payment to the relatives of deceased fishermen to help meet funeral expenses. To meet these expanded functions, the nominal contribution of each boat was raised from five to ten per cent of the annual marketed catch.

Aluísio immediately antagonized a few fishermen, most notably the former collector of funds, Leo, by appointing another non-fisherman as the new collector. Leo promptly withdrew his boat from the society, taking the contributions of five other boats with him. With the others, he formed a new sodality called Sociedade de Baixo (Society of "Down There"), because most of its members lived in the southern section of Arembepe. The split illustrates the inception and eventual resolution of conflict in Arembepe.

~~When~~ Arembepeiros were questioned about the reasons for the split, they gave answers on different levels, with varying degrees of obstinacy. Some of them preferred to ignore the new society, shrugging it off as unimportant. The most commonly given reason for Leo's withdrawal was the increased contribution. However, this could have been neither the sole nor the decisive reason, for there is no way of forcing any fisherman

in Arembepe to give any definite contribution. Most Arembepeiros, including fishermen, are completely unaware of the actual annual incomes of the fishing boats. Thus, they are unable to verify the accuracy of any donation. It is extremely improbable that any one has ever given the theoretically appropriate contribution. Nilson, who served as treasurer of the brotherhood between 1962 and 1964, continues to give what he says is five per cent of his marketed catch. He remains a member in good standing and attends the parties which the society gives.

Informants also attributed the split to dissatisfaction among the dissenters because the celebrations and dances were held in the northern part of town. This reason, too, must be rejected, since the building in which the dances are held is located at the southern end of the central square, and is farther from the northernmost than from the southernmost house in Arembepe. One of the members of the new group lived just to the north of the seat of the old society.

Other informants, when they were pressed, responded that the split was politically motivated (uma coisa política). Most of them hastened to add that they had played no part in it, and that they took part in no political matters. João, aged 70, the storekeeper who was born in Spain, told me that he had withdrawn his boat because Aluísio was a "bad man," and because he was politically ambitious. Only Zeca, the boat captain who is likely to be elected treasurer of the old society in the elec-

tions of February 1966, was willing to discuss the reasons for the split freely. He pointed out that Leo had been the unsuccessful candidate to head the old society against Aluísio. Prior to the election Leo had served for six years in succession as one of the two officers of the brotherhood. During this period, his boat was continuously the primary contributor. He very much wanted to be elected treasurer for a second term. According to Zeca, Leo felt that the political plum of treasurer should come to him, since his contribution to society funds in 1963-64 had again been the largest. He resented what he considered to be a play for power in Aluísio's extension of the functions of the brotherhood. He opposed the loans, funeral grants, and increased contributions for the same reasons which Nilson, the former treasurer, gave. Why, they both asked, should the most successful, hardworking, and honest fishermen pay expenses for others?

Zeca said that even though they did not like to discuss it, most fishermen considered Leo to be a poor loser. Zeca doubted that Leo could ever again be elected an officer of the old society after his separatistic move. Zeca seems to be right. By winter, 1965, it had become apparent to most Arembepeiros and to me that Leo's new society represented a personal feud and could not compete successfully with the established organization. In July, 1965, only two boats out of the 32 in Arembepe still contributed to the new society. The fish-weighing station which one of the contributors to Leo's group had constructed in

1964 had become virtually inactive, and the owner planned to tear it down.

The split in the Fishermen's Society will probably heal completely by February, 1966, when, with Zeca's election, which most fishermen predicted, control will return to fishermen, specifically to the captain who has contributed the largest amount in the period prior to the election.

The Fishermen's Society has been the only sodality which embraces all Arembepeiros. While nominally it is an association of fishermen, and while the newly introduced benefits go only to fishermen and their families, in the celebrations and dances which it holds, most Arembepeiros participate. Since the traditional manner of gaining control of the society has been through success in fishing, it is not surprising that the most successful Arembepe fisherman withdrew from the society when he was defeated by a non-fisherman. That Aluísio was elected indicates that most fishermen considered his fishing boat carpentry and his ownership of boats to constitute qualifications for his candidacy. His deliberate cultivation of popularity among other villagers and his bid to establish himself as an intermediary between Arembepeiros and the world outside, which will be analyzed in Chapter IV, have in fact gained for him respect from Arembepeiros. He was elected by a large majority.

Through his deliberate abrogation of the brotherhood and because of what villagers regard as an excessive concern

with politics, which many fishermen appeared to resent, Leo has lost all chances of regaining control of the society in the near future.

Football

The sole qualifications for an officer of the Fishermen's Society are that he be literate, for he must keep records, and that he be married. There are no such restrictions to important roles in the football clubs. For the last three years there have been two football organizations in Arembepe. One of them is called Clube de São Francisco and includes most of Arembepe's soccer players. The other, known as the Clube de São João, has a much smaller membership. When there is a game against a challenger from outside the settlement, "Arembepe" is always the football club of St. Francis. There are two squads in the larger club, one consisting of the "weaker" men and boys. The other includes older and "stronger" men. The club of St. John is not often active. It was formed by Leo in another separatistic move. According to Leo, his football club was "to give greater representation to people from the southern half of Arembepe." The two clubs sometimes play against each other on Sunday afternoons when there is no fishing.

The football club of St. Francis unites male Arembepeiros on a basis other than common occupation as fishermen. It is open to all professions. Those who regularly play football, and who have purchased the uniforms which all members of the first

squad wear, are successful boat captains, other young fishermen, and young men who work outside of Arembepe. The latter return to Arembepe to play against challengers from other settlements. If the Fishermen's Society allocates its rewards and burdens to the most successful fishermen, the football team gives respected roles to other native sons, including those who have achieved success outside the village.

Conclusions

Arembepeiros occupy different positions in a graded socio-economic hierarchy. Unlike hierarchies in stratified communities, there are no sharp contrasts in the distribution of income, consumption patterns, or access to strategic resources. The resources controlled by Arembepeiros are distinctly limited when compared to sources of wealth in the middle and upper classes. The socio-economic variables associated with sex, age, birthplace, phenotype, ancestry and family affiliation, marriage, occupation, education, and political role provide the basis for hierarchies in Arembepe. But none of these hierarchies even becomes a socio-economic class or status group.

The attributes which determine success in Arembepe are ephemeral and individualistic and remind one of the attributes stressed in the "open-class system" of the United States. Through intelligence, hard work, imagination, daring, and austerity, one can become a local entrepreneur and can rise from a low to a high socio-economic placement. Most successful Arem-

bepeiros are self-made "Protestant" types. There are no operational power differentials other than those based on age, sex, and kinship roles in the village.

A variety of mechanisms within Brazilian social structure and ideology constantly act to maintain the lower class in a supine position, by leveling individual wealth differentials and by limiting individual vertical mobility. The most effective of these are the obligations created by kinship, marriage, and fictive kinship. Lower class Brazilians earn more, only to see salary or income increments devoured by a constantly increasing number of children. This, in turn, accelerates the fragmentation of estates which Brazilian inheritance law channels.

The stratification differentials which might exist on the basis of land or coconut trees have involved removal from Arembepe. An individual with significant inherited wealth must choose between remaining in Arembepe, where opportunities of real vertical mobility are nil, and where a predatory group of kinsmen constantly drains his wealth, or leaving Arembepe to make his "fortune" in other settlements and Brazilian cities. If the former choice is made, individuals remain lower class Brazilians. If they choose the latter path, they go so far away that they never bother any one at home with their acquired power. They go up and out.

CHAPTER III

HIERARCHIES IN THE MARINE FISHING INDUSTRY

The socio-economic variables associated with fishing provide the basis for additional hierarchical distinctions within Arembepe. But like the hierarchies examined in Chapter II, these do not reach the level of class distinctions. Several impediments to the development of stratification on the basis of marine fishing with a rudimentary technology were discussed in Chapter I. In this chapter, the limitations to differential control of marine resources in Arembepe will be examined.

The Arembepe fishing industry revolves around six fishing techniques, of which plank launch (saveiro) fishing is by far the most important for an analysis of the village socio-economic hierarchy. I shall briefly describe the less important techniques and then devote the remainder of this chapter to the saveiro complex. The subsidiary techniques are the following: small rafts, dragnet and canoe, trammel or gill nets, cast nets, and small plank launch.

Subsidiary Fishing Techniques

Raft Fishing

Rafts (jangadas) accommodating crews of three and four are commonly encountered as fishing vessels along the Brazilian coast as far north as the state of Ceará (Forman: personal communication). Arembepe, however, is included in a saveiro zone which begins in Subaiuma, the second port to the north of Praia do Forte, and ends in Gamboa do Morro, a settlement on the southern side of the Bahian Bay of All Saints (See Map 3). Rafts made of reed bundles tied up with creepers and connected with transverse sticks were used for marine expeditions by the coastal Tupinambá (Metrax, 1948: 109). Such crafts transported ten to twelve Indians. The Tupinambá fished in smaller rafts accommodating a single fisherman. This smaller vessel, called piperi, was made of four or five round pieces of light wood bound together with creepers and propelled with a flat stick (Metrax, 1948: 109).

Arembepeiros say that their ancestors once fished in rafts, with crews of from one to four men, from Arembepe Velho (Old Arembepe), a site located two coves to the south of the current settlement. Arembepeiros state that the village site was shifted around 1900. They link the move to the introduction of plank launches. The reasons for the shift will be discussed under saveiro fishing.

Only one small raft, accommodating a single fisherman, is used for fishing in Arembepe today. This raft was purchased secondhand in Praia do Forte in 1962, for Cr 13,000 (\$22.00 U.S.), which was approximately one-tenth of the cost of a fully equipped new saveiro in the same year. The raft measures 14'6" x 2'8" and is constructed from six pieces of balsawood which are joined together with pegs and fiber. The owner is a regular saveiro crew member. He fishes in his raft only when the saveiro in which he usually fishes remains in port. Raft fishing provides a major contribution to the income or subsistence requirements of no individual and no household in Arembepe.

Raft fishing is done in the harbor (the area between the sandstone reef and the shore), just seaward of the reef, and in four or five spots located to the north and south of Arembepe. It is confined to areas where wave action is slight, and the raft can float safely. The raft fisherman catches fish which range close to shore. These species, including mackerel (soróroca) and surel (xaréu), are also exploited by net and reef fishermen.¹

Canoe and Dragnet Fishing

An old man who formerly divided his attention between farming and raft fishing purchased a used canoe in Salvador

¹All fish names used in this chapter are classified with Latin names and family affiliation in Appendix B.

in 1960 for Cr 38,000, about one-third the cost of a new fully equipped saveiro at that date. The dugout canoe is 33'6" long, 2'3" wide, and 1'6" deep. It normally accommodates a crew of six. The canoe is only used in connection with dragnet fishing. The dragnet, which measures 500' by 15', requires approximately 25 setters. It is set in calm areas to the north and south of Arembepe, in coves and inlets, and most commonly, in the canal or in the harbor itself. The net owner could not calculate the initial costs of the net, although he and two sons made it. They also repair rips in the net. The owner stated that net fishing is frequent and profitable only during the summer. The usually small winter catches do not compensate for the frequent rips in the net.

During winter, 1964, the net was thrown on only three days. However, it was set about ten times in winter, 1965. Two reasons were given for more frequent casts in 1965. There is normally a run of a species of bait fish called manjuba in August. Fishermen complained about the meager run in August, 1964. They attributed small manjuba catches to fish dynamiting in Arembepe and adjacent communities. Informants could recall no dynamiting of fish in Arembepe between 1964 and 1965. This was the reason they gave to explain the increased manjuba "harvest" (safra) in August, 1965. The manjuba bring larger species of fish into the harbor and near shore. It is the latter which the

canoe-dragnet personnel sought and actually caught in August, 1965. Increased canoe-dragnet fishing in winter, 1965 is also related to the introduction of trammel nets (tresmalhos) in July, 1965. Experimentation with two trammel nets produced good catches and seems to have induced the dragnet owner to have his net set more often.

Because so many people participate in every cast, only the owner and the captain (mestre) receive adequate returns. The method of dividing the catch was elaborately and differently described by informants. One informant confirmed the model of the distribution of the catch which was based on my own personal observation, i.e., the captain counts out the catch according to its size, the number of people who have worked, the number of on-lookers seeking fish, complaints of personnel, and his personal mood. The owner always receives approximately forty per cent of the catch, and the captain receives from ten to fifteen per cent.

It is more difficult to attract net operators at times when Arembepeiros are able to pursue more profitable economic activities, i.e., saveiro fishing. When people are well-fed, as in summer, they are less willing to invest an hour for a small share of fish or for no fish at all. During the winter, when rough seas limit plank launch fishing, hungry men, women and children gather on the beach when the dragnet is set. Regardless of whether they actually help in the haul, they request, and sometimes are granted fish.

The distribution of the catch allocates forty per cent to the owner, twelve per cent to the captain, two per cent to the Fishermen's Society, eight per cent to the five canoe crew members together, twenty-five to thirty per cent to the other personnel, including the net pullers, and two to seven per cent to needy bystanders. When the catch is small, as it was on many days, the onlookers' share may be completely eliminated. On one throw in August, 1965, when sixty kilograms of fish were caught, the captain received Cr 5,700 (12% of 60 kilograms marketed at Cr 800 per kilogram). The owner, his father, received Cr 19,200 (40% of 60 x Cr 800). Others took their fish home to eat. Even if summer catches are as large as some informants indicate (as much as 1000 kilograms per throw on rare occasions), there is no steady cash profit for the personnel involved.

On the basis of their particular relationships to the productive process, neither the canoe-net owner nor his son, the captain of net operations, belongs to a separate socioeconomic class. Both receive smaller annual incomes from fishing than the average plank launch fisherman. The contribution of the net to the Fishermen's Society has been approximately one-sixth that of the average saveiro since 1956.¹ If the amount given to the Society in 1965,

¹For canoe and saveiros, the contribution was nominally five per cent before and ten per cent after February, 1964. The actual contributions of saveiros and canoe have varied between two and three per cent. The average annual

Cr 6,600, represents two per cent of the total marketed catch of the net for that year, the cash value of the catch was Cr 330,000. The net owner, receiving forty per cent of this, would have earned Cr 132,000 for 1964-65.¹ The average saveiro fisherman earned approximately Cr 360,000 for the same year.

Trammel Net Fishing

Trammel nets (tresmalhos) were introduced to Arembepe in July 1965 by two fish buyers. One of them is Bernardo, an Arembepeiro whose entrepreneurial activities have been discussed in Chapter II. The other is Manuel, a major fish agent from Salvador. The capital which Bernardo reinvested in the nets comes from a variety of income-producing pursuits spanning land and sea. The two trammel nets were purchased in Salvador for Cr 310,000, or Cr 155,000 each. Their combined price was slightly less than that of the newest saveiro in Arembepe.

The nets are fifty meters long and five meters high. Along the upper border of the nylon meshing are cork or

contribution of the canoe to the Society between 1956 and 1962 was Cr 1,343, as compared to Cr 7,866 for the average saveiro. In 1965 the canoe gave Cr 6,600, while the average saveiro gave Cr 41,702.

¹This corresponds closely to his household budget given in Appendix A. His budget ranked 95th lowest out of 118. His annual expenses of Cr 268,420 were met by Cr 132,000 from the net, plus Cr 136,800 in cash contributed by four sons, one of them employed outside of Arembepe.

plastic buoys. Lead weights are strung along the bottom so that the nets may float vertically in the water. There was a great deal of initial experimentation in the placement of the nets. They were set as many as five times in one day. After several tries on the seaward side of the reef, the owners decided that the most profitable catches had been made in the harbor and canal. Nets were set by crews of three men in a saveiro, or by two men in a small plank launch. The catch was equally divided between the two owners, who are partners in the undertaking, and the two or three men who set the nets. Each owner received 25% of the combined catches of the two nets. While the average catch for July and August, 1965 was five fish per throw (lasting from one to six hours), there were catches as large as 25 fish. Informants anticipated that the size of the catches would increase in summer.

Many Arembepeiros seemed to have been convinced by two months of experimentation that trammel nets were profitable. When I left the field in August, 1965, Bernardo had bought an additional net of the same size, and had ordered sufficient nylon to manufacture an even larger net to be set in the open sea. Fidelio, another local businessman and saveiro owner, had purchased two nets, one of which was set in the Jacuipe River, to the north. A native of Arembepe who had moved to Jauá in 1963 bought a trammel set for Cr 196,000 and gave it to his younger

brother to set in Arembepe. The owner said that net fishing in Jauá was limited by a paucity of bait fish. After slightly more than one month of experimentation, there were five trammel nets in Arembepe.

All trammel nets are now owned by non-fishermen, but it seems likely that saveiro fishermen will also invest in these nets. One informant, an ordinary fisherman, told me that there could be as many as two hundred trammel nets in Arembepe, and that many Arembepeiros were eager to find the capital to purchase nets for themselves. Before this takes place on a large scale, however, there must be experimentation with trammel net catches on the open sea, in the zones which saveiros now exploit with hook and line techniques. The first saveiro fishermen to buy the nets will probably be successful captains, who earn the highest fishing incomes.

The variables which will determine whether or not stratification will develop in Arembepe on the basis of trammel net ownership are the following:

I. Factors which would favor stratification given an increased dependence on trammel nets:

A. the currently unequal distribution of capital and incomes among Arembepeiros, who occupy different positions in the graded socio-economic hierarchy;

B. the price of trammel nets relative to the annual cash income of ordinary fishermen (marinheiros). (The

cost of a net was about half such incomes in 1965.);

C. the system which allocates one-half of catches to trammel net owner(s).

II. Factors which will act to prevent the emergence of socio-economic stratification:

A. a decreasing dependence on non-fishermen (which will be documented later in this chapter).

B. the cost of net repairs versus the size of catches. This can, of course, be evaluated only when deep sea trammel net catches have been recorded.

Fishing with the Cast Net

The cast net (tarrafa), manufactured from cotton thread with varying mesh, is circular, with small lead weights attached along its circumference. Casting is an individualistic activity. A lone fisherman tosses the net over a shoal of small fish: manjuba or sardinha, in the harbor, canal, or in an inlet or cove near Arembepe. He then dives into the water and closes the net from beneath, thus encircling and capturing the fish. Cast nets are used primarily to catch bait for saveiro fishing. In winter, however, when the saveiros are not going out regularly, casting frequently provides food. The cast net yields subsistence and is a minor source of cash income to women who make and sell a salted, peppered dish called muqueca de folha --manjuba garnished with lemon and wrapped in a palm frond.

Most casters are saveiro captains, preparing for the day's fishing activity. Casting is said to require a modicum of skill, and not all captains know how to use the cast net, while some ordinary fishermen do. Most boats have their own cast nets. When they do not captains borrow a net. They sometimes give a share of their catch to the lender.

Most cast nets in Arembepe have been manufactured locally. Saveiro fishermen estimate that it takes from six to twelve months to make a cast net working part-time. Women also make these nets to sell. A net's cost depends on the size of its radius measured in spans. Size varies between eleven and fourteen spans. One man complained that he had commissioned a twelve-span net, but found it to be closer to eleven of his own spans. This was the result, he good-naturedly acknowledged, of the smaller span of the female manufacturer. The costs of the "12 span" cast net just mentioned are indicated in Figure 1. Because the cost is more than one-tenth of their annual cash incomes, most ordinary fishermen who own cast nets have made them.

Fig.1 -- Costs of a Cast Net

Materials				
Cotton thread	3 boxes	@	Cr 3,200	Cr 9,600
Lead weights	10 kg.	@	800	8,000
				17,600
Labor				
	12 spans	@	2,000	24,000
				Cr 41,600

Small Plank Launch Fishing

Two Arembepeiros have chosen an individualistic type of launch fishing. Small plank launches, called barquinhos, or "little boats," are miniature saveiros, each with a sail and oars. They accommodate two men comfortably. They generally fish fairly close to shore, never more than a mile out. There was one of these boats in Arembepe in winter, 1964. By 1965 it had moved with its owner to Jauá. By June, 1965 a villager employed by Petrobras (the Brazilian Oil Company) had bought a launch measuring 13'3" x 4'6" x 1'10" to fish when he came to Arembepe. In return for 25% of the catch, he allowed others to fish in his boat when he was not using it.

Other Fishing Activity

Other fishing techniques subsidiary to the saveiro complex are probably more important in winter, when rough seas often prevent deep sea fishing, than in summer and fall, when the ocean is calmer. Like some of the fishing techniques mentioned above, these activities are generally individualistic and are oriented towards subsistence and local consumption rather than towards external markets.

Shrimp fishing.--A fisherman sets traps in the Jacuipe River. He leaves them there overnight and returns to collect his catch, if any, on the following day.

Lagoon fishing.--Most lagoon fishing is done by women and children. A net (rede de mariscar) is suspended between two short poles, like a volleyball net, and is used to scoop up fish and shellfish. When the net is borrowed, the owner receives a portion of the catch.

Reef fishing.--On a typical day when the saveiros are out, one observes an average of four males, aged ten to fifteen, fishing on the reef to the north and south of the harbor. They hold thin poles, about six feet long, with hooks, and about twenty feet of line. On days when saveiros remain in port, both men and boys fish on the reef, up to the Jacuipe River to the north and almost as far as Jauá to the south.

Reef gathering.--Women and children gather sea urchins and molluscs on the reef. These products are cooked and

eaten. Gatherers are generally representatives of female-headed households who have no regular sources of subsistence. Because of this, reef gathering is a more constant activity than other individualistic fishing techniques.

Lobster fishing.--Men, sometimes with women, seek lobster (crayfish) on the reef at night when the tide is low. Women carry brush torches whose light allows men to pursue the lobsters. Lobsters are consumed locally and occasionally sold to tourists.

When the ocean is calm and the egresses of the saveiro fleet are regular, this secondary subsistence fishing activity becomes the province of women and of men who are not saveiro fishermen.

Plank Launch (Saveiro) Fishing

The Arembepe harbor is naturally formed by the placement of a sandstone conglomerate reef inclined slightly seaward. The reef extends along the coast to the north and south of Arembepe, here submerged, there above water. An extension of the same reef forms a similar, though larger port in Jauá, the next beach settlement to the south. Submerged reefs form harbors in Guarajuba, Tacimirim, and Praia do Forte, fishing ports to the north. The placement along the coast of these natural ports formed by reefs (quebramars) explains the variable distribution of saveiro fishing and raft (jangada) fishing. Rafts, which are lighter than

saveiros can occur along any stretch of beach (Forman: personal communication). On their return from marine fishing, they may be beached fairly easily by their crew members. The heavier saveiros require a more protected environment. It would be cumbersome and time-consuming to beach saveiros after every return from the sea. The labor force required to beach a saveiro is approximately four times the normal crew size. The total time required to beach the 31 active saveiros in Arembepe, given work teams of twenty men working from fifteen to twenty minutes for each boat, would be approximately eight hours, or more than one hour per man per boat per day. Only when especially rough seas threaten to cause collisions between boats docked in the harbor are they beached. This is more frequent in winter than in summer.

The presence of a harbor is thus an environmental factor which allows a saveiro industry to develop. Other environmental factors affect the size of the fishing fleet. These factors may be harbor size, or they may be the number and the depths of breaks in the reef. Channels (barras) are necessary if saveiros are to enter and leave the harbor. A brief comparison of the environmental placements of Arembepe and Jauá makes such limits clear. The harbor in Arembepe is between one-third and one-half the size of the port in Jauá. On the other hand, Arembepeiros have access to the harbor through five breaks in the reef, while there are only two channels in Jauá. The breaks are also shallower in Jauá

than in Arembepe. At very low tide, boats can neither enter nor leave Jauá's harbor. The reef openings in Jauá are also narrower than those in Arembepe. There is definite danger of boats' colliding with rocks especially in stormy weather. The fleet size in Jauá reflects these natural limitations. In winter, 1964, there were thirteen boats, only nine of them active in Jauá, as compared to 37 and 31 respectively in Arembepe.

The Marine Environment

Geological characteristics

What is apparently the most productive fishing engaged in by Arembepeiros takes place on the continental slope. The continental shelf, to be distinguished from the slope, is a submerged continuation of a vast coastal plain. The angle of dip of the shelf is accordingly very small. The world average width of the shelf is about thirty miles, and the conventional figure for its end and the beginning of the continental slope is a depth of 100 fathoms (Waters, 1951: 73). Both of these figures exceed the figures for the region just to the north of Salvador, where at no point in a stretch of thirty-three miles does the shelf extend out much beyond ten miles. From limits at Itapoanzinho Point to the south, and a point just south of the Jacuipe River to the north, a stretch of 33 miles, the average width of the shelf is 7.4 miles. The water is ten fathoms deep at approximately 1.2

miles from shore, twenty fathoms deep from 2.4 to 4.7 miles out, and the sharp drop that marks the beginning of the continental slope begins at an average depth of 32 fathoms. The shelf is wider and the angle of dip less in the upper fifteen miles of the 33 mile stretch, which includes Arembepe and points north¹ (Eldredge, 1963a: 2-3).

All of these features of the shelf and the beginning of the slope have been vital to the development of a fishing industry in Arembepe. The angle of dip determines how close to shore various species of fish will come without leaving their normal depths. The width of the shelf also determines species distribution, since the floor of the shelf can change four or five times in composition before it reaches the slope. The most crucial point is that the slope begins at a distance from shore which is not too great to prevent navigation and the demarcation of fishing spots and zones by the use of prominent landmarks. In this way, the fishermen of Arembepe, Jauá, and other fishing settlements are able to exploit the fauna which occur in deeper water with techniques of coastal navigation. The fishermen of Arembepe anchor at the edge of the slope and allow their lines to drift on the edge, catching fish from the 33 to two hundred fathom zones. The angle of the slope tends to

¹This was calculated by plotting on Hydrographic Map number 1522, Hydrographic Office, Department of Navy, fourteen points at a distance of 2.35 miles apart from Itapoanzinho Point to a point just south of the mouth of the Jacuipe River.

concentrate certain species in an area geographically smaller than would exist had the shelf extended further out (Eldredge, 1963a: 2, 3, 8).

The floor of the continental shelf differs locally, with occasional stretches of rocky bottom in towards shore, possibly with composition like that of the reefs, i.e., calcareous sandstone. The bottom, however, probably tends to follow a pattern of coarse muds in towards shore. This tends to create definite divisions in the water, which are also determined by the depth, and can be seen from the air or in a saveiro. The aerial view of the waters around Arembepe reveals a clear division between a muddy or pea-green zone from shore to fifteen fathoms, and a clear tropical blue which begins at about the fifteen fathom point. There are also areas of rocky bottom mixed with sandy and muddy stretches which parallel the shore, the effects of the action of the South Atlantic Drift (Roth and Brown, 1943: 195).

Variations in bottom structure determine to a great extent the fishing techniques which will be adopted in a given fishing community. The use of dragnets is handicapped, although not necessarily precluded, by the presence of rocky bottoms. Nets are used only when expenses of repairs are offset by the profitable exploitation of certain migratory fish species. The use of nets throughout the world tends to correlate with geological features of the

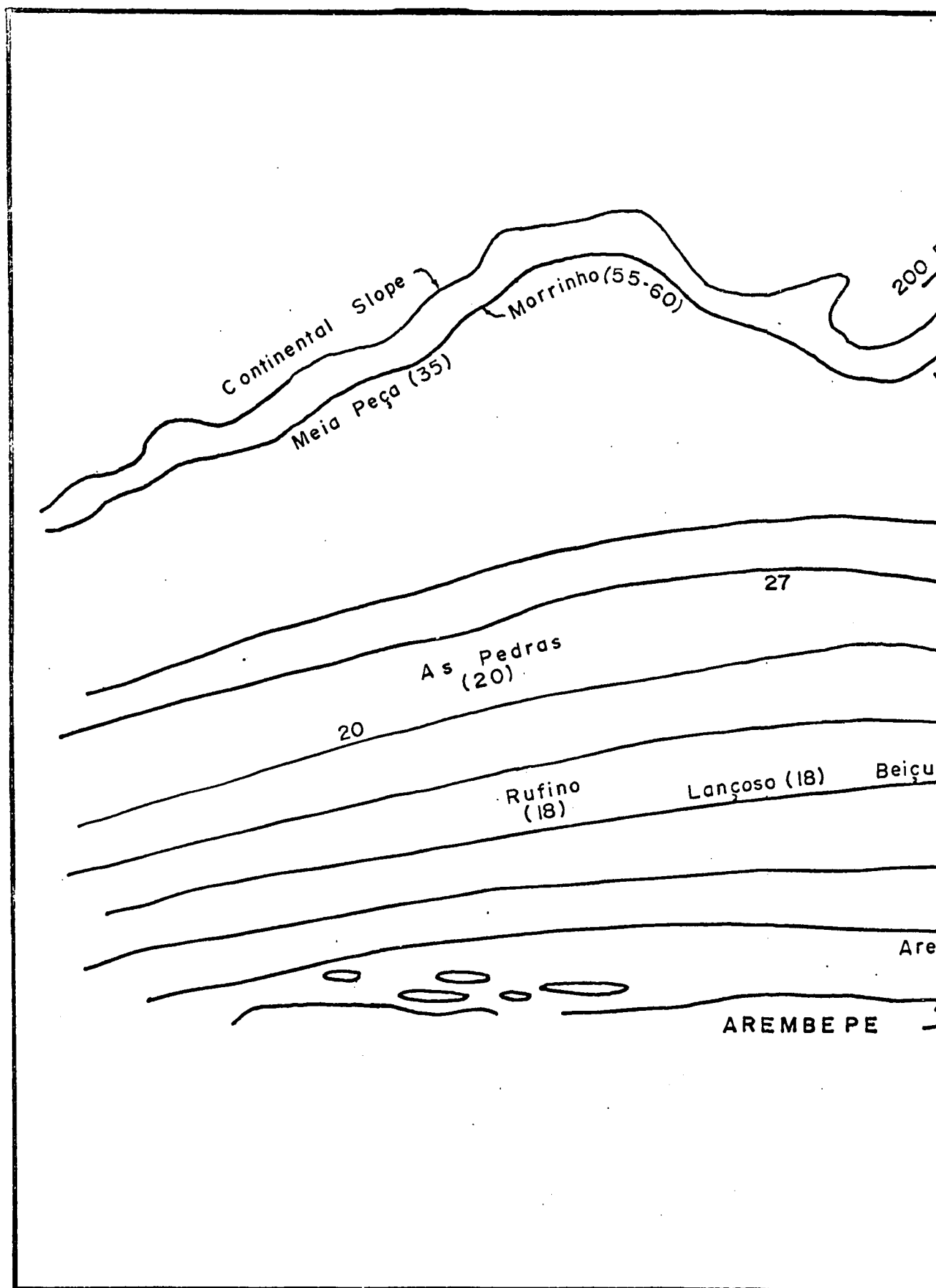
bottom, i.e., mud or sand versus rocks, and with the habits of the fish exploited.

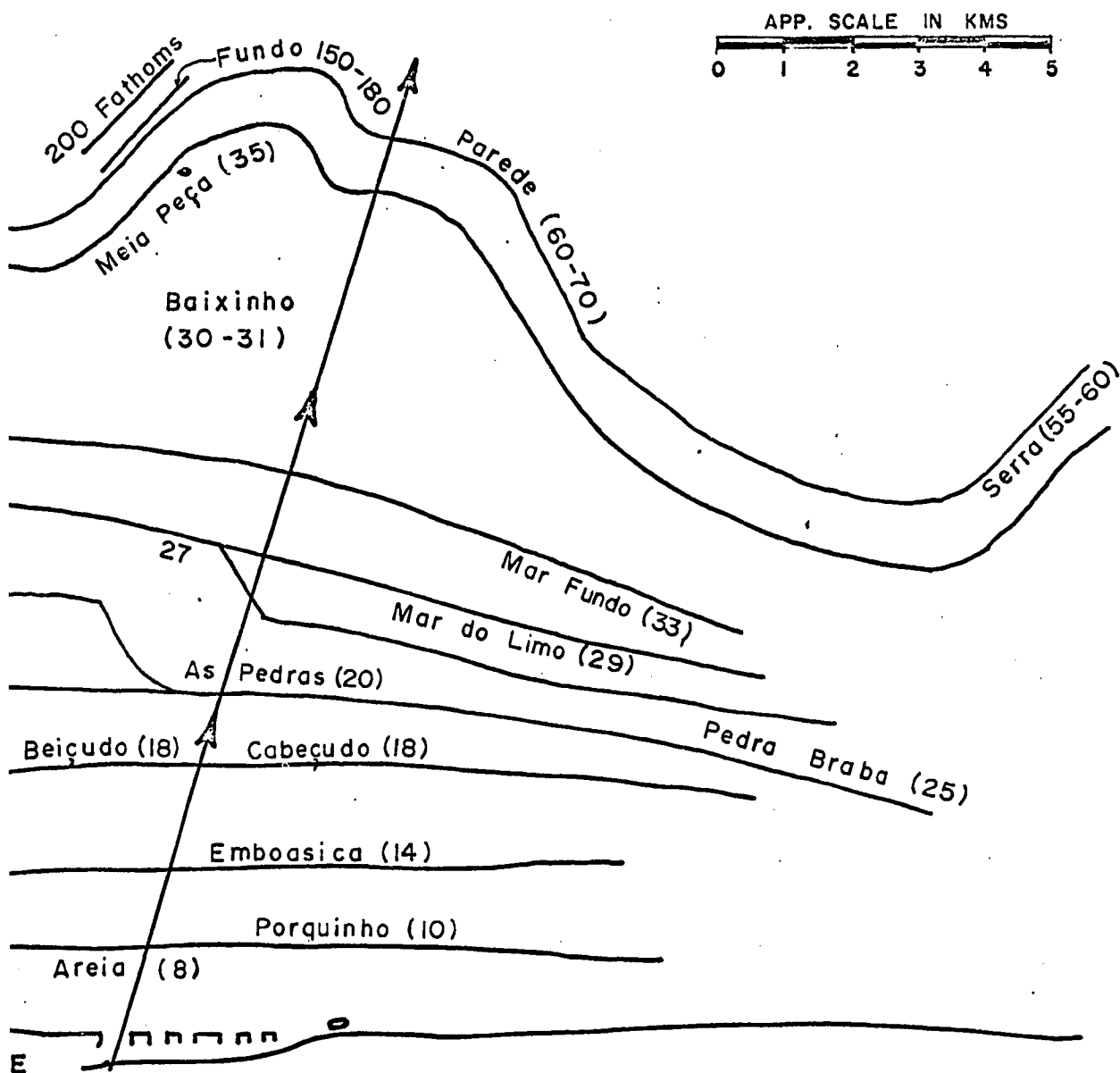
All fishermen in Arembepe are acquainted with variations in bottom composition and the corresponding concentration of fish species by definite zones. They are aware that the fish which they catch in winter differ from species caught in the summer and correctly attribute the differences to two factors: (1) seasonal migration of fish species and (2) weather conditions which often prevent winter exploitation of more distant fishing zones.

The fishermen's awareness of fishing zones

In discussing Arembepeiros' conceptions of fishing areas, one must distinguish between fishing zones--broad areas based on depth, bottom composition, and faunal assemblage--and fishing spots--smaller areas, generally over rocks, where saveiros anchor and fish for certain species. The relationship between the fishing spot and the fishing zone, the system by which fishing spots are discovered and used, the system of sightings, and the possibility of differential access to marine resources on the basis of limited knowledge of such spots will be more fully treated during the discussion of captains later in this chapter.

Map 4 is a representation of the ocean floor based primarily on maps drawn by two Arembepeiros. One will find it helpful to refer to Map 4 in the discussion which follows.





INFORMANT'S MAP OF OCEAN FLOOR

MARCH, 1966

The reader will follow the course of a hypothetical saveiro starting out from the harbor and sailing slightly to the southeast.

The saveiro leaves the harbor through one of the five openings in the reef. Each channel is named and varies between twenty and forty feet in width. (1) The first area over which the saveiro passes after leaving the harbor is a sandy zone called simply Areia ("sand"). It has a depth of eight fathoms¹ and is not commonly fished by saveiros. It is here that the small launch commonly anchors. (2) The next zone, Porquinho ("little pig"), has an average depth of ten fathoms and contains a long line of rather small rocks interspersed with sand. This zone, like the others to be described, runs parallel to the reef and is much longer than it is wide. (3) The saveiro passes over another area of sand which is unnamed and rarely fished. (4) The boat now draws over the first significant saveiro fishing zone, which is called Emboasica (proper name). With an average depth of fourteen fathoms, various rocky stretches are separated by sand. Other similar areas of mud and sand interspersed with rock follow until one reaches the next zone (5), which is called Cabeçudo ('a big headed person') with depths of 18 and 19 fathoms. Just to the north are three areas of the

¹Arembepeiros measure depths in braças, translated here as "fathoms." Each braça is equal to approximately six feet.

same depth and bottom composition, called Beiçudo ("a man with pouting lips"), Lançoso (proper name), and Rufino (proper name). A good deal of winter fishing is done in these four zones. (6) The next zone distinguished is called simply As Pedras ("the rocks") and ranges from depths of twenty through twenty-seven fathoms. Divisions to the north and the south within this zone have special names, e.g., Pedra Braba ("savage rock") to the south. Leaving "The Rocks," one passes over (7) Mar do Limo ("muddy sea") at 28 to 30 fathoms. Finally, after passing over an area of mud in which little fishing is done (8), Mar Fundo ("the deep sea"), the saveiro pulls over (9) Baixinho ("a bit deep"), a broad zone with depths of 30 to 32 fathoms extending north and south of the chartered route.

The most complex differentiation of fishing zones is on the shoreward side of the continental slope. Few zones on the shelf extend far to the north or south. On the other hand, transitional zones like Baixinho, and those on the slope itself, have wider extensions.

Zones on the slope.--The distance between zone one, Areia, and zone nine, Baixinho, the last zone on the shelf, is estimated by informants as farther than the distance between Arembepe and Abrantes (12 kilometers). This distance covers a very gradual change in depth from eight to 32 fathoms. After this, as the slope begins, there are more radical changes between 33 and 200 fathoms. Informants have

pointed out the distance between Baixinho and "200 fathoms" by referring to landmarks within Arembepe itself, none of which was more than 200 yards away. Zones which Arembepeiros distinguish on the continental slope are the following: (1) Meia Peça ("half-way") at 35 fathoms, (2) Parede ("the wall") at 60-70 fathoms, (3) Fundo ("deep") at 150-180 fathoms, and finally (4) Duzentos Braças ("200 fathoms"), the limit of saveiro fishing in Arembepe.

Fish species exploited: by zone

Arembepe fishermen realize that while fish species tend to concentrate according to depth and bottom composition, there are exceptions to the general rule. When a saveiro goes to a certain spot in zone X, fishermen expect to catch a certain species. There is usually a possibility that kinds of fish which are more common elsewhere will also be caught. There are, however, certain species which are never caught above certain depths, e.g., vermelho, a variety of snapper limited to sixty fathoms and deeper; cherne (black Jew-fish) which is never caught in water shallower than 150 fathoms; and piraroba and aracaroba, which are distributed between 120 and 150 fathoms. These fish species are more commonly sought in summer and fall than during the winter fishing season.

Eldredge (1963b: 15) has proposed the following broad differentiation of the ocean floor which Arembepeiros exploit: (1) sand bottoms, from shore to eight fathoms;

(2) rock and sand bottoms, from eight to twenty fathoms; (3) rocky bottoms from twenty to sixty fathoms; and (4) the rocky cliff area, beginning at a depth of sixty fathoms on the continental slope. Arembepeiros consider the fish which they catch over sandy bottoms to be "traveling through," i.e., according to Arembepeiros, all fish have their homes in rocks, although they may swim and feed over sand. For each species caught over a sandy bottom, Arembepeiros give two possible explanations: (1) the fish "like" sand; or (2) they are traveling over the surface and are unaware of bottom composition. Certain desmersal species such as mullet are uniformly associated with sandy bottoms. On the other hand, there are pelagic species which are associated with all bottom compositions of relevance to Arembepe fishermen, and which can stray from migratory shoals. Species of this kind include barracuda, albacore, mackerels, and jacks. The areas of sandy bottom are rarely used, except when the boats are confined to them by bad fishing weather.

The fish which are encountered in the second area, that of sandy and rocky bottom are generally those under a foot long, e.g., varieties of mackerels, jacks, and snappers. However, some zones in this area yield larger species. During the winter most fishing is confined to this area. The species which are commonly sought, and actually caught, are varieties of snapper (carapitanga, the yellow tail; dentão, the red snapper) and cioba, the mutton

fish. On the other hand, at least one man in every crew also baits a hook for a large fish like carnapú (black grouper), badejo (spotted Jew fish), and olho de boi (horse-eyed bonito).

In the intermediate area, between twenty and sixty fathoms, an absolutely wider range of fish species is exploited. During the fall, between February and June, most fishing in Arembepe is done in one of three 60 fathom zones where olho de boi (horse-eyed bonito) is sought. These three zones are known by the following names: Serra ("mountain"), to the southeast of Arembepe, Curral ("corral"), farther to the southeast, Morrinho ("little hill"), to the north of the settlement. The first and the third zones are those which Arembepeiros most commonly exploit. Fishermen from Jauá exploit only the southern zones, and those from Guarajuba confine their fishing to the northern zone. Arembepe's location allows a more intensive utilization of all three zones, so that in the event of unfavorable winds, a crew can fish in Curral rather than in Morrinho. Each zone is large enough to allow boats to line up and to fish within sight of one another. These three zones are just shoreward of "The Wall," (Parede), a sharp fall which Arembepeiros recognize on the continental slope.

The rapid fall to 180 and two hundred fathoms permits fishermen to exploit certain fish species which tend to occur only at seventy fathoms or deeper. Some of these

species have already been named and may be located by reference to Table 12.

TABLE 12

LARGE FISH SPECIES BY DEPTH RANGES AND
SEASONAL EXPLOITATION

Name of Fish	Depth range (Fathoms)	Months caught (R = run)
carnapu'	canal-35	all year
badejo (mero)	18-25-35	August (R)
dourado	14-26-60	Nov.-Jan. (R)
cavala	8-30-35	March (R)
dentão	12-14-35+	all year
cioba	12-14-35+	"
cherne	150	summer
enchova	27-35	Dec.-Jan.
caranha	canal-35	Dec.-Jan.-March (R)
pescada	all depths	all year
olho de boi	14,18,25,27,60	Feb.-June (R)
alvacora	canal-35	Nov.-March (R)
bonito	canal-35	Nov.-Jan. (R)
atum	35-70	Nov.-Feb. (R)
agulhão	35-70	summer (R)
sharks	open	Nov. (R)-all year
eels	canal-35-70	all year
rays	reef-35	"
pegador	all depths	"
garopa	30-33,35	"
piragia	15-35	"
piraroba	120-150	summer
aracaroba	120-150	summer
guaraiuba	4-35	all year
pampo	14-15,35	Nov.-Jan. (R)
aracanguera	14-15,35	Nov.-Jan. (R)

Fish species exploited: by season

Fishing depends on fish habits and also on seasonal weather conditions. For profitable exploitation, migratory

runs must coincide with weather conditions which permit saveiros to reach fishing grounds. In Table 13 I have indicated the ten fishing zones which are fished most commonly during the three named seasons of the Arembepe fishing year: winter, summer, and the fall "harvest" (saffra) of the olho de boi. It is important to note that in any fishing season, only the majority of boats will fish in the indicated grounds. Thus, there was one saveiro which constantly violated the schema by fishing at Parede (70-75 fathoms), normally a summer fishing zone, in August. Likewise there were boats which travelled to Serra to pursue olho de boi as late as August, and, according to informants, as early as January.

TABLE 13
COMMONLY FISHED ZONES BY SEASON AND DEPTHS

Name of Fishing Zone	Depths of Fishing Zone (Fathoms)
Zones Exploited in Winter (June to September)	
Catitim	13-14
Emboasica	14
Correia dos Duros	17-18
Cabeçudo	20
Correia das Pedras	20-25-27
Zones Exploited in Summer (October to February)	
Meia Peça	35
Parede	70 +
Zones Exploited in Fall (March to May)	
Serra	60
Morrinho	60
Curral	60

In Table 14, each of the common seasonal fishing zones has been numbered from one to ten. One through five are normal winter fishing grounds; six and seven are common sites of summer fishing; and eight through ten are the zones which are exploited during the harvest of the olho de boi. In Table 15, fish species listed on the left are distributed in the fishing grounds designated by numbers on the right. The referents of these numbers are the fishing zones listed in Table 14. While none of the fish species are found in

all of the zones listed, two species span eight zones; one spans five; two span four; four span three; five span two; and nineteen are generally restricted to one fishing zone.

TABLE 14

FISHING ZONES BY MONTHS OF MOST INTENSIVE EXPLOITATION

Name of Zone	Months Exploited
1. Catitim	June to August
2. Emboasica	June to September
3. Correia dos duros	June to August
4. Cabuçudo	June to August
5. Correia das Pedras	June to August
6. Meia peça	September-February
7. Parede	September-February
8. Serra	late February-June
9. Morrinho	"
10. Curral	"

TABLE 15
MOST COMMONLY CAUGHT LARGE FISH SPECIES BY ZONES

Name of Fish Species	Zones ^a									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
badejo	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x
dentão	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x
carnapú	x		x			x	x			
olho de boi		x						x	x	x
alvacora				x		x	x	x		
cavala				x		x		x		
jabú	x			x	x					
quatinga	x		x	x						
caranha	x					x			x	
carapitanga	x				x					
pirambeba	x				x					
biquara			x	x						
vermelho							x			x
cioba							x			x
rays			x							
gato	x									
garopa				x						
capado				x						
bonome				x						
bonito						x				
encnova						x				
agulhão						x				
aracangueira						x				
pampo						x				
guaraçaim						x				
paramirim							x			
cherne							x			
piraroba							x			
saromonete							x			
atum							x			
cavala aipim							x			
pescada								x		

^aSee Table 14

In Table 16, one can see the nature of the fishing cycle in Arembepe. A greater variety of fish is caught in the spring and summer, between September and February, than during the fall. According to informants, fishing activity intensifies in November, and several fish species have runs from November through March. These fish are indicated in Table 12. In the winter, approximately the same number of different maritime fish species is exploited as in summer, in addition to other species which can be caught on or from the reef and the beach. This wider exploitation of the zone closest to shore reflects weather conditions which shift the emphasis of the Arembepe fishing economy from cash to the food quest. During the "harvest" of the olho de boi, the variety of fish species exploited falls as the quantity of olho de boi caught rises. From February through the first half of June, fishing in Arembepe becomes a specialized activity, during which the olho de boi commands high prices from buyers from Salvador. Informants did not agree on which of the three seasons was most lucrative. All concurred, however, that the winter season was worst. Some talked of the greater amount of fishing done in summer, while others spoke in glowing terms of the quantity of olho de boi which could fill one saveiro in two hours of fishing.

TABLE 16
FISH SPECIES CAUGHT ACCORDING TO SEASON

Name of Species	Winter	Summer	Fall
jabú	x		
carapitanga	x		
badejo	x	x	x
piragia	x		
dentão	x	x	x
carnapú	x	x	
pirambeba	x		
biquara	x		
quatinga	x		
ohlo de boi	x		x
caranha	x	x	x
gato	x		
alvacora	x	x	x
cavala	x		x
garopa	x		
capado	x		
bonome	x		
agulhão		x	
aracangueira		x	
pampo		x	
guaraçaim		x	
vermelho		x	x
paramirim		x	
cherne		x	
piraroba		x	
saramonete		x	
atum		x	
cavala aipim		x	
cioba		x	
pescada			x
Total	17	17	8

Time required to reach fishing grounds

The farthest zone exploited by Arembepeiros is the two hundred fathom zone which lies on the continental slope. The longest distance normally travelled by saveiros is approximately seven and one-half miles from shore. During the summer and fall fishing seasons, more time is spent traveling than in the winter, when the closer zones are fished. The time required to reach Parede, the zone on the slope at seventy fathoms depth which marks the beginning of a sharp drop to 200 fathoms, is estimated as three hours' sailing time by informants. The closest zone which is normally fished in winter, Emboasica, requires one-half hour of sailing time. Informants estimate that rowing to given fishing zones takes twice the sailing time, and say that rowing is easier in summer when the seas are calm, "like glass," than in winter, when they are often rough, but when there is also more constant wind.

The primary reason for the absence of motorized saveiros in Arembepe seems to be the lack of sufficient local capital to purchase even the smallest motors. The price of such motors is approximately four times that of a new saveiro fully equipped. Outsiders who have taken an interest in the Arembepe fishing industry have made plans for motorization. One resident of Salvador who has recently constructed a summer home in Arembepe planned to buy a motor for the saveiro which he commissioned in September, 1965.

Should motors be introduced, the range of the zones which saveiros could exploit would undoubtedly increase. Marine geological maps indicate an area fifty fathoms deep, an isolated island in deeper waters, just ten miles southeast of Jauá. Because of its distance, this zone is now unknown to fishermen in Arembepe, Jauá and Itapoan. With motorized fishing craft fishermen could exploit these banks, and perhaps increase their catches. I shall return to the possible effects of motorization on stratification in Arembepe later in the dissertation.

Technology of the Fishing Industry in Arembepe

There are only minor variations in the overall dimensions of saveiros in Arembepe. The maximal, minimal, and average dimensions are given in Table 17 .

TABLE 17
DIMENSIONS OF SAVEIROS

Dimension	Maximal	Minimal	Mean
Length	24' 7"	20' 9"	22' 3"
Beam	8'	6' 8"	7'
Depth (at Midship)	2' 7"	2' 2"	2' 4.5"

Size, wood, manufacturer, place of manufacture, and age of saveiro are factors which determine the price that Arembepeiros pay for a plank launch. The person who commissions a new boat agrees on price and dimensions of the saveiro with the carpenter.

A saveiro may be commissioned, in which case a prospective saveiro owner makes specifications to a carpenter, and they agree on a price. The price of a new saveiro fully equipped is slightly less than double the cost of an unequipped launch. Arembepeiros also buy used saveiros. The price of the vessel varies according to its age, navigability, the recency of repairs, and the current condition of the launch. The opportunity to buy a saveiro is theoretically open to all Arembepeiros, for the price (Cr 350,000 = \$175-200 U.S.) of a fully equipped saveiro was approximately equal to the average annual cash income of an ordinary fisherman in 1965.

In recent years Arembepeiros have found that carpenters in Gambôa do Morro, a settlement on the southern edge of the Bay of All Saints, will build saveiros for a lower price than carpenters closer to Arembepe. Knowing that four other saveiros in Arembepe had been made in Gambôa do Morro, Valter, a 28 year old saveiro captain, decided to travel there to commission his own boat. Following the example of other captains, he had decided that he no longer wished to divide his profits with his non-fishing co-owner, Anatalio,

a storekeeper. When Valter and his brother Tiradentes went to Gambôa do Morro in September, 1964, they agreed with the carpenter on a total price of Cr 160,000, for an unequipped plank launch. Valter paid Cr 90,000 on this occasion, with the understanding that he would bring the additional Cr 70,000 when the boat was ready. When Valter decided to commission his new launch, he was a successful captain who had owned half of a saveiro for two years. As half-owner he derived 12.5% of the boat's marketed catch, in addition to his 15% share as a crew member. His household budget of Cr 451,580 (See Appendix A) placed him 54th out of 118 households for which budget data are available.

Unlike most successful captains, Valter has no occupation other than fishing. To make a down payment on the new boat, Valter had to borrow money from his 26 year-old brother Tiradentes and from his first cousin (FBS) Otavio. Tiradentes loaned Valter Cr 50,000. As the owner of four shares in 3 saveiros, and a prominent local fish marketer, Tiradentes could afford to lend cash to his brother. In return, Valter allows Tiradentes to market the fish from his saveiro. Otavio, an even more successful captain than Valter, has no children and lives alone with his wife. He also had ready cash to lend Valter Cr 10,000. The final Cr 30,000 came from Valter's own savings.

When Valter sold his share of his former saveiro to Anatalio in October, 1964, he received Cr 45,000. With this

money, he repaid Otavio. With the remaining Cr 35,000, plus the money he earned fishing from October through December, Valter was able to make the final payment on his new launch in late December, 1964. Tiradentes will continue to derive profits from marketing Valter's fish until Valter can repay the borrowed Cr 50,000. Valter has been unable to cancel this debt, since he has invested most of his earnings since December, 1964 in equipping his new boat.

The additional expenses which he incurred after receipt of the saveiro, summarized in Figure 2, brought the cost of the fully equipped saveiro to Cr 306,400, almost twice the cost of the unequipped vessel.

He bought five oars, costing Cr 3,000 each, one for each member of the crew. The wooden oars, which are found in all saveiros in Arembepe, vary between nine and ten feet in length, in accordance with the size of the vessel. They are manufactured in Pé de Areia and Gajirús, settlements which lie along the road to Jauá. (Total cost--Cr 15,000.)

For the large and small sails of his new boat, Valter purchased 65 meters of cotton sail cloth for Cr 600 per meter (Cr 39,000). He bought two wooden masts. The larger cost Cr 2,000, while the price of the smaller was Cr 1,200 (Cr 3,200). The wood of which the masts are constructed (pau de cinza or lã de carvalho) comes from Açú and Coqueiros. One or two merchants from these estates occasionally bring ready-made masts to sell in Arembepe. The large and small

vergas, thinner poles to which the sail cloth is attached with sail rope, come from the same areas as the masts, and cost about the same (Cr 1,000 + Cr 2,000 = Cr 3,000).

Valter purchased rope for the anchor cord and to attach, lower, raise, and manipulate the sails in Feira de Santa Ana, the second largest city in the state of Bahia, located 100 kilometers west of Salvador. He paid Cr 500 per kilogram for the rope. Three hundred braças (at 6' to a braça, approximately 1800 feet) were needed for the anchor chord (filame). He bought an additional thirteen braças (78 feet of rope) to wrap around the sail (i.e., sail rope). Estimating 7.5 braças, or 45 feet per kilogram, it was necessary for Valter to buy 42 kilograms of rope. The length of rope per kilogram varies with its thickness. There are three grades. Valter bought the medium grade (Cr 21,000).

Also needed was a reel to lower and raise the anchor. This was purchased in Salvador (Cr 800). Other provisions for the saveiro included a gaff, costing Cr 300; a harpoon, costing Cr 1,000; and a barrel for carrying drinking water. The latter holds more than twenty liters, and costs Cr 4,500. Valter bought all three items in a Salvador supply store.

Valter paid Cr 41,600 for a cast net (tarrafa) which he commissioned in Arembepe.

Every active saveiro has its own mooring (amarração, corador) in the harbor. The base of the mooring is a rock weighing from 200 to 500 kilograms. Attached to the rock,

which is extracted from the reef, is an iron chain 45' long. Chain of this length may be purchased in Salvador for Cr 10,000. Depending on their thickness, these chains last about three years. There is no cost for the rock, which the captain, with the assistance of friends, extracts from the reef and sets in the sand or in shallow water. Moorings have been sold for as much as Cr 100,000, even though Arembepeiros contend that only the chain and not the site may be sold.

Valter is currently using a mooring site which belongs to Laurentino, a storekeeper who formerly owned boats in Arembepe. He has not yet decided whether to buy the mooring from Laurentino or to construct a new one of his own. When he purchased his new saveiro, he bought a new chain for the mooring.

All saveiros are painted with two or three bright colors. Valter and one of his crew members painted his boat inside and out. Two gallons of paint, each costing Cr 4,000 in Salvador, were required.

Finally, the captain or owner smears tar on the boat's keel. A can of tar, containing eighteen liters, costs Cr 7,000 in Salvador. Valter used only four liters to coat the keel (Cr 2,000).

Thus, Valter spent an additional Cr 146,400 for supplies, most of them essential to any saveiro in Arembepe. The

total cost of his boat was therefore Cr 306,400 with the cast net and Cr 264,800 without it.

Fig. 2 -- Costs of a Fully Equipped Saveiro

Materials

Unequipped <u>saveiro</u>		@	Cr 160,000	Cr 160,000
Cast net		@	41,600	41,600
Oars	5.	@	3,000	15,000
Sail cloth	65 m.	@	600	39,000
Large mast	1	@	2,000	2,000
Small mast	1	@	1,200	1,200
Poles (for sail attach- ment)	2	@	1,000 2,000	3,000
Rope (for sail and anchor)	42 kg.	@	500	21,000
Reel	1	@	800	800
Gaff	1	@	300	300
Harpoon	1	@	1,000	1,000
Barrel (for drinking water)	1	@	4,500	4,500
Paint (for hull)	2 gal.	@	4,000	8,000
Tar (for coating keel)	4/18 can	@	7,000	2,000
				Cr 306,400

The owner's outlay of capital does not end with the initial expenses of the boat. The costs which the owner encounters in the course of the year, merely to maintain his boat in seaworthy condition are summarized in Figure 3 .

The owner must buy sail cloth after one year, and sometimes even less. This is necessary despite the fact that sails are left on the upper beach to dry when the saveiros are not fishing. A new anchor cord is needed every six to eight months. Both the thin poles to which the sail cloth is attached and the masts must be replaced after an average of one year of use. The total cost of such annual repairs is approximately Cr 66,000. Minor repairs are required after two or three years. Nails get weak, and the saveiro must remain on the beach to be careened and caulked again. Three men in Arembepe know how to careen and caulk boats. Owners purchase caulking material in Salvador. In winter, 1965 the cost of caulking a saveiro varied between Cr 27,000 and Cr 30,000. Finally, the boat must be coated with tar five times per year. This amounts to approximately Cr 8,000 per annum. Thus, almost as soon as he finished paying for the initial equipment of his saveiro, Valter started to spend Cr 103,200 per year on repairs and replacement of worn equipment. Once he manages to earn enough to repay his brother and thus to regain control of the marketing of his fish, Valter will earn far more as sole owner (Cr 834,000 per yr. in 1964-65 for captain - sole owners in five men crews) than he would have made had he continued to share a boat with a non-fisherman (Cr 573,400 for captain-half-owners in 1964-65).

Fig. 3 -- Costs of Saveiro Maintenance

Materials

Sail cloth	65 m.	@ Cr 600	Cr 39,000
Masts	2	@ 2,000	
		1,200	3,200
Poles (for sail attachment)	2	@ 2,000	
		1,000	3,000
Rope (replaced each 6-8 mos.)	70 kg.	@ 500	35,000
Tar	20 liters	7,000	8,000
(5 times per year)		(per 18 liter can)	
			Cr 88,200

Labor

Careening and Caulking (every 2-3 yrs.)	30 spans	@ 1,000	15,000
			Cr 103,200

Returns from fishing for the non-fishing owner (Cr 261,000 per year if half-owner; Cr 521,000 per year if full owner) are reduced by the expenses (Cr 103,200) which he must normally incur to maintain the saveiro in seaworthy condition. I shall return to this point in my discussion of saveiro ownership.

Variation in boat cost

In Table 18 the purchase dates and prices of 21 of the thirty-one active saveiros in Arembepe in winter, 1965 are indicated. One observes a steady increase in the cost

of fully equipped saveiros in accordance with the general Brazilian inflation. By September, 1965 the carpenter in Gambôa do Morro who had provided Valter with an unequipped saveiro for Cr 160,000 was asking Cr 450,000 for a fully equipped vessel. In the same month, a captain in Arembepe was able to buy a saveiro which had fished since 1956 in Arembepe and Jauá for Cr 150,000. He bought the vessel with the understanding that he would pay for necessary repairs and equipment. Despite these additional expenses, he received a boat of his own, which allowed him to terminate a relationship with a non-fishing owner, for two-thirds of the price which he had been quoted for a new saveiro, fully equipped in Gambôa do Morro.

In Table 18 one observes the spiral in saveiro prices from 1958 to 1965. In Figure 4 the cost of a fully equipped saveiro is plotted against the cost of first quality fish per kilogram.¹ One sees from the graph in Figure 4 that the price which Arembepeiros receive for their fish has risen more rapidly with the general inflation than has boat cost. If the same ratio of fish price to saveiro cost held in 1965 as in 1962, the earliest date for which both figures are available, one would expect the 1965 cost of fish to be only Cr 434 per kilogram. The actual cost of a

¹Three qualities or classes of fish are recognized in Arembepe. Prices which Arembepeiros receive from external agents for their fish vary according to the market price of different fish species in Salvador and Itapoan. This will be discussed more fully in Chapter IV.

TABLE 18
INFLATION IN COST OF FULLY EQUIPPED SAVEIRO

Year	Cost in <u>cruzeiros</u>	Exchange rate: ^a Cr. per \$1.00 U.S.	Cost in U.S. dollars
1958	80,000	139	575.54
	73,200		526.62
1959	80,000	204	392.16
	80,000		392.16
	80,000		392.16
1960	100,000	205	487.80
	112,000		546.34
	122,000		595.12
1961	160,000	319	501.57
1962	120,000	475	252.63
	120,000		252.63
	125,000		263.16
1963	140,000	620	225.81
	142,000		229.03
	180,000		290.32
	200,000		322.58
1964	210,000	1,500	140.00
	240,000		160.00
	250,000		166.67
1965	300,000	1,800	166.67
	306,000		170.00
estimate 9/65	450,000		250.00

^aExchange rates from 1958 through 1963 are taken from Statistical Yearbook, 1964, 16th issue. Rates for 1964 and 1965 are those which prevailed in Bahia during the periods of fieldwork, June through August of both years.

\$ CR. 1,000

800

700

600

500

400

300

200

100

0

— COST OF 1,000 Kg. OF FISH
- - - COST OF SAVEIRO

1958

1959

1960

1961

1962

1963

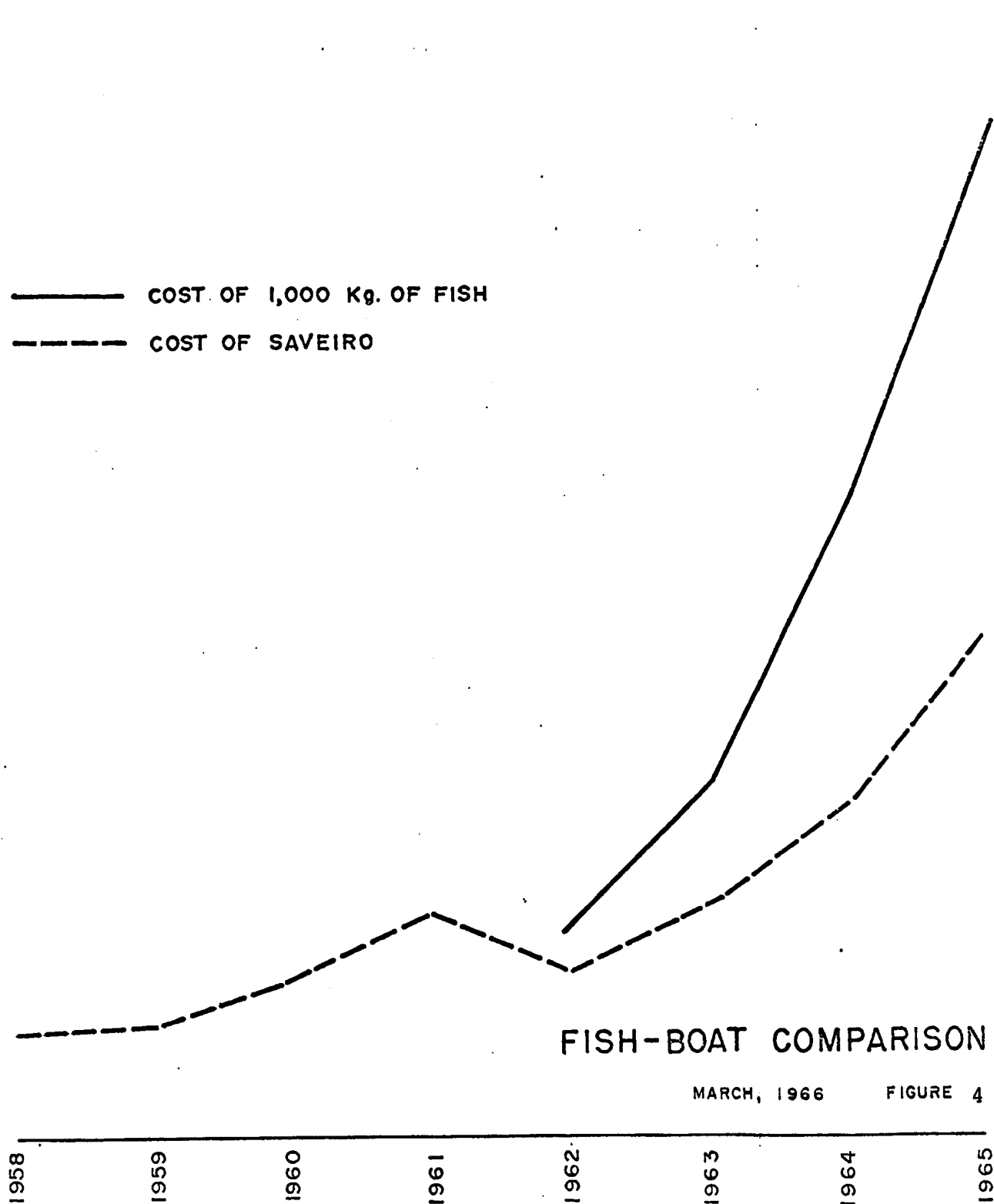
1964

1965

FISH-BOAT COMPARISON

MARCH, 1966

FIGURE 4



kilogram of first quality fish in winter, 1965 was Cr 700. When I left the community in August, 1965 the price of fish had just increased to Cr 750 per kilogram. I am unable to explain this differential in inflation. Nevertheless, this fact has operated to the advantage of the fishermen. This may be one important factor in the tendency for fishermen to purchase their own boats, a point to which I shall presently return.

Manufacture of launches

Only a few of the saveiros in Arembepe have been manufactured in the community. Mario, aged 72, and his son, Aluísio, are the only saveiro carpenters in Arembepe. Aluísio alone is active. Mario, the local port captain, learned to build and repair plank launches in 1919 on the island of Itaparica in All Saints' Bay. Mario has taught his son how to repair saveiros. Aluísio can now make a saveiro from start to finish. Since a single carpenter does not have enough time to repair all of Arembepe's saveiros, some owners and captains take launches to carpenters in Praia do Forte.

There have been periodic shifts in the sites of manufacture of the saveiros which fish from Arembepe. Approximately twenty years ago, most were made in Arembepe, when there were three active carpenters. Following this, saveiros were commissioned at two sites, Manguinho and Mar Grande, both located on the island of Itaparica. Because of the island's proximity to Salvador and the greater demands for

saveiros both in the capital and on the island itself, the price of a new saveiro made by an Itaparica carpenter is higher than an equivalent boat made in Gambôa do Morro, where most villagers now commission boats. Arembepeiros find that the cost differential makes the extra day's voyage to Gambôa do Morro worthwhile.

The saveiro as a long-term investment

The relatively short lifespan of most saveiros acts to preclude the transgenerational perpetuation of ownership differentials. Only four of the boats which fished in Arembepe in winter, 1964 had been inherited. The oldest saveiro in Arembepe is said to be more than forty years old. According to the memories of the oldest informants, this boat has been repaired at least five times. Only five boats in the village are over twenty years old. All of them were made in Arembepe. The average age of all saveiros is 11.3 years. The frequency of major repairs tends to increase with the age of the boat. Newer boats must undergo major repairs after an average of seven years of constant use.

The cost of major repairs reflects the condition of the boat and the time required to rebuild it wholly or partially. Aluísio, the carpenter, received Cr 2,500 per day in 1965. It took him more than two months of regular work to rebuild one saveiro. Thus, the cost to the owner was at least Cr 120,000. Yet, another Arembepeiro was able to purchase a

used boat, unequipped, in good condition for slightly more than Cr 150,000 in September, 1965.

The high cost of major repairs helps to explain why many Arembepeiros prefer to commission new boats or to buy used vessels in good condition. The cost of a new boat is said to pay off in terms of a longer lifespan. Major repairs are not necessary so soon. Only when there is an opportunity for real savings will an Arembepeiro buy a second-hand launch and have it repaired.

Relations of Production

Among saveiro owners and fishermen in Arembepe there are no cleavages of socio-economic stratification. There are, however, discernible variations in socio-economic rank within the one class--a community extension of the Brazilian national lower class. These rank differentials, when based solely on role in fishing production and not on other factors, such as role in the marketing system, store ownership, ownership of coconut trees, or farming, can distinguish only two broad groups--owners and non-owners. While rank within Arembepe correlates with saveiro ownership, this ownership is not a completely reliable diagnostic. According to any mode of calculation, there are boat owners who are ranked in inferior positions relative to non-owners, and conversely. In addition, there are factors of age which intervene to prevent the behavioral differentiation of two such groups on the land.

Thus, a non-owner of seventy years will receive greater deference or will command more respect from other Arembepeiros than a 30 year old owner.

In addition to the two groups distinguished above, functional or behavioral differentiation may be made according to role in fishing production: non-fishing owners, fishing owners, and fishing non-owners. Fishing owners are usually captains, but sometimes ordinary fishermen.

To summarize, empirical bases for differentiation within the fishing industry are indicated in the following paradigm:

Owners	Non-owners ^a
non-fishing	----
captains	captains
ordinary fishermen	ordinary fishermen

^aWere the entire population being considered here, it would be possible to fill in the empty box of non-fishing non-owners, i.e., all other Arembepeiros.

Finally, there is a potential broad differentiation between producer and distributor, which will be evaluated in Chapter IV.

The ownership of saveiros

The saveiro, fully equipped, is the largest capital resource within the Arembepe fishing industry. Its cost is

approximately double that of the trammel net or of the canoe, the second largest investments. The owner of any saveiro in Arembepe receives approximately 25% (o quinto--the owner's share) of the total catch. It is impossible to state this percentage accurately, because of variations among contributions which different saveiros make to the Fishermen's Society. Theoretically, owners withdraw ten per cent of the total marketed catch for the Society. When no fish, or very little fish is sold, there is no contribution. Actually, the amount given averages between two and three per cent of the total annual marketed catch. If ten per cent actually went to the Society, the owner's share would be 25% of the remaining 90%, or 22.5% of the total marketed catch. As the system operates, assuming a share of two per cent to the Society, the owners of a saveiro divide a profit of 24.5% of the marketed catch, and one-fourth of fish used for subsistence.

The annual marketed catch of the average saveiro in Arembepe is approximately Cr 2,100,000.¹ The owner's share of this income would be approximately Cr 500,000, thus allowing him, even after annual maintenance expenses of

¹This figure is calculated on the basis of an average annual catch of 3,500 kilograms of fish per boat, at an average price of Cr 600 per kilogram between 1964 and 1965. A similar estimate of annual saveiro earnings was obtained assuming that the 1965 contributions to the Fishermen's Society represented 2% of the annual marketed catch.

Cr 100,000 have been deducted, to more than recoup his original capital outlay within less than a year.

In Table 19 saveiro owners are divided according to their roles in fishing production. In Table 20 the distribution of shares¹ in boats per individual is indicated for all saveiros, active and inactive, in Arembepe in 1964 and 1965.

¹In each saveiro there are two potential shares. This is a convenient extrapolation from the existence of co-ownership in nineteen saveiros. The maximal number of owners per boat is two. In the past, however, four men co-owned saveiros in Arembepe. An informant who arrived in Arembepe in 1914 reported that most of the fourteen boats which fished from Arembepe then had four owners. The decrease in the number of owners per boat is probably a function of increased contact with the Salvador market, which has increased cash incomes of all Arembepeiros. As Salvador has grown, access of Arembepeiros to the city has increased. There has been a steady decline in the number of middlemen involved in marketing fish for Arembepe. This will be discussed further in Chapter IV. Correspondingly, fishermen have received a larger percentage of the price of their fish on the Salvador market. This has been especially evident since 1950, when the first Salvador agents arrived in Arembepe in jeeps with four wheel drive. Fishermen could then market their fish directly, eliminating a number of local fish distributors. Because their access to cash has expanded, fishermen's dependence on the capital of local businessmen has been reduced. Profit sharing by more than two owners would be even more unprofitable for the saveiro captain than the current co-ownership arrangement. Captains are now able to accumulate sufficient capital to buy their own boats. There is an increasing tendency for fishermen to be the sole owners of saveiros.

TABLE 19

BOAT OWNERSHIP ACCORDING TO OWNERSHIP ARRANGEMENT
AND FISHING ROLES OF OWNER(S)

Fishing Roles of Owner(s)	Number of Active <u>Saveiros</u>	
	1964	1965
1. Co-owned by captain and non-fisherman	18	16
2. Single non-fishing owner	7	8
3. Single owner, an ordinary fisherman	2	1
4. Single owner, a captain	2	4
5. Co-owned by ordinary fisherman and non-fisherman	1	1
6. Co-owned, both owners fish in boat. One is boat's captain	1	2
Total	31	32

TABLE 20
 OWNERSHIP OF SAVEIROS ACCORDING TO HALF SHARES
 PER INDIVIDUAL

Number of Individuals (owning)	Number of Half Shares	Total Half Shares
<u>Active Boats</u>		
<u>1964</u>		
2	4	8
2	3	6
12	2	24
24	1	24
		62 (31 boats)
<u>1965</u>		
3	4	12
0	3	0
12	2	24
26	1	26
		62 (31 boats)
<u>All Boats (Active and Inactive)</u>		
<u>1964</u>		
1	6	6
1	5	5
2	4	8
1	3	3
14	2	28
24	1	24
		74 (37 boats)
<u>1965</u>		
0	6	0
0	5	0
3	4	12
1	3	5
13	2	26
27	1	27
		70 (35 boats)

Limitations to the control of the fishing industry by non-fishermen

One sees from the data in Table 20 that there were notable changes in the allocation of saveiro ownership between 1964 and 1965. These changes suggest that the number of shares which one individual can own are limited, specifically to four. In winter, 1964 there were two Arembepeiros, one a storekeeper, the other the saveiro carpenter and local police official, who owned six and five saveiro shares respectively. However, while owning these shares, neither profited from them. In fact, the storekeeper, Laurentino, profited from none of his three boats, as all were inactive. Aluísio, the carpenter, derived food and income from only three shares in two active boats. The third boat, of which he was full owner, remained inactive. By 1965 he had sold the boat to a friend in Itapoan. In 1965, the maximal number of saveiro shares owned by a single individual was four.

The specific limitations to the control of the fishing industry by non-fishermen relate to a scarcity of willing captains and to a general shortage of fishing personnel in Arembepe.

The non-fishing owner derives little from investment in a saveiro if he is not associated with a reliable and competent captain. Yet, as will be shown in the following sections, the most ambitious and industrious young captains earn enough to buy their own boats and prefer to do this rather than to enter into a partnership with a non-fisherman.

Those captains who are attracted into association with non-fishermen tend to be less ambitious and to produce smaller catches.

The scarcity of local fishing labor also limits non-fishermen's control over the fishing industry. Informants often attributed the failure of a particular saveiro to fish on a given day to the absence of sufficient men to form a crew. They also explained the perpetual idleness of some perfectly seaworthy boats, which had been beached, to a scarcity of crew members.

In fact, there are very few fishermen in Arembepe who do not have regular positions in saveiro crews. Villagers who seek crew positions have little trouble finding them. In 1964 there were 127 fishermen for 31 active saveiros. This is 28 men less than the number required to staff all 31 boats with crews of five. It is also 21 less than would be needed to fill the 37 active and inactive boats in Arembepe with four-men crews. Like the increasing tendency for captains to buy their own boats, which will be discussed under Fishing Owners, the scarcity of local fishermen must be explained in terms of increased employment opportunities open to Arembepeiros outside of the settlement. Young men leave Arembepe to seek salaries which are better than those in fishing.

The scarcity of fishing personnel also acts to limit the further expansion of the saveiro fleet, which seems to

have stabilized at 31 boats in 1959. It also allows marinheiros to choose carefully among the crews with which they affiliate, and insures a great deal of shifting around among different crews. Crew members can sever connections with captains and saveiro owners whom they dislike or do not trust.

Laurentino, a 50 year old storekeeper, is perhaps the best example of a non-fisherman who has suffered because of the scarcity of local labor. Laurentino used to own four boats simultaneously. Because he had increasing difficulty in recruiting captains and crews, he was forced to retire each of these boats one by one. Most Arembepeiros suspect Laurentino of working with the devil in candomblé. They do not trust him and fear the "demon" which lives in his house. Others simply do not like him because he refuses to extend credit in his two stores. Laurentino tried to sell his four saveiros, but he found a buyer for only one. In 1965, he destroyed the three remaining boats, since all needed major repairs and his efforts to find crews had been in vain.

The fifteen non-fishing boat owners in Arembepe accumulated the capital reinvested in saveiros through non-fishing activities. Thus, in winter, 1964 they participated in the following occupations: (1) three major storekeepers, owning nine shares in five saveiros; (2) one agriculturalist-businessman from Arembepe, now residing in Cacimba Grande

(4 shares in 3 boats); (3) one fish marketer (one share in one boat); (4) one saveiro carpenter and subdelegate (5 shares in 3 boats); (5) one house carpenter and marketer of coconuts (2 shares in 2 boats); (6) one small scale storekeeper, landowner, and marketer of coconuts (2 shares in 2 boats); (7) one caretaker of the Arembepe estate, former municipal councilman, and owner of coconut trees (2 shares in 2 boats); and (8) three women who inherited shares in saveiros from husbands who had been fishermen. By August, 1965 the three major storekeepers no longer owned any saveiro shares. One had destroyed 3 boats. Another had sold his boat to a middle-class resident of Salvador who spends summer vacations in Arembepe. The third had sold his launch to a Petrobras employee. For apparently the first time, no major storekeepers were owners of saveiros.

Non-resident owners

There is little in the Arembepe saveiro industry to attract outside capital. Only six non-resident, non-fishermen owned eleven shares in seven boats in winter 1965. A potential saveiro owner must come to Arembepe, participate in community life, and choose among Arembepeiros who have differential qualifications to be captain of his boat. Unless the captain is exceedingly trustworthy, or unless owner and captain are lifelong friends, the outsider, especially the middle class outsider, chooses a respected person in Arembepe to take care of his saveiro. Thus, it was only

natural for Dr. Jorge, one of the owners of the estate on which Arembepe is located, to ask Selino, the administrator of his estate, to take care of his two saveiros. Selino was thereby allowed to market the catches of two boats in addition to his own and to receive a clear profit of thirty cruzeiros per kilogram from all fish caught by Dr. Jorge's boats. The former owner of the two boats, a recently deceased Salvador fire department official and summer resident of Arembepe, had had a similar arrangement with Selino.

Most of the non-resident owners, however, are members of the national lower class, and many of them have roots in Arembepe. A good example is Salustino, a man born and raised in Arembepe who was fortunate enough to find a job with Texaco. His salary allowed him to commission a saveiro to fish from Arembepe in partnership with his friend Raul, who acts as captain. The association has lasted for six years. Raul markets the fish. When Salustino comes to Arembepe, or when Raul visits the latter in São Cristovão, they enjoy mutual hospitality, and they divide the owner's share of the saveiro. Nilton, a native of Arembepe employed by Petrobras, has arranged for a friend in Arembepe, the owner of shares in two saveiros of his own, to market the catch of the launch which Nilton recently bought.

Thus, while the saveiro owner plays no part in the productive process if he is not also a fisherman, he is actively interested in the marketing of fish. For this reason, he

either comes to Arembepe himself or he chooses a representative in Arembepe to insure and to share his profits.

Fishing owners

Captains may be grouped according to their differential ownership of saveiros. Captains may own all, half, or no share of the saveiros in which they fish. As a crew member, each captain receives the same share as an ordinary fisherman. In addition, he receives part of the owner's share. If he is sole owner of the boat, the captain receives 25% of the catch (the owner's share) in addition to his share as a crew member (15% of the catch in a five-man crew, and 18.75% of the catch in a four-man crew). If he is half-owner, he gets 12.5% of the catch (half of the owner's share). If he does not own the saveiro, the captain receives a commission of 25% of the owner's share.

In a five man crew, the captain gets 40%, 27.5%, or 20% of the saveiro's total cash income, as he owns all, half, or no part of the launch. If there are four crew members, he receives 43.25%, 30.75%, and 23.25% of the total catch.¹ While

¹Taking 3,500 kilograms of fish as the average annual marketed catch of an Arembepe saveiro, with Cr 600 per kg. as the average price received for fish between 1964 and 1965, captains received the following average annual incomes in accordance with number of shares owned and number of men in crew:

5 men crews

No. shares	Income
0	Cr 400,000
1	550,000
2	800,000

it would be to the captain's advantage to have only three ordinary fishermen in his crew, the most successful captains usually have four. A captain does not often refuse the request of a fisherman to join his crew if there is a vacancy, especially if the fisherman seeking a place is a kinsman. I shall return to this point under Crew Cohesion and Success. Since they are always half or full owners of their launches, successful captains also can more easily afford to sacrifice a differential of 3.75% in the crew member's share in four, as opposed to five, men crews.

Working from the record book of the Fishermen's Society, I have attempted to rank saveiros in order of their success. Their contributions to the Society are assumed to indicate their relative success, since it is generally the least successful saveiros which are most likely to cheat. These figures indicate that certain saveiros recurrently catch more fish than others. Some captains therefore receive annual cash incomes which are lower than those of some ordinary crew members. Thus, crew members who each receive fifteen per cent of the annual marketed catches of the five most successful saveiros have higher cash incomes and more

4 men crews

0	Cr 465,000
1	615,000
2	865,000

Because of crew instability, actual mean incomes are somewhere between the figures for four and five-men crews.

adequate standards of living than captains who own no shares in the least successful group of saveiros. For example, Souza, aged 36, is an ordinary fisherman on the boat which contributed the fourth largest sum to the Fisherman's Society in February, 1965. He estimated his earnings in 1964 as Cr 600,000 per year. By 1965, his income was Cr 750,000. Sambaqui on the other hand, is a captain-non-owner whose fishing is limited by alcoholism. His contribution to the Fisherman's Society in 1965 was lowest in a field of 25. Although he could not estimate his income, his household budget, Cr 528,940, was lower than Souza's (Cr 608,200) and would have been even less if his wife had not owned 100 coconut trees. Souza lives in a brick house, while Sambaqui lives in a wattle and daub hut which is threatening to fall momentarily. Souza also makes Cr 75,000 per year more from fishing than the non-fishing co-owner of his boat.

The above are the reasons why any ranking of fishing personnel either according to annual cash income or consumption patterns does not invariably place owners or captains in superior positions to ordinary crew members. The maximal household budget for an ordinary fisherman (Cr 608,000) exceeds the minimal budget for a businessman who also owns a saveiro share (Cr 488,900) and is more than three times the lowest budget of a non-owning captain (Cr 183,832) (See also Appendix A). There is only a tendency for captains to occupy higher positions in the fishing hierarchy than ordinary

fishermen, although the captain of a given saveiro invariably derives more cash income from fishing than do the single ordinary fishermen in that crew. This differential can range from more than twice as much for the captain who is also sole saveiro owner, to only 1.33 times as much, when the captain is not an owner.

Ten of the thirty-one captains in Arembepe in winter, 1964 lacked shares in their boats. Seven of them worked on a commission basis--por centagem. In addition to their shares as ordinary crew members, they received 25% of the owner's share. The other three were fishing for bandas, or half-interests in saveiros. Their commissions (25% of 25%) as captains remained with the owner and were applied to the original price of the fully equipped saveiro. These captains retained only their earnings (15% of the annual marketed catch) as crew members. Captains usually acquire bandas within from one to two years. When the captain becomes a co-owner, the arrangement is eventually recorded with the Port Authority in Salvador.

A limited period of fishing on a commission basis can be a more lucrative arrangement for a captain than fishing for a half-share. Were he to acquire half-interest, he would receive, for as long as his partnership lasted, only 27.5% of the catch (in a five-man crew). If the captain is ambitious, he may save sufficient money to purchase or commission a saveiro of his own, from which he will receive from 40 to

43.25% of the annual catch, depending on the size of the crew. Lifetime income is thereby greatly increased. The man who works as captain for a commission incurs none of the owners' responsibilities. He does not finance repairs, and he loses nothing if the launch is wrecked. In addition, he may gain a loyal crew which will move with him when he changes saveiro, or if he acquires a boat of his own.

In the past, fishing for half-shares seems to have been far more common than today. Buying shares outright has become the dominant pattern. This shift in the manner in which captains acquire shares in saveiros has previously been linked to a differential in inflation between boat cost and the price which Arembepeiros receive for their fish (See Figure 4). Captains now derive higher returns in proportion to their initial investments. They are in a position to recoup their original outlays of capital more rapidly. Expanded opportunities to fish on large trawlers operating from major Brazilian ports have also aided captains to accumulate sufficient capital to buy shares in saveiros outright.

Twenty-one of the thirty-one working captains in Arembepe owned all or half of their saveiros in winter 1964. Only seven of them (one-third) had acquired their shares by fishing according to the banda arrangement. The average age of these seven captains was 51.55 years. Eleven of the twenty-one had bought their shares outright. Their average age was

31.3 years. This indicates that younger captains tend to buy their shares outright, while older captains, whose opportunities to fish in major ports were more limited, have acquired their shares by fishing for them in Arembepe.

Seven of the eleven captains who have bought their shares outright have fished on large trawlers, while none of the ten captains who lacked shares in their saveiros have fished in any major port. By winter, 1965 all the captains who had fished commercially outside of Arembepe owned at least half of their launches.

Another ownership arrangement, in which the captain is sole owner of his launch, is encountered with increasing frequency. By September, 1965, five captains were full owners of their boats, whereas only two had been in 1964.

The shift in pattern described above was first suggested by Arembepeiros' statements. Successful captains represent profit-sharing with non-fishermen. Captains often asked the rhetorical question of why people who remain on the land and do no fishing should receive money from the work of others. In the past, when fishermen themselves had fewer sources of capital to reinvest in saveiros, they seem to have depended on local business, agricultural, and other land-oriented wage-earning activities for most of the capital invested in the fishing industry. Their dependence on non-fishermen is no longer so great, and they can sever these enervating relationships.

Structure of the saveiro crew

Ninety-seven ordinary fishermen and thirty captains resided in Arembepe in winter, 1964. There are five fishermen, including one captain, who come, with varying degrees of frequency, from agricultural estates to the west. About ten others come to Arembepe from Praia do Forte, Monte Gordo, Jacuipe and other settlements, to fish in summer and fall.

Most Arembepe fishermen have lugares certos, definite places in crews. A smaller number have regular second choices, crews in which they fish when their usual saveiro does not go out.

An examination of the careers of Arembepe fishermen will illustrate important conditions which preclude the stratification of personnel in the saveiro industry. In the course of their lifetimes, most Arembepe fishermen are normally placed in a number of different boats, of variable success, and other individuals occupy a series of differentially productive working roles.

In winter, 1964, the youngest fisherman in Arembepe was thirteen years old. Five of the adult fishermen who were interviewed claimed to have begun fishing when they were ten years old. It may be that the age at which boys began to fish is increasing, as expanded employment opportunities outside of the settlement compete with the local fishing

industry.¹ The mean age at which all fishermen have begun to fish is 17.1 years. A boy who wants to start fishing generally asks his father or another close kinsman to take him out in a saveiro for the first time. Lacking such a kinsman, the boy may have more difficulty, but eventually he finds a captain to take him out and someone to teach him how to fish. The boy goes through a period as an apprentice fisherman. He is often assigned to the third bench of the saveiro, that of the anchor man. The period of apprenticeship varies with individual aptitude. Some fishermen are still considered to be apprentices at age nineteen, while others of the same age have already become saveiro captains. The current distribution of ordinary fishermen according to age brackets is shown in Table 21.

The youngest captains in Arembepe in winter, 1964 were twenty and twenty-one years old. They were rather unusual cases. One of them, Fernando, had borrowed money from his oldest brother in order to buy a saveiro in association with his next oldest brother, Noca. While Noca had gone to Rio to fish commercially for a year when he was twenty, Fernando stayed in Arembepe and fished, first as an ordinary

¹The later age at which individuals begin to fish cannot be attributed to competition from local schooling. As was shown in Chapter II, Arembepeiros had greater educational opportunities within the settlement prior to ten years ago than today. On the other hand, the children of the most successful fishermen may be studying outside the community, preparing for careers in oil or in other outside employment.

TABLE 21
ORDINARY FISHERMEN ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS

Age Group ^a	Ordinary Fishermen	
	Number	Percentage
10-19	14	14.9
20-29	19	20.2
30-39	14	14.9
40-49	12	12.8
50-59	15	16.0
60-69	11	11.7
70 +	9	9.6
Total	94	100.1

^aFew of the older fishermen were able to state their ages with certainty. This is a result of sporadic registration of births. Only a few of the older fishermen have been registered in their parents' names. Thus, their ages were estimated by asking them when they came to Arembepe and how old they were on arrival in the community. Other ages were estimated by comparison with Arembepeiros whose births had been recorded with the municipal government.

fisherman, then as a captain for one year. When Noca returned to Arembepe, he was unacquainted with the captain's role, while Fernando was more experienced. Thus, Fernando acts as captain, while Noca assumes most of the responsibilities for the boat, including books and repairs, when it is not fishing.

Both brothers seem to be satisfied with what they regard as an equitable division of labor and profits.

Berto, aged 21, is another young captain. His god-father, the saveiro carpenter, had a saveiro made for Berto to captain. However, Berto did not want to be a saveiro fisherman, and hoped to find a job in Salvador. While he waited in Arembepe to hear the results of examinations which he had taken in order to obtain employment in the city, he occasionally acted as captain of the saveiro in which he regularly fished.

Thus, it is relatively early within their fishing careers that captains and ordinary fishermen are distinguished. This differentiation may emerge either in Arembepe or when a young fisherman leaves Arembepe and receives greater income for a period of commercial fishing. Such a period away from home helps to establish the young fishermen as an economically responsible adult when he returns to the community. Approximately half of the young men who are now fishing commercially outside the settlement are likely to become captain-owners of saveiros when they return. This prediction is based on the fact that nine of the 31 captains in Arembepe in winter, 1964 had fished commercially, while only seven of 97 ordinary fishermen had similar histories. While 30% of all captains have fished commercially, only seven per cent of the current ordinary fishermen have done so.

A young man considers himself to be a regular or adult fisherman when he receives an identity card from the Port Authority in Salvador. He must apply for such a card to Mario, the local port captain. Most older fishermen lack these cards. Informants asked why old men needed cards to fish in Arembepe. They correctly pointed out that there is no one who can stop them from fishing. Identity cards do not differentiate between captains and ordinary fishermen.

From the figures in Table 22, one sees that the group of captains is about five years younger than the group of ordinary fishermen. Likewise, the oldest captain is approximately thirty years younger than the oldest ordinary fisherman. On the other hand, the youngest captain, aged twenty, is not significantly older than the mean age of beginning fishermen. The comparative youth of the captains as compared to the ordinary fishermen is indicative of the existence of a younger generation of fishermen, generally in their twenties, currently fishing commercially in a major Brazilian port.

Finally, the younger age of captains is a result of the fact that men who served as captains during the prime years of their life, between ages 25 and 50, retire from the captain's role when physical debilities of advancing age begin to tax the effort they can expend in fishing. Those captains who were formerly successful can usually afford to give up the more strenuous obligations of captainship,

because they are receiving incomes from coconut trees and other alternative sources of wealth which they have built up during their active years. I shall return to this point.

TABLE 22
AVERAGE AGES OF FISHERMEN IN AREMBEPE BY FISHING ROLES

Fishing Role	Number	Average Age (years)
1. All fishermen	127	40
2. Captains	31	36.8
3. Ordinary fishermen	97	41.2
4. Captain-co-owners	21	38.5
5. Captain-non-owners	10	33.0
6. Captains who have fished in major port	9	30
7. Captain-co-owners who have not fished in major port	12	45.7

Within any crew in Arembepe, the following types may be encountered: (1) captains; (2) ordinary fishermen; (3) former captains; and (4) captains-to-be. From this distribution, it is obvious that captains can never constitute a stratum, i.e., there can be no clearcut nor lifelong differentiation between captains and ordinary fishermen because there is a constant flow from one category to another.

The role of the captain

The saveiro crew is always a working unit. The bonds between captain and crew members are generally stronger than those which unite either captain and non-fishing owner, or ordinary fisherman and non-fishing owner. One could contrast relations of production in the Arembepe fishing industry with a factory in an industrialized nation. In the factory, managers, who are the structural equivalents of captains, tend to be more closely allied with owners than with workers, the structural equivalents of ordinary fishermen. Captains manage fishing operations. They are responsible for crew mobilization, the decision to fish on a given day, where to fish, and navigation. If the captain is also co-owner of the boat, his functions are expanded. It is generally he who keeps records of the catches, who delivers his saveiro's contribution to the Fishermen's Society, who decides when the saveiro needs to have repairs and arranges to have them made. When the captain fishes on a commission basis, such responsibilities usually devolve on the non-fishing owner.

Yet the captain is also a worker. When the saveiro has arrived at a fishing spot, and after the anchor has been lowered, the captain begins to fish like all of the other crew members. He sits in the sun and the rain and gets splashed when there are rough seas. His line may be nylon rather than cotton, and he may fish with lures which are not normally found in the boxes of ordinary fishermen, but there

are always non-captains whose catches exceed or equal his own. The special skills required to be captain end when fishing begins. They resume only when the captain gives the order to draw anchor and set sail, and they end again when all fish have been unloaded, and resume only on the next fishing day. If his share of the catch is larger, his risks are also somewhat greater. He remains in the boat longer than the other fishermen and organizes the beaching of a boat if a storm comes up. If he is the co-owner or sole owner of the vessel, he faces the possibility of losing his investment through accidents and wrecks, and he assumes financial responsibility for all repairs.

The captain is distinguished from ordinary fishermen on the basis of his different behavior within the boat. The captain is not the holder of an ascribed status position. He is not born to be a captain, and he will probably spend much of his adult life in other roles. Because of these considerations, as well as because of the income differentials among them, captains can never compose a stratified group.

The captain is the ruler in the boat. When the members of the crew have assembled and the day's fishing begins, the captain is clearly in command of his crew. He has "authority," the socially sanctioned ability to control the actions of others. All Arembepeiros admit that in the saveiro it is the captain who is in charge and who gives commands and expects to have them obeyed. Should he be dissatisfied

with the personalities or the performances of any members of his crew, he may force them to seek positions elsewhere. Thus, the captain also has power, i.e., he exercises authority and exacts action, deference, and obedience from crew members. Never, however, does the primary position which the captain occupies in the boat extend to social life on the land.

Behavior in saveiros

A saveiro normally carries a maximum of five crew members, a captain and four ordinary fishermen. Actual fishing crews generally include from three to five people. While there are occasional crews of two and six men, there are no boats in Arembepe which regularly operate with such crew sizes. There is one man acting as captain in every saveiro. The captain normally stands and fishes from the stern of the boat. Moving towards the prow, the next position is that of the esgoteiro (bailer) or of the contramestre (assistant captain). Which of these terms will be applied to the man who sits in this position depends on whether he occasionally assumes a position at the rudder when the captain is otherwise employed, or if he is simply an old man who bails and never performs any of the captain's functions. One captain told me that this position, in which splashing is generally least, was reserved for old men, in respect for their age. The central position is that of the anchor man or vão da corda. The anchor rope is coiled at his feet,

between the third and fourth positions from the rear of the boat. The anchor man drops and draws in the anchor when the captain gives the order, although other crew members invariably help him. On the next bench is the sotaproa, and the final bench is occupied by the proeiro, or "the man who sits in the prow." Both of them raise and lower the sail, and both assist the anchor man, who also helps them.

All Arembepe fishermen are aware of the named positions above. This division among ordinary crew members remains, however, nominal or ideal. The only real functional distinction is that between the captain and the rest of the crew. It is only the captain whose verbal and non-verbal behavior is regularly different from that of other crew members. It is only the captain whose role in the fishing boat is ever carried over to certain land activities, e.g., repairs, keeping records, and certain functions within the Fishermen's Society.

The fishing day begins as fishermen assemble on the beach to survey the condition of the ocean. If the captain decides that the boat will go out, certain activities precede its egress. The captain is likely to cast a tarrafa in the harbor or canal for bait. Following this, he or another crew member goes to the saveiro, unfastens the vessel from its mooring, and poles it to the beach. After doing this, the captain normally returns to his house to eat breakfast. Finally, he comes back to the beach with his

fishing gear and supplies for the day. Unless the captain does not plan to fish, the boat never leaves the harbor until he has arrived. It is usually he who reaches the boat first and last. While they wait for the captain on the lower beach and in the saveiro, the other crew members carry out the following activities: one of them takes a barrel from inside the saveiro, carries the barrel to the lagoon, fills it with water, and brings it back to the saveiro. Two men walk to the upper beach to get the sails from the forked posts from which they were suspended on the last fishing day.

When all preparations have been made, the boat leaves the harbor. The captain is in command. He decides whether to row or to sail through the channels in the reef and which one of the five openings will serve as an exit. The captain directs the hoisting of the sail(s), giving directions such as "up a little higher," "to the right," "to the left," etc. In activities related to raising and lowering of sails, masts, or anchor, all ordinary fishermen usually participate. If there is a crew of three, the captain may also assist in these operations. Otherwise, he simply supervises.

The captain decides where the launch will fish. Sometimes, he has made this decision on the preceding day. For example, Zeca had fished near Guarajuba for three days in a row. He had returned on the basis of successful catches. On the fourth day, I asked him if I could go out in his saveiro. He announced his intention of going a long way and to keep on

1-
fishing as long as there were bites, which might, he said, be well into the night. He clearly knew where he was going. On other occasions, captains may decide after the boat leaves the harbor. After following other saveiros for awhile, the captain may mutter "what about spot X?" The others in the crew generally concur. They rarely disagree or make alternative suggestions.

During the trip to and from fishing grounds, the captain remains at the rudder unless there is an assistant captain to relieve him. Generally, he attaches a trolling line to his thigh, with the hope of catching a wandering large fish. Occasionally he glances at shore to gauge his position by landmarks. In all cases in which I asked captains our depths, they looked at the land before replying.

When the saveiro reaches the chosen fishing spot, the captain tells the crew to ready the anchor and to prepare to drop sail. On his command the anchor is dropped and the sail(s) lowered in rapid succession. Sometimes there may be rowing to position the launch over rocks, which are believed to be the homes of fish. Sometimes the crew members eat lunch before they start fishing. Once fishing begins, everyone remains silent for awhile, commenting only when someone makes an interesting catch. If no fish are caught, the captain decides to move on to another spot. If the boat anchors in three spots during the day, and bites are scarce in all, the captain generally decides to go home. He gives

the order to draw anchor and to raise sail, and the saveiro starts its trip back to Arembepe.

It is the captain who represents the saveiro to others whom the boat meets on the open sea. If, for any reason, two saveiros approach one another to talk or to exchange bait, the captain of one shouts "O mestre" to the other. Crew members other than captains are ignored in these transactions. The attributes of a successful captain

Evaluation of the attributes of a successful captain varies with the reference group of the evaluator. To explain and to rationalize differential success of captains and thereby of saveiros, Arembepeiros recurrently mention three factors: (1) luck; (2) knowledge of fishing spots; and (3) hard work. In a homogeneous community such as Arembepe, ideological mechanisms must exist which allow the members of different reference groups to justify differential success. When either an ordinary fisherman or an unsuccessful captain is speaking, he tends to state that captains catch more or less fish depending on their luck. One ordinary fisherman told me that there were some captains who "walked in luck" (andar na sorte), so that wherever they chose to drop anchor they caught fish. Luck may be viewed as an ideological device which counteracts the emphasis among the successful on individual economic success, hard work, and the rewards of austerity. In this sense luck may be the rationale of the

least successful for socio-economic differentiation among Arembepeiros.

On the other hand, the successful captains, when asked what determines success in the fishing industry, uniformly cite attributes reminiscent of the "Protestant ethic." Unsuccessful captains and ordinary fishermen are reluctant to evaluate captains according to their differential success. They make few divisions among captains. They say that some captains are luckier than others, but that all are basically equal. The successful captain, however, readily admits that some captains are "better" than others. One successful captain said that the saveiros which catch and sell the most fish are simply those which fish more regularly, stay out longer, and on which crew members work harder. He divided captains into three classes. In the "first class" he included the young, hard-working captains who generally contribute the largest sums to the Fishermen's Society. The "second class" included captains with "failing vision." These are formerly successful captains who are said no longer to be able to see the landmarks of the fishing spots. They tend to be respected older or middle-aged men who belonged to the first class fifteen to twenty years ago. Their contributions to the Society are in fact generally less than those of the first class.

Finally, in the "third class," the informant placed captains of all ages who never have and never will be

successful, primarily because of excessive cachaça drinking. These are the men who own no shares in their saveiros, who frequently shift from one launch to another, who command weak allegiance from crew members, and who sometimes serve as ordinary fishermen in other saveiros. They frequently miss fishing days because of drunkenness, and their small crews usually consist of people whose only basis for union is a mutual dependence on sugar cane rum.

This captain's classification of captains accords in many respects with my own. Differential success does exist within the Arembepe fishing industry. The primary contributor to the Fishermen's Society in 1965 gave more than twice as much as the average boat. An objective evaluation of differential success would, of course, find some truth in both accounts, but it would more closely approximate the successful captains' model. Successful captains are characterized as follows: (1) Because they are in their twenties and early thirties, they enjoy good health, which permits their boats to go out regularly. They attract hard-working crew members, because they are dependable. They are able to remain at sea for longer hours and to tolerate more work, and weather conditions which are often unpleasant. (2) They take calculated risks. They stray from the dominant fishing pattern within any fishing season. During the winter, they occasionally go to the farther zones where olho de boi are caught, or they may travel far to the north to exploit

grounds which Arembepeiros do not normally fish. In some cases the risks pay off in larger catches and in higher incomes. In others they do not. (3) They drink less. The successful captains prefer beer to cachaça, and they drink only on festive occasions. Because it is more expensive, beer is a status symbol. It is also less intoxicating than cachaça. Thus, they can consume more without getting drunk. They miss no days from fishing because of drunkenness. (4) They command greater crew allegiance and attract better crew members, those who are willing to work harder and longer hours. (5) They are respected within the community; they become the officers of the Fishermen's Society. Other fishermen are aware of their success and seek positions in their crews.

All of these attributes are far more important in determining differential success than the one attribute which most Arembepeiros give to explain differential qualifications among saveiro captains, i.e., familiarity with fishing spots or pesqueiros.

Fishing spots

Since there are only two significant behavioral distinctions within a saveiro, it is necessary for Arembepeiros to have a ready mechanism which can differentiate captain from ordinary fisherman. The captain is endowed with certain special skills which justify his receipt of a larger share of the catch. The knowledge of locations of fishing spots, is the primary mechanism used by Arembepeiros to differentiate

between captains and other fishermen. Many ordinary fishermen claim that their eyesight is not good enough to permit them to see the landmarks which are used to establish the sites of fishing spots. By saying this they have a ready excuse for not being captains themselves. The primary differentiating attribute of the captain is then, for Arembepeiros, an ephemeral personal characteristic capable of distinguishing one individual from another in the performance of specific activities.

As was previously indicated, saveiros fish in broad ecological zones and in smaller spots. Both are called pesqueiros. Zones are distinguished according to variations in depth and bottom composition, while spots are always located over rocks.¹ In a given spot, and in a given zone, Arembepeiros expect to find an abundance of fish of a determined species. Fishermen believe that some small spots are more productive than others. They use land marks to locate them.

To mark a spot, the general procedure is as follows: the captain selects two objects as directly in towards shore as possible, one higher than the other, and in line, that is, in the manner of a gun sight. For example, they could be a

¹The basis for Arembepeiros' belief that fish live in rocks is a sound ecological principal. Smaller fish species feed on the vegetation which grows on rocks, and seek protection in rocks from larger fish. The saveiro fisherman is a final link in the food chain of ever larger species.

tall coconut palm and the mouth of a narrow stream. Two additional in-line markers are selected to the south, and two more to the north. When all three pairs are lined up, the spot is marked by three intersecting lines. The system works just as well and apparently just as often with only two pairs of markers. The third marker would allow the spot delineated to be smaller, perhaps to a minimal size of 25' x 25'.

The manner of approach consists of sailing until one set of the markers is lined up, then sailing on line with the first set until the second set comes into line. Before lowering anchor and dropping sail, it is a common practice for the captain to plumb the bottom himself, or to have another crew member do it. Sometimes plumbing continues for more than half an hour. There may be many plumbings, as the boat passes over or skirts the edge of the rocks, but never quite gets into the position desired. When this happens, the markings may be forgotten, and positioning may be reckoned solely on the basis of plumbline results. If too much time is wasted getting into position, the anchor will be dropped even though only the edge of the spot is available for fishing.

The smallest spot which Arembepeiros can actually mark according to their system probably measures 25' x 25'. Some of the older captains told me that they knew how to mark quite small spots, e.g., the size of a saveiro. Younger captains denied that fishing spots could be so small. A

commercial fishing boat owner and navigational expert in Salvador indicated that a system of sightings such as Arem-bepeiros use can determine fishing spots the size of a large room. He denied, however, that very small areas, e.g., the size of a table top, a saveiro, or a small room could be marked.

I do not doubt that knowledge of fishing spots and the exaggerated impression of the preciseness of the system of sightings as an attribute of a successful captain has its origin in the reference group which includes older and retired captains. Failing vision is a convenient excuse for their waning productivity, the cause of which actually lies in increased physical infirmities after age 45 which prevent maximal exertion in fishing and limit regular egress. They may cite failing vision as a reason for their retirement, and they may command respect from younger Arembepeiros for an attribute which gave them large catches in the past. The following is offered as evidence for this interpretation.

I asked most captains how many different fishing spots they knew. Answers ranged from five to two hundred. The number of spots named varied systematically with the age of the respondent. One man, aged 55, had been a captain for 25 years before becoming an ordinary fisherman after selling his last half interest. He told me that he was acquainted with approximately 100 different fishing spots. When I remarked that 100 were quite a lot, he replied "It is nothing."

There were, he went on, captains in Arembepe who knew from 200 to 300 spots. On the other hand, my conversation with younger captains led me to believe that this was an exaggeration. I talked with two young captains, both of them owners of successful boats, both of them placed in the first class by any measure of saveiro success. The older said that he knew of twenty spots, and that he considered twenty to be the average number. The other thought that he knew at least that many. Both found it hard to believe that there were Arembepeiros who knew the locations of 100 spots. They considered knowledge of fifty spots to be a remarkable achievement.

I do not mean to imply that captains do not know how to delimit, through the system of sightings just described, certain fishing spots. I mean only to contradict the assertions by some of the older informants as to the precision of the system. It is unlikely that the system of landmarks can delineate spots as small as a table top. Unfortunately, I could devise no means of testing this hypothesis, which must remain just that. Eldredge (1963b: 27) has reasonably argued that spots are marked and maintained in memory, usually not because they produce so much more fish than the next rocky area two hundred yards away, but because a definite marking system eliminates a great deal of time consuming plumbing activity.

Are fishing spots considered to be private property? There are some spots which are said to be guarded jealously. When saveiro A is fishing in such a spot, and saveiro B approaches, informants say that A may pull anchor and sail away before B has a chance to mark the spot. I have never seen such behavior. Informants mentioned one incident in which encroachment on a fishing spot caused an argument between two captains. Ronaldo, a forty year-old captain non-owner, invaded the fishing privacy of Lourinho, a thirty year-old captain co-owner, at a spot which Lourinho valued especially. On the following day, Lourinho returned to the fishing spot to find Ronaldo fishing there. When the fleet arrived home that night, Lourinho is said to have been furious. Informants recall that Lourinho walked up to Ronaldo in front of the chapel and threatened him with physical violence. Other Arembepeiros finally calmed Lourinho down. However, for the rest of his life, Lourinho never spoke to Ronaldo.

In another case I observed unusual behavior related to a fishing spot. When fishing with Zeca one day in August, 1965, we had traveled for three hours to the north of Arembepe, where we began to fish among the saveiros of Guarajuba. Zeca had on board three baskets of manjuba, the bait which is abundant in Arembepe in August, but which, informants say, never enters the Guarajuba harbor. Since manjuba is considered effective bait for middle-sized species which inhabit the zone where we were fishing, Zeca thought that he could

effect an exchange with one of the boats from Guarajuba. He approached a saveiro and shouted to its captain that he would give him manjuba if the Guarajuba captain would take us to Aracangueira, the name of a fishing zone which Arembepeiros have heard is especially productive. The other captain cursed Zeca and left all of us complaining about what a "bad guy" the Guarajuba captain was. We then approached a second saveiro. Again Zeca called to the other captain, "We'll give you manjuba if you take us to Aracangueira." The other replied "If I took you there it would end all the guaraçaim" (the name of a certain fish species). Zeca replied that there would be no danger of fishing out the spot, as few boats from Arembepe would travel the long distance to fish there. The Guarajuba captain refused, but Zeca gave him some manjuba anyway. In exchange, we received some fish which could be used as bait for larger species.

Later, Zeca explained to me the significance of Arancangueira. It is supposed to be a limited fishing zone, or a series of small fishing spots, like some of the smaller fishing zones near Arembepe. According to Zeca, the captains of Arembepe once knew how to find this spot, but this knowledge has since been lost. The zone is said to be especially well stocked with guaraçaim (*Caranx latus*). It is difficult to say why the Guarajuba captain refused to take us there. No doubt he was motivated by the fear that the spots might be fished out. On the other hand, a probably more compelling

reason was the time which he would have had to consume drawing anchor and sailing to the zone. The reward which Zeca offered was worth neither the violation of the fishing zone nor the effort to sail there.

The existence of fishing spots on the open sea does not negate the hypothesis that the sea is an open frontier, and that access to marine resources cannot be limited under normal conditions. If a saveiro arrives in a given spot, it has established the right to fish there for the day. On the next, whichever boat arrives first may fish in the same spot. These spots are not privileged property which can be inherited or exchanged. They are simply locations where people have had successful fishing experiences. Sometimes a captain returns to the same spot on successive days until the fish no longer bite. Then the fishermen may say that the fish have grown "wise" and have left the spot. On the following day, the captain will go to another spot. Someday he will return to the original spot to see if the fish have "come back." When I asked Arembepeiros questions such as "Who owns the sea?"; "Who owns fishing spots?"; and "Can one buy fishing spots?"; I received bemused responses of "no one"; "spots cannot be bought"; or "God owns the sea." Arembepeiros do not think of fishing spots as private property.

There probably are areas of the sea which produce more fish than others. This may be true either because the general

area in which the spot is located is not fished much, or because environmental factors are particularly propitious, or a combination of the two. As I have indicated, such areas are likely to be zones or large spots where environmental conditions, e.g., a long chain of rocks which receives nutrients in river currents, create a favorable food chain. While I doubt that spots are as small as older captains sometimes indicate, even if they were, this would affect neither the current relations of production nor the socio-economic differentiation which can grow out of marine fishing.

In a field report based on research in Arembepe in winter, 1963, Eldredge reached the same conclusion about the differential productivity of fishing spots. He states:

I would venture to say that most of these jealously guarded spots [which are apparently relatively few] have no greater value than other spots; they seem to produce little or nothing when fishing in general is bad, and they seem to produce no more than most others on days of good fishing. . . . In general, with the exception of rare spots . . . , I suspect that statistics (if available) would disprove any superiority that most of these special spots are claimed to have (Eldredge, 1963b: 28).

What then are the factors which do differentiate captains from other fishermen according to their special and different skills and functions? Simple navigational devices are used to mark general orientation when the saveiro is at sea. By looking at the land, captains and many ordinary fishermen can indicate the probable depth of the water which the boat is traversing. In the same manner, most fishermen can state when the launch arrives in a certain fishing zone.

From then on, the more skilled differentiation according to spots is said to begin, and this is the function of the captain.

The fishermen have no blind trust in their spots. They realize that within a given zone, almost any rocky area is as good as another. They readily admit that spots are often lost, and that there are many spots which remain to be discovered or rediscovered. Fishing spots are constantly discovered, and new spots replace those which have been lost and forgotten. Such discoveries are never planned. When a boat moves from spot to spot, and when waves and wind are not too high, one or more fisherman usually has a line out. If three or four fish are caught in a fairly small area within a short timespan, the boat will stop, and the crew members will plumb. If they are over rock, the captain will mark the spot, and he is likely to return there for future fishing.

The knowledge of such spots can obviously not be limited to captains. Even if the captain keeps the discovery of a new spot secret from others, fishermen reveal spots as they pass from crew to crew. The crew may contain a young man who has ambitions to become a captain. If he has good eyesight, an adequate memory, and knows simple navigational procedures, he can mark such a spot and return to it later, when he is captain of a boat. Most of the current captains told me that they had learned their first spots in such a manner. Others have been taught to mark fishing spots by

fathers, older brothers, uncles, godfathers, and unrelated captains. The knowledge of spots is constantly open to the intelligent and ambitious young fisherman. Thus, Arembepeiros have devised no way to limit access to the resources of the sea.

The knowledge which is said to differentiate among Arembepe fishermen is thus far different from the privileged lore of engineers, priests and physicians. It is incapable of assigning fishermen to membership in stratified groups. The access to spots is open to all who can learn, and the majority of captains say that they have discovered and marked the spots which they fish themselves, rather than learning them from antecedents.

Finally, much of the fishing which is done in Arembepe does not depend on the marcation of small fishing spots. The zones which are most frequently exploited in summer and fall, when seas are calm, when there are more frequent fish migrations, and when olho de boi fishing is in full swing, do not have spots in the limited sense. It is only the zones which are commonly fished in winter, those which run to depths of about twenty-five fathoms and which are nearest shore, which have landmarks. For all fishing in Meia Peça (35 fathoms) and Parede (70 fathoms), the broad zones in which most summer fishing is done, plumbing, rather than landmarks, is used to determine rocky bottoms. Likewise, during the run of the olho de boi, boats from Arembepe and neighboring

communities line up within sight of one another and fish in one of three rectangular zones. While informants state that these areas do have landmarks, Arembepeiros contend that their markings are "more difficult," i.e., even captains have a hard time seeing them. This, informants explain, is the reason why plumbing is always done at these sites.

In summary, in addition to whatever "utilitarian" functions the system of sightings and fishing spots may serve, it is also used to differentiate captains from other fishermen and to justify the fact that captains receive larger shares of the fish caught. Older captains have created an ideological rationale which allows them to rationalize their retirement from the most active fishing roles, and to garner respect from other Arembepeiros. Eldredge (1963b: 29) offers a similar interpretation:

The four or five men generally considered by the population of Arembepe as being the best captains very often are reputed to know more of these 'better' spots than the other average captains. In other words, a savvy of special spots is one of the attributes of a good captain. The prestige criterion has, of course, economic roots, because the best captains are the ones who produce the most fish the most number of times for their crew.

It is true that captains must know how to navigate and to locate fishing zones. Arembepeiros praise apprentice fishermen if they show themselves to have a "savvy" for navigation and sightings. From their constant observations of these apprentices, captains sometimes predict that an intelligent young crew member may someday be the captain of his own

boat. All of the captain's skills are easily learned, given intelligence and ambition.

However, even the valued attributes of the captain are defined by the technological limitations of fishing in Arembepe. As one ordinary fisherman told me, if he had sufficient money to buy a motor and a small launch, he could travel daily to the farther zones such as Meia Peça, Parede, and Serra, which are normally fished during the summer and fall, and catch more fish than captains who were confined by an exclusive reliance on wind power to closer zones. He insisted that he could, in this way, be as successful as any captain in Arembepe, even though he had "bad eyes for landmarks" and a "poor memory," which, he said, always had prevented his marking fishing spots.

Crew cohesion and success.

The cohesion of a crew is generally a function of its captain's success in fishing. To demonstrate this, one can construct three ideal types of crew, on the basis of certain characteristics of their captains.¹ The average ages of captains in each type of crew are given in Table 23.

By virtue of their contributions to the Fishermen's Society, the fourteen captains included in the first group represent the most successful boats in Arembepe. All of

¹The sample consists of 27 saveiros and 33 captains. Six of the captains were working as ordinary fishermen in winters 1964 and 1965.

TABLE 23
AGE OF CAPTAINS ACCORDING TO CREW SUCCESS

Groups of Captains	Individuals			
	Number	Mean Age	Oldest Age	Youngest Age
Captains group 1	14	29.7	45	20
Captains group 2 (working)	6	35.3	45	25
Captains group 2 (working as ordinary fishermen)	6	32	36	27
Captains group 3	7	53.3	64	45
Retired Captains	11	64.4	90	54
Total	44	--	--	--

these captains own either half or all of their saveiros. Crew ties tend to be relatively stable, and there is only minor fluctuation from year to year. Fourteen boats which have fished in Arembepe since at least 1960 were ranked according to their contributions to the Fishermen's Society from 1960-1964. The seven boats in the top half had a total of fifteen crew changes between 1963 and 1964, while those in the lower half had a turnover of 21 men. The more successful boats had more stable crews. An average of 2 men entered or left

crews in the top half, while the mean number of personnel changes for the least successful seven boats was three.

Kinship is an important bond between captain and crew members in many of the boats in group one. These are young and enterprising captains who work hard, assume calculated risks in fishing, and reinvest profits from fishing in sources of wealth on the land. Crew members in this group receive the highest annual fishing incomes in Arembepe and enjoy the highest standards of living of any fishermen in the community.

Type two includes twelve actual or former captains, six of them working as saveiro captains, the other six now fishing as ordinary crew members. These are the least successful captains. The six boats of which half of them are captains are the least productive launches in Arembepe. The captains and other crew personnel in this group are all deficient in the hard-working virtues which define membership in the first group. They are slightly older. Few of them own shares in the boats in which they fish. Egresses are often limited because the captains are drunk, and crews vary considerably from day to day because of the crew members' alcoholism. These people have generally not fished in a major port outside of Arembepe. It is they who consistently contribute least to the Society. It is they who have the lowest incomes and poorest standards of living of able-bodied males within Arembepe.

The third group (type three) includes seven captains. These are men between the ages of 45 and 64 who continue to act as captains. Their contributions to the Society tend to be below those of captains in the first category and above those of captains in the second group. These are the captains to whom Arembepeiros often attribute failing vision. The increasing physical infirmities of middle and old age prevent their boats from fishing every day and shorten their fishing days. They can no longer work as hard or assume as many risks as members of the first group. Included in this group are some of the most successful captains of the past generation. Kinship ties in these saveiros are usually closer than in any of the others. Most of these captains co-own their launches. All of them have acquired their shares by fishing for them. In fifteen years, many of the members of categories one and two may belong to this type, with those who are now in group one still placed above those now in group two.

Some concrete examples of each type of captain and crew will now be presented.

Type 1.--Valter, aged 29, is the captain and sole owner of the saveiro "A Semana que Vem." The way in which he acquired the boat has already been discussed. There are four ordinary fishermen in his crew. Two of them, Paulo and Santo, fished with Valter in the saveiro of which he formerly was captain. Two others, Prudencio and Café, joined Valter for the first time in his new boat. This is the fourth boat of

which Valter has been captain. He started to fish eight years ago, when he was 21. He had fished occasionally, but not often, as a boy. He began fishing with a non-relative, who sometimes instructed him in fishing techniques, but never taught him how to navigate or to make sightings. Valter said that he had taught himself most of what he knows about fishing and all of what he knows about navigation and the marking of fishing spots. Between the second and third boats of which he was captain, Valter fished commercially in Rio de Janeiro for three months. This provided some of the capital which he invested in half-ownership of his former saveiro.

Of the other crew members, Paulo, aged 65, has never been a captain. He started to fish with his father, a captain, and has fished in many different boats since his father's death. He has fished with Valter for three years in two saveiros. Santo, aged 20, is Valter's affinal (MZDH). He came to Valter's saveiro during winter, 1964 and has fished with Valter for more than a year in two boats. This is the second boat in which he has fished, and Santo has never been a captain. If he continues to fish in Areembepe, it is likely that he, like Paulo, will continue to be an ordinary fisherman. Café, aged 30, is fishing with Valter for the first time. He has never been a captain, although he has spent periods in commercial fishing during the last two years. He has not yet been able to save enough money to buy a launch of his own, though he admits that he would like to do so.

Prudencio, aged 55, is the most recent addition to Valter's saveiro, having joined the crew in August, 1965. Prudencio is a retired captain who sold his last half-interest in July, 1963, to the storekeeper with whom he had been co-owner. He gave his failing vision as the reason for his retirement as captain. Prudencio's father was a fisherman, but not a captain. Prudencio has been captain and co-owner of six saveiros. Since he sold his last boat, he has worked on three boats as an ordinary fisherman. Prudencio said that he had asked Valter for a crew position because the two captains with whom he had fished previously were lazy. He complained that their boats went out irregularly. Valter calls Prudencio "uncle," although Prudencio is Valter's FFBSS. Valter listens respectfully when Prudencio suggests fishing destinations, but it is Valter who is very much in command of the vessel.

Valter's boat includes three of the four types of saveiro personnel: captain, retired captain, and ordinary fishermen. With his new launch and the increased income and independence which it will bring him, Valter is upwardly mobile within the village socio-economic hierarchy. Prudencio, on the other hand, can afford to work less regularly, by relying on additional income from 200 coconut trees which he bought when he was an active captain.

Another of the type one crews may include a captain-to-be. Zeca, the 32 year old captain, co-owns the saveiro

Atlanta with Fidelio, a local businessman and coconut marketer. The crew is small, young, and quite successful. One young crew member, Toledo, aged 20, is a native of Coqueiros who has come to fish in Arembepe. Were he excluded, there would be close kinship links between all crew members. In 1964 Zeca's crew included his father, his next youngest brother, Centavo, and his youngest brother, Batida. The latter, aged 14, fished sporadically, for Zeca said that he was still "too weak" for regular fishing. Zeca told me that it was good to have kinsmen in one's crew. "One can count on them when others fail." In accordance with his expressed desire to raise the living standard of his family, Zeca has trained two of his four younger brothers and has helped them to finance a saveiro of their own. He is currently training his two youngest brothers. He told me that the oldest, Centavo, does not have "much of a head for sightings and navigation." On the other hand, Batida, the youngest, does. It is possible then that Batida, who is now fourteen years old, will someday be the captain of a saveiro of his own.

Type 2.--Both Valter and Zeca are successful young captains. Sambaqui is a very unsuccessful captain. Sambaqui belongs to the second group of captains, those with the smallest incomes. His problem is excessive drinking--his own and that of his crew. As a result, the saveiro frequently remains in the harbor or beached when the other boats go out. While there are fishermen who fish in this crew if they fish

at all, crew composition is irregular. Sambaqui owns no share in the saveiro, in which he has fished for one year and four months--more than enough time for a hard-working captain to acquire an owner's share. He began to fish when he was sixteen years old. He is now twenty-two. He was the captain of two boats prior to this and owned a half-share after eighteen months of work in one of them. His boat is always one of the lowest contributors to the Society. The two ordinary fishermen who are most frequently in his crew are young men in their twenties with neither the desire nor the capacity to ever become saveiro captains.

Retired captains.--There are eleven retired captains in Arembepe. Their mean age is 64.4 years. The oldest is 90 and the youngest is 54. Nine of them continue to fish as ordinary fishermen, but two no longer fish. One of the latter fished as an ordinary fisherman until constant poor health finally prevented his going out. The other sold his half-share and used the money to open a store.

Type 3.--Of the still active captains, seven are said to have failing vision. They tend to give less to the Society than the hard-working younger captains, although the contribution of one of these captains placed him sixth in a field of twenty-five in size of donations in February, 1965. The others occupied the following positions in the same field: 10, 13, 14, 15, and 20.

The captains in this group have fished for an average of thirty years, and as captains for about twenty-five. Arembepeiros say that the supposedly failing vision of individuals in this group (near-sightedness) results from constant activity on the sea. Even though villagers say that the combination of sun and salt water eventually destroys the eyes, there are no blind adults in Arembepe. It may be that poor eyesight is one of the physical disabilities which middle-age brings to the fishermen of Arembepe. Yet two retired captains use corrective lenses, and neither has chosen to remain a captain. Both have assumed positions in crews with younger captains. When various captains were asked why they had retired, some did not even mention vision. One seventy year old man who continues to fish, as an ordinary fisherman and occasionally as a captain, said that he had given up regular captainship when he was fifty, because of rheumatism and because he got too weak for his crew members to count on regular egress.

Some of the boats in group three violate the general correlation between success and crew stability. The present stability of their crews may indicate their success in the past. There are only eight saveiros which have been fishing in Arembepe since 1956-57, the first date for which the records of the Fishermen's Society are available. For only two of these boats does the captain-owner relationship differ from what it was in 1956-57. The other six have the most stable

captain-owner-crew relationships of any boats in Arembepe. Between July, 1963 and July, 1964, these six boats had an average of only 1.83 crew changes (which was below the mean of 3.0 crew changes for all saveiros in the same year). In 1960-62 their rankings on the basis of contributions to the Society were as follows: 1, 8, 9, 11, 12, and 16 out of eighteen. Clearly then, these six boats, which have the most stable crews in Arembepe, are not currently the most successful. Among these six, the boat which has regularly ranked first has a 33 year old captain. The five lowest all have captains who are older than 45, and thus belong to group three. In almost all cases, the crew members are the age-peers of the captain, and in many cases they are also his kinsmen.

The stability of these crews suggests a developmental cycle for saveiro crews. Fishermen are attracted to successful captains. Their affiliation may be based on kinship, or it may not. As long as the boat keeps on producing good catches, crew members do not desert the captain all at once. As the captain grows older, the productivity of the saveiro begins to decline. The younger crew members gradually find positions with younger captains. Older men remain, especially kinsmen of the captain. In this way crews whose fishing income shows a steady downward curve gradually become older. Old boats with old crews eventually stop fishing, and the members of a once successful crew are finally dispersed.

Captains become ordinary fishermen, like their peers, and all remain such until they retire from fishing or die.

One of the boats in the group of five described above is the Zorba. The captain-owner relationship has not changed since the boat was commissioned in Arembepe in 1944. In 1964 its four ordinary crew members were all relatives of the captain. There were only two crew changes between 1963 and 1964, as one man left the crew, and another entered. Between 1964 and 1965, there were three crew changes, as two left and one entered. In 1964 the crew's mean age was fifty. The ages of crew members ranged from 36 through 60. The crew included the captain's brother-in-law, himself a retired captain. Two of the captain's brothers also fished in the boat. The captain's second cousin, also his brother-in-law, was the fourth crew member. By 1965 the retired captain had left this crew to fish with another captain, aged 46. One of the captain's brother's, aged 36, also left the crew to act as captain of another saveiro. Thus, the stable crew core continued to include the captain and the two ordinary fishermen who had fished with him since 1963. The younger man was sifted from the crew, while the retired captain joined another crew which was similar in its stability and kinship composition.

Arembepeiros evaluated the success of the Zorba's 54 year old captain differently. He has been a captain since he was twenty. Some villagers said that he knew few fishing

spots, while others contended that he knew many. But everyone agreed that his vision was failing. Over the period from 1956 through 1962, the Zorba ranked seventh out of a field of nine in its contributions to the Fishermen's Society. In 1965 its position was thirteenth out of twenty-five. Thus, while according to Society figures the Zorba has never been one of the most successful saveiros in Arembepe, its captain has enjoyed a mild success which has earned him respect and the loyalty of a relatively stable crew.

A second case is that of a more successful boat whose captain is 65 years old. There were two changes in crew personnel (one entered; one left) between 1963 and 1964, and one change (one entered) between 1964 and 1965. Two of the 1964 crew members were relatives of the captain. The captain's son-in-law, aged 33, joined the crew between 1963 and 1964. He acts as assistant captain and sometimes takes out the boat when his father-in-law is sick or otherwise employed. He is apparently gaining experience as a captain, since his wife will inherit the saveiro when her father dies. The average age of the crew is 52, with a range from 33 to 65.

In still another saveiro crew included in this group of five, two of the captain's brothers have fished with him for more than twenty years. The captain, who is 45 years old, is considered to have retained his good vision. This is probably the only way in which Arembepeiros can justify his vigor, the regularity of his boat's egress, and his

uniformly good catches. His has been the fourth largest (out of nine) contributions to the Fishermen's Society between 1956 and 1962. His donation placed his seventh out of 25 in 1965. The average age of his 1964 crew was 40 years, ranging from 18 through 56. The 1965 crew had an average age of 47, ranging from 35 through 61. The youngest fisherman, aged 18, who was not related to the captain, left the crew between 1964 and 1965 to fish with a cousin whose boat had been in eighth position out of 25 in contributions to the Society in 1965. This captain's age is nearer his own.

With the exception of the young, fully active captain, all developmental stages are included within these three crews: acting captains who are middle-aged and older, future captains, ordinary fishermen, and retired captains. It has also been seen that younger crew members tend to be sifted as they are attracted to younger captains, if success is held constant. The mean age of these crews is close to the captain's age. These boats include a large number of kinsmen. Just as Arembepeiros start to fish with kinsmen, they tend to end their fishing careers with them.

Descent and the status of captain

Since the skills of the captain are within the reach of all willing and ambitious fishermen, and since the most important prerequisites to captainship do not necessarily lie in the local economy, one would not expect to find a large amount of inheritance of the status of captain. In testing

this hypothesis, 34 captains were compared with a random sample of 33 ordinary fishermen.

The results indicate that merely having a father who is or was a saveiro captain does not mean that an Arembepeiro will himself become a captain, since there were three times as many captains whose fathers had not been captains as there were captains whose fathers had shared this status. On the other hand, having a captain for a father seemed to confer a slight advantage on an individual. Five of the ordinary fishermen had fathers who were captains, while eleven of the 34 captains were sons of captains.

While having a saveiro captain for a father seemed to confer no special advantage, having a father who fished did. Twenty-six of the 34 captains had fathers who fished, while only nineteen of the ordinary fishermen had fishermen fathers. Thus, an individual may have more of a chance to become a captain if he is a second generation fisherman. This is not unexpected, as many ordinary fishermen have moved to Arembepe from inland settlements, estates, and communities, while many of the captains have been born in Arembepe or other fishing communities. An individual born in a fishing household is likely to learn to fish and to navigate at an earlier age, and thus has more experience on the sea than a man who comes to fish in Arembepe when he is twenty years old.

Nonetheless, there are captains in Arembepe who were born outside of the community. There are also captains whose

fathers did not fish, indicating that a fishing family history is no rigid precondition to the status of captain or to success in the fishing industry. In fact, none of the five captains who gave the largest contributions to the Fishermen's Society in 1965 were sons of captains. Two of them had fathers who did not fish. Furthermore, of the five lowest contributors to the Society in the same year, two were sons of captains, and three had fathers who fished. In both groups, the top five and the bottom five, two individuals were immigrants to Areembepe from other communities.

Thus, if there is transgenerational perpetuation of the status of captain in a few cases, it is insignificant in determining success in the fishing industry or placement in the community socio-economic hierarchy.

Limitations to the Accumulation of Wealth from the Fishing Industry

Mechanisms which act to level evanescent wealth differentials have been described in Chapter II. These mechanisms, including the obligation to share with real and fictive kinsmen, also apply to successful fishermen. Certain community leadership functions normally devolve only on fishermen and also act indirectly to redistribute wealth derived from the fishing industry.

The community-wide redistribution which is promoted by the annual celebrations in February and June was briefly discussed in Chapter I. At the more lavish February festival,

Arembepeiros spend a large portion of the capital which they have managed to accumulate during the profitable summer fishing season, as they entertain relatives and guests and engage in general festive hospitality.

The two officers of the Fishermen's Society are usually the captains who have contributed the most money to the Society in the year which precedes the election (held every second year). Leo, the captain who was first in contributions from 1956 through 1962, served as an officer of the Society for this entire six-year period.

The treasurer (or president) of the Society must organize the annual festivities. In doing this, he must make numerous trips to Salvador, arrange for food, beer, and festive supplies, contract a band, transport the band and a priest to Arembepe, and keep charge of all money, receipts and expenditures. Zeca knows that his 1965 contribution has made him the logical choice to be next president of the Society. Yet he emphatically denied that he wanted to be elected. He said that he would act as president, if elected, but only because "others expect it of me." It is unlikely that Zeca will have to spend any of his own money to finance Society expenditures. However, he feared that he would be faced with unwelcome worries in performing the president's job. No doubt he would prefer to spend this time fishing and cultivating his garden. His role in the Society will certainly curtail his entrepreneurial activity.

Conclusions

Like the hierarchies discussed in Chapter II, the socio-economic variables associated with the fishing industry are incapable of supporting a stratified order. There is no basis for differential control over the marine resources which Arembepeiros exploit. Limited to an area of 63 square miles of ocean by a simple fishing technology which depends only on wind, human muscles, and the human eye, the fishermen of Arembepe exploit what is potentially an open frontier. The only obstacles to the intensified utilization of marine resources have been technological. No one in Arembepe has sufficient capital to overcome these technological limitations.

Success in the local fishing industry, as in all other occupations open to Arembepeiros, is attainable for any intelligent and industrious "Protestant-capitalist" type. There is no basis for the transgenerational perpetuation of hierarchical distinctions either in the skills of the captain or in the nature of heritable resources. A number of mechanisms constantly operate to level ephemeral hierarchical differentials.

CHAPTER IV

EXTERNAL IMPEDIMENTS TO STRATIFICATION IN AREMBEPE

Just as the local economy has been incapable of producing stratification, there has been nothing in Arembepe to attract large amounts of external capital. Neither insider nor outsider has accumulated large-scale profits from the labor of Arembepeiros. Because no one has attempted to interfere with Arembepeiros' own-account endeavors and small-scale entrepreneurial activity, Arembepe continues to be an isolated, relatively homogeneous rural community whose only inhabitants are members of the Brazilian national lower class.

The "Protestant ethic" which has been described in Chapters II and III permits maximal vertical mobility in the community. Yet to improve their positions within the national class structure, Arembepeiros must leave their natal community and sever social and ideological bonds with home. If they are successful in the external economy, they no longer affect the stratification picture in Arembepe. They have moved up and out.

In this chapter the contacts and encounters of Arembepeiros with outsiders are examined in order to show the limited extent to which the national class structure directly affects social relations in Arembepe. While the primary reasons for the lack of stratification in Arembepe lie in the local economy, factors resulting from a limited articulation with the national power structure act to maintain the egalitarian balance. These "secondary impediments" to stratification have been indicated in Chapter I.

The Weak Patronage System

The local economy has not permitted patron-client relationships to develop among Arembepeiros. In the following respects, the patronage relationships which do link Arembepeiros to middle-class outsiders contrast strikingly with patron-client bonds in stratified Brazilian and Latin American communities: (1) Patronage relationships are established on an individual basis rather than as instances of an entire settlement population's standing as client to one all-powerful patron. (2) Encounters of patrons and clients are irregular and usually simple economic relationships which might link any lower class person to any upper class person. For example, Arembepeiros are servants for residents of Salvador, both in the city and in Arembepe during tourist season. (3) In the patron-client relationships in which Arembepeiros are involved, there is a milder

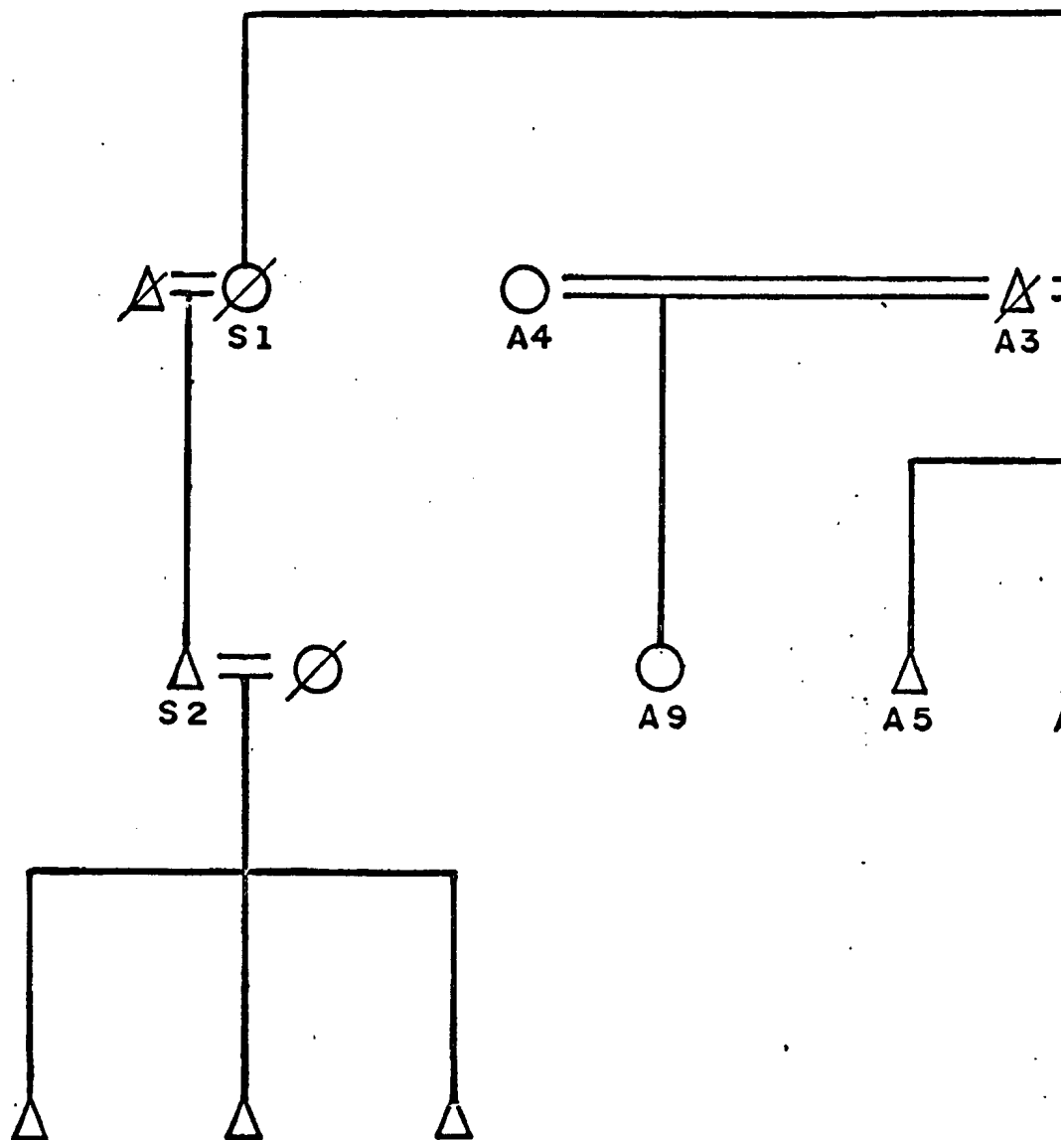
form of paternalism than that which has been described for other Brazilian communities (cf. Hutchinson, 1957). The customary behavior between patron and client is not regularized to the same extent as in other communities. (4) An ideology of equality, which Arembepeiros seem to share, influences their social relations with people from the upper strata, so that the deference which an Arembepeiro awards to an upper class person tends to be less obsequious than that of the sugar peon to the member of the rural aristocracy. The primary reason for these contrasts is the fact that none of the patrons is deriving large-scale profits from Arembepeiros' labor.

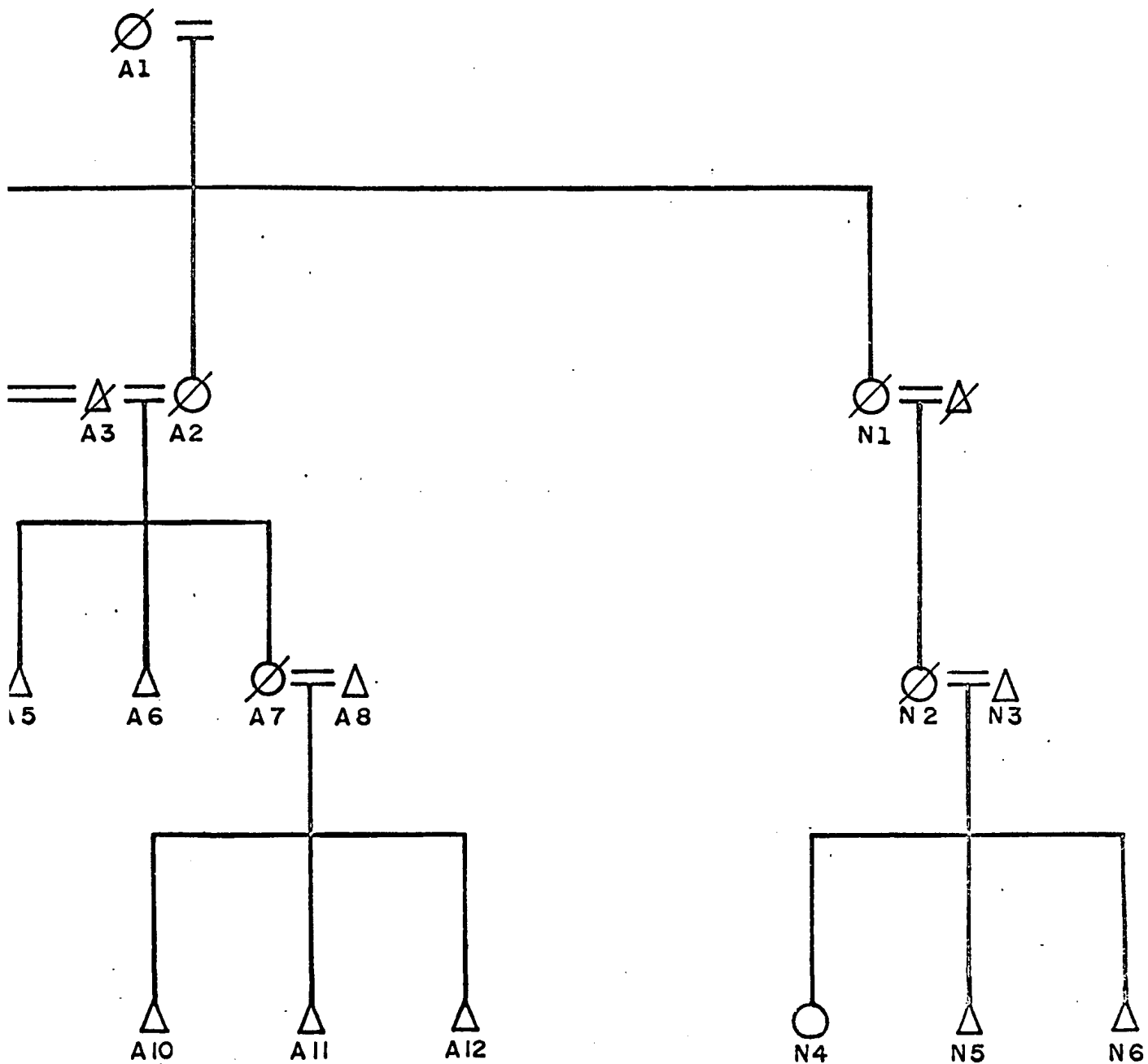
Landlords as Patrons

Perhaps the most important patron-client relationships involving Arembepeiros with members of higher classes have been those with the owners of the real estate on which Arembepe is located. The basis for relationships between landlords and Arembepeiros has changed in the course of Arembepe's development as a community.

As was stated in Chapter I, none of the present landlords could trace his access to the estate beyond Dona Francisca Ricardo, the grandmother (MM) of the oldest living landowner. One of the landlords, Dr. Jorge Camões, labeled A 10 in the genealogy in Figure 5 has searched archives in Salvador in an attempt to unravel Arembepe's history.

Q
A





LANDOWNERS' GENEALOGY

MARCH, 1966

FIGURE 5

He has discovered only that the estate which includes Arembepe was originally part of a land grant (sesmaria) made by the Portuguese Council for Overseas Colonies. He did not know when the grant had been made. However, the date must lie before 1822, when, with the Independence of Brazil, sesmarias were discontinued. The original recipient of the grant, according to Dr. Jorge, was a member of the Monte Negro family, which once owned most of the land in the present municipality. The fact that only in 1928 was the name of the current town of Camaçari changed from Monte Negro testifies to the importance of this family throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Dona Francisca Ricardo, labeled A 1 in the genealogy in Figure 5, resided at the southern extremity of Arembepe from at least 1875 through her death in 1924. No one could say where she was born, or whether or not she was a native of Arembepe. A sixty-year old woman who is one of the owners of the land on which Jauá is situated was born in Abrantes when it was still a municipal seat. Thus, Dona Francisca, who was the aunt (MZ) of this Jauá landlord, may also have been born in Abrantes. No matter where she was born, Dona Francisca was probably a member of a local upper class based on rural landownership in the municipality of Camaçari (then Abrantes). Her estate extended over approximately twelve square miles from a point just north of Jauá to the southern bank of the Jacuípe River (about six

miles along the coast and two miles inland). All this land, and the coconut trees planted upon it, are now held in condominium as the joint property of Dona Francisca's heirs. By mutual consent, the heirs have arrived at informal divisions within the condominium. Thus, it is possible to distinguish three broad divisions of the estate: (1) that which lies to the south of the settlement; (2) that which includes the settlement; and (3) that which falls to the north of the settlement through the Jacuípe River. These three divisions originated on the death of Dona Francisca. Individuals in the genealogy in Figure 5 have been labeled according to the zone they own: S (for South), A (for Arembepe), and N (for North).

When Dona Francisca resided in Arembepe, the settlement was definitely stratified. According to Dr. Jorge Camões, his great grandmother (MMM) owned slaves. In 1880 she ordered her slaves to plant the 5,650 coconut trees which, in 1964-65, supplied the present landowners with a combined income of Cr 1,800,000 (\$1,000.00 U.S.).

Dona Francisca must, then, have belonged to a local slave-owning upper class which included rural property owners with traditional ties to the national upper class, then based on landed rather than industrial wealth.

Since the turn of the present century, factors which have their origin in the Brazilian nation have changed the local and the national class positions of the owners of the

land on which Arembepe is situated. Through inheritance, sanctioned in its current bilateral form by Brazilian law, the estate has been dispersed and recombined in a fuzzy condominium held by fourteen heirs. The income which each heir could derive from coconuts has been reduced, so that the highest cash income which a landowner derived from coconuts in Arembepe was Cr 462,500 in 1964,¹ or slightly more than the average annual income of an ordinary fisherman. The prestige which might otherwise accrue to the landowner on the basis of landed wealth and coconuts has also been dispersed through inheritance and reduced in accordance with a changing basis for national stratification. Industrial wealth, especially in the south of Brazil, began to transform the basis for upper class status, and a middle class began to emerge with the movement of the rich from rural properties to the cities. To maintain their class

¹The following chart distributes coconut trees and annual income from trees only among those landlords labeled A... in the genealogy. These are the owners of the real estate on which Arembepe itself is located.

No. of trees		Annual income
A5	1200	Cr 378,000
A6	1200	378,000
A8	1200	378,000
A9	550	173,250
A10-12	1500	462,500

Coconut income was calculated on the basis of a profit of Cr 3,500 per 100 fruits in 1964. Coconut productivity for the region was estimated as 9 fruits per tree per year by two of the landowners. This agrees with the estimate made by Brandão (1963: 38). At 9 coconuts per tree, the landlords sell 50,850 coconuts per year.

$508.5 \times \text{Cr } 3,500 = \text{Cr } 1,779,780$ total profits.

positions, Dona Francisca's heirs have had to seek their fortunes outside of Arembepe. As a result, like the Arembepeiros who move up in the outside world, many of the landlords have severed their connections with Arembepe.

Dona Francisca's three daughters married men from outside the settlement. One of them, labeled A2, married Miguel Camões (A3), an employee of the Bahian railroad. She moved with him to his place of employment in a suburb of Salvador, far from Arembepe. The daughter labeled N1 married another Salvadorian. Daughter S1 married a professional from the capital and lived there for the remainder of her life, thus completely severing her ties with Arembepe. The daughters A2 and N1 died before their mother, and N1's daughter N2 came to Arembepe to be raised by her mother's mother, Dona Francisca. Older Arembepeiros remember the old woman and her granddaughter. Some of the older men and women recall how they played pranks on Dona Francisca, stealing her coconuts and scaring her at night. Her granddaughter N2, on the other hand, is somewhat of a romantic figure to Arembepeiros, as a result of her marriage to an erudite German priest, N3, who is said to have forsaken the cloth to marry N2.

When A2 died, her husband Miguel Camões (A3) moved to Arembepe, following his retirement with pension from the railroad. In Arembepe he established a common-law union (his wife A2 had died) with A4, a woman from Abrantes.

When he arrived in Arembepe in ca. 1920, his mother-in-law A1 was still alive. He built a house for himself and his woman at the southern end of Arembepe. The house still stands and was inhabited until June, 1965 by the common-law widow, A4.

The old man remained in Arembepe for about twenty years, until his death in 1942. During this time, he seems to have participated as a patron in the social life of the community. He co-owned a saveiro with its captain. He took care of his 2500 coconut trees and granted requests to build houses on the estate. He acted as president of the Fishermen's Cooperative, an unsuccessful attempt at organization of Arembepe fishermen by agents from Salvador, which was discussed in Chapter II.

Miguel Camões (A3) inherited half of the estate which includes Arembepe (one-third of his mother-in-law's estate). He received this inheritance only after the death of his mother-in-law. He occupied a position in Arembepe which may have been approximately equivalent to that which the two resident owners of Jauá now occupy in that settlement. In informants' memories, he seems to have been less authoritarian than the resident landowners of Jauá, and to have allowed the free development of local commerce and access to rights of house ownership. Although he belonged to the national middle class as a rural landowner who had been employed in a managerial position with the railroad, he must have been

157
a local patron and the only member, with his wife and daughter, of a local elite.

On his death in 1942, a part of his position, which many Arembepeiros described as head or chief (chefe) of the settlement, passed to Selino, an Arembepeiro. Starting in 1942 Selino became the local administrator of the estate. His services were contracted by only two of Miguel Camões' heirs--Emily (A7), the mother of Dr. Jorge (A10), and Leonard (A5), her brother. His duties were the following: (1) to oversee the collection of coconuts from the 2400 trees which they together owned; (2) to grant permission to construct new houses on the estate, and to see that no houses or huts were built before his permission had been obtained; and (3) to collect annual rents which were imposed on the tenants of the settlement for their housesites. Miguel Camões' two other children Ignatz (A6) and Nora (A9), daughter of the old man's common-law union, reserved these duties for themselves. In fact, when Nora later left Arembepe to study to be a secondary school teacher in Salvador, her mother (A4) assumed the care and administration of the land and coconut trees which are located at the southern end of Arembepe. In 1950 Ignatz and his young wife moved to Arembepe, where they lived for eight years, and performed the same duties.

Of the old man's four children, none became professionals; none had university degrees; and all were distinguished from other Arembepeiros only by their ownership of

land and coconut trees. There were, however, Arembepeiros who owned land and coconut trees and whose landed wealth approached that of the four heirs considered individually.

Only one of the four, apparently on the basis of her sex, received treatment which differentiated her from Arembepeiros. She was A7, whom Arembepeiros called "Dona Emily." She was born, raised and married in her father's place of employment, a suburb of Salvador. She spent the rest of her life there as the wife of a man, who, like her father, was an employee of the Bahian railroad. The social distance between A7 and Arembepeiros was based on her physical distance and on the fact that neither she nor her husband ever resided in the settlement for longer than brief summer vacations. Her brothers A5 and A6 were both middle-rank railroad employees. Like their sister, both were raised in the Salvador suburb. Both of them, however, have resided for extended periods of time in Arembepe. Ignatz, A6, came to the settlement after his retirement from the railroad. His second wife, who came to the community with him, is about thirty years younger than her husband. She became an object of Arembepeiros' derision, and the old man was suspected of being a decrepit cuckold. From informants' statements, it is unlikely that Arembepeiros granted any special deference to them. The old man seems to have been treated in the same way as an Arembepeiro treats an old Arembepeiro male, i.e., factors of age and sex dictated the behavior

between Ignatz and any Arembepeiro. The wife does not receive formal deference except on the basis of her age, i.e., she is called Dona (the formal term) by those who are about fifteen or more years her junior.

A5, Leonard, left his employment with the railroad and came to Arembepe to run a store. As a storekeeper, he seems to have participated fully in the social life of the community, giving money to the Fishermen's Society, although never heading it. In the encounters which I observed between him and Arembepeiros, he conformed to the model of social relations in the community, calling men fifteen years or more older than he by formal terms. Selino, his age-peer, calls him, and is called by a familiar term of address.

A9, Nora, daughter of Manuel Camões' common-law union, is also treated in the same way as Arembepeiros of her age, and is called by familiar terms. She is now thirty years old, and Arembepeiros like and respect her for having studied and become a school teacher in Salvador. They were pleased when, in winter, 1965, she married the owner of a small cacau farm in the south of the state. Sometimes they picture her as the unfortunate daughter of a senile and dominating woman. Her mother, A4, resided in Arembepe until June, 1965, when she joined her daughter in the capital. She must have been very like the stereotype of the senile Dona Francisca, for youngsters called her names and accused her of stinginess with her coconuts. Some Arembepeiros consider her to be

50

"rich" because of the coconut trees which she owns, which were gifts from her husband and which she also purchased herself. As common law wife, she had been unable to inherit the estate. The income which she derives from 850 coconut trees (about Cr 265,000 in 1964) is below that of the average ordinary fisherman, and her style of life was slightly superior to that of the ordinary fisherman only because of the food and money which her daughter sent from Salvador.

The four landowners (A5, A6, A7, and A9) described above are members of the national middle class on the basis of a combination of criteria. They have high incomes from their occupations or pensions. They own coconut trees from which they derive, collectively, about \$1000.00 U.S. per year. They are the owners of the site of a beautiful fishing village which is likely to become a tourist center. Relative to successful Arembepeiros they have small families, and they reside in the City or in its suburbs, which means that their food expenses probably comprise a lesser percentage of their cash incomes than they do for most Arembepeiros. On the other hand, there are Arembepeiros who approach them in actual cash income over subsistence, in occupation, in amount of land and coconut trees owned, though not in all three respects simultaneously, and the land which Arembepeiros own is not as potentially valuable because of its inland location. Three of them have had extended contact with Arembepeiros in the settlement, and they are treated according to the same

criteria which govern behavior among Arembepeiros. That is, when they do "funny things," they become the objects of open derision. When they achieve something, such as Nora's (A9) becoming a teacher, they become objects of Arembepeiros' pride.

If there is minimal social distance, or none at all between these four and Arembepeiros, there is one landowner who constitutes an exception. This is Dr. Jorge, A10, whom all Arembepeiros seem to admire. Informants constantly single out this engineer from the other landowners. When asked who owns the land in Arembepe, they often name only Dr. Jorge. Actually, he shares his part of the estate with two younger brothers, but it is he who has taken an active interest in Arembepe. His land speculation, which was made possible through his employment with the State Department of Highways and Roads, has brought what Arembepeiros consider to be improvements to the community, and promises to bring more of the same. Informants are aware that Dr. Jorge is different from other members of the landowning family. One Arembepeiro told me that Dr. Jorge had worked his own way up, through study and hard work. The informant said that Jorge's parents and uncles were barely educated. None of them have more than primary school education. But Dr. Jorge has a university degree. The prestige which accrues to the degree is enhanced by Dr. Jorge's job with the Highway Department and by a standard of living which is higher than that of any of his immediate forebears.

While Dr. Jorge is well-known to and admired by Arembepeiros, he has never lived in the settlement. His home is in Salvador. His trips to Arembepe are occasional and generally on Sundays. When he comes, it is usually on business, or it may be for a swim and picnic with his wife and children. Arembepeiros uniformly treat Jorge with deference which no other member of his family can evoke. He is always addressed as "Dr." Jorge. Arembepeiros would not think of dropping the title. Even Selino used formal address terms (o senhor rather than the familiar vôce) and the title, although Dr. Jorge is 25 years his junior. Dr. Jorge seems oblivious of the system of social relations internal to the community. He calls all Arembepeiros whom he addresses by familiar terms and first names. He is the godfather of five children in the settlement, yet when I asked him who his godchildren were, he could remember only one name. He asked Selino, who was in the room, to supply the other names.

On one occasion I went with Dr. Jorge on a surveying expedition to determine the western boundaries of his property. Antonio, an Arembepeiro who owns land adjacent to Dr. Jorge's to the west and Antonio's cousin Itabuna, who shares Antonio's estate, accompanied us on foot while we rode their burros. In concrete behavior, expressed through deference, this was the most striking instance of stratification which

I ever observed in Arembepe. Four "superiors"¹ rode burroback, while two local landowners walked. One of them, Antonio, is Jorge's compadre.

The usually horizontal (Cf. Mintz and Wolf, 1950) character of the compadrio relationship dictates that formal terms be used among compadres. By this convention, any invidious distinctions in socio-economic position of the co-parents is denied in their verbal interaction. Antonio followed the convention by addressing Dr. Jorge with formal terms,² but Jorge used familiar terms with Antonio. Thus, Jorge showed himself to be unaware of his obligations within the system of social relations, and acted to his co-parent as he did to all Arembepeiros, as a man conducting himself with a certain privileged demeanor because of his profession, wealth and potential wealth, and university degree.

The scheme to develop Arembepe

Of all the landowners, only Dr. Jorge holds an official position which has allowed him to speculate on the development of Arembepe as a tourist attraction. Through his job with the Highway Department, he has been able to improve access to the settlement. Because of his university education and the wealth which has accrued to him through

¹Jorge, the surveyor whom he had brought from Salvador, my wife, and I.

²Undoubtedly, Antonio was also using a term which he employs with any member of the upper or middle class.

his profession, he is the first of the landowners to be aware of the legal problems involved in land sale and development. He is the only one with sufficient capital to finance the assessment, surveying, and legal procedure which are essential to the plan to sell small plots of land in Arembepe. Not only he, but all of the owners of the land on which Arembepe is situated, will eventually profit from Dr. Jorge's plan.

With the completion of a generally all-year passable road from Salvador to Arembepe, including a new concrete bridge over the Joanes River, winter tourists began to arrive in Arembepe in 1965. With the inception of daily bus service, with two buses on Sunday, the settlement was opened to tourists without cars, including lower and lower middle class residents of Salvador.

These changes in access to the settlement have been the preconditions for a change in attitude towards land and in the interactions between landlords and Arembepeiros. These also may be preconditions for the eventual socioeconomic stratification of the settlement.

The reader will recall that Dona Francisca's estate has been informally divided into three sections, owned respectively by individuals labeled S, N, and A in the genealogy in Figure 5. While these three segments are commonly accepted by the heirs, they have no legal recognition. This is the nature of the Brazilian condomínio; only the

estate and not the informal divisions are recognized by law. Because there are so many heirs, and because certain sections of the estate have been sold to non-relatives, any plan to sell smaller lots must have legal sanction. During winter of 1965, Dr. Jorge was involved in determining the boundaries of the estate and the lands which belonged to each of the heirs to the estate. To this end, he had hired a team of surveyors from Salvador. He estimated the total cost of the process as over one million cruzeiros (\$540.00 U.S. in 1965). When the results of the survey have been approved by the municipal government, which was expected in November, 1965, the owners will be free to sell lots, according to a plan outlined below.

The lots will vary in size and location. There will be three groups based on location: those with beach frontage, those on the lagoon side of Arembepe, and a group of lots to the west of the lagoons along the road to Açú, at about the same distance from the settlement as Cacimba Grande. The lots are to vary in size from house sites with back yards to small and large chacaras, or farms. The former are to measure 10 m. x 30 m., while the dimensions of the latter will be 20 m. x 50 m. and 30 m. x 100 m. The lots are to be distributed among Arembepeiros and outsiders.

There are three reasons why the scheme to lot will not dispossess Arembepeiros: (1) according to law, the inhabitants of a given house have the first claim to buy

that house; (2) the value of Arembepe as a tourist resort depends on the existence of a lower class population to provide servants and menials for the elite lot owners who will enter the settlement. In addition, the existence of a saveiro fishing industry is an attraction, for the setting and the orientation of the community's economy has a certain romance and picturesqueness for the elite Salvadorian. The fishermen also will provide fish for the tourists. To maintain the population of the community, the landowners cannot risk dissension, which could be exploited in court action initiated against the landowners by the population of the settlement. (3) Dr. Jorge has political ambitions. He is allied with the (misnamed) Brazilian Worker's Party, one which has minimal support in the rural areas of Brazil, and which represents less than twenty per cent of the voters in the municipality of Camaçari. Dr. Jorge has his eye set on state rather than local political office. No matter how small it is, Arembepe is his political base, and members of the lower class population of Arembepe can gain votes for Jorge through their extended kinship networks. It is to his advantage as a potential politician not to create a reputation as a selfish and arbitrary landlord. To this end, he works to maintain his favored position in the eyes of Arembepeiros.

There are good reasons, then, why Jorge will not risk the alienation of the community. What are the steps which he

plans to take to accomplish a peaceful division of his estate according to the lotting scheme? He told me that he did not plan to sell lots to Arembepeiros. He intended to give lots to villagers. He said that he wanted Arembepeiros to have their house sites for the smallest possible cost. If the lots are given to Arembepeiros, they are legally required to pay transferal fees. Dr. Jorge was as yet unaware of the cost of such fees. He indicated that he might sell lots to villagers if the cost to them would be below that of the transferal fee. Some villagers doubted that they would be given lots, and there were some who had already begun to estimate the prices which they would have to pay for their house sites. All Arembepeiros questioned seemed to think that Jorge would allow them to pay for lots in installments, and that the costs of the lots would not be prohibitive. One informant thought that he would have to pay Cr 100,000 for his house site. This represents one-eighth of his annual income.

Whether or not Dr. Jorge will give away lots or sell them is a matter which only future visits to Arembepe can determine. There is every reason to believe, however, that it will not be to his advantage to alienate the population by dispossessing them. He indicated to the writer that he would offer land in the third group of lots, that to the west of the lagoons, to those who either did not wish, or could not afford, to buy lots in the settlement. This land,

he stated, would be given to them free, if they would agree to move away and let him tear down their wattle and daub huts.

It is likely that Arembepeiros who have invested significant percentages of their annual incomes in brick houses will make every attempt to buy their house site, while those who live in mud shacks may elect to move to the interior settlement. This, too, awaits confirmation from future research.

Some Arembepeiros know that, according to Brazilian law, they may not be dispossessed. However, there are a number of loopholes through which an unscrupulous landlord could evict his tenants or make life miserable for them. While the tenant of any house or hut site has first right to buy that site, it is possible, and likely, that the price could be raised far beyond his reach by an unscrupulous landlord.

A tenant, at any time, may have his house assessed by a government official. Once this has been done, he pays an annual tax to the municipality on the basis of the assessed value. If the landowner wishes to evict him, he must pay the assessed value, which has been recorded in municipal records. Only the relatively well-off in Arembepe have been able to afford to have their houses assessed and to pay the annual tax, which amounts to a maximum of Cr 5,000 per year, depending on the value of the house.

There is every reason to believe that Dr. Jorge is sincere in his intentions towards Arembepeiros. However, some informants were uncertain as to the future of their rights, as they are constantly reminded, through examples from other settlements, of the lengths to which landlords may go to deprive their tenants of their land and houses. Thus, in Praia do Forte, a fishing community located on a coconut plantation to the north of Arembepe, in the adjacent municipality of Mata de São João, the fishermen recently won a court decision permitting them to defy a dispossession order issued by the landlords. The villagers were allowed to remain in the settlement, but their rights were severely curtailed. They may not put tile roofs on their houses. They are allowed to make no improvements or repairs of their houses. They may not construct new houses. They must leave the settlement to market their fish. The owners of the estate wished to dispossess the fishermen in order to begin an intensive and rationalized cultivation of coconuts.

Praia do Forte creates a far bleaker impression to a visitor than either Arembepe or Jauá. A barbed wire fence surrounds the settlement, and visitors are enjoined not to enter, for the estate is private property. The inhabitants of the settlement resent their landlords and their plight. Arembepeiros point to their own landlords as generous and "otimo" (the best) in comparison with the former.

Until 1965 the inhabitants of Jauá were able to live almost as freely as those of Arembepe, but Jauá's landowners have recently decided to restrict new houses, tile roofs, and repairs. In addition, they permit no livestock in Jauá, because they say animals might uproot their young coconut sprouts. Marketing of fish proceeds in Jauá, for the chief marketer is one of the landowners.

Thus, while there is a potential threat to Arembepeiros, it is unlikely to be activated for the following reasons:

(1) the landlord is generous, and pleasing Arembepeiros is to his advantage and to that of tourists who will seek fresh fish and a domestic labor force; (2) the lower class population of Arembepe is far richer and more sophisticated politically than the residents, with the exception of landowners, of either Jauá or Praia do Forte. This results from a long history of free commerce in Arembepe.

Tourists as Patrons

Like the landlords, some of the few middle class residents of Salvador who have regularly come to Arembepe to spend summers and vacations have been patrons to Arembepeiros on an individual basis. These people have not come to Arembepe to profit from the labor of villagers, nor do they usually derive income from land or fishing in Arembepe. Thus, they have not affected the stratification picture in the settlement. They have interfered very little in community life.

Prior to the completion of an all-year passable road and the inception of daily bus service in 1965, tourists had come to Arembepe in small numbers because of its beach, natural beauty, and relative isolation from urban life. Nine middle class tourists own houses in Arembepe. These people are in closer contact with Arembepeiros than those tourists who do not own houses in the village.

The group who have been long-time visitors to Arembepe are to be contrasted with those who come to Arembepe for Sunday and holiday picnics and who have no close ties in the settlement. It is primarily the latter whom the completion of the new road initially affected, for the members of the former group are generally owners of vehicles with four-wheel drive, which can reach the settlement over virtually any road.

The tourists who have begun to come to Arembepe on Sundays, many of them on the recently introduced bus, could spend vacations in the settlement if there were places to stay. One Arembepeiro has converted his small store-bar into a restaurant and boarding house, which has room for four overnight guests. Ten years hence one is likely to find a group of Arembepeiros who earn at least part of their incomes from catering to tourists. There will be more keepers of boarding houses, small hotels, and restaurants. On the one hand, Arembepeiros will profit from such small-scale enterprises. On the other, if there is to be any major development of the tourist industry, capitalists in

Salvador must invest, as they have recently done in a corporation to build a luxury hotel near Itapoan.

When the sale of lots goes into effect, one can reasonably expect to find an increased number, absolutely and relatively, of middle and perhaps upper class owners of houses and land in Arembepe. Among the immediate effects will be an increase in the number of domestic and menial jobs open to Arembepeiros within the community, and a steady widening of the social distance between villagers and members of superior strata.

Social relations between Arembepeiros and tourists have been determined by the regularity of the latter's appearances and the duration of their stays. Thus, the man who brings his family to Arembepe for a picnic may enter stores to buy soft drinks, but his encounters with Arembepeiros will be brief and limited. He will confine most of his attention to the beach. If the saveiros have gone out, he may wait for their return with the hope of buying fresh fish for a price which is lower than that in Salvador.

On the other hand, most of the tourists who own and rent houses in the community spend summer vacations, from December or January through March, in Arembepe. They also spend weekends in the village throughout the year. They employ local women as domestics and menials: cooks, maids, drawers of water, and washerwomen, for meager wages. House servants are willing to work in Arembepe for wages which are

less than they would receive in the City, for they have access to food for themselves and to that which they may pilfer for their families. Many tourists take Arembepe girls to Salvador to become domestics in their homes and in those of their friends. These seasonal residents also bring capital to the community as they patronize the local merchants. Even though they bring most of their food and supplies from Salvador, they may outspend the average Arembepeiro in a week. Their needs are different and more lavish--e.g., more soft drinks, and kerosene for their refrigerators and pressure lamps.

When a landowner is also a seasonal or part-time resident of Arembepe, his ties with villagers are intensified. Arembepeiros may visit him when they are in the City. Sometimes they ask him to baptize their children. Such an outsider also learns something about the system of social relations in Arembepe. He may come to act as a patron or in a paternalistic manner. The best example is a former German priest, labeled N3 in the genealogy in Figure . Until about ten years ago he resided in a large house to the north of the settlement. His two sons and daughter partially grew up in Arembepe, spending most of their summers there. Arembepeiros are completely familiar with the three children. They call them by their first names and with familiar terms and visit them in the City, for they regard them as sons and daughters of the community. The alcoholism of the two sons detracts

from the special prestige which Arembepeiros might award them on the basis of their university degrees. Behavior of Arembepeiros with the old man is different, and accords with the respect which is due a man who grew up elsewhere, a former cleric, an older man, and one with erudition and a university degree. Arembepeiros often brag that this man can speak seven different languages.

Arembepeiros accord deference and respect to the tourists, as to the landowners, on the basis of knowledge of their professional and educational status. As soon as a tourist tries to partake in the economic life and social life of the community, he immediately is treated in the same manner as Arembepeiros. Thus João Martins, entrepreneur and owner of a chain of butcher shops in Salvador, who constructed a summer house in Arembepe in 1965, is generally considered by villagers to be a very wealthy man. However, villagers rapidly awarded him a familiar status, for he bought a saveiro, is having another made, and is cultivating friends in Arembepe. João has no university education, and Arembepeiros regard his profession as one which merely confers wealth and no special prestige. The recognition of this has moved some Arembepeiros to ask why it is that he should have so much money and they so little. If wealth differentials between them and outsiders are reinforced with a university degree, Arembepeiros more easily comprehend the reasons for the differences in wealth. The fact that João

Martins has a non-prestigious occupation is confirmed by observation of his encounters with the owners of the Arembepe real estate. João adopts the same backslapping demeanor which he uses in his contacts with Arembepeiros with Leonard (A5), the lower middle class former railroad employee who is one of the landlords. However, João Martins defers to Dr. Jorge, even though João's income is probably higher than Jorge's. The reasons for this deference are clear if one remembers that João Martins is still a nouveau riche whose education and customary behavior bely a lower class background. Wealth is the basis for allocation of prestige and deference only when seen from an observer's point of view through time. There is every possibility that, if the wealth differential between them is great enough, the children of Dr. Jorge may defer to the children of João Martins.

Thus, behavior between villagers and tourists is governed by a number of considerations: the duration and the regularity of the Bahian's stay in Arembepe, his conduct in the community, his education and profession, the nature of his interest in Arembepe--whether as a potential area for small-scale entrepreneurial activity, or merely as a place to spend quiet vacations. Once a Salvadorian enters the economic life of the settlement, he is subject to the same rules and obligations which apply to all Arembepeiros. On the other hand, if he is a tourist and employer of domestic labor in Arembepe, he is a patron to his servants and to local storekeepers.

Divergence of Political and Economic Ties

In Chapters II and III, it was shown that among Arembepeiros there are no significant power differentials based on control over strategic resources. Positions of authority in community life were linked to age, sex, and kinship roles. Local success and community leadership were explained as the results of ephemeral personal characteristics. It was shown that within Arembepe itself there is maximal vertical mobility.

Because of its local economy, based on fishing and coconut cultivation; because of the removal of its landlords; and because of its continued isolation, Arembepe has never developed any basis for the political and administrative hierarchies which are found in stratified Brazilian communities (Cf. D. Gross, 1966; Harris, 1956; Hutchinson, 1957; Wagley, 1953; Zimmerman, 1952).

The stratification differentials which might exist in Arembepe on the basis of land and coconut trees have involved removal from the community. This is particularly true of the landlords, who have traditional ties with a local elite in the municipality of Camaçari. Arembepe's landlords are like others in Camaçari. Those who have remained, like the landlords who continue to reside in Jauá, are representatives of a fallen aristocracy. They continue to act like members of a local elite. They control life in Jauá. Yet their incomes and styles of life do not distinguish

them markedly from the most wealthy Arembepeiros. They cling to their family name and to their Caucasoid phenotypes as tenuous claims to local elite status.

Arembepe's landlords have not sought their fortunes in a municipality whose economy is oriented towards coconut cultivation, charcoal extraction, and subsistence agriculture. Like many other landowners in Camaçari, they have sought professional positions in Salvador and its suburbs. Some of them, like Dr. Jorge Camões, have achieved secure positions in the national middle class.

With the exception of the island municipality of Itaparica, located in the Bay of all Saints, Camaçari is the city (cidade) which is closest to Salvador, located 43 kilometers away by paved highway and 46 kilometers by railroad. In her study of political life in Camaçari, R. Gross (1964) showed that Salvador's physical proximity affects the correlation between economic status and political power in the entire municipality. R. Gross reports that "the richer, whiter, landholding elements are not interested in local politics. . . . They are playing politics in Salvador, and are not political patrons in Camaçari itself" (1964: 89). As a result, according to Gross, local politics are dominated by lower-middle and lower class elements:

. . . even those politicians who are in power tacitly admit that if Salvador were farther away, they would not be in such a good position, since the profitability and prestige connected with local politics would be high enough to interest the most socially and

economically powerful groups in society, the upper middle, upper and aristocratic classes." (R. Gross, 1964: 90).

Dr. Jorge is a good example. He is counting on his friendship with the governor of Bahia to lead him into state politics. He expressed no desire to enter municipal politics.

Thus, Camaçari contrasts strikingly with other municipalities in Brazil. Most municipal seats, especially those farthest from state capitals, are the "urban centers" of the surrounding countryside and tributary settlements. Their economies have provided a basis for the development of political and administrative bureaucracies which continue, in turn, to control the conditions of local economic life, including the ownership of land, and control of trade and commerce. Often local elites have developed on the basis of control over the collection and redistribution of some product of significance to the national or the world economy.

However, the only people with ties to Arembepe who might have jockeyed for control of municipal politics and a political status for Arembepe, have been forced to seek their fortunes outside of Camaçari. By their effective removal from community life, the landowners have either completely severed their ties with Arembepe, or they have never had anything to gain from bothering any one in Arembepe with their power.

In confirmation of the statement that the landlords are the only Arembepeiros capable of jockeying for political

control, it is significant that the only Arembepeiro ever to have held elective office is Selino, the caretaker of the Arembepe estate, and the local agent of the landlords.

Any Arembepeiro who aspires to political activity must cultivate the support of the landowners. Selino began to act as their local representative in 1942, after the death of Miguel Camões (A3 in Figure 5). Selino became a local political figure well after assuming his administrative role. In 1954, he began the first of his two terms (two years each) as vereador, (municipal councilman). His political success, which also has made him a cabo eleitoral, or vote solicitor for certain municipal candidates, rests on a structural position between Arembepeiros and landlords. While he claims that he receives no salary from the two landowners whom he represents, his standard of living, among the highest in Arembepe, suggests that he receives some form of remuneration. If one believes him, in lieu of a salary, he receives gifts, benefits, and respect from Arembepeiros. Thus, his wife has been a salaried municipal schoolteacher since 1946. His sons have obtained jobs with the Highway Department and with the Railroad through their connection with the landlords, who have influence with both agencies. Selino markets the fish from Dr. Jorge's two recently acquired saveiros, and he owns coconut trees and land, which were probably gifts from the landowners.

Some Arembepeiros regard Selino as the political chief, or chefe, of the settlement. Thus the majority of Arembepeiros who said that they voted with (i.e., for the candidate of) any other villager, said that they voted with Selino. Others said that they voted with either Selino or Dr. Jorge, which is saying virtually the same thing, since Selino always supports Jorge's candidate in state and national elections, and Jorge always approves Selino's choice of candidates in local elections.

Although among the most respected Arembepeiros, and sometimes regarded as chief of the community, Selino's position gives him no real power over Arembepeiros. Interaction between Selino and other villagers is governed by the same considerations of age, sex, and kinship which determine all interaction in Arembepe. There are fishermen in the settlement who receive higher annual incomes than Selino. Selino has perhaps the largest number of godchildren of any villager, and he receives the respect which is due a man aged 65 from his juniors and from more than 100 godchildren. Thus, he is a man whom Arembepeiros respect, treat well, and do not resent, but is not a member of any superordinate group with economic and power differentials.

Aluísio, the local police official, has gained his office through his friendship with the landowners, and through support of the former mayor (prefeito) of Camaçari, who is a landowner in the district of Monte Gordo. Aluísio

likes to boast about his popularity in Arembepe. As evidence, he cites the fact that he was elected president of the Fishermen's Society, that he has many godchildren, and his friendship with landowners and with tourists who own summer houses in Arembepe. Aluísio seeks to raise his status in the community and his standard of living generally. His children all have godparents who reside outside of Arembepe, many of them members of the national middle class--people capable of granting favors to him and to his children. Like Selino, Aluísio belongs to no stratified group within Arembepe. Because most conflicts in Arembepe are resolved through informal sanctions, Aluísio rarely has an opportunity to exercise his nominal authority as a municipally appointed police official. When someone, usually a drunk, creates a disturbance in Arembepe, Aluísio tries to find a kinsman of the offender to calm him down or remove him from the streets. The jail, which along with the schoolhouse is the only municipal building in Arembepe, is infrequently used.

Both Selino and Aluísio have been intermediaries between Arembepeiros and the outside world. Both have used their relationships with landlords to advance themselves politically and economically. Both have cultivated support among villagers, constantly affirming their solidarity with members of the community and showing themselves willing to assume the responsibilities of an expanding fictive kinship network. Both have also sought to extend their ties to

upper class people through their political activities, through the godparental system, and through simple deference to important outsiders. While they have profited economically from their positions, they are not the entrepreneurs of the local economy. They are politicians who seek to gain prestige and popularity within the settlement, and recognition from outsiders whom they view as important people and valuable allies. As such, they may be regarded as having vertically mobile aspirations which eventually may be expressed in better educations, jobs, incomes, and living standards for their children.

Dr. Jorge and the other landowners have no objections, then, if Arembepeiros want to engage in local politics. That even one Arembepeiro has been able to hold elective office points to the extent to which politics in Camaçari are dominated by what R. Gross (1964: 89) calls "lower middle" and "lower" class elements. If representatives of the municipal aristocracy were serious competitors, Arembepeiros would have no voice in local politics. There is no one to stop Selino, Aluísio and other Arembepeiros from supporting political parties and candidates for municipal office. Indeed, some villagers have found that their support for a successful candidate can pay off in material benefits.

To understand the political articulation of Arembepe to the municipal seat, one must examine political parties in Brazil and specifically in Camaçari. All of the voters

in Arembepe were asked to identify their political party affiliation, if any. They were also asked with whom they voted, i.e., whose candidates they supported. Of 189 Arembepiros who voted in the last election (October, 1962), only 16 indicated any party affiliation. The parties mentioned were among the three which traditionally have dominated Brazilian politics: The Social Democratic Party (PSD), The National Democratic Union (UDN), and The Brazilian Labor Party (PTB). In Arembepe these parties were preferred in the following order: PTB, UDN, and PSD. This order of preference was reversed in the National Chamber of Deputies for the years 1946, 1950, and 1954 (R. Gross, 1964: 80). The present mayor of Camaçari is a member of the Labor Party (PTB). His party received the third largest number of votes in the municipal elections of 1962. The mayor's political affiliation is somewhat unusual in Bahian politics. In 1958, the affiliation of Bahians according to political party was estimated as follows: PSD--31% of the electorate, UDN--19%, PTB--16%, and eight additional parties together--34% of the state electorate (R. Gross, 1964: 87). Members of the Labor Party held only nine of the 168 mayoralities in the state of Bahia in 1958 (R. Gross, 1964: 87).

In local elections, Arembepiros vote for the mayor (prefeito) and for municipal councilmen (vereadores). On the basis of a population below 75,000 Camaçari has eight councilmen, who receive no salaries. No Arembepiro is now

a councilman, although one councilman resides in Abrantes and another, a resident of an agricultural colony (colonia) between Portão and Abrantes, owns a summer home in Arembepe. There are generally more than forty candidates for the eight positions in the municipal legislative assembly. The winners are the eight who receive the largest number of votes. While each candidate normally represents a single party, there are occasional coalitions (Cf. R. Gross, 1964: 95).

Most Arembepeiros vote for the municipal candidates whom Selino supports. Since Selino is a member of the Labor Party, most villagers vote for Labor Party candidates in local elections. Arembepeiros cast 180 of the 526 votes which went to Labor Party candidates for municipal councilmen in the elections of 1962. Arembepeiros also must have provided a significant percentage of the votes which elected Ramiro Bastos, the current mayor, from a field of six candidates who split 3,156 votes in the 1962 elections. (R. Gross, 1964: 94).

Because of his party loyalty and his influence over the votes of Arembepeiros Selino is a valuable ally of both the present and the former mayors of Camaçari, both of whom were elected as members of the PTB. Selino and the Spanish storekeeper who lives in Arembepe solicited votes for Ramiro Bastos in the elections of 1962. Bastos also had Dr. Jorge's support. Both Selino and the storekeeper have received favors from the mayor in return for their support. Both

have sons boarding in the mayor's house in the municipal seat while they attend junior high school (sixth through eighth grades).

Most Arembepeiros vote for the candidates whom Dr. Jorge and Selino support. As one informant put it: "We are invited to vote with them." Those few Arembepeiros who vote for other candidates do not appear to be discriminated against in any way.

Economic Freedom: The External
Articulation of the
Local Economy

Arembepe's cash economy is inextricably tied to Salvador, which is the market for most of its fish and coconuts and the source of most non-subsistence goods which Arembepeiros buy. Yet variables within the local economy prevent the stratification of Arembepeiros on the basis of control over external trade. These variables, among them the "Protestant ethic" discussed in Chapters II and III, also keep villagers safe from the monopolistic control of outsiders.

In contrast to stratified Brazilian communities, no one person or small group of people control the marketing of the products which Arembepe offers to the outside world. Again, no one derives large-scale profits from Arembepeiros' labor on the basis of unimpeded and total control of the distribution of fish and coconuts. Since Salvador is the

major market for Arembepe's fish and coconuts, exclusive control over the distribution of these products (if it existed) could not serve as a basis for a political role in Camaçari, as major fish buyers all reside in Salvador.

My claim that Arembepe's principal economic pursuit is fishing is substantiated by an examination of the total annual receipts of inhabitants of the community. Arembepeiros receive more than five times as much annual income from the sale of their fish to agents of the outside world as they do from the sale of coconuts. Assuming that 3483 kilograms of fish are marketed annually by the average saveiro, with Cr 600 per kilogram as the average price which middlemen paid Arembepeiros for their fish in 1964-65, the total annual marketed catch for a fleet of 32 boats would be 111,500 kilograms. This would give an income of Cr 66,000,000 to all owners, captains, ordinary fishermen, and local fish marketers in Arembepe.

There are 77 Arembepeiros who own a total of 16,361 coconut trees in and around the settlement. With an average production of nine coconuts per tree per year, these trees together produce 147,250 coconuts. In 1965, at Cr 6000 per 100 coconuts (one cento), this gave an income of Cr 8,800,000 to villagers. There are other major sources of external capital. (1) Local storekeepers receive cash from outsiders, including tourists and other visitors. I have no way of indicating this receipt accurately. (2) Arembepeiros

employed outside the community contribute approximately Cr 15,000,000 to the annual receipts of the community.

(3) Villagers derive an additional Cr 3,000,000 from marketing the coconuts which belong to the landowners and to other Arembepeiros. The total annual receipts of all Arembepeiros amount to approximately Cr 95,000,000, or about \$60,000.00 U.S.

The open marketing system: fish

In the winter afternoon, generally beginning at about 3 P.M., Arembepeiros with good vision begin to sight masts on the horizon. People begin to gravitate to the beach. By the time the first saveiro arrives in the harbor at about 3:30 P.M., there is a large assembly, usually including approximately 150 people, milling around the beach area. Wives wait for their husbands on the upper beach. Children scurry down the slope to fetch fish from their fathers and to bring them back to their mothers on the upper beach or in their homes. Representatives of the fifteen non-fishing saveiro owners, or the owners themselves, meet their boats and help the fishermen unload their gear and the day's catch, while preventing fishermen from cheating them. Men and women wander along the beach, trying to buy or beg fish. Finally, there are fish buyers, 26 of them in Arembepe alone, and an additional ten who buy fish in Arembepe to resell in agricultural estates to the west.

When fish and gear have been unloaded, groups of fishermen, owners, owners' representatives, and fish seekers are spaced along the beach from north to south with from 15 to 25 feet of space between them. Fishermen distribute smaller fish species according to two methods: linha junta, all together, and linha separada (each man for himself). If the crew uses the latter system, each man examines his basket, decides how much he needs for his family, and sells the remainder. If he fishes according to the former method, he may sell his own fish only after an equal distribution has taken place.

The personnel involved in the distribution of fish

Males are not only the primary producers in Arembepe, but also the principal distributors. This would not be surprising were it not for the important roles which women play in the marketing systems of other fishing communities in the Caribbean area (Cf. Comitas, 1962).

The fish marketing system incorporates Arembepe into the Brazilian economy. It also provides cash for vegetable food and non-subsistence goods. Seasonal variations in the fish marketing system correspond to seasonal variations in fishing. Interaction of external buyers and Arembepeiros is much more intense during the summer and fall, when the Ocean is calm, the lagoons are dry, roads are always passable, and the ocean yields a greater bounty, than during the often listless winter months.

67

In June, 1964 four major agents of outside markets had established buying relationships with thirty of the thirty-one active boats. Each of the buyers had a recognized but unrecorded agreement with local representatives of saveiros to buy fish at a temporarily fixed rate and to transport fish to Salvador and Itapoan. Fish are distinguished into a three class or quality system. First quality fish brought Cr 700-750 per kilogram to Arembepeiros in 1965. Second quality fish brought Cr 550, and third quality fish brought Cr 300, in the same year. Prices paid for fish in Salvador are indicated in Appendix B. The average prices at which the external agents resold Arembepe's fish were Cr 1100, Cr 700, and Cr 500 per kilogram for first, second, and third quality fish in winter, 1965. Third quality fish are usually eaten only by local fishermen, who prefer to sell their higher quality fish for more money. When fish are scarce, as in winter, all species are sold for first quality prices. The lowering of fish prices in accordance with increased supply in summer and fall does not seem to have taken place, because of the general inflation. Arembepeiros stated that during the olho de boi season of 1965, the external merchants had tried to reduce the price of fish, but fishermen refused to accept lower prices.

The marketing of fish is not monopolized by a single individual or a small group of individuals. At least 30 people are involved in fish sale.

Local marketers.--(1) There are five Arembepeiros who buy fish in small quantities (generally two kilograms and less) from individual fishermen. They attempt to resell this fish for a profit to Arembepeiros, tourists, or to agents from Salvador. (2) There are five to ten men who come to Arembepe from Açu and Coqueiros to buy fish to resell on the agricultural estates. Like those in the first category, they buy small quantities of fish from individual fishermen. (3) Other types of local personnel have regular and established relationships with particular saveiros. This group includes boat owners and their representatives. Non-fishing owners take an active part in marketing. They, or their representatives, meet saveiros when they arrive in the harbor, take their fish to the weighing station on the upper beach, oversee the weighing of fish, and receive cash from the agents from Salvador. There is a markup of Cr 50 per kilogram of fish (in 1965; in 1964 the markup was Cr 30 per kilogram) between the fishermen and the frequeses (these marketers who are also owners). If there are two owners, they divide the profit.

For example, Bernardo is the non-fishing owner of the saveiro Bahia. He meets the boat on the lower beach, takes fish to the weighing station, and weighs it. Manuel, the agent from Salvador, records the catch and loads the fish into his jeep. In 1965 Bernardo received Cr 750 for a kilogram of first quality fish. The fishermen in his saveiro

received only Cr 700 for the same kilogram. Bernardo divides the Cr 50 profit with Nilson, the captain and co-owner. If fish is scarce, Bernardo may higggle with Manuel for an additional markup, which he retains himself. Since no one would admit that this takes place, it is apparent that Bernardo and other non-fishermen do not share this additional markup with their captains.

Three non-fishing owners employ Arembepeiros to carry out some of these marketing functions. There are four men who oversee the unloading and the weighing of the fish. They receive cash from the agents from Salvador and extract Cr 20 per kilogram for themselves from the markup of Cr 50. They give the remainder to the non-fishing owner.

When a boat has two owners, or only one non-fishing owner, the non-fisherman usually takes an active part in the marketing system. On the other hand, there are some non-resident owners who have contracted with Arembepeiros to oversee the marketing of their fish. Thus, Dr. Jorge allows Selino, his local representative, to market his fish. Selino keeps the Cr 50 markup which obtains between fishermen and the major buyers. Some other non-resident owners leave the marketing of fish to their captains. Fishermen, generally captains, who are full owners of their boats, commonly market their own fish.

The number of boats under the control of a local non-fisherman is usually coterminous with the number of

saveiros in which he owns shares. Thus, Aluísio markets the fish of the two boats of which he is co-owner. Bernardo, on the other hand, markets fish from four saveiros. He is co-owner of two and the full owner of one. He markets the fish from the other for a non-resident owner. Tiradentes markets fish caught by the three boats of which he is owner or co-owner. In addition, he markets fish for his brother, Valter. Valter allows him to do this in lieu of immediate repayment of the money which Valter borrowed from Tiradentes to commission a saveiro of his own. Tiradentes and Valter split the markup profit of Cr 50 per kilogram.

Local non-fishermen have begun to suffer in response to the increasing tendency for fishermen to buy their own saveiros, which was discussed in Chapter III. The arrival of the Salvador fish market in Arembepe in about 1950 meant that fishermen could gain higher prices for their fish. A number of middlemen, residents of Arembepe, Abrantes, and Portão, have been eliminated. Before the introduction of Jeeps, Arembepe's fish was carried on muleback to settlements along the road to Salvador. Some of it was sold in Abrantes, Portão, and other small settlements, but much of it went from Portão, the terminus of a passable road, to Salvador, by truck. With the arrival of the Jeeps in Arembepe, fishermen themselves began to derive some of the profits which mule-carried middlemen used to gain.

91

The external agents.--Inhabitants of Salvador and its suburb Itapoan have been coming to Arembepe in Jeeps with four wheel-drive, since about 1950. There is a rapid turnover in the specific external buyers. The principal agent in 1962 had virtually ended his relationship with Arembepe by 1965. An agent who came to the community in 1963 had stopped buying fish by late 1964. A new buyer arrived in 1965. Another outsider, a resident of São Cristovão who is married to an Arembepe girl planned to start buying fish in Arembepe in late 1965.

Because of this rapid turnover and the number of external buyers competing for the business of 31 saveiros, fishermen do not need to fall into the clutches of a single agent. New buyers can always be found. When outsiders first come to Arembepe with the desire to buy fish, they offer prices which are higher than those of the other fish marketers. In this way, they gradually win boats and business and keep the price of fish rising. Eventually, when they are entrenched, the price of fish tends to stabilize for all the external buyers. It rises only with fishermen's complaints or with the introduction of new external agents.

Because the Salvador agents do not enjoy unimpeded control of the fishing industry in Arembepe, Arembepeiros behave to them as they do to villagers of similar age and sex status. While the fish agents tend to be members of the national middle class, their class position does not rest on

fish marketing, and they are not patrons to Arembepeiros. Social relations between them and Arembepeiros tend to follow the egalitarian pattern.

Of the four outsiders who bought fish in 1964, Roberto had been the first to come to Arembepe. In 1962 he was the only Jeep agent in Arembepe. In 1962 about half of the saveiros continued to sell to agents who carried fish to Portão on muleback. From there, trucks transported it to Salvador. By 1964, two other Jeep agents, Manuel and José, controlled most of the marketing of Arembepe's fish. They had come with the improvement of the road between Portão and Arembepe. Roberto lost the business of many of his saveiros because he could not match the price which José and Manuel offered. He retains the business of seven boats although he is rarely seen in Arembepe, especially during the winter season. He has worked out an arrangement whereby José markets all his fish. José takes the fish from Roberto's seven boats to sell in his fish store in Itapoan. Roberto receives a set profit per kilogram. Roberto now earns most of his money from business dealings in Salvador. He found that regular trips to Arembepe, especially in winter, detracted from more profitable work in the capital. His arrangement with José saves him time, fuel, and maintenance of his jeep.

Roberto is well liked in Arembepe. As recently as September, 1965, he loaned money to an Arembepe captain to

buy a saveiro. For his generosity he will receive the right to market the catch of the saveiro should he ever resume his interest in Arembepe. He is the godfather of two children in Arembepe, and he is well enough known to his compadres to allow the children to stay in his house in Salvador. In Arembepe, he acts much as any villager in his mid-thirties would, and there is no deference behavior between him and Arembepeiros. Yet his effective income and his style of life bear witness to a status in the national middle class.

José owns a large fish store in Itapoan. He sells fish from Arembepe, Jauá, and Itapoan to the Air Base near Itapoan, to hotels and restaurants in Salvador and along the road to the capital. He must be placed in the national middle class by virtue of the magnitude of his business, his ownership of eight saveiros in Itapoan, and land and coconut trees which he purchased just south of the Jacuipe River. He is compadre to Dona Claudia, the Arembepe storekeeper's wife and landowner who has been mentioned as the only Arembepeiro with strong middle class aspirations. Her daughter, his godchild, boarded in his house in Itapoan while she attended junior high school. He rarely comes to Arembepe, and prefers to send his godson and paid agent, Adalto. Because of infrequent contact with Arembepeiros it is not José who normally interacts with Arembepeiros as an equal, but his agent. José has recently made enemies in Arembepe because of an incident which took place during the

1965 celebration for St. Francis. Not knowing how to drive, but seeking to learn under the influence of excessive cachaça, he plowed through the back fence of a fisherman's wattle and daub house and almost killed the fisherman and his wife. He offered to pay the fisherman's medical expenses, but when the fisherman, who was unable to work for four months because of his injuries, asked José for money, the latter refused to give it. José's wife was heard to remark in Arembepe, "I don't have to depend on the fishermen. They depend on me." Fishermen in Arembepe resented this remark and think that José is quite wrong. This is perhaps why Manuel, the next agent to be described, gained considerably on José between 1964 and 1965 in the number of saveiros that sold him fish. Neither José nor his wife are well-liked in Arembepe. They try to remain aloof from Arembepeiros, but villagers consider them to be pretentious, since they are both very dark and uneducated and "should not expect to be treated as grãfinos," as one Arembepeiro put it.

Manuel entered the settlement between 1963 and 1964. He had initial difficulty in establishing rapport with Arembepeiros. He entered the marketing system, as all agents do, by buying fish for a higher price than the other marketers offered. He became unpopular because he refused to give villagers rides to town in his Jeep and remained aloof from the fishermen. By 1965 he had been fully accepted, offered rides, and hired an assistant to accompany him to

the settlement or to come in his stead. The latter was also to serve as an intermediary who could treat Arembepeiros as equals and be treated in the same way as Adalto, José's godson and agent. The fishermen were shocked when wrecks in Manuel's jeep killed a fish buyer from Portão, and when Manuel's son ran down and killed an Arembepe child. Villagers are thus in regular contact with two agents, neither of whom is as friendly or has a record which is as unblemished as Roberto's. Both José and Manuel were wary when another fish merchant drove his jeep into Arembepe in September, 1965 and guaranteed a higher price for fish.

The open marketing of coconuts

As in the marketing of fish, no one person controls the collection and distribution of Arembepe's coconuts. Six Arembepeiros receive a major, although not necessarily the largest, share of their income from marketing coconuts in Salvador. All of the individuals who engage in coconut marketing are occupationally plural. Through a variety of economic pursuits, they are placed among the wealthiest households in the settlement. Yet they belong to no stratified group.

Most Arembepeiros own or have access through kinship to a few coconut trees, generally planted in their backyards or on the beach. On the other hand, there are larger holders, who market their fruits in Salvador. There are 77 of the latter, 43 males and 34 females. Arembepeiros own

13,326 old trees and 3,035 young plants. The young trees are those which have been planted within the past seven or eight years and which have not yet begun, or have just begun, to bear fruit. An equal number of males and females owns old trees. There are 33 owners of each sex for a total of 66 holders. This distribution accords with Brazilian inheritance laws which do not discriminate among heirs on the basis of sex. On the other hand, the new trees are owned by ten men and only one woman. This confirms my earlier statement that the wealth which is transmitted through inheritance is ultimately the product of a male's economic activity.

In addition to local owners, the landlords own 5,650 trees in and around Arembepe. These trees are distributed among five lineal and affinal heirs who own the estate of Arembepe in condominium. The income which they together derive from their trees amounts to approximately Cr 1,800,000, slightly less than one-fourth the amount which Arembepeiros themselves derive from their coconut holdings. The landowners have entrusted the marketing of their coconut to local agents. Thus the earnings of Arembepeiros from coconut marketing in 1965 was approximately Cr 3,000,000. (Since there are some Arembepeiros who market their own coconuts in Salvador, this figure is the one which would be received if three-fourths of all coconuts owned by Arembepeiros and the landowners were marketed by the local merchants.) This

figure is more than half the annual income which Arembepeiros derive from fish marketing (the operations between fishermen and the major external agents).

In the winters of 1964 and 1965, the price which Arembepeiros received for coconuts varied with supply and demand at markets in Salvador. According to one marketer, in 1965 there were days when he received as much as Cr 10,000 for 100 coconuts (one cento) which he had bought in Arembepe for Cr 5,000. There were other days when he received only Cr 7,000. He estimated his average profit from the sale of coconuts to be approximately Cr 2,000 per cento. In 1964, marketers estimated profits of Cr 1,200 per cento. Profits can be calculated only after certain expenses are deducted. The expenses which are incurred regularly by the coconut marketer are summarized in Figure 6.

Fig. 6. Expenses and Profits from Coconut Marketing

Expenses (per 100 coconuts)	Cost 1964	Cost 1965
Truck to Salvador	Cr 400	Cr 650
Stevedore in Salvador	100	150
Municipal Tax	100	200
State Tax	300	600
	—	—
Buying price Arembepe	3500	5000
Selling price Salvador	5500	8750
	—	—
Gross Profit	2000	2000
Net Profit	1100	2150
	—	—

In addition to the major expenses which are indicated in Figure 6, certain minor expenditures must also be borne by the coconut marketer. For example, if he has no animal to transport the fruits from the trees to the truck, which stops on the lagoon side of Arembepe, he must rent an animal. However, this is never a consideration for the major middlemen, as they own their own burros, donkeys, and mules. Nevertheless, such animals must be maintained with rations, and food for animals was estimated to cost Cr 750 per week in 1965. Finally, the marketer has to buy food for himself once he arrives in Salvador. He incurs other expenditures, including costs of visits to houses of prostitution, which are normal adjuncts to many coconut selling trips. The owner of the coconut trees pays all expenses involved in picking, husking, and loading of coconuts onto the marketer's burros.

The sale of fish brings outsiders to Arembepe, while the marketing of coconuts takes Arembepeiros to Salvador. Coconut marketing seems to be a far more time-consuming occupation than local fish marketing, and rewards are correspondingly greater. Six Arembepeiros divided Cr 3,000,000 from coconut marketing, as contrasted with the Cr 5,600,000 which 36 villagers earned from fish marketing in 1965. Unlike the fish agents, the owners of stalls where coconuts are marketed in Salvador never enter the social life of Arembepe. While they are linked to Arembepe's economy, they

are socially marginal. In Salvador, Arembepeiros compete on the open market with coconut marketers from other rural settlements. There is a far greater variation in price obtained from coconuts per unit than from fish per unit because there are no stable buyer-seller relationships and because marketers and coconuts from other rural communities compete directly with Arembepeiros and their produce.

All coconut marketers are businessmen. Two of them run stores. None of them had a fisherman for a father. None has ever been a fisherman. Through a combination of business and agricultural activities, they have incomes which average more than Cr 500,000 per year, annual incomes which approximate those of successful saveiro captains.

One of the six coconut marketers is Fidelio, who has been described as an entrepreneur in Chapter II. He derives the highest annual income of all the coconut buyers, receiving about Cr 675,000 annually from selling coconuts which are not his own, including those of the landlords.

Like captains, coconut marketers have achieved economic success within Arembepe. While as a group they stand in a superior position to the average ordinary fisherman and boat captain, the fact that their annual incomes never exceed Cr 2,000,000, coupled with the large families which all of them have, and the greater share of their annual cash incomes spent on subsistence, means that their effective incomes are approximately the same as those of

successful villagers in other professions. They, like all Arembepeiros, remain members of the Brazilian lower class. Thus, while Arembepe has been inextricably tied to the Brazilian cash economy, community life has been isolated effectively from the national power structure. Arembepe shares the orientation to the state capital of the municipality which includes it. The stratification differentials which might exist in Arembepe on the basis of land and coconut trees have involved removal from community life. Landlords have had to seek fortunes in Salvador or become fallen aristocracy. Throughout Camaçari, they have left local politics to lower middle and lower class elements. Because no one derives large-scale profits from Arembepe, there has been no one to interfere with the villager's unimpeded pursuit of cash and their limited activities in local politics. No one individual or small group of individuals controls the collection and distribution of Arembepe's primary produce, for new buyers for fish and coconuts can always be found.

Arembepe has remained a community--a collectivity of actors sharing a limited territorial area as the base for carrying out the greatest share of their daily activities. Villagers have also been able to develop an awareness of their uniqueness and separate identity as a group. When villagers leave Arembepe to seek their fortunes outside, they do not sever their sociological and ideological connections to their community. The factors which determine

whether or not natives who leave Arembepe will remain outside are evaluated in the following section.

Arembepeiros outside the Community

While community life goes on, there are always sons and daughters outside the settlement. Arembepeiros, generally males, travel to Salvador to buy foods and non-subsistence possessions. They go to market coconuts, to visit prostitutes, to re-establish ties with natives who have moved out. Women go to the City to work as servants in the homes of the Bahian elite. Fishermen leave the community to work for a while in commercial fishing in Salvador, Rio and other major ports. Boys and girls study in the better schools of communities closer to Salvador. Those with the best educations may find lucrative jobs with governmental agencies, the Air Base, or the national oil monopoly.

Some, like Dona Claudia, who has middle class aspirations, leave the community for good. Others, like most of the fishermen, spend a limited period in commercial fishing, accumulating capital which they will reinvest in Arembepe. When they return to Arembepe they will be successful and respected villagers, proven in the attributes of the "Protestant ethic." Yet they will remain lower class Brazilians.

The Arembepeiro working outside the community almost never severs his bonds with home completely. Sociological

and ideological connections with the small rural settlement which spawned him continue to limit his vertical mobility within the national stratification structure. In this section Arembepeiros will be followed out of the community. Their behavior in Arembepe will be contrasted with their behavior in other settlements. The considerations which determine their vertical mobility and whether or not they remain outsiders will also be evaluated.

Prerequisites to Vertical Mobility outside of Arembepe

The existence of non-stratified hierarchies in Arembepe to some extent affects success outside of the community. Those Arembepeiros who have achieved economic success within their village, generally through a combination of income-producing roles, and who desire to transmit the results of this success to their children, realize that education is perhaps the most important prerequisite to any greater economic achievement. When a child is born, his parents, if they look to his future, will ask people who reside outside of Arembepe to stand as his godparents. Since there are two godparents for baptism, one for confirmation, one for consecration, and two for religious marriage, in addition to less formal occasions such as St. Peter and St. John, a child has at least four chances to acquire a godparent or a co-parent who resides outside of Arembepe. Because of the size of the family, especially among more

successful Arembepeiros, it is also probable that such a child will have an aunt, uncle, or cousin who resides closer to the state capital.

The majority of the thirteen Arembepe children who studied outside of the community in winter, 1964 were living in the houses of their relatives, generally aunts and uncles, or of their godparents. Such individuals, like their compadres in Arembepe, are generally members of the national lower class. These kinsmen and fictive kinsmen are valued by Arembepeiros because of the roles which they may play in the education of Arembepe children. They are also valued because they live in or close to Salvador. Their houses serve as hotels for Arembepeiros who go to the City to make purchases, consult a doctor, or simply for a trip (passeio).

The Nature of Vertical Mobility

Some Arembepeiros have left their natal community to pursue occupations offering salaries which are much higher and seem to be far more regular than anything available in Arembepe itself. Yet, by and large, the standards of living of these people are not significantly higher than those of the most successful Arembepeiros who continue to live and work in the community. From the point of view of living standards, then, there are considerations which pull Arembepeiros from the community, and others which tend to draw them back.

307

Arembepeiros envy lower class kinsmen and fictive kinsmen who, they think, have escaped from the monotony of the small rural settlement and have been able to lead more comfortable lives nearer the City. Ivete envies her older sister Augusta who lives with her husband and eleven children in São Cristovão. This is a community of about 1000 people located between Itapoan and the Air Force Base, and about twenty-five kilometers by paved highway from Salvador. Like many of the inhabitants of São Cristovão, Ivete's sister's husband Jacob is an employee of the Air Force Base, where he works as a cook. His base salary is Cr 130,000 per month, in addition to a stipend of Cr 5,000 per month which he receives for every child. Ivete frequently visits Augusta and Jacob and she has remained in their house for as long as five months without returning to Arembepe, except for occasional weekend visits. She assists her sister with housework, cooking, and looking after the eleven children. Augusta seems to be glad to have Ivete's assistance. To an Arembepeiro there are numerous attractions in São Cristovão: electricity and electrical appliances, cars, streetlights, and stores which sell things not available in Arembepe and basic supplies for cheaper prices. Salvador is less than one hour away by regular bus service, and Itapoan is within ready walking distance. Finally, and most important from Ivete's point of view, there are many young men who are steadily employed on the nearby air installations.

Ivete would like to contract a marriage which is at least as successful as Augusta's. She seeks a husband who is steadily employed and who earns an income which will permit a standard of living at least equivalent to that of Augusta and Jacob. To this end, Ivete says that she has preserved her virginity through age 27. She hopes to contract a legal marriage, for which a hymen is said to be essential. She seeks definite criteria in a husband, and her quest has not been easy. At 27, she is perhaps the oldest virgin or moça in Arembepe.

To Arembepeiros, Salvador and nearer communities such as Portão, Santo Amaro, São Cristovão, and Itapoan represent the locations of valued goals. In such settlements Arembepeiros find benefits of modern life: electricity, a running water system, cheaper prices, improved educational opportunities, medical facilities, and relatively modern conditions which they think will enable them to enjoy a good life. From the observer's point of view, the lives which they will lead in Salvador and its suburbs are not too different in terms of concrete advantages from the lives which they lead in Arembepe. Let us return to Jacob, the Air Force Base cook who resides in São Cristovão. Jacob is fortunate enough to have a relatively high salary which amounts to Cr 2,220,000 per year. Of this sum, Cr 720,000 are awarded to Jacob by virtue of his eleven children.

The work which Jacob does allows him a relatively

assured source and amount of income. In a military dictatorship, there is little chance that an Air Force Base will close down. Jacob has been fortunate to retain his position for twenty years, and in September, 1965 he learned that he had been pensioned with full pay after his twenty years of service.

Other workers are not so fortunate. Salustino, aged 35, is an Arembepeiro who until recently was employed by Texaco. After less than ten years of service with a salary equivalent to Jacob's, Salustino was laid off. He received a compensation fee which allowed him to buy a Volkswagen microbus. He now runs bus service between Itapoan and Santo Amaro and resides, as formerly, in São Cristovão. He was unlucky to have been fired, but fortunate to have received sufficient funds to establish himself in a new business activity. His standard of living will suffer, and he can no longer afford to allow his home to be the refuge and boarding house of the many Arembepeiros who used to regularly visit him.

Both Jacob and Salustino earned considerably more than the regional minimum salary. The regional minimum, Cr 51,600 per month in July, 1965 (Margolis, 1966: 53), could barely meet the subsistence needs of one individual, much less of families of four, five, and larger. Jacob and Salustino, like the oil workers who will be described presently, stand high in the Bahian working classes by virtue

of their incomes. When Ivete seeks a husband in São Cristovão, she seeks such a person, and not a young man who earns only the minimum wage.

To Ivete and to most Arembepeiros Jacob's standard of living seems beyond their reach in Arembepe. But how different is his life from that of a successful fisherman? On the basis of contributions to the Fishermen's Society in 1965, Zeca was the most successful captain in Arembepe. If his contribution to the Society represents two per cent of his total cash income for the 1964-65 fishing season, the total income derived from the saveiro's catches in this period was Cr 5,700,000. Of this sum, Zeca, as captain and co-owner in a crew of four, received a cash income of Cr 1,775,000. This was the highest income derived from fishing in Arembepe in 1964-65. In September, 1965 he dissolved his partnership with a non-fisherman and bought his own used boat so that he alone would receive the owner's profits from fishing. Zeca supports a wife and five small sons. In addition, he regularly sends food and money to his mother and to his wife's father. He spends approximately Cr 1,000,000 per year on food and on other regularly consumed household items, such as soap, charcoal, and kerosene. His house, constructed with money which he earned fishing commercially in Salvador and Rio de Janeiro for eight years, is made completely of brick, with a tile roof and tiles set in the cement floor. It is one of the most spacious and

valuable houses in Arembepe and among the thirteen buildings in Arembepe with toilets. Zeca reinvests the balance of his annual income in a small farm in Coqueiros which he purchased in 1962. He has planted 320 coconut trees, which should begin to give fruit in from six to seven years. He has already harvested crops of manioc, oranges, lemons, mangoes, maracujá, and sugar cane from his garden. His family consumes most of the food, but markets the remainder in Arembepe. Had his coconut trees been bearing in 1965, his annual income would have risen by about Cr 100,000.

Zeca's standard of living equals or exceeds Jacob's for a number of reasons. Zeca does not spend such a large percentage of his annual income on food, for he is a fisherman and a farmer. As a result, his family enjoys a high protein diet supplemented with vegetables more frequently than most Arembepeiros. Most of Zeca's food expenditures are on additional items when he either does not or cannot cultivate on his plot: beans, beef, pork, milk, butter, and bread. Because of his increased income, Zeca can afford to buy supplies which are produced outside of Arembepe, and with his job experience in Rio, he has learned that food prices in large cities are sometimes cheaper than in small rural settlements. With this in mind, he makes regular trips to Salvador, so as not to waste his money buying certain non-perishables in Arembepe.

Zeca owns few of the appliances which electricity

makes practicable. He has a fine radio, and his wife has a foot-powered sewing machine. He also owns a battery-operated record player which he bought in Rio, the only one in Arembepe. He intends to wait for electricity to reach Arembepe before he buys a refrigerator, for he realizes that a kerosene refrigerator is considerably more expensive to operate. A refrigerator and a gas stove are the only appliances which Jacob has and Zeca does not.

Zeca has only five children, but he and his wife are still in their early thirties, and it is probable that their family will increase. Since Arembepeiros, like most lower class Brazilians, do not use artificial devices to control conception, there is a striking correlation between economic success and number of surviving children, as Zeca and Jacob readily demonstrate. Neither of their wives has ever lost a child. Thus, Zeca must plan for the future. Unlike Jacob, he receives no increase in salary for additional children. The only thing to which he can look forward is a large number of sons to send him money when his economic decline begins.

Thus the living standards of Jacob and Zeca differ only slightly. This situation may shortly change when electricity arrives in Arembepe. While Ivete thinks of São Cristovão as a relative paradise, she is wrong in supposing that Jacob receives a larger significant or effective income than the most successful fishermen in Arembepe. On the other

hand she is quite right when she contrasts Jacob's effective income with that of the average ordinary fisherman (about Cr 350,000 per year). Jacob receives approximately seven times this amount, and even when additional food expenses are deducted, this remains a significant increment.

When considerations based solely on significant income are temporarily disregarded, an observer sees other possible advantages in life closer to and in Salvador. Among them are improved medical and educational facilities. Yet the advantages of urban life may be only ephemeral, when one considers that few lower class Brazilian children complete secondary school, or even the primary grades, when he sees depressing tenements in Salvador, and in view of the entire socio-economic system which allows the maintenance of such conditions. To an Arembepeiro the City offers benefits. But these benefits are only relative to a socio-economic structure which maintains Arembepeiros and all members of the national lower class at a low living standard. They are, in a real sense, only temporary and meager expedients to any significant socio-economic change.

Incentives to Return: Alienation in the Big City

Any Arembepeiro who moves to a stratified settlement will normally interact daily with members of the superordinate strata, most commonly with his employers, with policemen, and with clerics. In addition, a lower class person,

signified as such by the type of clothes he wears, the way he talks, and in Bahia generally by dark skin color, will be acknowledged as such in any encounter. When a lower class Brazilian enters a store which is also frequented by upper-class Brazilians, he immediately becomes the object of discrimination. While the lighter member of the superordinate groups comes in and moves to the head of the line, the worker must wait. The address which store clerks adopt with him will single him out as a worker or a menial. When addressed by a "superior" he will be called by the familiar "you" form, and "boy" (rapaz) rather than "mister" (senhor). In innumerable blatant and subtle ways, the lower class Arembepeiro in Salvador is constantly made aware of his membership in a subordinate group.

Significantly the ideology of equality seems to remain with the Arembepeiro during his first days in the City. The Arembepeiro who has had no regular or prolonged contact with urban life has not yet learned the way in which others expect him to conduct himself in the City. Thus, he is apt to address Salvadorians whom he sees on the street by the familiar rather than the formal "you" form. He is likely to do the same with store clerks.

If by some chance, he enters a middle-class restaurant, he may be shocked at the price of food. One meal in a fancy restaurant may equal the monthly salary of a cook or maid in a tourist's house in Arembepe. He will be unfamiliar with

the eating utensils which are set before him and will mix his manioc flour with his steak and eat with his fingers. For the Arembepeiro removed from friends, relatives, and the cues which govern his behavior at home, the city is an alien place.

Arembepeiros make pleasure trips to Salvador with an average frequency of four times per year. Many villagers also have worked in urban centers. Seventy-five of the 159 inhabited households in Arembepe include people who have worked in cities and stratified settlements. Even during work periods, however, Arembepeiros seek out friends and relatives. They live with other rural migrants in isolated slums, trying in vain to replicate some of the social life of their native communities. The City, as it is known to members of the urban upper and middle classes, remains unfamiliar to them.

The Arembepeiro working outside of his community normally chooses an occupation related to his profession in Arembepe. This is because the skills which he can acquire in Arembepe are limited and because often he plans to return home after having accumulated some capital which can be re-invested in Arembepe. Most Arembepeiros do not leave to stay. They merely leave so as to be able to afford a better life when they return. Thus, most commercial fishermen have been and will be saveiro fishermen when they return to Arembepe. Only one of the 25 men who have fished commercially

works in a profession other than saveiro fishing. Most villagers who have worked in Salvador stores are businessmen in Arembepe.

Commercial fishing

Most male Arembepeiros who have worked outside of the community have been commercial fishermen. Of all the sources of outside employment, commercial fishing is most likely to be a temporary affair. Saveiro fishermen fish in major ports for periods ranging from three months to eight years. Then they return to Arembepe, buy saveiros, and normally maintain some of the highest living standards in the village.

Most commercial fishing begins in Salvador. The customary procedure is to begin fishing on one of the trawlers which are owned and operated in Salvador. Later, since fishing is said to be more lucrative in Rio de Janeiro, it is common to seek a position on a boat from Rio which is making a stopover in Salvador. The fisherman returns to Rio with the boat and either continues to fish in its crew, or finds a position on another boat. More than half of the males who have worked outside of Arembepe have worked in commercial fishing of this sort.

Salaries in Rio are said to be higher than in Salvador, and living costs are generally somewhat lower. One man who fished in Rio for seven years said that during this period he had earned more than five times what was then the minimum

wage. The highest salary to a fisherman on a Bahian trawler was approximately Cr 300,000 per month in winter, 1965. I talked with the man who has recently commissioned what is to be the largest fishing boat operating out of Salvador. The owner calls the vessel a cooperative enterprise. He will receive thirty per cent of the proceeds from each catch, regardless of its size. In turn, he pays for the boat's maintenance and repairs. The fishermen, including the captain and the engineer, divide seventy per cent of the catch, but they must also deduct the expenses of each trip, including gasoline, food, and equipment from their shares.

The owner assumes that a fourteen-man crew can produce 8,000 kilograms of fish per day as a maximum. This is the boat's capacity. If the catch amounts to this, each ordinary fisherman (12 out of a 14 man crew) receives Cr 159,166 for ten days of fishing. Were commercial fishing this lucrative continuously, fishermen would receive an income equal to that of the highest paid Petrobras (oil) worker in Arembepe. The fisherman's food and lodging for twenty days of each month are also provided for. The owner estimates that the average catch will be 6,000 kilograms per ten-day fishing period. This yields an income of Cr 103,333 per fisherman, which is higher than the salary of Jacob, the Air Force Base cook, even with his increments for eleven children. On the other hand, fishermen receive no cash if the catch falls below 3,000 kilograms.

512

The salaries which the fisherman receives on a trawler are reduced by a plethora of deductions which nominally entitle him to certain benefits, including accident insurance and pensions. However, few Arembepeiros remain commercial fishermen long enough to receive these benefits. In addition, some of the deductions from his pay seem completely unrelated to the commercial fisherman's welfare. One of these is a contribution of 4.3% of his gross salary to the National Institute of Agrarian Reform. Another is a 2% deduction for the Social Service of Industry. However, even after deductions, the Arembepeiro who is willing to spend a few years fishing on a large boat can earn sufficient money to improve considerably his standard of living in Arembepe.

The period in commercial fishing might be considered a kind of rite de passage, which is a helpful prerequisite to success in the saveiro fishing industry. It is also a time to see big cities, to acquaint oneself with urban life, and to accumulate capital--part of which is reinvested in Arembepe. While young men are away from Arembepe, they are expected to maintain ties to home. This is accomplished through letter writing and through personal messages conveyed by other Arembepeiros returning home. Friends and kinsmen generally take money from Arembepeiros fishing in a major port to their wives and families back home. When the Arembepeiro returns to the village for short periods or vacations,

he brings presents and money for his family, including his parents and siblings.

On the commercial trawler, Arembepeiros work with their socio-economic equals, and on the boat social relations must be very like those which prevail in rural settlements such as Arembepe. But when the trawler docks in a major port, the Arembepeiro immediately enters an alien social system. The following case is a poignant commentary on an Arembepeiro's plight in Rio de Janeiro.

In 1953 Zeca left Arembepe at age 20 to fish commercially in Salvador. He remained there for a year before shipping out for Rio, where he fished on trawlers for seven years. During this time, he spent three vacations in Arembepe. In 1959 on his last visit before coming home for good, he was married in civil and religious ceremonies. He returned to a wife and son in 1961.

Zeca rented quarters in Rio with another young Arembepeiro, also a commercial fisherman, and with another young Bahian. Zeca saw something of Rio in the daytime, when the boat was docked, but he preferred Niteroi, the smaller capital of the state of Rio de Janeiro, just across the Guanabara Bay. Life there was "calmer," more like life in Arembepe. To Zeca, Rio is not the "marvelous city" described in tourist magazines. No one could convince him that it was other than a dangerous place where thugs and armed robbers lurked behind walls and in alleyways. While Zeca was never robbed in Rio,

other Arembepeiros have been. Carlos, a 22-year old Arembepeiro, went to Rio to work in his uncle's small store. Carlos was robbed when he fell asleep on a public beach. When he woke up he found that his clothes and his watch were missing. When he went to the police, they only told him what he already knew, that there was no way to find the thief.

The fear and alienation which Zeca experienced in Rio illustrate the bonds which perpetually unite Arembepeiros with community and kinsmen. During his stay in Rio, Zeca followed the model of the successful Arembepeiro. He worked hard, and he did not spend his money on foolish things. He rarely entered restaurants, where he found the food to be exceedingly expensive and not very tasty. He saved money to buy a radio and a record player, items which would offer entertainment to him and to his family and friends when he returned to Arembepe.

The only reason I went to Rio was to earn enough money to give me a better life in Arembepe. I was the son of a poor family. My mother and father never got along. They separated, and I had to act like a father to my four younger brothers. I had to support all of them, and my mother too. I wanted to get married, but I didn't have enough money to build a new house. I wanted to buy a saveiro, but I didn't want to work with an associate who did not fish. It would have taken me much longer to earn enough money to do all these things in Arembepe. So I went to Rio when I was young and single and stayed there until I could come back to Arembepe and give a better life to my children.

During his stay in Rio, Zeca sent money to his mother, brothers, and later to his wife and son. This illustrates the fact that no matter how far from home they may go,

Arembepeiros do not escape their kinship systems. They must contribute to the support of their kinsmen if they hope to lead a successful life in Arembepe when they return, for they too must have someone to fall back on if they ever need help. Faced with the alien character of urban life, Arembepeiros often long for home. Zeca talked of his nostalgia (saudades) for his mother, wife, and child. He always looked forward to the day when he could finally leave Rio and come home. He valued the security, mutual aid, consolation, and familiarity offered by family and a tightly-knit community.

Arembepeiros who want to improve their lives are thus faced with a dilemma. Are they to alienate themselves from family and friends in seeking better lives outside of Arembepe, or are they to sacrifice part of their gains of money and independence to socially enjoined sharing? Most Arembepeiros adopt the latter solution.

External employment for women

In contrast with careers in commercial fishing, all employment opportunities open to females outside of Arembepe are negatively correlated with economic status in Arembepe. It is customary for young girls from Arembepe's poorer households to employ themselves as domestics in homes in Salvador. These periods away are usually very brief. The girl misses Arembepe and finds that the salary (Cr 5,000 per month in some homes in 1965) which she earns in Salvador hardly makes her stay worthwhile.

Careers in Petrobras

Fifteen sons of Arembepe have acquired positions with the Brazilian oil monopoly (Petrobras).¹ Their work demands that they fulfill semi-skilled functions, for which the company gives them training. Only two of them continue to reside in Arembepe. The others have established residence near the sites of their work. The two Petrobras employees who do head households in Arembepe return to the community on weekends and vacations. They enjoy perhaps the highest incomes in Arembepe.

Careers in Petrobras contrast with those in commercial fishing. One enters Petrobras for life, while commercial fishing is temporary. Work for the oil concern allows Arembepeiros to maintain connections with Arembepe. Since most of them are employed in Salvador or in Camaçari, they can visit their parents and relatives at regular intervals. They can return to the community to play football against teams from outside. Or, if they wish, they can sever most ties to Arembepe and move up within the national class structure. In this case, they do not affect the stratification picture in Arembepe.

The salaries which Petrobras paid to unskilled and semi-skilled workers in winter, 1965 varied between

¹The central office of Petrobras is in Salvador. Arembepeiros also work in exploratory oil operations in Camaçari, Mata de São João, and in communities such as São Francisco do Conde in the Bahian sugar Recôncavo.

Cr 90,000 and Cr 400,000 per month. Annual incomes of Cr 1,080,000 to Cr 4,800,000 are far beyond earnings from saveiro fishing, even when subsistence expenses are considered. The two Petrobras workers who head households in Arembepe make over Cr 200,000 per month. An average income to Arembepeiros employed by Petrobras of Cr 250,000 per month or Cr 3,000,000 per year is approximately ten times the annual cash income of the average ordinary fisherman, and is almost twice the annual income from fishing alone of the most successful saveiro captain in Arembepe.

Incomes from Petrobras support superior living standards. The two Petrobras workers who continue to reside in Arembepe own two of the most valuable houses in the community. One of them owns a 1963 jeep, the only automobile in Arembepe. The other planned to buy a vehicle in September, 1965. Both of them have kerosene powered refrigerators and gas stoves.

Despite their higher incomes, the Petrobras workers do not form a group apart from other Arembepeiros. They associate with other villagers, for all of them have close relatives in the community. These kinsmen pursue many different occupations and enjoy different consumption patterns.

To the Arembepeiro a position with Petrobras represents the most highly valued career. However, jobs with the oil concern are becoming increasingly difficult to obtain. In the past, the applicant had only to find an important

person, such as Dr. Jorge, to vouch for him. After this, he was allowed to take an examination. If he passed, he eventually received training and a job. Literacy and elementary arithmetic, through third grade level, were the only requirements of the examination.

Arembepeiros were disgruntled when they learned in 1965 that requirements had become much more exacting. Now a patron and an exam were not sufficient. The applicant also had to have a junior high school (ginásio) education. Since no one now living in Arembepe has such an education, the supply of Petrobras incomes to Arembepeiros has temporarily been blocked, until children now studying outside the settlement complete junior high school. Education has thus become an even more essential imperative to a superior income and higher standard of living in semi-skilled labor.

It is with reference to outside employment that the landowners have been most helpful to Arembepeiros. Two of the local administrator's three sons have found positions in lucrative outside employment. The landowners obtained these jobs to repay Selino, their local agent, for his services. One son works as road gang foreman for the Highway Department, between Arembepe and Portão. Work on road gangs as ordinary laborers provides minimum salaries (Cr 51,600 per month in winter, 1965) to other Arembepeiros. The other son has received a job with the Bahian railroad. As one informant answered when I asked him what he thought about

the system of acquiring lucrative outside employment, "One has to have amizade (friendship, pull) to get an important job. One needs someone with melhor conhecimento (better knowledge of how the patronage system works) and more contacts than Arembepeiros."

The system of employment through patronage extends to Petrobras, as the following case illustrates. Nilton, age 28, works for Petrobras. He resides in Salvador but occasionally comes to Arembepe, where he was born. Between 1964 and 1965 he purchased a used saveiro in Arembepe, found a captain, and arranged with a local businessman to oversee the marketing of his fish. Nilton completed primary school in Arembepe thirteen years ago. At that time one could study in Arembepe through fifth grade, for there was a certified state-appointed and salaried teacher in the settlement. Nilton's father, a local businessman, sent the boy to Salvador to attend junior high school. When the boy completed eighth grade, he returned to Arembepe, in violation of the wishes of his father and step-mother, both of whom wanted Nilton to enter senior high school (colegio). On his return to Arembepe, he remained without regular work for a few months. Finally, he was shamed by his father and brothers into asking Dr. Jorge to help him find a job with Petrobras. Nilton did not have to pass an examination, as he had completed eighth grade and had a sponsor who was an important road department official in the municipality of Camaçari, where exploratory

oil operations had recently begun. His first post took him to Açu dos Torres, a town in the municipality of Mata de São João, adjacent to Camaçari to the north. He was transferred to Salvador six years ago and continues to reside there with his step-mother. He has not yet married, and Arembepe's young girls consider him to be fair game.

Nilton has severed many of his social connections with Arembepe. He continues to fulfill his obligations to his father's widow by supporting her. He has been especially close to his step-mother, because she raised him, following his mother's death, from the time he was two years old. He also supported his only full sister until she married a Petrobras worker and went to live in Camaçari (the town). Nilton retains economic interests in Arembepe in his newly acquired boat and in the coconut trees which he inherited from his mother. There is nothing to indicate that he plans to resume residence in Arembepe at any time in the future.

The young Petrobras workers from Arembepe, both those who still maintain domiciles in the community, and those who have established residence elsewhere, maintain close ties with their parents if the latter are alive and in Arembepe. They return to their native community on festive occasions. Their parents also pay them visits. Clorildo, a retired boat captain, now fishing as an ordinary crew member, receives packages of food and Cr 12,000 per month from his son, a Petrobras employee in Camaçari. In addition, Clorildo's

youngest son receives free room and board from his older brother while he studies in Camaçari, further relieving his father's burden.

While they associate with all Arembepeiros, the young Petrobras workers who return to Arembepe for weekends tend to choose their friends from among other successful young Arembepeiros. They, the railroad and highway employees, and the best saveiro captains are most frequently seen together. In many instances this is a simple reflection of the association of young unmarried males. It is also a result of the fact that fishermen partake in community life at different times of day. Non-fishermen go to bed later and sleep later than fishermen. When Petrobras workers come to Arembepe, they are forced to associate with the men available. These are usually others who are not fishing--fish marketers and businessmen. Best friends are joined, then, by a similar allocation of time, as a result of similar occupations. When they do interact with fishermen, they observe the same code of deference and demeanor of other Arembepeiros.

One faces numerous problems when he attempts to assign Petrobras workers to positions within the national class structure. The individual cases occur on the boundary between middle and lower classes. The very existence of Petrobras salaries, facilities, and training provides probably the only concrete mechanism of individual vertical

mobility within the national stratification system which has ever been available to Arembepeiros. A discussion of the problems involved in placing the Petrobras worker within the national stratified hierarchy is likely to reveal more about the relationship of Arembepe to the national stratified system than a definite categorization.

Relatively few analyses of Brazilian socio-economic stratification have differentiated working and middle classes into upper and lower subgroups. One attempt to do so, on the basis of occupation, and derivatively of income, is relevant to the Petrobras worker. Havinghurst and Moreira (1965: 100) distinguish "lower working," "upper working," and "lower middle" as strata in a five-class model of the Brazilian class structure. In the lower working class they include farm laborers, unskilled urban workers, and I think, by extension, saveiro fishermen. The upper working class incorporates factory workers, railroad workers, public service workers, and transportation and communication employees. It is likely that the authors would not object to the inclusion of semi-skilled oil workers in the "upper working class." The "lower middle class" includes small scale rural property owners, public employees, small scale merchants and manufacturers, and lower level professional men.

There is no doubt that by virtue of their incomes and styles of life, semi-skilled workers are ranked above fishermen, urban laborers and peasants by members of both upper and

lower classes in Brazil. In Northeast Brazil, where in 1950 15.5% of the total population was placed (according to occupation) in the upper working class, while 14.5% stood in the three superior classes, and 70% belonged to the lower working class (Havinghurst and Moreira, 1965: 101), the gap in income, skills, and style of life is much more apparent than it would be in São Paulo. In the industrialized south of Brazil, 37% of the population belonged to the upper working class, with 42% below and 21% above. If Arembepe were a community in the south of Brazil, the lower-class, albeit sometimes transitional, position of semiskilled oil workers would be much more apparent.

If employment is not terminated by layoffs, Petrobras salaries, if not now sufficient to allow placement of oil workers in the national middle class, can provide the basis for vertical mobility in subsequent generations. Their children may be among the eight per cent of Brazilian university students with upper working class fathers (Havinghurst and Moreira, 1965: 104). For such mobility, residential and sociological isolation from their natal community are prerequisites.

Finally, their basically lower class placement, even in the state of Bahia, emerges more clearly in view of the following factors. Petrobras employment is only generally an assured source of income. Arembepeiros are fond of envying oil workers by saying that income from Petrobras is certain,

521
while fishermen can fish one day, but may be prevented from so doing by rough seas on the next. However, the vagaries of the Brazilian "revolution" of 1964 and a war on inflation have increased the number of Petrobras layoffs, and have stiffened requirements for employment. No one can deny the right to work as a saveiro fisherman. In the long run, the fisherman's profession may be more regular, or at least less precarious, than the occupations of urban laborers and semi-skilled workers.

Even though Petrobras workers tend to receive higher effective incomes and to have better standards of living than Arembepeiros with other professions, those who remain in Arembepe are subject to the leveling effects of the individual kindred. Those who limit their social intercourse with Arembepeiros, such as Nilton, whose only significant ties to his natal community are economic, can more easily ignore such obligations and can better their own styles of life. The option of escape is not so easily open to the successful saveiro fisherman. Thus, it is those semi-skilled workers who sever their ties to their natal communities who are most likely to move up within the national stratified hierarchy.

Petrobras workers are also limited by the fact that they have to spend a larger percentage of their annual incomes on food than do the most successful saveiro fishermen. Finally, lower class backgrounds often limit or prevent

knowledge of birth control techniques. There is a correlation between economic achievement and number of surviving children within the Brazilian lower class, as was demonstrated in Chapter II. This in turn limits the consumption patterns and class position of the Petrobras worker and the range of achievement open to his children.

Thus, sociological and ideological connections with the rural lower class limit the vertical mobility of all Arembepeiros. Only those who sever their numerous ties to their community are able to move up. Yet because they must move out to move up, their success never affects the stratification picture in Arembepe. Like the landlords who have had to seek bases for middle class status in Salvador, semi-skilled workers never have anything to gain by bothering any one back home with whatever economic power they may be able to obtain.

Conclusions

In Chapters II and III it was shown that there is no basis for stratification differentials in Arembepe's local economy. While there are hierarchical distinctions within Arembepe, according to a number of diagnostics, none of them reaches the level of class distinctions.

Yet the absence of stratification in Arembepe also relates to its limited articulation with the Brazilian power structure. Arembepe would be a completely different community

if a millionaire from Salvador had built a luxury hotel and had opened a paved highway into the settlement in 1940. This, however, has not happened for a variety of reasons. The only people capable of promoting the development of the community have been the landowners. Yet, because of fragmentation of their estate through inheritance, they have been forced to buttress their middle class status in Salvador. Only in 1965 did one of them achieve an educational and professional status which allowed him to speculate on the potential value of Arembepe as a tourist resort.

While Arembepe has been aligned with the cash economy of the Brazilian nation state, no one has derived large-scale profits from labor, land, or produce in Arembepe. Arembepeiros have been free to pursue their own-account activities, and to develop as a community with a separate identity and a distinctive esprit de corps. Within Arembepe itself, maximal flux and vertical mobility is promoted through a Protestant-capitalist ethic.

Yet there are compelling limitations to the vertical mobility of Arembepeiros outside the settlement. To move up within the national class system means severing ties with the community. Upward mobility entails relinquishing the security adhering to close-knit kindreds and communities. Arembepeiros who seek their fortunes in the outside world must achieve success in an alien socio-economic system. And

if they do achieve this success, if their children have a chance of becoming middle class Brazilians, they no longer affect the stratification picture in Arembepé. They have moved up and out.

CHAPTER V

THE IDEOLOGY OF EQUALITY

In previous chapters, the absence of stratification in Arembepe has been linked to the local economy and to the nature of Arembepe's articulation to the outside world. It has been shown that non-stratified hierarchies form in Arembepe on the basis of a number of socio-economic variables. If Arembepe contrasts with stratified Brazilian communities in the absence of objective diagnostics of stratification, it also contrasts with these settlements in the absence of an ideology of class differences.

The existence of non-stratified hierarchies in Arembepe conditions differences in opinions, attitudes, and interests between males and females, old people and young people, fishermen and businessmen, the successful and the unsuccessful of all professions, and the locally employed and Arembepeiros working outside the community. Yet these differences in attitudes and interests do not reach the level of distinctions associated with class stratification.

While objectively they are members of the Brazilian lower class, Arembepeiros show no signs of feeling any type of solidarity with other lower class Brazilians. They have

remained relatively isolated from the conditions which would favor the development of class consciousness. Because they have an achievement ladder to climb in Arembepe itself, they rarely feel the frustration of the lower class residents of stratified centers, where internal vertical mobility is much more difficult. Instead, within the community each works for himself, in accordance with the virtues of the Protestant ethic. Wealth differentials result primarily from differences in achievement. These differentials fragment rather than solidify across generations. Those Arembepeiros who do not succeed rationalize their failures by saying that they have had bad luck. The virtues stressed by the Protestant ethic, on the one hand, and luck, on the other, are ideological devices which are equally compatible with a graded, fluid, non-stratified socio-economic structure. What results is a dialectic in which luck and the Protestant ethic are sometimes both forgotten and replaced by a denial of all invidious distinctions among villagers, as Arembepeiros assert that "We are all equals here."

Community Spirit

Arembepeiros do not say, "We are Arembepeiros, and we are different from other people." Only when they leave the community and interact with outsiders do they use their community to identify themselves. When someone asks a villager where he comes from, he replies, "I am from Arembepe, a

little fishing village near. . . ." (He tries to place Arembepe with reference to some settlement the outsider has heard of).

The existence of identification with Arembepe must be inferred from other types of verbal statements. Thus, Arembepeiros often remark, "In Arembepe we are all equals," or "In Arembepe we are all relatives." Community spirit may also be deduced from informants' descriptions of their feelings when they were away from Arembepe. Young men who have fished commercially in big cities frequently tell of their longing (saudades) for the "calm" life in Arembepe, for their "poor old mother" or for their wives and children.

Arembepeiros do not conceive of their community as one split by class divisions. When they were asked two questions-- How do you divide Arembepe? and What different types of people are there in Arembepe?--informants never mentioned class or wealth differentials. Most answers referred to difference in age and sex, or to variations in size or color. In their answers to these questions, Arembepeiros showed themselves to be unaccustomed to making divisions among villagers. The questions produced laughter, befuddlement, and up to fifteen minutes of hesitation, sometimes ending in complete inability to answer either question.

Diagnostics of Stratification

Brazilians living in stratified communities employ a number of diagnostics to assign inhabitants of their community to membership in stratified groups. These variables are wealth, occupation, education, race, provenience, family affiliation, political role, and manners, etiquette or "morality." Arembepeiros recognize that there is variation within Arembepe according to any one of these diagnostics. Yet they never use any of these criteria to assign other villagers to stratified groups.

A special questionnaire was developed to demonstrate that Arembepeiros do not use wealth, education, occupation, family affiliation, and other traditional diagnostics of stratification to assign other villagers to stratified groups. The questionnaire was a vocabulary test which included 36 Brazilian Portuguese words related to phenomena of stratification.¹ There were some terms on the list which could be defined correctly with no reference to phenomena of stratification. For example, gráudo, meaning "big or "large," was sometimes defined only with reference to physical height.

¹The samples were small, as a result of the fact that the questionnaire was developed only at the close of field work in 1965 and because of the time required to administer the test. It was even more severely limited by my unwillingness to subject a large sample of villagers to yet another questionnaire, as they had already shown considerable patience with five previous questionnaires and surveys.

At other times, this word was used to signify importance, eminence, or position within a stratified hierarchy.

Wealth

With the exception of the hierarchical distinctions based on age, sex, and kinship roles, wealth is the primary variable determining placement in the community socio-economic hierarchy. This is true in an unstratified community such as Arembepe. It is also true of stratified settlements and of the Brazilian class structure. It is when questioned about wealth differentials that Arembepeiros utter statements which are most indicative of an ideology of equality. During three field trips to Arembepe, I repeated the question, "Who is the richest person in Arembepe?" Approximately one-fifth of the informants gave answers, while the great majority said that they could not answer the question, for "somos todos iguais aqui," "We are all equals here."

Arembepeiros play down wealth differentials in another way. When asked if they owned coconut trees, villagers frequently answered that they owned a small number (coqueirozinho, or dois pés, two feet, of coconut trees), when actually their estate was much larger. This is an interesting and significant violation of what Harris (1956: 29) states to be a universal feature of stratification systems, the denial of identity with the lowest rank. In fact,

Arembepeiros often vigorously denied their wealth, contending that they were mere pobres (poor people). I have seen children argue heatedly over who was the poorest. A commonly encountered insult is ego's insinuation that alter's father is richer than his own.

The inhabitants of Itá, a municipal seat in the Amazon Valley (Wagley, 1953), made a four-fold division of the population of the community: (1) first class people (gente de primeira); (2) second class people (gente de segunda). There were also Portuguese terms for the lower ranking (3) rural dwellers and (4) island rubber collectors. Wagley indicates that these four divisions belonged to a stratified hierarchy which allowed any member of the community to place any other. Diagnostics for inclusion in this stratified hierarchy, according to Wagley's informants, were wealth and education, profession and others.

Since most Arembepeiros had told me that all of them were equal, I sought to elicit such a division as Wagley's. This was the intent of the question, What different types of people are there in Arembepe? As has been indicated previously, Arembepeiros showed themselves to be unaccustomed to making divisions among villagers. When such divisions were made, they were based on ephemeral phenomena, such as physical appearance, rather than on any one of the traditional diagnostics of stratification. Nevertheless, when they were asked to define gente de primeira, most Arembepeiros gave

money as the most important defining attribute. The following are some of the definitions of gente de primeira (first class people):

1. "a man with a lot of money";
2. "someone who is worth something";
3. "people of finery (gente de galão). You (você, to my wife) are that kind of person. I am of the third," (said the head of a matrifocal household);
4. "it's me (ironically); people who have money, a little money, a little influence (cartagemzinho); people whom others seek out";
5. "people who have; people who have more than others";
6. "people who get along (aguentar)".

In some cases, additional diagnostics were indicated. One informant added education. Another said that first class people have wealth, university educations, and that they have prominent names (são homens de nome).

All but one of the ten informants, when asked if there were "first class" people in Arembepe, replied that there were not. However, the one dissenter pointed to natives who had prospered in the outside world, e.g., Nora, the illegitimate daughter of Miguel Camões, a deceased landlord. She is now a high school teacher in Salvador. Also mentioned were some of the other children of landlords; Arembepe children studying in Salvador; and the few villagers who hold what Arembepeiros consider to be important positions or

occupations, e.g., Petrobras workers and people in the military or the Salvador police department.

Thus, Arembepeiros were aware of the existence of a superior stratum outside of the community. All of the individuals included in it were either non-natives or natives who had moved up and out. Arembepeiros recognized that such individuals did not affect the internal stratification picture in Arembepe.

Villagers sometimes said that while the majority of the members of the community were poor, some Arembepeiros were remediado. The definitions of this term were the following:

1. a person who economizes (fazer economia or economizar);
2. who has a little bit more (tem mais uma coisinha);
3. a person who has something which allows him to live freely, like coconut trees; who doesn't have to think about where his food is coming from; who doesn't have to work too much (tem algumas coisas para viver);
4. someone placed below the rich person (rico); one who has a fundazinho (a little bit to fall back on), who gets along (aguenta). This informant told me that he was remediado in his vocation (serviço), a retired saveiro captain;
5. not rich, nor poor. Arembepe has some remediados. (Resident landowners were named);
6. a person who gets along (aguenta), has food to eat,

cattle, land;

7. person neither rich nor poor;

8. a person who owns two coconut trees (quem tem dois pés de coqueiros);

9. a person who lives almost independently (quase independente). One who doesn't worry (se preocupa). This informant divided people into ricos, remediados, and pobres, and told me that "thanks to God," he was not poor;

10. a final informant said that if there were six parts in Arembepe, one would be remediado and the other five would be pobre.

Thus Arembepeiros used the term remediado to refer to villagers who can afford better living standards. These individuals are the most successful in every occupational group. Their status as remediado rests on hard work and austerity, or, in those cases in which land and/or coconut trees had been inherited, on the hard work of their parent(s).

In their definitions of "middle class" (classe media), Arembepeiros used the term as a synonym for remediado--to refer to someone who gets by, someone who is not rich and not poor. Arembepeiros do not conceive of the "middle class" as a layer in the national stratification system. In fact, the people whom Arembepeiros called "rich" were usually members of the national middle class. The fact that villagers are ignorant of the meaning of "middle class" as

upper and middle class Brazilians use it, points again to the basic lower class homogeneity of the village population. The Brazilian middle class has a distinctive ideology, and its members conceive of themselves as belonging to a group which is, in fact, just below the old aristocrats and new industrialists, and which is far above anything Arembepeiros can ever hope to attain. For Arembepeiros, classe media is something between rich and poor. It can apply, like remediado, to Arembepeiros themselves, but never to the "rich" tourists.

However, there were a few Arembepeiros who, in informal conversations, said that there were ricos in Arembepe. One Arembepeiro was most often stated to be the richest man in the village. His name is Laurentino, and he has been described in Chapter III as an unsuccessful saveiro owner. Objectively, there is nothing in his income nor in his style of life which places him outside of the national lower class. Laurentino owns two stores in Arembepe, one on the southern street and one towards the northern end of the central square. He deals in incidentals and cachaça and not in food items. He is not popular in the village. He refuses to extend credit, and has made many enemies in this way. Arembepeiros do not like to be associated with him in fishing, as they distrust him.

Laurentino seems almost to be glad that other Arembepeiros do not like him. During the daytime, he remains in one of his stores, rarely walking through the streets. He never participates in conversations in front of the chapel,

nor does he attend celebrations or parties in Arembepe. Single women and children say that they are afraid to walk by Laurentino's store alone at night, because they fear the devil which lives in his house.

Born in Arembepe, Laurentino is one of five sons of a father who had been a businessman, storekeeper, saveiro and coconut tree owner, and local police official until his death in 1962. Laurentino's father came to Arembepe from the sertão. Like his father, Laurentino has never fished. In his youth he was an itinerant merchant. He returned to Arembepe and opened his southern store some fifteen years ago. He took over the northern store when his father fell sick in 1957. Arembepeiros say that it was during his absence from the community that Laurentino made his pact with the devil, for Laurentino began to prosper when he came back to Arembepe. He began to buy saveiros, until he owned four at one time.

Laurentino works in the candomblé, and there are said to be occasional devil worship sessions in his house. They generally proceed behind closed doors, but occasionally the doors are left open, and Arembepeiros say that they have seen frightening sights. A teenage boy who visited Arembepe for the festival honoring St. John in 1965 was "enchanted" because he saw a caão (devil) in a cage on Laurentino's store counter.

Laurentino's son once tried to run away from his father to seek refuge with his mother's sister in the nearby agricultural village of Gajirus. When the boy climbed onto a truck

about to leave Arembepe, Laurentino rushed from his store and ordered his son to get down. When the boy refused, the father said "Do you think this is your father talking to you? If so you are wrong. This is the devil speaking." Arembepeiros maintain that the voice which spoke to the boy was, in fact, not that of his father, and one which they had never heard before.

Laurentino flaunts the social system in still another way. He has not had his two oldest sons baptized. When asked why not, he contended that he thought people should be baptized when they became adults, because the ceremony means nothing to a child. He is the only Arembepeiro who has no compadres. Laurentino is also one of the few Arembepeiros who is aware of the existence of contraceptive pills. He made his wife take the birth control pills, even though she wanted a child. She must have made some mistake, for she eventually became pregnant. She left Arembepe to return to her mother and father during childbirth, and came back with an already baptized child.

Arembepeiros do not fear spiritualism per se. They regard Laurentino's magic as a threat because his devil is a powerful one and because Laurentino is in a position to make his demon even stronger. Because he has prospered with the assistance of the devil, Laurentino can afford to make regular offerings to the spirit. Thus, the devil may grow even more powerful and may help Laurentino even more. Arembepeiros fear

only the powerful spirits. If a spirit is weak or benign, villagers reason that it is no danger to anyone. The only filha de santo (daughter of the saint, a practitioner in a formally organized candomblé in São Cristovão) in Arembepe is a poor woman who heads a matrifocal household. Her daughter is supposed to have inherited a powerful spirit from her mother. However, the daughter makes no attempt to train it, because she is too poor to make regular offerings. Thus, devil-worship is feared only when it is associated with relative wealth.

The reasons why certain Arembepeiros consider Laurentino to be the richest man in the community may be summarized as follows: (1) he has a pact with a powerful evil spirit; (2) his wife will inherit an estate of cattle from her father in the sertão; (3) he runs two stores; and (4) he and his four siblings will inherit a farm in Coqueiros when their mother dies. Objectively, there is no indication that Laurentino is anything other than a member of the lower class. Other Arembepeiros earn more and have better living standards than he. As the local schoolteacher said: "No one who is rich would live the way he does." If his wife belongs to the local upper stratum in another community (which is unlikely), her wealth rests on an external economic system.

If Laurentino has prospered within Arembepe, he has done so at the cost of friendship and solidarity with other villagers. He seems deliberately to have cultivated a barrier

of social distance. He knows that others consider him to be a witch, and he finds this amusing. He admitted that he had belonged to the candomblé, but he claimed to have given it up. He stands apart from other Arembepeiros in his refusal to baptize his sons, his nefarious nightly activities with incense, his distant demeanor, his refusal to deny to Arembepeiros that he traffics in evil spirits, his failure to take part in community social life at celebrations and parties, and in his encouragement of his wife to stay indoors. As a result, some Arembepeiros fear him. Others dislike him. Some do not speak to him, and still others consider Laurentino to be the richest man in the community.

Had it not been for the accusation of witchcraft, Laurentino might have been able to gain real power in Arembepe. Because villagers fear and distrust him, his entrepreneurial activity is severely curtailed. He can derive no wealth from the fishing industry, for there are few fishermen willing to work with him. He can not derive large-scale profits from his stores, for many villagers refuse to buy from him. Laurentino has achieved a limited economic success, yet he will never attain the power, income, or style of life which middle class Brazilians enjoy. He is an individualist. While individualists are valued in Arembepe, they must be entrepreneurs who work for others as well as for themselves. They must never indicate, in words or actions, that they have no need for others. Since Laurentino is set off from other

villagers through a voluntarily created gap of social distance, he, among all the economically successful men in the village, can be considered "rich." He alone can be endowed with a fictitious status which violates the ideology of equality only because he has been removed from normal social life.

Occupation

Several authorities (cf. Wagley, 1963: 8) have spoken of a Brazilian "gentleman complex," an attitude characteristic of the upper classes spurning manual labor in favor of the liberal professions. There is no "gentleman complex" in Arembepe, for there are no gentlemen. There is no one in the community who, at some time during the normal day, does not engage in manual labor. Not even the Petrobras workers are exceptions. It is almost impossible for Arembepeiros to conceive of non-physical work. For example, few of them really believed that I was working when I remained indoors and typed.

Amount and source of cash income are the primary criteria used by Arembepeiros in their differential evaluations of occupations. A boy of thirteen said that he did not want to work for Petrobras, for he had heard that many workers were being laid-off. He would prefer to be a chauffeur, because drivers are always in demand. He is an exceptional case, for Petrobras is the employer which Arembepeiros seem to value most. In occupational preference tests, Petrobras worker was

invariably ranked first, before physician, lawyer, and engineer. The latter professions give far higher incomes, but they are so alien to Arembepeiros and so far beyond their reach that they are not even seriously considered. While Petrobras and other relatively lucrative sources of outside employment tended to stand at the top of Arembepeiros' occupational preference rankings, menial occupations such as local wage work, bricklaying, domestic service, water drawing and washing clothes stood at the bottom. Fishing, storekeeping, and agriculture were ranked in the middle. Some Arembepeiros were aware that as fishermen they earned more than a worker salaried at the official minimum wage for the region of the state of Bahia which includes Arembepe. Ordinary fishermen justified this assumption on the basis of their effective incomes, since they calculated that their occupation also provided them with food, which the wage worker had to purchase.

In all occupations which Arembepeiros enter, successful individuals justify their success by citing attributes such as hard work, austerity, intelligence, and soberness. The unsuccessful complain that they have had bad luck. Both luck and the Arembepe version of the Protestant ethic are compatible with membership in a fluid graded socio-economic hierarchy. Arembepeiros have created mechanisms which are capable of reducing luck differentials. For example, some villagers believe in fetichism. A skilled magician can cast

spells aimed at curbing the success of someone whom he envies. Arembepeiros cite the case of a fisherman who perpetually caught more fish than everyone else, until a fetichist cast a spell which reduced his catches to the mean. Note that the successful fisherman was not ruined. In accordance with the ideology of equality, he was merely reduced to the common level.

Education

Education (educação) was included in the stratification vocabulary test. Arembepeiros use the term in two different senses. Only one of them relates to formal study, a prerequisite to mobility within the national stratified hierarchy. Yet, education also refers to customary behavior. In the latter sense, Arembepeiros evaluate others on the basis of whether or not their behavior is culturally appropriate.

The following definitions of educação were given:

1. male, 24, born Arembepe, fisherman and barber. "It is of the crib. This is the best type of education, the kind a person is born with. A person who is born with this type of education knows how to respect others and how to treat everyone well.";
2. female, 30, born Coqueiros, housewife. "There are some people who study (formally) and are not educated. There are others who are educado even though they have not studied

(in school).";

3. female, 46, born Coqueiros, housewife. "There are two kinds of education. One is de trato (appropriate behavior), and there are such people in Arembepe. The other is education from schooling, and there are only a few people in Arembepe who have this kind.";

4. female, 62, born Arembepe, storekeeper. "Education may refer to good nature (bôa natureza) and also to study.";

5. female, 55, born Itapoan, local schoolteacher. "Education does not pertain only to formal study, but there are other kinds of education, e.g., domestica, in the home.";

6. female, 28, born Arembepe, household head. "A person can be educated both in school and outside of school. That is, there are some who are educated without ever having gone to school. They are that way from birth.";

7. male, 55, born Arembepe, ordinary fisherman. "An educated person is one who knows (conhece), and is also someone who knows how to read and is learned (sabido).";

8. The final informant linked education to superior learning. "The educated go to colegio (senior high school), and are very learned (muito sabido), they are respected."

Thus within a homogeneous community, education was conceptualized in two different ways: (1) formal study, which permits an Arembepeiro to employ himself in a more lucrative and thus more prestigious profession, and thereby to sever his connections with Arembepe; and (2) the ability to respect

others and to treat them well, or to follow the rules or the charter of the community's social system. Of all diagnostics of stratification other than wealth, education seems to be most important to Arembepeiros. Thus, it is because of his superior (university) education that Dr. Jorge has been able to gain his current employment, to profit economically, and in the words of Arembepeiros, to improve their community. He has risen above his ancestors in his desire to educate himself and to create a better life for himself and his family. These are values which successful Arembepeiros share, and when combined with his income and property, can condition deference when Arembepeiros interact with Dr. Jorge.

Provenience and Other Factors Related to Birth

Provenience, nationality, race, subculture, and language are often diagnostics of stratification. Yet they do not serve this function in Arembepe. The initial social distance between the immigrant and the Arembepeiro, which villagers express by saying that they lack intimacy (intimidade) with such intruders, does not assign the immigrant to a stratified group. This distance is bridged rapidly as soon as the immigrant begins to take part in community economic life.

Family Affiliation

As has been shown in Chapter II, family affiliation does not assign Arembepeiros to stratified groups. Like provenience, family connection is particularly unimportant in an ideology and social structure which stresses individual achievement. In stratified Brazilian settlements, certain families may be distinguished on the basis of their control of community life. In these communities different terms are applied to these "aristocratic families": familia antiga (long established family) and familia tradicional (traditional family, family with tradition). However, Arembepeiros were unfamiliar with these terms. Only one Arembepeiro gave a definition of either term which related to phenomena of stratification. The definitions were the following:

1. familia tradicional--unknown
familia antiga--old people;
2. familia antiga--the oldest people (os mais velhos);
3. people from the past, already old;
4. both terms--the oldest people;
5. familia tradicional--a natural family--man, wife, and children.

familia antiga--old people with grandchildren and greatgrandchildren.

6. familia antiga--a couple who have been married or who

have lived together for a long time. When asked if Arembepe had any familias tradicionais, he answered that he did not think so. He also replied that there was no familia antiga in the village--"only we new people."

7. Only one informant, a male, aged 24, who has spent nine years in Salvador, gave an answer which relates in even the vaguest sense to the traditional use of the term in Brazilian stratification parlance. He defined a familia tradicional as a family with tradition. Familia antiga, he said, referred to his grandparents.

The diversity of the responses and their lack of relationship to stratification seem to suggest that these terms are not parts of Arembepeiro's normal vocabularies.

When asked if there were families in the settlement which were "better" than others, all informants replied negatively. Arembepeiros frequently said that all villagers are related: "Somos todos parentes aqui." It is, in fact, possible to construct a grand genealogy in which there are kinship and affinal links between all but two of the 159 inhabited houses. Since kinsmen are enjoined to assist one another, when villagers say that all Arembepeiros are relatives, they are saying, in effect, that all villagers are equals.

Political Role

Arembepeiros were asked to define the term chefe, "chief" or "head." Seven respondents gave definitions which

associated the word with factors of age, sex and kinship while three defined chefe in a political sense and found chefes in Arembepe. The definitions of chefe were the following:

1. female, aged 30, housewife--"chefe is the same thing as chefe da familia, head of the family";

2. female, 45, housewife--"head of the family and household head.";

3. female, 62, storekeeper--"head of the house, same as owner of the house. Also can refer to chief of soldiers." When asked who was the household head, she answered "the husband.";

4. female, age 28, household head--said she did not know how to define the term, although she obviously is accustomed to using it. Did Arembepe have a chefe? "I don't see one here.";

5. male, 13--"when there is a crowd of people, the chefe is the one who makes them do something (mandar fazer uma negocia). There is no chefe in Arembepe.";

6. male, 55, fisherman--"chefe is a person whom one must respect. There is no chefe in Arembepe.";

7. male, 24, fisherman and barber--"the person who commands any five or six people (comanda). The barber said that he was chefe to his two apprentices. He told me that the two boys who were learning his trade "have to pay attention to me, mind what I say, and obey me." He also added

that he was chefe to his wife;

8. male, 55, retired captain, now an ordinary fisherman--"It's you" (vôce--to me). He then clarified that he meant household head, or husband. He went on to say that the chefe is the person who is responsible for something. Does Arembepe have a chefe? "Yes." Who? "Dr. Jorge." Why is he the chefe? "Because he represents the place outside of the place." What is a subchefe? "The person to whom the chefe delivers his rights (direitos). " Does Arembepe have a subchefe? "Yes, Selino. Dr. Jorge selected him. But now that Jorge has decided to sell lots, he has begun to act as chefe again, and Selino is no longer sub-chief.";

9. male, 42, fisherman--"Jorge is the chefe of Arembepe. Everything that he wants, Arembepeiros support. He is chefe because he owns the place. It is he who rules (quem manda). He gave his rights to Selino, but he has taken them back.";

10. female, 51, schoolteacher and Selino's wife--"the chefe is the person who makes a decision, and everyone follows or obeys. In every 200 people there is always a chefe. For example, any teacher is a chefe, for he or she orders and everyone obeys." When asked if there was any chief in Arembepe other than the teachers, she said no, but that there could be a political chefe, a person who solicits votes, then runs things, and gives orders to people. She

said, when asked, that her husband had been such a chefe.

Thus, the majority of informants who responded did not think that Arembepe had a political chefe, if this word is defined as a person who can order others and expect to have his orders obeyed. Those Arembepeiros who regard Selino as the political chief of the community were aware that his status rested on rights and duties with which he had been endowed by the landowners. None thought that his being a chefe gave him real power over other villagers.

While there were Arembepeiros who considered Dr. Jorge to be chefe of the community, none called him a patrão. Informants uniformly answered, when they were asked to define patrão, that this term referred to an employer of others, and that Arembepe, where everyone worked for himself, had no patrão. This suggests and agrees with my own impression, that Arembepeiros are not accustomed to using this term to refer to a patron-client relationship in which the patrão is not only employer, but also benevolent despot to the people who work for him and live on his estate.

Because of a history of isolation from the Brazilian power structure, few Arembepeiros are sophisticated in national and world politics. In a national political structure which has been permeated with corruption, and in a political atmosphere which has been erected on the allegations of corruption used as a political tool, there is nothing surprising in the cynical view which most

Arembepeiros take of politics. While they desire reforms, villagers remain unorganized and have not developed a conception of their interests as a group. Arembepeiros work for themselves and for their families. Mutual obligations are strong, and any significant vertical mobility involves removal from Arembepe and the severance of ideological connections with home. Arembepeiros do not regard themselves as having solidary interests with other workers or lower class Brazilians. They think that their settlement may progress and may eventually become a vila (district seat), that it may receive electricity and other modernities which are features of what they regard as a good life. Politically, they are conservatives. They rely on strategically placed individuals, such as landlords and certain summer residents, to bring improvements. They do not hope or expect to receive such benefits from the nation, state, or local government. As elsewhere in northeastern Brazil, a system of patronage, paternalism, and favors persists and continues to grant to workers the only rewards, though meager, which they receive. Totally familiar with this system, Arembepeiros rarely question its foundation. When all things are considered, they think they are relatively fortunate, for their landowner is benevolent and brings good things to the community.

"Morality"

Most Arembepeiros would agree that excessive drinking is an impediment to economic success. Arembepeiros who drink perpetually, to be distinguished from fishermen who consume one or two pingas (shots) of cachaça per day to warm them up after a day's fishing, sometimes work for their living. Others beg for money to buy liquor. Arembepeiros who do not belong to this group call these drinkers malandros (malanderers), vagabundos (vagabonds), and "good-for-nothings." This most detested group does not share the values of hard work and austerity which characterize even the ordinary fisherman.

Male Arembepeiros generally have little respect for unmarried mothers who head matrifocal households. Some males openly refer to these women as prostitutes and assert that such females will sleep with any male who seeks them. Thus, Arembepeiros attribute to immorality and looseness, behavior which results from the numerical preponderance of adult females over adult males in the settlement population.

Arembepeiros attach differential amounts of prestige to formal and informal marital unions. While the religious ceremony is sometimes considered to be better than none at all, it is the civil ceremony and its concomitant legal rights which Arembepeiros, especially females, prefer. Most Arembepeiros are involved in common-law unions. They are

then said to be amaziado. Informants are aware that this type may be as stable as any of the others, but the mutual obligations among affinals are not as strong. Apparently, husbands in such unions often feel no obligation to support their wives and children. One fisherman left his common-law wife and their two children in Arembepe while he fished commercially for two years in Rio de Janeiro. During this period, he never sent money home. His behavior contrasts strongly with that of males united with their wives through formal bonds.

The informal bond does not entail the obligations to help and support affinals which the formal union creates. Alberto, a 42 year-old fisherman involved in a common-law union of twenty years duration, denied heatedly that his wife's sister and parents were his sister- and parents-in-law. He explained that one has affinals only when he is formally married.

The different obligations and expectations created by the formal as opposed to the informal union are clearly related to the predatory nature of the kindred and the culturally enjoined obligation to share. As one achieves success in Arembepe, he is more likely to be involved in a formal union. His obligations to support kinsmen are extended to affinals. His affinals exert pressure on their son-in-law to confine his attention to only one wife. For example, Nilson, a 31 year old captain, is married legally

and in the Church to the daughter of Thomas, the net and canoe owner. When Nilson established a secondary union with Dora, an unmarried mother, his wife's parents taunted Nilson and his second wife. Thomas finally visited a candomblézeiro in Santo Amaro, who concocted a potion designed to make Nilson end his affair with Dora. After slightly more than one year of polygyny, Nilson terminated his relationship with Dora and confined his attention to a single wife.

When a man is not legally married, his secondary unions are not strongly condemned. Because his obligations to wife, children, and affinals are not so strong, there is no one to stop him from sharing his wealth with a secondary wife.

The Ideology of Equality in Sharing Behavior

Sharing allows for the redistribution of wealth, acts to level wealth differentials and thus to preserve the egalitarian balance. While sharing is most obvious among kinsmen, it is ultimately community-wide. A number of ideological devices insure that sharing will continue to take place. There are well-defined obligations among parents and children, and they vary with the age of the two generations. Arembepeiros agree that children should be grateful (gratos) to their parents, because the parents have raised them and have provided them with food and clothing and met their other needs. According to one Arembepeiro, father of two

females and three males, this is the obligation (obrigação) of the parents. When they begin to work, children are expected to contribute to the support of their parents' household. Their contributions range from token to almost complete support, as is often the case when a woman survives her husband or when both parents are rendered unable to do major work. One informant contended that there were some children who left Arembepe and never sent money or anything to their parents, nor did they send news of where they were or what they were doing. When I asked him if there was more of such behavior now than in the past, he replied "No. As long as the world exists, this will be."

While obligations are strongest among parents and children, mutual aid is enjoined among other kinsmen. One informant added siblings and first cousins to the list of kinsmen whom one should assist. The obligations to the latter were said to be the weakest--"to treat them well."

When siblings grow up together, there are strong obligations for them to share food and other items, especially if the family is a poor one. One boy claimed that he did not like his next younger brother because the latter refused to share his food. He preferred a newly arrived infant sibling, because the baby did not eat much.

When an individual shares his food with another he may or may not utter a statement which justifies this behavior. In some cases, when I queried Arembepeiros about why they

shared, they answered with such statements as "She's my sister, and has no one else to turn to." "One must give to the people who have given to him." "A son must help his father." "It is good to have many sons so that they may support you when you cannot support yourself." "Children have to give to their parents." "What would happen to my poor old mother if she did not have me to depend on?" "I like my godchild, and so I give presents to him." "I felt sorry for him and gave him the fish, even though he is nothing of mine" (i.e., a non-relative). "He's not my relative, he just likes to give."

Why Should Sharing Take Place?

There are a number of reasons why sharing should take place in a community such as Arembepe. In an inflationary economy, such as Brazil, money must be rapidly reinvested. Hoarding can only lead to disaster. Sharing is one method of reinvesting funds. Helping others often pays off in material advantages at a later time. Thus, Bernardo, who was discussed in Chapter II, got his start through loans from his half-brothers and sisters. Through entrepreneurial activity, Bernardo has become one of the most successful men in Arembepe. Villagers say that he has prospered because "God helps those who help others." Indeed, the same relatives who loaned him money to buy his first saveiro now receive loans from him.

Tiradentes was willing to loan Cr 50,000 to his older brother Valter so that Valter could commission a saveiro of his own. Tiradentes now receives an income of about Cr 100,000 per year from marketing the fish which Valter's saveiro catches.

Old age brings reduced incomes. Few Arembepeiros receive pensions from the government. For most of them, their income in old age will come from sources of wealth which they have accumulated through reinvestment during their active periods, and from the contributions of their children and sons-in-law. Most Arembepeiros look forward to large families, and men are especially proud when they have sired a large number of sons. Arembepeiros are often willing to incur what are for them sizeable expenses to send their children to school outside of the settlement. Dona Claudia and her husband Anatalio spent Cr 192,000 in 1964 to pay room, board, and supplies for three daughters studying in Itapoan, Salvador, and São Cristovão. Yet, Anatalio and his wife know that if their daughters contract marriages with successful young men, they will reap material benefits. They will be even more willing to pay for their sons' educations, for the potential material rewards are even greater.

Valter gives fish to the son of his unmarried sister. Valter jokes that because he has no son of his own, he has to count on his nephew to support him in old age. Because of the affection which has developed between them, it is

probable that if he achieves economic success the boy will one day support Valter.

Thus, there are good reasons to share with kinsmen. To most Arembepeiros, the family represents the only security against physical infirmities and old age.

While there is considerable sharing in Arembepe, the community strays far from the communist ideal. Sharing might seem to be incompatible with the virtues inculcated by the Protestant-capitalist ethic which successful Arembepeiros constantly stress. This is why sharing is most intense among kinsmen and why the calculation of kinship produces a relatively narrow kindred for Arembepeiros. Villagers are often reluctant to share their wealth beyond the group of mother, father, siblings, wife, and children. Thus, two of the most successful boat captains refused to increase their contributions to the Fishermen's Society from five to ten per cent of their marketed catches. They asked why those who work the hardest should have to support those who are lazier and who cheat in their donations. Children from matrifocal households often have to go to most of the saveiros in the fleet before they obtain fish from a non-relative.

Yet despite this reluctance, sharing with non-relatives does go on. Julio and Cristovão usually find fish for themselves and their grandmother. Sometimes this fish comes from captains "who simply like to give," even though they are not

relatives of the boys. There are two doidos (fools, lunatics) who live in shacks outside of Arembepe. They hold no regular jobs and have to seek doles from other Arembepeiros. When they can afford to, villagers usually give them food or money. During the annual celebrations for St. John and St. Francis, sharing is most intense. Arembepeiros enjoy the hospitality of each other's homes. They serve and are served liquors and cakes, and even the storekeepers have to offer free shots of cachaça.

The nature of the marine fishing economy may also play an important role in establishing and maintaining sharing behavior. Unlike farmers, fishermen do not wait for a harvest which must be allocated over a long period of time. Profits from marine fishing come in installments. Because of their highly perishable nature, fish cannot be stored. Because of national inflation, cash derived from catches cannot be hoarded. Fishermen must constantly seek areas of reinvestment, of which sharing, as has been shown, is one form.

There is considerable variation in the size of catches from day to day, season to season, and year to year. Even when effort expended by the crews of different saveiros is held constant, some boats catch more fish than others. This happens purely by chance, as Arembepeiros lack scientific methods of fish tracking. Because of the considerable risks involved in fishing as a career, and also as a result of

ephemeral variation in size of catches, it is wise to share with other fishermen, for at some time in the future the differential between two boats may be reversed. The individual who lends today may be forced to borrow tomorrow.

As a highly perishable resource, fish must be sold, consumed, or preserved artificially almost immediately. If not, they are of no value to anyone, as the following story illustrates. Arembepeiros consider a few villagers to be witches, individuals who command evil spirits and who can place spells on others. One of them is Thomas, the owner of the canoe and drag net. The following story about the old man was related by a woman, aged 28, and confirmed by other Arembepeiros. When Arembepeiros become ill, they have often consulted candomblézeiros, practitioners in the Afro-Brazilian cult called candomblé. I have taken Arembepeiros to pais de santo (practitioners capable of receiving saints or spirits in trances) in Portão, Santo Amaro, and São Cristovão. Following the advent of a bi-weekly sessão or seance held in Coqueiros, Arembepeiros' visits to candomblé practitioners seem to have diminished in frequency.

When Thomas fell sick in 1963, he consulted the medium in Coqueiros, who did not help him, because, according to the informant relating the story, the medium told Thomas "the truth about himself." The following is the "truth" which the medium is said to have revealed. He accused Thomas of placing spells on other people, i.e., of being a witch

(bruxo). The medium also attributed the poor catches which Thomas's net had recently made to one incident in which Thomas had acted in a blatantly selfish manner. This incident was called "the time he had to bury fish."

One day in summer, Thomas's net brought in a large catch of xaréu (surel). He gave some of the fish to the people (o povo), but took a large part home (to a rich man's home, "para banca de rico.") He, his wife, and his daughter ate some of the fish, and he planned to have his wife and daughter dry and salt the fish for sale and future consumption. However, it rained all day. Instead of giving the fish away to others, Thomas kept them in his house, with the hope of being able to dry and salt them on the following day. Since the rain continued, the fish spoiled, and he had to bury them in the sand, thus naming the incident. The medium told him, and Arembepeiros agreed, that his net's bad luck stems from this incident.

Thus, Arembepeiros attributed Thomas's bad luck and his illness to one occasion in which he flaunted the rules of customary sharing and acted selfishly. Ultimately, both he and others suffered, for he had to bury fish which could have fed many Arembepeiros. The old man is regarded as a witch, lives in relative isolation, and inspires a modicum of fear in certain Arembepeiros. Thomas was eventually cured by a candomblézeiro in Santo Amaro, but his luck, say Arembepeiros, has only begun to improve.

Conclusions

With the exception of the hierarchial and authority differentials embodied in age, sex, and kinship roles, all hierarchies which form in Arembepe result from ephemeral personal characteristics which determine success or failure in the local economy. When Arembepeiros recognize socio-economic differentiation in their community, they attribute it to hard work and austerity, if they are successful, or to differences in luck, if they are not. At other times, Arembepeiros deny differentiation altogether, stating that all villagers are equals. A man is valued as he is a camarada (good fellow), if he shares (he must not show pride, greed, or selfishness), and if he works with God, and God helps him in return (values which accord with the ethic of the Protestant-capitalist).

The local politicos cultivate support in the community and receive respect from most Arembepeiros for their contacts with important people from outside. A teenage boy said that one could separate important from unimportant villagers according to the number of cars which regularly stopped in front of their houses. Other Arembepeiros seem to think similarly, but do not express their criteria in such explicit terms. The respect which accrues to the local political leaders is, however, only stated, and is not observable in actual encounters between them and other

villagers. There are no true power differentials in Arembepe. Occupations are evaluated differently according to their different pay. There is no aversion to manual labor if it pays well and is a steady source of income.

Arembepeiros may be arranged in a graded socio-economic hierarchy, in which there is a great deal of mobility within and between generations. Those who prosper are those who work in accordance with certain norms, which are the values of the system. Arembepeiros are fond of stating that they are all equals and all related. With minor modifications, they have an accurate idea of the distribution of wealth within the community and of how their social system works.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has been an attempt to demonstrate and to explain the absence of socio-economic stratification based on differential access to strategic resources in a Brazilian community. Arembepe contrasts with many other Brazilian communities which have been described ethnographically in its lack of socio-economic classes. The resources available to Arembepeiros are distinctly limited when compared to the sources of wealth and power controlled by members of the Brazilian upper and middle classes. There are no sharp contrasts in income or consumption patterns in Arembepe. Wealth differentials within the community are insignificant when projected onto the national range.

Most of the hierarchical differentials which exist in Arembepe depend on individual achievement. Successful villagers are those who exhibit the attributes of the "Protestant--capitalist": austerity, intelligence, hard work, and willingness to assume calculated risks. The local entrepreneur constantly seeks areas of reinvestment for capital which he has earned in one of his plural occupations. The character traits stressed in Arembepe, which are hard work for the successful and luck for the unsuccessful, are

incompatible with a rigid socio-economic hierarchy. Arembepeiros have a ladder of success to climb within their native community. Yet their mobility within the national class structure is constantly limited by a number of strong impediments.

The primary obstacle to vertical mobility is the entire structure of the underdeveloped Brazilian economy. A vast labor-force engages in low-salaried unskilled work in food production and menial and domestic service. The choice of occupation open to Arembepeiros is limited and circumscribed by their lower class status. Secondary education, which is unavailable in Arembepe, is a prerequisite to better jobs in the outside world. Yet even in the more lucrative and more assured sources of employment, such as the national oil monopoly, Arembepeiros are subject to layoffs, inadequate salaries, and few fringe benefits. None of the villagers is qualified for any of the traditional prestigious professions of Brazil.

One of the most effective impediments to individual vertical mobility is a positive correlation between economic success and family size. Arembepeiros who prosper within or outside of the local economy are constantly reminded of obligations which accrue to them through kinship, marriage, and fictive kinship. The successful Arembepeiro is like the Melanesian headman whose "lavish" feasts signal, rather than membership in a superordinate class, a continuing obligation

to redistribute wealth among a predatory group of less fortunate kinsmen.

The correlation between economic achievement and personal obligations activated through kinship emerges most clearly in the size of nuclear families. The most prosperous people in Arembepe are those with the largest number of children. This correlation may be generalized perhaps for all lower class Brazilians. It will continue to exist in the absence of available techniques of birth limitation. It may persist even after such techniques become known, until the Brazilian government adopts measures designed to replace or to supplement the security functions which are now fulfilled, in communities like Arembepe, by the family and the kindred.

Arembepeiros who successfully combat these limitations to vertical mobility must leave Arembepe and sever their sociological and ideological connections to home. While the children of some of these individuals have a chance of becoming middle class Brazilians, they bother no one back home with whatever wealth and power they acquire. They have been removed from social life in Arembepe and no longer affect the stratification picture in the community.

Impediments to Stratification in Arembepe

By explaining why the hierarchies in Arembepe have not become classes, one is also indicating, in inverse form,

the factors which create stratification in other Brazilian communities. The primary impediments to stratification in Arembepe lie within the local economy, oriented towards marine fishing with a rudimentary technology. In contrast to economies based on sugar, coffee, mining, rubber, and cattle, Arembepe's economy has provided little basis for differential access to resources, labor, or equipment. The marine environment utilized by Arembepeiros cannot be controlled under normal conditions. There is no private property on the sea. Nor is it easy to supervise the activities of marine fishermen in small fishing boats dispersed across a wide expanse of water. The technological apparatus of the Arembepe fishing industry is also within the financial reach of any industrious individual, be he fisherman or non-fisherman. Control of the Arembepe fishing industry through its technology remains distinctly limited in comparison with the differential access involved in the ownership of commercial trawlers or the differential control over strategic resources which prevails on sugar plantations.

This work has been an examination of social relations and economic life in a single marine fishing community. Several reasons why marine fishing is incompatible with differential access to strategic resources have been indicated in Chapters I and III. Does the relationship between marine fishing and stratification suggested in this study apply to other fishing communities throughout the world?

Other ethnographic studies of fishing communities (Comitas, 1962; Fraser, 1960; Norbeck, 1954) have not been concerned with the question of stratification. They provide insufficient information about the distribution of wealth to confirm or deny the hypothesis relating marine fishing to lack of socio-economic stratification. Furthermore, the assessment of the influence of marine fishing on any aspect of social organization is complicated by the co-dominance of agricultural and other land-oriented pursuits in most "fishing villages" which have been described. The cross-cultural generalization of the relationship between marine fishing and absence of stratification awaits research which examines several fishing communities holding technology and alternative economic pursuits constant. Such a task is beyond the scope of this study.

Because there has been no basis for differential access within the local economy, Arembepe has remained a community extension of the Brazilian lower class. Upper and middle class outsiders have found nothing in Arembepe's economy to attract them or their capital. The wealth differentials which might now exist, and which once existed, in Arembepe on the basis of land and coconut trees have involved removal from the community.

The socio-economic structure of Arembepe has changed in the course of its historical development as a community. When the current site was settled in ca. 1900, two

socio-economic strata were represented: landlords and lower class fishermen. Descendants of only one of these groups remain. The ancestors of the present population were freed slaves and descendants of slaves. The settlers who came to Arembepe to fish were lower class Brazilians, some of them recently freed from slavery.

A landowner, Dona Francisca Ricardo, resided in Arembepe from ca. 1875 through her death in 1925. Until the abolition of slavery in 1888, she was a slave-owner. Following abolition, she continued to be the sole local representative of a rural upper class. Her socio-economic status rested on control over land, labor, and coconuts. On her death, the estate was fragmented among three heirs. Today, fifteen different heirs hold her estate in condominium.

Dona Francisca was the last of the landlords who could rely on her land and coconut trees as a major source of income and as a basis for elite status. Because of the low value of their fragmented shares, her descendants were forced to pursue careers outside of Arembepe. They found no buttress for upper or middle class status in the economy of the municipality of Camaçari. Like other rural property owners in a municipality whose economy has been oriented towards subsistence agriculture, charcoal extraction, and coconut cultivation, they had no alternative other than to seek their fortunes in Salvador and its suburbs.

The primary impediments to stratification in Arembepe are, therefore, variables within the local economy. Secondary impediments to stratification in Arembepe follow from the nature of the local economy. They have acted to maintain the egalitarian balance which the fishing industry established by keeping Arembepe isolated from the Brazilian power structure. Arembepe has not been affected by the "booms" and "busts" of Brazilian economic history. Neither fish nor coconuts have been of significance to the world or national economy. Arembepe is only one of many small-scale suppliers of fish and coconuts to markets in Salvador. The entire municipality of Camaçari has been relatively unaffected by economic "booms."

Arembepe's geographical marginality has prevented its developing as a marketing or manufacturing center. Bounded on one side by the Atlantic Ocean and on the other by freshwater lagoons, there have been severe physical impediments to Arembepe's being the center of anything. Arembepe is not located at any crossroad. The only item of local manufacture and export is the straw hat made from the fronds of the piassava palm. This is a low value item which could never serve as a basis for stratification.

The removal of the landlords, as has been pointed out, reflects the nature of the local economy. Since neither marine fishing nor their fragmented estates in land and coconuts could support elite status, they had to look

elsewhere for employment. The landowners, who are the only people with ties to Arembepe who might have jockeyed for political recognition of the community, no longer reside in Arembepe, nor are they concerned with local politics. Because of the local economy, then, and because of the removal of the landlords, which may be considered an intervening variable, Arembepe has never been the seat of a political district or municipality.

In a similar manner, Arembepe has never developed as a tourist resort because no one connected with Arembepe has had sufficient capital or power to improve its access to Salvador. Those who will profit most from tourism in Arembepe, i.e., the landowners, have only recently attained a socio-economic status which has allowed them to speculate on their land. Thus, neither the local economy nor the articulation of Arembepe to the outside world has provided a basis for stratification in the community.

The Future

While Arembepe continues to be an unstratified community, stratification could develop on a basis entirely independent of the fishing economy. With the improvement of access to Salvador, Arembepe seems likely to become a tourist resort. Differential control over the tourist trade could become a basis for stratification in Arembepe. As tourism increases, land in and around Arembepe will increase

in value. Differential ownership of houses and land in the community could eventually assign villagers to stratified groups. Nonetheless, stratification on the basis of land, house sites, or the tourist trade would be subject to the same limitations which apply to wealth in the present economy. The correlation between economic success and size of kindred, and the problem of inheritance among many heirs will act to level differential access.

The development of stratification on the basis of local control over land or the tourist trade would require many years. If there is to be any major development of Arembepe as a resort, businessmen from Salvador, and not local residents, will have to supply capital to finance tourist hotels. The most that Arembepeiros can hope to gain from such a development is managerial employment in hotels, restaurants, and other tourist attractions. Other villagers can hope to profit from small-scale boarding houses and restaurants. While tourism might provide a basis for the development of a local elite, no Arembepeiro maintaining residence in the community could hope to enter the national upper class.

The Development of the Fishing Industry

Like the promotion of the tourist trade, the further development of the fishing industry in Arembepe depends on external capital. As was indicated in Chapter I,

stratification on the basis of differential control of fishing technology is possible if the apparatus of the fishing industry has a high capital value relative to the earnings of fishermen. The trawlers involved in long-distance commercial fishing from major ports are such high-value items which are forever beyond the financial reach of fishermen. There is every indication that the capital which is invested in such boats comes from non-fishing pursuits. In his study of the development potentialities of fisheries throughout the world, Gerhardsen (1958: 992) states:

However, while it is true that the development of fisheries has been instrumental in building up wealth and strength in some . . . countries, it has hardly caused, but rather resulted from, development in other fields.

The following passage referring to fishermen in Halifax, Nova Scotia in the early nineteenth century, also suggests confirmation of the hypothesis:

I have never yet known among my constituents one solitary instance of a man getting beforehand by fishing and fishing only; those who own vessels or part of vessels did not earn them by fishing; they earned them in better times by sailing coastwise, carrying plaster of Paris, etc. . . . As a proof positive of fishing being an unprofitable business, is there a single schooner owned, fitted and manned by the port of Halifax? I doubt if there is a solitary one. The fishermen are the main staff and support of the commerce of their country, they are the greatest source of revenue, from their labours originate the principal articles of exportation; their hard earnings have helped to enrich many of those who are engaged in commercial pursuits and have served to aggrandize their country. But they themselves, although they compose a large proportion of the population, are literally in a state of bondage. . . . Their unprofitable callings have rendered them destitute of the means of improvement, and doomed them to perpetual servitude; their

education and morals being almost totally neglected causes them to become a degenerate people in comparison with those who have these advantages (Acadian Recorder, 1827).

The observations of the passage above apply to commercial fishing in Salvador and other Brazilian ports, and to the fishermen of Arembepe when they are considered to be lower class Brazilians. While fishermen in Arembepe work for themselves and for their families and often own fishing boats, there is every indication that the capital which is invested in technological innovations in Arembepe comes from non-fishermen.

For example, the five trammel nets which were introduced to Arembepe in 1965 were bought by non-fishermen, including three local businessmen and one fish agent from Salvador. Yet, with expanded contacts between Arembepeiros and the rest of Brazil, the role of non-fishermen in providing capital to expand the fishing fleet and to introduce technological innovations is diminishing in importance. Industrious Arembepeiros customarily spend work periods outside of the community, e.g., on fishing trawlers which operate from major ports. Here they earn salaries which far exceed their annual cash earnings in Arembepe. With the capital which they accumulate through this work, they may return to their native community and buy boats. There is an increasing tendency for fishermen to sever their connections with non-fishermen.

The second reason for this shift in the role of non-fishermen lies in the marketing of fish. While formerly Arembepeiros and middlemen from neighboring communities took Arembepe's fish to Portão and other settlements along the road to Salvador, agents from the urban center now come directly to Arembepe. Fishermen have profited from this arrangement. Because of a large number of competing marketers, the price of fish has risen more rapidly than the cost of saveiros. Thus, Arembepe fishermen can more easily acquire the means of production. Cash incomes to fishermen are higher, and the status of captain, which now increasingly combines full ownership with a percentage of the catch as a fisherman, is a more highly valued goal.

Thus, while non-fishermen continue to act as innovators in Arembepe and still derive a disproportionate share of profits from fishing relative to their labor input, their partial control of the means of production is rapidly being severed. There is an informal and unrecognized limit to the number of boats which a non-fisherman in Arembepe can own, brought about by a scarcity of local labor and the difficulty of drawing hard-working and successful captains into partnership arrangements.

The further development of the saveiro industry in Arembepe could take two forms: (1) simple expansion of the sailing fleet, or (2) qualitative rather than quantitative change through motorization, as a superior means of

propulsion, or through increased reliance on trammel nets, if such nets prove to be a superior catching apparatus. Development along either line seems to be limited. Arembepeiros are correct when they state that the natural harbor in which saveiros are moored limits the size of the fleet. A possible solution would be an artificial extension of the reef to convert the canal which lies just to the south of the harbor into a sheltered port. But this is unlikely, for it is beyond the capital resources and technological knowledge of Arembepeiros. Another solution is the addition of stronger moorings which would allow boats to remain in the canal. This is the most likely immediate response.

Qualitative change

While trammel nets can spread within Arembepe because of relatively low costs, no Arembepeiro now has sufficient capital to invest in motorization of the saveiro fleet. The cost of a motor in 1965 was more than three times the cost of a new fully equipped plank launch. If motors are to be used in Arembepe, it will be necessary for an outsider to supply funds for initial experimentation. Once this capital is supplied, the spread of motors will depend on the following factors: 1. Motorization must increase catches per unit of time. This might be possible through the utilization of hitherto unexploited fishing banks currently beyond the daily sailing ranges of saveiros. Because they do not depend on the vagaries of the wind, because they permit quicker escape

from the dangers of sudden squalls, and because of their greater speed, motors could allow the continuous exploitation of more distant fishing grounds on the continental slope. These zones are said to be more productive than the grounds closer to shore, but weather conditions confine slope fishing to the summer and fall. 2. There must be a favorable balance between operating expenses and productivity. Fishermen would have to weigh whatever increase motorization might bring in their catches against the costs of gasoline and maintenance expenses of the motor. If the differential is not favorable to owners and fishermen, motors will not spread in Arembepe.

The development of stratification on the basis of a technological innovation, such as motorization, depends on the original source of capital and on the distribution of profits from subsequent fishing. If, as is likely, capital for the initial investment comes from outside of Arembepe, and if a significant percentage of the profits from fishing accrues to such non-resident, non-fishing owners, fishermen will tend to remain relatively undifferentiated among themselves. However, they will continue to stand to the external owner as members of a subordinate group. If initial capital comes from non-fishermen in Arembepe, stratification could develop within the community were production and profits significantly greater and more unequally divided between fishermen and non-fishing owners than is now the case. If

the income to fishing personnel remains high relative to the technological innovation, and relative to the share of the non-fishing owner, greater production and general amelioration of the material conditions of Arembepeiros could be obtained without sacrificing the graded socio-economic hierarchy, as fishermen themselves control the means of production.

If there is to be qualitative change in the apparatus of the Arembepe fishing industry, it will probably involve increased reliance on trammel nets rather than motorization. Unlike motors, trammel nets are within the financial reach of any industrious fisherman. If they increase catches in deep sea fishing, trammel nets will be bought and used by successful captains. On the other hand, motors, which are far more expensive, must be introduced by outsiders. Since there has been little in Arembepe's fishing industry to attract them in the past, outside investors are unlikely to begin to capitalize major innovations in the saveiro industry now.

Arembepe is only one of many suppliers of fish to Salvador's expanding population. Improvements in the fishing industry in Arembepe will have little effect on Salvador, where most of the fish which is consumed is caught by fishermen on commercial trawlers. If Salvador is to increase its supply of fresh fish, technological innovations will be applied to major commercial trawlers rather than to the

small fleets of communities like Arembepe. Changes in the fishing industry in Arembepe can only be responses to changes emanating from more advanced fisheries elsewhere.

Thus, the possibilities for significant change in Arembepe's fishing industry are severely limited by the placement of all villagers in the Brazilian national lower class. If Arembepe is to become a stratified settlement, stratification is more likely to develop on the basis of tourism than on the basis of modifications in the fishing industry. Once tourism has provided a basis for stratification in the community, further developments in the fishing industry may be possible, as villagers acquire sufficient capital to reinvest in motorization of the fishing boats or improvement of the harbor. Until that time, the fishing industry will continue to support the structure of equality in Arembepe.

APPENDIX A

TABLE 1

RANKING OF HOUSEHOLD BUDGETS

Rank	Occupations in Household ^a	Total Annual Budget ^b (Cr 1,000)
118	female earner	58
117	ordinary fisherman	72
116	female earner	73
115	female earner	86
114	female earner	87
113	female earner	98
112	female earner	108
111	2 female earners	161
110	agricultural worker, 2 female earners	166
109	fisherman, female earner	169
108	female earner	180
107	captain, female earner	184
106	fisherman, female earner	195
105	retired fisherman, supported	197
104	mason, 3 female earners	218
103	female earner, supported	219

TABLE 1 - Continued

Rank	Occupations in Household	Total Annual Budget (Cr 1,000)
102	mason, midwife	221
101	female earner	221
100	fisherman	234
99	2 fishermen	236
98	supported	239
97	female earner	252
96	captain, fisherman, female earner	254
95	dragnet owner	268
94	fisherman	278
93	fisherman, female earner	282
92	barber-businessman, 2 female earners	286
91	fisherman	295
90	fisherman, female earner	300
89	captain-half-owner, fisherman, occasional fisherman	309
88	captain-half-owner, stevedore, 2 female earners	312
87	fisherman-net captain	316
86	captain-half-owner, fisherman	317
85	fisherman, female earner	322
84	fisherman-full-owner, 3 female earners	333

TABLE 1 - Continued

Rank	Occupations in Household	Total Annual Budget
83	captain-half-owner, female earner	335
82	captain-half owner	336
81	2 fishermen	342
80	fisherman, female earner	343
79	fisherman, agriculturalist	348
78	fisherman, female earner	359
77	captain-half-owner	362
76	2 fishermen, caulker	372
75	2 fishermen, 2 female earners	373
74	fisherman	374
73	barber, store worker	375
72	2 female earners, land owner	377
71	fisherman, female earner	394
70	store, female earner, cattle owner	404
69	fisherman, female earner	405
68	fisherman, 2 female earners	418
67	3 female earners, supported	418
66	fisherman, female earner	418
65	store	420
64	captain, female earner	420
63	fisherman	421

TABLE 1 - Continued

Rank	Occupations in Household	Total Annual Budget (Cr 1,000)
62	fisherman, female earner	423
61	fisherman	430
60	fisherman-occasional captain	431
59	fisherman, agricultural worker	435
58	store	435
57	fisherman, female earner	440
56	mason, 2 fishermen, 2 female earners	441
55	fisherman	446
54	captain-half-owner, 3 female earners	452
53	fisherman	453
52	fisherman, 2 occasional fishermen, female earner	457
51	captain-half-owner, fisherman	461
50	fisherman, female earner	462
49	captain-half-owner-agriculturalist, female earner	465
48	2 fishermen	
47	2 fishermen, caulker, female earner	478
46	2 fishermen, schoolteacher, mason	484
45	fish marketer-farmer, female earner	489

TABLE 1 - Continued

Rank	Occupations in Household	Total Annual Budget (Cr 1,000)
44	captain	495
43	fisherman, store	496
42	3 fishermen, mason	498
41	fisherman-coconut picker	502
40	captain-full-owner, non-fishing boat owner-carpenter-coconut marketer-fish marketer	503
39	captain-half-owner	503
38	captain-full owner	503
37	captain-half-owner, agriculturalist	515
36	3 fishermen, occasional fisherman	520
35	captain, 2 female earners	529
34	2 fishermen	533
33	fish marketer-land-owner, receive support	544
32	fisherman, female earner	547
31	captain-half-owner-agriculturalist	553
30	fisherman-half-owner-coconut marketer	555
29	captain-half-owner	560
28	fisherman-sometimes captain, fisherman	562
27	captain-half-owner, fisherman- half-owner	564

TABLE 1 - Continued

Rank	Occupations in Household	Total Annual Budget (Cr 1,000)
26	2 fishermen, carpenter	570
25	3 fishermen	573
24	fisherman	577
23	farmer - businessman	580
22	fish marketer-non-fishing boat owner	582
21	storekeeper	597
20	fisherman, 2 female earners, supported	603
19	captain-half-owner	605
18	Petrobras	606
17	fisherman	608
16	store-farmer	640
15	fish marketer, boat owner, female earner	650
14	fisherman-half-owner-barber	664
13	captain, store, cowboy, fisherman	665
12	captain-half-owner-cowboy-farmer	673
11	Petrobras-boat owner	680
10	2 Petrobras workers, carpenter, fisherman	697
9	captain-half-owner-farmer	708
8	boat carpenter - boat owner	713
7	fisherman-half-owner, farmer, store	783

TABLE 1 - Continued

Rank	Occupations in Household	Total Annual Budget (Cr 1,000)
6	port captain, fisherman	792
5	fisherman, businessman-land owner- fish marketer	846
4	captain, fish marketer, land owner	884
3	general store, boat owner, land owner	1049
2	general store, boat owner, land owner	1125
1	store, boat owner-land owner- farmer-businessman-coconuts, fish, cereals	1201
Mean Budget		435
Median Budget		439

^aOccupations joined by hyphens indicate single individual with plural occupations. Occupations separated by commas indicate different individuals living in the same household.

^bFigures for August, 1964. Cr 1500 = \$1.00 U.S.

TABLE 2
WEEKLY FOOD EXPENDITURES FOR NUCLEAR FAMILY OF FIVE^a

Food item	Amount Consumed	Cost 1964 (Cr \$)	Cost per unit (Cr \$)		
			1963	1964	1965
beans	2.5 kg.	550	150	220	450
manioc flour	14.0 "	1,400	60	100	140
beef	1.0 "	500	---	500	700
dried beef	.75 "	900	---	1200	1800
coffee	.5 "	125	120	250	320
sugar	1.75 "	420	120	240	355
lard	.1 "	150	---	1500	---
bacon	.1 "	90	---	1500	---
bananas	24 fruits	240	---	10	12
mangoes	20 "	200	---	10	30
tomatoes	20 "	200	---	10	17
lemons	7 "	350	40	50	25
vinegar	1.0 l.	120	65	120	160
dende oil	.75 l.	225	200	300	800
Total		5,570			
Annual Total		156,200			

^aAssuming free access to fish. The average family of five eats 14 kg. of fresh fish per week.

TABLE 3
EXPENDITURES FOR FAMILY OF FIVE --
DIVERSE ITEMS

Item	Amount Consumed	Cost 1964 (Cr \$)	Cost per unit (Cr \$)		
			1963	1964	1965
Weekly					
cachaça	7 shots	140	120	250	350 (1.)
soap	1 kg.	600	300	600	800
matches	4 boxes	80	8	20	30
cigarettes	3-1/2 packs	700	---	200	400
cigars	7	50	5	7	15
kerosene	2 liters	200	50	100	190
candles	2	40	---	20	50
shave	1	70	---	70	150
Total	---	1,880	---	---	---
Monthly					
haircut	1	100	---	100	230
medicine	---	400	---	---	---
cosmetics	---	200	---	---	---
Total	---	700	---	---	---

TABLE 3 - Continued

Item	Amount Consumed	Cost 1964 (Cr \$)	Cost per unit (Cr \$)		
			1963	1964	1965
Annual					
clothes, trips, parties, etc.		50,000			
Grand Total (per year)		156,100			

TABLE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF SPECIAL GOODS BY
OCCUPATION OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

Occupation of Household Head	Number of Households ^a								
	Brick House	Brick and Wattle and Daub House (Mixed)	Wattle and Daub House	Brick stove (charcoal)	Sewing Machine	Radio	Bathroom	Refrigerator	Bicycles
Ordinary fisherman	16	24	48	18	11	6	1	0	0
Captain	5	0	5	5	2	1	0	0	0
Captain-boat owner	10	6	2	13	8	7	2	0	1
Local wage worker	0	2	4	1	0	0	0	0	0
Artisan	1	3	1	2	1	1	0	0	0
Outside employment	4	1	0	5	4	3	3	2	2
Store	10	3	0	11	7	6	2	4	0
Supported and Female-Headed	4	9	10	7	5	0	3	0	0
Businessmen	6	2	1	7	4	6	1	1	1
Total	56	50	48	69	42	27	12	7	4

^aSample size varies for each possession.

APPENDIX B

TABLE 1

FISH SPECIES COMMONLY CAUGHT IN AREMBEPE BY PORTUGUESE,
SCIENTIFIC AND ENGLISH NAMES

Portuguese Name	Scientific Name	Family	English Name
Aracangueira	Trachinotus glaucus	Carangidae	--
Albacora	Thunnus thynnus	Scombridae	Tuna
Albacora lajeira	Thunnus alalunga	Scombridae	Bluefin tuna
Agulhão bandeira	Istiophorus glaudius	Istiophoridae	Sailfish
Badejo	Epinephelus	Serranidae	Spotted Jewfish
Cavala	Scomberomorus cavala	Scombridae	King mackerel
Cavala aipim	Acanthocybium salcuidus	Scombridae	Wahoo
Cação martelo	Sphyrna zygaena	Sphrynidae	Hammerhead shark
Carnapú	Epinephelus	Serranidae	Black grouper
Cherne	Garrupa nigrita	Serranidae	Black Jewfish
Caranha	Lutianus griseus	Lutianidae	Gray snapper
Cioba	Lutianus analis	Lutianidae	Mutton fish
Dentão	Lutianus gibbus	Lutianidae	Red snapper
Dourado	Coryphaena hippurus	Coryphaenidae	Dolphin
Garopa	Epinephelus	Serranidae	Red grouper
Guaraiuba	Caranx crysus	Carangidae	Hard tail
Guaricema	Caranx ruber	Carangidae	Skip jack
Guaraçaim	Caranx latus	Carangidae	--
Jaguaraçá	Holocentrus ascencionis	Holocentridae	Squirrelfish
Ohlo de boi	[?] Sarda	Scombridae	Horse-eyed bonito
Pampo	Trachynotus carolinus	Carangidae	Atlantic pompano

TABLE 1.--(Continued)

Portuguese Name	Scientific Name	Family	English Name
Peixe galo	Selene vomer	Carangidae	Lookdown
Piragia	Epinephelus	Serranidae	Spotted grouper
Pescada bicuda	Sphyraena barracuda	Sphyraenidae	Barracuda
Rabo aberto (carapitanga)	Ocyurus chrysurus	Lutianidae	Yellowtail snapper
Soróroca	Scomberomorus	Scombridae	Mackerel
Tainha	Mugil brasiliensis	Mugilidae	Mullet
Vermelho ariacó	Lutianus synagris	Lutianidae	Spot snapper
Vermelho paramirim	Rhomboplites aurorubens	Lutianidae	Chubhead snapper
Xaréu	Caranx hippus	Carangidae	Surel

TABLE 2
FISH SPECIES COMMONLY CAUGHT IN AREMBEPE BY
TASTE CLASSIFICATION, PRICE, AND WEIGHT

Portuguese Name	Quality	Price to Fishermen ^a (in Salvador) (Cr \$)	Average Weight
Aracangueira	1	1000	5
Albacora	2	600	6
Albacora lajeira	2	600	30
Agulhão bandeira	2	600	12
Badejo	1	1000	12
Cavala	1	1000	6
Cavala aipim	1	800	15
Caçãõ martelo	3	400	60
Carnapu'	2	700	70
Cherne	1	1000	20
Caranha	1	800	12
Cioba	1	900	4
Dentão	1	900	3
Dourado	1	900	8
Garopa	1	900	5
Guaraiúba	1	800	2
Guaricema	1	900	0.25
Guaraçaim	2	700	2
Jaguaraça'	3	400	0.2
Pampo	1	900	1
Peixe galo	1	800	0.5
Piragia	1	900	5
Pescada bicuda	1	800	8
Rabo aberto	1	900	1
Sororóca	1	900	1
Tainha	1	700	0.25
Vermelho ariacó	1	900	0.6
Vermelho paramirim	1	800	2.5
Xaréu	2	500	4

^aPer kg. --1965.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acadian Recorder
1827 Editorial. March 24, 1827: 287.
- Arensberg, Conrad
1954 The community study method. American Journal of Sociology 60: 109-125.

1961 The community as object and as sample. American Anthropologist 63-2: 241-264.
- Brandão, Maria
1963 Relações agrárias em Camaçari. Salvador, Universidade da Bahia, Instituto de Ciências Sociais.
- Comitas, Lambros
1962 Fishermen and cooperation in rural Jamaica. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms.
- Davenport, William
1959 Nonunilinear descent and descent groups. American Anthropologist 61: 557-572.
- Eldredge, R. Niles
1963a Ecological determination of methods of marine fishing in Northeastern Brazil. Columbia University, Department of Anthropology. (Unpublished paper.)

1963b Some technological aspects of the fishing industry of a town on the Northeast Coast of Brazil. Columbia-Cornell-Harvard-Illinois Summer Field Studies Program in Anthropology. (Xeroxed).
- Epstein, David
1962 Offshore fishing on the Bahian coast. Columbia-Cornell-Harvard-Illinois Summer Field Studies Program in Anthropology. (Mimeographed).
- Fraser, Thomas
1960 Rusembilan. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

- Freeman, Linton
1965 Elementary applied statistics for students in behavioral science. New York, John Wiley.
- Gerhardsen, G. M.
1958 Fishery developments in the 20th century. Cahiers d'histoire Mondiale IV-4: 985-1008.
- Goodenough, Ward
1955 A problem in Malayo-Polynesian social organization. American Anthropologist 57: 71-83.
- Gorlin, Peter
1964 Jauá--a fishing community in Bahia, Brazil. Columbia-Cornell-Harvard-Illinois Summer Field Studies Program in Anthropology. (Mimeographed).
- Gould, Julius and William Kolb
1964 A dictionary of the social sciences. Glencoe, Free Press.
- Gross, Daniel
1965 Sisal and social structure in Northeastern Brazil. Metropolitan Graduate Summer Field Training Program. Columbia University, Institute of Latin American Studies. (Mimeographed).
- Gross, Rose Lee
1964 Local politics and administration: Camaçari, Bahia, Brazil. Columbia-Cornell-Harvard-Illinois Summer Field Studies Program in Anthropology. (Unpublished).
- Harris, Marvin
1952 Race relations in Minas Velhas, a community in the mountain region of central Brazil. In Race and class in rural Brazil. Paris, UNESCO.
1956 Town and country in Brazil. New York, Columbia University Press.
- Harris, Marvin and Conrad Kottak
1963 The structural significance of Brazilian racial categories. Sociologia 25: 203-209.
- Havinghurst, Robert and J. Roberto Moreira
1965 Society and education in Brazil. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Heare, Gertrude
1961 Brazil: Information for United States businessmen. U.S. Government Printing Office. Department of Commerce.

- Hutchinson, Harry W.
 1952 Race relations in a rural community of the Bahian Recôncavo. In Race and class in rural Brazil. Paris, UNESCO.
- 1957 Village and plantation life in Northeastern Brazil. Seattle, University of Washington Press.
- I.B.G.E. (Institute Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística)
 n.d. Camaçari, Bahia.
- Margolis, Maxine
 1966 The social structure of a Brazilian sugar plantation: Usina Dom João. Metropolitan Graduate Summer Field Training Program. Columbia University, Institute of Latin American Studies. (Mimeographed).
- Mintz, Sidney and Eric Wolf
 1950 An analysis of ritual co-parenthood (compadrazgo). Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 6: 341-363.
- Murphy, Robert F. and Leonard Kasdan
 1959 The structure of parallel cousin marriage. American Anthropologist 61: 17-29.
- Norbeck, Edward
 1954 Takashima: a Japanese fishing community. Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press.
- Parsons, Talcott
 1951 The social system. Glencoe, Free Press.
- Pierson, Donald
 1951 Cruz das Almas: a Brazilian village. Washington, Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, no. 12.
- Polyani, Karl
 1959 Anthropology and economic theory. In Readings in anthropology. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, II: 161-184.
- Roth, Vincent and H. H. Brown
 1943 Notes and observations on fish life in British Guiana. Georgetown.
- Smith, T. Lynn
 1963 Brazil: people and institutions. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press.

- Soares de Souza, Gabriel
 1938 Tratado descritivo do Brasil em 1587.
 São Paulo, Companhia editora nacional.
- Statistical Yearbook
 1965 United Nations, Statistical Office, Department
 of Economic and Social Affairs. New York,
 1964, 16th issue.
- Stein, Stanley
 1957 Vassouras: a Brazilian coffee county, 1850-1900.
 Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- Wagley, Charles
 1952 Race relations in an Amazon community. In
 Race and class in rural Brazil. Paris, UNESCO.
- 1953 Amazon town: a study of man in the tropics.
 New York, Macmillan.
- 1959 On the concept of social race in the Americas.
 Actas del 33 Congreso Internacional de
 Americanistas. San José, Lehmann, I: 403-417.
- 1963 An introduction to Brazil. New York, Columbia
 University Press.
- Wagley, Charles, ed.
 1952 Race and class in Rural Brazil. Paris, UNESCO.
- Waters, A. C. et al.
 1951 Principles of geology. San Francisco.
- Weber, Max
 1958 The Protestant ethic and the spirit of
 capitalism. Translated from the German by
 Talcott Parsons. New York, Scribner.
- Willems, Emilio
 1947 Cunha: tradição e transição em uma cultura
 rural do Brasil. São Paulo, Diretoria de
 Publicidade Agrícola, Secretaria de Agri-
 cultura do Estado de São Paulo.
- Zimmerman, Ben
 1952 Race relations in the arid sertão. In Race
 and Class in rural Brazil. Paris, UNESCO.