

SCHOOLS, COMMUNITY, AND CHANGE:
THE ROLE OF EDUCATORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MULTASPEDRAS

BY

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My interest in Brazil was stimulated when I accompanied my husband to the Amazon region in 1974. There, Lynn Buschman introduced me to frontier primary schools, and Emilio Moran and Millicent Fleming-Moran provided a role model of the husband and wife research team.

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SCHOOLS, COMMUNITY, AND CHANGE:
THE ROLE OF EDUCATORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUITASPEDRAS

By

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This is a study of the school system of a frontier community in the Amazon region of Brazil. Between 1971 and 1974, construction of two federal highways through Muitaspedras County altered previous riverine orientation and stimulated rapid population growth, leading to the increased importance of the county seat as an administrative and commercial center. Growth and change in the community was matched by growth and change in the school system.

The research focus is on educators who staff the school system: The research problem is stated in two questions. How are changes in the school system related to the changing community context in which educators now find themselves? Can any of the changes in the school system be considered development?

Findings are that some changes in school and community are new variations of the traditional patterns of a generally low educational level, educational control by outsiders, and migration for education.

The principal change in the community is the creation of a new middle class from a fusion of the old local elite with the outsiders who came to staff new agencies or to start businesses. Educators are an important segment of the new middle class. The expanded social system is paralleled by an expanded role for educators, who reach more students, may keep them in school longer, and attempt to involve the larger community in entertainment events. Furthermore, the old formal role of educators as transmitters of a frontier approximation of national, urban, elite, academic culture to children has changed with the dilution of the aristocratic ideal by a more middle class ideal of education for work.

These changes had an impact on three types of development: community, human resources, and economic development. Educators promote national integration and community solidarity. They develop human resources by teaching literacy and socializing students to bureaucracy. This indirectly aids economic development, but the migration of the best students hinders it.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION: A STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE
IN A DEVELOPING COMMUNITY

This is a study of the school system of a frontier community in the Amazon region of Brazil. Muitaspedras (a pseudonym) is a county (município) in the southwest corner of the state of Pará (Figure 1-1). Between 1971 and 1974, the construction of two federal highways through the county altered its previous riverine orientation and stimulated rapid population growth, leading to the increased importance of the county seat (also called Muitaspedras) as an administrative and commercial center for the upper Tapajós River Valley (Figure 1-2). Growth and change in the community were matched by growth and change in the school system.

The focus of the research to be reported here is on educators--the teachers, supervisors, directors, and administrators who staff the school system, which encompasses Muitaspedras County as well as segments of the new highways extending outside the county. The term "school system" is used as if it were a single entity, even though administration and sponsorship of schools is multiple and overlapping, with the county, church organizations, the state, and the national Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC)¹ all sponsoring schools. However, the school system shares a commonality of personnel, who work for different schools and education agencies as if the system was a single entity, and also shares a common center of administration and other activities--the county seat.



Figure 1-1
States and Regions of Brazil

Source: J.M.G. Kleipenning, The Integration and Colonization of the Brazilian Portion of the Amazon Basin, p. 8.

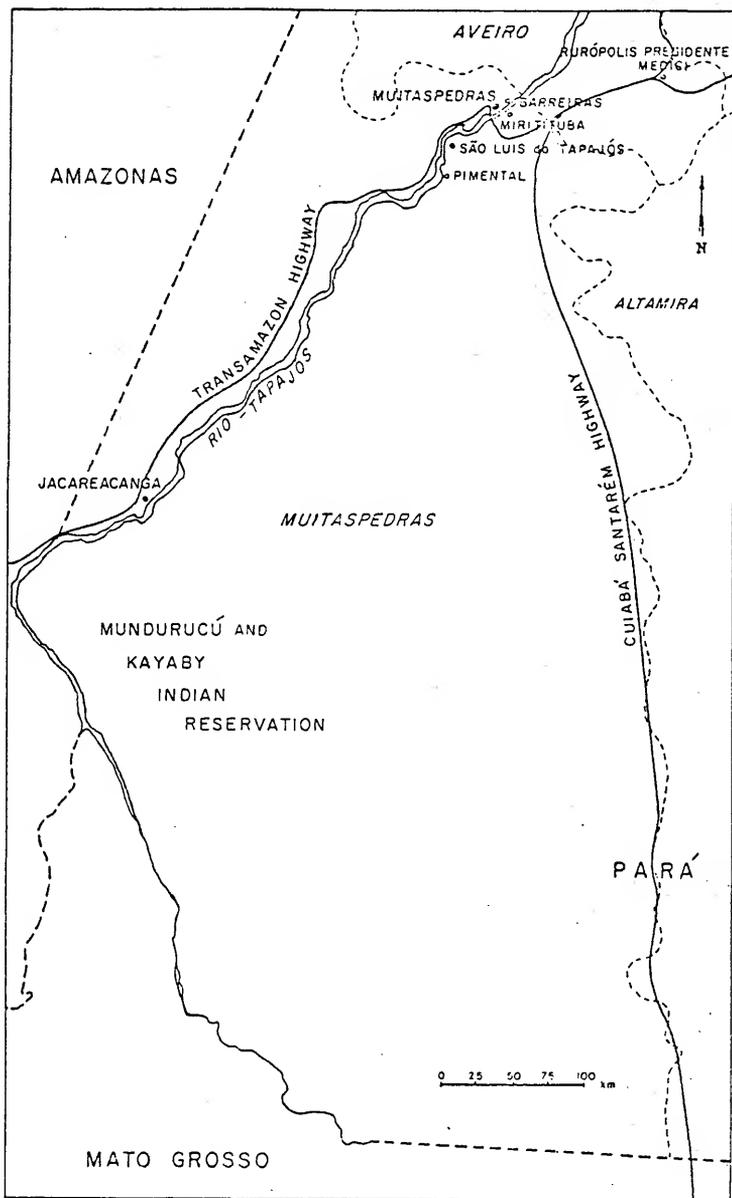


Figure 1-2
Muitaspedras County

Muitaspedras town is the center of community life as well as the center of the school system. Since Muitaspedras is the largest county in Brazil (165,578 square kilometers) and one of the least densely populated (16,143 in 1977, or less than one-tenth person per kilometer) (DNER 1977), the operational definition of the community as the whole county should be explained. In Brazil, the typical community comprises a central urban area or town and various micro-areas or neighborhoods, homogeneous in terms of the specific subsistence activity determined by the area's ecological conditions (Wagley 1971). This means that the community of Muitaspedras includes the town, the riverine villages, highway neighborhoods, gold mining settlements, and the Mundurucú and Kayaby Indian Reservations. The community, therefore, is coterminous with the município boundaries (and also, roughly, with the school system). The Brazilian pattern is comparable to the Southern county in the United States, which is also considered a community unit (Arensberg and Kimball 1972).

The research problem can be stated in two questions. How are the changes in the school system related to the changing community context in which educators now find themselves? Can any of the changes in the school system be considered development?

The answers to these questions are important to educational planners and to policy makers. If educators perform a positive role in development, further support from government sources would be valuable in any continuing efforts to develop the Brazilian Amazon. Moreover, specifying the nature of the role educators perform may help planners to make better informed decisions on the kind of support which will produce the most benefits in development.

The relationship of educators to the changes produced by highway construction and population growth is complex. Educators are both initiators and recipients of change. They respond to change as individuals and as group members. They are members of the local community but also representatives of the state and nation in the community.

It was immediately apparent during the research that changes were occurring and educators were involved with them in a complex way, but it was an open question whether developmental change was occurring or whether "the more things changed the more they stayed the same." To answer the question, I observed what educators did in the schools and in the community; what they did was act as teachers, students, bureaucrats, and community leaders. Each of these role components is analyzed according to whether or not development occurred as a result.

With the research subjects, problem, and site established as the role of educators in the development of Muitaspedras, the following section will describe the role of the researcher entering the community, establishing a relationship with educators, and operationalizing the research problem. The use of participant observation, event analysis, the community study method, and the sampling procedure employed will next be described. Finally, four theoretical assumptions from the anthropological studies of communities, change processes, and education which underlie my approach to this study will be presented.

The Researcher's Role:
Visiting Teacher and Student of Brazilian Culture

Educators in Muitaspedras often asked me one question in particular during my visits to their schools. It was, "Do you have any children?"

My standard answer was, "No, but I have two cats and a dog." This was considered a rather successful joke by educators. However, as a researcher, the joke has another meaning. The educators' question was about my status and role. They usually already knew that I was a married, schoolteacher-researcher from the United States. The presence or absence of children would further define my position, life style, and interaction with others of similar positions and life styles. It is no accident that educators' interactions with others are shaped by their sex, occupation, education, social status, birthplace, place of residence, and their positions within their respective families (i.e., as wives, daughters, mothers, etc.). This is true of everyone in Muitaspedras County, and it divides the community into many different, sometimes overlapping, subgroups.

Before embarking on fieldwork, I had to translate my own role of researcher into one which people in the community would, hopefully, understand and accept. The process of establishing my own status and role began before entering the field, and my role underwent some changes as fieldwork progressed. My status, on the other hand, remained more constant: that of a female, married, middle class, university-affiliated outsider.

The establishment of my role in Muitaspedras began back in the United States, at the University of Florida. My husband (also a researcher) and I brought letters of introduction (in English and in Portuguese) from the president of the University. We had a more personal link, through a fellow graduate student who was also a professor at the Center for Graduate Studies of the Amazon (NAEA), Federal University of Pará. Through this and other personal links, we paid

social calls after arriving in Belém, state capital of Pará, to the rector of the Federal University of Pará, the director of NAEA, and the director of the Pará State Planning Agency. From each of these agency heads, we asked for and received letters of introduction to the mayor of Muitaspedras (the chief local government official of both the town and county, or município).

Upon arrival in Muitaspedras, we again utilized official links through the letters of introduction and personal links established by my husband during an earlier visit in 1974 and during a colleague's work in a nearby highway neighborhood (Poats 1975). Through the efforts of a Catholic nun, we were given temporary housing at Project Rondon's Extension Campus. Project Rondon is a national program in which individual universities operate extension campuses in regions different from the host university. The purposes are to expose students to a region different from their own, promote national integration, and perform community service. The University for the Development of the State of Santa Catarina (UDESC) sponsored the program in Muitaspedras. Santa Catarina is a southern Brazilian state and one which has a large Italian immigrant population. Student teams come for a month at a time. Since many of the students are taller and lighter in skin and hair color than many Muitaspedras residents, it was natural for the latter to assume that I was another Project Rondon student. Even after new accommodations were at last rented, this first impression persisted.

This was a fortuitous association in many ways. First, townspeople were accustomed to these young strangers who did a lot of walking around town, became involved in the town's entertainment life, and worked in various community agencies (in town and in river villages)

for brief periods. Second, townspeople found the Santa Catarina dialect different enough from their own Portuguese that they often assumed that my own imperfect, American-accented Portuguese was a southern dialect. Third, the Project Rondon staff had good contacts with other agency personnel in town and provided important introductions. Fourth, Project Rondon is above all an education agency, and had strong ties to the other local education agencies. Project Rondon sponsors teacher inservice short courses, among other services to the school system. Also, like other school staffs, Project Rondon's staff sponsors many entertainment events in the community. In summary, Project Rondon personnel were accepted outsiders in Muitaspedras, and their activities bore enough similarity to my activities to provide a ready-made status and role. The association with Project Rondon legitimated my participant-observation to Muitaspedras residents, especially early in the fieldwork.

The only drawback to my being thought of as one of the Project Rondon students was their marital status (most were single) and their short stay. We lived in their dormitory through one team's visit, at a time when other university students had returned to Muitaspedras for Christmas vacation. In the evenings, we accompanied the students on their entertainment rounds. We learned about the lives of middle and upper class "singles" in Muitaspedras, but no married couple became our friends during this early period. Also, all of the university students were in town only for a short period of time, until vacation or the internship (estágio) on the Extension Campus ended. It took more time to establish contact with the more stable elements of the community, such as married couples and other permanent residents.

It was through observation of and interaction with Project Rondon students that I became aware of male attitudes about women. Local men had a predatory attitude toward female Project Rondon students which could easily be observed whenever a new team arrived at the airport where the local males gathered to size them up and exchange evaluations. This was a more extreme version of a stereotype of women as either respectable family women (some man's wife, daughter, or sister) or prostitutes. Project Rondon females were targets because they were only in town for a month, they were single, and they were active in entertainment events.

Male attitudes toward women were made even clearer when I inadvertently broke a cultural rule. Paulo, a male Project Rondon student (the only married one we met--and he left his wife home for his month's stay) invited me to accompany him on an overnight trip to a river village, where he would do a county equipment inventory for the mayor and I would do my questionnaire and classroom observations. When we traveled by boat, a steward, who knew me from previous trips with my husband, asked, "What happened to that other man?" When we arrived in the village, Paulo initiated changes in the usual overnight arrangements by which Project Rondon students slept in hammocks in a county office. He asked the female school director whether I could stay with her, and he accepted the invitation of a company director to stay at his quarters. As he explained to the school director, "Her husband is my friend," it became clear that men might protect the honor of their friends' wives, but single women--especially outsiders (without family protection)--were fair game.

To begin work on the research problem I first secured the permission of the superintendent of the State Education Division to do classroom observations. She accompanied me to my first school and introduced me to the educators there. After that, I was free to visit town schools at will, and was eventually invited by supervisors from the State Education Division to accompany them on overnight visits to river village schools and highway schools (I served as a chaperone; respectable women do not travel alone, or with a nonrelated man). Late in the fieldwork period, when I was ready to administer a questionnaire, I again asked for and received permission from the superintendent.

The significance of these uses of formal, official channels of communication (letters of introduction, official social calls) and informal, personal channels of communication (friendship and professional networks) is that this is the appropriate way to initiate a study of Brazilian bureaucracies--i.e., the schools and other educational agencies of Muitaspedras. Bureaucracies are characterized by unidirectional communication, from the top down (Hummel 1977). For this reason, I started at the top. Bureaucracies are also characterized by paperwork, or as Wolcott interprets it, "The crest of the technocrat is the report. . . . Technocrats are oriented to things rather than to people" (1977:184). For this reason, I started by using written letters of introduction, papers which symbolized my membership in educational bureaucracies, and therefore validated my proposed role.

Brazilians are not stifled by their bureaucracies. In order to survive as an urban, middle class Brazilian, it is necessary to learn how to dar um jeito (find a way). The Brazilian journalist, Paulo Mendes Campos, wrote a humorous column in which he depicted a merchant's

plan to dar um jeito for a foreigner by seeing whom he knows who got along well with a foreign minister (Campos 1971:66-67). Through a humorous exaggeration, Campos illustrated the principle of solving problems and cutting bureaucratic red tape by utilizing an informal, personal network of people who do favors for people they know.

As Muitaspedras has urbanized during the 1970s and as a middle class has formed from the commercial and government agency (bureaucratic) sectors, the ability to dar um jeito has become a necessary part of community life. The only educators I heard actually use the phrase in Muitaspedras were outsiders from larger urban centers. However, socialization to dar um jeito (without calling it that) did take place in the schools, both for educators and for students.

In other words, to study a bureaucratic occupational group, I had to gain access by displaying the bureaucrat's symbol of identity (papers) and then associate with educators long enough to observe their more personal networks, how they solved problems through their ability to dar um jeito, and to become accepted on a more personal basis. A number of small events during the early fieldwork period demonstrate how these two approaches slowly helped me enter the world of the educator in Muitaspedras. There were both formal and informal signs of acceptance.

Formal signs of acceptance were the superintendent's manner of dressing when she took me to my first school, formal introductions to teachers and students, and the director's making a space in the staff book for me to sign in and out. Much later, after hundreds of hours of classroom observations, I classified three visible signs of bureaucratic influence in schools: formal behaviors, dress and decoration,

and paperwork. They all appeared in my notes from the first day, but it took much longer to place them in a pattern.

Informal signs of acceptance were the school servant who refuted a mother's rumor that I was a child stealer, and my peer status during teacher inservice courses. The school servant, Dona Rosa, refuted the rumor because she knew me personally: her daughter washed our clothes, and her son ran errands for us in the morning before school (the relationship was one of friendship but also a patron-client relationship, signalled by our calling each other Dona Rosa and Dona Linda, whereas I was on a first-name basis with educators). During the teacher inservice courses, classroom teachers and supervisors all interacted as peers by temporarily resuming the student role. The Project Rondon student who served as teacher trainer in the first course I attended had an egalitarian approach and stressed friendship among educators, especially during a secret friend gift exchange, a ritual which united all of us in a chain of giving and receiving gifts (see Chapter 4). I met all the town teachers of grades one and two in this course. Invited to teach them a song, my Portuguese version of "The Eensy Weensy Spider," with hand movements, was from that time on requested at every inservice course. Educators came to regard me as a visiting teacher who taught primary school in the United States. In their hierarchy, I was informally placed at the level of a supervisor; these were the educators who initiated most often to me, along with the middle school teachers with whom I spent more time later in the fieldwork.

The ambiguity of my status was that of being a highly educated person with connections in the state capital, but also an ignoramus of local custom who could barely speak the language when I arrived.

To start, I asked to sit in classrooms to listen to Portuguese and learn. As the director of the first school I visited explained to each class in turn, "she is not a Brazilian and does not speak Portuguese correctly, like you students do." The key to acceptance by local educators was a ritual of status reversal, humbling myself by entering the classroom as a student of the language and culture. Several months later, the Project Rondon teacher trainer could identify me to other teachers with the riddle, "Sometimes she talks; sometimes she does not." Later, teachers occasionally commented on how hard it was in the beginning for people to understand me, and how hard it must have been for me. At an Indian Day assembly at the State middle school, the Indian Post director made a speech about national integration in this frontier area. He startled me by pointing me out in the audience as an example, a "Brazilian-American." I was becoming as much a part of the community as all the other outsiders from all over Brazil.

In short, after presenting credentials claiming I was better educated and connected than anyone in town, I had to be humbled to gain acceptance. Assuming the student role was acceptable because educators often resume this role during inservice courses. After becoming a student of the language and culture, I was promoted to peer during inservice courses and even allowed to teach a song. The supervisors, in particular, took me under their wing and allowed me to travel with them.

Techniques of Data Collection and Analysis

To find out what role educators played in the development of Muitaspedras, I became a participant-observer in the schools and in the community. After a period of time, a pattern of events emerged, and these were studied by event analysis. The context within which educators played their roles was analyzed through the community study method.

Participant-observation is the traditional method of conducting research in social and cultural anthropology. Despite the methodological diversity that now characterizes sociocultural anthropology, the professional rite of passage remains the lengthy participant-observation of a society or group.

The duality expressed in the term participant-observation means that the researcher must do two things at once: become involved with other people by participating in the things they do, and remain aloof enough during this involvement to observe and record behavior. I focused on educators and observed and participated in their activities. Observations were made of educators in their teaching role in town, highway, and river village schools, in classrooms covering the nursery through middle school levels. Here my role was usually that of a passive observer, sitting among students and taking notes. Active participation was required when I observed teacher training classes and when traveling with supervisors. A more balanced mixture of participation and observation characterized school-related entertainment events I attended.

There is some contradiction in this duality of participant-observation. The researcher does not observe experimental subjects through one-way glass, acting on them by manipulating variables without being acted upon in return. In participant-observation, the researcher interacts with the people being studied, so that they can and do react to the researcher's presence. In experimental studies such interference has negative value. The situation is different in participant-observation. The disturbance created by the arrival of the researcher in the community dissipates as the researcher is assigned a place and establishes relationships. The researcher's role shifts during fieldwork (Kimball and Partridge 1979), but it is possible to collect and analyze accurate data throughout fieldwork. However, the researcher must be aware of this assigned place in the community and how it affects interactions with others.

In considering event analysis, the focus in methodology shifts from the role of the researcher as a participant-observer to the activities which the researcher participates in and observes. Over time, it becomes possible to abstract patterns from the activities, to isolate segments of activities as events, and to analyze their characteristics. Three types of event analysis are utilized in this study: 1) analysis of current social events, 2) ethnohistory, or analysis of past events, 3) analysis of current symbolic, ritual events. The three types of event analysis differ from each other in two ways: 1) time, either current or past events, and 2) emphasis on social, or symbolic aspects of events.

The analysis of current social events is an invaluable tool in field observation. The researcher selects an event which is repetitive

in place, personnel, activity, and schedule of meeting. Next, five aspects of the event are recorded: 1) spatial arrangements, 2) distribution of personnel in space, 3) order of actions in terms of personnel, 4) activity, space, and time--or, who does what with or to whom or what, where when and how--and, 5) initiations and terminations. Finally, the researcher reports on the above aspects by summarizing the procedure and results, reporting insights and drawing conclusions, and noting whether additional information is needed (Kimball 1976: class notes). In other words, event analysis examines an event or genre of events in terms of its participants, their interaction patterns, and the event's content (Eddy 1975:class notes).

In Muitaspedras, I focused on events initiated by or attended by educators. These events fall into four broad categories: 1) classroom events, characterized by teacher and student interactions, 2) teacher training courses, also in classrooms, 3) staff meetings, both formal and informal, held in offices, and 4) entertainment events, both school-related and other events attended by some educators. The third category includes both formally scheduled events and informal but repetitive events, such as evening gatherings in someone's front yard or at a bar.

Time is the key difference between event analysis as described above and ethnohistory. The observer also changes. Ethnohistory uses event analysis of past events observed by others instead of current events observed by the anthropologist. The time frame is important, and the researcher's task is to establish a chronology of events. It is also important to cross-check or to do comparative checking of sources, or in other words, to confront one kind of evidence with another. The chronology is not an end in itself, but serves as raw

material for social science analysis. For this reason, ethnohistory helps us understand facts as a narrative or chronicle cannot. Ethnohistory contributes to the study of cultural dynamics. An important concern in ethnohistory is ethnic group contact, or population interaction. Two (or more) ethnic groups are seen as a product of one indivisible social process, with the history of one inseparable from the experiences of the other (Dobyns 1978: class notes).

Ethnohistorical event analysis was used in Muitaspedras to delineate patterns in population formation, transportation systems, and social and economic systems. These patterns interact with the growth of the school system to produce the current school system. Ethnohistory provides a time-depth context which makes it possible to place the current school system in perspective, both that of education history in Brazil, and that of community and regional history. Without time-depth, it is impossible to understand the changes which have occurred in Muitaspedras' schools.

Events can also be analyzed in terms of their symbolic and ritual content. Symbols and ritual are important under conditions of rapid change because they help people adapt to change on both the individual and the group level. This is because symbols enable people to make abstractions and communicate their meaning. When symbols are used in a patterned, formalized, repetitive way, ritual events occur. The researcher can learn a great deal about the people being studied by observing ritual. Rituals reveal deep values which make regularities found in other data intelligible (Turner 1969). In a ritual, something is named or made visible, and therefore accessible to society as well as to the researcher. One characteristic of ritual is

particularly well suited to the researcher's role as participant-observer, i.e., that rituals tend to be performance oriented. For most rituals, the only possible role is that of a participant (Burns 1977:class notes).

In Muitaspedras many events had ritual and symbolic content. Analyzing these events in terms of what was being symbolized and what this showed about relationships and values was very helpful. The many rites of intensification (Chapple and Coon 1942) which were observed emphasized the ways in which Muitaspedras' residents sought to adjust to rapid change by promoting social cohesion while at the same time emphasizing the many divisions in the community. Some of the events which were analyzed in this manner are the school June festivals, Mother's Day school observances, religious processions, a debutante ball, a fashion show, graduation, Carnival, sports club parties, soccer games, and Project Rondon's Open Games.

Community Study

So far, this description of methodology used in fieldwork has included the role of the research and how the various events are analyzed. Although event analysis can reveal a great deal about educators' activities, values and relationships, the larger question of whether educators play a role in development cannot be answered without understanding the context in which educators' activities occur. This context is not just the schools, but includes the whole community of Muitaspedras. For this reason, I used the community study method.

The community study method was developed within anthropology, but has been used in other social sciences. Community study means the

observation and exploration of a problem in human behavior and attitudes within the community context. It is the study of a problem in a community rather than the study of a community. The community is viewed as a sample of the society. This method is naturalistic, comparative, and inductive (Arensberg and Kimball 1972:29-30).

The research design of a community study follows three steps:

- 1) the construction of a model of the whole community from broad data,
- 2) comparison with other similar communities, and 3) fitting the problem into place in the model (Arensberg and Kimball 1972:34). The goal of participant observation and other data-collecting techniques is a breadth of view, so that an accurate model can be constructed and the problem under study can be put into proper context.

Breadth of view also means that relevant data are collected both inside and outside the community if extra-community influences (those from the larger society, whether region, state, nation, or international) are observed to be affecting some part of the community. Although the community study method developed out of the ethnographic study of relatively isolated, primitive societies, researchers who correctly employ the method never assume that their community is entirely self sufficient or without connections outside the community.

Use of the community study method in Muitaspedras meant, first of all, defining the unit of study. Muitaspedras County was defined as the community, a pattern found both in Brazil and in the United States' South (Arensberg and Kimball 1972; Wagley 1971). The definition of the county of Muitaspedras as the community reinforced my opinion that the question of educators' role in development could not be answered by doing a school ethnography. The county of Muitaspedras is approximately

the territory included in the school district. Educators travel within this district for a variety of activities, both school-related and personal. A study of educators, then, was a study in the school district and in the community. Both the research problem and the educators' activities defined the scope of the research site, that is, the county/community and school district of Muitaspedras.

However, the nature of both the community and the school district made it clear from the beginning that contexts even larger than these would have to be considered as well, even if educators' activities could only be observed at the local level. Several factors are involved. First, Muitaspedras is a community of migrants in both the short-term and long-term perspectives. Second, Muitaspedras' administrative and economic links to the outside society are obvious and very important. Third, the school system is a bureaucracy, and part of a bureaucratic hierarchy that extends to the state and nation. It is impossible to ignore these outside connections, but since the community study method means studying a problem in a community context rather than studying a community, it is possible to include the effects of these outside connections.

In addition to participant-observation and event analysis, the community study method as employed here included the collection of written information about Muitaspedras, an educator questionnaire, a student questionnaire, community and neighborhood surveys, and interviews.

Step two in community study research design required comparing Muitaspedras with other similar communities. My husband and I had restudied Charles Wagley's Amazon Town in 1974, and had found it to be

relatively unchanged (Miller 1976). We had also visited the new Transamazon communities studied by Moran (1975,1981). In addition, I visited three small river villages within the county as well as colonist neighborhoods along both the Transamazon highway and the new Santarém-Cuiabá highway. This first-hand opportunity to compare traditional and recent variations of Brazilian communities was supplemented by the many published community studies of both traditional (Harris 1971) and changing (Hutchinson 1957; Shirley 1971) communities elsewhere in Brazil. This comparative community approach, coupled with the comparison of Muitaspedras over time, provided the context for the formation of a model of an urbanizing community undergoing the process of forming a new middle class.

The middle class of Muitaspedras is new, and has developed since the arrival of the highways. It is estimated to be about 17 percent of the total population, and is comprised of two main groups: the bureaucrats and the commercial entrepreneurs (D. Miller, in press). The middle class of Muitaspedras is similar to the "metropolitan middle class" described by Wagley and Harris (1955) and the "new urban groups" described by Ratinoff (1967), and represents an extension of this class into the smaller towns in frontier areas of Brazil.

Several studies were made of the Brazilian "metropolitan middle class" in the 1970s. Miller reaffirmed the importance of the extended family to the middle class as adaptive despite urbanization and industrialization (C. Miller 1976). Maeyama (1975) studied friendship networks and participation in voluntary associations, and found that people form informal friendship groups which resemble extended families. Carman (1973) focused on a single middle class family and how it

benefited from industrial development. Finally, Hansen (1977) studied family histories to show how formerly fluid middle income sectors have become a middle class.

The process of middle class formation which has occurred in post-highway Muitaspedras in the 1970s confirms Wagley's definition of this class in Latin America as having "a distinctive way of life and its own self-identity" (1968:196), including a preponderance of white-collar, salaried workers in government and business, urban residence, a value of education for their own children as well as favoring universal public education, and a traditionalistic and nationalistic outlook. Highway-related development has brought in middle class outsiders to staff agencies and start new commercial ventures. They have overwhelmed the old local elite and there has been friction between insiders and outsiders. However, the potential for a merging of the two factions exists and was in the process of occurring in 1977, since, as Wagley points out, they are, from a national perspective, members of the same Latin American middle class.

But in all small towns there is a local elite-- government employees, storekeepers, clergy, and others who are "white collar"--who, from a national perspective, can be considered members of the middle class. Even the middle class living in small towns has an urban ethos. . . . (Wagley 1968:198)

As the following chapters will describe, this enlarged middle class in Muitaspedras has other characteristics noted by Wagley--the necessity of holding several jobs, working wives, working students, the need to dress well for work in public places, and an appreciation of the power of government. Furthermore, they still hold some aristocratic values and tastes, such as a disdain for manual labor and a preference for academic over technical education.

It is this changing community model into which the educators fit (step three in community study design), and they occupy a crucial place because the educator bureaucracies are among the largest in Muitaspedras. The State Education Division is one of the three largest bureaucracies in town, along with the Agricultural Extension Agency (EMATER) and the army (BIS). Moreover, the State Education Division is the only bureaucracy which is headed by a woman and is almost entirely female in membership. Thus the State Education Division has an important position in the new middle class of the community because of its size, and also an important position among women because it is one of the few organized women's groups (the nuns and the Mother's Club are two others, both affiliated with the Catholic Church).

Within this model of an urbanizing community with an expanding class structure, the role of educators in development was found to have a number of components, which range along a continuum from active to passive, official to unofficial, and positive to negative. Before discussing these components, I will first present operational definitions of the terms education, role, and the different kinds of development.

Education in this research report means formal education or schooling unless qualified as informal or nonformal education. Although I have extensive observations of an informal educational institution in Muitaspedras (Project Rondon), this information will be used here only in relation to the formal school system. Following Herzog's typology in education, I gathered information on official school curricula, school curricula-as-taught, and the "hidden curriculum" of school and classroom (Herzog 1979:110-112).

My use of the term role follows Linton (1936:113-114) in emphasizing the dynamic aspect, actual behavior, or performance of educators in schools and in the community. Through observation I identified four main components of the educator role in Muitaspedras: teacher, bureaucrat, student, and community leader. These role components constitute a role set in Merton's sense of "an array of roles" which "presupposes . . . a potential for differing and sometimes conflicting expectations of the conduct appropriate to a status occupant among those in the role-set" (1957:368-370).² It is these role components which will be analyzed in depth to determine the relationship of educators to development.

Although development has been the subject of investigation by numerous researchers who have published prolifically, my own use of the term is tailored to fit the research problem. I am not primarily concerned with economic development, the subject of most development literature, except insofar as my evidence will or will not show that educators contribute to economic development in some way. In general, this is a negative case where students are concerned, but a positive one where the educators themselves are concerned. I am more interested in human development, and I use that term in the sense Machado³ means when he writes, "Without developing the human beings of the region, it will be impossible to have a lasting development" (1974:327). Machado insists that the local level society must participate in the developmental process in order for economic progress to be transformed into real development (1974:316).

In practice, human development can be viewed from an individual or a group perspective. On the individual level, human development

means improving the lives of people by enabling them to develop the skills to take advantage of opportunities and therefore better meet their needs. On a group level, human development means making the community a better place to live in some way. This can mean strengthening the sense of community life people share, or their sense of social cohesiveness and belonging. Human development can therefore include economic development, but it also includes factors which, while less amenable to quantitative measure, are nonetheless real and observable. My use of the term development will usually be qualified by the terms human, community, regional, and economic development. These terms can in practice overlap, so the context of development will have to be specified as the term is used in different chapters.

With these considerations in mind, I will define my use of the general term development. Development is a type of change. It is related to growth in that both growth and development imply progression in one direction. However, development can be distinguished from growth in that it means a qualitative improvement in addition to quantitative growth. Development includes growth, but has an additional qualitative dimension. While growth is quite vulnerable to reversal caused by changes in conditions (as in boom and bust economic cycles), development is long term and harder to reverse. Growth allows people to utilize the skills they have to take advantage of an opportunity for improvement. Development allows people to improve their skills or learn new ones so that they stand a better chance of consolidating and maintaining improvements when opportunities change. In education, an analogy to growth and development is the distinction between learning a set of skills--or a body of knowledge--and learning to learn. The

latter has a more profound, long-lasting effect on the individual, since it gives a person more flexibility and a greater ability to adapt.

Who and What to Study: Sampling Procedure

Educators in Muitaspedras County are the population I studied. I used a judgement sample rather than a probability sample (Plog and Bates: 1980:51). There are two major reasons for using a judgement sampling procedure. The first is the vast size of the county, the difficulty of access to certain areas, time limitations, and the high cost of living and transportation on the frontier. The sample is stratified in that I divided educators into types and schools into zones and levels, and then studied a group of educators within each type, zone, and level. By the end of the fieldwork period, I had direct contact with over 77 percent of the educators in Muitaspedras. For this reason, I am confident that the educators I studied were representative of educators in Muitaspedras, although it must be clearly stated that there is no average educator in Muitaspedras. Instead, there are educators who may serve as models of their subgroup in exemplifying how certain patterns of behavior are expressed by an individual, with individual variations.

There is one bias in my sample of educators which I was unable to overcome due to the limitations cited above. This is that the most isolated educators are the least represented in my sample. The majority of my field time was spent in Muitaspedras town. There I observed 100 percent of town educators in some type of activity. I also observed all of the teachers from elsewhere in Muitaspedras County

who came to town for teacher training. A smaller portion of my field time was spent traveling to riverine villages. I visited three out of the six larger riverine villages in the county. The smallest portion of my time was spent traveling on the Transamazon Highway and the Santarém-Cuiabá Highway. I made two highway trips, one involving brief visits to all available educators of the south branch of the Santarém-Cuiabá, and the second involving a visit to a Transamazon school. I also visited and observed in several Transamazon schools in the Altamira sector in 1974. The fact that a majority of highway teachers came to town for the teacher training sessions helped to compensate for less time spent there. However, it is quite possible that the educators who did not come to town were different in some way (access to transportation, motivation) from those who did attend. I was not able to visit the school on the Mundurucú and Kayaby Indian Reservations.

The second major reason for choosing to use a judgement sample is related to the nature of anthropological fieldwork. The anthropologist is an outsider who must persuade the people who are the subjects of the research to allow access and extend cooperation to the anthropologist. This is a complex, delicate problem in human relations which no amount of research time and money can, by themselves, overcome. The anthropologist initiates to people, and people may respond by granting a guest status, a temporary license to observe and participate in the society to some degree.

In this type of human interaction, the anthropologist can press and prod to a certain extent, but in the end the people under study make the decision as to whether or not to allow participation. For

this reason, almost all the visits I made to river villages and high-way schools were at the invitation of educators who knew that I wished to travel. Once I was known to educators. I had to wait for them to initiate to me. As time passed, their initiations to me accelerated. This means that my judgement sample was also their judgement sample. I determined the structure of the groups I felt should be studied and initiated contact. Members of those groups decided whether or not to respond, and to what degree.

There are two reasons why I believe I gained acceptance into the population of educators. First, I attempted to follow bureaucratic protocol by using friendship and professional networks to establish initial contact at the top of Muitaspedras' educational hierarchy. Second, I stressed the similarity of my background to theirs. I explained that I had taught elementary school for five years in an underdeveloped region of the United States. Educators in Muitaspedras accepted me as another educator, a guest teacher who wanted to learn about their school system. The degree of acceptance varied, with several educators becoming friends outside the schools. In general, I achieved more acceptance from the better educated and the outsiders, in other words, from people whose backgrounds were closer to my own.

Theoretical Orientation: Four Assumptions

The theoretical orientation which shapes the way I approach the research problem derives from community study and the anthropological studies of change and of education. Community study theory assumes that "each culture possesses its characteristic community" (Arensberg

and Kimball 1972:328), and that the community is the basic unit of organization and transmission within a culture. Furthermore, it is a master institution which can be studied as a key to understanding the link between society and culture. Because the community is the locus of this link, it is the logical level on which to approach the problems of sociocultural change.

Anthropologists have usually studied change by focusing on either its cultural aspects or its social aspects. The concern with acculturation as culture change began in the United States around 1935. Ralph Linton defined acculturation as the "continuous first hand contact" of two cultures resulting in "mutual modifications and adaptations which will enable the two groups to live together" (1940:519). Acculturation studies emphasized the different stages and processes in culture change. From the 1950s on, anthropologists were increasingly concerned with the nature of change in community systems, with an emphasis on social change. However, some anthropologists did not lose sight of the need to consider both social and cultural aspects of change together. Clifford Geertz, who is primarily interested in semiotics (the science of signs), makes the point that cultural and social system must be examined separately rather than assumed to be mirror images of each other. He views culture as symbol systems which are models of and for society. Since "cultural structure and social structure are . . . independent yet interdependent variables" (Geertz 1973:169), investigating the nature and extent of their linkage is crucial to understanding change. The systemic school of applied anthropology is another example of how anthropologists studying change have sought to examine both social and cultural variables without assuming one to be a mirror image of the other (Eddy and Partridge 1978).

To summarize, community study theory and change theory provide two assumptions crucial to the research problem considered in this dissertation. Community study theory postulates that society and culture find their locus and characteristic expression at the community level (Arensberg and Kimball 1972). Studies of change have shown that the incongruities between cultural patterns and forms of social organization which occur in many cases of change are a key to the better understanding of change processes (Gaertz 1973). A third assumption follows that the community is an optimal level on which to study change. By studying change-related problems in the community context, the relationship between society and culture can be explored, and the processes of change can be clarified.

How does a study of educators fit into community study theory and change theory? The anthropological study of education has included the relationship of school and community as well as the problem of change in education as two important research areas. Frequently, these research areas overlap in specific case studies. Such is true of the research problem I investigated in Muitaspedras.

The anthropological literature on the problem of change in education can be classified according to what levels of sociocultural integration are considered. The six levels are individual, family, community, regional, national, and international. At the individual level, educators are involved with the life cycle, as the student becomes a member of society and learns its expected behavior patterns. Educators are one group among several (family, peers) who socialize the child (Moore 1973; Doughty 1972). At the family level, educators are involved with change in two ways. They initiate students into

the wider society at some level above the family, whether tribe, community, or nation. Frequently, there is conflict over the rights of the family to the child versus the rights of the larger society (Hart 1963; Wallace 1973). There is also conflict over which level of society beyond the family holds these rights, that is, does the community or the nation take priority? (Modiano 1973). Educators are involved with change at the family level in a second way as well. The availability of formal education motivates change when families choose to make changes in their life styles (Harper 1971) or place of residence (Shirley 1971) so that children can attend school.

The community level is a particularly critical one because it is on this level that educators become mediators between the family and society, no matter whether their school exists in a complex society or whether it is an initiation school in a primitive society. Because I accept the proposition that society and culture find their characteristic expression at the community level, the school as an institution which functions at the community level becomes a crucial locus of the relationship between society and culture.

There is another reason for the importance of the community level in an analysis of the role of educators in school and community under changing conditions. It is at this level that the conflict so frequently observed between forces for national unity (or dominance) and forces for either regional, ethnic, minority, or class variation can be observed (Thomas and Wahraftig 1971; Safa 1971; Nash 1961). When a community and nation are in a state of incongruency, and when the school as a national agency located in the community bears the brunt of this discontinuity, turmoil can result. Here the work of Kimball on

community (Arensberg and Kimball 1972) and education (Kimball 1974) converges. This is why the theoretical perspective of community study is so important to my analysis of educators in a change situation.

It is at the community level (encompassing the lower levels of the individual and the family) that anthropologists or others trained in anthropological fieldwork methods can observe the processes of change affecting people's daily lives. However, the community study method includes as variables those forces external to the community level which impinge on community life. Anthropologists studying problems of change in education have also studied the regional and national levels of sociocultural integration, especially the ways in which these levels affect the family and community. In general, at the regional level, educators may be expected to transmit both the national level culture and any regional variation of national culture which exists in that society. At the national level, educators are mediators, or bearers of national culture to the lower levels of sociocultural integration. At the international level, the forces of change operating through urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization have differential impact on nations. This is reflected in the dichotomy between developed and underdeveloped nations, with implications for formal education in terms of the role of educators and the availability or allocation of resources (Cochrane 1971; Cole, et al. 1971; LaBelle 1972).

To summarize, the community level is ideal for the study of sociocultural change because at this level society and culture interact directly in shaping the lives of individuals. Educators have a formal role in the community as transmitters of some variant of the larger

society's culture to children. This makes educators a particularly important group to study in a community which, like Muitaspedras, is experiencing rapid change.

My fourth theoretical assumption is that by studying educators as an occupational group in the community context, we can better understand change processes and their effects on people. Educators are involved in three related kinds of development: community development, human resource development, and economic development.

First, educators are official promoters of patriotic nationalism and national integration. When they perform this role, they are a force for community development in the sense of promoting community solidarity and integration, uniting insiders and outsiders as Brazilians developing the frontier (see Chapter 7). Second, educators are unofficial but no less forceful proponents of middle class family life. This role has both positive and negative effects on community development. In a community whose middle class is just emerging as an important sector, educators are arbiters of proper behavior and values (not in a puritanical sense--there is a picture of a naked woman on the calendar in a primary school office), and therefore play a positive role in developing a place for this sector in community life. Less positive, however, is the effect of this middle class bias on lower class members of the community who are the great majority. This is the problem faced almost everywhere by educators and those they are supposed to educate. In order for the problem to exist, lower class students must first be enrolled in school, as they so often have not been in Brazil. In this sense, the emergence of a problem may signal progress in community development, from lower class exclusion from school to inclusion as a discriminated-against group (see Chapters 5 and 6).

Third, educators socialize members of the community to bureaucratic ways (and new educators are themselves socialized to them). This may aid human resource development by helping individuals learn how to dar um jeito in their own dealings with bankers, agricultural extension agents, and other bureaucrats who can affect the economic well-being of individuals. Fourth, one of the most important skills educators officially teach is literacy. Rural people, in particular, value the acquisition of literacy as a defense against exploitation (U.N. 1968; Thomas and Wahraftig 1971). Literacy skills and bureaucratic socialization (or at least the acquisition of important documents--bureaucratic symbols) have been linked in another Brazilian education study (of adult literacy programs and industrial employment--see Buschman 1977).

A fifth role of educators concerns economic development and is positive only for the educators. Along with other members of the middle class, educators are the unintended recipients of many of the benefits of the special programs which accompanied highway construction. Educators gained jobs, special training, the opportunity to gain a higher level of schooling, salary supplements, and related but less direct benefits. Similar benefits accrued to other middle class members of the community. As far as the middle class is concerned, the development of human resources did occur, both for locals and for outsiders who migrated to the community. This is consistent with the national development policy of Brazil, in which the pie must first be made bigger before it can be sliced up more equitably (Simonsen 1973). The middle and upper classes have benefited more from economic development efforts in Muitaspedras than has the lower class.

Sixth, the role of educators in economic development in general is indirect. Educators can teach skills and socialize behaviors and values which can contribute to human resources development, but they cannot provide the employment opportunities which will keep developed human resources in the community. Ironically, when educators are most successful, i.e., when students complete eight years of schooling and graduate, they may be least successful in terms of local economic development because of the brain drain. The few students who graduate from middle school want to continue their schooling and must leave Muitaspedras to do so. Whatever their attachment to the community, whether or not they return permanently will probably depend on employment opportunities. This is beyond the domain of educators.

The most positive role of educators in economic development, then, should be the two components of human resources development mentioned above, that is, socialization to bureaucracy, particularly problem-solving skills, and the teaching of literacy and other basic skills (the three Rs). These two components would equip the large lower class to be able to deal with middle class bureaucrats when necessary (for example, to obtain documents needed for services, work, or credit) and to defend themselves from exploitation attempts through literacy. These skills would also provide a foundation for further training as needed or when made available for employment opportunities. The effectiveness of educators in this role depends on getting the lower class enrolled in school, and keeping them in school long enough to acquire literacy. The barriers are mainly bureaucratic, and are discussed in Chapter 6.

The chapters that follow trace the role of educators in the schools, the community, and in development. Chapter 2 describes how growth has changed the community and its school system, leading to new variations in traditional patterns. In Chapter 3, the contributions of Santana Middle School to the community and to the training of local educators is assessed. In Chapter 4, the plethora of inservice teacher training courses designed to upgrade educators is presented. Chapter 5 offers three models for understanding educators in their teaching role, the role in which most community members think of educators. In reality, the bureaucratic role dominates the activities of educators; this role is presented in Chapter 6. An often overlooked role of educators is that of community leader, which takes place in entertainment events, or outside the normal sphere of classroom and office activity. Chapter 7 presents this role. The conclusions, Chapter 8, tie these roles together in their relation to community life and the different types of development.

Notes

¹The Portuguese names of organizations are given in Appendix I.

²Merton uses United States schoolteachers to exemplify the role-set. The teacher's role-set includes relationships with pupils, colleagues, the Board of Education, and professional associations.

³Paulo de Almeida Machado, then director of the National Institute for Research in the Amazon (INPA) in Manaus, has a background in medicine and public health.

CHAPTER TWO
THE IMPACT OF GROWTH ON TRADITIONAL PATTERNS
IN THE COMMUNITY AND ITS SCHOOLS

In 1970 Muitaspedras County had 28 primary schools, with 20 teachers and approximately 1000 students. There was also one middle school, a regional normal school operated by nuns, with 207 students. By 1977, there were 105 primary schools in the county, with approximately 178 educators and 4000 students. There were two middle schools (although one was in its final year of operation) with about 35 educators and over 650 students.¹

This growth in the school system occurred because Muitaspedras County was crossed by two new Federal Highways in the early 1970s: the Transamazon Highway (BR230) and the Santarém-Cuiabá Highway (BR165). With the highways came rapid growth in population, in business and commerce, and in government agencies to promote development. New schools, inservice training for teachers, new education agencies, and a salary supplement for educators were changes in the school system which were matched by similar changes in other government agencies located in the community.

Despite the change in transportation which occurred because of two federal highways in a community which had previously relied on riverine (and more recently, air) transportation, other changes were not as profound, and can be considered new variations in old patterns. Economic boom and bust cycles, an extractive economic system, high geographical

mobility, and the domination of the county by outsiders are all traditions which have continued in the face of a decade of growth and change. Another important change is the expansion of the traditional two-class system to include a large number of middle class immigrants. However, this group occupies a position similar to that of the local upper class.

These changes and continuities in community life have their counterparts in the school system. This chapter will provide an overview of the changing community context within which the school system must be seen. First, the traditional Amazon town will be described, to set the stage for the changes which followed. Next, the changes will be described in their three major areas of impact: population growth, distribution, and transportation; economic activities, including the extraction of gold and forest products as well as agriculture; and finally, the proliferation of agencies to promote economic and human resources development.

With the community context established, corresponding patterns in the school system will next be described. Principal among these are educational control by outsiders, migration of educators and students, and the historical importance of the Catholic Church in Amazon education. Finally, the post-highway growth in the school system will be described, and the impact of growth on traditional patterns in school and community compared.

The Traditional Amazon Town

The typical Amazon town is a small, quiet river town. Its residents have an ambivalent attitude about the town. They decry its isolation, backwardness, and economic stagnation, in the often-heard phrase, "Here

we don't have conditions" ("Aqui não temos condições"). At the same time, they are proud of living in an official urban center rather than the rural hinterland. This pride is expressed in the value placed on movimento, which means movement or the noise of lively social activity. Towns are rated according to their movimento, but any town is a center of movimento compared to the country.

The typical Amazon river town has a two-class social system and an extractive economic system. The small upper class forms the business, government, religious, and educational leadership of the town. The large lower class performs day labor for municipal projects, domestic labor, subsistence farming, and the collection of forest products or minerals, such as rubber, lumber, Brazil nuts, gold, and the like. Both classes are linked by fictive kinship and economic ties. The upper class is also linked to larger urban centers (e.g., Belém, the state capital) through kinship or business ties, and they may represent extra-community agencies in the town. The lower class seeks links to the upper class through fictive kinship and patron-client relationships.

In Wagley's classic community study, Amazon Town (1976), rubber collection and subsistence agriculture are the principal economic activities. The rubber trader is a patron to lower class rubber collector families both economically and socially. The rubber trader advances food and tools to the rubber collectors, provides a center for socializing in his store, and forms fictive kinship relationships with rubber collectors. Although he is a powerful patron at the community level, at state and higher levels the rubber trader himself secures patrons and is economically dependent upon them.

A restudy of Wagley's Amazon town was made in 1974, and I lived in that community for several months (Miller 1976). Itá was still a traditional Amazon riverine town. It was accessible by river boat and airplane, but was still considered an isolated backwater. A small lumber boom had replaced rubber for a while as the principal extractive industry, but a slump had followed in the traditional boom-bust economic pattern of the region.

Itá today is what Muitaspedras was in 1970, before the Transamazon Highway reached the bank of the Tapajós River across from the town. There are several other traditional Amazon towns in Muitaspedras county, upriver and downriver from Muitaspedras town. These traditional Amazon towns provide an important comparative background to post-highway Muitaspedras.

Post-Highway Muitaspedras

An ambitious federal government program to build highways, plan colonization, and promote agricultural development in the Brazilian Amazon had profound effects on Muitaspedras in the 1970s. The Transamazon highway received world-wide attention as well as concern about its effects on ecological balance and native populations (Davis 1977; Goodland and Irwin 1975; Meggers 1971). The highway is an east-west route, crossing Brazil from Joao Pessoa and Recife on the Atlantic coast to Cruzeiro do Sul on the Peruvian border. The route is far south of the Amazon River, and crosses several southern tributaries of the Amazon. On each of these tributary rivers, once traditional Amazon riverine towns have been transformed by the coming of the

Transamazon Highway. Researchers have studied various aspects of this transformation in Marabá on the Tocantins River (Wood and Schmink 1979), near Altamira on the Xingú River (Moran 1975; 1981), and in Muitaspedras on the Tapajós River (Miller 1979; Poats 1975).

The Santarém-Cuiabá Highway is a north-south route, from the city of Santarém at the junction of the Tapajós River with the Amazon River, to the city of Cuiabá in Mato Grosso State. This highway crosses the Transamazon Highway east of Muitaspedras town but within Muitaspedras county.

Construction of the Muitaspedras section of the Transamazon Highway from 1971 until 1973 spurred rapid population growth. People came to Muitaspedras from other counties along the Tapajós River, elsewhere in Pará State, other states and territories of the Amazon region, and other regions in Brazil, especially the Northeast and the South. This influx swelled the town population from 2200 in 1972 to an estimated 12,000 in 1977. Muitaspedras, once a quiet river town much like Wagley's Amazon Town (1976), became a booming center of frontier expansion.

One of the major differences between the traditional riverine towns and post-highway Muitaspedras is the change in population distribution and transportation patterns from a river orientation to a mixed river-road orientation. The old rubber traders lived along rivers and streams. Rubber collectors were dispersed, with each family in charge of a rubber trail. This settlement pattern, called the line community, continued with the advent of highways. The colonization plan divided land near the highway into plots and assigned plots to colonists. The plan called for colonists to live in nucleated villages at intervals along the

highway and cross-roads (travessas), from which they would walk to their own plots. This settlement plan was operational in the Altamira section, but was abandoned in the Muitaspedras section. The result was a line community settlement pattern along the highways and cross-roads. As a result, a type of settlement pattern, the line community, persisted from pre- to post-highway Muitaspedras, but the focus of settlement shifted from rivers to roads.

In both cases, economic activity determined the settlement pattern, that is, residence was as close as possible to the work site. Riverine settlement continues today, either dispersed along rivers and streams or concentrated in villages. People have also settled along the Transamazon Highway, the Santarém-Cuiabá Highway, cross-roads on both highways, and a municipal road west of Muitaspedras town which was constructed in 1972 to the riverine village of Barreiras. The latter road is called the Estrada da Colonia (Colony Road), in reference to small farm plots rented out by the county.

The traditional Amazon town depended on riverine transportation, that is, canoes and motor boats,² for personal travel and moving products. Riverine transportation continues to be important, but now the road transportation of busses, trucks, and automobiles (jeeps, vans, pickups, and the Volkswagon "beetle"), is also important. Personal travel on the Transamazon and the Santarém-Cuiabá is possible through a bus company, private vehicle, or vans which take passengers for pay. Store merchandise is brought into Muitaspedras town by motor-boat and truck. People can also travel by motor boat downriver to Santarém and beyond on scheduled carriers, and upriver on unscheduled motor boats to São Luís. Boat travel beyond Sao Luís is impeded by

rapids, but small motorboats can travel upriver, especially in the rainy season when the river level rises. Table 2-1 shows modes of transportation between Muitaspedras and Santarém.

This consideration of the difference between traditional Amazon towns and post-highway Muitaspedras has thus far omitted one factor which can be considered a subregional variation on the traditional model, and which also affects population size and distribution, transportation patterns, and economic emphasis. This factor is gold.

A gold boom began in Muitaspedras county and the surrounding Tapajós subregion of the Amazon region in the 1960s. Fluvial gold deposits are placer mined in camps scattered throughout this area. Most are accessible only by air. Each gold mining camp has a rudimentary air strip where small single-engine airplanes bring in miners, prostitutes, store owners, and supplies, and take out people and gold. Medical, educational, and religious services in the gold mines are usually nonexistent. The families of the gold miners often live in Muitaspedras town or the riverine villages.

Gold is another extractive industry, and the social system which accompanies it (debt peonage) fits into the traditional regional pattern. Thus, the gold boom can be considered a subregional variation within this tradition. Many men turned from rubber collection to gold mining, causing a "bust" in the rubber industry, although some rubber collection continues. There was a change in population distribution as people settled in the scattered, isolated mining camps. In transportation, air travel became very important in Muitaspedras, since it was usually the only way to reach the mines. However, this was a new transportation niche rather than a replacement for riverine transportation.³

Table 2-1
 Modes of Transportation: Muitaspedras-Santarém

Mode of Transportation	Frequency of Service	Cost (US Dollars)	Duration of Trip
Airplane	3 times/week	40	50 minutes
Bus	daily	8	7 hours
Car	Note ^a	Note ^b	5 hours
Boat	4 times/week	6	18 hours

^aThe National Road Department (DNER) estimates the average number of cars traveling in the direction of Altamira and Santarém at fifty per day (DNER 1977:37).

^bThe cost of gasoline in January, 1977, was US\$0.62 per liter.

Source: Darrel L. Miller, Transamazon Town: Transformation of a Brazilian Riverine Community, p. 58.

The gold boom had an impact on Muitaspedras town, but this impact was not as great as the effects of the highways. Stores opened in Muitaspedras to supply the mining camps stores. Many pilots operated their single-engine airplanes out of Muitaspedras. The presence of many young men with money in town created a demand for restaurants, social clubs, and other entertainment centers. This growing commercial sector of the town received an even greater impetus from the population boom which followed highway construction.

Another difference between the traditional Amazon town and post-highway Muitaspedras is the attempted shift in economic emphasis from extractive products to agricultural products for export. Government plans for the highway colonization program included incentives for small farmers to grow rice as a cash crop. Yields were disappointing due to a number of factors including poor implementation of plans, transportation and storage problems, and the poor quality of soils (Poats 1979). In 1975, the government shifted its economic emphasis from small farming to mining in the Muitaspedras area (IBGE 1975). Thus a traditional Amazon pattern of extractive industry continues in post-highway Muitaspedras. Nonetheless, small farmers were still growing rice as a cash crop even after the shift in emphasis occurred, and subsistence agriculture is still practiced along the highways and in riverine neighborhoods.

A final difference between the traditional Amazon town and post-highway Muitaspedras is the large increase in national agencies present in Muitaspedras as a result of two related concerns: national security and integration.

The national agencies established in post-highway Muitaspedras town include an army base, the National Road Department, the Bank of Brazil, a Federal Savings Bank, the Indian Service, Social Security, a health agency, a national school lunch program, a federal tax collector, the telephone company, the agricultural extension service, the Miners' Assistance Foundation, the State Education Division, and Project Rondon (see Appendix II). This list demonstrates both the increased importance of Muitaspedras as a regional business and administration center and its closer links to Brazilian national society.

These agencies opened in Muitaspedras to support the federal government programs which accompanied highway construction, especially the colonization program. However, the underlying concerns of highway construction itself were to promote national security and national integration, two long-time Brazilian goals.

Brazilians have long felt the need to protect their extensive borders from foreign encroachment (Wagley 1971). One way to accomplish this goal is to populate the territory near borders with Brazilians. Another way is to establish a permanent military presence to protect the frontier from foreign threats. Both of these measures were put into effect in Muitaspedras. Increased population of the frontier area was accomplished by building highways and encouraging colonization along them. A permanent military presence was brought to the area by making the whole Transamazon a National Security Area and by locating a new army base in town.

Brazil has been characterized both by a strong sense of national unity and by a strong regional diversity (Wagley 1971). The use of the slogan "Integrar para não entregar" (Integrate in order not to

deliver"--or, in order not to deliver up border lands to foreign control) on T-shirts distributed to Transamazon colonists by the government expresses the national desire to integrate the frontier areas into the national socioeconomic system. National integration is also another way to promote national security. In the Transamazon Highway, Brazilians had a project which could simultaneously meet several needs. First, colonization along the highway would populate Brazil's frontier to protect it and its resources from foreign encroachment (the need for national security). Second, highway colonization would provide land for the landless people of the Northeast and the South. Third, improved transportation links provided by the highway would serve to better integrate frontier regions into a national socioeconomic system.

It is clear that the national society's expressed needs could not be met just by constructing highways. Colonization also had to be promoted. The Transamazon Highway and its planned colonization program was an attempt by the government to address these national problems. Without these expressed needs, the national government would not have invested the publicity, money, and special programs which accompanied highway construction.

The attempt to plan colonization along the highways was an ambitious one, and it is not surprising that many problems developed during implementation of the plans. The problems faced by the colonists who settled the Transamazon are described by Moran (1975) and Poats (1975). However, another set of problems was faced by the residents of the traditional riverine towns crossed by the Transamazon. These people were overwhelmed by a population boom and its accompanying commercial and bureaucratic booms.

The problems faced by residents of Muitaspedras town are described by Miller (1979). Despite the booming growth which occurred in population, commerce, and bureaucracy, real economic development did not occur. However, the national society's expressed needs for national security and integration were met to some degree. The army base on the town's edge became a powerful force in many phases of community life. In addition to protecting national security by their presence, some army officers believed they were bringing social order to the town. Army personnel offered various medical, dental, and educational services to townspeople, both officially and unofficially.

One of the ways in which national integration was promoted was through the new transportation links which overshadowed the old pattern of international economic domination with what is sometimes called "internal colonialism," or the dominance of the relatively poor North Brazil by the wealthier, industrialized South Brazil. In both cases, Muitaspedras remained at the bottom of the ladder in terms of economic development.

The two new highways provided new transportation links to the outside world, and commercial entrepreneurs advantageously used them to bring in supplies from São Paulo, Brazil's industrial metropolis. This new highway link differed from the riverine transportation system which linked Muitaspedras to Belém, the state capital of Pará. As producers of extractive forest products (rubber, wood, Brazil nuts), the traditional Amazon towns were a low link in an international economic system (Frank 1967). Fluctuations in the international price of rubber had dramatic effects on residents of Amazon communities. This economic pattern is called the metropolis-satellite system by

Frank. Brazil's extractive industries produced products which were exported to foreign industrial nations, especially the United States. New York City was the world metropolis and Brazil's Amazon region a low-level satellite.

The new transportation link to São Paulo by highway meant that national integration was achieved by making Muitaspedras a satellite to Sao Paulo. Instead of links to industrialized foreign nations, Muitaspedras is now linked to the industrialized south of Brazil. Thus a national metropolis has replaced an international metropolis for Muitaspedras. While Muitaspedras is better integrated into the national society as a result, its position is still that of a weak satellite to a powerful metropolis. In other words, Muitaspedras has always been integrated into an international economic system. It is now more directly integrated into the national economic system as well. In both cases, however, the integration is at the same level--the bottom. Muitaspedras has never been "marginal" or outside the national and international economic order (Epstein 1973; Perlman 1976). The transportation and communication links have changed over the years to facilitate closer integration.

The commercial sector's use of the new transportation link is not the only way in which national integration has been promoted. The population boom is another powerful force toward national integration in Muitaspedras. This is because people moved there from all over Brazil. The planned highway colonization program recruited Brazilians from the South and from the Northeast. However, many people migrated to the highways from other regions as well. People also migrated from various regions to Muitaspedras town, and the immigrants quickly outnumbered the natives.

Immigrants settled in various neighborhood (bairros) of town principally according to their occupation. Army personnel settled in their own new neighborhood, a housing development adjacent to their base. Another neighborhood of new houses was occupied by various agency personnel. Project Rondon and the Bank of Brazil also provided housing compounds for personnel. An older neighborhood where many fishermen lived became the town headquarters for colonists. A large new neighborhood, called Alta Vista, became home primarily to North-eastern immigrants who went to work in the gold mines or on farms rented from the county on the Colony Road west of town.

There was a severe housing shortage during the population boom. "Casa aqui é difícil" ("It is hard to find a house here") was a frequently heard comment. Other services were also in short supply, and the county government, headed by the mayor, was hard-pressed to meet demands for extension of services into new neighborhoods. Water was pumped from the Tapajós River. Frequently the pump broke, and the townspeople went to the river to bathe, wash clothes and dishes, and carry drinking water back to their houses. Water and electricity were turned off for a period during the night. Alta Vista lacked electricity, piped-in water, and planned roads during our stay. Residents of this new neighborhood complained about the mayor's slowness in extending services. A large water tower was under construction to serve this neighborhood. Late in our stay a Project Rondon team surveyed Alta Vista for roads, and one day a bulldozer began straightening and leveling the roadways. It was discovered that some houses had been built in the roadways. Electricity arrived in Alta Vista at the end of our stay.

The population boom promoted national integration by bringing people from all over Brazil into close contact in a frontier community which was the focus of national concern. People moved into diverse neighborhoods largely according to their occupations and available housing at the time of their arrival. The difficulty of finding housing and services gave people one area of common concern. Other areas of common concern developed as churches, schools, shopping and other community services and activities were extended into new or expanding neighborhoods.

Many of the immigrants who came to staff the new agencies were better educated than native Muitaspedrans. They represented either the metropolitan middle class (Wagley and Harris 1955) or the town middle and upperclass from other regions. As such they did not fit into the two-class system of the traditional Amazon town. Thus the natives were confronted not only by immigrants from other regions, but also by many newcomers who were different in social class (or sub-cultural type), education, and employment.

The presence of middle class agency personnel created a demand for the commercial sector to provide stores and restaurants. Some agency personnel and their wives found employment in the school system. This pool of better educated adults was particularly important at the middle school level.

Although the native population had traditionally included a few people below the merchant/rubber traders but above the subsistence farmers, artisans, and rubber collectors, these natives had been dependents of the former group--people in the middle, not a middle class (and therefore lumped together with the local upper class as the

town subculture by Wagley and Harris (1955)). The influx of thousands of outsiders, the growth of other economic sectors such as agriculture and gold, with the concomitant expansion and variation of the commercial sector, plus the bureaucratic explosion of new agencies, some of which--like the army--are more powerful than the old merchant group, created growth patterns which brought in so many more "people in the middle" that the old two-class social system was expanded to include a new middle class which is the frontier equivalent of the metropolitan middle class found in Brazil's big cities (Wagley and Harris 1955).

The reason the growth of a middle class is interpreted as an expansion of the old two-class system rather than as a change in social structure is because it is not yet clear how far reaching this change will be. In 1977, there were individual alliances being made between members of the two groups. Members of the local upper class and the new middle class sometimes were employed by the same agency--such as the school system--but there was a tendency for them to remain separate (see Chapter 5). The potential for fusion into a new town upper class was there, because the two groups had similar life styles, and they both had elite values and tastes.

Based on community and neighborhood surveys, the new middle class in Muitaspedras is estimated to be approximately 17 percent of the total town population of approximately 12,000 (Miller 1979). Two major groups comprise the middle class: the bureaucrats, with about 6.7 percent of the town population, and the commercial entrepreneurs, with about 10 percent. There are about 700-800 people employed as bureaucrats, including 235 educators employed either by the state or by the

county. The number of all bureaucratic agencies increased from 8 to 31 from 1971-77. The number of commercial establishments increased from 37 to 300 from 1970-77. The middle class is now larger than the old upper class, which is 3 to 5 percent of the town population, but both classes are much smaller than the lower class, which is almost 80 percent of the town population. The lower class is still more like the peasant or caboclo class of the small isolated towns than the urban proletariat, as both of these groups are described by Wagley and Harris (1955). The upper class is a town upper class, much less wealthy and influential than the big plantation owners or other members of the metropolitan upper class. According to a Muitaspedras historian, a few people approached a truly wealthy upper class status in Muitaspedras during the rubber boom early in the century, but they left when prices fell (Mendonça 1975). The rest of the townspeople followed the same two-class social system Wagley elicited from informants in Itá (Wagley 1976).

The School System

The major differences between the traditional Amazon town and post-highway Muitaspedras have been noted above. The Transamazon Highway and the Santarém-Cuiabá Highway were part of a government attempt to promote national security and integration of the Brazilian frontier. An ambitious but only partially implemented colonization program accompanied the highways. Many national agencies were established in town as part of this implementation of highway-related programs. A population boom occurred not only on the highways due to

planned and spontaneous colonization, but also in the county seat. Some of this population found employment in the booming commercial sector, whose members took advantage of the new highway transportation system to forge new links with São Paulo, Brazil's industrial metropolis. Another segment of the population influx was agency personnel, representatives of the metropolitan or town middle class from other regions who expanded the traditional two-class social system. Perhaps the most important new agency to locate in Muitaspedras was the army base, which not only protected national security in the frontier area but also maintained order and provided social services. The presence of many other national agencies in town was a powerful factor in national integration.

Muitaspedras town increased its importance as a regional administrative and commercial center because of the new transportation routes, a larger and more diverse population, and the establishment of many national agencies. All of these factors combined to greatly enlarge and change the school system. There are four major areas of growth in the school system: new educational agencies, new schools, new courses for teachers, and a salary supplement for teachers. A brief summary of traditions in Amazon education will pave the way for fuller understanding of the impact of post-highway growth on these traditions.

Traditions in Amazon Education

A low level of locally available formal schooling is the first tradition in Amazon education. Muitaspedras' schools offer a First Level education--grades one through eight. Primary schools offer grades one through four, while grades five through eight are taught

in middle schools.⁴ Students who desire to continue their education must leave the county to do so, because the closest high schools are in Santarém. Table 2-2 shows the structure of Brazilian education from primary school through high school.

As part of the Amazon region, Muitaspedras is an educational frontier. The relatively small population spread over a vast territory poses seemingly insurmountable problems to the extension of educational services. One-room primary schools are common, and teachers themselves often have only a primary education. Salaries are low, and paychecks are frequently delayed for many months. Equipment and supplies are sparse.

Despite these obstacles, the respect and desire for education in the Amazon is impressive, as Wagley notes (1976:180). According to Taylor, the term "well-educated" (bem-educada) has several meanings: "well-trained; well-educated; well-mannered" (1975:100). Parents want their children to receive "instruction" (instrução), or formal schooling. They also want their children to be well educated in the sense of having good manners, or knowing the proper way to act in social situations. This emphasis on formal manners and proper behavior is very important in many areas of Brazilian social life.

The second traditional pattern in Amazon education is control by outsiders. The foreign Catholic mission is the oldest form of educational contact between natives and outsiders in the Amazon region (see Chapter 7). These missions began the process of acculturation with Indian groups in the region in the 17th and 18th centuries, and in 1977 there was still a Franciscan mission-founded school for the Mundurucú Indians in operation in Muitaspedras County. Thus the foreign Catholic missions

Table 2-2

THE STRUCTURE OF BRAZILIAN PRIMARY AND MIDDLE-LEVEL/
FIRST-LEVEL AND SECOND-LEVEL EDUCATION

		Former System	Present System	Age
			Apprentice Training	18
LEVEL EDUCATION	COLÉGIO (Second-Cycle)	SECONDARY Classical Scientific Other	SECOND-LEVEL SCHOOLING	17
		TECHNICAL Industrial Agricultural Commercial Other		16
		TEACHER TRAINING		15
MIDDLE	GINÁSIO (First-Cycle)	SECONDARY COMMERCIAL INDUSTRIAL AGRICULTURAL TEACHER TRAINING	FIRST-LEVEL SCHOOLING	14
				13
				12
				11
				10
				9
				8
		PRIMARY EDUCATION		7

Source: MEC

Source: Fay Haussman and Jerry Haar, Education in Brazil, p. 56.

and their schools are both a legacy and a current part of education in the region. The pattern of educational control by outsiders is both centuries old and continuing in the present.

Brazil has a shortage of native-born Catholic clergy, and the Amazon frontier was still served by foreign missionary orders in 1977. Franciscans established a diocese in Santarém in 1911, the same year the Franciscan mission and school to the Mundurucú was begun by a German Franciscan (Murphy 1960:45). American Franciscans began the first middle schools in the Tapajós River Valley, and they also opened some primary schools. At their invitation, the American Sisters of the Most Precious Blood opened a school in Belterra (Santarém County) in 1956 (Gegen 1961:74-75). By 1957, the Franciscan fathers operated 32 primary schools, with 55 teachers and 1810 students. Muitaspedras County took over control of the schools within its borders in 1960, but this did not end the involvement of the Catholic religious orders in the schools. In 1963, the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception began Santana Middle School in Muitaspedras town, and in 1974 they started a nursery-kindergarten. Although theirs is an international religious order, all but one of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception who served in Muitaspedras in 1977 were Brazilian. None of them were native to Muitaspedras, but one was from Santarém and others from the North and Northeast. The American Franciscans left Muitaspedras in 1974, and were replaced by an Italian order, Fathers of the Trinity. Priests and nuns both taught in the middle schools.

The low level of schooling available in the sparsely populated Amazon and educational control by outsiders through the Catholic Church's attempts to extend educational opportunity are two traditional

characteristics of Amazon education. A third is geographical mobility, which characterizes the people of the Amazon. Education is frequently a factor in migration. Parents who live in a neighborhood without a school may move to one which does so that their children can attend. An alternative is to send children to live with relatives or to board at a church school. A third option is for a mother and her children to live in town while the father divides his time between the work site (a farm or a gold mine) and the town residence.

Students and their families are not the only educational migrants in the Amazon. Educators frequently migrate as children to get schooling, and then migrate as adults to find jobs in education. As a result, Amazon educators may be "outsiders" in their communities. This is especially true at the middle school level because the educational level of teachers must be higher than that required for primary school teaching. Middle schools are only found in the larger urban centers, often the county seat. The foreign orders of priests and nuns are the extreme in a continuum of outsiders serving as educators in the community.

Growth in the Post-Highway School System

The most dramatic change in the educational system is the number of new schools in the county. School administrators divide Muitaspedras into three zones: the town, the river and rural villages, and the highways (some of the latter schools are actually in another county but are administered from Muitaspedras). The third zone did not exist before the construction of the Transamazon and Santarém-Cuiabá Highways and their subsequent colonization. As of 1977, the state school system included six schools in town, five schools in the river and rural

villages, and 82 one-room schools in the new highway zone. The county school system included 14 one-room schools in the river and rural zone, in addition to county-paid teachers in six of the state schools. New or enlarged schools were also needed in town to serve the growing population there. A new state primary school was built in the new neighborhood of Alta Vista, and a new State Middle School replaced the Santana Middle School. Two church-related nursery-kindergarten schools were also started, for a total of 109 schools sponsored by the state, county, or churches.

Related to growth in the number of schools in Muitaspedras is an expansion in the scope of their programs designed to make the schools less selective and more comprehensive, a long-held democratic goal of Brazilian educators such as Anísio Teixeira (Hausman and Haar 1978; Havighurst and Moreira 1965:178; Teixeira 1977:85). These changes are the recuperation program (implemented in 1976-77) to reduce the traditional high failure rate among students, and the night school program (ensino supletivo) for adults (see Chapter 6). Both programs are offered in primary schools as well as the State middle school (not all primary schools, but a few from each zone). Briefly, recuperation is offered at the end of the regular school year. Teachers give remedial instruction to students who failed one or more subjects, after which students can retake exams.⁵ Ensino Supletivo is an accelerated First Level equivalency program, with two grades taught in each school year (curso supletivos seriados). Both changes are the result of implementing the 1971 Education Reform Law (Lei 5,692) in the schools (Hausman and Haar 1978).

Four educational agencies moved to post-highway Muitaspedras in the 1970s: The State Education Division, Project Rondon, the National Literacy Movement (MOBRAL), and the National School Lunch Campaign (CNAE). In addition, a new County Education Secretariat opened in 1976.

A new regional division of the state school system was begun in Muitaspedras in 1972. Previously, Muitaspedras had been part of another state regional education division based in Santarém. The new State Education Division is called "The Division" by educators. Its headquarters are in town. Personnel in The Division administer state-funded schools in the county of Muitaspedras as well as schools on segments of the highways which lie outside the county.

The creation of a state regional division of education in Muitaspedras has had important effects on the lives of educators. Teachers have moved into administrative roles as supervisors in the Division. Muitaspedras has its own superintendent of schools. Educators in the riverine village schools are closer to the Division headquarters in Muitaspedras town than they were to the Santarém division.

The State University for the Development of the State of Santa Catarina (UDESC) chose the town of Muitaspedras as the site of its Extension Campus for Project Rondon in 1973. Project Rondon and its local Extension Campus are described in Chapter 1.

The National Literacy Movement (MOBRAL), formally instituted at the national level in 1967,⁶ opened an office in Muitaspedras town in 1972. It was administered by a county committee, and the county paid for the only salaried administrative position, that of the supervisor, a young man who also taught at the State Middle School. The MOBRAL program in Muitaspedras started with classes in ten schools which

received instruction by radio from Santarém (supplemented by a monitor), and classes in eight other schools with instruction from a teacher. The course was given over a five-month period. Teachers and monitors were paid according to a formula based on student attendance at certain points during the course. The drop-out rate has been high in MOBREAL classes. In 1977, seven radio classes and three "teacher" classes remained: three in town neighborhoods, one on the Colony Road, and the rest in river villages and hamlets. A total of 414 students were enrolled.

The supervisor, a MOBREAL teacher, and a student all agreed that the program in Muitaspedras was weak. The supervisor blamed the mayor, because the latter was supposed to provide transportation but did not. For this reason, the supervisor could not supervise the rural schools. The teachers and monitors were expected to provide their own transportation to town once a month to turn in an attendance report. There was a sense of noblesse oblige about MOBREAL; the low salary of the teachers was considered a bonus (gratificação, a gratuity, fee or tip) for performing a community service.

The National School Lunch Program (CNAE) also opened an office in Muitaspedras town after the Transamazon Highway arrived. This agency supplied equipment and food supplies to the school system, so that a cook in each school could prepare a mid-session snack for students and staff in the morning and afternoon sessions. Often the snack was a thick soup served in a cup. The school cook was encouraged to plant a kitchen garden on school grounds to grow vegetables for the school snack. Each one-room school had a work area for the school cook to prepare the snack. Larger schools in river villages and town had

kitchens. As was the case with MOBREAL (and with the State Education Division) transportation was a bottleneck in the CNAE program, but this time it was the town schools which suffered (see Chapter 6).

Staffing rural schools is a perennial problem in Brazil. Teachers who receive their training in urban areas seldom want to relocate or return to the interior to live and work. As a result, women who become rural school teachers usually have less formal education than their urban counterparts. It is common for a rural primary school teacher to have only a primary school education.

Over the years, attempts have been made to solve the problem of teacher training for rural schools by offering the training in rural areas, in the hope of avoiding the rural-urban migration of trained teachers. The regional normal school was one such attempt (see Chapter 3). Catholic nuns in Muitaspedras operated a regional normal school, the Santana Middle School, from 1963 through 1977.

More recent attempts to solve the problem were begun after the highways arrived in Muitaspedras. Two teacher-training institutions in Belém, state capital of Pará, sent teacher-trainers to offer two programs for inservice teachers in Muitaspedras, Altamira, and Marabá--the three river towns crossed by the Transamazon Highway. The two programs offered an equivalent First Level and Pedagogical Second Level education, with instruction given in the county seat during school vacations (see Table 4-1 for dates and other details). The first of these programs began in 1971; later in the 1970s these programs were offered in other counties in Pará.

Other inservice teacher training programs were offered in the post-highway period of the 1970s in Muitaspedras to upgrade the skills of educators. Those offered in 1977 are described in Chapter 4.

Besides the lack of general education and pedagogical training, rural teachers traditionally receive low wages. When the Transamazon Highway colonization program began, education was one of the planning considerations. To attract educators to jobs on the frontier, substantial salary supplements were offered by MEC, the federal education ministry. These supplements were offered on a county-wide basis, and educators in the old riverine towns and villages benefited as well as educators in the new highway schools. Teachers, principals, and supervisors all received salary supplements, and both county and state teachers were included (see Table 2-3).

New Variations in Traditional Patterns

Although the four major post-highway changes in the school system expanded the system, brought in new educators, and upgraded their educational level, the three traditions of a generally low educational level, educational control by outsiders, and migration for education persisted in altered forms. The variations in educational traditions are the counterpart of variations in community traditions, and all of the changes are due to the new highways and their related development programs in the 1970s.

The role of education in the community expanded. There was a "boom" in education which corresponds to the economic boom in the community. In both cases, special development programs mandated by the national government provided funds and created new jobs which fueled the boom. Despite all the many new schools, the level of schooling available in Muitaspedras remains the same; eighth grade is the limit, and grades

Table 2-3
Educator and Other Salaries, 1977

Little Prince School		Monthly Salary	
teacher A.	<u>regente</u> (middle school)	CR\$350*	
	B. <u>pedagógica</u> (high school)	CR\$600	
	servant	CR\$250	
State Primary Schools		SEDUC	MEC
			8 hrs. 4 hrs.
teacher A.	<u>leiga</u> (primary school)	CR\$452	522 136
	B. <u>regente</u>	CR\$571	522 136
	C. <u>normalista</u> (high school)	CR\$663	960 255
	director	CR\$820	1950 -
	night watchman	CR\$747	100 -
	servant	CR\$546	100 -
State Middle School		SEDUC	MEC
		per mo. per class	120 120
		hour ⁺	hrs. hrs.
teacher A.	<u>pedagógica</u>	CR\$1000 CR\$12	960 470
	B. <u>licenciatura</u>	CR\$1000 CR\$17	960 470
	<u>curta</u>		
	C. <u>licenciatura</u>	CR\$1200 CR\$23	960 470
	<u>plena</u>		
	administrator	CR\$1200 -	CR\$2500
Project Rondon		Monthly Salary	
	director	CR\$10,000	
	servant	CR\$ 800	
Mayor (monthly income as rancher)		CR\$ 6,000-8,000	
Army Lieutenant (salary and hardship pay)		CR\$17,500	

* CR\$13 = US\$1

+ computed in five-week periods

Table 2-4
 Qualification Level of State Educators
 in Muitaspedras, 1976

School	<u>Leiga</u> (Primary)	<u>Regente</u> (Middle School)	<u>Normalista</u> (High School and above)	Total
URBAN ZONE TOTAL	11	32	53	96
State Education Division	0	1	16	17
State Middle School	1	4	22	27
Vila Caçula	5	5	2	12
Alta Vista	1	1	1	3
Gaspar Viana	4	7	6	17
Alice Carneiro	0	14	6	20
HIGHWAY ZONE TOTAL	78	12	14	104
Miritituba	1	3	4	8
Ruropolis	-	5	4	9
Santarém- Cuiaba (all)	13	-	-	13
Transamazon (all)	64	4	6	74
RIVER/RURAL ZONE TOTAL	21	6	11	38
Pimental	5	-	1	6
Jacarécanga	6	2	2	10
Barreiras	3	3	5	11
São Luis	6	-	2	8
Missão Cururu	1	1	1	3
TOTAL ALL ZONES	110	50	78	238

five through eight are still available only in the county seat. The only people who have ever received a high school education offered locally are the 26 educators who completed the pedagogical high school equivalency course, which was only offered once. A more positive change is that more students may complete more grades through the ensino supletivo and recuperation programs.

The five new educational agencies in Muitaspedras have offered some teachers the chance to become better-paid administrators. The plethora of new agencies in the community has boosted the number of middle class residents, along with businesses which started or grew with the boom. Educators are part of the new middle class in Muitaspedras which has expanded the traditional two-class system. Educators are especially noteworthy for their sponsorship of entertainment events (Chapter 7) which are a political arena for validating alliances between the old local upper class and the new middle class.

The second traditional pattern in school and community is control by outsiders. In the community, international economic control through distant markets for tropical products is being at least partially replaced by "internal colonialism," or the economic dominance of the North by the industrial South. Thus national integration has been advanced by establishing closer contact between Muitaspedras as a producer of raw materials and São Paulo as a supplier of industrial products. In education, traditional sponsorship of schools by foreign Catholic missionary orders has ended in many cases, and has been overshadowed by the building of many new state-sponsored schools. While Catholic nuns and priests still teach and administer schools, they have been overwhelmed by an influx of educators recruited from new agency families.

The third traditional pattern in school and community is migration for jobs and schooling. Both lower class small farmers and gold miners as well as middle class business entrepreneurs and bureaucrats have migrated to Muitaspedras for job opportunities in the 1970s. The traditional Amazon migration pattern of low-educated outsiders (especially from the periodically drought-stricken Northeast) moving in while the few privileged natives who secure a better education move out (Machado 1974) has been varied in the 1970s by the influx of well-educated outsiders. However, their stay may be brief (army personnel come on two-year assignments, for example) and the goal may be to "get rich quick" and then leave. This reinforces the distrust of outsiders by insiders (Machado 1974). There is certainly a "brain drain" of successful students who leave Muitaspedras to seek high school and university educations. Within the county, the tendency for students and educators to move to the county seat to continue schooling and find better jobs continues. The result of all these migration patterns is that few people remain in the community long enough to develop roots there.

Before the highways and their related development programs arrived in the early 1970s, the only opportunity for Muitaspedrans to receive middle schooling locally was provided by the Santana Middle School, and even this opportunity did not exist until 1963. Santana Middle School exemplifies the traditional Amazon education patterns described in this chapter. Further, the reasons why students attended Santana Middle School pose a dilemma in Brazilian education which has continued despite the establishment of new schools and new teacher training programs.

Notes

¹All figures on educators and students are approximate because of the high teacher turnover and high student dropout rate. In some cases, local figures for the number of educators in a school were available, but not for the number of students. In such cases I have estimated the number of students per classroom or one-room school, based on several other available ratios of students to teachers (they vary from 22 to 35 students per teacher). It is very difficult to collect accurate figures in this region, due to transportation problems, low population density, migration, and multiple sponsorship of schools. For example, while the mayor gave the 1970 figures of 28 schools, 20 teachers, and about 1000 students, a state-level source said there were four schools and 819 students, with 43 percent of school-age children enrolled in school (Pará 1975). Apparently the State report left out county schools. This means the percent of school-age children enrolled in school may be higher than the 43 percent the State cites.

²River steamers were formerly wood fired. Now larger passenger and cargo craft use diesel fuel, and the smaller speedboats (voadeiras) which take people across the Tapajós from Muitaspedras to Miritituba on the opposite shore use another type of fuel oil.

³Air travel to and from the gold mines is by small single-engine airplanes. A regional carrier provides air service from Muitaspedras to Santarém (with connections by jet to Belém and Manaus) three times a week, and two local carriers plus many small planes also fly to Santarém and Belém frequently. In addition, the Brazilian Air Force (FAB) continues to make stops in Muitaspedras once or twice a month. FAB brings Project Rondon students to and from Muitaspedras. Prior to 1970 they were the only more or less regular air transport.

⁴Law 5,692 (1971) changed an earlier system in which primary education included grades one through four and an optional grade five, while secondary education was divided into "cycles" of ginásio (grades five through eight) and colégio (a three to four year program). See Haussman and Haar for details of this change (1978:54-57).

⁵Students at Santana Middle School who failed could retake exams. This was called segunda época, or a "second chance." In addition to this "second chance," recuperation provides for 15 days of additional instruction in January, after the close of the regular school term in December.

⁶MOBRAL replaced an earlier program. "And the famous adult literacy program conceived by the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, the 'psycho-social method,' which aims to make poor people literate while also preparing them to break out of their social, economic, and political marginalization, was considered as anathema by the military regime, and every vestige of it extirpated" (Haussman and Haar 1978:117).

CHAPTER THREE
TEACHER TRAINING AT SANTANA MIDDLE SCHOOL

The previous chapter has presented an overview of the rapidly changing community of Muitaspedras and the formal schooling opportunities that exist there. Although primary schooling has been available since 1908 (Mendonça 1975), it has only been since 1963 that schooling has expanded to include grades five through eight. From 1963 to 1976, Santana Middle School was the only school in the county to offer schooling at this level, and it is this school which is the focus of this chapter. Today the Santana Middle School has been replaced by a new State Middle School, founded in 1976. Nevertheless, a discussion of the Santana Middle School is important for three reasons. For one thing, the history of the school clearly reveals issues about educational goals which are still present in Brazilian society. In addition, the school had trained nearly 20 percent of the approximately 235 educators who were in Muitaspedras County at the time of this study. Finally, the data presented here about the Santana Middle School are important for fuller understanding of the way the school is both similar to and different from the new middle school which will be described in Chapter 5.

When the Santana Middle School was established in 1963, the ideal was that it should serve a vocational function as a regional normal school (grades five through eight) for the preparation of students who would become rural primary school teachers. In reality, the school

functioned as the frontier equivalent of an academy, the type of school most Brazilians prefer but only the privileged can attend.

This chapter begins by exploring the historical reasons that help explain why a vocational school was started when an academic school was preferred. A brief review of the history of Brazilian education will show the interrelationships among several factors important in producing the Santana Middle School. Essentially, these factors are the Catholic Church, the dual national and state school systems, the normal school, and industrialization.

After examining the historical reasons for the overshadowing of vocational teacher training by the academic function at Santana, the focus of attention will turn to teacher training as it was observed during 1976-77. General statistical data and selected individual profiles of teachers and students are presented as a prelude to discussion of the program goals of the school and the ways these were being implemented in the formal curriculum, teaching methods and the socialization of students by their teachers and peers during the final year in which the school operated.

Vocational and Academic School Models in Brazilian Educational History

The question of whether schooling should follow a vocational or an academic model has long been debated. For example, in the United States, Jerome Bruner posed the question in his educational classic, The Process of Education: "There has always been a dualism in our educational ideal, a striving for balance between what Benjamin Franklin referred to as the 'useful' and the 'ornamental'" (Bruner 1963:4). Margaret Mead

includes both models in her essay on The School in American Culture (1951). One of Brazil's foremost educators, Anísio Teixeira, also includes both models in Educação Não é Privilégio (1977).

In Brazil two sociocultural facts are especially pertinent to the vocational versus academic debate. First, education has been for the elite and, more recently, for the rising middle class. Second, Brazilians have a cultural preference for academic education over other types, which goes back to their Portuguese heritage and the admiration the Portuguese have for all things French, including their centralized, academic school system. The result of these two facts is that Brazil has an aristocratic heritage with an academic bias constituting the ideal pattern in education. As with other ideal patterns, it does not matter that few Brazilians can actually achieve the ideal in their real lives--the ideal pattern is approximated with whatever materials are at hand. Thus, the ideal of the extended family network (parentela) is approximated by the fictive kinship system (compadresco) (Wagley 1971), and the elite academic is approximated by whatever school will allow a student to move up to the next higher education level.

The academic model in Brazilian education began with the Jesuits in the Colonial period. Jesuit priests were Brazil's first educators. From 1549-1757, they catechized Indians and later began academic secondary schools for the sons of planters in provincial capitals. On the plantations, it was the plantation priest who educated young children.

The dual national and state (successor to provincial) school systems began in 1834, when the Additional Act to the Imperial Constitution decentralized primary and secondary education and made them the responsibility of the provinces. Higher education was the responsibility of

the national government. Teixeira points out that the dualistic school system of this era was part of a dualistic Brazilian society, with the economic base being a "semi-colonial phase of production of primary material and the importation of consumer goods" (Teixeira 1977:89). This is still the economic base of Muitaspedras. Under the dual school system, the national schools followed the academic model, while the provincial systems pioneered the vocational model by starting normal and commercial schools.

Normal schools began during the Empire, and were founded by provincial governments in their capitals. The first was the Niteroi School in Rio de Janeiro, founded in 1834 and 1835 (Lourenço Filho 1953:15; Havighurst and Moreira 1965:233). Significantly, "registrations were at first meagre, but they gained as the schools became known as colégios (academic high schools) for girls, rather than as centers for teacher training" (Havighurst and Moreira 1965:75). Thus, the tendency to transform a basically vocational school into an academic school was present from the start. Belém, the capital of Pará, had a normal school by 1840 (Primitivo Moacyr, Vol. I 1939:76), and the Pará Institute of Education began in 1871 (O Liberal Dec. 29, 1976:7).

During the early Republican period, industrialization and urbanization in South Brazil was the impetus for social change which included pressure to expand educational opportunity to a growing middle class. After 1892, Sao Paulo State reorganized the public primary schools and the normal school. The state capital and the county seats were to offer several years of primary schooling, and the rural areas four years.

In the 1920s there was an important educational reform movement in Brazil which followed the United States and European movements for "progressive education," the "activity school," and the "new school." Among the Brazilian followers of this movement were Lourenço Filho, Anísio Teixeira, and Fernando de Azevedo.

The aims of this group of reformers were to make the primary school an instrument for bettering the social life of the community and to create a system of secondary and advanced schools that would support the technological and cultural aspects of a developing democracy. (Havighurst and Moreira 1965:92)

Part of this movement in the 1920s was the "popularization" of primary schooling, which meant the attempt to increase the number of people enrolled in schools. "Popularization" of primary schooling began in Sao Paulo state, the most industrialized state. This state was the first to extend primary schooling to all. One of the results of the upsurge in school enrollment was the beginning of school double sessions. Begun in Sao Paulo state in one school in 1928 as an "emergency action," multiple school sessions became customary for practically all urban schools.

Another result of the "popularization" of primary schooling was the increased demand for primary school teachers. In the 1930s, reform legislative acts created the regional normal school. This lower level normal school was designed to train teachers for rural primary schools. The regional normal school offered a four-year course for graduates of primary schools who were at least thirteen years of age. Graduates received certification as regentes de ensino, or "instructors," as one Brazilian educator translates this term (Lourenço Filho 1953). The upper level normal school was called the Escola Normal. This was a

three-year course at the colégio or secondary level. Applicants had to be at least fifteen years old and have a ginásio diploma. Laboratory schools for practice teaching were also started during this period (Havighurst and Moreira 1965:233).

This educational reform movement was greatly changed after the Vargas government became a dictatorship in 1937. The new emphasis was one of quantity over quality (Havighurst and Moreira 1965:92-93; Hausman and Haar 1978:34-35), or, as Teixeira phrased it, "menos ao maior numero de alunos" (the least for the most students) (1977:91). Education was "simplified" and made more formal. There was public pressure for more schools to reduce illiteracy. The three-year course following the four-year primary course was abandoned. In the cities there was a four-year primary course, and in rural schools there was only a three-year program. Schools taught only reading, writing, and arithmetic.

The results of the reduction (in years) and extension (to more students) of primary schooling affected the normal schools. The shorter primary program of three to four years created an increased demand for the next level of schooling, which was the ginásio or middle school level. Often this next level was represented by the regional normal school. These schools proliferated, not to prepare teachers but to offer a course equivalent to the national course and thereby give access to the high school and the university. Paraná State, in the South, created a hundred "regional normal schools" with one legislative act. Private normal schools proliferated, just as secondary schools had earlier. This proliferation was accelerated when the curriculum became an academic one and the original teacher training emphasis was downplayed. Often the so-called curriculum meant verbal instruction and the simple memorization of texts (Teixeira 1977).

This process was aided by the ending of the dualistic school system through the integration of the national and state school systems by laws passed in 1946 and the 1950s. Henceforth all levels of schooling were subject to federal law, although states could operate their own schools with a certain latitude for regional variation. All of the secondary level programs--vocational/technical, normal, and academic/scientific--were considered to be equivalent. All allowed access to higher education. The result was that the normal school became more of a college preparatory school than a professional preparation for a teaching career in the primary school. The same thing happened to the first level normal school (the regional normal school), where the curriculum was adapted to the first level of secondary schooling, equivalent to the ginásio or middle school (Teixeira 1977).

The first law pertaining directly to teacher training was passed in January, 1946. This law specified that the primary school "instructors" training course should have a "regional" character. "The content and emphasis of these regional courses are to vary according as the principal local activity is agriculture, stock raising, mining or the extraction of vegetable products" (Lourengo Filho 1953:22). Also specified were the compulsory subjects for the "instructors" course.¹ Academic subjects comprised the first three years, and the final year included education subjects.

First year: Portuguese; mathematics; geography of Brazil; natural science; drawing and calligraphy; manual work and domestic economy; choral singing and physical education.

Second year: Portuguese; mathematics; geography of Brazil; natural science; drawing and calligraphy; manual work and economic activities of the region; choral singing and physical education.

Third year: Portuguese; mathematics; elements of human anatomy and physiology; world history; drawing; manual

work and economic activities of the region; choral singing; physical education, recreation and games. Fourth year: Portuguese; psychology and pedagogics; elements of hygiene; history of Brazil; theory and practice of teaching; drawing; choral singing; physical education; recreation and games.

The key subject of the whole course is manual work and economic activities of the region. It must comprise manual training affording a knowledge of the production techniques of the region, and observation and research exercises on the life of the local population, their customs and the prospects of the school's influence improving matters. The law of each state may provide for the addition of further subjects, indicating, in each such case, the regional relevance of the course added.

The Organic Law lays it down that programmes of instruction must be simple, clear and flexible. In applying them attention is to be paid to the following points: (a) the teaching methods adopted are to be active; (b) the spirit and manner of the teaching are to provide a moral and civic education for the pupils; (c) the methodology classes are to deal with the objects, organization and recommended approaches and procedures of each discipline; (d) practical instruction is to be given in the form of "sitting in" at classes and actual teaching practice; (e) the final year's classes in drawing, manual training, singing, and physical education, recreation and games will also comprise instruction in the methodology of each for primary school purposes, with special reference to requirements in the region. Religious instruction may be introduced, but as an optional subject, and attendance may not be made compulsory. As a complementary activity teachers' training establishments are to promote the formation and development of students' organizations designed to create a spirit of cooperation and social service among the teachers of the future.

All teachers' training establishments are to maintain attached primary schools for teaching demonstration and practice. In the case of regional training courses, at least two single-teacher schools are to be selected for the same purpose.

(Loureço Filho 1953:22-23)

There were two regional normal schools in Pará by 1948 (Ministerio da Educação e Saúde 1949:5, 36-40). By 1960, there were eight regional schools in Pará. One was a state school, and the remaining seven were private. Three of these private schools had been started by a missionary order of nuns -- in Santarém, Belterra, and Altamira (Gegen 1961:130).

There were 69 teachers and 524 students, the overwhelming majority of both being women (Anuário Estatístico do Brazil 1960:299-300). Nationwide, there were 213 public and 134 private regional normal schools in 1960 (Havighurst and Moreira 1965:233-234). In 1970, Santana Middle School was one of 27 such schools in Pará, with 12 being public and 15 private (Anuário Estatístico do Brazil 1971). Figures on the regional normal school in Pará from 1948-1970 are presented in Table 3-1.

To summarize the historical background of academic and vocational schools, the academic model was present from colonial days in the secondary schools started by the Jesuits in provincial capitals. Later, under the dual school system, the national school system continued to support the academic model, while the state school systems began to open vocational schools such as the normal school for teacher training. However, even the vocational schools tended to be used by Brazilians for more academic ends, because academic schools are the ideal school model people aspire to, whether appropriate or not. As urbanization and industrialization in South Brazil created a larger middle class, this class exerted pressure for more schools at more levels. If a regional normal school was the only middle level school present in a locality, middle class families used that school as a substitute for an academic school. After 1946, the dual school system ended and the different types of middle and high schools were made equivalent. It became easier to use the regional normal school as a stepping stone to high school. Although the original purpose of the regional normal school was vocational when it began in the 1930s, the official curriculum became more academic than vocational when the teacher training law of 1946 took effect.

TABLE 3-1
REGIONAL NORMAL SCHOOLS IN PARÁ: 1948-1970

YEAR	SCHOOLS			EDUCATORS	STUDENTS		
	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	TOTAL		BEGIN YEAR	END YEAR	GRADUATED
1948	1	1	2	-	-	-	-
1959	1	5	6	47	333	-	-
1960	1	7	8	69	524	-	-
1962	1	8	9	83	789	-	-
1965	9	16	25	220	2571	2296	309
1970	12	25	27	330	5240	4512	631

Compiled from: Anuário Estatístico do Brasil 1959, 1960, 1962, 1967, 1971, 1972, Ministério de Educação e Saúde 1949.

The Santana Middle School

The historical background described above provides the context within which the Santana Middle School must be understood. As a county seat in a rural, frontier area of Brazil, Muitaspedras has been very late in developing a school system, and a regional normal school (offering grades five through eight to primary school graduates) did not begin there until 1963. Even then, the Santana Middle School was not opened by Pará state. Instead, in the typical Amazon pattern, a missionary order of the Catholic Church began the school and then made an agreement with the state whereby the parish provided the school buildings, the nuns ran the school, and the state paid teacher's salaries. The first six students graduated in 1966, and the last 73 students graduated in 1977.

The school was located in one of the Parish buildings which occupy two blocks fronting the Tapajós River. Two wings of the building form an L around an open, grassy area. Another, smaller wing extends into the courtyard, giving the building a headless G shape. The grassy courtyard is framed by other parish buildings and a high wall. Another high wall divides the classroom wing from busy, commercial Second Street. This concrete wall is topped with broken glass.

The school building was used all day, for several educational operations. In 1977, the State Education Division moved into the office wing while their quarters underwent repairs. Division personnel worked there in the morning and the afternoon. A state-sponsored, inservice teacher training course was conducted in morning and afternoon sessions in three two-week phases from May through August, 1977. At night, the Santana Middle School held classes in the classroom wing.

Over an eleven-year period, 338 student-teachers graduated from the school. The year 1974 saw peak enrollment, with 267 students in four grades meeting in double sessions. Beginning in 1975, one grade was dropped each year because the state of Pará opened a new middle school. The eighth grade class of 1977 had 73 members, who met in two classrooms in the night session. We turn now to a description of the activities of educators and their pupils as they were observed during 1976-77.

The Educators: A Profile

Santana Middle School had a staff of nine educators in 1977. There were five administrative-clerical positions and six teaching positions. Administrators could also serve as teachers. Because the school operated only at night, educators held other jobs during the day. In this respect, Santana educators are typical of the Brazilian middle class, whose members commonly hold several jobs. This practice is especially found among teachers because Brazilian schools operate in several daily sessions and salaries are low.

Santana's educators (in 1976-77) were all born in Pará State. Three were natives of Muitaspedras. Four were from neighboring counties downriver on the Tapajós. One was from a town on the Amazon. One was from the state capital in Belém. Five were female, and four were male. They ranged in age from 20 to 39.

The level of education differed considerably among the educators. Four had a middle school education. Four had a secondary education. One had one year at a university. These teacher qualifications fall short of the goal of the 1962 National Education Plan (Teixeira 1977:

103) to have the following qualification percentages: 20 percent regentes (middle school), 60 percent normais (high school), and 20 percent post-high school. At Santana Middle School, educators' qualifications by percent were 44.5 percent middle school, 44.5 percent high school and 11 percent post-high school. In Muitaspedras, even a middle school located in the county seat (and therefore "urban") failed to meet the professional level of qualification for primary school teachers set forth in the national plan. Four of the educators were themselves students at Santana Middle School. Two educators received their secondary schooling in Muitaspedras, in an inservice state course.

Six out of the nine educators held more than one job. Three had other jobs in the educational system, and three in the commercial sector. Two taught at the state middle school, one was the Secretary of Municipal Education, one worked for a bank, one worked in an accounting office, and one was a businessman.

When asked what they considered to be the most serious problem in the local educational system, the most frequent responses were the need for parental cooperation, school supplies and equipment, and the lack of education in Muitaspedras beyond the middle school level. Also cited were the need for student cooperation, better training for teachers (especially for grades one through four), better pay, and more teachers.

A variety of suggestions were offered on what was necessary to improve the educational system: more help from the State Secretariat of Education, a secondary school, the return of abolished methods, teachers teaching in their area of training, mutual help between teacher and student, and teacher training which was more practical and less theoretical.

All of Santana's educators said that they planned to continue their education. Four of them would like to enter the university in liberal arts, nursing or medicine, human sciences, and biology and medicine. Other plans were to graduate in teaching, graduate in accounting, deepen understanding of the teaching profession, and to get a better job.

Helena da Silva illustrates several of the major themes described for the group as a whole. She is a 23-year-old native of Muitaspedras. She is married and the mother of two young children. Her husband is a carpenter, and has a primary school education. Helena went to Santana Middle School and then received a secondary school education in the special course for teachers offered by the Pará Educational Institute in Muitaspedras during school vacations. She taught previously in one of the town primary schools. A Catholic, Helena participates in religious activities. She also goes to the cinema. She plans to remain in Muitaspedras "always."

Professor Helena's daily schedule illustrates the Brazilian middle class pattern of multiple jobs. In the morning, she taught fifth grade history and art education at the State Middle School. In the afternoon, she was a secretary at Santana Middle School. In the evening she returned to Santana as a teacher of eighth grade in Fundamentals of Education.

I observed Professor Helena's classes at both middle schools. Her teaching style was relaxed but efficient. She had the class work in teams on projects. When we had coffee together in the teachers' lounge, I commented on all the work she had. She agreed, noting all the papers she had to grade plus having two children to care for at home.

When asked what kind of profession or job she would like for her children to have someday, Helena's response was similar to that of many educators in emphasizing that the choice is theirs. She acknowledged that she would influence their choice, but maintained that whatever profession would provide a life of dignity for them would be the one she would want.

A second example of a Santana educator is Sister Fatima. A 30-year-old native of Santarém, where her religious order was founded, Sister Fátima moved to Muitaspedras recently to fill a vacancy at Santana Middle School. She attended Santarém schools and the Pará Educational Institute, in Belém. She has training in nursing and would like to take the college entrance exam to enter a university program in nursing or medicine.

This was Sister Fátima's first teaching assignment, and her inexperience showed in her lack of authority in the classroom, even though the subject she taught, Hygiene and Childcare, was compatible with her educational training and interests. As a newcomer to the community as well as to teaching, Sister Fátima did not command the respect and deference from students which her colleague, Sister Margarida, had due to the latter's longer residence in Muitaspedras, greater teaching and administrative experience, and personal authority in her quiet but effective manner of speaking to the class. Both of these educators' performances in the classroom are described later in this chapter.

Santana Graduates as County Educators

The importance of Santana Middle School in the preparation of teachers for Muitaspedras County is revealed by the fact that during

the decade 1966-76, the school graduated 265 student teachers. Of these, 48 were teaching in the county during the 1977 school year. They comprised slightly more than 20 percent of the approximately 235 educators in the county. Among this group of 48 Santana graduates, 38 were born in Muitaspedras County. If just the educators who were born in Muitaspedras County are considered, 38 out of 54 local educators attended Santana. The 16 who did not attend Santana Middle School as students fall into three categories. Five are from the interior of the county and attended only primary school. Five went to other towns and cities for their middle-level schooling. Six completed their first-level schooling (eight grades) by attending a state teacher training course in Muitaspedras. Of the 48 former Santana students who were teaching in the county in 1977, 38 worked in town schools, 6 in river/rural schools, 3 in highways schools, and 1 in a municipal school.

It may seem surprising that only 48 out of 235 educators in Muitaspedras county were Santana graduates. If 265 student-teachers graduated during 1966-76 (not counting 1977 graduates), why were only 48 teaching, especially when so many schools hired teachers with a lower educational level? There are two likely reasons for this situation. One involves migration, and the other, the function of the normal school.

Internal migration in Brazil usually follows a pattern called step-migration. People migrate from rural to urban areas in a series of moves, for example, from a rural neighborhood to a county seat to a regional urban center to a national metropolis. People are not as likely to migrate from urban to rural areas. Santana graduates lived in a county seat for at least four years while attending school. Those who actually became teachers would most likely do so in Muitaspedras town or in another

urban center, rather than move to a river village or highway neighborhood school to teach. This is borne out by the figures cited above for Muitaspedras County, which place most Santana graduate teachers in town schools.

However, not all of Santana's graduates were employed as local educators--about twenty percent were. This low percentage supports Teixeira's statement that the regional normal schools functioned more as a means of upward educational access for the middle class rather than as a means of terminal professional education. In Muitaspedras, the regional normal school provided the only middle school education in the county until the mid 1970s. It is not surprising that students who wanted a post-primary education attended Santana, whether or not they planned to become teachers.

There are four native Muitaspedras educators who were Santana students in 1977. These four young women (all in their twenties) taught at the same town primary school. All were married and had at least one child. Three of the four were born in the interior of the county and later moved to town. One transferred from a river village school, where she was a student and later a teacher, to the town school for the purpose of completing middle school.

The Students of Santana Middle School: A Profile

Seventy-three students comprised the last class to graduate from Santana Middle School. There were twice as many female students as there were male students. The youngest was 13 years old, and the oldest was 36. Most students were clustered in the seventeen to twenty-one age group (50 out of the 61 students surveyed).

Although there were students from almost every region in Brazil, most students were from Pará (52 out of 61). By region, student birth-places were 55 from the North, 3 from the Northeast, 2 from the West, and 1 from the South. Most of the Pará natives were from Múltaspedras county (37). Eleven were from neighboring Tapajós River counties. Four were from elsewhere in Pará.

Since they attended school at night, students had the opportunity to work during the day. Twenty-six students held jobs (out of 61 respondents). The most frequently cited jobs were sales clerk (five), primary school teacher (four), and office clerk (three). Others were Bank of Brazil (two), the Post Office, the military, machinist, nurse's aid, cashier, secretary (two), copy machine operator, aviation, and an employee of the Sports Lottery.

Edmundo Santos, for example, is twenty-one, married, and has a daughter. He was born in Santarém. For the past year he had worked at the Post Office. He wanted to transfer to Santarém, because he could go to high school there. However, his current employer was reluctant to let him do so. I saw Edmundo at work whenever I collected our mail, and he seemed to be the most knowledgeable and efficient worker there. Naturally, his employer did not want such a good worker to transfer. Nor did he like to give Edmundo the days off that a federal employee is supposed to have, which were, according to Edmundo, eight days for marriage, three days for childbirth, and five days for death. Edmundo said he received one day off for marriage and none for birth. However, he did take a weekend off to take his daughter to Santarém when she was sick. Things did not go well at the Post Office during his absence.

Edmundo, like many students and teachers in Muitaspedras, cited the lack of secondary schooling as a reason for planning to leave. He wanted to take the vestibular (college entrance examination). Eventually he would like to be an architect. However, he also expressed interest in working for the Bank of Brazil.

Edmundo was a leader among his student peers. In a class on Hygiene taught by Sister Fátima, Edmundo was the team leader for his group of two females and one other male. When this group gave a class report, he was the spokesperson. Compared to other students, Edmundo was a superior speaker. He looked at the audience, turned to his poster to illustrate points while he spoke, and had a smooth speaking style. Once when he reached an awkward pause in his speech and seemed at a loss as to how to continue, he said, "tudo bem," (everything's OK) and then continued, unperturbed. Previous speakers had become silent and embarrassed at this occurrence. Edmundo transformed an awkward moment into a humorous one by his assured manner and offhand comment. Both he and the class laughed after his comment.

In a class on Fundamentals of Education taught by Professor Helena, Edmundo again served as team leader. This time the group included two females and two other males. Edmundo assumed the role of scribe. He described the team method to me when I joined this group. He read from the teacher's handout and told the team to think. Then he initiated a conversation with me. After a few minutes he steered the team back onto the assignment. Later, when the group seemed to reach an impasse, Edmundo made a gesture meaning "crazy" to describe the group.

Common Characteristics Among Santana Educators and Students

The educators and students at Santana Middle School shared some characteristics. One is the aspiration to further schooling, usually with fairly specific career goals in mind. Related to this is the willingness to migrate for educational opportunities. Often this involves an individual's migration from the interior to the county seat to a larger urban center, often a state capital (step-migration). Astrogilda Nazaré Gaspar, a Santana student, illustrates this pattern.

Born in a river village in Muitaspedras County, Astrogilda worked in town and attended Santana at night. Although she was not sure what kind of schooling she wanted, she knew where she wanted it: "The place is Fortaleza, Ceará" (the state capital). The people of Ceará are famous in Brazil for their migration, especially during the periodic Northeastern droughts, to their state capital and then to other Brazilian regions which offer economic opportunity. Many travel south to the industrial metropolis of São Paulo. Others moved to the new national capital, Brasília, when it was under construction. Still others moved to the Amazon region during the rubber boom at the turn of the century. Recently a new wave has moved to the Amazon region along the new highways and into the river/highway junction towns. I did not find out where Astrogilda's parents came from, but it is a good guess that they were "Cearenses" (people of Ceará), and that she, like many others, wanted to return to the family's home region.

However, not everyone who migrates for schooling has a state capital as a permanent residential goal. Irenide dos Anjos Souza, another Santana student, was born in the interior of Santarém County. She lived in Muitaspedras town in 1977, working by day as a cashier and attending

Santana at night. She wanted to attend a technical high school in Manaus, statecapital of Amazonas. But she had developed a fondness for Muitaspedras, explaining, "I would like to stay in Muitaspedras forever. I will leave only to study." Unlike some others, Irenide had an occupational goal, to be an office worker, which could be achieved in Muitaspedras town. It is less likely that Edmundo (the post office employee) would find work in Muitaspedras as an architect.

Another characteristic shared by the educators and students at Santana Middle School is regional origin. Most were from the North or Amazon region. As previously mentioned, all of the educators were from Pará (the North). Fifty-five out of 61 students were also from the North. This regional homogeneity distinguished Santana from some of the other schools.

Most educators and students at Santana Middle School are female. In the classes observed, female students outnumbered males by two-to-one. There were five female educators and four male educators. The Director was female. Among the 48 Muitaspedras educators who were students at Santana, 42 were female and 6 male. Four of those males were night school teachers, however, and they had other jobs during the day (a banker, a driver, an electrician, and a businessman).

Comparing the ratio of female to male students in 1977 (two-to-one) versus former students who worked in schools in 1977 (seven-to-one) is illuminating. Until the opening of a new State Middle School, Santana was the only middle school in the area. Males who desired a middle school education had to go to the regional normal school, giving Santana a higher percentage of male students than is usually the case in Brazilian teacher training institutions which prepare primary teachers (Boserup 1970:129).

If the annual enrollment figures by sex for the years 1968 through 1975 are compared, the sex ratio of female to male students becomes smaller. In 1968 there were 77 females and 32 males, or over a two-to-one female to male ratio. This approximately two-to-one ratio continued through 1971. In 1974 and 1975 however, the female-male ratio is approximately three-to-two (154 females to 110 males in 1974, and 93 females to 67 males in 1975). In 1977, the two-to-one ratio had returned. The State Middle School, in contrast, had more male students than female students, in the classes observed.

These student enrollment data suggest that males become involved with traditionally female educational sectors when the structure of opportunity makes it advantageous. In this case, Santana was the only option open for males seeking more advanced education in Muitaspedras. Yet few of these male students went on to become local teachers, as compared to female students. It should be noted here that few of the total graduates (265) over ten years became educators, at least in Muitaspedras County (48 or 18 percent). But even fewer male students became educators in Muitaspedras than did female students (6 male students, or 12.5 percent of the 48 students).²

The participation of males in traditionally female educational sectors will be cited again in another type of teacher training, the state courses for inservice teachers. The point is that the structure of opportunity sometimes makes it advantageous for males to become teacher trainers. It is then that males participate.

Program Goals: A Compromise Between Models

The Santana Middle School can be described and analyzed not only according to who participates (the educators and the students), but also by the goal of that participation. The goal at Santana was to train students to become primary school teachers within the broader goal of providing a middle school education. This goal was an attempt to effect a compromise between the vocational and academic models of schools.

These two aspects of the goal of Santana's curriculum were presented earlier in the national context. To reiterate, the normal school in Brazil began during a period characterized by the expansion (to more students) and reduction (in years) of primary schooling as well as teacher education. Anísio Teixeira characterizes this program as "the least for the most students" (Teixeira 1977:91). Linked to the popularization of education was the idea that education serves as a preparation for work. This idea gained support during the industrialization of Sao Paulo, and it is still important today. The practical results of expansion and reduction programs were that the small but growing middle class flocked to the regional normal schools as an avenue to higher education (secondary school or college). This meant that the academic function of the normal school was utilized more than the vocational or teacher training function, and therefore tended to be strengthened at the expense of the latter. The academic tradition has always been valued in Brazilian education of any type or level.

Another reason for the popularity of the normal school among middle class Brazilians was cited by Robert Shirley in his restudy of Cunha, a town in Sao Paulo State. The normal school degree gives young women more independence. In the event of an unsuccessful

marriage, women can fall back on teaching to provide economic support (Shirley 1971:224).

Both of these explanations make sense in the case of Santana Middle School. Many more students graduated from Santana than actually became local educators (82 percent did not become Muitaspedras educators). Muitaspedras' uncertain extractive economy, subject to boom and bust cycles, makes even a low-paying teaching job attractive as a second income. Santana educators who are married are multiple-income families because both spouses work and also because individuals have more than one job.

The dual goal of Santana Middle School was stated explicitly in documents describing the school. An example is found in the 1977 Santana Festival Program (Muitaspedras' patronal festival). The article describing the school stated that the curriculum contributed to "the cultural development of our people," and that the graduating student-teachers were "prepared to help in the education of the children, or to confront the famous entrance exams in order to be able to pursue their studies outside Muitaspedras" (Programa da Festa de Sant'Ana 1977: 13-14, translation my own).

Seen in terms of Brazilian educational development, Santana Middle School's goal was a practical resolution of two contradictory models for education, the vocational and the academic.

Students could utilize the program to become professional teachers, or they could utilize the program as a step toward higher education. A third alternative was for a student to do both, becoming a primary school teacher after graduation until the opportunity arose to leave Muitaspedras and continue schooling. This third alternative also

allowed a student to move to a city to continue schooling while at the same time supporting him-or-herself as a primary school teacher. An example already mentioned is the case of the four primary school teachers who were also students at Santana. Also, the only educator at Santana who had a year at university, had also taught primary school in the same city. It is this operational merging of seemingly contradictory models which made Santana's goal a practical, dynamic resolution. The dynamism resulted from the possibility of utilizing either the purely vocational or the purely academic functions of the school, or combining them either concurrently or in sequence. The school could maintain the elite status of some of its students or further the upward social mobility of others (Havighurst and Moreira 1965:194).

Another illustration of the lack of conflict in practice between the vocational-technical model and the humanist-academic model is the text of a speech given in 1977 at the Third Meeting of Amazon Educators, in Belém, Pará.³ One of the themes of the meeting was "The Christian School Faces the Challenge of a Changing World." The keynote speaker was a priest, formerly President of the Christian Educators of Brazil (AEC), and in 1977 President of the Federal Council of Education. He asserted that Christian schools must change to meet new conditions, but must also remain faithful to tradition. Technology is not an enemy, but an opportunity to make progress through constructive changes. In this technological era, education should have a more technical emphasis. This does not mean that there is a conflict between technology and humanism. The old academic humanism was not really either humanistic nor necessarily Christian. In real Christianity, there is unity between thought and action. "Christ was a carpenter."

Therefore a vocational-technical emphasis has a positive role in education (Vasconcellos 1977).

Other program goals at Santana Middle School concern the role of teachers and students. The conclusions reached by the participants in the Third Meeting of Amazon Educators on the theme of Christian schools emphasize an active role for both teachers and students. The traditional school is called fact-oriented and is rejected. It is not enough for schools to inform students; they must stimulate them. Students must participate.

For the Christian school to act like this, it is fundamental that the content of its curriculum consider explicit objectives of thought in relation to the conduct of man, and that the methodology be scientific, so that the teacher is a facilitator of learning and the student an experimenter in self-discovery and the discovery of the world. . . . (Terceiro Encontro 1977, translation my own)

This goal of an active role for teachers and students follows in the spirit of the 1946 Teacher Training Law cited earlier (Lourenco Filho 1953; Ministério da Educacao e Saúde 1949). It is also the ideological heir of the "activity school" of the 1920s educational reform movement (Havighurst and Moreira 1965).

The role of the Christian school in the community, according to conference conclusions, is to "valorize [increase the value of] the middle-level professional." The Christian school, then, supports the middle class professional. Following this line of thought, the Christian school

will have to act in accordance with the diagnosis of its own clientele, keeping in mind that a well-proportioned, general culture serves to smooth out the proffered technical culture, with the goal of giving the student a humanistic vision of the world around him. (Terceiro Encontro 1977, translation my own)

These conference conclusions indicate that educators understand the strong links between their schools and the middle class. Christian schools support middle class professionals, and middle class young people attend the schools. The Christian school serves the expressed needs of its clientele, which means, for the middle class, an education which provides both occupational training and an opportunity to continue education at a higher level.

Other program goals for Christian schools suggested at the conference are the training and updating of educators, ecumenically-oriented schools which are responsive to the local community, the support of the teaching profession through higher salaries, and involving families in educational action.

Program Implementation: Subjects and Teaching Methods

Following the dual program goal at Santana Middle School, the curriculum consisted of general subjects and teacher education subjects. The general subjects were the Portuguese language, mathematics, social and political organization of Brazil, moral and civic education, science, and religious education. The teacher education subjects were didactics (or teaching materials), fundamentals of education, and hygiene and child care. The teacher education portion of the curriculum also included an internship, or period of practice teaching.

Six of these nine courses were being offered at the time of observation: Portuguese, mathematics, social and political organization of Brazil, didactics, fundamentals of education, and hygiene and child care.

When I observed these six subjects being taught, I found that several instructional methods were common.⁴ The teacher education

courses were all taught using the team method. Students were divided into teams. Each team had a leader or group spokesperson, and also a secretary. Class assignments were done on a team basis, and grades were given to the team.

In Professor Helena's class on Fundamentals of Education, class began with attendance being taken. Then Professor Helena had the class move their desks into teams. These teams were segregated by sex. Each team had a name, such as "Good Hope." Each student also had a number. The topic was "The Educative Process 2: The Student." Each team read a handout on this topic, discussed the meaning of each paragraph, and wrote a summary. The summary was a restatement or response to the idea presented in the paragraph. As the team members discussed the paragraph, the secretary wrote down what they decided to say.

Another common team activity was written and oral reports. Professor Helena showed me a stack of notebooks on the topic "The Life of the Child." One was like a scrapbook, with short captions written under pictures cut and pasted from magazines. Another team wrote more of an essay, also accompanied by cut-out magazine pictures.

Oral team reports were given in Sister Fátima's class on Hygiene and Childcare. Sister Fátima began the class with a prayer, while the students stood. A male student called the attendance roll by number. Then a team of three girls moved to the front of the room. Two of them held up a poster with magazine pictures pasted on. Sister Fátima reminded them to speak up so the "new student" (me) could hear and observe. One girl began to speak, but then started laughing. She continued her report with occasional laughter, being prompted by Sister

Fátima. When she finished, both teacher and class members offered comments and criticism on her performance. This pattern continued as each team gave its report. Some students were more polished in their performances than others. The better students used their posters as visual aids, pointing to them at key points in their speeches. These students maintained a serious, factual manner, although occasionally they reached an awkward point in their speech or forgot what to say. Sister Fátima spoke at these moments to help them continue.

After class, Edmundo Santos told me he was nervous before giving his team report. But he said it was necessary to practice, because the students would have to teach in a primary school next semester for their internship. The team oral reports, then, were used as practice in presenting a lesson to the class.

Another practice teaching activity carried out with the team method was an educational game, in Sister Margarida's class on Didactics. When she entered the classroom, the students rose and then sat again. She led the students in a song, and there was laughter when a mistake was made. Then she wrote "Teaching Materials" on the chalkboard. "You are going to give a little class. What materials do you need?" she said. A male student went to the board and drew a series of dominoes. A class discussion ensued while he drew and erased. Sister Margarida mentioned a favorite gathering place for playing dominoes. "You are going to teach a class on how to play dominoes. Children play it differently." Then she explained, while she drew dominoes on the board with words and pictures on them instead of dots. Each domino was to measure four to eight centimeters. She illustrated another way, with numbers and figures. After giving a second example

of number dominoes, she showed a third domino game employing states and capitals. Each team was supposed to make a domino educational game of their choice. "Creativity is up to you. These are only suggestions," Sister Margarida explained.

The remainder of this class in Didactics was devoted to the topic of Teaching Methods. Besides the team method, the most common instructional method I observed was the dictation method. In Sister Margarida's class, dictation began with a female student reading a previous dictation copied into her notebook on "Teaching Methods: Teaching Techniques." Having established where the class last stopped, Sister Margarida resumed the dictation, and the students wrote what she said in their notebooks. She compared methods to techniques, and she explained that the former is "more amplified" than the latter. Method orients the learning process. Sister Margarida concluded the dictation and initiated a class discussion on evaluation of the lessons students gave.

Professor Carlos used the dictation method to give an examination in his class on the Social and Political Organization of Brazil. He took the class attendance by number, and then twice requested silence. After telling the students to clear their desks, he dictated a series of questions. Then he moved around the room giving individual help. As students finished, they brought their papers to the desk and left. Professor Carlos used a red pen to grade the papers.

The third teaching method I observed was a combination lecture and demonstration on the chalkboard. Professor Silvio used this method in his Mathematics class. The evening started when he led the class in a prayer. This was followed by attendance. Professor Silvio wrote a problem on the blackboard and explained how to solve it. As he

worked through the demonstration problem, he asked the students questions. These questions were of the "fill-in-the-blank" type, and the students answered in unison. Next, Professor Silvio demonstrated a type A problem based on the original principle. He used a collapsible metal pointer as he explained several cases of the type A problem, presented again on the blackboard. The students were very attentive throughout this process, and I did not observe any casual talking among them. One student asked a question, and Professor Silvio replied. Then he continued lecturing on more example problems, answering student questions. The students copied the problems into their notebooks. Professor Silvio started on type B problems and specific examples. He paused to ask the whole class whether they understood. Some still did not. "Next class," he said as the bell rang.

Sister Margarida's class in Didactics, described earlier, also followed the lecture and demonstration format. She varied the approach by having students draw examples on the board while she lectured and asked questions. Her questions invited consultations and advice from class members as they confronted the problems on the board. Then she resumed the role of lecturer and demonstrator, explaining the different types of domino learning games while drawing concrete illustrations on the board.

In summary, the program goals of Santana Middle School were implemented through a formal curriculum of subjects oriented either to general education or to teacher education. In practice, several methods of teaching were used in all subjects. The team method in organizing student work was used in all of the teacher education courses. The dictation method and the related lecture-demonstration method were used in both general education and teacher education courses.

The only teaching method I saw consciously being taught to student-teachers was the lecture-demonstration method. The students in Professor Helena's Fundamentals of Education class gave team reports which followed the method, as did the students in Sister Fátima's Hygiene and Child Care class. The students in Sister Margarida's Didactics class were taught a different method, that of educational games, which was to be used with young children. They themselves, however, were taught the educational games method through both the team method and the lecture-demonstration method.

Even though only the lecture-demonstration method was consciously taught in the classes I observed, at least one of the more able students was aware of another method. Edmundo Santos told me that 70 percent of the students' school work was done in teams. He described the same process that I had observed: students discuss and then write about each paragraph of the written lesson.

Program Implementation: Guidance and Discipline

Teaching methods formed a part of the curriculum which was only partly made explicit. Much of what students learn is acquired through observation of their teachers' actual performance in the classroom. The same is true of guidance and discipline methods. There are certain social behaviors which are expected of students (and of teachers). By the time they are in middle school, students have learned these rules of conduct, whether or not they choose to follow them at all times. Student teachers are socialized for teaching by learning from the example of their teachers how to encourage and enforce the learning of the social code by future students. This is socialization for teaching,

that is, "non-deliberate instruction" (Herzog 1979) or learning how to behave (Roberts 1976).

One principle of guidance and discipline was taught explicitly to the students. In Professor Helena's class on Fundamentals of Education, this principle was written on a typed sheet and distributed to the teams for discussion and summary: "Good tendencies have to be developed; bad tendencies channeled into a better object."⁵

How were "good tendencies developed" at Santana Middle School? An explicit technique was for the teacher to tell the students what behavior was desirable and request their compliance in this behavior. Sister Fátima took advantage of my presence during team reports to ask students to speak up so that the "new student" could hear and observe. Student teachers must learn to speak so that the whole class can hear them when they lecture or give dictation.

Probably the most important way in which students developed "good tendencies" at Santana Middle School was through the pride they felt in being middle school students and the respect and admiration given to the more successful students by their peers (peer group socialization) and their teachers. In Muitaspedras, few students completed all of the primary grades, even fewer went on to middle school, and the fewest of all completed their first level (eight years) education and graduated. The eighth-grade students at Santana Middle School had almost completed the latter goal. They were justifiably proud of reaching the highest level of education offered in Muitaspedras. The students and their families had to make sacrifices to get that far. Many students worked all day before attending school at night. Some students had been sent to town to live with relatives in order to attend school. Sometimes

the whole family, or perhaps just the mother and children, moved to town so that the children could further their education beyond the primary schooling offered in rural areas.

Although all of the eighth graders could be proud of their accomplishment in almost completing first level schooling, some students were more successful than others and were recognized as such. Edmundo Santos was cited earlier as a leader. His class report was delivered with poise and humor, in a good speaking voice and with appropriate gestures. Students paid attention to his report and asked questions afterward. Edmundo also led his team in discussion and response seat-work. Two female students were leaders in the Mother's Day Program at the school. Betinha Viana read the introductory speech for the program. Leonice Braga read a poem and sang in a duet. Leonice kept her composure and did not show embarrassment as some of the other participants did. It is significant that Edmundo, Betinha, and Leonice all had jobs in the town. Their ability to assume responsibility at work and at school singled them out as leaders among the students and earned them recognition, sometimes by peers and sometimes by teachers.

The other half of the explicitly taught principle of guidance and discipline was that "bad tendencies" must be "channeled into a better objective." In practice, teachers redirected student behavior they deemed undesirable into preferred behaviors by two techniques: ignoring undesirable behavior and verbally reprimanding undesirable behavior.

Sister Margarida used both techniques very effectively. As an experienced teacher and community leader in religion and education, she expected and received the respect of students. One sign of this respect was that students stood up when she entered the classroom. Primary

school students learn to do this when any educator or visitor enters the classroom. Santana Middle School students, however, only stood up for Sister Margarida. She began her lecture in a very quiet voice and simply continued talking until all the students realized she had begun. I never heard her ask students to be quiet or to pay attention, but she could always replace noisy conversation with quiet attention through ignoring the former.

So effective was Sister Margarida in gaining desirable behavior by ignoring undesirable behavior that only once did I observe her use the second technique, that of verbally reprimanding undesirable behavior. This happened when some students defaced a dictionary in the school library. Sister Margarida brought the damaged book to class and began to speak without asking for attention, ignoring the noise until everyone was silent and listening. Referring to the students who damaged the book as moleques (urchins or ragamuffins), she announced to the class that "you are going to bring a new one. They are expensive. To use such a precious thing to play a prank . . . We spent all week on the importance of books; then look what happens." After an uncomfortable silence, she resumed speaking, appealing to the students' consciences. That this kind of stern lecture on student misbehavior was uncharacteristic of Sister Margarida was evidenced by her final comment on the matter: "Excuse me--but it was necessary." She then began the academic topic.

A variation on the technique of verbal reprimand which is more common in schools other than Santana Middle School is to demand silence. Professor Carlos asked for silence twice at the beginning of his class. He told the class to clear their desks of everything except paper and

then dictated a series of questions. Even though the students were silent while the exam was being dictated, he told them again to be silent after he had finished. His use of this technique was apparently based on his concern that cheating would occur. The concern was a valid one, since I witnessed an attempt by two students to cheat. A girl pulled a slip of paper out of her desk and handed it to a boy. The boy had written no answers on his paper up until that point. However, when both noticed that I was observing them, the boy held the paper without looking at it. When the bell rang and the remaining students brought up their papers, this boy had a brief spurt of writing and then took up his paper.

In summary, a formal statement of principle on guidance and discipline was made to students as a part of their teacher education curriculum. In addition, the students had the model of their teachers' guidance and discipline techniques to observe. The techniques were concrete elaborations of the principle. Teachers stated desirable behaviors they wished students to perform. They ignored undesirable behavior. Occasionally they reprimanded students verbally, either by short commands or by lectures on misbehavior. Rewards were not so much a teacher technique as they were a feeling of pride on the part of students about to complete middle schooling. This pride was especially apparent in the student leaders.

The rare use of overt rewards and punishment by educators at Santana Middle School probably reflects the fact that these eighth graders were the cream of the educational crop in Muitaspedras. Overt rewards and punishments were not really necessary at this point. Most educators and students had been in the program together for at least

several years. Added to their personal knowledge of each other was the fact that most Santana educators and students were Paraenses, or from the same state--Pará.

This last fact is significant in a town where massive population growth through migration has occurred in recent years. The State middle school had more non-Paraenses among the educators and students. As we shall see in Chapter 5, guidance and discipline was a different matter at that school. In general, students were noisier and less attentive. Teachers used more overt praise and punishment. There was comparatively less use of the technique of ignoring undesirable behavior. Another difference between the two schools is that the State middle school is newer and its staff turnover was higher in 1976-77. At the time of this study, it was the Santana Middle School which seemed to be the local community school, while State middle school was more the school of the newcomers and "outsiders." Of course, with the closing of Santana in 1977, it remains to be seen what relationships the State middle school will evolve with the local community--just as it remains to be seen how a new "local community" will be formed out of a diverse group of locals and outsiders from all over Brazil.

Notes

¹The Teachers' Training Law of 1946 was an enlightened law in which the effect of "progressive" educators such as John Dewey in the United States on Brazil's educational leaders, among them Teixeira and Lourenço Filho, can be clearly seen (Teixeira even studied with Dewey). Lourenço Filho helped organize and develop the first Rural Teachers' Training School, in Joazeiro do Norte, Ceará, in 1934. This idealistic vocational school and the law which followed it are in contrast to the actual way the law was implemented, which resulted in regional normal schools being used as academic stepping stones by middle class young people.

²The possibility remains that some of the 265 graduates became educators in other school systems outside Muitaspedras.

³Sister Margarida, director of the Santana Middle School, attended this conference and brought back copies of the proceedings for me. By sharing this information with me, Sister Margarida, one of Muitaspedras' educational leaders (she is also superintendent of the County Education Secretariat), showed me an example of the current (1977) educational philosophy of the region as well as trends for the future.

⁴These are similar to "participant structures" or "ways of arranging verbal interaction with students, for communicating different types of educational material . . ." (Phillips 1972:377). Of the four types cited by Phillips, type one corresponds to the dictation method and the lecture-demonstration method, and type four corresponds to the team method.

⁵This principle is the foundation of guidance and discipline techniques in several United States textbooks on early childhood education (Vance 1973; Leeper et al. 1974; Hendrick 1975).

CHAPTER FOUR TEACHER TRAINING IN INSERVICE COURSES

The teacher training program at Santana Middle School was not the only one to be found in Muitaspedras during 1976-77. In Brazil, as in the U.S., the role of educator continues to include a role as student. All teachers begin their educational careers as students. Those teachers who attend teacher training schools pass through a transitional period as student-teachers. First-year teachers are also in a transitional period. They are socialized into their new role by their students, fellow-teachers, and administrators (Eddy 1969). Throughout their careers, teachers periodically return to the student role for a number of purposes, such as refresher courses, new areas of specialization, or a higher degree. Inservice teacher training can be viewed, then, as a periodic, temporary return to the student role for educators.

However, inservice teacher training in Brazil is considerably more than this. For many of the lay teachers who are the majority in rural areas and underdeveloped regions, teacher inservice training does not supplement a teacher's general schooling--it is that schooling, at least beyond the first four years of primary education. In this chapter, 13 examples¹ of inservice teacher training courses will be examined in terms of their social, economic, political, and symbolic functions. Teachers who complete these courses receive higher salaries and advancement in the educational bureaucracy. Moreover, the courses provide

social opportunities for teachers to travel to the county seat and meet peers and superiors. There, they are socialized to the political goals of national integration and development, as well as the values of middle class bureaucracy. Finally, the courses are important rites of intensification and passage.

Inservice teacher training is one of several, related educational problems associated with rapid but uneven development. Throughout Brazil there is a large school-age population to be educated. For over a hundred years, the free and compulsory primary school system existed on paper but was not a reality except in large cities, usually state capitals. The industrialization of South Brazil and the pressure for increased educational opportunities from middle-class groups led to rapid proliferation of schools earlier in this century. A shortage of qualified teachers remains a serious bottleneck in the school system, and is felt most acutely in the less developed North of Brazil, especially in rural areas. To overcome this obstacle quickly, special teacher training programs have been created. One such program was the regional normal school, described in Chapter 3. However, all too often normal school graduates chose to continue their education (by moving to larger urban centers with high schools) and/or not to teach. An alternative was the attempt to increase the educational level and pedagogical skills of unqualified lay teachers (leigas) already employed in rural and small town schools.

However, the fundamental problem remains: too many students receive no education at all or drop out after first grade. Rural students must move to urban centers to continue past grade four--and so must their lay teachers.

The effectiveness of training teachers through inservice programs was studied by two researchers in Brazilian education, and several other research projects focus on students but include the teacher's education as a factor. However, the subjects, methods, and assumptions of the studies differ so much that generalizations based on their comparison must be made cautiously. Still, some of their findings, when compared to my own observations, make certain conclusions plausible. One researcher concluded that lay teachers (with primary schooling) who took inservice courses did not become better teachers; with their low level of education, "the teachers were teachers in name only" (Bisset 1969). A serious problem with this study is that the researcher measured the effectiveness of the three-month teacher inservice courses not by testing or observing the teacher trainees, but by testing their first grade students. This procedure ignores many socioeconomic factors which also influence student performance, and which may overwhelm whatever impact a small increase in teacher effectiveness has. For example, an econometric study of eight graders found that socioeconomic factors had a stronger effect on a pupil's scholastic performance than did school factors (including teacher education), although the latter were also statistically significant to a lesser degree (Costa 1977).

Social class is a further complication. Two studies based on school observations and comparisons of wealthier and poorer neighborhood schools reached the unsurprising conclusions that public (poor) and private (rich) schools are unequal and maintain the status quo (Gaspar 1975), and that in a class-oriented school system, teachers and school administrators treat students and parents differently (Rasche 1979). In addition to academic learning (or the lack), these students learned their place in society through schooling.

Returning to the studies of the effectiveness of teacher inservice courses, the study cited previously focused on lay teachers in a poor Northeastern state (Bisset 1969), while the other focused on better-educated teachers (normal school and/or partial university preparation) in the nation's capital, Brasília (Ramos 1977). Ramos concluded that teachers performed well in all three types of inservice training courses which she tested. Although the method of measuring effectiveness differed (from testing the teacher's students to testing the teachers-- a case of comparing apples and oranges), viewed together, the implications are that at a low educational level, inservice short courses do not help teachers improve their performance. Thus the first priority must be to increase the educational level of practicing teachers, so that inservice training can benefit them (and indirectly, their students).

All of these studies are significant in terms of my own observations of both teacher inservice courses and of teachers and students in classrooms. Table 4-1 shows the 13 teacher training inservice programs and courses which either were offered during the fieldwork period or had been offered during the previous several years as highway-related development programs. In the following analysis, I classify them into three groups based on their primary purpose: to raise the educational level, to improve performance and/or to offer instruction in particular subjects, and to create a new bureaucracy. Comparison and analysis will show that those courses which increased the educational level of teachers were more important economically and politically than other courses. However, all teacher inservice courses were important socially and symbolically.

Table 4-1
Teacher Training Inservice Courses

COURSE	SPONSOR	PURPOSE
Completed First Level ⁺	SEDUC	increase education level
Pedagogical Second Level	SEDUC	increase education level
University Short Courses	SEDUC	increase education level; certify with <u>Licenciatura curta</u> , <u>Licenciatura Polivalente</u> or <u>monivalente</u>
Mini-course for town teachers of grades 1-2*	Project Rondon, State Education Division	improve teacher performance
Refresher course*	SEDUC	improve teacher performance
Short course for county teachers*	Project Rondon, County Education Secretariat	improve teacher performance
Religious education*	Catholic Church and ASSINTEC	curriculum materials
Religious education	ASSINTEC	training for tape program
Workshop	SEDUC and Project Rondon	how to make flannelboards and place value pocket chart
School librarian course	SEDUC and Project Rondon	library training
Early childhood education*	Little Prince School and Project Rondon	theory and methods of early childhood education
Literacy training mini-course	MOBRAL	train teachers in adult literacy methods
Project County; 3rd Amazon Educators' Conference	MEC, DEF, UFP, AEC	introduce Project County and other themes

*. Courses I observed.

⁺ I observed graduation only.

Table 4-1--extended

PARTICIPANTS	PLACE	DATE/DURATION	TRAINERS
lay primary teachers (73;63 passed)	Muitaspedras	3 stages: Jan.5- Mar.15, 1974-76	Belém--Arthur Porto Center for Training Human Resources
First Level graduates (26 passed)	Muitaspedras	3 stages: Jan.- Mar., 1971-74 and 1974-76	Belém--IEP
middle school teachers	Belém	varied from 4-13 mos.	UFP
over 20 attended	Muitaspedras	April 13-17, 1977	Project Rondon
highway teachers (65)	Muitaspedras	3 2-week phases, May-August, 1977	Belém--Arthur Porto Center
25 county- paid teachers	Muitaspedras	15 days in July, 1977	Project Rondon
27 highway teachers	Muitaspedras	1 day May, 1977	priest, nuns, supervisor
1 supervisor	Curitiba, Paraná	Feb., 1977	(not known)
primary teachers	Muitaspedras	(not known)	Project Rondon
5 town primary school librarians	Santarém	June 1-20, 1977	Project Rondon
educators and parents	Muitaspedras	2 weeks, June, 1977	Project Rondon
MOBRAL teachers	Muitaspedras	3 days	Belém
nun (County Educa- tion Secretariat superintendent	Belém	May 15-18, 1977	federal education technocrat; federal senator; priest

Ritual and Education

One of the best ways to discover the significance of the inservice teacher training courses is to examine the ritual events which occurred during them. Two main types of ritual are rites of passage and rites of intensification (Chapple and Coon 1942). The former is focused on the individual, while the latter is focused on the group. Both rituals allow people to officially recognize an important change in their lives --whether that is the birth or death of an individual, or a change in conditions which affects a group. Rituals can be considered educational in that the participants learn by practicing new ways of behavior according to their place in the social system. In the rite of passage, the individual's status has changed, and so that person practices a new role to accompany the new status. In the rite of intensification, group members review their knowledge of customary relationships by dramatically acting them out, often in novel ways.

These two rituals are always found in educational systems (such as in Burnett 1969; Leemon 1972; Eddy 1969) because these systems are by definition subject to constant change. The saying that the more things change, the more they stay the same, characterizes any educational system which continues to exist year after year despite various types of change. The one type of change most essential in an educational system is the induction of new students and the expulsion of old students. Teachers and administrators also enter and leave the system. An individual may remain in the system for many years by changing from student to teacher to administrator, but the system usually outlasts any one individual. This characteristic persistence of the system provides a necessary

background of continuity which makes regular changes in personnel, curriculum, methods, etc., possible. However, even the system can change. It does so usually with difficulty, in response to changed conditions in the larger society of which it is a part (Wallace 1973). This difficulty of institutional change may be less due to any inherently conservative personal characteristics of educators than to the institution's function of providing a relatively steady backdrop to the changing lives of the individual students and educators passing through it.

Rites of passage and rites of intensification emphasize this duality of change and persistence in education systems. The former spotlights individual change in status, while the latter spotlights the perseverance of traditional behavior in the system as a whole. Thus there is continuity in the behavior of generation after generation of students and educators as groups, even while individual members change their behavior each time their status changes.

Inservice as Rites of Passage:
Programs to Raise the Educational Level of Teachers

The first three teacher training inservice programs on Table 4-1 were intended to raise the educational level of teachers. They are called: 1) the Completed First Level for primary school teachers, 2) the Pedagogical Second Level, and 3) the University Short Courses. The first two were offered in Muitaspedras town during school vacations over a three year period.² The third was offered at the Federal University of Pará, in Belem, from periods of from four to thirteen

months. All were sponsored by the State Secretariat of Education (SEDUC). The teacher trainers all came from state-level educational institutions in Belem.

One feature which distinguishes these programs from the other teacher training inservice courses is the type of ritual event which accompanied them: the rite of passage at graduation ceremonies. I attended the graduation of the Completed First Level program. A graduation ceremony had also been held for the Pedagogical Second Level program. These ceremonies were both held in Muitaspedras; I did not learn whether the university short courses in Belem had ended with graduation ceremonies.

Graduation is a rite of passage for students, but for other participants it is a rite of intensification. Graduation commemorates the passage of a student out of one level of the school system. A new status is conferred upon the student: that of the graduate, or, in Brazilian Portuguese, "the formed one" (formado). In the regular school system, graduation is a crisis for educators because, as one group of successfully finished students leave the school, another group must enter to perpetuate the system. Graduation is a moment of calm and of self-congratulation before new challenges begin. It validates success for students, parents, teachers, administrators, and the community. This validation of success was even more important for the teachers who graduated from the Completed First Level program--and also for the frontier community which commemorated the elevation of its lowly lay teachers to qualified instructors (regentes de ensino).

As a ritual event, graduation can be analyzed like any other event --according to "who does what with or to whom or what, where, when, and

how" (Kimball 1976). The participants in this particular graduation were highway teachers who passed the Completed First Level program, plus the teacher trainers, school directors and administrators, the mayor and councilmen, and the families of graduates. The content of the event is the graduation, a rite of passage for the individual teachers as well as for the community of Muitaspedras as a whole. Interaction patterns during this event are models of and for behavior in school and community, that is, the superior-inferior relationships typical of stratified social systems.

The graduation ceremony was initiated by Elizabete, superintendent of Muitaspedras' state schools during the refresher course for highway teachers (see Table 4-1). At that time she asked teachers whether they wanted to have a graduation ceremony for those who had previously passed the completed First Level program. On this occasion Elizabete made a special effort to dress up for this announcement, wearing heavy make-up and a new hairdo. In contrast to her earlier hurried tenseness during the refresher course, on this day she was smiling and relaxed. Roughly translated her speech was as follows:

For three years you suffered. Now we want to have a ceremony. You will get a certificate on Friday afternoon at 4:30. You do not have to buy a new dress. Everyone is invited, the 63 who passed and those who did not. Those who will not get a certificate now, keep studying. Go to night school. Now, do you want a ceremony?

The class responded yes, in unison. A teacher spoke up about her happiness--she had wanted to finish First Level schooling for many years. Elizabete waited during the class discussion. Then she called for a show of hands of those who favored the ceremony. A teacher encouraged her peers to raise their hands, and more and more did so. Finally,

a list was passed around for signatures of those who planned to attend the ceremony.

Teachers had finished this course over a year ago, but their diplomas had been delayed. Despite this, the graduating teachers, school administrators and town officials turned out in force for the formal ceremony, held in the town's most favorably located primary school. Children were dismissed early from the afternoon session. Chairs were arranged on a covered patio between classrooms. Chairs for school and town officials were in a semi-circle along a wall, behind a desk decorated with a red-embroidered cloth and a vase of plastic flowers. Several rows of chairs for the graduates and guests were in a semi-circle along the opposite wall. The classroom next door was used to serve refreshments. There were tables with refreshments occupying half of the room, and in the other half, student desks each with a plate of refreshments.

The graduation ceremony began at five P.M., when Elizabeth introduced the mayor, councilmen, the superintendent of county schools, Project Rondon's director, the two teacher trainers, and all the town school directors. Next, the mayor read a list of the recipients, and town officials took turns rising and giving diplomas to the teachers, while the audience applauded. A professional photographer took each graduate's picture as the diploma was presented. The mayor gave a speech on what he called an "important event for our community." He thanked Odete, the coordinator during the Completed First Level program, on behalf of Muitaspedras. Then he called for a graduate (concluinte, a senior student about to graduate) to speak. A male highway teacher rose to give a dramatic poetry recitation. He moved freely all over

the open area, and was at times dramatic and at times funny. His poem referred to both "Mother" and to "the Virgin Mary." Next, another male teacher gave a speech of thanks.

The mayor urged another speaker to come forward. A councilman gave a brief speech, followed by Odete. The mayor spoke again. A third male teacher, who appeared drunk, gave a speech thanking everyone, and tried to get the group to sing. They would not, and teachers laughed during this speech. The drunk teacher shook hands with the mayor and Odete. The mayor asked whether anyone else wished to speak.

Elizabete thanked local merchants for accepting delays in their payment for services to teachers. Then she addressed the graduates, saying, "I want to see all of you in Second Level courses. I know the reality, and I live with your problems. Let us work together." Then she closed the formal program by starting to sing the National Anthem. The program lasted one hour. People then moved next door for refreshments. First the school and town officials entered and took refreshments while standing by the tables. Then the teachers entered and sat at the student desks to eat their refreshments. After this, people gradually left.

Seating arrangements throughout the event followed a two-class entertainment pattern which is traditional in the Amazon (Wagley 1976) and which was still followed in Muitaspedras at some June festival events in 1977. Upper and lower class people may participate in the same entertainment event, but they are separated spatially, with the upper class having a more favorable position. Upper class participants at graduation were the school and town officials. They sat behind the desk during the ceremony and ate standing up at tables afterwards.

The lower class participants were the graduating highway teachers and their guests, who sat opposite the officials during the ceremony and ate sitting in student desks afterwards. The decorated desk symbolized the superordinate status of school and town officials. The student desks symbolized the subordinate status of the highway group.

Social interaction between the two groups occurred only as part of the formal ceremony. Superordinate group members initiated all of these interactions except one. The exception was when the drunk male teacher tried to get other teachers to sing; they refused. He also initiated shaking hands with officials.

Despite these spatial, symbolic, and social interactional reminders to the graduates that they are subordinates in the social system, graduation was nonetheless a change to higher status for them. Teacher salaries vary by qualification, and a First Level graduate moves from the status of a lay teacher to that of an instructor (regente de ensino). The graduates were honored by school and town officials for achieving higher status, but they were also reminded of their overall subordinate status in both school and community systems. In the bureaucratic school system, teachers are subordinate to administrators. In the community social class system, rural residents are subordinate to town residents.

The classic analysis of rites of passage (Van Gennep 1960) includes a division of the ritual into three subphases: separation, transition, and incorporation. In this sense, the rite of passage for the graduates began when they were separated from their schools, where they occupied positions of authority as classroom teachers, and were brought to the county seat. There they temporarily resumed the student role while they received instruction in all the subjects they would later return to

teach. They had the opportunity to meet their peers as well as their superiors, and they could also enjoy the chance to stay in the large, bustling town. The final phase of the ritual was the graduation ceremony, where the teacher role was resumed, with higher status. No longer were these teachers the lowest-ranking lay teachers, the kind of teacher found most often in the isolated, rural schools. Their sojourn in town to receive special instruction meant that they were now incorporated into both school system and community with stronger, more personal bonds. Their increased importance as educators and as community members was demonstrated by the appearance of the top-ranking educators and community officials. Incorporation into the community was emphasized by the mayor, when he characterized graduation as "an important event for our community." Better qualified teachers brought honor to the community. Incorporation into the school system was emphasized by Elizabete when she told teachers, "Let us work together."

Closing the ceremony by singing the National Anthem placed incorporation into a national context. National integration is a major goal of highway construction and colonization. Separating teachers from their isolated schools, bringing them to the booming county seat and importing teacher trainers from Belem to instruct them, broadened both the educational and social horizons of the teachers. At the graduation, their personal achievement was revealed to be the community's achievement and therefore a forward step in the national integration of Muitaspedras. In this sense, graduation is a rite of passage for Muitaspedras in its journey from an isolated, Amazon town to a regional center more closely linked to national centers.

The status elevation of teachers is part of the status elevation of the community in the national context. It is this aspect of graduation which explains why school and town officials participated. The mayor's phrase, "an important event for our community" captures the sense of the community as a whole benefiting from an individual's achievements. The individual classroom teachers remain near the bottom of the educational bureaucracy's hierarchy. In the community social system most are still rural people in a system which values urbanism. Only the improvements of their status in a way which also improves the community's status makes the graduates' achievements merit such a special celebration attended by community leaders.

The three programs to raise the educational level of inservice teachers were significant both to the participants and to the community, as the previous section showed. This section will give specifics on the groups and individuals who participated, based on observation, interviews, and on a questionnaire completed by 181 (77%) of the approximately 235 educators in Muitaspedras County (see Appendix III).

Primary school educators from all three zones participated in the Completed First Level program, and 63 graduated. Thirty-four of the questionnaire respondents had participated. The program was intended primarily for highway teachers; 18 of my respondents teach in that zone, 7 in town, and 8 in river villages. Nineteen of my respondents are Paraenses by birth (almost all from Muitaspedras County), while 14 are from out of state. All but one of the latter live on the highways.

The Completed First Level program provided an educational opportunity these teachers had lacked in the past, and which many Brazilians in rural settlements still lack. Although town adults can complete First Level education in the night schools (ensino supletivo), rural adults can complete only the first few grades in their neighborhood night schools, if even that. The time and expense of transportation make it impossible for rural people to commute to town to attend night school.

An interesting feature of the Muitaspedras school system is that there are men working as primary school teachers during the morning and afternoon sessions. Male primary school teachers are as rare in Brazil as they are in the United States. Most of the male teachers live on the Transamazon Highway. Four of them finished their First Level schooling in the course sponsored by the State Secretariat of Education (SEDUC). Three of the four have occupations besides teaching: farming, carpentry, and automobile mechanic. Two of the four live in extended family households, in which fathers and brothers farm the land and sisters and mothers work as the school servant or cook.

Education has been a worthwhile investment for these Transamazon Highway colonists despite the time lost to farming while teaching or attending the Completed First Level program in town. Farming in the Muitaspedras sector of the Transamazon Highway has not been very successful. Thus families who have had the resources to free one member for teaching have gained a regular source of income as a hedge against crop failure, transportation and storage problems.

Two school directors (all school directors are female) took the Completed First Level program and also the Pedagogical Second Level program. One works in the town's poorest neighborhood. The other works in a river village.

Two educators who took the program work in the State Education Division, as secretaries. They both taught previously in river villages. Another educator from a river village who took the course changed jobs there from teacher to school secretary. In many schools, the secretary is one of the best-educated staff members, and moves into that post after serving first as a teacher. Taking the inservice program may have helped advance these educators' careers.

The advantages of completing First Level schooling in this program, then, are numerous. For rural teachers, the program was the only way to become a First Level graduate. For all teachers, the course was the only way they would be paid room and board to attend. The timing--during school vacations--was also advantageous. Anyone who has spent evenings in night school after a full day's work can appreciate the fatigue most participants feel. Teachers could devote more time and energy to their studies during vacation. Finishing any level of schooling and earning a diploma is usually financially advantageous in Brazil--although less so at the First Level (Senna 1975). In a school system such as Muitaspedras', where there are still teachers who have only three to five years of schooling, the First Level graduates have an employment and career advancement edge.

The difficulties of attending the program depended on the resources of the teacher's family. If a woman with young children came to town for the program, she had to bring them with her and/or have someone else available to care for them. If the teacher held another job, such as farming, carpentry, etc., work time was lost. Because the program was taken during vacations over a three year period, participants had to live in the area that long to complete it. Offsetting this, however, is the fact that teachers could find the same program offered in some other

county seats, and a few attended a stage or two in another town before moving to Muitaspedras. This transferability is important because of the geographical mobility of people in North Brazil. It was not uncommon for the children in a teacher's family to have been born in several different states, as the family moved in search of their own land or better employment. In addition to these difficulties in attending the course, the teachers faced delays in receiving their scholarship funds from SEDUC in Belem, which paid for room and board. This difficulty was mediated by the superintendent of the State Education Division, who persuaded town merchants to extend credit pending the arrival of scholarship funds.

As significant as the Completed First Level program is for its participants and for the community, the Pedagogical Second Level program (equivalent to a U.S. high school level) is even more significant, for two reasons. First, it was the first high school course ever offered in Muitaspedras County. Despite pressure from local citizens for SEDUC to open a high school, as of 1977 there were no approved plans to do so. One plan proposed through the Community Council had been rejected by SEDUC.

Many teachers who did not have the opportunity to take or complete the program commented on SEDUC's failure to sponsor it again in Muitaspedras during 1977. From January to March, 1977, the first and third stages were being offered in Belem and in 16 interior county seats. Fifty-six of the eighty-three counties in Pará participated, for a total of 1663 lay teachers from interior primary school (O Liberal 1/7/77:5).

Maria Nascimento, principal of a town primary school, had to drop out of the program when her daughter became ill. She had to take her daughter to Santarém, where medical care is covered by her state employee's health insurance, and stay there until the child recovered. Maria is from Santarém, and attended school there through middle school. There are high schools in Santarém, but Maria married a young man from Muitaspedras, moved, and they have lived in Muitaspedras even since. With three children and a full-time job, it is unlikely Maria will finish high school unless a special course is offered during vacations again.

Sonilda Cabral, a supervisor in the State Education Division, was more fortunate. After going to night school at Santana Middle School to finish her First Level schooling, Sonilda completed the Pedagogical Second Level program. Her experience in Muitaspedras' schools is extensive. She taught in two river village schools, a town primary school, and Santana Middle School. She supervises first grade teachers in all the town schools, plus teachers from one segment of the Transamazon Highway. All of this she has accomplished in addition to caring for a family of six and being an active member of the Catholic Church.

There is a second reason why the pedagogical program is so significant to Muitaspedras and its schools: it trained locally born educational leaders. Sonilda is one of five State Education Division employees who finished high school in this program (another employee took a similar program in Maranhão State). All five are Paraenses, and four of them are from Muitaspedras County. They were all teachers before becoming administrators.

Four primary school principals completed the course. Two work in town schools, and two work in river village schools. All four were born locally--three in Muitaspedras, and one in a neighboring county.

It is clear that the opportunity to complete high school in Muitaspedras was utilized by local educators with ambition and either leadership potential or already established leadership. Lacking the financial and/or kinship network resources to move to Santarém or another city to attend high school, they did their best to graduate from the local program. The result was a group of educational leaders from the county or region who have remained in the community and the school system. This contrasts with the fortunate few Muitaspedrans who are able to leave town for more schooling, but then do not return. Without this group of locally born educational leaders, the school system no doubt would have been "taken over" by better qualified outsiders, many of whom do not plan to remain long in the community.

Of the 18 respondents to the questionnaire who graduated from the pedagogical course, only two were not born in Pará, and most came from Muitaspedras County. Most of these educators have moved into at least part-time administrative positions in their schools (including the position of secretary). The three who are still classroom teachers are men, two from out-of-state and one from Belem. Two have other jobs besides teaching. The remaining man is an accomplished classroom teacher (based on my observations) and had worked during one session as a secretary in a town primary school before returning to a highway school near his family's farm. The three men, then, also have leadership potential (based on my observations of their teaching or in

inservice courses) but have other interests which so far have precluded rising within the school system.

Local educational leaders were also participants in the university short courses. Seven educators who responded to the questionnaire attended these courses. Four teachers attended the Federal University of Pará, one attended a private college in Pará, one attended the Federal University of Minas Gerais, and one took a university extension course in Minas Gerais. Three educators were State Education Division administrators, three were middle school teachers, and one was a primary school teacher. Five were born in Pará, and the other in Minas Gerais.

These educators have been more fortunate than most others in that they gained access to high school, either in the towns where they lived or in towns where they moved to attend school. The two educators from Muiaspedras went to Santarém for high school. Having surpassed this major bottleneck in the Brazilian school system, they were eligible, as teachers, to receive both their regular salaries and scholarships to attend the courses.

The only male among the seven educators is Roberto Correa. After attending school in two small interior towns, he went to middle and high school in Santarém. He also taught fifth grade in Santarém. As a teacher, he applied for the accelerated course for teachers offered at the Federal University of Pará. He competed with 3100 others in the college entrance exam (vestibular). Only 400 were admitted, and not all of them finished. The State paid for everything, with a scholarship in addition to his teacher's salary. The mayor also helped financially (Roberto did not say how, but often teachers ask the mayor

for transportation to and from special courses). After completing the course and earning his short license (licenciatura curta, a type of teacher certification--see Table 2-3), Roberto was qualified for a higher salary. Roberto's course was in Industrial Arts. In April, 1975, he began the first stage, which lasted six months. The second stage was five months, and the third, three months.

Rites of Intensification:
Courses to Improve Teacher Performance

Courses four to six on Table 4-1, and to a lesser extent courses seven to twelve, were intended to improve teacher performance in classroom instruction. During the fieldwork period I observed five such courses in Muitaspedras: a mini-course for town teachers of grades one and two, a refresher course for highway teachers, a short course for county teachers, a religious education mini-course, and an early childhood education course. These courses are characterized by a diversity of sponsoring organizations, including Project Rondon's Extension Campus, SEDUC, the State Education Division, and the County Education Secretariat. Project Rondon is particularly important because it provides teacher trainers who give short courses locally in cooperation with one of the other sponsoring institutions. As an educational institution created, among other reasons, to promote community development, the local Extension Campus of Project Rondon is in a position to act as a mediator among various community power groups (cf. Machado 1977; Bragg 1976).

The graduation ceremony described in the previous section was the (delayed) final event in one type of inservice teacher training, the program designed to raise the level of formal schooling of teachers. Most of the inservice courses offered in Muitaspedras were, however, of

another type. They were refresher courses in various subjects and were designed to bring teachers up to date.

In a sense, inservice courses of both types posed a threat to teachers. They implied that the practicing teacher was deficient in some way and needed special help. Added to this was the role reversal of the teacher temporarily becoming a student once again. These disturbances in the teaching routine were deliberate responses by administrators to a crisis perceived by them. The inservice courses functioned as rites of intensification which strengthened the teacher role along lines acceptable to administrators. The most dramatic ritual events often occurred near the end of inservice courses. For example, the mini-course for town teachers was offered in response to a crisis at the beginning of the new school year.

School administrators were not pleased by their teachers' performances, especially with the first and second grade students who were making the adjustment to school life and getting started in their studies. For this reason, first and second grades received a holiday while their teachers went back to school. Project Rondon supplied the teacher trainer and printed materials. The State Education Division suspended first and second grade classes in town schools for three days, so that teachers could meet in a classroom of a town primary school. The school chosen is Muiaspedras' largest primary school and the most favorably located, since it overlooks the Tapajós River.

The course was from April 13-17, 1977. The teacher trainer was Anabela Souza, from the southern state of Santa Catarina. She majored in education (pedagógico) at the university, and was both normal school and accounting training. A supervisor from the State Education Division, Eliza Moura, was nominally in charge of the group. She is also from the South--Rio Grande do Sul--and graduated from a pedagogical high school.

The purpose of the mini-course was to help teachers improve their instruction. During the three days, Anabela distributed information on planning, the meaning of education and the school, goals for the first weeks of school, methods of teaching beginning reading, and suggested activities during the first weeks of school. Favorite activities were paper-folding, drawing, and singing, all of which were suggested activities to help children become accustomed to school and to learn their numbers.

There are several ways in which educator behavior during the mini-course paralleled student behavior in school. First, the team method was used (see Chapter 3). On the first day of the course, Anabela asked the class to break up into groups of five. My group included a school secretary, a supervisor, a supervisor/teacher, and a teacher. The supervisor was our group scribe and spokesperson. Anabela wrote nine questions on the board for the groups to discuss and answer. As members of my group discussed alternative answers, the supervisor wrote them down. It was possible to copy the answers from the printed material we had been given, and one teacher in the group was doing this. Depending on the individual, then, questions were answered by the simpler means of reading and locating the answer, or by the more complex means of remembering one's own experience, analyzing it, and drawing conclusions. Either type of answer was acceptable. However, since each group reported its answers to the class, the expectation was that alternative answers would be presented. Anabela wrote some of the alternative answers on the board, making favorable comments. Her goal in using the team method was to stimulate discussion of the topics. This proved to be difficult. At one point, Anabele reinforced the acceptability of copying by saying, "All you have to do is read."

Another teaching method in this course paralleled the lecture method used in schools (see Chapter 3). The response of educators to discussion questions varied by their social status in the school system, just as student response often revealed who the informal leaders were. On the first morning session, Anabela tried to initiate a discussion of "What is education?" The only two answers came from supervisors. Anabela wrote on the board, lectured, and began to ask questions requiring only one-word answers from her audience. During an afternoon session when Anabela again combined lecture and attempts to stimulate discussion, I counted 6 educators (out of 23) who initiated comments to her and stimulated class discussion. Four were teachers, and two were supervisors.

The educator-as-student behavior described above was in response to teaching methods initiated by the teacher trainer. Another educator-as-student behavior is one students are taught beginning in nursery school (if they attend), that is, manners (see Chapter 5). When a teacher wanted to leave the room, she said, "Excuse me" (com licença) to Anabela. When the Director of Project Rondon entered the classroom and said, "Good afternoon," the educators answered in chorus, "Good afternoon." When Anabela walked around the room giving individual help, a teacher answered her question in a very respectful tone, saying, "No Ma'am" (Não Senhora). The latter respectful form of address was used despite Anabela's endeavors, throughout the course, for teachers to consider her a friend and an equal. The teachers responded as a well-mannered student would to a teacher, rather than to a peer.

This course was a rite of intensification for its participants, educators who were facing the challenges of a new school year.³ The familiar classroom space was transformed for this course and so were the normal relationships among educators. Special activities were also conducted. The ritual aspects of the mini-course follow.

The introductory speech made by Elizabete, Divisional Superintendent, demonstrates the ambiguities which are present during rites of intensification. Elizabete noted that people call her Dona Elizabete (a term of respect). She asked teachers to call her by less formal terms of address --Elizabete or Professor Elizabete. Then she told the class a story about her own life. When she was fifteen, she had to start teaching. She did not know how to teach, and she had forty students, so she was a weak teacher. Then she told teachers they were having the same problems. She suggested that they reflect on questions like: "Why am I working? Why did I ask for a contract from the State? Am I working because I want to, or because I have to earn money?" Elizabete said she likes to work with children. Then she spoke of problems of poor teacher performance on the first day of first grade.

Let us prevent that. Any doubts that you have, you can ask questions. We all make mistakes. Past mistakes are not important. The first grade teacher has to be a mother and a father, and combine friendship with work. This is hard, because of the poor conditions here. But in 1978 one criterion will be teacher productivity. You are responsible for the future of these children.

Elizabete began her speech with a call for an egalitarian relationship between herself and teachers, but she ended it by reverting to hierarchical relationships, with the threat of teachers being held accountable for their productivity and that of their students. In the middle, she became personal by relating her own weakness as a new teacher, and stressed equality and humility by saying, "We all make mistakes." By switching the emphasis within her educator role from equality and humility as a teacher to threatening authority as an administrator, Elizabete summarized the conflicting relationships present in an in-service teacher training course. Her speech is a metaphor of the rite of intensification.

For three days, the teachers were given a working holiday, a time away from students.⁴ These aspects of the course--as work and as a holiday--complemented the conflicting aspects of their role--as teacher and student--and the conflicting aspects of relationships--emphasizing either equality or hierarchy among educators. Because the emphasis on hierarchy among educators is usually given priority, there were repeated attempts during the course to emphasize equality. This kind of emotional strengthening complemented the instruction in theory and method designed to strengthen intellectual understanding and actual performance. In other words, all three general areas of behavior (in the jargon of psychology)--affective, cognitive, and instrumental--were supported by different activities during the course.

By reversing customary roles and relationships, teachers were given the chance to gather strength to meet the challenge of the new school year. In this sense, the mini-course is a ritual of reversal (Turner 1969), a special time, place, and activity removed from regular life. Turner calls this the liminal period, and it is then when people reverse their usual status and place more emphasis on social solidarity (which he calls communitas) than in normal life.

As the Divisional superintendent, Elizabete could not put aside her administrative role, with its emphasis on hierarchy, for more than brief moments during her speech. It was up to Anabela, as the teacher trainer, to emphasize equality and solidarity among all educators. Her opening speech set the tone of what followed: "I am here as a friend, to collaborate with you. You have experience. We will help. No one lives alone. Everyone needs friends." Although no teacher was fooled into treating Anabela as a peer, she was successful in promoting temporary equality and solidarity through a secret friend gift exchange.

Anabela set the stage for the rite of intensification by transforming the classroom space, with its orderly rows of student desks opposite the teacher's desk. After making her speech, she asked everyone to move the desks into one large circle. Then she asked educators to introduce themselves, one by one, around the circle. All educators performed as equals in this activity, including Anabela, the supervisors, and the researcher.

Later in the morning, Anabela returned to her friendship theme, saying that she would like to be friends with everyone. She then suggested a gift exchange at the end of the course, an amusement (brincadeira). Each participant drew someone else's name from a box. Educators wrote letters to their secret friend which were distributed at the start of each session. On the final afternoon, identities were revealed and presents exchanged.

The exchange of letters became a dominant social activity during the mini-course, coexisting with the more formal, pedagogical activities.⁵ People slipped their letters unobtrusively onto the teacher's desk, usually as they arrived. Later, someone commented on their presence and distributed them. The letters themselves were innocuous, mildly funny, or silly. Educators showed each other the letters they received, and some wrote letters while in class.

At first, this behavior impressed me as being juvenile, silly, and lacking in the respect which educators expect from each other and demand from students and parents. Later, I realized that such silliness was part of the role reversal from teacher to student. This innocuous appearance of the activities masked their important function as a rite of intensification in a bureaucracy. Bureaucracies are characterized by conflict

and infighting but also by surface friendly relations which help to enable them to function despite hostilities. The conflict between administrators and teachers is built into the structure but on the surface friendly relationships must prevail or things fall apart.

Another dominant social activity connected with the secret friend gift exchange was party planning, initiated by administrators. A supervisor went from teacher to teacher soliciting money for a "remembrance" (lembrança) for Anabela. A list was circulated with everyone's name and a blank opposite. Participants were to fill in the blank with something they would bring for the party--for example, two soft drinks. On the afternoon of the party, these items were left on the teacher's desk. A supervisor circulated a handmade card addressed to Anabela, thanking her for the course.

The party began when Elizabete arrived. Children watched from the doorways and over the half walls dividing the classroom from the halls. Anabela said twice, "Let us begin telling who our secret friends are." Everyone sat around the circle. Each educator gave a brief description of her secret friend, and then announced her identity. Both got up and walked to the center of the room. The identifier gave the present to her secret friend, and they both embraced, sometimes kissing each other on the cheeks. The gift recipient opened her gift and thanked the giver. Then she announced the identity of her secret friend, and the process continued.

This activity, the seating arrangement and the personnel involved, produce a striking symbol of social solidarity among the educators. The group, seated in a circle, formed a gift exchange ring. Presents were not exchanged between two people, but were in effect passed around the ring, thereby uniting all the participants in the exchange. This was also the pattern (although less striking as a symbol) of the exchange of letters.

All educators participated equally in the activity, further emphasizing solidarity over hierarchy.

The secret friend gift exchange as a rite of intensification symbolized the social solidarity which binds all educators into one school system despite their many differences. It dramatically reaffirmed the traditional relationships between teachers and administrators. The latter initiate activities, but all must cooperate in their execution. The ring of educators exchanging letters and gifts symbolizes the chain of relationships in the educational bureaucracy--a one-way chain of command which unites all educators but at different status levels.⁶

The mini-course for town teachers helped prepare these teachers to start a new school year. The mini-course was short (three days) and gave teachers a holiday from their students. However, the courses which are described in the following two sections on rural educators did more than that, since they had to travel to the county seat and lodge there for the duration of their courses (approximately two weeks). Inservice courses for rural educators separate them from their highway or river neighborhoods and strengthen their ties to the county seat. Thus the inservice courses which serve rural educators are an urbanizing influence, just as the rural schools are in their own neighborhoods.

Rural Participation in the Courses: Highway Teachers

It is difficult to describe the isolation and rudimentary living conditions of the pioneer farmers on the Transamazon and Santarém-Cuiabá highways. North Americans must ask their grandparents, consult written accounts of the one-room schools in rural or frontier areas, or see the fantasized versions of such schools on television. Problems of communication and transportation especially impede efforts to

administer a centralized school system. Under these conditions teacher training inservice courses were, above all, a break in the isolation and loneliness of life in the interior. Traditionally, upper class residents of interior villages and hamlets (such as rubber traders) have periodically broken the isolation by traveling to larger towns and cities, frequently for purposes involving education. The poor lacked this opportunity. Highway teachers, as an aspiring middle class group, have an opportunity--which most of their neighbors lack--to travel to town periodically for inservice courses. For them, therefore, inservice courses are a socialization to the determinedly urban county seat and the middle class way of life of salaried employees of bureaucracies.

A course for highway teachers necessarily involves more complications than does a course for town teachers. This is because of problems in communication, transportation, housing, meals, and funds to cover these expenses. Also, the highway teachers have the least amount of schooling among educators in Muitaspedras, yet they face the most difficult instructional problem: how to teach four grades all together in one room during the short school day.

The communication problem became apparent when I traveled with a supervisor on the Santarém-Cuiabá Highway. The twofold purpose of the trip was to inform teachers along our route of the refresher course, and then to bring them along on our return. The only means of communication along the highways is word-of-mouth. There are no telephones or telegraph offices (except in towns). The teachers had only a few hours to make arrangements to leave home for two weeks. As we traveled from school to school (it was an overnight trip), the main concern

expressed by teachers was whether their living expenses in town would be compensated. This was supposed to be the case, but problems often arose over the delayed arrival of funds.

Several teachers decided not to attend the course. One recently arrived teacher said that she had already taken it in Altamira, from the same teacher trainer, in 1976 (She exemplified the pattern in Brazil of small farmers moving from frontier to frontier--in their case from Paraná in the South to the Transamazon to the Santarém-Cuiabá). A male teacher said that he was too busy with the rice harvest. Our truck could not reach the last two schools because a stretch of the highway was too muddy. We left a message, and turned around. If a teacher was not at home, a message was also left.

The mayor paid for the truck and driver on this trip. The teachers rode in the open back. One young teacher brought her mother along to care for the teacher's baby while she was in class. The teachers we failed to locate had to provide their own transportation. Many teachers asked about return transportation. They were told they would have to request it from the mayor. The poorly maintained road, the distance, and the high cost of gasoline made daily commuting to the course unfeasible. Few highway teachers own cars or other vehicles. There is daily service by bus along the Transamazon Highway between Muitaspedras and Ruropolis, and along the Santarém-Cuiabá Highway between Muitaspedras and Cachimbó, on the Mato Grosso border. Bus service is erratic, however, due to frequent breakdowns on the rough dirt highways. The vans and taxis which also operate daily are expensive for teachers, on their salaries.

When the teachers finally reached town (the truck broke down), they hung their hammocks in quarters provided by the State Education

Division. At 7:45 A.M. the next morning, the overflow crowd of still-arriving teachers sat on the street curb outside school while additional housing arrangements were made. Elizabete das Chaves, the superintendent, spent the first hectic day of the course making these arrangements and reporting on them to the assembled teachers. She arranged for a restaurant to feed the teachers throughout their stay, and took the names of those who planned to eat there. Her expression was stern, her manner matter of fact, and her sentences short, delivered abruptly. There was a moment of levity when she collected the names for the list: "Now this money is not to go to the cinema, or to buy shoes." The State had allocated CR\$400 (US\$30.77) for each teacher for the two weeks. This was meant to pay for the restaurant meals, where all the highway teachers were supposed to eat. The list was an arrangement of local initiative which, according to one teacher trainer, state officials would not approve if they found out. The State also provided notebooks, pencils, and printed materials for all participants. The two teacher trainers from Belem were filling out inscription sheets for each teacher, listing their birthplace, documentation (voter registration, military service card, and others).

The pedagogical part of the mini-course began in the afternoon session of the first day, interrupted periodically by announcements about financial arrangements. Professor Odete began her class by writing, "The Methods of Instructing the Student." Her opening remarks mentioned three purposes of the course--social, pedagogical, and economic: "It is an opportunity to meet many people and exchange ideas. Besides instruction, we earn a little more." She then began to lecture about how the rest of schooling depends on first grade, when students learn to read

and other basic skills. "I do not want to talk all the time, like a record. We are all teachers, and colleagues. You can share your experience with us." Like Anabela, Odete tried to stress equality and the peer relationship among educators at this first session.

Odete followed two teaching methods during the course. Both were similar to the methods used by teacher trainers at Santana Middle School (Chapter 3). The first method was lecture and discussion. Odete distributed several information sheets at each session, and used these as a basis for her lectures. The handouts were organized by grade and by subject. There was a handout on each subject area taught in first grade, and a handout on each subject area for the combined grades two through four. Sometimes Odete asked the class to read portions of the handout aloud, in unison. She said that this helped everyone fight off sleepiness during the hot afternoon session. At other times, Odete asked the class to read portions of the handout silently. Odete lectured by elaborating on the main points in each section. Then she either solicited questions on the material or answered teacher-initiated questions. The highway teachers volunteered questions more readily and frequently than had the town teachers in Anabela's course. Discussion predominated toward the end of each session, after the material in the handout had been covered.

The second teacher training method was the use of teams for art and other "hands-on" activities, and for writing lesson plans. Odete, like Anabela, sanctioned the copying of lesson plans word for word from the handout and also praised originality. After two teams had presented lesson plans one afternoon, Odete pointed out that both were good plans, but each had a different point of view. The third team reporter

presented a plan copied from the handout. Odete approved. The fourth team reporter included an original objective (behavioral objectives were used--the same kind taught in the United States teacher training courses the researcher has taught or attended). Odete praised the team reporter both for having some objectives which were like those of other teams, and also for having an original objective. On another day, Odete praised a team reporter for making up a story and using it in his lesson. She said, "All teachers have the capacity to be creative and to use the imagination."

The purpose of both of these teacher training methods was to explain to teachers exactly what they needed to do, show them how to do it, and have them practice doing it. The first priority was that the teacher feel comfortable about whatever method he or she used to teach. Odete stressed this when lecturing on the various ways beginning reading is taught in Brazil. The best way to teach reading is through the method the teacher is most secure with, Odete stressed. The second priority was that teachers strive to be creative in their teaching by using their imagination in lesson planning, and also by adapting lessons to local conditions. The latter is important given a centralized school system functioning in a regionally diverse country. The highway teachers are given their lesson plans by the State Education Division. Nonetheless, they were taught how to write their own, and encouraged to alter plans given to them to allow for local variations such as the names for animals and fruits. For example, a science lesson about turtles, which Odete called tartarugas, was altered by class members to jabutí.

Ironically, this principle was not applied by the people at the training center in Belem who prepared the handouts. Several pictures

in sample exercises in classification and other skills were of United States origin, and were incomprehensible to Odete and the class. One picture was a mailbox, marked "U.S. Mail." Brazilian mailboxes are a different shape, and are seldom seen in the interior (Muitaspedras' one and only mailbox was installed, across the street from the Post Office, later during the fieldwork period). Another picture was a box for paper tissues. Stores in Muitaspedras do not carry them, and I rarely saw them even in Belem. This lesson, on behavioral objectives used for specific pre-reading skills, was obviously borrowed from United States sources and not adapted for use in Brazil (a bar of soap was marked "soap"; a holiday exercise included a Thanksgiving turkey).

Informal leaders among the highway teachers during the course were often male. Odete always asked the same male teacher to distribute the handouts. He and another male teacher were leaders in volunteering questions which sparked discussion. Although women outnumbered men in the course by approximately four to one, five of the nine teams were led by men, in the class observed.

Social interactions in the course occurred during class time and at mid-session breaks. The distribution of educators in the classroom followed the traditional form of teacher up front and students seated in rows. Student desks were pushed together in clusters for teamwork. Odete walked around the front of the classroom while lecturing and also up and down the rows of desks. Student conversation pairs and groups formed from people sitting near each other. The supervisors clustered together, and talked among themselves and to teachers near them. Male teachers were evenly distributed. The supervisors talked oftener and louder than did teachers. Odete treated the supervisors

as student-teachers by including them in teams and in class discussions. She usually dealt with their talking by ignoring it--the same technique used by Santana middle school teacher trainers (Chapter 3). Several times Odete used another technique. She asked a supervisor what she was saying, and then used the response to lead back into the lecture topic, having temporarily secured the silence and attention of the supervisors. Use of the team method facilitated the tendency of educators to discuss topics of interest with their desk neighbors and structured this into a pedagogical exercise--preparing and presenting lessons.

During the mid-session breaks, educators formed groups in several locations. Men went outside to the street. The supervisors went to their workroom. Some women stood outside the workroom. Several women sat by themselves in one classroom, while women in another classroom formed a group. Women also sat outside the classrooms on two benches. Sometimes educators walked up the side street to the main commercial street, where a woman sold a regional food (tacacá) from a table set up by the curb. These informal social groups, like the formal classroom teams, gave highway teachers the chance to overcome their usual isolation in dispersed, one-room schools. They took advantage of both of these opportunities to discuss a number of work-related problems with their peers.

Highway teachers demonstrated their concern about their work by their many volunteered questions and their extensive discussion of the problems raised. Two problems were of special significance to them: their relationship with the parents of their students, and the problems of teaching four grades in one room in one four-hour session. Problems with parents ranged from disagreement over methods of teaching reading

(pre-reading methods and newer reading methods unfamiliar to parents were disapproved by them) to the teacher's perception of parental lack of interest in and support of the school. Teachers blamed their students' lack of motivation to learn to read and their "not knowing what a school is" on the parents rather than the children--or themselves. The problem with teaching four grades in a one-room school is that students in three grades have nothing to do while the teacher works with one grade. Educators agreed that first grade students needed the most attention. There was considerable small group discussion among teachers about this problem, which almost all the highway teachers faced. Only those with more than fifty students could divide them into two sessions. One teacher put the first graders in one session, and the second through fourth in another. Odete made two suggestions during the discussion: splitting the four-hour session into two mini-sessions, and dividing the room.

The refresher course for highway teachers began and ended with a flourish of bureaucratic activity which emphasized the hierarchic nature of the educator's role as a member of the bureaucracy (see Chapter 6). Elizabete, Muitaspedras' superintendent of the State Education Division, reported to teachers her progress in solving a number of bureaucratic problems on the first day of the course. During the middle of the course, Odete assumed control as teacher trainer and educators assumed their student role. The emphasis then was on peer interaction in classroom teamwork and informal social groupings during mid-session breaks. Even Odete, while maintaining her superordinate role as teacher trainer, stressed the peer relationship among educators by encouraging teacher-initiated discussion. Finally, in the last two days of the course, Elizabete reappeared in the classroom and educators once again assumed

their role as bureaucrats at different levels--teachers and supervisors. She explained to new teachers their privileges as salaried state employees, discussed bureaucratic problems (contracts, pay, teacher testing), and explained her own position in the state educational hierarchy: "We (the State Education Division's administrators) are here to execute orders. They come to us; we give them to you."

The highway teachers left this course with a renewed sense of their solidarity in shared problems with their peers, and also their solidarity with their superiors as fellow members (at different levels in the hierarchy) of the state school system.

County teachers face living and working conditions similar to those of highway teachers employed by the state. In fact, some county teachers live on the Transamazon Highway west of Muitaspedras (not an official government colonization area), and others live in the smaller river hamlets which have one-room schools. Although county teachers do receive a MEC bonus in addition to their regular salary (as state teachers do), rural county teachers are traditionally the worst-paid educators in Brazil. In many counties, their job depends on which political party wins the mayor's race, or on other local political idiosyncracies (cf. Greenfield 1976). Since 1976, Muitaspedras County teachers have been administered by the County Education Secretariat.

For the county teachers, an inservice teacher training course serves purposes similar to the refresher course for highway teachers, that is, a chance to visit peers and superiors in the county seat. For the County Education Secretariat's superintendent, Sister Margarida,

the course serves to put her on a par with the larger State Education Division. Unable to call on state institutions for a teacher trainer, Sister Margarida called on Project Rondon to provide one.

The short course for county primary school teachers can be compared to the mini-course for town teachers in sponsorship, purpose, and teacher trainer. Both courses were sponsored by local level organizations: the State Education Division and the County Education Secretariat. When the State Education Division sponsored a course through the initiative of SEDUC at the state level, a teacher trainer from a state level institution was brought in to teach the course. When the sponsoring initiative was local, a Project Rondon teacher trainer was solicited through the local Extension Campus. This was true whether the local sponsoring initiative was the State Education Division or the County Education Secretariat. In both cases, the purpose of the locally initiated course was to offer instruction in planning, starting the school year, and evaluation. In both cases, the teacher trainer from Project Rondon tried to establish an egalitarian relationship with the teacher participants in the course, although, as the following description will demonstrate, the teacher trainers had different ways of trying to accomplish this.

"Who sleeps in hammocks here?" Irene, the teacher trainer, began one morning session with this question. As a southern Brazilian, from Santa Catarina State, she did not share the Amazon preference for hammocks rather than beds. Irene has a B.A. in economics, which she earned while also teaching primary school. Like all the Project Rondon university students who came to Multaspedras from the South, she was amazed at the regional differences, and at how less developed the North is. When

the students told her disaster stories about traffic accidents on the Transamazon Highway, her only comment was, "This region." This statement was a favorite among Project Rondon students.

Teacher training methods were similar to those used in other courses. After talking informally with students as they entered class, Irene began to sing a song ("Good Morning") without announcement, and students joined in. Next, she wrote the topic of the day on the board and began asking questions, eliciting responses, repeating answers from students, and teasing them when they did not answer a question. She had the students put name tags on their desks, facing her, so that she could associate names and faces. Irene wrote the lesson on the board, continuing to combine lecturing and questioning. The two men in the class (out of 19 teachers) both responded to questions. A working break from the topic was initiated when Irene had the class sing several songs, which they had written in their notebooks. She praised their singing, but also stopped them once to correct their style. Then she returned to the chalkboard and the topic. After class members copied the material, Irene reviewed the topic with them by asking questions. Finally, she passed out paper, and wrote questions on the board. Students went to work copying the questions from the board and the answers from their notes--also copied from the board. The students were not the only ones engaged in copy work. Irene used two texts for this course, and copied sentences on the board from these books.

The informal conversation about the Amazon region initiated by Irene in her question about hammocks continued after some students finished their work. The topic was gold, including the problems women face when their husbands go to the gold mines. These informal conversations and the singing were the social components of this course.

Irene commented to me that educational technology in Brazil is often borrowed from the United States. Her choice among teaching methods and her interaction patterns with students indicated that more than technology had been borrowed, in her case. In agreement with the United States educational ideal, her approach was more "individualized" than that of the other teacher trainers. She did not use the team method. She questioned students individually concerning their understanding of the topic. The students completed their assignments individually. She tried to learn the students' names. Like the other teacher trainers, Irene stressed equality in her relationship with students, but she did it in a different, less overt, way. She was frank about being from another part of the country where customs differed and seemed to enjoy listening to students' stories about the region. In this respect, Irene was trying to learn from the students as well as teach them. She acted in an egalitarian fashion rather than talking about an egalitarian ideal.

Students responded to Irene's individualized approach by making a special effort to perform their role well when a national Project Rondon supervisor visited the class along with the local Extension Campus director. Irene opened the session with the "Good Morning" song followed by a song I had taught the group. She then asked a question about the topic covered earlier. A female student gave a lengthy answer, saying more in response to a formal, teacher trainer-initiated question than I had heard any female student reply earlier. Students continued to do their best to answer questions as fully as possible until the officials left.

Training for a New Bureaucracy:
A Conference and a Course for Administrators

The point was made in the preceding section that locally-initiated inservice courses used teacher trainers from the local Extension Campus of Project Rondon, while the national and state initiated inservice courses used teacher trainers from institutions based outside the community. This is just as true of the County Education Secretariat as it is of the State Education Division, as this section will show.

The County Education Secretariat, belying its name, is a result of national initiative. The 1971 Education Reform Law mandated decentralization, which resulted in a policy called "The Municipalization of Education," which would transfer administration of First Level education from the states to the counties. Many counties in Pará followed this initiative in 1976, forming their own County Education Secretariats.

The organization of the conference and the course for administrators which would transform the small County Education Secretariat into a full-blown local bureaucracy derives primarily from national level sponsors. The Third Meeting of Amazon Educators was a conference sponsored by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC), the Department of Elementary Education (DEF, a subgroup of MEC), and the Federal University of Pará (UFP). The conference was organized by the Pará Association of Christian Educators (AEC do Pará). Participants met in Belem from May 15th through 18th, 1977. Sister Margarida attended the conference in her capacity as superintendent of the County Education Secretariat, with the county paying for her transportation.

Conspicuously absent from this list of sponsors is SEDUC. Instead, the state-level sponsoring organization is the state AEC. Despite the political tension between some elements of the Catholic Church and the national military government, a conciliatory theme was presented at the Third Meeting of Amazon Educators (see Chapter 3).

Bringing this conciliatory alliance of Catholic-supported and government-supported technological education to the county level was related to the second principal conference theme, "The Municipalization of Education," presented by a technician from the Department of Education (DEF) and by the mayor of Marabá County. The Association of Christian Educators presented a speech on "The Presence of Lay Teachers in Today's Christian Schools" (lay teacher here meaning not a priest or nun). Finally, Senator João Calmon, President of the Federal Senate's Education and Culture Commission, spoke about his national campaign to increase government spending on First Level education (reversing the recent priority on higher education).

Because the Transamazon Highway passes through Muitaspedras, it was one of 16 Pará counties chosen to initiate Project County (Pro-município) in the Amazon region. Project County is supposed to begin implementation of the change in administrative control of First Level education from the state to the county level. The project had begun in 1976 in nine or ten counties in Maranhão state, and participants in the Third Meeting of Amazon Educators heard favorable reports of its progress. In September, 1977, a technical team from MEC was supposed to prepare technicians in Muitaspedras. Then, in January, 1978, a training course would be offered to prepare Project County technicians, who would be chosen by the mayor.

The impetus behind Project County is national, and teacher trainers come from this level for the conference and the course. Since the new organization will be local, the mayor is a cosponsor, providing transportation for the county superintendent to the conference and choosing the technician-candidates for the expanding local bureaucracy. The political implications of the alliance between the mayor and Sister Margarida in a local bureaucracy which partially displaces the State Education Secretariat is discussed in Chapter 6.

Conclusions:
Teacher Inservice Training and Cooperation

The plethora of teacher training inservice courses offered (usually) in Mitaspedras is vital to educators because they serve a number of functions. Those programs which raise the level of education are more important economically and politically. All of the courses are important socially and symbolically. Two kinds of cooperative social relationships are expressed in these courses. The first is cooperation through joint sponsorship by organizations at different levels (local, state, national) which emphasizes superior/inferior social relationships of patronage. The second is cooperation through joint sponsorship by organizations at one level (local), which emphasizes egalitarian social relationships, plus cooperation in small groups (classes or teams within classes), with an emphasis on social solidarity and the primus inter pares relationship.

There were many social functions of the courses for inservice teachers. As ritual events, they were a neutral area for getting acquainted with peers and superiors. Teachers could overcome the

isolation of working in separate classrooms without much adult contact (Sarason 1971). Some of the activities during the course were enjoyable entertainment for the participants, so the courses also functioned as recreation. The participants could validate their conduct, or show others how they viewed themselves. Teachers could demonstrate how concerned they were with educational problems, or with improving their performance. Some teachers demonstrated their informal leadership abilities. Supervisors could demonstrate both their solidarity with teachers, by participating as equals, and their superiority as formal leaders, by taking the lead in answering discussion questions and initiating social activities. Elizabeth could demonstrate her problem-solving skills as the chief local administrator.

One particularly important social function of the inservice teacher training course was establishing a different type of group social relationship needed to accomplish certain tasks. The customary type of group relationship is the chain of superior-inferior interactions which characterizes bureaucratic social organization. This type of social relationship allows educators to carry out many of the tasks of running a school system. However, it is not compatible with cooperative group efforts to improve performance of some tasks, such as improving teacher instruction and teacher-student relations. The inservice courses offered an opportunity to temporarily deemphasize the superior-inferior relationship and emphasize instead a primus inter pares relationship. In this relationship of "first among equals," egalitarian cooperation is stressed. The teacher trainer was first among her equals, the teachers. She was expected to initiate activities, but they were expected to cooperate with her and with each other.

There are at least two requirements for achieving cooperation in a primus inter pares group relationship. One is social solidarity and the other is two-way communication. In their lectures, teacher trainers emphasized being colleagues and friends of teachers. They used the team method to stimulate discussion among teacher subgroups and reports back to the teacher trainer. They also allowed teachers a certain latitude in how class time was spent, so that teachers could spend more time on activities they preferred, such as singing. Establishing two-way communication was a difficult task for teacher trainers because they had to overcome the emphasis on one-way communication which characterizes the superior-inferior social relationships of the bureaucracy (Hummel 1977).

Social solidarity is, by itself, another important social function of the inservice teacher training courses. Ritual events during the inservice courses promoted social solidarity. The secret friend letter and gift exchange encouraged what Sahlins (1965) calls balanced reciprocity, a type of exchange in which equivalent gifts are given and received without delay. The reciprocity created by such exchange promotes social integration. However, equal exchanges performed without delay tend to terminate relationships. The secret friend letter exchange was only roughly equivalent and was delayed. The gift exchange was a more equal exchange performed in a short ceremony which terminated the secret friend relationship as well as the primus inter pares group relationship of the course.

The economic functions of the inservice courses were especially important when the level of education was raised, because this made possible a raise in salary and a stronger position for career advancement.

All of the courses which brought participants to the county seat were economically advantageous to them, because town is the concentrated source of patrons in education, church, government, and commerce--and thus gave them a special opportunity to solicit or strengthen ties with patrons. An example of this occurred when two male highway teachers approached the vicar after a course session and asked for Bibles. All course participants also benefitted economically by having their salaries and expenses paid during the courses. Of course, this also benefitted local merchants and restaurateurs.

Politically, the courses functioned to validate the government as a patron. Local, state, and national government agencies cooperated in providing transportation, food and lodging, funds, and teacher trainers for the inservice courses. Local educators recognized that their problems were great and their resources small. They perceived their patrons as having greater resources. They believed that these patrons should give them what was needed to overcome problems, whether that was training, materials, salaries, etc. Thus, allegiance to and cooperation with patrons who had power over resources, a traditional pattern in the larger society, was promoted among educators. As a middle class occupational group, educators tend to look to the government for patronage (Ratinoff 1967).

Another political function of the inservice courses was to promote national integration. Formally, this was accomplished by providing training to improve education in Muitaspedras and therefore to develop the "human resources" of the region and promote economic development. Informally, this was accomplished by bringing rural educators to town and by bringing together educators native to all parts of Brazil.

This informal "national integration" socialized educators to their official role as agents of nationalism, one role which the school plays in the community (see Chapter 7).

The programs to raise the level of education were more important to the community politically than were the other inservice courses, because better-educated teachers (fewer lay teachers) are a sign of the community's progress and urbanization. Thus the former programs closed with graduation ceremonies attended by local government officials. The rites of passage of individual educators to higher socioeconomic status was therefore a rite of passage of the community to increased sociopolitical prominence as an urban center of frontier development and national integration.

The conference and course for county education administrators was also important politically, because it heralded the expansion of a new local educational bureaucracy on a par with the State Education Division, but one which would give the mayor more decision-making power than he has had with the latter.

The socialization of educators to the two types of cooperative social relationships described above is vital to their performance in two of their roles--those of bureaucrat and community leader (presented in Chapters 6 and 7, respectively). Although the content of the teacher training inservice courses is usually pedagogical, designed to improve performance in the teacher role (see Chapter 5), the methods of teaching (especially the team method), the teaching style of the teacher trainers (most are egalitarian), bureaucratic socialization, and the sponsorship pattern of the courses socialize both the horizontal cooperation of primus inter pares relationships and the vertical superior-inferior

cooperation of patrons and educators. These two cooperative relationships are based on traditional patterns in the larger society: the patron-client relationship which binds people of different classes together through fictive kinship (compadresco--this can also be an egalitarian relationship), coronelismo (political bosses), masters and slaves (Freyre 1956), and the many forms of debt peonage, and the more egalitarian relationship which binds people of the same class together through the upper and urban middle class parentela (extended family, cf. C. Miller 1976) and panelinha (political insiders, cf. Leeds 1965), and the lower class, rural mutirão (Northeastern work bee) and the religious brotherhoods (irmandades). One type of cooperative relationship is rapidly emerging --namely the urban middle class propensity to dar um jeito (find a way, solve a problem), which often involves bureaucracy. In the chapters to follow, the growing importance of dar um jeito within the education system will be both noted and described.

Notes

¹These courses were either offered in 1976-77 or had been offered earlier as a part of the highway-related development programs.

²The dates and length of each program are listed in Table 4-1.

³It can therefore be considered a rite of inception to reestablish working relationships among educators at the start of the new school year.

⁴This segregation from students can be seen as step one in the three stages (separation, transition, and incorporation) found in many rituals (Van Gennep 1960).

⁵These activities can be considered step 2, transition, in which egalitarian interaction among educators is stressed.

⁶Thus working relationships are reestablished, with the balance between egalitarian and hierarchical emphases in the relationships reaffirmed. This is step 3, incorporation.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE CULTURAL ROLE OF TEACHERS:
THREE MODELS OF SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS

There is no single cultural role of teachers in Muitaspedras County, because the county and its schools are too diverse internally for one role to fit. Instead, there are three models of schools and teachers which comprise the cultural role of teachers. The models are the one-room school with its rural teacher, the academy with its "old humanist" teacher, and the city school with its industrial-trainer teacher. They are ideal types which fit real schools and teachers in varying degrees. Sometimes an individual school has elements of two models; the cultural role of a teacher in such a school may vary with different students or community groups.

The models described above are taken from two principal sources: Margaret Mead's The School in American Culture (1950), and Anisio Teixeira's Educação Não É Privilégio [Education Is Not A Privilege] (1977). This chapter presents each of the models in turn and describes their applicability to the educational system in Muitaspedras.

The Rural School

The little red schoolhouse is the idealized small school of the rural United States. It is taught by a young woman who often marries into the community and becomes part of it. The counterpart of the

young woman in primitive societies is the sibling who cares for younger children. Her counterpart in aristocratic societies is the peasant nurse who cares for the children of the elite. Learning in this situation is oriented toward the present or the recent past (Mead 1950).

Mead's little red schoolhouse model fits the one-room schools which still predominate numerically in Muitaspedras. Of the 107 state and county schools, 94 are one-room schools. They are all rural schools, located either on the highways or in river hamlets.

Most of the one-room schools in Muitaspedras are state schools on the Transamazon highway east of the county seat. This is the area which was subject to the national government's colonization program. All of the Transamazon schools in this area (plus the schools on the north branch of the Santarém-Cuiabá highway) are prefabricated, blue or pink drywall buildings with a wood floor and a corrugated fiberboard (brasilit) roof. The classroom occupies most of the building, with a small area on the right side divided into a storeroom-kitchen and an open porch. Unlike older schools in the region, these schools have few windows, and they are small and placed up at the roofline. Roofs have blown off several of these schools during storms.

Most of the teachers in the rural schools of Muitaspedras are young women--wives, daughters, or boarders in the families of small farmers, but there are also several men working in these schools. Most teachers have only a primary education themselves. These teachers are as much a part of their rural neighborhoods as is anyone else, given the high geographical mobility of rural Brazilians.

The one-room school to be described below was taught by a male who agreed to let me observe his class for a day while I was visiting

friends for several days in the highway neighborhood surrounding the school.

The Little River School

The Little River School is a Transamazon Highway one-room school east of Muitaspedras. I met the teacher, João Santos, at an inservice teacher training course. When I visited friends in the area, he agreed to let me observe his class. On arriving at my friends' house, I walked up the road to the school and asked a young boy playing with a truck when school started. "Early in the morning, at nine o'clock, until noon." (Actually, school hours are 7:30-11:30 a.m.) When I arrived at 8:30 the following morning, the school was closed. The same boy played across the street. He explained that there was no class today because it was a saint's day. Professor João rode up on his bicycle and invited me to lunch at his father's house.

Professor João is 23 year old and single. This is his first year teaching, but his family has lived here for five years. He is one of 12 children, nine of whom live on the highway: eight in the parent's home and one in Professor João's home several lots away. The other two live in Belem and the state of Rio Grande do Sul, respectively. The houses were built by INCRA, the colonization agency. Professor João's parents have added a large side porch to their house. A girl was pounding rice under the house. A clay oven stood on a table outside. Professor João's mother bakes bread and cakes in this oven whenever she can get wheat flour. She also has a wood-burning clay stove in the house. The family owns a chain saw, and they have received bank financing to plant 2000 pepper bushes. When Professor João is not teaching, he helps prepare the land or he hunts.

The next morning I observed Professor João's school. The session began formally at 7:50, with a prayer; the students all stood and crossed themselves. Then Professor João called the roll by number. Eleven students were present, and four more arrived later, saying "with permission" as they left their rubber thongs outside the door and entered. One boy removed his hat, which had a patriotic slogan on it: "This is a country that goes forward" (Este é um país que vai pra frente). Most of the students looked like Professor João: light-skinned, with blond or brown hair, reflecting the fact that most of the colonists in this neighborhood are from South Brazil and are of German ancestry. The oldest student was a teenaged black male who lives with the most prosperous colonist in the neighborhood, a sawmill owner. This student was not registered (he was overage), but was a regular student at the school, in second grade. Two of the students were Professor João's brothers.

Students brought their notebooks to school in plastic bags. The school was comparatively (to town schools) well equipped. A bookshelf in back of the classroom held six dictionaries, atlases, and paperback schoolbooks. There were two cardboard cartons filled with boxes of chalk. In front of the classroom there was a chalkboard and a wooden crucifix hung next to it. Two hand-colored maps of Brazil were also on the front wall. Supplies were stacked in the front right corner: a lamp, a flag, a board, and chain with a paper flower decoration. On the side wall were hung calendars, a chart on the flag, and another of post-1964 Revolution presidents. Pencils were dispensed by Professor João whenever requested by a student. Sharpening pencils was a favorite student activity. The smallest first grader used a pencil sharpener up

front at a wastebasket; everyone else used bare razor blades which students called "Gillettes" (this was also the customary way to sharpen pencils in town primary schools).

The school servant and cook lived across the street from the school. She had five blond children. The youngest, a baby, she carried with her while she worked. She swept out the porch and put a large pot on the tin container used as a charcoal stove. She brought a big pan of water into the classroom and refilled the clay water filter which supplied drinking water. Then she prepared the school snack, a thick spicy brown soup, served to students and staff in cups during the mid-morning recess.

The students were seated by grade, and Professor João usually gave them their lessons by grade. Math was the subject today. Teaching methods followed the typical pattern of statement of principle, problems for the group, and more problems for individuals to solve. Professor João used the vocabulary and techniques he had just been taught during Professor Odete's inservice course. The first graders had lessons on sets, addition, and counting from one to fifteen. Sometimes they answered Professor João's questions in unison, and sometimes an individual was called upon. The first graders almost always gave the wrong answer as individuals. As a group, they all gave the same answer as the first responding child, even if it was wrong. Professor João could see that they needed practice in counting, so he asked the whole class to count aloud, using slips of paper in a pocket chart. Then he returned to individual recitations. He stood behind the chart, remembering to move his pen from right to left as he pointed to the slips of paper for children to count from left to right. Professor Odete would have been pleased.

Second graders had a lesson on place value with the pocket chart, and also one on equal or not equal problems on the chalkboard, which they copied into their notebooks to solve. Third graders worked on algebraic equations with X in them. The lone fourth grade girl worked in a workbook; Professor João periodically checked her work and gave her instructions. He also moved around the classroom, helping individual students and checking their work. Professor João took advantage of my visit to have a class social studies lesson. He asked me to tell the class what countries I had passed to reach Brazil. He asked me to explain my research to the students. He also made the typical comment that education in the United States is more advanced, and I gave my typical response, that there were problems in United States education, too.

The guidance and discipline methods used by Professor João were also the same ones I had observed in other schools. He simply ignored much undesirable behavior. At times, he verbally reprimanded students, usually individually, sometimes to the class, but always in a quiet and calm manner. He also requested compliance in certain behaviors, asking individuals to "sit up straight" or "look up here," and telling the class to "pay attention up front." The most frequent reprimands and requests for compliance were directed at a tiny first-grade boy who was very restless. Professor João used a final disciplinary method, reward, with this student. He showed me the boy's work, and told me it was good work and that this student had only been in school one month. Professor João called this child and other younger students by the diminutive forms of their first names (adding -inho or -zinho, i.e., Joaozinho). This is a way of demonstrating affection.

The classroom was remarkably quiet. Students usually whispered to each other, and Professor João spoke very quietly. Silence was not a classroom rule, and Professor João only asked students to "be quiet" when he wanted their attention for a lesson. While he worked with one grade, students in the other grades worked on the problems in their notebooks, whispered to their neighbors, or read their schoolbooks or one of the wall charts. It was so quiet that I could hear the hum of crickets outside, the river rapids in the distance, and the occasional passerby on foot or in a truck.

The cultural role played by Professor João in his one-room school is quite similar to the one portrayed by Mead in "the little red schoolhouse" (1951). Mead compares the transmission of culture in her three model schools to primitive models, in which either siblings, parents, or grandparents are the primary transmitters of culture to young children. Professor João is in fact a sibling to two of his students, and his relationship to the rest could be considered to be that of a big brother. He gently prods his students to attention and their work, but demonstrates his closeness to them by using the diminutive of their names (which also indicates his status difference).

Mead further emphasizes that the young teacher in the little red schoolhouse is a part of the community. This is also true of Professor João and the other highway teachers. Although officially an agent of the state, Professor João is a founding member of his neighborhood, with a background similar to that of the other colonist families. He is still a "good son" within his own family, hunting, farming, and caring for a brother. The only potential distance between Professor João and his students (and their parents) derives from his Catholic religion, which

could alienate Protestants in the neighborhood, and his occupation. The latter, as a salaried state employee, does carry obligations and pressures to behave in certain ways which could in time alienate Professor João from his neighbors (Bureaucratic influences on classroom teachers' behavior are discussed in Chapter 6).

Other teachers in one-room Transamazon schools did in fact complain of conflicts with parents. A related complaint was that highway neighborhoods were fragmented and lacked unity. Even Professor João cited "certain parental misunderstandings" as the most serious problem in the schools. Several reasons for community fragmentation and conflicts with parents were offered by highway teachers. "We work with people from several states, and they have different ways of acting," commented a 20-year-old female teacher from Ceará state. "The problem is that 'old customs' are rigidly maintained and therefore an up-to-date education is not attained," said a 19-year-old female teacher from Espírito Santo state.

"Rivalry between religious groups," added a 17 year-old female teacher from the same state, who also referred to parents as being "hidebound."

The highway teachers are definitely members of their communities. It is the communities themselves which suffer from fragmentation. This is traditional in the Amazon. It is usually due to social stratification in the larger towns and county seats (Wagley 1976), and also to endemic migration during economic boom and bust cycles (Smith 1963). In addition, highway neighborhoods are dispersed, line communities. Houses are far apart from each other, and the rural neighborhoods are far from larger towns. "Distance" was another problem frequently cited by highway teachers. Added to all this is the newness of these pioneer neighborhoods,

which have attracted colonists from many states who belong to many religious denominations.

Highway Teachers as a Symbol of the Brazilian Dream

Mead says that the little red schoolhouse is more an image than a reality. It is a symbol of the American dream:

The little red schoolhouse, which exists today only in backward and forgotten areas of the country, is still the symbol of a stable, democratic, slowly changing, real American world. The teacher . . . is a girl who is a little more intelligent, a little better educated, and more alert than the others. . . . But she belongs within the community in which she teaches. She teaches the children pretty much what their parents learned; new teaching is viewed with suspicion. (Mead 1950: 7-8)

The one-room schools of the Transamazon highway and the Santarém-Cuiabá highway are a symbol of the Brazilian dream, in this case, the twin dreams of populating the frontiers and of extending primary schooling to all Brazilians. Most adult Brazilians lack all but the first year or two of primary schooling, but this does not prevent them from valuing education for their children or from having opinions on what this education should be. It is no wonder the pioneer schoolteachers who attempt to bring this dream to life frequently encounter opposition, since everyone values education but so few have much personal experience of it that unrealistic expectations result.

The newest educational frontier in the Muitaspedras school system is the south branch of the Santarém-Cuiabá highway. With the decreasing role of the colonization agency (INCRA) in the Amazon, the colonists there have had to build their own neighborhood schools. Twenty-one were built, and the State Education Division agreed to staff them. I visited these schools with a supervisor, who had come to transport teachers into

town for an inservice course. The schools were barracas (huts or sheds) --that is, they had thatched roofs, no walls, and dirt floors. Tree stumps were used as benches and tables. There were no chalkboards.

We spent the night with a family of Italian descent, from Paraná state. The teacher was Sandra Marcantano, 29 years old and the mother of two children. She had completed her First Level schooling in the vacation course for highway teachers. Her husband, age 32, had attended primary school. Professor Sandra also worked as a seamstress. Her husband was a motorista (driver) in addition to being a small farmer. Unlike the Transamazon highway colonists, they had to build their own house. It had a thatched roof, wood poles for walls, and a dirt floor. The outhouse was made of palm fronds. In the kitchen-living room, they had a complete set of pots and pans in its own stand, a wood-burning stove made of clay, and home-made oil lamps. They also had a chain saw. Before we went to sleep in our hammocks, Professor Sandra got out the family treasure from a trunk. It was a 150-year-old book, in Italian.

The Marcantano's had moved to Muitaspedras County "in search of a better life." They were part of the Brazilian dream, symbolized by their frontier house and school and the old book handed down from generation to generation. Like other highway families with teacher members, they were enterprising people trying out a number of strategies to get ahead. Another family of Italian descent along the Santarém-Cuiabá was a larger, older family. Four family members had found employment in the one-room schools. Two daughters among the nine children were teachers; another daughter and the mother were school cooks. The schoolteacher-daughters completed their First Level education in the Muitaspedras vacation course. The 17-year-old teacher from this family dreamed of continuing her education "to attain a higher place in society."

It is the symbolic, rural Brazilian schoolteacher who occasionally occupies an appropriately romantic role in Brazilian literature. In O Quinze (The Year Fifteen, 1930) by Rachel de Queiroz, Conceição is a teacher (normalista or normal school graduate) who also reads extensively. Her "grandmother" criticizes her for this. Conceição realizes she cannot share her intellectual life with the man she loves, an uneducated rancher, and so she never marries. She suffers because of her love of children, and finally adopts her godchild. In São Bernardo (1934) by Graciliano Ramos, Madalena (another normalista) is a poor schoolteacher who accepts a post in a new school on a ranch. Everyone thinks of her as well educated, and she enjoys reading and writing occasional newspaper articles. She marries the owner of the ranch, a hard, self-made man who learned to read as a young man while he was in jail. He thinks it is nonsense to educate peasants, except to qualify them as voters. He debunks Madalena's concern over the poverty of his workers, calling her a Communist. His jealousy drives her to commit suicide, but she writes him a long letter before doing so, which fills him with remorse.

In these novels, the schoolteachers' education ill-prepares them for the realities of life, especially marriage. It is their love of reading and intellectual interests, rather than their job, which causes friction. Schooling, in these novels, serves the function of producing literate, patriotic citizens and voters who are not supposed to read independently or develop a love of learning for its own sake. This patriotic, practical function of schooling accords with the schools in Muitaspedras. Few of the highway teachers are normalistas. They have just enough education to pass on literacy skills to their students. Still, they are better educated than their neighbors, and the new

educational ideas they are sometimes exposed to during inservice courses can cause friction between them and more conservative parents.

To summarize the cultural role of the highway teacher in the one-room school, she or he is a symbol of the Brazilian dream of universal literacy and national integration. The schoolteacher-colonist actually unites two dreams in one person: to extend primary schooling to all Brazilians everywhere, and to populate frontier areas with Brazilian families. These two dreams are hundreds of years old, and the difficulty of attaining them underscores the difficulties these schoolteachers face in their jobs. The highway teacher has the formidable, perhaps impossible, job of translating dream into reality.

The Academy:

The Teacher as a Bearer of Tradition and Culture

The second basic type of school and teacher is the academy, with its "old humanist" teacher. Both Mead and Teixeira include this model in their scheme of ideal types. The academy, according to Mead, is the school "at which the children of the privileged were initiated into the mysteries of our heritage from Europe" (Mead 1950:9). Two types of parents send children to the academy: the elite parent for whom academic schooling is a family tradition, and the aspiring elite parent who wants to give the child something better than the parent had. The academy is oriented to the past, and to tradition. The counterpart in primitive society is cultural transmission by grandparents to their grandchildren. A teacher in the academy is likely to be a "poorly paid custodian of the gateway to 'culture'" (Mead 1950:13). Thus Mead emphasizes both the

gateway function of teachers (discussed in Chapter 6) and their cultural role as bearers of tradition and "Culture."

Teixeira considers "old humanists" to be teachers "who judged that they should return to the methods of classical education, the only kind suitable for the formation of man, usually understood as the gentleman." Historically in Brazil, the old humanists "dominated academic secondary and higher education in the federal education system" (Teixeira 1977:92, translation my own). Of course, such an academy and teacher never reached remote, rural counties like Muitaspedras. Instead, as occurred elsewhere in the Brazilian interior, people took advantage of whatever type of schooling was available, such as the rural normal school, and attempted to transform it into an academy (Teixeira 1977: 95-96), since the academic schools were and are the favorite of most Brazilians (Hausman and Haar 1978:124).

The academic models of Mead and Teixeira are similar because they both derive from European traditions, which remained the ideal for the upper class in the New World. The educators historically associated with upper class education in Brazil are Catholic priests. From colonial days, the plantation priest instructed young children of the Big House, and older male children attended secondary schools run by Jesuits in provincial capitals (Havighurst and Moreira 1965: 43). Humanistic learning became a class distinction for the plantation rural aristocracy. The sons of plantation owners studied law or medicine, not agriculture. This is part of what became known as the "gentleman complex" (Freyre 1956; Wagley 1971).

The closest approximation of the Jesuit-run, aristocratic, humanistic academy in Muitaspedras is the Catholic Church-related school.

Two such schools operated in 1977: the private nursery school/kindergarten, and the Santana Middle School described in Chapter 3. These schools are the frontier equivalent of the academy, and the cultural role of their teachers is to be bearers of culture and tradition.

The Teacher Role in a Town Nursery School/Kindergarten

The Little Prince School is a private school located in a Catholic parish building and directed by a nun. Four female teachers work there. Two teachers have nursery classes, one for 22 three year olds and one for 21 four year olds. These teachers both have a middle school education, and are instructors (certified as Regentes). The other two teachers have kindergarten classes, one for 35 five year olds and one for 32 six year olds. These teachers have a high school level education (pedagógico).

Two features differentiate this school from public schools in Muitaspedras. Parents must pay a monthly fee of CR\$70.00 (US\$5.38) to send their children, so the poor are excluded. Also, the director maintains that, "School here has more discipline than the public schools." It was not possible to verify this statement by comparative observation because there is no public nursery school or kindergarten in Muitaspedras. However, the disciplinary techniques used by teachers at the Little Prince School are not different from those used in public schools. Also, teachers at Little Prince often taught in the public schools as well. What was different was the socioeconomic background of the students --only middle and upper class children attended this school.

The role of a teacher in the Little Prince School is to prepare students for future success in school. If these teachers are considered

gatekeepers, their role is to open the gates of successful schooling to all students in the school, rather than selecting out a few to continue and the rest to fail. Tuition actually serves the gatekeeper function, by keeping the poor out of this school.

The teachers' role is to validate either the high social status or the upward social mobility of the children and their families. To be able to afford tuition for the school is a sign of at least middle class status. Formal education is important for the children to maintain or increase this status. Teachers validate their students' status by teaching them the skills of middle class and academic behavior.

Teachers used several disciplinary techniques to encourage some student behaviors and discourage others. Verbal reprimands, such as "look!" were used when children ran or yelled. Children were requested to pay attention. A more severe verbal reprimand was telling one child to apologize to another and to the teacher. The teacher then spoke to the class about proper behavior. Teachers did not attempt to reprimand all undesirable behavior. Sometimes they ignored children hitting each other; tattling was also ignored. Another technique used for tattling was to listen without comment, and then divert the child to another activity. Teachers also maintained class control by limiting distractions during lessons. Children had nothing at their seats to distract them--except their neighbors. Materials were distributed for each activity and collected afterward.

Leadership qualities in students were rewarded by the teachers and pointed out to me. More attention was paid to leaders than to other children by the teachers and the director, in the form of offering conversation, teasing, and privileges such as passing out crayons and

leaving class to ask the director a question. The director pointed out two female students to me as leaders. A six-year-old organized eight girls into a circle game during recess. The director noted that the girl "gives lots of orders," which the other children follow. When I observed this girl in her class, she gave orders to a table of children in an intonation pattern resembling her teacher's. Another leader was a three-year-old girl who was noted for being an early and fluent talker.

An informal male leader was observed in the six-year-old class. He dominated the conversation at his table, addressing most of his comments to the other boy or to one of the two girls. He was more restless than the others, a sloppier writer, and he spilled his drink during snack time. He was also an initiator of activities, getting up once with the comment, "I am Superman." Several boys joined him. He was asked to pay attention once by his teacher, during a reading lesson. This informal leader was not singled out for attention or favors by his teacher or the director. These observations suggest a pattern of female educators preferring female student leaders in the Little Prince School, but further observations would be necessary to confirm this.

Social skills can be taught academically as well as through disciplinary techniques. A large poster on manners was displayed in the six-year-old class. It showed a vase of flowers with a saying on each one: "thank you, excuse me, please, good morning." Children were taught to say "good morning" whenever an adult visited the class.

Another way of teaching social skills is through the routine of the school day. Children learned what to expect from school and how to perform there through the sequence of activities repeated every day. After everyone arrived, all classes sang a song called "Good Morning."

Then money was collected (for paper) and seating changes made. The teacher asked the class the time, led another song, reviewed the date, repeated the song, and then began an academic activity at the chalkboard, followed up by paperwork. Then the teacher introduced a story on the flannelboard, and more songs and academic skills, with individual student participation at the flannelboard. Another paperwork activity followed, then a song, snack time, recess, and the closing song and prayer.

Teaching and learning the school routine was so successful that the three-year-old class needed only minimal adult supervision one morning when their teacher had to leave early. The director stopped by to lead them in a clapping song. Another teacher brought them clay to use at their tables, and returned later to start their snack. The 22 three-year-olds spent the morning sitting in groups at tables, engaging in the activities initiated by adults, talking among themselves, and watching the other classes.

Although adults initiated all the activities which made up the school routine, children were encouraged to act independently within this structure. Conversation among children at their tables was allowed as long as children paid attention to lessons and did not disturb others unduly. Tattling was discouraged. Children were expected to solve their own problems whenever possible. On a rainy morning, a group of children moved their table because of a drip through the leaky roof. They planned and executed this problem-solving activity by themselves, without consulting their teacher. This cooperating among acquaintances to solve a problem is an example of how even young children can dar um jeito.

The academic skills taught to Little Prince students varied by the age of the children. The oldest children were taught beginning reading, called, literally, alphabetization (alfabetização). They were taught to read words by syllables.¹ The teacher had the children repeat two words written on the chalkboard (Boneca and bola--doll and ball). She told them the meaning of the word syllable and drilled them in counting out the number of syllables in each word. Next, the children had a counting lesson, in which the teacher used the word set (conjunto) and demonstrated this concept with pictures on the flannelboard. Finally, there was a lesson on writing. These academic skills taught to six year olds in kindergarten were essentially the same as those taught to six year olds in first grade in the United States (in Brazil, children enter first grade at age seven).

The academic skills taught in the class for five year olds were the prereading skills usually offered in United States kindergartens. For the writing lesson, children took turns going to the chalkboard and drawing a wavy line. Then they practiced on paper at their seats, with crayons. The teacher used the flannelboard to tell the story of The Three Little Pigs, and later used the flannelboard for lessons on shapes and sizes. Children were called one at a time to the flannelboard to check their understanding. Other skills practiced were left-right discrimination, choosing one that is different from a group of pictures, and counting.

The director and teachers of the Little Prince School were concerned with the emotional well-being of their students as well as their academic and social skills. Children were asked to draw a picture of their families inside a circle, including themselves. The teacher labeled

each family member for the child. Then the child discussed the picture with the teacher or the director. The director showed me two pictures which she believed revealed family problems. One child colored himself green, did not color in any other family member, and left out the father. This child's father is usually away in the gold mines. A second child colored his father's head orange. The father is involved in many fights. The child is the oldest, and is treated by the mother sometimes as an adult, and other times as a child. The child is responsible for the other siblings, and drew himself the same size as the parents, larger than the other siblings. The director used these pictures as the basis of parent conferences. One of the teachers, referring to the pictures, said that the children who do not finish their schoolwork are those who have family problems, such as the father beating the mother. She felt it was difficult to work with a mixture of children in the class (a variation of the same complaint voiced by one-room school teachers working with four grades).

Another aspect of the cultural role of teachers in this school is related to the age of the students. The teachers and the director are called "Aunt" (Tia) by their students, as is customary elsewhere in Brazil. The teacher of nursery- and kindergarten-aged children is thus made a symbolic member of the family. The teacher is probably the first person outside the household (of family and servants) to claim responsibility for the child for several hours a day. This transition of the child from family to larger community membership (though the former is, of course, retained as well) is symbolically delayed--and the potential for conflict between parent and teacher minimized--by giving educators kinship titles. Despite this, some conflict remains.

A sign of it is the teacher's assumption that a child's school problems are caused by home problems--a common belief not limited to Brazilian teachers. The parent-teacher conflict arises from the rights both family and community claim over the child (C.W.M. Hart 1963; Wallace 1973). The teacher is an agent of the community (or the state or nation), who initiates the child into the larger society. The first teachers of young children are asked to bridge the gap between these levels of social organization by including in their role behaviors appropriate both to the family and to the larger society.

It will be noted that these educators are called "Tia," denoting the parental generation, rather than "Grandma," as in Mead's model of the primitive counterpart to the tradition-oriented academy. Nor is the curriculum oriented toward the past; indeed, the director is cognizant of contemporary educational trends. The Little Prince School does fit into the academic mold, however, in its emphasis on discipline and on the literacy skills which are the underpinning of future academic success. Also, the students in the school are from middle and local upper class families. These are the families who can ease the way past the gates and bottlenecks in the school system because they can pay for the educational extras, such as private nursery-kindergarten schooling, which gives their children a decided advantage over others when they reach public school. The school also fits into the Brazilian academic model because of its affiliation with the Catholic Church, the chief founders and upholders of traditional academic education in Brazil.

In summary, the cultural role of teachers in the Little Prince School is to prepare the children of Muitaspedras' more prosperous families for future success in school and thereby validate current or

rising middle or local upper class status. The skills which will be important for these children later in life--literacy, good manners, leadership, and the ability to follow routines and get along with others, yet to be independent as well--are taught by teachers who believe in the interdependence of the social, emotional, and cognitive behaviors of children. The teachers are bearers of traditional middle class values, which in Brazil carry an aristocratic heritage. Through the teaching of basic academic and social skills, they prepare the children for the academic schooling Brazilians favor.

Although educators openly discussed children who were considered leaders with me, they said nothing about another important trait, besides leadership, which they encouraged in children. This is the ability to dar um jeito (find a way). This trait is highly valued in urban Brazilian culture (see Campø 1971: 66-67). In essence, it is the ability to act informally and cooperatively in order to accomplish a specific goal, while remaining more or less within the existing social system. An example cited above is the group of children who moved their table to avoid a drip from the leaking roof. Teachers encourage the growth of the ability to dar um jeito (although seemingly unaware of it themselves) by tolerating independent problem-solving behavior as long as it does not disrupt the school routine, discouraging students who tattle to the teacher and therefore do not solve their own problems, and by rewarding leadership behavior in some students. The ability to dar um jeito is also a hallmark of bureaucratic socialization, and as such is encouraged in educators as well as in students (see Chapter 6).

The Teacher Role in Santana Middle School

In Chapter 3, Santana Middle School was described at length: the teachers, students, program goals, curriculum, teaching methods, and socialization of students by peers and by teachers. The historical background of Santana Middle School as a regional normal school was also presented. To recapitulate, regional normal schools began in the 1930s as part of the attempt to offer a minimum amount of education to a maximum number of people. The emerging middle class took advantage of normal schools to pursue an academic education, so that the vocational function of the normal school was often subverted. The Catholic Church played a leading role historically both in academic education and in the development of normal schools. All of these factors combine in Santana Middle School to produce the frontier equivalent of an academy, masquerading as a normal school.

The cultural role of the teacher in such a school is to uphold traditional Brazilian society by validating the elite status (upper or middle class) of the fortunate few students who reach grades five through eight, and to offer them the options of continuing their education, starting a teaching career, or both. Teachers are also upholders of "Culture" within the community. They organize students to present cultural events for the community (see Chapter 7) and by doing so are leaders in preserving regional and national culture. However, the cultural role of Santana Middle School teachers also has a dual aspect, because of the school's dual role as both an academic and a vocational school.

The attempt to effect a compromise between vocational and academic models was described in Chapter 3, in the program goals of Santana

Middle School. This sort of compromise is a pragmatic one, given the historic and social conditions under which normal schools began in Brazil, many of which still characterize Muitaspedras. The Amazon is the least populated region in Brazil, and its economy is still an extractive one. When Teixeira wrote about the pre-World War I Brazilian economy being based on the "production of primary material and the importation of consumer goods" (Teixeira 1977:91), he was also describing Muitaspedras today. The county exports gold, rubber, and Brazil nuts, and it imports consumer goods from industrialized South Brazil. What Teixeira called a "semi-colonial" system has been replaced, in Muitaspedras, by "internal colonialism." Muitaspedras in the 1970s has undergone a process of urbanization, but it has not undergone industrialization.

The cultural role of teachers in such a frontier outpost is a direct outgrowth of these socioeconomic conditions, which once characterized all of Brazil, but now characterize only the less developed regions. The historical educational pattern parallels the pattern of socioeconomic development, with more developed areas (including state capitals and cities in underdeveloped states) boasting academic schools, and less developed areas making do with vocational schools. The different types of school are legally equivalent and people are free to use vocational schools as academic ones if they choose to do so. When a vocational school is the only one servicing a large area, there may well be people who prefer or are forced to utilize it as an academic school rather than leave the area in search of an academic school in a more developed area.

The teachers at Santana Middle School have a cultural role which encompasses this pragmatic compromise between the two models. They are bearers of tradition and culture in the community. Within the school itself, male students interact with teachers principally in this cultural role, since it is not traditional for them to become rural primary school teachers (unless they are supporting themselves while furthering their education--a situation also reported in Southern United States literature, e.g., Faulkner 1940). Female students have the traditional option of becoming teachers, or at least of having the training to do so as insurance in case of a poor marriage or no marriage. They interact with teachers in the latter's dual cultural role of bearers of tradition and culture and vocational trainers.

This dual cultural role is somewhat different than that of the teachers at Little Prince School. The latter have a more straightforward role as bearers of tradition and culture in an academic-preparatory school. Taken together, however, teachers in the Little Prince School and Santa Middle School represent the cultural equivalent on the frontier of Mead and Teixeira's ideal type academic teacher.

It is a peculiarity of the frontier that urbanization has come to Mitaspedras without industrialization. This fact is important in understanding the third model teacher and school, the industrial trainer in the city school. As in the preceding case of the frontier equivalent of an academic teacher, an urbanized Mitaspedras now has the frontier equivalent of an "industrial trainer" teacher in a city school, even though it is not industrialized.

The City School and the Cultural Role of "Industrial Trainer"

The 1964 military revolution did not change Brazilian education, or, for that matter, Brazilian society. What the revolution . . . did change was the government's approach to education. . . . Education lost its chiefly cultural dimension . . . and, instead, came to be seen as the preponderant agent for social and economic change. . . . (Hausman and Haar 1978: 125, italics mine)

Through the Education Reform Law of 1971, the military government tried to force a vocational emphasis on the academic-oriented schools, in order to provide "human capital" (especially university-trained technicians) for national economic development. It is characteristic of revolutionary governments to make schools an agent of change (Wallace 1973). In this case, schools were supposed to abandon their role as maintainers of culture in a conservative society, and assume the role of change agent for the revolutionary, industrial society-to-be. Industrialization came to South Brazil earlier in this century, and with it there arose a new model school and teacher--the industrial trainer in the city school. This was the model which the military government tried to implant in schools all over Brazil, even in Muitaspedras. A new school was started in Muitaspedras to bring the revolution and its new model school and teacher there; this was the State Middle School, which replaced Santana Middle School after the 1977 school year. During 1976-77, it was possible to observe both schools and to compare the ways in which models of schools and teachers were realized in them.

Teixeira's "industrial trainer" model and Mead's city school model both derive from the process of urbanization and industrialization, which happened in Brazil in the early 20th century and in the United States in the 19th century. The "industrial trainer," according to Teixeira, favored training students for the new industrial work without

other considerations (1977:92). This model began during the 1920s "popularization" of education movement in São Paulo, the state which was experiencing rapid urban and industrial growth. According to the new model, primary education was to be held to a minimum number of years, followed by vocational or technical education. When the priority on education for work was joined with the priority on extending education to all, the result was the least amount of education for the most students.

The city school, according to Mead, was a future-oriented school, where the children of poor, foreign immigrants were encouraged to reject their ethnic past and embrace a future of opportunity as Americans. The transmission of culture in city schools was compared to the primitive model of parents instructing their children in "a kind of behavior rather than to fit within a tradition" (Mead 1950:25). The teacher in a city school was considered an "emissary of a strange outside world" (Mead 1950:13).

Even though it never functioned according to the "industrial trainer" model, Santana Middle School has historical roots in the movement which began that model in Brazil. This is because the regional normal school was begun in the 1930s as part of the push to extend the least amount of education to the most people in the newly urban, industrial South. The regional normal school trained primary teachers at the middle school level rather than the high school level. It was intended to be a vocational school, but the vocational training was for teaching rather than for industrial work. Given the already-established normal school tradition of teacher training schools being academies for women, the regional normal school became a rural equivalent of an academy rather than of an "industrial trainer"/city school model.

The model for the type of "industrial trainer" school which finally reached Muitaspedras began in the early 1960s with an idea conceived by Anísio Teixeira. Teixeira combined general studies with vocational training in grades five through eight. This idea² gained financial support in 1969, when the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) made a US\$64 million loan to Brazil, which was matched by Brazilian funds. Three hundred new schools called GOTs (ginásios orientados para o trabalho, or work-oriented middle schools), were built in four states, teachers and administrators were trained, and 280,000 students were enrolled (Haussman and Haar 1978:141-142; Kimball 1974:197).

This new version of the "industrial trainer" model school reached Muitaspedras in 1976, after becoming a national mandate in the 1971 Education Reform Law (Law 5692). The first article of that law states:

The general objective of First and Second Level schooling is to give students the education necessary for the development of their potentials--such as self-fulfillment, qualification for work and preparation for the conscientious exercise of citizenship. (Art. 1^o--Lei 5692/71, quoted in Currículo 1^o Grau 1973:15, translation my own)

The general goals of education for self-fulfillment, work, and citizenship were translated into a new middle school curriculum. New courses were planned, and teachers were required to have certain qualifications to teach them. Santana Middle School was not equipped to make these changes, so the state government phased out its support agreement with that school, and in 1976 opened a new State Middle School designed to implement the new version of the industrial trainer model.

The State Middle School

New schools in Muitaspedras are given numbers. The State Middle School is called State School 8.4. This means that there are eight general purpose classrooms and four special purpose rooms. The school is located outside of town, on the road going out to the army base. Unlike other town schools, there has been no attempt to decorate the outside of 8.4 with gardens or to fence it in. Instead, the school grounds are hard-packed dirt--or mud, depending on the weather. The buildings, like the name, are in the new style, that is, prefabricated, with thin blue walls rising from concrete slabs and topped by corrugated roofs which are raised several inches above the tops of walls, allowing some air circulation. Each classroom has several small, wooden-slatted windows, but some of these have fallen out, leaving holes. Each classroom has one locking door. Concrete walkways allow passage along the classroom wing and the administration wing, but they are not connected. People must step through the dirt or mud to get from wing to wing, and also to the physical education/practical arts building and the covered patio/kitchen building.

The processes of migration and urbanization, which have transformed Muitaspedras, are much in evidence in the State Middle School. It is a school filled with outsiders, both teachers and students. Members of both groups claimed that the new school got off to a shaky start in 1976, and it was clear in 1977 that teachers and students alike struggled with growing pains.

Teachers

The number of educators working at the State Middle School differed from month to month due to high turnover, but I observed, interviewed, and/or received questionnaires from 23 teachers, secretaries, and administrators. They could work in from one to three daily sessions, but only two teachers worked in all three. Some of the night school teachers held other jobs during the day, at the army base, the national road department, and the Catholic Church. Sometimes supervisors from the State Division of Education also taught a subject at the State Middle School. Two of the teachers taught at both middle schools. As is the case in other schools, the three secretaries were former teachers, and I have numbered them among the educators. Six out of the 23 educators are male, but only one male educator is a full-time, day-session teacher (Professor Roberto, discussed in Chapter 4). One man is a secretary and the other four teach part time in the night school (ensino supletivo).

Only seven educators (out of 21) are natives of Muitaspedras County, the lowest percentage (33%) in all town schools, including the State Education Division. Nine are from other parts of Pará state (43%), and the remaining five are from the Northeast, the South, and the Southeast. After the State Education Division, the State Middle School has the highest percentage of immigrants from outside the North. Both natives and outsiders have the highest level of education found in any county school or the State Education Division. Only three educators (out of 20) have less than a high school level education. Nine are high school graduates. Five have had some university level education, and three have earned an undergraduate degree.

However, the ability of teachers to deliver lessons and keep order in the classroom did not depend on their birthplace, their level of education, or even on a particular personality type. Instead, a variety of teachers were successful in gaining the cooperation of their students, and an equally varied group were less than successful. Several examples follow.

Professor Ana is the daughter of a former mayor and therefore part of the old upper class. She is 23 years old, single, and lives with her family. Although a native, she never attended school in Muitaspedras. Instead, she was a student in Santarém through high school, and then went to a four-year college in Belém. She teaches science in the morning and afternoon sessions. She plans to finish the school year and then take the college entrance exam in medicine. In class, Professor Ana had a serious but not unfriendly demeanor. She used the lecture-dictation method (see Chapter 3 and 4), and used a chart and a picture drawn on the chalkboard to illustrate her lectures. Students talked quietly while she drew or wrote on the chalkboard, but were well-behaved otherwise. Only once did she come close to disciplining students. When a student whistled near the end of class, she said, "Gente" (people).

Professor Antonieta is very different from Professor Ana in personality and background, but she is also an effective teacher. She is in her 20s, from Rio de Janeiro, and is married to an army officer. She left the university there just one semester before graduation to accompany her husband on his two-year tour of duty in Muitaspedras. She teaches geography in the morning and afternoon sessions. Professor Antonieta is pretty, a stylish dresser, and has an animated manner with students. The atmosphere in her classroom is casual, but Professor

Antonieta keeps students busy at all times, and does not tolerate inattention. She used the group method with eighth graders (see Chapters 3 and 4), and the lecture followed by a question and answer drill (first with unison response and then individual answers) with sixth graders. With the eighth graders, Professor Antonieta joked, laughed and tolerated student conversation, since the latter was usually on the class topic. With the sixth graders, however, she was stricter. She threatened the class with failure if they did not bring their books. When a girl talked during the lesson, Professor Antonieta asked what she had said, saying, "Everything everyone says in class interests me." Later, she asked the girl if she knew all the answers; she wanted her to join in with the class. The girl did so. Finally, late in the class, Professor Antonieta asked the girl why she sat in the back, and then smiled when the girl mumbled an answer. These students stood to give individual answers, and they waited for the teacher to leave after class, before leaving themselves.

A third teacher, Professor Benedita, was less successful with her students. I observed the same seventh grade class being noisy and rude with her but much better in the next period with another teacher. Professor Benedita is 31 years old, married, and has six children. She is from another city in Pará, and attended the Federal University of Pará in Belém, where she took a ten-month course for her licenciatura curta (teacher's certificate based on a university short course--see Chapter 4). Her husband is a traveling salesman, and she, like most of the other married educators at this school, moved to Muitaspedras because of her husband's job. Two teenaged girls (both from South Brazil, and one from a highway colonist's family) live with

the family as servants, but also attend middle school. Professor Benedita teaches math in the morning and afternoon sessions. She began class by calling roll and repeatedly telling students to sit and pay attention. This continued while she wrote homework problems on the board and corrected them. The class began to quiet down somewhat when she threatened them several times with a test the next day. When she said, "Shut up, OK?," someone said "OK." Then she questioned the class about their teacher last year, and said that her other class pays better attention. Finally, she pounded on the board, got everyone's attention, and began the day's lesson, using the lecture, chalkboard demonstration, and exercise method. The class was attentive, and Professor Benedita relaxed enough to smile at students and say, "You are a good class, but you talk a lot." At the end of class, she said she would change the seating order to break up a group of noisy boys along one wall. While it took about 20 minutes for this teacher to gain control of the class, their next teacher accomplished more in less than a minute. Greeted with a tumult of noise in answer to her first question, the next teacher moved the flat of her hand, called for "silence," attention," and "no talking." They complied.

Students

There were 578 students enrolled in the State Middle School during its first year, 1976, and in 1977 four extra classes were added, including an eighth grade in both afternoon and night sessions. I administered a questionnaire to 25 eighth graders in the afternoon session, and compared them to eighth graders at Santana Middle School. There were over twice as many male students as there were female students, just the

opposite of Santana Middle School. This is consistent with the tradition of normal schools being for women; given a choice, more male students are switching schools. They range from 14 to 18 years old, with most between 15 and 17. This is a younger group than Santana, but since many older students are in the night session, the age range is probably similar for both schools.

Students from the two schools differ in birthplace. Locals (born in the county) dominate Santana Middle School (58%), but are a minority (40%) in the State Middle School eighth grade. The State Middle School draws a higher percentage of its students from outside Pará state (40%) than does Santana Middle School (16%), which draws more students from the Tapajos River Valley and elsewhere within Pará state. These eighth grade enrollment patterns reflect the tradition of Catholic-founded schools in the Tapajos River Valley and Pará state--more students from this region chose Santana Middle School, the traditional, Church-founded school of the past. New students from other regions chose the new school of the future, the State Middle School.

Although it might be expected that fewer of the State Middle School eighth graders would hold jobs in addition to attending school (since they are younger and are going to day session), a surprising number of students do work--35 percent. This is lower than the 43 percent of Santana Middle School students who work, but if the night school students (in fourth stage of ensino supletivo, which corresponds to grades seven and eight) had been polled, the percentage no doubt would have been higher for the State Middle School. The nine out of 26 State Middle School eighth graders who work are all male, and they work in the mayor's office, for a mechanic (two), for an accountant, for a driver, as a

street vendor, and in stores (three). A significant number of students in both schools fit the official vocational goal of being "oriented to work."

All of the State Middle School eighth graders surveyed said they would like to continue their studies, and largely for this reason, all planned to leave Muitaspedras. One noted that his plans to leave or stay depended on whether or not a high school was started in town. By the time a Brazilian student reaches eighth grade, he or she has overcome the greatest obstacles in the educational pyramid (see Chapter 6). In Pará state, of the 1000 students who started first grade in 1960, only 60 remained in eighth grade, and 25 continued on to pass the college entrance exam (Senna 1975). With these reasonably good chances to successfully continue their education, why should Muitaspedras' eighth graders stop now? After all, "an increase of one year in schooling has a substantially larger impact on individual earnings than an increase of one year in job experience" (Senna 1975). The largest return of all comes to those who complete a university degree (Castro 1976; Senna 1975).

When asked what profession they would like to pursue, more students named the traditional three professions--engineer (6), doctor (5), and lawyer (2)--than any other. Two students each chose veterinarian, accountant, secretary, and "not sure." One student each chose clerk, small businessman, telegraph operator, journalist, and naval officer. Many students preferred a technical school for next level of education.

A few brief descriptions of individual State Middle School students will show the variations which, taken together, make up the composite

picture above. Raimundo is 17 years old and in the eighth grade. He is from Roraima Territory. He helps his father in his store in the central part of town, selling shoes, and clothing. His father may send him to school in São Paulo state, where the family has relatives, Raimundo would like to be an officer in the navy. He does not like the State Middle School because he thinks students fool around too much.

Another recently arrived student is Dalva, a sixth grader from Maranhao state. Her father bought a house in the new neighborhood of town, and also a kiosk for his eight children to work in, to keep them off the street. He buys and sells gold and merchandise, and has also bought land on the Transamazon and the Santarém-Cuiabá highways. Dalva missed three years of school due to poor health and frequent travel. She plans to catch up by taking the combined seventh and eighth grade in night school. Then her father will pay for her schooling in Santarém. She has had trouble understanding the Pará accent, and also the accent of teachers from the South.

The third student is almost a native, having been born in nearby Fordlandia and lived in Muitaspedras for six years. Lucia is 16, and a sixth grade student. Like Leonice, the Santana Middle School student, Lucia is also a kindergarten teacher. However, unlike Leonice, Lucia is Baptist, from a poorer family, and teaches reading at a private school called the Baptist Abecedarian (the alphabet or ABCs school). She would like to continue her education to earn a teacher's degree (pedagógico).

The last two students are both eighth grade males from Muitaspedras. Both are dissatisfied with life in their hometown, and both

aspire to traditional professions. José, age 18, wants to leave "because I feel that Muitaspedras lacks the right atmosphere for a young person who wants to be someone in this life. Here, one only learns things that do not matter." Luís, age 14, has worked as a street vendor, and would like someday to own his own small business. However, he would also like to go to medical school. Of his hometown, Luis says, "I would like to stay in Muitaspedras, but it has not yet developed on the cultural level."

Interaction Patterns Among State Middle School Educators and Students

The often troubled relations between insiders and outsiders is the most important social pattern affecting educators and students at the State Middle School. Insiders (or natives of Muitaspedras) and outsiders have different ways of talking, which help to identify and maintain the boundary between them. Insiders are often inclined to distrust outsiders, whom they see as opportunists and usurpers (see Machado 1974). When this attitude is coupled with the male view of the two stereotypes of women (Chapter 1), poor relations between local male students and outsider female teachers result, and male behavior at entertainment events can be quite unruly. Educators themselves are divided into insider and outsider groups, who, while polite with each other, tend to remain apart.

Although dialect was frequently commented upon by educators and students, it did not prevent communication. Instead, it marked people as belonging to either the insider or the outsider faction. In both Brazil and the United States, migration from less to more developed regions exposes people to the way people from other regions and other

social classes talk, but this can lead to less tolerance of dialect differences rather than more. People have come to Muitaspedras from all regions of Brazil to improve their socioeconomic positions. They all speak the same language. Only the very few Mundurucú students speak Portuguese as a second language. The rest may have difficulty understanding people from Pará state and from the South. Muitaspedras' newest neighborhood has been settled mainly by immigrants from this state, as the conversion from labor intensive farming to land-extensive cattle ranching has driven off small farmers and sharecroppers. People from Maranhão state claim that they speak the "clearest" Portuguese in Brazil.

Different attitudes toward women is a more serious problem because it affects female educators' performances as authority figures in school and also everyone's behavior during extra-curricular activities. The latter is particularly important because it is an area for community integration and socialization for leadership roles (see Chapter 7). The problem is that local male students have a "macho" attitude about women in public places, which they frequently express, thereby causing major discipline problems in the school. In Muitaspedras, the two stereotypes of women are the respectable family woman (some man's wife, daughter, or sister) and prostitutes. The former stays at home, attends social functions with her family, and works, if at all, in the family store or as a school teacher. The latter is found at the gold mines and in brothels on the edge of town. There is a tendency on the part of men in Muitaspedras to treat single women outsiders somewhat like prostitutes, i.e., in a predatory, disrespectful manner (see Chapter 1). This poses a problem for single women outsiders who, although less

sheltered and more liberal in their social lives than native, "family" women, are not prostitutes.

One teacher who talked about the problem of insiders versus outsiders was in an excellent position to observe both sides. Professor Inês is from nearby Fordlandia, and she has lived in Muitaspedras for almost three years as a dependent in the mayor's household. She said the biggest problem in education is that native students and their parents would not accept outsider teachers. The result was a total lack of cooperation. These were the students who caused the most trouble in the schools. She felt that the problem had been even worse in previous years. This hostile attitude toward outsiders was also displayed at soccer games (not a school-sponsored event), according to the teacher. Whenever a team from out of town came to Muitaspedras to play, there were fights if the home team lost. Teams from outside had finally stopped coming.

Another female single teacher from Santa Catarina state (in the South) complained at length about poor student behavior and the lack of cooperation from parents when she tried to straighten out the students. Professor Vaneide gave the example of a spoiled boy who thought he was "a man" and frequently played truant. This boy's sister was "Miss Muitaspedras." His father owned a hotel for commercial travelers in the center of town and a brothel on the outskirts.

The problem of insiders versus outsiders extends beyond local students and parents versus outsider teachers. Educators themselves are divided into insider/outsider subgroups, at least at the State middle school. Professor Vaneide first came to Muitaspedras as a Project Rondon volunteer. She returned to take a teaching position

because there are few available jobs back home. She considers herself part of a group with the two teachers and the director who are army wives, and said that they are all considered outsiders. "School people from Muitaspedras do not really let in outsiders. They appear friendly to you, but they really are not."

The Cultural Role of Teachers at the State Middle School

The cultural role of teachers at the State Middle School is to prepare students for middle class work, which means that, in practice, they prepare students to leave Muitaspedras. The official ideal of education for work is embodied in the "practical arts" curriculum, a general introduction to vocational education. The unofficial education for work is the socialization students receive through the examples of their teachers, families, and other members of the community. Many students learn about work by holding jobs themselves; the short school sessions give them the time to work. The State Middle School is a "city school," like Mead's model, in which teachers struggle to erase student's past and point them toward the future. Since urbanization has come to Muitaspedras without industrialization and without even a significant improvement in the agricultural sector, many students aspire to jobs which do not exist there. They will have to leave to go to high school and university, and if they can find the jobs they seek elsewhere, they probably will not return. This socialization for migration for middle class jobs parallel the traditional lower class migration for work opportunity.

Officially, the State Middle School conforms to the "industrial trainer" model through its "practical arts" curriculum, comprising

courses in agricultural techniques, commercial techniques, home education (educação para o lar, or home economics) and industrial arts. This part of the curriculum is called the "diversified part" because individual states are allowed to vary it according to regional needs. The rest of the curriculum is called the "common nucleus" and is selected nationally (Currículo 1^o Grau 1973). There is a separate classroom for the "practical arts" program, but it was not in use in 1977. The room was filled with expensive machinery and equipment for teaching industrial arts. Professor Roberto (see Chapter 4) had been hired to teach this course, after receiving special training at the university in Belém. However, there was no money as yet to install all the equipment. Professor Roberto said a trained person "from the South" would have to be brought up to do it.³ Without the use of special equipment, the practical arts courses are being taught the same way as the academic courses--by lecture, example, question and answer drill, and dictation methods. Several teachers commented on the need to make courses less theoretical and more practical, but at present they lacked the means to put their resolve into practice.

Unofficially, there is ample opportunity for students to receive practical training in vocational subjects, both directly through part-time jobs and indirectly through observation of the example set by teachers, peers, family members and others in the community. Young boys stationed themselves at the dock and the airport, where they offered to carry packages for a small fee. Several town merchants hired young boys to walk up and down the street selling popsicles and orange soda carried in styrofoam coolers on a strap. These boys were always present at soccer games, and sometimes went to schools during

snack time. Another group of boys stood outside the movie theater with wooden trays on straps, selling candy to moviegoers. Older boys and girls worked in stores, and some of these young people were leaders in school (see Chapter 3 for examples from Santana Middle School). A girl who checked customers' purses and packages at the entrance to Muiaspedras' largest store was an announcer at the Indian Day Assembly. Even though middle school students can be considered "privileged" because so few students go beyond the first few primary grades, a significant number of students at both middle schools work and therefore help bolster the family income while still in school. Even the children of some local elite families worked, as did Leonice, the Santana Middle School student and kindergarten teacher (see Chapter 3). Her older brother attended university in the South and also taught school there to help pay his expenses. For gaining practical knowledge, experience in actual work situations was much more successful than education for work. Similar findings have been reported for middle school students elsewhere in Brazil (see Capanema 1978).

The shortness of school sessions and low teacher salaries are two features of the school system which contribute indirectly to the socialization of students for work. Four-hour school sessions held three times a day mean that both students and teachers can hold jobs, and both do. Night school students, especially, have the example of teachers who work in a wide variety of jobs in the community, from the Catholic Church to the National Road Department to the army. Day students see their teachers working in three daily sessions, working in two schools or in the State Education Division. Female students see the example of women who work whether single or married, childless,

pregnant, or with children. Male students see that teaching can be a respectable job for a man, especially part-time night school teaching combined with a more prestigious daytime job.

The government's push for work-oriented education, made official in the 1971 Education Reform Law, is its way of trying to make schools an agent of social and economic change. The hoped for change is away from the traditional disdain for manual labor, an aristocratic legacy, and toward the training of middle class technicians who will become the "human capital" needed in national economic development. The State Middle School is a result of the new government policy. The school and its teachers are a new feature of life in Muitaspedras. No longer does the town have the frontier equivalent of a woman's academy, run by nuns. It now has the frontier equivalent of an "industrial trainer" model school, run by outsiders from the new agencies who are a major segment of the new middle class.

The newcomers are accustomed to the more developed regions of Brazil (i.e., already urbanized and industrialized), and they see their role in Muitaspedras as being one of preparing students for an urbanizing, developing Amazon region. Thus, their role conforms to the future orientation of Mead's city school teacher. This role has been embraced by both local and outsider educators at the school. They reject the past by speaking of the lack of economic structure in the county, and the need to "awaken" townspeople, students, parents, and educators and make them more conscientious and responsible for education. As a local secretary put it, what is needed is "to raise the awareness of teachers to their responsibilities for the future orientation of their students." Not only is the past seen in negative

terms, but a future-orientation is seen as a patriotic duty. The director, an army wife, expressed the traditional Brazilian attitude about the frontier which has led to an expanded army role in the region:

Muitaspedras did not have the infrastructure to support rapid population growth after the highways were built. This region was forgotten for many years. It is just now starting to develop. The gold mined in the area used to go to other countries. There were foreigners here. So the government said, "Let us occupy the area." They created the Forest Battalion, whose presence here is very important.

Of course, there was an economic structure already in Muitaspedras, but it is one many Brazilians consider a relic of the colonial past. The region has always been "occupied," first by Indians, then by Europeans and Africans and their mixed descendants, but the population density has been low, at least since European conquest (aboriginal population density is still a matter of debate). The government's decision to "occupy" the area meant attracting stable colonist families and bringing an army base in to control the area.

The cultural role of the State Middle School teacher is that of "an emissary of a strange outside world" (Mead 1951:13). That world is the middle class world of urban, industrialized South Brazil. This teacher prepares students for middle class work, which means leaving Muitaspedras--at least temporarily--in search of the technical high school or college education students will need to be successful, middle class Brazilians in the future, industrialized society. Teachers socialize students for work through their own example of working multiple school sessions or jobs, continuing their own education while also working (by taking inservice courses), and by their willingness to migrate for work (either their own job opportunity or for that of a

husband or father). The willingness to migrate for jobs and for continuing an education (and the frequent combining of the two) is part of the socialization of students to migrate. Of course, students are also socialized for work and for migration by the example of their own families.

Conclusions

In summary, the three "ideal type" schools and teachers described by Mead and Teixeira are all found in Muitaspedras. The one-room schools of the new highways and their rural teachers symbolize the Brazilian dreams of national integration and universal literacy. The frontier equivalent of an academy is found in the two town schools run by Catholic nuns, the Little Prince school and Santana Middle School. The cultural role of teachers in Santana Middle School is a dual one, incorporating the academic ideal of being a bearer of tradition and culture, and a vocational ideal of training students to become rural primary school teachers. The latest manifestation of the vocational ideal is the "industrial trainer" model school and teacher, which is found in the new State Middle School. The many outsiders who teach in that school are agents/emissaries of another world in Muitaspedras. This is the middle class world of urbanized, industrialized South Brazil. Educators accomplish their role as emissaries more by example than by the "practical arts" curriculum.

Although the State Middle School comes closer to an "industrial trainer" ideal than Santana Middle School did to its vocational ideal, the tendency of students to use both schools as the frontier equivalent

of an academy will not end. This is because, in the words of Anísio Teixeira:

Despite the expansion, the school system continues to be destined for the few, who, for this reason, continue to be 'privileged,' even though the school now is not the same as the old humanist education. . . . Thus, the policy of the industrial trainer was adopted, without abandoning the 'advantages' of the former selective and humanistic system. (Teixeira 1977:97fn)

Only when the First Level schooling becomes universal will vocational middle schools have the chance to do more than pass along the privileged student to high school and university. At present, the problems associated with poverty, migration, the isolation of rural students and their distance from schools, and the crowded urban schools, combine to keep many children out of school altogether or enrolled in only the first few grades. This situation is only minimally related to the teaching role of educators. Of far greater importance is the bureaucratic role of educators as implementers of governmental priorities. At present, school policies such as documentation requirements, exams, grading, and recuperation classes, are decided upon and enforced by educator/bureaucrats. It is true that middle class classroom teachers can discourage lower class students from continuing in school. But, as Chapter 6 will show, classroom teachers are not just teachers--they are bureaucrats, too. Much of what they do in the classroom has more to do with bureaucracy (supervision, attendance taking, planning, and even classroom decoration) than it does with teaching. Bureaucracies are middle class institutions, and the bureaucrats who came to Muitaspedras to staff the new agencies brought the middle class revolution with them.

Notes

¹Portuguese has a closer sound-symbol (phoneme-grapheme) association than does English, with fewer irregularities and exceptions to the rules. This makes the period of teaching beginning reading skills (word decoding) shorter in Brazilian schools than in United States schools.

²Teixeira's concept was used, but Teixeira himself was dismissed from all policy-making positions after the 1964 military takeover. The "industrial trainer" school which resulted is tailored to the current government's ideology.

³This is the pattern for the few industries which operate in the area. A jute processing plant in Santarém brought in technicians from Germany, according to Professor Roberto. A sawmill in Muitaspedras was originally staffed with people from the South, although now it has half its staff from the region, and half from the South or outside the region. Professor Roberto decried the lack of trained local technicians, saying "Brazil has too many doctors (of letters), while it lacks technicians! We are importing technicians, while lawyers are selling bananas."

CHAPTER SIX
EDUCATORS AS BUREAUCRATS

The educational bureaucracies administer schools in Muitaspedras. The State Education Division is the local branch of the State Secretariat of Education and Culture (SEDUC). The Division, as it is called by educators, opened in 1972. Its staff administers ninety-three schools in three zones: the county seat (six), the river and rural villages (five), and the highway (eighty-two). The Division's superintendent is a single young woman originally from the interior of Muitaspedras. The second bureaucracy is the County Education Secretariat. Its superintendent is a nun. She administers fourteen county schools which separated from the State Education Division in 1976. Four state schools are partially staffed with teachers paid by the county.

Muitaspedras' educational bureaucracies have many features in common with the United States educational bureaucracy studied by Eddy (1969). School administrators train beginning teachers in patterns of bureaucratic behavior during inservice courses. The supervisory relationship is the most important social relationship. In the State Education Division, the line of authority extends upward to the state and national education bureaucracies, and downwards from supervisors and school directors to teachers and to students. Ceremonial events, such as staff meetings, inservice courses, and school graduations clarify administrative hierarchy. The teacher is a technician whose role is "to initiate the prescribed.

activities in the classroom and supervise the work of pupils" (Eddy 1969:35). Bureaucratic symbols of the supervisory relationship are certain formal classroom behaviors of teachers and students, classroom displays, and teachers' lesson plans.

There are three major functions of the bureaucratic role in Muitaspedras' school system. Educator-bureaucrats are technicians, gatekeepers, and vanguards of the new middle class in Muitaspedras. The following sections are examples of the technician function, beginning with an administrative meeting of school directors. Next, principles of bureaucracy in Muitaspedras' school system are drawn from the example and explained. Then the socialization of teachers in inservice courses is described, followed by a classification of bureaucratic symbols of success in the classroom and school. The gatekeeper function is divided into sections on formal, bureaucratic barriers to student attendance, and informal barriers based on middle class pressures in the school.

The most important function of the bureaucratic role of educators is in being a vanguard of the new middle class in Muitaspedras. The State Education Division is one of the three largest bureaucracies in the county, and it is the only one administered by women. Its members are a key element of the new middle class which has emerged in the county seat since the Transamazon Highway crossed it in the early 1970s. This new middle class is only about seventeen percent of the town's population, compared with three to five percent in the upper class and the remaining majority (about eighty percent) in the lower class. Despite their small percentage, the new middle class is an important force in the community. Its members owe their livelihood to the Transamazon programs which poured government resources into the area for the

first time. The resulting population boom produced two principal middle class groups: the bureaucrats in government agencies and the commercial entrepreneurs who opened business to serve them, the colonists, and the gold miners.

A Directors' Meeting

The town schools and the larger river village schools have directors, or principals. These women are supposed to meet once a month with the superintendent in the State Education Division's headquarters to discuss school matters. The main topic of the directors' meeting described below was the school fund (caixa escolar),¹ a tax collected from parents and administered by a committee in each school.

The meeting began at 4:15 p.m. on a patio outside the office, which had just been swept by a maid. Eight out of twelve school directors were present, plus the superintendent of the State Education Division, a supervisor, and the researcher. The first problem which arose was who would bring out an extra chair. "Where are the servants?" someone asked. Finally, the supervisor brought out a chair for the director who lacked one. The superintendent began to speak, saying, "I do not want to speak ill of anyone, but it is late and someone has not arrived." Everyone had paper out to take notes, but the meeting could not formally begin until the secretary arrived. Finally, the superintendent appointed a director to serve as secretary. There was a pause while the acting secretary took attendance. I asked a river village director when the last meeting had been held; it was five months ago. Nonetheless I was told that meetings were held "almost every month."

The superintendent introduced the first topic of the meeting-- the school fund. Each director had a paper from the State Secretariat of Education (SEDUC) listing the relevant federal law governing the fund. This mandated a committee in each school to administer the fund, to be composed of the director, a teacher, and a parent. This committee was to choose a president, a treasurer, and a secretary, making every committee member an officer. Parents were expected to pay a matriculation tax of CR\$40.00 (about US\$3.00) upon enrolling their children for the school year. Adult students in night school also were expected to pay. The money was put in a bank until a plan was written on how to spend it.

During this discussion, one director kept making faces and rolling her eyes. Another director addressed the disparity between law and reality when she said, "Write a fake plan--excuse my saying this--but go ahead and allocate the money and then wait for it to be collected." Now the conversation turned to acceptable ways to spend the school fund. Student uniforms were rejected because they are not required (although they are customary). Transportation was debated, with most directors concurring that it was not necessary since schools were close to students' homes. Everyone agreed that mid-session snacks were necessary. Certain medical supplies were also suggested. The superintendent offered a principle for decision making: "Decide what your school needs more. Consider the level of your students." Next there was debate on which materials were considered consumable and which were general. The superintendent said that furniture repairs, etc., could be made. The directors were expected to formulate the plan, and then submit it to the school fund committee for approval. A director asked which stores would extend

credit to the school. The annual inflation rate was also mentioned for consideration.

People too poor to pay their tax generated a lengthy discussion. Should they pay a reduced tax, or nothing? "If they have nothing, they can pay nothing," one director pointed out. Though the debate was heated, it was not really an argument, but a spirited discussion. Finally, the superintendent said, "If your people cannot pay, make up a certificate saying they are exempt."

She then brought up the second item of business: rules concerning staff and students. This item included how many hours per week each type of employee was expected to work, how many years of service were required before an employee could transfer, how many personnel could work during each shift, age requirements for students in each grade of night school, and what documents were required of students to enroll.

A director brought up a problem she was having with a child whose parents wanted to enroll her in second grade, even though she did not have a school voucher for the previous year, since she had attended an unofficial school. "She must enter first grade," said the superintendent. "The parents want me to give the child a test, but I am not going to. I am too busy," said the director. The child's age and her father's occupation (army sergeant) were next discussed. Another director then made a diplomatic suggestion: "Say that you do not have any more vacancies in first grade."

The superintendent then announced that the 1977 school calendar year officially started on March first. "When do you want to start the school year?" A suggestion was made and the superintendent approved it. Miscellaneous items were discussed, i.e., school vouchers, night

watchmen's weapons, an administrator's transfer to Belém. A maid began sweeping inside. A director told a story about a boy who erased "failed" (reprovado) on his report card and wrote in "passed" (aprovado). At 5:55 p.m., the acting secretary read the notes of the meeting and the list of those who attended. The supervisor said "good night," and left. The rest approved the minutes, and the meeting ended.

Principles of Bureaucracy in Muitaspedras' School System

Several features observed in this meeting characterize educational bureaucracies in Muitaspedras. The most important is the line of authority which characterizes any bureaucracy. The federal government is first in line, followed by the state, the local school superintendent, her supervisors, the school directors, other school staff, and, finally, parents and students. When the superintendent discussed policy, she started by citing the relevant federal law and ended with a reference to students in each particular school.

Formality, legality/rules, and documentation are related bureaucratic priorities in the school system. The directors' meeting was formally structured. The highest-ranking local educator, the superintendent, opened and closed the meeting, and also introduced major items of business and sometimes closed discussion with generalizations on policy. Keeping a written record of attendance extended the superintendent's social control from the actual meeting as it occurred to the more important bureaucratic realm of paperwork. The directors were next in the line of authority, a position they were reluctant to compromise by fetching a chair or by volunteering to serve as secretary to the meeting.

Rules, laws, and documents were also the predominant topics of discussion at the meeting. Citing a federal law, a paper from the State Secretariat of Education and Culture presented the rules governing the school fund. Although the implementation of the rules was discussed at length, the directors never questioned the law or the rules themselves. These things come from "above" their level in the hierarchy, and communication in a bureaucracy is formally unidirectional, from the top down (Hummel 1977). Implementation of the rules involves communication to those "below" the directors in the hierarchy, and therefore is a proper focus of discussion.

In bureaucracies, the supervisory relationship is paramount (Eddy 1969), and this was demonstrated by the formal social behavior of everyone at the meeting. The supervisory relationship is expressed both in behavioral conventions and in written form. The formal structure of the meeting and the formal structure of the school fund committee are complemented by the many papers and documents created, used, or referred to at the meeting.

Paperwork, especially in the form of documents, is the symbol of Muitaspedras' educational bureaucracies. This choice of symbols is by no means unique to Brazilian school systems, as Eddy's (1969) work in New York City schools and Wolcott's (1977) work in Oregon schools attests. The director's meeting produced written minutes and an attendance list. Participants consulted a SEDUC document and took written notes of the meeting. Writing a plan for the school fund was discussed. The superintendent suggested creating a document to solve the problem of poor parents unable to pay the matriculation tax. Other documents mentioned were school attendance vouchers, report cards, and a variety of documents needed by students to enroll.

Administrative concerns--i.e., the supervisory function of bureaucrats--dominated the meeting. Students and their parents were usually mentioned in connection with documents, for example: 1) the student who lacked a first grade attendance voucher from an officially recognized school, 2) the student who altered his report card, 3) documents required for students to enroll, and 4) a proposed certificate exempting poor parents from paying the matriculation tax. Numbers were frequently mentioned: of hours, of years before staff could transfer, of staff working in each session, age of students, the date of the new school year. Teachers and students were never mentioned in their teaching and learning functions, but only in relation to numbers, rules and documents. In discussing the school fund, the order of topics was the law, the formal committee, the written plan, suitable materials on which funds could be spent, and collecting the funds from parents. People were seldom mentioned in the discussion, and then only as part of the formal structure, except for the superintendent's suggestion to "consider the level of your students."

The above paragraphs could create the impression that these educators were passive rule-followers and heartless bureaucrats, unconcerned with people. This is not the case. Like the rural French educators studied by Wylie (1964), Brazilian educators know how to honor their rules by the breach as well as by the observance. Rules from above are respected, but always with the understanding that their implementation in local schools requires compromise and ingenuity. Brazilians have a catch phrase to describe their attitude toward the massive bureaucracies: "Find a way" (Dar um jeito).² "Find a way" is something like the American's desire to "cut red tape." Both involve getting the job done despite bureaucratic tangles and delays.

The fake school fund plan and the certificate of exemption from the matriculation tax are both examples of local educators' responses to conditions in their schools. The former was suggested by a director. The purpose was not to break the rules, but to implement them in a realistic way, in this case by deciding how the fund might be spent before all the tax money was collected. In fact, many parents were too poor to pay the tax, and everyone recognized this. When discussion focused on the official, ideal school fund, one director made faces. When discussion shifted to the unofficial but real school fund, a lively discussion of parents too poor to pay their tax ensued. No one suggested that children be kept out of school because parents could not pay the matriculation tax. Paying a smaller tax or none at all was considered, and the latter suggestion was approved and formalized by the superintendent. Her on-the-spot creation of a new document was a bureaucratic act demonstrating how local educators can dar um jeito to reconcile reality (poverty) with bureaucratic ideals (middle class society) through an appropriate symbolic act--creating a certificate.

Another type of problem arose which revealed the delicate balance between enforcing official bureaucratic rules and the community's unwritten social structural rules. This was the case of the child whose parents wished to enroll her in second grade. The problem was purely bureaucratic; the child had attended a school which was not officially recognized by the state, and therefore lacked an attendance voucher or certification of completion of the first grade. This was deemed an appropriate reason for placing the child in first grade by the superintendent, who backed the director in her decision to refuse to test the child for grade placement. The actual achievement level of the

child was less important than the official document. However, the educators were sensitive to the social aspects of the case. Finding that the child's father was an army sergeant, another director suggested a diplomatic "white lie" to maintain the authority of the director while placating a member of an important community group. She suggested that the director say the first grade was full. This would pave the way for the child to enter second grade despite the missing document, therefore acquiescing to the parents while not actually overruling the director.

The meeting as a whole was characterized by an avoidance of overt disagreement or confrontation, both among the educators themselves and between them and other groups in the community. A "white lie" such as a fake school fund plan or no vacancies in first grade was considered necessary to satisfy powerful groups, whether SEDUC or the army base (both higher-level bureaucracies). Educators expressed mild disagreement among themselves by facial expressions and brief comments, but there were no arguments. The superintendent's displeasure at the beginning of the meeting was stated so obliquely that I had to ask another director to learn that the secretary was late.

To summarize principles of bureaucracy in Muitaspedras' school system, the meeting of school directors was a ceremonial event which clarified the outstanding features of Muitaspedras' educational bureaucracy. The school directors operate as part of a hierarchy which ranges from the national level at the top to the local student at the bottom. Educators follow the rules imposed on them from above, and plan their implementation on those below them. Authority and social control are maintained through formal social behavior and paperwork. Laws, rules, and documents are

especially important tools of social control, and paper is the most important symbol of bureaucracy. School directors talk about administration of schools rather than about teaching and learning in them. However, rules are flexible. The difference between official and unofficial rules is recognized in two ways. First, the difference between higher bureaucratic levels (state and national) and the local level means that some rules must be modified in their local application. Second, when official bureaucratic rules conflict with unofficial community rules, the latter may overrule the former. The manner of dealing with potential conflicts over these rules or other matters is indirect and nonconfrontational.

Bureaucratic Socialization of Teachers

Thirty-five new teachers were hired by the State Education Division during the period of research. Their induction into the school system was just as much a socialization into the bureaucratic role as it was a socialization into the teaching role. In 1977, for the first time, prospective new teachers had to pass a competency test (called a classification test) in Portuguese and mathematics in order to be eligible for contracts offered by the state. An educator came from Belém to administer the test along with the superintendent. The tests were graded in Belém and the decision as to who would receive contracts was also made there, by SEDUC officials. A town primary school director heartily endorsed the new test: "I thought it was a very good idea. People always have to take a test for employment. We must make sure the teacher knows something. Sometimes we have gotten people who are poor in Portuguese."

A maid at the school where the teacher candidates took their test offered another point of view: "Many of them worked until they cried, not knowing whether or not they would pass it."

Most of the prospective teachers were supposed to staff the 22 new schools which had been built along the south branch of the Santarém-Cuiabá highway. The opening of the 1977 school year was delayed until April first for the town schools, and until mid May for the highway schools. Prospective teachers of the new Santarém-Cuiabá highway schools were allowed to attend the inservice teacher training course in May in Muitaspedras. There they awaited the test results, which had been expected on April 25.

On the last day of the inservice course, the classification test results arrived. The superintendent walked into class with a stack of papers, announcing that everyone had passed. She read out the names of everyone who passed so that those not present could get word from others.

Another bureaucratic problem which delayed the opening of highway schools was documentation needed for teaching contracts. The superintendent announced a delay in contracts due to a lack of documents. She joked, "I am your old professor--old with work. One problem aggravates another," she continued:

The fault is not yours or mine but the mail service's. They (SEDUC in Belém) have to get another photocopy of a document. We have to start a page for you in our personnel book; you will need to sign it. Everything has changed; we have a new secretary and a new coordinator (a SEDUC official who arrives before the start of the school year and tells them how to do paperwork). This year things are changed from last year. We are here to execute orders: they come to us; we give them to you. I will not have you start work until everything is straightened out. I will not run the risk of your not getting paid. I cannot accept the responsibility.

The superintendent blamed the delay on the mail service, but the problem was essentially a bureaucratic one. A highly centralized bureaucratic school system imposed on a geographically vast region like the Amazon, sparsely populated and with poor transportation and communication networks (cf. Havighurst and Moreira 1965), led inevitably to delays. The bureaucratic insistence on putting everything on paper compounded the problem, for all paperwork generated in a local school system had to travel to Belém for approval and then back again to the locality for implementation. Even if bureaucrats wished to abandon their reliance on paperwork, radio-telephone connections to Belém were almost inaudible. Only decentralization of the decision-making process had the potential to lessen delays such as the one described above. The implications of decentralizing the education bureaucracy are described in a later section.

Teacher inservice courses stressed socialization into the teaching role, but in actuality socialization into the bureaucratic role also occurred whenever the superintendent made an appearance in class. The superintendent's classroom leadership style differed markedly from that of the teacher trainers who gave the inservice courses. The superintendent stressed the line of authority, her supervisory relationships to the teachers, and paperwork--tests, lists, documents and salary matters. Teacher trainers stressed the teaching-learning function of the school rather than the authority of the teacher over the student, and the teacher trainer tried to minimize her supervisory relationship with the inservice teachers, stressing instead the egalitarian role of fellow-teacher.

The new teachers who attended the inservice course described above learned that their new bureaucracy prized documentation and that they

could frequently expect delays from the distant but all powerful SEDUC in Belém. The most serious delay they must expect was in their paychecks--both their regular salaries and the food and lodging expenses given to them for the inservice courses.

Bureaucratic Influences in Classroom and School

The bureaucratic emphasis on social control in the form of formal behavior and paperwork affects the classroom activities of teachers and students just as it affects directors in their supervisory role and teachers in their student roles in inservice courses. Eddy (1969) found three "supervisory symbols of success" in the classroom: classroom control, classroom displays, and the formal lesson. Classrooms in Muitaspedras have similar signs of bureaucratic influence: classroom manners, classroom decorations, and lesson plans, or the formal lesson.

The teaching of good manners and other social skills in the classroom begins in nursery school (for the few students who attend) and continues through all the grades, although direct teaching occurs more in the lower grades. As described in Chapter 5, teaching classroom manners is done in three ways: through academic instruction, disciplinary techniques, and the establishment of school routines. A notable feature of the kind of student behavior teachers encourage is the ability to act independently in socially acceptable ways within the structure of the school routine. A certain degree of student initiative in the form of conversation and problem solving is tolerated and sometimes even rewarded. This seems to be one way in which the Brazilian propensity to dar um jeito is passed on to the young.

Classroom manners are nothing more than the ability to get along in a middle class, bureaucratic society. Certain social graces are prized by Brazilians, such as formal good manners. Indeed, one meaning of the phrase "well educated" (bem-educado) is "well-mannered." A sign in the Post Office reads, "Be well-mannered--form a line" (Seja bem-educado--forma uma fila). In bureaucracies such as the Post Office and the schools, being well-mannered includes the ability to follow lines of authority, remembering one's position in that line and acting accordingly. Formal good manners are not stiff, however, nor are they really subservient. The closest equivalent in the United States is Southern hospitality and the emphasis on teaching children to say, "Yes, sir; yes, ma'am." An overlay of subservient-sounding phrases and actions lend charm and grade to an independent spirit. Both the superficial subservience and the underlying independence are valued behaviours. Both are taught or socialized in Muitaspedras' schools. The schools, therefore, serve as socializers into bureaucratic society for students. The classroom is the location of bureaucratic socialization activities for students just as it is for teachers when they resume the student role during inservice courses.

Classroom decorations are a second sign of bureaucratic influence. Teachers are taught how to make classroom decorations during inservice courses, and they pass along the methods to their students. The ideal classroom decoration is an identical product from each producer. Teachers practice exactly how the teacher trainer draws a line or folds paper. Creative variations are not sought, and when I made one, it was politely ignored. When I did not finish my project, another teacher gave me a fresh piece of paper so that I could. Several others watched

while I followed the correct procedure and finished the butterfly, which was supposed to be a Mother's Day decoration. Teachers and students expect and like to follow set patterns in their classroom drawings. Freehand, creative drawings are often the hidden work of restless little boys, who show their work to each other but not to the teachers. Although teachers may see some of these drawings when they check work in students' notebooks, they do not comment on them. This is another example of an independent social activity in the classroom being tolerated by teachers as long as the school routine is not disrupted.

There was little attention paid to classroom decoration early in the fieldwork period, which was the end of the school year. Classroom materials in general were minimal, whether furniture (broken cupboards, desks, no wastebaskets), supplies (no toilet paper or cleaning materials), or instructional materials. Decorative items were not supplied, nor were art materials for teachers or students to make posters or other decorations. When the 1977 school year began in April, however, the situation changed. One town primary school teacher did not wait for supplies to arrive. She asked her first graders to bring scissors and other materials so that they could make posters to decorate the room. Interest in classroom and school decoration increased with the enthusiasm of a new school year, the inservice course in which teachers made some decorations and instructional materials, and the approach of important holidays such as Mother's Day and the June saints' days. During the inservice course, teachers learned how to make butterflies for Mother's Day, paper hats for Soldier's Day, a boat, and Easter baskets. This mini-course had been offered for town teachers of first and second grade

just after the start of the new school year. The supervisors were not satisfied with teachers' performances, and the course was offered to inspire the teachers to greater effort, to be friendlier with students, and to improve their instruction in teaching beginning reading and writing.

In this context, classroom decoration became an administrative imperative for teachers, something most had minimized in the past but which was now being imposed on them. Thus, both the impetus and the methods for classroom decorations were handled in a bureaucratic manner, that is, following the line of authority with an emphasis on doing work in a prescribed way.

On the Transamazon highway, a one-room school had the following classroom decorations: a wooden crucifix, two hand-colored maps of Brazil (possibly student work), a flag, a vase of paper flowers, calendars, a chart on the flag and another chart on Brazilian presidents since the 1964 Revolution. There was also a home-made burlap door mat with a decorative fringe around it outside the door. Everyone wiped their feet on the mat and left their shoes (rubber thongs) outside before entering. The most common classroom decoration observed in schools was a vase of flowers and patriotic or other holiday posters.

Despite these efforts, the real bureaucratic symbol of success was not the classroom beautiful but the school beautiful. Specifically, the emphasis was on the school grounds rather than inside the offices or classrooms. School grounds are the area of the school most visible to the community at large. Two of the four town primary schools were notable for their flower and shrub borders around the open areas between breezeways and buildings. The directors took pride in these

gardens, which were maintained by the servants. In a river village school, teachers and students tended a large mixed vegetable garden located next to the school and visible from the village plaza. Smaller, inconspicuous gardens were kept in other schools by the cook for use in the soup served during school snack periods. In the Transamazon school cited above, the teacher and students attempted to keep their classroom neat and decorated. However, another colonist commented on the exterior rather than the interior; he complained about the grass in front of the school not being cut.

A mark of distinction for a town school was having a high wall around the buildings and grounds. One director took pride in telling me of her efforts to persuade officials to build a higher wall around her school, with a gate and a lock at the entrance. The practical purpose of the wall was to keep out bystanders and minimize vandalism. Four town schools were on busy streets in commercial areas; three had walls and gates. Only the school in a poor neighborhood lacked a wall, and there a drunk man disrupted class. Sidewalks connecting school buildings were also considered important enough for directors to have fund-raising gymkhanas (gincanas, or sports events, here meaning a competition to raise funds) to buy bags of cement. Again, this was practical because of mud during the frequent rains. An old Italian servant in a school in Belém commented on this propensity to school decoration and formal ceremony, from her perspective as a foreigner who had lived in Brazil for many years, saying, "They decorate the outside before they finish the inside."

A third sign of bureaucratic influence in the classroom is the teacher's formal lesson, both the structure of the lesson as it is

delivered and its planning on paper. Whenever an educator assumes her teacher role, the lesson she gives has a typical structure. When a supervisor invited me to accompany her on a trip to highway schools, we discussed the school system until she mentioned a phrase I did not understand: "work area" (area de atuação). When I asked her what that meant, she wrote the definition on a writing pad, read it to me, and then had me copy the definition from her dictation. This is essentially the same lesson structure I observed in all classrooms from grades one through eight and the teacher inservice courses as well (specific examples are given in Chapter 3-5). This structure is similar to that described by Wylie (1974) in rural France, which is no accident. Brazilians have a tradition of admiration for things French. The centralized educational bureaucracy is a fact of school life in both countries, as is the tendency for lessons to move from general rule to specific applications, and for much learning to be by rote memorization, drill, and dictation.

Most of the writing of lesson plans is done by the supervisors of the State Education Division rather than by the classroom teacher in the primary grades. The supervisors write yearly, monthly, weekly and daily lesson plans in each subject. Then they visit each school to distribute the plans. In practice, transportation problems frequently prevent supervisors from visiting rural schools, especially the highway schools. It is typical of bureaucratic behavior for supervisors to stress the plan on paper over the reality in the schools. I asked a supervisor how often she traveled to the river schools in her work area. "Every month," she replied. Then a thought occurred to me: "But isn't the mayor's car broken?" "Yes it is." So the supervisor had not been

visiting her schools. My first question had elicited the plan, the official way things are done. Knowledge that the car was broken led me to probe more closely, so that I discovered the reality behind the plan.

Classroom teachers of the primary grades write their own lesson plans for "recuperation," eighteen days of schooling at the end of the year for students who have failed one or more subjects. The superintendent explained that teachers rather than supervisors write lesson plans for recuperation because they know the students and their problems. Teachers must give copies of their plans to their director and to the State Education Division. The lesson plan is written on a wide sheet of paper divided into seven columns under the following headings: Objective, programmatic content, chronology, strategy, evaluation, bibliography, observation.

Officially, primary school teachers have little freedom of choice in their classroom lessons, since the supervisors write the lesson plans. In reality, with the frequent delays in getting plans to teachers as well as the infrequency of actual classroom observations by supervisors, there is considerably more latitude for teacher variation. For example, when town primary schools opened in April, teachers were told to review material taught last year while supervisors wrote lesson plans which they planned to deliver in May. Detailed lesson plans actually serve as a substitute for textbooks, workbooks, and teachers' editions, which are frequently lacking in the schools. They are a guide for the teacher, a source of information.

Classroom teachers must keep other records as part of their bureaucratic duties. SEDUC gives teachers a big book called a "daily

class record" (diário de classe), in which teachers record attendance and grades for all students. At the end of the school year, teachers make a total class record of the number of students receiving each grade for each subject during each of four evaluation periods. Students can receive grades of "recuperation class needed" (0-49%), "satisfactory" (50-69%), "good" (70-89%), and "outstanding" (90-100%), in the subjects of communication and expression, math, science, and social integration.

The bureaucratic emphasis on supervisory symbols of success in classroom manners, classroom and school decorations, and lesson plans can be summarized as "the art of appearances." It is important to bureaucrats for the school to present a certain appearance to the community. Components of this appearance are formal behaviors of students in displaying good manners, formal behaviors of teachers in presenting planned lessons, a neat and attractive classroom, and a secure school barricaded without and flowering within. This orderly yet attractive image of the school and its participants puts the school on a par with community plazas and official county buildings, all of which are the pride of Brazilian communities and a symbol of urbanism on the Amazon frontier.

Bureaucrats as Gatekeepers

The barricaded school is an appropriate image for another function of the bureaucratic role of educators, that of gatekeeping. The bureaucratic emphasis on formal social behavior and paperwork as well as the general middle class background of educators creates barriers to students

which discourage and in some cases prevent their attendance. The school is one gateway to the middle class. Since the gatekeepers themselves are members of the middle class, it is hardly surprising that middle class students are more likely to pass through the gate than are lower class students. Since such a large majority of Brazilians (about 80%) are in the lower class, the gatekeeper function of educators has serious implications for school attendance.

The problem of school attendance is well recognized in Brazil, and measures have been taken from time to time to improve the school attendance rate. Considering children aged seven to fourteen as the First Level school population, Senna (1975) reported that 67% were enrolled in school. In Pará state, 68% of children between seven and eleven were enrolled in 1973 (Pará 1975-79); the comparable figure for all of Brazil was 72.2% (Senna 1975). The major criticism of primary education in Brazil has been that it is not universal, and that most children who manage to start school do not go beyond second grade (Havighurst and Moreira 1965:178). This means that there are two related school attendance problems: 1) making primary schooling universally available, and 2) reducing the drop-out rate once children are enrolled.

In recent years, the developers of human capital theory (Schultz 1963; Becker 1964; Mincer 1974) have promoted the idea that government investment in education will raise the individual's productivity and promote economic development. Havighurst and Moreira cite "human skills and knowledge" as one of five factors that determine the level of economic production in a society, and they consider this factor to be especially important in Brazil (Havighurst and Moreira 1965:121). Senna presents what he calls the "efficiency" argument that the Brazilian government's

priority in educational investment should be changed from the university level to the First Level because the "social rates of return" are highest at the First Level (Senna 1975:175).

Development plans for the Amazon region include human capital development through improved educational services. The Second Amazon Development Plan (SUDAM 1976) places a priority on short-term training programs to improve both educators and the labor force. The planners skillfully state the problem. When professionals are educated outside the Amazon region, they tend not to return, because of better working conditions and pay elsewhere. On the other hand, education outside the region is not always suitable for the Amazon. Traditionally, both professional level and semi-skilled labor has been imported from other regions. This strategy may be helpful in the short term, but from the point of view of regional socio-economic development, there are grave repercussions, because the education and accumulation of human resources and "know-how" from within the region is not stimulated (SUDAM 1976:74). The policy recommendations are, first, to improve the structure of education to fill in existing gaps by creating special incentives for educating strategic human resources. Second, night school (ensino supletivo) and short courses at the university level are particularly recommended to improve local labor forces.

Formal bureaucratic barriers to student attendance include documents required for students to enroll, the matriculation tax, and the lower priority assigned to students who fail a grade for vacancies in that grade the following year. First grade students are required to bring an authenticated copy of their birth certificate, two photographs, and a file folder. Other primary grade students must also bring their

report card from the previous grade. If they are transferring, they must have a school history, an individual card, and a physical education card. Night school students over eighteen years old must have a voter's registration card and an identity card. Students are also requested to bring a health card, but are not required to do so. When students enroll in the middle school, they must present their complete school records from the first through the fourth grade. One director said that in the past, parents had been allowed to register their children and bring the documents later. Of course, they did not. So this year the schools were supposed to allow no one to register without the birth certificate. Schools did not keep official records on how many students were not allowed to enroll for lack of documents. One town primary school director reported that four or five students from other Tapajós river villages and towns had to send away for their documents. They were told to return with them and that they could then register. All but one returned.

Despite the documents requirement, there were occasions when students were allowed to attend school unofficially, especially in the rural neighborhoods. In a Transamazon highway school, an overage student was allowed to attend class but was not formally enrolled. In both town and river village schools, relatives of the teacher occasionally came to school on an unofficial basis. A twenty-year-old woman attended the new town neighborhood school during the day session instead of at night, because she lived on an isolated street, without electricity, and was afraid to walk home from school after dark.

The matriculation tax was CR\$40.00 (about US\$3.00) per family, that is, a family with three children in school would only pay once.

At one town primary school, 145 students out of the 471 who registered for the 1977 school year paid the tax. Those who did not pay were either siblings or were too poor to pay. Families either paid the whole amount or nothing. The director did not implement the superintendent's suggestion for creating a certificate of exemption, because the superintendent did not follow up the suggestion with an authorization. This bureaucratic barrier could not officially prevent a student from enrolling; however, the matriculation tax coupled with more informal financial pressures might discourage poor students from enrolling or from continuing through all grades.

The third bureaucratic barrier to student attendance involves the high student failure rate and the high drop-out rate.³ A student who fails a grade must repeat it, but the student is assigned a lower priority for vacancies in that grade. First priority goes to first-time students in the grade. A fourth-grade student told me his strategy for dealing with this problem. If he failed fourth grade, he would try to repeat it. If there was no vacancy, he would transfer to another school's fourth grade. If this was not possible, he would wait until he was fifteen (he was thirteen at the time) and then enroll in night school. This student was intelligent and diligent. Most students drop out before the fourth grade. All primary schools in Muitaspedras (except the one-room schools) have fewer classes in each successive grade; for example, five first-grade classes, three second-grade classes, two third-grade, and one fourth in one town primary school. This reflects the fact that many students drop out, plus it compounds the problem by having fewer vacancies for repeaters in each successive grade.

When the enrollment rate is charted for a group of students throughout their years of schooling, an "educational pyramid"⁴ results which shows the high drop-out rate. For Brazil as a whole, the educational pyramid for students entering first grade in 1960 was as follows: for every 1000 students enrolling in first grade, 144 of them went on to enroll in middle school, 91 continued to start high school, and 48 began the university in 1971 (Senna 1975:8). Stated slightly differently the figures for Pará state during the same 1960-71 time span were as follows: for every 1000 students enrolling in first grade, 109 remained by fourth grade, 91 began middle school, 60 made it to the final year of middle school, 38 reached the last year of high school, and 25 passed the college entrance exam (MEC 1972). This puts Pará behind Brazil as a whole, but the most striking feature of the education pyramid is that the highest drop-out rate is in the primary grades. Primary school remains the biggest bottleneck in Brazilian education, even though economic arguments are made that improvement at this level would most benefit society (Senna 1975).

Recuperation is one measure designed to reduce the high failure rate in the primary grades. Mandated by the 1971 Education Reform Law, recuperation is a chance for students who fail one or more subjects to take vacation remedial classes and try to pass again (Haussman and Haar 1978:141). In Muitaspedras, recuperation classes for the end of the 1976-77 school year (given in February, 1977) did substantially reduce the high failure rate (Haussman and Haar also note that São Paulo municipal schools did not inaugurate recuperation classes until 1976, five years after the reform law mandated them). In two town primary schools, 67% and 76%, respectively, of all students failed one or more

subjects. In the former school, 80% of the students who took recuperation classes passed them and therefore were promoted to the next grade.

Another mandate from the 1971 reform law was that year-end promotion depend on grades received during the school year more than on year-end exams (Hausman and Haar 1971:140). This measure was also meant to lower the failure rate and therefore the drop-out rate as well. Some schools in the Amazon region used to depend entirely on year-end exams for promotion or failure. Marking periods and report cards were not instituted until 1959 in Amazonas state (Gegen 1961:105). A further difficulty was that teachers in county schools (the one-room schools with one teacher handling three or four grades) could not issue diplomas. Students had to travel to a state school to take the state exam under the direction of a certified teacher (Gegen 1961:87-88). A town primary school director in Muitaspedras began teaching there in 1964; she reported that in those days, when students reached the fourth grade, they had to take an exam in Fordlandia or Santarém--an overnight trip by boat. This was clearly a bureaucratically imposed financial barrier to poorer students completing the upper primary grades.

Informal Barriers to Student Attendance

In addition to the formal bureaucratic barriers to school attendance by students, there are also informal barriers which are related to the middle class nature of the school and its gatekeepers. These informal barriers are financial pressures to buy school uniforms and shoes and to contribute to a variety of school-related causes. School uniforms were not required in Muitaspedras public schools in 1976-77, but they were customary. The uniform is a white short-sleeved shirt and navy

blue slacks, shorts, or a skirt. The slacks cost CR\$110.00 (about US\$8.50). Shoes range from oxford-style leather shoes to sneakers to rubber thongs. Even though uniforms are not required, clothing is part of the overall emphasis in classroom and school on "the art of appearances." Clothing is one way people in the community can distinguish middle or upper class people from lower class people. Educators themselves are part of the community class structure, and they belong to either the middle or the upper class. They dress according to their class position, and thereby set an example of standards in dress for students. This emphasis on clothing as part of "the art of appearances" and a hallmark of middle class status puts pressure on poor students to emulate their middle class student peers and teachers.

Another financial pressure occurred in just one class in a town primary school, but similar cases might occur elsewhere because the root of the problem was transportation expenses. A fourth grade teacher lived in a town neighborhood far from her school. She had trouble returning to the afternoon session on time, especially on rainy days. Frequently she missed this session altogether. About a month after classes started, this teacher called a meeting in her classroom with the parents of her students. She dismissed her students early. She asked parents to contribute CR\$20.00 a week to pay for a ride to school every afternoon in a taxi-van. The school servant's son was in this class; she did not attend the meeting because she could not afford to contribute. The son liked his teacher because he said she was calm and did not become excited or shout at students (an assessment corroborated by my own observations). Nonetheless, this transportation problem continued until the teacher transferred to the new town primary school in her neighborhood.

Transportation problems were behind another temporary financial burden. At the beginning of the 1977 school year, students in a town primary school were asked to pay a cruzeiro each for their school snack. Equipment and supplies for the school snack are provided by a government agency, the National School Lunch Campaign (CNAE), whose offices are in the center of town. The CNAE has a station wagon to distribute supplies to the highway schools. The county sends out supplies by boat to river village schools. In town schools, however, the supervisors or the director must transport supplies from the CNAE to schools. The State Education Division's vehicle was broken. The result was no supplies in one of the town schools, and students were asked to pay. Fortunately, the supplies arrived soon after, although I did not learn whether this was due to student contributions or some other arrangement for transportation. However, a month later students were asked to bring bananas or rice to school so the cook could make the snack. It cost CR\$3.00 (then about US\$.23) to buy several bananas.

Finally, the pressure to contribute to school fund-raising events is another informal barrier to school attendance by poorer students. As June approached, there was a proliferation of fund-raising activities in connection with the school June festivals for the June saints-- Anthony, John, Peter and Paul. Bingo games were held by teachers in classrooms. Students paid from two to five cruzeiros to play. Students sold tickets in the community which were votes for Miss Caipira candidates (a beauty contest). Each class in each school had a candidate, and each school held the Miss Caipira contest as part of its festival night activities. There were other fund-raising activities at the festivals themselves (see Chapter 7). Another fund-raising activity already

mentioned was the gincana (gymkhana), a competition by teams in a school to acquire some item needed at that school, i.e., cement for a patio in the schoolyard. Once again, participation in these fund-raising events was optional, but the pressures to do so were great, especially before the school June festival when the director, mothers of students, teachers, and students all were swept up in a flurry of activities in preparation for this major event of the school year.

Nonbureaucratic Barriers to Attendance

Finally, there are nonbureaucratic barriers to student school attendance which may interact with the bureaucratic barriers previously described to discourage or prevent attendance. Poor families may need their children's labor to contribute to the family income. These children may work at home, on the farm, or in town as vendors or messengers. Poor health and distance from school (no transportation is provided) may also keep children at home. Another problem is frequent changes of residence. The Brazilian lower class is noted for geographic mobility, and this was markedly the case in Muitaspedras in the 1970s, when immigrants outnumbered natives by almost ten to one. Lower class people are the least likely to have documents, and those who try to obtain them are hampered by their frequent moves, since records may be hundreds or even thousands of miles away. Thus the school's crackdown on requirements for documents hurt geographically mobile lower class families more than other groups. Many of these families who lived in town were concentrated in the newest neighborhood, on a hill behind the older town. Sometimes couples who were not married or who had separated and found new mates could not get birth

certificates for their children at the notary's office. Several families sent their children to a private school, taught by a woman in her own home, because the children could not attend public school. This woman had four years of schooling herself; she taught 12 children in her home. Another couple expected to resolve their problems by the middle of the school year and enroll their child then. Two other families had their documents, but also had to wait until the start of the second term in August to begin sending their eight children. Another family who moved from the highway into town could not transfer their child to a town school because of the crackdown on documents. Still another family had lived in Muitaspedras for some years, but had never sent their two children to school. The father and stepmother were not married, and the children's natural mother, who lived in another state, had their documents. Another area of recent arrivals to Muitaspedras was outside of town to the west, an area of unplanned, spontaneous highway colonization on the west side of the Tapajós river. The agricultural extension agency (ACAR) surveyed 80 families. 60.1% of the children (of all ages) had a birth certificate. 53.7% of children under 18 had one.

To summarize the gatekeeper role of educator-bureaucrats, educators may discourage or even prevent students from attending school by implementing bureaucratic requirements such as documents and a tax for matriculation. They may also discourage student attendance by their middle class behavior patterns, such as emphasizing (by being role models) attractive but expensive clothing, and, ironically, by sponsoring numerous fund-raising activities designed to improve the school. Lower class students are especially likely not to attend school for the above reasons, and also because they may have to work, they may suffer poor

health or live far from school, and they are likely to move frequently. Once students do enroll in school, the high failure rate leads to a high drop-out rate. Students who must repeat a grade may not find a vacancy. Recuperation classes are helping to lower the failure rate. Older drop-outs have the chance to enroll in night school. It remains to be seen whether these measures will help alleviate the severe bottleneck which exists in the primary schools and makes the Brazilian educational pyramid look more like an upside down tack.

Educators are gatekeepers for the middle class; that is, they are middle class people who can either promote or discourage passage to middle class membership for students through their control of the school. As Havighurst and Moreira note, schooling is not the only route to middle class status, but schooling almost always confers that status on those who attend (1965). Middle class parents send their children to school to maintain their status. Upwardly mobile lower class parents send their children to school to attain formal recognition of the middle class status the family seeks. Rural lower class parents send their children to school to learn "defense" skills⁵ such as literacy so as to be able to recognize attempts to defraud the family (U.N. 1968; Shirley 1971). These children may also learn the values of middle class bureaucrats, such as the emphasis on the art of appearances in formal social behavior, paperwork planning and documents, and physical appearances. This knowledge could enable children and parents who do not necessarily share these values to at least know how to behave with bureaucrats to achieve their own goals. This is another kind of defense skill.

Bureaucrats as Vanguard of the Middle Class Revolution

Educators are a major segment of the middle class in Muitaspedras. This class emerged after the construction of the Transamazon Highway and its related government-sponsored programs which spurred rapid growth in population, commerce, and bureaucracy. The new middle class came from the commercial and bureaucratic sectors, comprised mostly of immigrants but also joined by some local elites and upwardly mobile locals. Educators and other bureaucrats are bringing the middle class revolution to an urbanizing Muitaspedras.

There are two, related change processes which have greatly expanded the schools and community of Muitaspedras: revolution and urbanization. In societies undergoing revolutionary change, schools are assigned an important role in transmitting the new value system being imposed (U.N. 1968:77). Schools as well as other institutions are revitalized and may even be replaced; the priority in learning is placed on moral matters such as goals, values, and advancing community welfare (Wallace 1973). The Brazilian revolution of 1964 has been called a "middle class revolution" (revolução burguesa) by one of Brazil's leading sociologists (Fernandes 1976). The military forces which seized power were supported by the urban middle classes, in the hope that the economy would be improved. This political change process was preceded in most of Brazil by urbanization. The political ascension of Latin American middle class groups during the process of urbanization was noted by Ratinoff (1967). People in all classes migrated to cities because that is where power and work opportunities are. In the case of Northeastern Brazilians, cyclical droughts forced them from their rural homes. Problems arising

from land use, ownership, and inheritance also forced many rural Northeastern and Southern Brazilians to move. These people went to the big cities and also to frontier areas.

There are important consequences to education of these change processes. First, the emerging urban middle class exerted pressure to expand educational facilities. In their value orientation, "the concepts of private enterprise and public action were intermingled" (Ratinoff 1967:77). At different times, free compulsory, non-denominational education would be pushed, or government assistance to private and denominational education would be supported. However, the resulting expansion of the education system was largely restricted to urban areas. Leading Brazilian educators, such as Teixeira, realized that the trend toward centralization and loss of local control over education would have to be reversed. Educational opportunities would have to be decentralized to give people a chance to stay in their own counties. In this spirit, the Governor of Pará praised the missionary nuns who started rural normal schools in isolated river towns, telling them he hoped that students who received their education near home would remain there rather than flocking to cities (Gegen 1961). Of course, many educators recognized that the decentralization of education alone would not stop urban migration, but might even increase it:

Education alone will not do much for rural life, rather it may serve to denude the rural areas of population. Allied with an educational program must be a program to increase rural productivity and to improve the economic and cultural opportunities of rural life. (Havighurst and Moreira 1965:182)

The pressure for expansion and decentralization of education from the urban middle class began to get results after this class supported

the 1964 revolution. The 1971 education reform law (Law 5,692) moved toward the increased county control of First Level education, thereby continuing a process of decentralization which began with the 1961 education reform law (Law 4,024). The 1961 law, Brazil's first general education law, sought greater decentralization by giving states the freedom to organize their own systems of instruction, in response to differing regional needs (Havighurst and Moreira 1965:6). The 1971 law expanded compulsory primary education (four or five years) to an eight-year First Level education. Grades five through eight were required to add compulsory vocational training courses to the curriculum. More developed counties were allowed to form County Education Secretariats and take over the operation of some schools which had been part of the State school system (Hausman and Haar 1978).

The two processes of change, urbanization and revolution, reached Muitaspedras at the same time. A massive influx of population included a new middle class comprising commercial entrepreneurs and bureaucrats. After 1971, the number of government agencies with offices in town increased from eight to thirty-two. Five of these were educational agencies: the State Education Division, the National School Lunch Program (CNAE), the National Literacy Movement (MOBRAL), Project Rondon from the University for the Development of the State of Santa Catarina (UDESC), and the County Education Secretariat. The latter is the only purely county agency, and was the last agency to be created--in 1976. The presence of these agencies was a sign that Muitaspedras had arrived on Brazil's bureaucratic map. Although the purpose of the programs accompanying the Transamazon Highway's construction was rural development, the bureaucrats who arrived to staff the new agencies followed

the Brazilian pattern of locating in the nearest urban center. Commercial entrepreneurs established businesses to serve them as well as the small farmers and gold miners of the county. The result was the rapid urbanization of Muitaspedras, and the formulation of a middle class.

Although the Revolution of 1964 reached Muitaspedras politically soon after the event occurred, more substantial effects of the "middle class revolution" did not reach Muitaspedras until the 1970s. Then the urban middle class which had supported the revolution benefited from the expansion of government agencies into the frontier with the highway programs. They migrated to frontier towns to staff the new agencies, and by doing so helped to create a social class which had not previously existed in the smaller and more isolated towns.

In effect, the middle class revolution was the expansion and decentralization of a social class from the big cities where they originally arose and gained power to the smaller cities and towns of the interior. This could not be accomplished without suitable employment opportunities, and the Transamazon Highway programs did just that --directly, by creating and staffing local agencies, and indirectly by creating opportunities for commercial entrepreneurs.

These conditions--an urbanizing, more socially diverse Muitaspedras--provided an opportunity for expansion and decentralization of the school system. The mandate existed on paper in the education reform laws, but it is common for such laws to remain on paper and never be implemented. Muitaspedras' State Education Division opened in November, 1972. Its purpose, according to the superintendent, was to decentralize education. Previously, Muitaspedras was administered from regional offices in

Santarém, the city at the mouth of the Tapajós River. All of this was in accordance with the increased control given to state educational agencies by the 1961 education reform law. Further decentralization, leading to increased county control of First Level education, led to creation of the County Education Secretariat in April, 1976. Neither of these agencies would have been created in Muitaspedras without the population boom of the 1970s. But the impetus for this boom--national government action--is also very important. Without government support in money, agencies, and trained staff, there would not have been enough educated people in Muitaspedras to staff new educational agencies.

Although the avowed purpose of the new educational agencies is decentralization, the actual effect of their creation is bureaucratic expansion. The word decentralization implies that control over schools is passed from central to regional or local organizations, and that central bureaucratic control is somehow lessened. This is partly true, but with reservations. First, the regional and local organizations had to be created from scratch, so that meant an expansion of educational bureaucracy. Second, the superintendent of the State Education Division considers herself an agent of the state, whose function is to pass along orders from her superiors in Belém to Muitaspedras educators. All of the important decisions still must be approved in the state capital--that is, hiring, salaries, school budgets for the matriculation tax, and the school calendar. So it can be argued that real decentralization of decision making has not occurred, and that bureaucratic expansion of a centralized school system into the "interior" (backlands or rural areas) is a more accurate description of what has happened.

Brazil's urban middle class has long depended upon government action to create salaried bureaucratic employment for its members in the big cities and state capitals. The opening up of vast frontier areas has created the opportunity for this class to expand into the interior--as long as the government continues to create salaried, bureaucratic employment for its members there. This is what has happened in Muitaspedras. The middle class revolution arrived as a result of the government-sponsored, highway-related programs of the 1970s. The latest front line of bureaucratic expansion is the program to expand the County Education Secretariat, called Project County.

Project County: Continuing Bureaucratic Expansion

Project County (Projeto Município or ProMunicípio) is the centralized educational bureaucracy's attempt to implement decentralization as mandated by the 1971 education reform law. In Muitaspedras, Project County would expand the recently created (1976) County Education Secretariat. There is a certain circularity about Project County which points up the relationship among the various levels of government which operate in frontier areas like Muitaspedras. Summarized, it is this: Project County is a national legal mandate which will be implemented in a cooperative agreement between national and state education bureaucracies (MEC/SEDUC) to provide training for county educators to run a local educational bureaucracy in a county which receives its budget funding from state and national government sources. Ironically, centralized agencies will create a new, "decentralized" local agency in a county very much dependent on state and national agencies for decision making (planning and budget) and financial resources. Clearly

this is more a case of bureaucratic expansion than decentralization. The desire among educators to decentralize and to give more responsibility to county personnel seems quite sincere. However, the dependency relationship of frontier counties like Muitaspedras to Brazilian national society precludes the possibility of true decentralization.

The superintendent of Muitaspedras' County Education Secretariat attended a conference in May, 1977, in Belém, during which Project County was introduced. Nine or ten counties in Maranhão state had begun the project the previous year. In Pará, 16 (out of 83) counties had been chosen by MEC/SEDUC to begin the project. Muitaspedras was included because of the Transamazon highway. The mayor was supposed to meet with SEDUC officials in Belém in July. In September, a team of technicians (técnicos or educator-bureaucrats) from MEC would prepare technicians in Muitaspedras. The mayor would choose these candidates, who would then begin the project in January, 1978. In addition to expanding the county education bureaucracy, Project County would raise county educators' salaries, both their county salary and the supplemental salary they receive from MEC.

Muitaspedras' two local superintendents both endorse Project County, but from opposite points of view. The County Education Secretariat's superintendent said, "Everything depends on SEDUC. They must open their hands to the county." The State Education Division's superintendent said, "Project County was started so that counties could do their part, too. The state cannot do it all." Opposite points of view were also expressed by participants at the conference on Project County in Belém. A MEC official said, "Project County cannot and ought not to be carried out through the county's initiative. Instead, it should be

carried out at the state level" (Hingel 1977:23). This proponent considered education to be an investment in accelerating Brazilian development--what might be called a "modern" point of view. A more "traditional" point of view was given by a federal senator. He doubted that Project County would have good results, because most counties are poor. However, he believed that decentralization was necessary and supported the creation of County Councils of Education. These councils would be elected by the community rather than appointed by state or national level officials. They would serve without salary (A Província do Pará May 17, 1977). The idea that officials should serve without a salary is part of an aristocratic heritage of values often found among educators (Kimball 1974:195). The idea of service for honor rather than money is an upper class one, and the idea of salaried service is a middle class one (Lipset and Solari 1967).

These divergent points of view reflect differences commonly found among those involved with education: lower versus higher level initiative and responsibility, and "modern" (i.e., human capital) versus "traditional" (i.e., aristocratic, or conservative, or religious) values (see Gouveia and Havighurst 1969). The belief that counties should have a stronger voice in educating local children is coupled with the reality that most counties are too poor to adequately fund their school systems. Muitaspedras is a case in point. The county school system includes 14 schools staffed by 15 teachers, serving 310 students. There are also 16 teachers and servants in 6 state schools whose salaries are paid by the county. The 1977 county budget for education was CR\$631,500 (US\$48,577). Salaries totaled CR\$201,500 (US\$15,500), or an average annual salary of CR\$6,500 (US\$500) for each county educator (which is supplemented, however,

by a MEC bonus) In contrast, the mayor's monthly income as a rancher was roughly the same as a county educator's yearly salary--CR\$6,000/8,000 per month (IBAM 1976).

Politics and Bureaucratic Expansion

The economic dependency relationship of Muitaspedras to state and national government has repercussions in the political sphere as well. As part of a National Security Area, the mayor is appointed by the national level military government rather than elected by the local community. The effect is to do away with the old, hotly contested local elections, but political competition in Muitaspedras is not dead. It has merely moved into other areas, such as the schools. There, two groups in the county power structure are involved in the schools as educators, parents, or patrons. They are not overt competitors, but their alliances through several series of events reveal shifting patterns of dominance over the schools. One series of events, the school festivals, is analyzed in Chapter 7. Another series of events is school system expansion culminating in Project County.

The two competing groups are the insiders or locals versus the outsiders or immigrants. The mayor is the county government representative of the insiders, and the nuns are his allies in the school system. The wives of army and agency staff are the state and national government representatives of the outsiders in the school system. The sequence of events in the bureaucratic expansion and "decentralization" of the school system can be reanalyzed in terms of dominance over the schools shifting back and forth between these two groups.

It is necessary here to repeat some information in order to set out the sequence. In 1963, the nuns started Santana Middle School in an agreement (convênio) with the state under which the latter provided partial funding. This school was the first to offer grades five through eight in Muitaspedras. The 1971 education reform law mandated a new vocational arts emphasis for middle schools and the phasing out of regional normal schools like Santana. New state and national government agencies opened offices in Muitaspedras between 1971-75. The State Education Division opened in 1972, and was originally headed by the wife of the new Bank of Brazil's manager. The army base opened in 1975. A new State Middle School opened in 1976, and a number of army and agency wives were employed there and also in the State Education Division. Santana Middle School continued to be staffed by nuns and local educators while one grade at a time was phased out. When the County Education Secretariat opened in 1976, the mayor chose a nun to be the superintendent. Project County was supposed to expand this agency, and the mayor would choose the candidates for training.

In effect, the old bastion of the locals, Santana Middle School, is going to be replaced by the County Education Secretariat, dominated by the nuns with the patronage of the mayor. The two state level bastions of the outsiders, the State Middle School and the State Education Division, are staffed by both locals and outsiders, with army and agency wives who took jobs in the system being concentrated there.

The pattern of alliances which emerges from these events is one of locals versus outsiders, or of the old local power groups versus new outsider groups. The nuns belong to the oldest power group in the region, so old that even though their order is technically a foreign

missionary order and the nuns themselves were not born in Muitaspedras, they are nonetheless "locals" in the sense of being traditional members of the community. In educational matters, the nuns were allied with the mayor, a lifelong county resident put on the defensive by the continuing encroachment of outsiders on his political territory. The army wives belong to the most powerful of the new agencies. Army and other agency wives are allied chiefly with the new state organizations. They represent the outsiders gaining increased control in Muitaspedras, through the expansion of state and national organizations into the backwaters of Brazil as the twin political goals of national integration and national security are pursued.

Even though educators as bureaucrats are socialized into bureaucratic patterns of behavior emphasizing formal social behavior, paperwork, and the art of appearances, they are not a homogeneous, unified group. The county power structure includes educators, and their group affiliations in the community affect their placement in the school system and their alliances. The most important schism in the school system as well as in the community is between locals and outsiders. However, both the locals and outsiders who have become educators are part of an important change taking place in Muitaspedras, the formation of a middle class in a formerly two class social system.

Conclusions

The implementation of education reform laws and national development plans have had the effect of stimulating bureaucratic expansion in both the schools and the community of Muitaspedras. This has been

the impetus for the formation of a new middle class composed principally of bureaucrats and commercial entrepreneurs. The military government sought to secure frontier areas and integrate them into the national society. A system of highways and development programs along them was designed both to populate frontiers and to make them economically productive.

Although unplanned, much of the growth which occurred took place in towns which already existed but which had long been a backwater. This growth was in population, commerce, and bureaucracy. The latter was the most directly controlled by state and national governments, since they initiated the opening of local agencies and chose their staffs. Members of the metropolitan middle class, which had grown with the urbanization and industrialization of South Brazil earlier in this century, were increasingly beset by their own population increase and the need for a corresponding increase in middle class employment. A handful of the more daring and entrepreneurial members of this class came to Muitaspedras in the 1960s as pilots and merchants for the gold rush.

The biggest gains for the metropolitan middle class came after the "middle class revolution," the military coup of 1964 which had been supported by many members of this class. The military government placed priority in education on secondary and university education, which helped the middle and upper classes much more than the lower class. But the reforms in primary and middle school education also ended up helping the middle class because they found jobs when school systems expanded. The national development plans which created colonization programs for the new highways also created many new middle class jobs, and offered

good salaries and a chance of more rapid advancement for members of the metropolitan middle class who migrated to the frontier to take them.

Muitaspedras' "middle class revolution," then, is the creation of a middle class which has expanded the old two-class system. The national government was the chief impetus for Muitaspedras' middle class revolution because it sponsored the policies of national security and national integration of the frontier which resulted in bureaucratic expansion into frontier towns, general population growth, and increased commercial activity.

The school system expanded as a result of this growth. The population boom meant many potential new students, but this situation alone has never guaranteed the extension of educational services into the interior. Instead, government sponsorship was the crucial factor: since government policy mandated colonization along the new highways, and since human capital theory was accepted by government planners as a justification for offering education to colonist families, schools were built and teachers were hired and trained to serve on the highways. But new schools were built in town, too, to serve its population boom, and it was in town that the new educational agencies were located.

Decentralization, mandated by education reform laws, spurred the creation of local bureaucracies to be on the spot in administering county and state schools, even though the school system remained heavily centralized in funding and decision making. The result was bureaucratic expansion into the interior rather than true decentralization. Government sponsorship created middle class jobs. This is an important part of the urbanizing process for Muitaspedras, where other opportunities for middle class employment have traditionally been limited because the

area has an extractive economic base and a plantation social system (cf. Thompson 1975; Wagley 1957; Wolf and Mintz 1957). In an area of rubber collection, lumbering, and gold mining, few occupations existed between the lower class ones of worker or subsistence farmer and the upper class ones of large landowner and merchant-trader. Members of old local elite families used to take the few middle class jobs such as school teaching, and they still can be found in the school system today. But the economic basis for a class in between those who controlled the land and those who performed manual labor on it did not exist until the population increased and the government created more middle class jobs.

It can be argued that population increase alone would spur formation of a commercial middle class as medium-sized shops, bars, beauty salons, etc. proliferated. A commercial middle class did in fact form, but it seems to have been spurred more by the highway growth boom of the early 1970s than the gold rush of the 1960s. The latter tended to attract men who left their families back home, and prostitutes. The highways brought families. The big impetus for the extension of health, social, religious and educational services was the highways, and agencies which offered these services provided middle class employment. Thus the new middle class in Muitaspedras grew out of expanded commercial as well as expanded bureaucratic activities, with government sponsorship playing a crucial role in both.

In summary, being a bureaucrat is a very important part of the role of all educators in Muitaspedras, whether they are classroom teachers or administrators in an educational agency. Principles of bureaucratic behavior include a highly centralized, one-way line of authority from

the national to local levels, social control through formal social behavior and paperwork, and a flexible application of rules which recognizes both official and unofficial rules. Teachers are socialized into their bureaucratic role at frequent inservice courses during which they observe administrative problem-solving behavior and sometimes receive instruction from administrators. Bureaucratic symbols in the classroom and school are formality in manners, dress, and the appearance of the classroom and school, plus the written lesson plan and its typical format as taught. The bureaucratic role includes the gatekeeper function, which is practiced through formal bureaucratic barriers to student attendance, informal barriers stemming from the middle class behavior of bureaucrats, and other barriers in the student's background which may interact with bureaucratic barriers to prevent or discourage student attendance.

The most important function of the bureaucratic role of educators is in being a vanguard of the middle class revolution in an urbanizing Muitaspedras. Decentralization, mandated by education reform laws and financed by national and state governments as part of economic development programs has actually resulted in bureaucratic expansion into the interior, finally reaching more remote towns like Muitaspedras. Educators from all regions of Brazil now work in Muitaspedras' schools, and despite their differences, they are all basically middle class in outlook. They exert pressure on each other, students, and parents, to follow middle class behavior patterns. These can be summarized as: first, the art of appearances, including good manners and proper dress; second, promoting national integration into urbanized Brazil; and third, socializing their students to dar um jeito, or learn how to act independently while conforming to the existing social system.

The pressure to follow middle class behavior patterns reaches a limited audience in the classrooms and offices of the schools and the educational agencies. A wider audience can be reached during school-sponsored entertainment events. The next chapter describes how educators socialize the larger community to middle class behavior patterns and other changes which have taken place in an urbanizing Muitaspedras.

Notes

¹The caixa escolar means different things in different schools. Faust translated it as a "school cooperative," which assisted school officials in carrying out the school meal program (1959:50). He did not say how the program was funded. A 1977 newspaper article in Rio about the new school year said that the caixa escolar would sell books and supplies to students. The caixa escolar in Muitaspedras was a school fund raised from the matriculation tax.

²Taylor defines dar um jeito as "to fix something up, do something about it; to manage, arrange, find a way" (1975:198). Thus the phrase has a broader meaning besides its usage among middle class Brazilians describing bureaucratic problems. For example, if your automobile cannot be repaired for lack of a part, a mechanic will dar um jeito to get it fixed (Wagley, personal communication).

³Primary schools are selective rather than comprehensive. They screen out all but a few students, who pass through the funnel to higher education (Havighurst and Moreira 1965:178; Teixeira 1977:85).

⁴"The progressive attrition of Brazil's school population is usually illustrated with 'educational pyramids.' Such a pyramid has as its base an initial cohort of 1,000 children entering first grade or first-level school in a given year, and shows their progression through eleven consecutive years up to graduation from second-level school. What is shown mainly is, of course, a grievous thinning out of student numbers from broad base to dwindling top, whence the designation 'pyramid' (Haussman and Haar 1978:58).

⁵"...rural people now demand education, first as a means of defending themselves against exploitation through ability to read, write and calculate, and second, as a means by which their children can escape from agricultural labour" (U.N. 1986:69).

CHAPTER SEVEN
EDUCATORS AS COMMUNITY LEADERS

Educators in Muitaspedras are community leaders for several reasons. First, they are leaders of one of the three largest bureaucracies in the county (i.e., the State Education Division--the other two are the Agricultural Extension Agency and the army base), and therefore an important part of the new middle class in Muitaspedras whose members are drawn from the new agencies and from the commercial sector. Second, educators are leaders among women, because they form an organized female group with a recognized voice in matters concerning education, children, and families (Another formally organized group is the Catholic-sponsored Mother's Club). Third, educators are leaders in community socialization. Through their entertainment events, they socialize the community to continuing patterns of social relations, changing alliances among community power groups, and the values of national integration and patriotism. Fourth, educators are leaders in the socialization of students to future leadership roles. School-sponsored entertainment events are the arena where both types of socialization occur.

Previous chapters have centered on the classroom or the office as the scene of interaction among educators and students. This chapter shifts the focus to other locations such as schoolyards, an outdoor soccer court, a night-club, and a parish hall. Although most educators

spend most of their work time in classrooms, every school sponsors entertainment events at some time and educators work to organize these events, instruct and supervise student participants, and participate themselves.

Another related difference between the focus of this chapter and that of previous chapters is the degree of involvement of parents and other community members. Parents seldom visit classrooms or school offices. They are invited to visit them for the purpose of receiving report cards, conferences with a teacher or a director, and attempts to organize parent-teacher organizations (The latter was discussed by educators but not implemented during the fieldwork period). Few parents visit the schools for these purposes; however, many more participate in school-sponsored entertainment events.

These events are a major portion of the formal, large-scale entertainment available in the community. They are also notable as family-oriented events, open to men and women, young and old. These facts heighten the importance of school-sponsored entertainment events as a principal force for community integration, temporarily uniting insider and outsider participants, and socializing them into the new sociopolitical order which has resulted from the union of new people and old traditions.

It is also necessary to group educators in a way different than in previous chapters in order to delineate their role as community leaders. In earlier chapters, educators have been presented either as individuals or as composites on a school-by-school basis. In this chapter, educators are seen more in the community context. Communities in the Amazon region are characterized by their lack of unity because

of their many internal divisions; for this reason, the relationship between educators and the community must be analyzed in terms of the relationships among subgroups of educators and the major community subgroups.

First, it is necessary to examine educators as a single occupational group, by looking at their common characteristics of being middle class Brazilian women who work for educational bureaucracies (either the county or the state). Next, educators can be divided into four subgroups, based on differences in place of birth, current residence, social status, educational level, and patrons. The four subgroups of educators are the county seat elite, county seat primary schoolteachers, river village teachers, and highway teachers. Each subgroup is linked with different community groups which comprise the county power structure:¹ that is, the Catholic Church, county government, the merchants, and the new agencies.

The County Power Structure

Before the construction of the Transamazon highway, the important groups in the county power structure were the Catholic Church, the local government, and the merchants who dealt with extractive economic activities such as rubber tapping, lumber, and gold mining. After the highway was built, a host of support agencies were established in Muitaspedras to aid in community development, both on the highways and in the county seat. Muitaspedras gained increased importance both as a regional business and administration center and is becoming more closely linked to Brazilian national society. At the county level,

however, the agency boom made a reorganization of the county power structure inevitable.

The oldest political power in Muitaspedras is the Catholic Church. Foreign missionary orders of priests and nuns have served in the region since the first mission was begun in Santarém in 1661. Jesuits founded six mission villages downriver from Muitaspedras between 1722 and 1753. The mission villages were both educational and economic enterprises. They sought to bring Christianity to the Indians, and therefore had to provide some education. But they also had to be economically self-sufficient in a frontier area. Almost from the beginning, conflicts developed between missionaries and traders competing for economic control over the Indians (Hemming 1978). After the expulsion of the Jesuits by the State in 1759, these missions gradually were officially designated villages. This represented a change in institutional control over the Indians and the emerging new-Brazilian population, from Church to State (although in practice, the merchant-traders took over control). Nonetheless, new Catholic missions continued to open upriver from Muitaspedras, in 1872 and 1911. An American Franciscan diocese was established in Santarém, but the American Franciscans left Muitaspedras after the highway arrived. They were replaced by an Italian order. Brazilian nuns serve in Muitaspedras, but this order, too, is an international one, headquartered in the United States.

County government is a traditional power base which has had its power diluted in recent years. In traditional Amazon towns, county government--especially the mayor--is an important source of service and jobs for residents. The extractive economies practiced in the region are subject to resource depletion and to price fluctuations on

the international market. County government, by contrast, is a stable, if nonlucrative, source of benefits. It is customary for political parties and factions to compete vigorously for office. Once in office, the mayor is free to hire his political dependents for jobs such as school teaching. Jobholders are reluctant to make decisions without the mayor's personal leadership. The county seat went without running water for three days because the town water pump was out of gas. The mayor was out of town, and his permission was needed to refill the gas tank.

The power of the mayor has been diluted in recent years by increasing control from state and national levels. Although the Brazilian government has always been centralized, this often was true more on paper than on reality. Several events have changed that. First, mayoral elections were suspended after the 1964 resolution. They were held again in 1968, but were suspended after the establishment of the National Security Area and the construction of the Transamazon (elections for councilmen were held in 1972). The mayor is now appointed rather than elected, so the old hotly contested political contests-- a focus of community life--no longer exist. Second, the establishment of many state and national government agencies in the early 1970s meant that other sources of jobs and benefits were available to county residents for the first time. In some cases, the agencies built their own mini-communities, with their own water and electricity. Third, Muitaspedras grew so fast in the 1970s that the demand for services outstripped the mayor's ability to supply them. Many residents expressed dissatisfaction with the mayor's ability to get things done. The mayor and the councilmen are still important political figures in Muitaspedras, but they must share that power with other government representatives.

The political power of merchants in Muitaspedras is almost as old as that of the Catholic Church. From the time the earliest explorers descended the Tapajós River from the central plateau during 1742-1779, there was interest in exploiting the natural resources of the region. Gold was discovered in 1746. Trade relations were established between Cuiabá, Mato Grosso, and Belém (Serra 1847). In the early 1800s, Muitaspedras was a village inhabited by about two hundred Maué Indians (Nimuendajú 1963:246; Padroeira de Itaituba 1977:17). Its location just below the first set of rapids on the Tapajós River made it a stopping place for explorers and traders while they transferred from deep-water boats to canoes. In 1828, the explorer Hercules Florence visited Muitaspedras and wrote:

despite being little inclined to the work, the Maués had already built ten or twelve houses and planted some manioc, also occupying themselves in the extraction of sasparilla. With cachaça, however, they spent everything they earned. (Florence 1941:202)

Muitaspedras' founding father, Tenente Joaquin Caetano Correa, was a merchant. In 1853 he was named director of Indians on the Tapajós. It is clear that in the county seat of Muitaspedras, merchant-traders controlled the Indian population from the beginning. However, upriver in the interior of the county, the struggle between the missionaries and the merchants continued. When the Catholic mission of Bacabal competed for trade with the Indians, merchant-traders in Muitaspedras exerted pressure until the mission was closed in 1876 (Tocantins 1877: 145; Murphy 1960:41). Such conflicts still occur in the part of Muitaspedras inhabited by Indian groups. There, missionaries face competition from gold mining entrepreneurs for Indian labor.

Commercial activities have always centered on the collection and export of forest and mineral products and the import and sale of food and household goods. By 1875, rubber had become the chief item of commerce (Tocantins 1877:154). Increased pressure for contact and trade with the Indians was exerted by itinerant traders, and more and more Indians lost their group identity and became neo-Brazilians. By 1900 the rubber gatherers of Muitaspedras destroyed three out of four Maué villages on tributaries of the Tapajós and took over the land. The price of rubber peaked at US\$2.90 per pound in 1910. In 1914 a Muitaspedras resident represented Pará in an exposition of tropical products held in London. The rubber boom ended shortly thereafter, when prices fell after Asian plantations produced rubber more cheaply. The old debt peonage relations between rubber collector and trader still live on, however, and can be found in the gold mining areas today.

As in the case of the county government, the commercial sector changed after the arrival of the Transamazon. Business connected with rubber and lumber declined. Businesses which catered to gold had flourished since the late 1960s. One of the most successful commercial operations in Muitaspedras was the county seat's first department store, which catered to the needs of the new middle class agency personnel as well as to the old elite. The owner of this store rose from relative obscurity to become a leading figure in the county.

The agency boom created a new consumer market for the merchants and a potential source of jobs and services for county seat residents. Most agency personnel are outsiders who moved to Muitaspedras to staff the new offices. These people were often better educated than natives

of Muitaspedras. They were part of the metropolitan middle class (Wagley and Harris 1955) or they were from the town middle and upper class of other regions. As such, they did not fit into the two-class system of the traditional Amazon town. Because they were relatively affluent, well educated, and held administrative jobs, they could participate in many of the same types of social activities as the old elite. There was a potential for an alliance of the new agency elite with the old elite in an expanded social system. Agency personnel and their wives were a particularly valuable resource for the school system. Agency men could teach in the schools at night and their wives could teach in the morning and afternoon shifts as well. The general level of education of teachers and school administrators was raised by these outsiders.

The army base is the most powerful of the new agencies, because of its size, resources, and importance to the national government. Army personnel and their wives became a powerful force in many phases of community life. In addition to their official role of protecting national security, some army officers believed they were fostering community development. Army personnel offered various medical, dental, and educational services to townspeople, both officially and unofficially.

Common Characteristics of Educators

Before presenting the four principal subgroups of educators, several common characteristics they share based on sex, social class, and occupation should be considered. As Brazilian women, educators look to their families--especially to their fathers or husbands--for major decisions,

such as place of residence. Decisions made as to where males will move for employment opportunities affect the careers pursued by these women. As members of the middle class, female educators tend to look to the government as an impersonal patron, providing jobs and services. Despite the official emphasis on helping poor Brazilians obtain land, the middle class are the major beneficiaries of many of the Transamazon programs (D. Miller, in press). As members of education bureaucracies, female educators are accustomed to obeying orders from superiors and giving them to subordinates (Eddy 1969).

The extended family is the most important institution in Brazil (Smith 1973; Wagley 1971). It is uncommon for single young women to live alone, although one middle school teacher lived with two other single women. Single teachers usually live with their parents or with other kin, or board with unrelated families. Married teachers form new households or live in a parent's house. It is not uncommon for a family from "the interior" (that is, any rural area outside the county seat) to move into town so that the children can attend school. Another solution is for the wife and children to live in town while the husband works in the interior as a farmer, gold miner, rubber trader or merchant.

Many female educators in Muitaspedras moved there from other parts of Pará or from out of state. Usually they did so to accompany their families, because their father or husband saw economic opportunities in this frontier area. One young highway teacher moved because her father did not approve of her boyfriend. He moved the whole family, and the daughter later married another farmer. A middle school teacher left a university one semester short of graduation because her husband was transferred to the army base.

Despite the importance of the family and the male determination of geographical mobility, female educators are active and independent career women. Mothers are able to pursue careers in the school system because school shifts are short and child care is available either from other family members or from servants. Education is an acceptable career for women from old traditional families, new agency families, river village families, and highway families. In poorer families, the stable income from teaching is important in a household where everyone needs to work to provide the necessities of life. Furthermore, since the Brazilian middle class has elite values and tastes but can hardly afford the latter (Wagley 1968), income from teaching is appreciated even in more prosperous families.

Subgroups of Educators

Muitaspedras' female educators are all middle class and members of education bureaucracies, but they differ from each other in social status, birthplace and current place of residence, amount of education, and patrons from other groups. Based on these differences, educators can be divided into four principal subgroups: the county seat elite, the county seat primary school teachers, the river village educators, and the highway teachers.

The county seat elite are the educators of the State Education Division, the County Education Secretariat, the two middle schools, the private nursery/kindergarten, and the directors of the town primary schools. Many of these educators are either from local elite families or from recently arrived, prosperous agency and merchant families.

One primary school director married into the local family descended from the man who travelled to London to present an exhibit of rubber from Muitaspedras. The daughter of a town councilman teaches at the State Middle School. Catholic nuns are included in this subgroup. They administer the County Education Secretariat, the Santana Middle School, and the nursery/kindergarten. Others teach in the two middle schools. Army officers' wives are administrators in the State Education Division, the director of the State Middle School, and teachers at the latter school. The wife of the Bank of Brazil's manager was the State Education Division's superintendent until her husband transferred out of town. The daughter of the owner of the largest department store in town worked in the State Education Division until she transferred to the state capital.

Related to the high status of the county seat elite is a high level of education. Most of these educators are high school graduates, and some attended university. Some locally-born educators in this subgroup benefited from the special courses for inservice teachers. Five State Education Division administrators and two primary school directors finished the high school equivalency course. Other locally-born members of this subgroup came from families fortunate enough to send the children away to high school and/or college. Immigrant members of the subgroup came from places offering more local schooling than does Muitaspedras.

The second educator subgroup is the county seat primary school teachers. Their social status is not as high as the elite subgroup because their families are less prominent, they have a lower level of education, and their job is less prestigious. The average primary

school teacher has a middle school education. Many are lay teachers, that is, have only a primary schooling of four to five years. However, because they live in the county seat, they do have the opportunity to attend middle school at night.

Residence in the county seat is in itself an indicator of higher social status and more years of schooling. The county seat is considered the most desirable place to live and teach. It has the most employment and educational opportunities, the most physical amenities, health services, and the most varied and frequent sources of entertainment. Brazilian county seats are considered urban by the national census, and urbanism is highly prized (Harris 1971; Hutchinson 1957; and Margolis 1973). Primary school teachers in the county seat receive more help from supervisors than do primary teachers in the river villages and on the highway (due to transportation constraints). Children of the more affluent agency personnel and merchants attend school in the county seat. Their middle class family background is associated with their success in school and the ability to contribute money to school-sponsored fund-raising events.

Educators in the river villages and hamlets are the third subgroup. Within the traditional, two-class social system of these rural neighborhoods, educators have high status. They have salaried government jobs in an area where employment is a problem. Many of the men in these villages left the rubber trails for the gold fields in the late 1960s. Some found work in highway-related programs in the early 1970s.

Living and working in the interior does not confer as much social status as does the county seat. Rural neighborhoods are much smaller, quieter places. They lack the highly-valued hustle-and-bustle

(movimento) of town. Opportunities for employment, entertainment, and education are fewer and less varied. Schools offer only grades one through four and sometimes grade five (a leftover from an earlier system). The villages have one or more teachers per grade, but smaller hamlets have one-room schools with mixed grades. Teaching in the latter type of school is considered especially difficult. River village teachers are more likely to be lay teachers, with only a primary schooling. Unlike their colleagues in town, they cannot attend middle school at night. Some of the teachers did finish middle school in the special inservice courses offered in town. Two river village school directors finished high school in such a course. River village educators are more likely to be locally born than any other subgroup. However, this does not mean that they live in one village all their lives. They may teach in several neighboring villages during their careers.

Educators on the highways form the lowest ranking subgroup in social status, yet I consider them to be middle class as well. Small farmers would normally be thought of as peasants or lower class since they are manual laborers and most are poor. However, the most successful small farmers in this unpromising agricultural sector of the highway owe part of their success to occupational diversification. Men are farmers, mechanics, and sometimes even teachers. Women are teachers, school servants, and dressmakers. The social class divisions among the highway colonists are apparent in the material well-being of some families, and in the differences in attitudes toward schooling expressed in the many complaints about parents by teachers. In addition, the frequent inservice courses help socialize highway teachers in the ways of the government salaried, bureaucratic middle class.

The general patterns of links between female educators and members of other county institutions are based upon characteristics related to educators' shared background as middle class females working in bureaucracies. Related to the importance of the family in Brazilian society is the emphasis on personalism in social relations. Traditionally, who you know is more important than what you know. It is important to find patrons and to make them honorary members of the family through the compadresco (fictive kinship) system of ritual coparents and god-children. Patrons can help people begin or advance their careers. Coexisting with this personalistic style of patronage is a more impersonal sort of patronage, the tendency of Brazilians to view their government as a patron. For the middle class, the government has often been a good patron, as in the case of the Transamazon Highway programs.

Just as female educators pursue independent, active careers despite their subordinate positions in male-dominated families, educators pursue goals for their own careers or for the schools that they serve despite being in low positions in the centralized bureaucratic hierarchy (from a state and national perspective). In Chapter 6, the point was made that the Brazilian system of government is centralized, including the school system. Local educators have little official decision-making power. Budgets, hiring, pay vouchers, and plans are all submitted to the State Department of Education (SEDUC) in Belém for approval. Despite official centralization, local educators do have a certain latitude in the implementation of decisions passed down to them. In meetings and inservice courses, educators are socialized in how to dar um jeito (find a way; get things done) in the bureaucracy. This means they learn

how to accomplish their own goals while remaining within the official structure and outwardly following its rules. The essence of dar um jeito is informal and personal--people cooperate with people they know in order to get something done.

The school June festivals in the county seat are an excellent example of how female educational leaders use their skills in personalistic patronage to dar um jeito, i.e., to secure benefits for their schools while remaining in the good graces of their more distant and impersonal government patrons. The school festivals differ, however, according to the population served by each school. Even within one subgroup, the county seat elite, different institutional linkages can be observed. The schism between insider and outsider, discussed in Chapter 5 in relation to State Middle School educators and students, is also found in the school June festivals. The nuns and the military wives, both members of the county seat elite educators, are on opposite sides of the insider/outsider schism. They all know how to dar um jeito, however, and they are all interested in furthering their careers and/or their schools.

Before going on to analyze the school June festivals (and other community entertainment events in which educators participate) as an opportunity for educators to be leaders within the school system, and socializers of the community-at-large and of student leaders, it is first necessary to explain the importance of school entertainment events to the community.

Entertainment in Muitaspedras

Entertainment events are vital to community life in Muitaspedras, which, like other Amazon counties, is territorially large but has a very low population density.

Although recreation is an important aspect of community life elsewhere, in the Amazon Valley, where a sparse population is spread over an immense area, recreational gatherings are of even greater importance in breaking the solitude of human existence. (Wagley 1976:213)

From the native standpoint, the solitude has been lessened with improved communication and transportation systems, e.g., bus service on the Transamazon Highway, commercial air flights, the mail, telegraph and (marginal) telephone service. But from the immigrants' standpoint, Muitaspedras is an outpost on the Amazon frontier. Brazilians value movimento, the signs of activity which characterize towns and cities. Movimento is connected with the importance of urbanism which derives from Brazil's Portuguese heritage, and is part of the Mediterranean tradition (Wolf and Hansen 1972; Johnson 1964:13). Recreation can be seen as the most enjoyable manifestation of movimento. Participation in pleasurable group activities creates a sense of social cohesion, as everyone participates in some way, whether as performer, audience, food seller, judge, etc. This is just as true--perhaps even more so given the contrast--if the community is in everyday life very segmented with little sense of group solidarity.

There is a wide variety of entertainment events in Muitaspedras town. Their range is similar to that found in a smaller town in rural France by Wylie (1974, based on fieldwork in 1950-51). First, there are the social groups (male or mixed, depending on time or place) found

at luncheonettes, street corner food stands, small cafes, restaurant/bars, and nightclubs. Conversation is the chief form of entertainment, but men at one cafe play dominoes regularly. Other popular gatherings are at the outdoor stadium for soccer games, and at the town movie theater. In contrast to these public activities is the second category of entertainment, at home or at work during breaks. The Muitaspedras equivalent to Wylie's female "work and talk circles" are the groups of women washing clothes in the river. Also, the groups of teachers who meet in the school office during breaks or on planning days manage to combine conversation, drinking coffee or eating the school snack, and doing paperwork. Much of the entertainment life in Muitaspedras occurs behind closed doors at home, when family and friends gather at special events such as birthday parties or bridal or baby showers, or on less special occasions simply to pay a social call or spend the evening together. No social call--or business call at an office--would be complete without cafezinho, strong, heavily sugared coffee served in demitasse cups. Variations on refreshments offered during social calls in more rural neighborhoods are hot herbal tea from Capim Santo grass picked in the backyard, and hot chocolate. Family and friends may also go on river picnics together, or may share a meal at home. The schism between insiders and outsiders is apparent in this informal, family social occasions; as outsiders, my husband and I were invited into the homes of other outsiders more frequently than we were to the homes of natives.

The third category is the community celebration, larger in scale than the previous two types. Many large-scale entertainment events in Muitaspedras derive from civic and religious observances at the community, state, national and international levels. The most important national

government observance is Independence Day, on September 7. The founding of the state capital, Belém, and of Muitaspedras town are examples of state and local government observances. Some important religious holidays are celebrated everywhere in Brazil, such as Holy Week (with processions) and certain Saints' Days, especially the June saints. Other religious holidays are celebrated only in the communities or neighborhoods which choose a particular saint as a patron. The poor neighborhood of fishermen in Muitaspedras had a patronal festival for São Jose on April 22, and the river village of São Luis Gonzaga celebrated its namesake on June 21. The most enthusiastic celebration in Brazil is Carnival, the secular prelude to the religious observance of Lent (see Da Matta 1977). Most of the civic and religious observances are noted on the school calendar (see Appendix V).

The largest community entertainment event in Muitaspedras is the Santana patronal festival held in the county seat from July 16-26 (during school vacation). The festival is organized by committees. Virtually every agency and middle class business (excluding small front-room stores in homes) in town sponsors an event or has members on committees, including the State Education Division, Project Rondon, the army base, the mayor's office, county councilmen, town neighborhood councils, doctors and nurses, the priests, and the nuns (Padroeira de Itaituba 1977).

The fourth type of entertainment event is that sponsored by organizations, such as the sports clubs and the schools. These may be planned either as events for members and invited guests only, or they may be planned as type three community entertainment events. Sports clubs sponsor soccer teams and also have parties; they are an indicator

of middle or upper class social status. The 17th anniversary of one sports club in Muitaspedras town was marked by a large party at the clubhouse, with refreshments, a live band, and speeches by important members of the community (both insiders and outsiders, from agency heads to professional people to businessmen). The most ambitious new sports entertainment event of the year (actually held twice during our stay) was the First Open Games of Muitaspedras (JAIT), organized by the local Extension Campus of Project Rondon. This event was organized somewhat like a modern patronal festival, i.e., by committees (including the mayor, a county councilman, the vicar, and the director of Project Rondon). Teams for the athletic event were drawn from the sports clubs, stores, agencies, and the middle schools. These events were free and open to the general public.

The fifth type of entertainment event is not planned, but consists of the comedies and dramas of everyday life in Muitaspedras. A popular topic of conversation is the recounting of disaster stories--airplanes wrecked on the way to the gold mines or bus or car accidents on the highways. "Esta região" ("this region") is the typical comment of an outsider after hearing a disaster story. Theft is another popular topic. Our neighbors took in a wayward young relative from the South who began stealing in town. He was soon released from jail because, as the story went, the murderers (from bar-room brawls and fights in the gold mines) in the jails would not tolerate a thief in their midst, and kept beating him up. Watching new arrivals at the airport (described in Chapter 3) falls into this category of entertainment.

School-sponsored entertainment events are part of the fourth type of entertainment, that sponsored by organizations. The purpose of these

events, according to educators, is to raise funds for equipment or other improvement needed by the schools. Unlike the money raised by the matriculation tax, local educators decide how to spend the money they raise without the obligation to submit plans to Belém for approval. The June festivals held by each school are the chief fund-raising entertainment events of the school year. In addition, some schools hold fund-raising gymkhanas (gincana, which in the schools mean competitions among student teams to raise funds for a specific goal such as bags of cement for a concrete walkway) and other noncalendrical special events (such as the fashion show described in Chapter 5). However, not all school-sponsored entertainment events are for fund-raising purposes. The three other most important events of the school year are Mother's Day assemblies (May), the Independence Day parade (September), and graduation ceremonies (December). School children participate as a group in religious processions (during Maria Santíssima month in May), and the State Education Division sponsors an activity for the patronal festival during school vacation in July.

The traditional leaders, the social organization and sometimes even the content of both the June festivals and the patronal festivals have changed in recent years. Because educators are leaders in the county seat June festivals more than in any other community festivals, and also because of the June festival's political significance, these festivals will be analyzed at greater length. Educators are also leaders in patronal festivals, both in the county seat and in river

villages, but to a lesser degree because they share the organization and leadership of these events with other community power groups more than they do the June festivals.

A review of tradition and change in June festivals shows that they have changed in folklore elements and in social organization, so that the traditional symbolic theme of alliance (marriage and coparenthood) has been retained but is now expanded to cover the new leadership alliances emerging in the political life in Muitaspedras. One shift is from a family emphasis to an emphasis on larger groups, i.e., occupational groups, in the community power structure. There has also been a dilution of the power of two traditional community power groups, the Catholic Church and local government, with the increasing involvement of the army and other outsider agencies in community life. The latter strengthen the predilection of schools to emphasize patriotic nationalism, transforming quasi-religious activities celebrating June saints into the patriotic preservation of colorful regional folkloric activities as part of the national patrimony and a potential future tourist attraction. Before turning to an analysis of the June festivals in Muitaspedras as I observed them in 1977, it is necessary to say something about the role of these festivities in Brazilian life generally.

June festivals are celebrations of the births of Saints Anthony, John, Peter and Paul. They are part of Brazil's Portuguese heritage (Diegues Junior 1962:47). In Europe, St. John's festivals succeeded older summer solstice festivals characterized by a water festival, fires, circle dances, feasts, gymnastics, fertility gods, propagation, and healthy crops (Eisenhofer cited in Smith 1975:16; Cascudo (1967:27). St. Anthony is considered a matchmaker, and Saints John and Peter are

also considered saints favorable to lovers (Cascudo 1968; Wagley 1976). The synthesis of three cultural traditions in Brazil varies according to the relative strength of the three cultures in each region (Portuguese, African, and Indian), along with environmental and historical factors. June festival activity occurs all over Brazil, with regional and local variations.

The theme of unity and diversity in Brazilian folklore is stressed by the Brazilian folklorist Manuel Diegues Junior; a common heritage imposes unity, but folklore is, above all, adapted to specific locales (1962). Common elements of St. John's festivals in Brazil are bonfires, corn and other special food and drink, divination and fortune-telling concerning marriage, folk dramas, baths, and songs and firecrackers (de Mello 1949; Cascudo 1968). The bonfire is traditionally burned in front of each house, in a gathering of family and friends. There is a coparenthood (fictive kinship) relationship which may be enacted by performing a ritual over the bonfire (Cascudo 1967:22; Wagley 1976:153). Girls try to foretell their marriage, choice of husband, profession and residence through many individual rituals performed on St. John's Eve (de Mello 1949). Water is used in many of the divinations; there are traditions involving a purifying bath in running or scented water. The characteristic folk drama concerns an ox who is killed and revived: variations are performed all over Brazil either in June for St. John or in December.² The Bird Chain is another folk drama with variations, but found only in Pará; it also involves the death and rebirth theme. The country wedding comedy may be performed during St. Anthony's festival; he is the patron saint of 228 Brazilian parishes (Cascudo 1967:4-5).

Folklorists emphasize that even though folklore is traditional, it is always involved in a process of transformation and adaptation to changes operating within a society. The Brazilian folklorist Edison Carneiro writes, "Folklore accompanies events, as its commentary. In reality, even though an event in itself may not be traditional, its formative elements generally are. This is the case with the birds of Belém (the Bird Chain folkdrama of Pará) . . . products of extensive recomposition which created, in synthesis, new phenomena" (Carneiro 1955:10--translation my own).

There is a tradition of competition among folk dramas in the Amazon which spurs the creation of variations. Wagley reports a Boi Bumba competition in Itá (Wagley 1976:205), and notes that the Bird Chain was less popular than the Boi, and died out. Competition for prizes in Manaus at official folklore festivals led to the creation of what people jokingly referred to as a "Lion Bird" variation in 1961. Although one folklorist criticized it by saying that it offered nothing original, that is just the point--traditional elements were being juggled around as part of a continual process of folklore development. The same folklorist cited a Monkey Chain in the city of Tefe performed during the June festivals; it disappeared there in 1921 (Monteiro 1964). In Muitaspedras, the Monkey Chain was performed in 1964 in a quasi-competition with a Butterfly Chain (Nascimento 1975). The latter script was modified and performed as the Macaw Chain in 1977. The use of scripts is a common feature in the presentation of these comedy-dramas in Brazil and elsewhere. The ensaiador or director has a script, and writes out parts for the players. However, as another folklorist points out, "When scripts exist, they do not determine the totality of either

action or dialogue; they are simply a guide for the performance that is more often than not departed from" (Abrahams 1972:354).

In addition to the process of change in folklore elements, there is the process of change in social organization of festivals. Sponsorship of festivals in Huancayo, Peru, changed from the entire territorial grouping to specialized associations (Adams 1959 cited in Smith 1975:18). Sponsorship of patronal festivals in Otuzco, Peru, and Itá, Brazil, changed from that of religious brotherhoods and majordomos to a committee of citizens prominent in civic and business groups (Smith 1975; Wagley 1976).

Most of the traditional June festival activities are oriented toward the participation of family and friend groups, or of individuals. Traditional folk dramas such as the Boi Bumba (Ox) are performed by voluntary groups who solicit a yearly sponsor, but they are not organized in the same manner as the patronal festivals, i.e., by brotherhoods, majordomos, or committees. The folk drama is presented in front of homes for individual families and their friends (Wagley 1976:205-207), or it may be performed in enclosed outdoor areas (Sá: personal communication). It is not uncommon for several groups to present folk dramas in competition. The point is that community-wide organization is not as characteristic of the traditional June festival as it is of the patronal festival.

School Sponsorship of June Festivals

To return to educators and their leadership in community entertainment events, the school June festivals add a new sponsoring institution to the traditional family, friends, and individual emphasis. Like

the traditional June festivals, the school June festivals are celebrations of a seasonal and calendrical Christian event: the arrival of the Amazon "summer" dry season and the four Saints' Days. They are organized institutionally but are often open to participants outside the institution.

Each town neighborhood primary school holds its own June festival, with school personnel and students' parents helping to organize, with students and teachers as performers, and neighborhood residents as participants. In the newest neighborhood in Muitaspedras, there are many gold miners and their families. The school festival's organizers relied on the miners for participation and financial support. The poorest neighborhood in town houses many poor fishermen and Protestants. Festival organizers predicted a less successful festival (Protestants were not expected to participate), and this reportedly was the case. Two of the school June festivals were not planned as neighborhood fund-raising events, but were limited to invited guests. The Santana Middle School's Saint John's Eve festival was for students and teachers. The Project Rondon's Extension Campus festival was for middle and upper class friends and associates of the campus.

Even though the school June festivals which are planned as fund-raisers are community events, several factors limit participation. First, Protestants were not expected to participate in festivals honoring the June saints, especially since dancing and drinking activities were important festival components. Second, and especially important, the June festivals were held in schools and were organized by school personnel. This means that there was a middle and upper-class emphasis in the festivals which may not have attracted lower-class residents--

not to mention the admission charge and the pressures to buy food, drink, and Miss Caipira tickets. There is an aristocratic heritage in Brazilian education which has a lasting influence on attitudes and values concerning the schools (Kimball 1960). When coupled with the Brazilian middle class' aristocratic values and tastes (Wagley 1968), the result is a barrier to lower class participation.

Seen in the context of the tradition of growth and change in folklore elements and organization, the school festivals represent a new adaptation of a long history of June festival activities. The Macaw Chain, the country wedding, the bonfire, the auction, and the dances are all traditional activities organized by new sponsors, school personnel, and sometimes performed in a new setting, the schoolyard. The Miss Caipira beauty contest and the Secret Friend gift exchange around the bonfire are new activities which, however, incorporate traditional emphases found in June festivals. Miss Caipira continues the emphasis on rural characteristics found in the dances and in the country wedding. The emphasis on youth, especially young women looking forward to marriage, is given new expression in the contest. Competition is also traditional, e.g., in the folk dramas, and so here again an old theme is receiving a new expression. In the national context, Brazil's fascination with beauty contests can also be cited (Wagley 1971). The Secret Friend gift exchange³ around the bonfire is an activity which was also performed (minus the bonfire) in Muitaspedras as part of a teacher inservice course (see Chapter 4). This new practice in the context of the festival can be seen, however, as a new expression of the formation and strengthening of friendship bonds found in the traditional ritual of co-parenthood of the fire (one of several Amazonian variations of compadresco, fictive kinship).

The school June festivals must also be seen in the context of Brazilian education, and here it is important to consider how educators view folklore and its utilization in the school setting. In a national publication, a Brazilian teacher who is also a folklorist writes that teachers should not teach folklore to their students; instead, folklore should be an instructional tool to improve comprehension, develop memory, give incentive to fantasy, and to provide themes for interest centers which relate to whatever subject is being taught (Ribeiro 1962:93). The teacher should be selective in the use of folklore; she should not frighten children with folktales about monsters who eat children or illnesses cured by blessers (a type of folk health practitioner). Instead, the teacher should show that these beliefs are pernicious, and should discourage children from thinking about such fears and beliefs.

Local educators had nothing to say about folklore as a pedagogical tool, but instead discussed the materials they could buy for the school from funds raised at June festivals. However, selectivity in folklore themes can be seen in school festival activities. Frightening elements are minimized, the wedding comedy's jokes are not too risqué, and a mild, inoffensive atmosphere prevails. The Bird Chain folk drama is noted by Wagley for its mildness in comparison with the more popular --and earthy--Ox play, Boi Bumba.

Compatible with the Itá ideals of feminine behavior, women do not participate in the Boi Bumba. . . . Young girls did participate in the Bird Chain, which was mainly an upper-class affair closely supervised by their families. (Wagley 1976: 200ff)

Here the values of the aristocratic tradition in education and the influence of female school personnel (who are either middle class or local upper class) are clearly seen.

A June Festival in a County Seat Primary School

The most successful June festival, politically and financially, was held in one of the primary schools. This school is attended by children from army base families, National Road Department families, and prominent merchant and government families. Support from these families was solicited and received for the festival. Fund-raising and patron-seeking activities were initiated by the school's director several weeks before the festival. Bingo games for students were held in the classrooms during both daytime sessions. Each class raised approximately US\$32.00 for the festival. Students sold tickets in the community for another bingo game and also for the Miss Caipira contest. The director invited mothers of the Miss Caipira candidates to a planning meeting in her office. These mothers were all middle or upper class and included the wives of the army base commander and an important merchant.

The festival was held on a Saturday night in the schoolyard, a large area enclosed by an outside wall and by classrooms and office wings. Five soldiers from the army base stood guard outside the gates during the whole event. No other school festival received this military patronage. Admission to the festival was two dollars (U.S.) Once inside, patrons paid for drinks brought to their tables by waiters and for regional foods. Around the school yard, there was a ring of palm-thatched stalls where the regional foods were sold. Both the base commander and his wife operated one of these stalls. Their first-grade daughter was among other contestants in the Miss Caipira contest circulating among the tables, throwing ribbons around people's necks and "demanding" money for a ticket. The auction was another fund-raising

component of festival night. A supervisor from the State Education Division served as auctioneer and sold several items including a bottle of whiskey.

It is clear that this school director was resourceful and successful in attracting middle and upper class patronage for her school's June festival. The admission cost plus the pressure to buy bingo tickers, Miss Caipira tickets, drinks and food, made the festival too expensive for lower class families to attend. The most important patrons solicited by the school director were the army base commander and his wife. Their support was rewarded during the festival. A panel of judges including the town postmaster, the mayor's wife, and a county councilman (all members of the old local elite) withdrew to a classroom to choose the winner of the Miss Caipira contest. They chose the daughter of the commander and his wife.

This school festival was politically important in several ways. In a frontier area undergoing rapid population growth, such festivals functioned both to promote social cohesion and to emphasize the many divisions which existed in the community. Natives and recent immigrants from all over Brazil had a chance to become better acquainted in this special setting. In this way, the government goal of national integration was advanced. Regional differences were presented in folk drama and dances, but the festival as a whole reaffirmed national unity.

The festival can be considered a rite of intensification (Burnett 1975:318) in that traditional relationships were dramatized and reaffirmed. Both upper class domination and patron-client relationships were emphasized. Rites of intensification are performed when changed conditions create a crisis for all or part of a group. Everyone in

Muitaspedras faced the crisis of change brought on by rapid population growth through immigration. The old upper class, in particular, faced a dilution of power because of the influx of many relatively affluent, well-educated outsiders. The school director was a dynamic leader who knew how to bridge the gap between the old and new elites. She was a native whose husband was employed by one of the new agencies. She sought the patronage of both old and new elites through the mothers of her students. What happened at the festival recreated and reaffirmed that which had already happened in the community, i.e., that the army is now the most powerful group. The director brought together the old and the new power groups; and, in the Miss Caipira contest, a panel of the old elite acquiesced in the ascent of the new elite by crowning the daughter of the base commander Miss Caipira.

The seriousness of the drama behind the light-hearted festival activities was revealed by an incident that night. A professional man complained about a drawing for a door prize done in a classroom by a group including the base commander's wife. This caused an uproar when the complaint reached her ears. She complained to her husband. He went to the superintendent of the State Education Division who disclaimed any responsibility. The professional man was reprimanded by the base commander. The previous base commander had had another professional man expelled from Muiaspedras over a similar dispute. This incident shows the importance of the festival as a means of social control. The ability of the new elite to use their power was demonstrated in the door prize incident. Educators showed their skill in soliciting patronage from both old and new elites. They wisely tried to avoid involvement in conflict which might jeopardize any patron's support.

A June Festival in a County Seat Middle School

The June festival held by the Santana Middle School was a more traditional event in its patronage and its treatment of differences in social class. The middle school festival, like the primary school festival, shows how the county seat elite educators sought patrons from the county power structure according to the population served by the school. The Santana Middle School is staffed and attended mostly by local people or immigrants from within the region. The festival, like the school, catered more to the old social order than to the new.

The Santana Middle School festival followed a traditional Amazon festival pattern of two-class attendance (Wagley 1976). The festival was held on a Saturday night, one week before the primary school's festival. The location was an outdoor sports area enclosed by a low wall. Middle and upper class patrons paid US\$7.00 to "buy a table" seating four people inside the wall. There were waitresses who took orders for drinks. Lower class patrons bought less expensive tickets to the bleachers outside the low wall (a fence had been built around the bleachers for the festival). This two-class admissions policy allowed a wider range of people to attend the festival, while also reminding them of their socioeconomic position. Muitaspedras' traditional class system was validated by the festival. All patrons were rewarded by being able to watch and participate, but the higher status of some participants was marked.

The most important patron of the Santana Middle School festival was the mayor. The highlight of the festival was a series of dances performed by gaily customized students. The students later traveled downriver on the county boat to the mayor's hometown. There they

repeated the dances at another festival and attended a dinner. The mayor's patronage of the Santana Middle School's festival was indicative of the political alliance between the mayor and the nuns (Chapter 6). The superintendent of the county schools is a nun. She praised the mayor for not mixing politics with the school system, as is common in other Brazilian counties. The mayor and the nuns were natural political allies because both represented institutions which traditionally had held power in the educational system. Both were seeing their power base eroded by newly arrived institutions.

Educators and Patrons in River Villages

The river villages are the zone least affected by the changes brought by Transamazon Highway programs. River village educators, therefore, rely on the traditional power groups--local government, merchant-traders, and the Catholic Church--for patronage. Once again, entertainment events provided an excellent opportunity to observe the interaction of educators and their patrons. Examples follow from three river villages.

The first river village is a negative example as far as the school director is concerned, because she is a Protestant. The most important festivals in the river villages are those celebrating Catholic saints. The Protestant minority in these villages do not participate in the festivals. This river village is the mayor's hometown. Since he has close ties with the nuns who work in the County Education Secretariat and the Santana Middle School, he brought the student dancers from the school to his hometown for the festival there. The educational leader

who is allied with the mayor in his hometown is the male school secretary, a relative of the mayor. (The school secretary is also a community leader, having served as president of the community council in 1975.) This example shows the local variations in patronage which are worked out using ties of kinship and religion. In this river village, the mayor is the most important patron of the schools. Many of the river village schools were begun earlier in the century by Catholic missionary orders. Catholic influence remains. Even though the schools are administered by the State Education Division, some teacher salaries are paid by the County Education Secretariat. Thus, the indirect ties between the nuns and the mayor remain.

The second river village, like the first, shows how the links between the county seat and the river village are maintained through patronage at festivals. The vicar, a nun, the wife of a former company director in the river village, and a State Education Division supervisor born in the village, all traveled there for a patronal festival. The school closed for this important event. However, villagers agreed that their village and its festival had declined in recent years. The most important employer, a lumber and trading company, had closed after losing its labor force to the gold mines. The ex-company director and his family now lived in the county seat, but the wife still returned as a representative of the town's old upper class. The supervisor brought along her dressiest clothes for this visit to her brother's family in her hometown. Her sister-in-law had two of the new available government jobs: she was a schoolteacher and the village nurse-midwife. While the upper class company director's wife and the middle class supervisor spent the afternoon catching up on village gossip, the vicar, the nun,

and the village school director supervised festival preparations. The latter demonstrated her leadership role in church and school activities. She supervised the placement of flowers in the church. She prepared pato no tucupí (duck in a special sauce) for sale at the auction. She marched right behind the saint in the procession through the village. Other patronal festival activities included a church service, first communion for a group of children, evening dancing and drinking, and finally, late that night, the Boi Bumba, a popular folk drama about the death and rebirth of an ox. In a river village like this one, where earlier economic booms had gone bust, an old patron (the company director's family) retained prestige. So did the Catholic church. As the company director's wife said, "Here in the interior, it is the priest who gives the orders." The most important patron currently was the county and state government, as provider of jobs in the school.

Educators in the third river village also had patrons in a traditional merchant-trader and the Catholic church. A more impersonal patron of the schools was the Miner's Assistance Foundation. This federal agency built the school in 1973. Gold mining, along with fishing and rubber tapping, were the principal economic activities of village men. In this river village, unlike the first two, the most important patron was still a resident. He was a merchant-trader whom the vicar jokingly called "the mayor." He still traveled upriver in his own boat to buy rubber. He also had a store in the village. He maintained another residence in Santarém, the city which had the only high schools in the region. There he sent his children and some godchildren to be educated after they finished primary school. His oldest daughter had returned to the village to be the school director. Another daughter had taught

in the city. Like many upper class families in rural villages, the merchant-trader's family took advantage of their relative prosperity to secure an education for their daughters which would give them a job when other economic activities failed.

The festival was in honor of Saint Sebastian, the village's patron saint. The vicar traveled there for the occasion and was kept busy hearing confession, giving first communion, baptisms, a marriage, and mass. The Catholic church was a patron of teachers in this village, because they also served as instructors for catechism classes. Many villagers sought a godparent relationship with the merchant-trader or a member of his family. When his daughter walked through the village during the festival, many village children asked her for a blessing, the traditional greeting between godparent and godchild. These fictive kinship ties had allowed a few village children to continue their schooling outside the village. A more recent patron in education was Project Rondon, the university extension program in the county seat. A village boy had received a scholarship to study in the South. Village teachers also depended on the university extension program to send their community development volunteers to the village to teach short inservice courses. In this river village, educators and others had both old traditional patrons and two newer, outside agency patrons: the university extension program and the Miner's Assistance Foundation.

Problems of Patronage on the Highways

The highway teachers face the most difficult living and working conditions of all four educator subgroups. To make matters worse, they

must rely more on impersonal than on personalistic patronage because they are newcomers to brand-new communities. Amazon communities traditionally are fragmented due to social stratification and migration during the periods of economic boom and bust. Even among highway colonists there are differences in material well-being and in class orientation, with a minority possessing experience either in technical skills, entrepreneurship, or the ways of bureaucratic organizations. The highway communities are further fragmented by Catholic-Protestant schisms as well as regional differences among Northerners, Northeasterners, and Southerners. The highway communities, like some of the old riverine neighborhoods, are dispersed, line communities. This pattern of settlement means that neighbors do not see each other as frequently as townspeople and that there are fewer entertainment events and establishments to draw people together. Under these conditions of fragmentation and isolation, it has been difficult for the new colonists to form communities.

It has also been difficult for the colonists to find patrons. The colonists who first settled two new Transamazon Highway came under the patronage of a federal government colonization agency (INCRA) which had been created especially to help them. When development priorities for the region changed in 1975, the colonization agency began to be phased out (IBGE 1975; SUDAM 1976). This left the colonists without their largest and most important patron. The three remaining large government agencies which could aid colonists in specific areas are the agricultural extension service (EMATER), the army with their mobile medical unit, and the school system (SEDUC).

Of the three chief traditional institutions--local government, merchants, and the Catholic church--only the latter has worked with colonists in their highway communities. The Catholic church assigned one priest to the highway settlements, and each community has lay religious instructors who perform some church functions. The Protestant churches have established small congregations all along the highways.

The pressures of living in fragmented and isolated communities affect the highway teachers in their one-room schools. They complain about the lack of parental understanding and support. The educational leadership offered by these teachers may be resented or rejected in these communities because of religious, regional, or socio-economic differences.

Highway teachers have a significant source of patronage not available to other colonists--the State Education Division--which is so significant that even men are becoming teachers in this zone. On the highway, a person can still become a teacher with only a primary school education of four or five years. Once hired, the new teacher becomes part of a state bureaucracy. She or he is brought to the county seat at the mayor's expense to receive special training in curriculum by teachers brought from the state capital. The State Education Division superintendent also instructs new teachers in the ways of bureaucracy. The teachers earn state salaries with a federal supplement. The state pays room and board during inservice training courses. The teachers have the opportunity to meet each other and to explore the county seat. Similar opportunities do not exist for other colonists. Clearly, the school system itself is the most significant patron for the highway teachers. Through the school system, teachers receive services from

all three of the traditional power groups: the mayor (transportation), local merchants (room and board), and the Catholic church (a cassette religious education program sponsored by an interdenominational church group and administered by the Catholic church). Teaching is a way for some colonists to learn middle class ways, earn a salary and benefits, and make new contacts with county power groups.

In summary, the four principal subgroups of educators vary in their community leadership. The county seat elite are the most influential in the community as a whole. As administrators and school directors, they are the most likely to serve as political mediators and attractors of patronage through entertainment events. They have the most access to other community leaders, and therefore have more opportunity to influence opinions. The county seat primary school teachers have the opportunity to rise to the elite subgroup because they work in the county seat schools, where they meet the elite educators more often and also have the chance to attend middle school. The river village educators are leaders in their own communities both economically and socially, and as such can be mediators and opinion-shapers there. The highway teachers are especially important within their farm families, since they are salaried government employees. Their leadership role in highway communities is less certain, however, because of the problems of new community formation and the difficulty of finding patrons after the loss of the government colonization agency.

Nuns and military wives represent, respectively, the "locals" and the "outsiders" in the schools. The political power of the "locals" has been diluted by the arrival of the "outsiders," especially the new middle class agency staffs and commercial entrepreneurs. The mayor and

the nuns have tried to preserve their traditional power base in the schools in the face of a rapidly expanding school system dominated by army and agency wives in the State Education Division and the State Middle School.

The competition over the schools is just one area where political alliances are made, patrons sought, and social control by dominant groups asserted. Schools are a particularly important arena, however, because of their influence on the lives of young people, the role played by schools in community entertainment life, and the role of schools in promoting patriotic nationalism.

All of these features make schools an arena for community socialization, and educators are leaders in this socialization.

Community Socialization at School June Festivals

When educators organize school June festivals and other entertainment events, they use their leadership skills to socialize the community. They do this by utilizing both their social skills and their cultural heritage. The social skills have already been discussed, i.e., finding patrons, providing an arena for power groups to confirm alliances, and demonstrating the continuing social control of the community by dominant groups. Educators utilize their cultural heritage by presenting folklore as part of the national patrimony. This makes participation in the festivals a patriotic event.

Through the school festivals, educators promote feelings of national integration in which regional differences are recognized and overridden by national unity. This theme also occurs in the school

curriculum (where, however, it reaches only students), where the major emphasis is on national heroes and events. The emphasis on national unity has special significance in a community of immigrants from the North, the Northeast, and the South. Ribeiro (1962) wrote about the Brazilianization of foreigners as a major function of folklore in the schools. In Muitaspedras, a community divided by regional differences (also by natives versus outsiders) can achieve social cohesion in the festival context by patriotic feelings of being Brazilians celebrating the June festival season just as Brazilians do elsewhere.

The Macaw Chain folk drama can be considered a didactic use of folklore which promotes patriotic nationalism by incorporating diverse regional folkloric figures into a cooperative effort to save an Amazon bird. It is tempting to call the Macaw Chain folk drama a drama of Amazon development, in which characters cooperate to save the Amazon from death by a predator. This is because the characters in the play are drawn from the dominant founding groups of North Brazil, the Portuguese and the Indians. The princess and the fairy are from the European tradition. The cowboys are Brazilian figures, found especially in the Northeast and South (their costume was closer to the Northeastern vaqueiro). The Indians and the shaman are the aboriginal population. These characters all interact to save the macaw. The affective message in the play is one of love for the beauty and joy of nature, the sadness when nature is destroyed, and the attempt to return to that innocent and beautiful state. Even the killer should not be killed, says the fairy, and when the macaw is revived the hunter is released. This emotional expression of the beauty and feminine delicacy of nature (the flowers and the macaw are played by young girls, the gardener by

an older girl), defended by energetic young male cowboys and Indians, is a sentimental message appropriate to the school setting, the pattern of sex roles in the community, and to the season. June heralds the dry season in the Amazon, a time of intense agricultural activity (harvest followed by clearing of fields) and extractive activity (the old, now diminished, rubber gathering, and the newer placer mining of gold). The continued viability of the community, which has grown so quickly in a few years, depends on a fragile tropical ecosystem, one where extractive industries have been the rule (rubber, wood, nuts, gold) and agriculture not very successful above the subsistence level (the government development plan for the region acknowledged this by a change from agriculture back to extractivism in 1975). This ecological fragility is expressed symbolically in the flowers and the macaw. Only good Brazilian figures such as Indians and cowboys are fit to protect them. The fear expressed by Brazilians, both informants in Muitaspedras and elsewhere (Ribeiro 1962; Wagley 1974; Ferreira Reis 1974) is fear of foreign exploitation of the Amazon, robbing Brazilians of its resources. With the help of local Brazilians and a guardian fairy, the macaw is revived and peace and happiness restored to the garden in the forest.

In addition to socializing the community to national integration (including the development of the Amazon), alliance within and among smaller, local groups is also socialized. Communitas (Victor Turner's term for feelings of solidarity and group unity) is felt most strongly in the secret friend gift exchange among students and teachers of the Santana Middle School at their private St. John's Eve festivities. The bonfire and circle dancing which precede the gift exchange stress

the traditional heritage influencing this new June festival activity. The secret friend gift exchange is a new ritual for the expression of communitas, a successor to the old ritual coparenthood of the fire. As is characteristic of communitas (Turner 1969), social structural differences are temporarily transcended, in this case teacher/student and male/female differences. The secret friends are a pair who embrace after the group has identified the gift recipient from clues given by the gift giver. But because the gifts are not exchanged between the pairs, instead being given in a chain fashion in which each gift recipient gives not to the giver but to the next recipient, the whole group is united in a chain of gift giving and receiving. In the secret friend gift exchange, the dyad which characterizes coparents of the bonfire is expanded to a group chain of friends, establishing communitas despite the divisions which exist in everyday life. The gift is symbolic of friendship and cohesion given to establish communitas.

These two symbolic themes, unity and alliance, are found in all the school June festivals when their use of space, arrangement of personnel, and activities are all considered together. First, all of the festivals occurred in an enclosed space, surrounded by walls but open to the sky (except for the Extension Campus, where the dances occurred under a thatch roof, but food was eaten outside). These real boundaries are also symbolic boundaries delineating the special nature of the enclosed space. Within the enclosed space is found the second outstanding symbol, the human chains. The circle and chain dances, the Macaw Chain, and the chain-like gift exchange all symbolically unite people into groups. These performances always occurred in a central area surrounded by onlookers. The symbolic pattern is one of concentric circles, with performers united in a chain at the center, surrounded

by onlookers participating vicariously, surrounded by walls which enclose and shelter these special occasions. In this context, the presence of the military guard outside the gates of one school is a striking image of protection of this special occasion. They also remind participants of the army's role in community development as providers of medical services, trainers of young men performing their year of obligatory service, and political leaders.

The school June festivals are symbols of unity in a normally divisive community. It is this strong emphasis on social structure in everyday life which, according to Turner (1969) makes the appearance of communitas in ritual occasions essential. In the ritualistic portions of the school June festivals, communitas emerges in the human chains and in the symbolic use of space and arrangement within space. The traditional emphasis of June festivals is renewal, translated in Brazilian June festivals as marriage. This pillar of social structure is satirized in some ritual festival activities, but the expression of alliance which marriage symbolizes is the outstanding characteristic of communitas expressed in the festival as a whole. In the secret friend gift exchange, alliance of pairs is expanded to group alliance, and the many forms of human chains also convey group alliance. This emphasis socializes community members to accept the new political alliances they see emerging in everyday community life and being confirmed by more symbolic events such as the crowning of Miss Caipira.

The student participants in the school June festivals and other school-sponsored entertainment events (such as Mother's Day assemblies) are socialized to future leadership roles in several ways. First, educators encourage students to participate in the activities, assign them tasks, teach them their parts, and supervise their practice. If the students successfully perform these tasks, they are rewarded not primarily by the approval of educators, but more importantly--by the members of the community who attend the festival. The latter may include parents, relatives, and important members of various community groups. Second, educators give students the example of their own leadership skills in organization, supervision, solicitation of patronage, and provision of a joyous celebration which is an important community event. Educators and students have the opportunity to demonstrate their competence to the community.

A fourth-grade student in a town primary school told me about the enjoyment that participation in the Macaw Chain folk drama brought him. He was initially disappointed at being assigned the role of an Indian (a group part) rather than one of the individual speaking parts. But he went to practice every night, spent hard-earned money (his family is poor, and everyone works) on bingo tickets, helped sell tickets in the community, carefully planned his costume, and looked happy and proud during the school festival and in a subsequent performance at the neighborhood community center, sponsored by the Catholic church.

A third way that students are socialized for leadership roles by participation in the festivals is through the ritual aspects of these festivals. The ritual of reversal (Turner 1969) allows students at

the primary and middle schools, normally at the bottom of the school social hierarchy, to move temporarily to the top as performers in the dances and the country wedding, and as contestants in the Miss Caipira contest. The dancers at the Santana Middle School later traveled to the mayor's hometown downriver to repeat their performance and attend a dinner. For the month of June, these student performers became important people. A different kind of reversal characterizes the student and other performers at the university Extension Campus. People with even some university education are a small minority in Muitaspedras, and are at the top of a hierarchy of education people, even though they may not be wealthy or powerful. The dancers combined university students with young professional, agency, and business people of Muitaspedras. In a ritual of reversal, the high were made low by the young elite dancers dressing as hicks or rustics and acting in a comical way in their performance of the country wedding. Still another variation on the ritual of reversal occurred at the country wedding performed in the town primary school festival. Three teachers and an adult night school student were the performers. The night student performer was given the role of a bossy wife. Everyone laughed at the student "wife" berating her teacher "husband," in a reversal of their usual positions.

Variations in costume and in the use of the word caipira reveal how the ritual of reversal is accomplished. The university Extension Campus dancers reversed from high to low. Their country costumes were patched and crude. The country costumes of the Santana Middle School student dancers were not rustic in the same sense. Instead, they were charming, colorful, and neatly made. This is consistent with the

middle school students' reversal from low to high, and also consistent with the value placed on dress and appearances in everyday school and community life. The use of the word caipira in the festival context is revealing. Both caipira and caboclo refer to rural people and rural ways. However, caipira derives from South Brazil, while caboclo also means a "civilized" Indian or a Brazilian of mixed Indian and Portuguese ancestry. Northern Brazil is the region of the highest proportion of caboclos in the latter sense. When Northern Brazilians use the word caipira for their Miss Caipira contests, and perform mock caipira weddings and dances, they are using appropriate terms for a ritual of reversal. Northern Brazilians do not describe themselves as caboclos; it is a term they use to refer to someone else of lower social standing. But in the festival context it is acceptable to use the synonym caipira, and to interpret the costumes and behavior associated with that synonym according to whether the participant is reversing from high to low or vice versa. For the Extension Campus dancers--who are, for the most part, South Brazilians--caipira is interpreted as rustic, ragged and comical. For the Miss Caipira contest candidates and students in the primary and middle schools, caipira is interpreted as rustic but charming, and they wear long, matching dresses, and facial make-up.

Conclusions

Educators have the opportunity to demonstrate their leadership to the community by their organization and supervision in entertainment events, especially the ones they sponsor themselves. The county seat elite subgroup of educators has the most opportunity to do this

during the school June festivals. They can dar um jeito to get around their lack of decision-making powers in the centralized state education system by making the school June festivals the major fund-raising events of the school year. Their use of a colorful cultural heritage of June folklore practices in the school festivals serves many purposes. It socializes the community to the values of patriotic nationalism by symbolically promoting a general sense of unity (communitas) and more specific political alliances of groups. This backs up the socialization of the community to a new political order emerging from alliances among Catholic church groups, local government, merchants, new agencies, and the army. The community schism of insider versus outsider is temporarily bound together by the ritual context. The community is also reassured that familiar patterns of social relations, such as the solicitation of patrons, the multi-class system, and the social dominance of some groups, will continue. Since the county seat festivals attract more middle and upper class than lower class participants, middle class educators can also reassure participants that middle class values on marriage, family life, the importance of schooling, and the art of appearances, will continue.

Educators socialize student participants to leadership during school-sponsored entertainment events by encouraging their participation, teaching them their parts, and giving students the opportunity to demonstrate their competence before peers, parents, and the community. Students are also socialized to leadership by observing the example of educators engaging in leadership activities, such as organizing and supervising a large-scale festival, soliciting patrons from important people in the community, and raising money for the many items needed

in every school which are not supplied by the government. Students are also socialized to leadership through the ritual of reversal, when they temporarily are elevated to high status in front of the community.

The other educator subgroups have opportunities to exercise leadership in their neighborhoods, but to a lesser degree than the county seat elites or the county seat primary schoolteachers. The latter assist the county seat elite in the many tasks of preparing for a festival, from cutting out tickets to teaching parts to students. Like the students, the county seat primary schoolteachers can learn from the leadership example of the county seat elite. River village educators live in smaller neighborhoods which have undergone fewer of the changes associated with the highway programs. They have an important position in the community economically, and may have kinship ties to traditional power groups such as merchants and local government. They participate in the traditional patronal festivals by organizing and supervising some activities, but they do not sponsor the festivals. The highway teachers are leaders without many followers in their neighborhoods because of the especially fragmented nature of these new neighborhoods and the difficulty of finding patrons. This subgroup does have a link to the traditional patrons through their occupation, but their leadership may not be recognized by the members of their own neighborhoods. Some do serve as catechists, however, which makes them lay religious leaders of fellow Catholics in the neighborhoods. Although I saw traditional neighborhood entertainment events (raising the pole) in a highway agrovila (planned neighborhood of small farmers) near Altamira in 1974, the agrovilas had the advantage of clustered housing, a community center, and local support by the government colonization agency (INCRA), features no longer present on the highways near Multaspedras.

Notes

¹By county power structure, I mean groups within the community who are politically important there because they exercise control over resources, have social prestige, and because other members of the community view them as potential patrons.

²Boi-bumba or Bumba-meu-boi, the ox folk drama, is usually associated with the North and the Northeast, but Bumba-meu-boi is also reported in Rio de Janeiro and Boi-de-Mamão, another variation, is reported in Paraná and Santa Catarina, the latter both southern states (de Lima 1968).

³I do not know how widespread this custom is among Brazilian educators. When I taught second grade in a small southern United States town, faculty and staff drew names to exchange Christmas gifts at a party.

CHAPTER EIGHT
THE PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION IN A FRONTIER COMMUNITY

Change and Expansion in the Role of Educators

The role of educators in the schools and community, and its relationship to development has been studied in the context of an urbanizing frontier community undergoing the process of forming a new middle class. Traditionally, the formal role of educators in the community is to transmit some variant of the larger society's culture to children. As the community has changed so has the educator's role. Two major types of change have occurred. The first is the variation of culture which is transmitted. The second is the group to whom it is transmitted. These changes have an impact on three types of development: community, human resources, and economic development.

Educators in rural areas of Brazil traditionally have transmitted an approximation of national, urban, elite, academic culture to children. The approximation might have been very far from the ideal culture, but it was as close to that culture as rural children were likely to get. The gulf between the ideal culture and the socioeconomic reality of rural children was so great that, traditionally, few of them progressed beyond first grade. The situation of children in county seats differed somewhat, since even county seats in rural areas are, by definition, urban, and urbanism is highly valued by its residents as a distinguishing feature between themselves and people in "the interior." In Muitaspedras

town, most streets are unpaved and most houses lack ceilings, but there is a dress code at the movie theater and a debutante ball for the daughters of prosperous residents. Whereas rural neighborhoods are likely to be served by poorly-funded county primary schools, a frontier county seat is more likely to have a state primary school and a middle school.

The role of educators in the schools and community of Muitaspedras changed and expanded with the highway-related development programs of the 1970s. They are still transmitters of an approximation of urban, national culture, but the aristocratic ideal has been diluted (certainly not eliminated) by a more middle class ideal of education for work. This is a significant change, even though the vocational ideal was tried in the past in rural areas, and even though Brazilians tend to impose the academic ideal on vocational schools. Furthermore, the role of educators has expanded. They are now direct transmitters of urban, middle class culture to adults as well as children, both in the classroom and in the larger community during after-school entertainment events. The urban county seat in the rural area remains the locus of most of this cultural transmission.

The most visible role of educators with students is the formal role of teaching "the three R's." Almost all schools in Muitaspedras are primary schools, and most of the formal instruction given in the classrooms is in the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Teachers are themselves taught the three R's and how to instruct others in them during inservice courses.

Educators also have an important role in the socialization of students. This informal role is not discussed by them like the formal

pedagogical role is, but it is equally visible in the activities of educators with students. Educators encourage students to develop the ability to dar um jeito in several ways, and they also encourage the development of leadership skills.

Steward (1955) points out that there are forces of both unity and diversity in education, and that the communication function is a unifying force. Patriotic nationalism and national integration are communicated to students all over Brazil by educators through formal instruction and informal socialization. However, in Muitaspedras, national integration also occurs when the classroom serves as a meeting place for educators and students from all over Brazil. They notice their differences but must unite, at least temporarily, to perform common activities.

Highway teachers, especially, are symbols of the Brazilian dreams of universal literacy and national integration. The government has been the chief patron of highway colonists, and in school they learn that their colonization effort is a patriotic attempt to keep the frontier Brazilian and to integrate it with the rest of the country through economic development.

However, as Steward (1955) also points out, there is also a force of diversity in education, which is found in its institutional characteristics. Although the school ideally services students from all social classes, the educators who bring the institution to life are predominantly middle class and tend to socialize their own bureaucratic variation of middle class behavior and values among students, which are more compatible with students from middle class families than with students from lower class families. Furthermore, the gatekeeper function

of educator/bureaucrats discourages and may preclude lower class student attendance in school.

Students who surmount these barriers and remain in school are socialized to bureaucratic behavior. Although the structure of the school and the example of patron-seeking by educators expose students to hierarchy and to vertical cooperation, the team method of organizing classroom work, the tolerance of dar um jeito activity, and the cultivation of student leaders encourages a more egalitarian, primus inter pares type of cooperative group relationship among students.

A final important role of educators with students is the socialization of the latter for work and migration. Although education for work is part of the formal middle school curriculum, students learn a lot more about work from the example of their teachers, peers, and their family. The State Middle School teacher is the strongest socializer of education for work and migration. These teachers are emissaries of the middle class world of urban, industrialized South Brazil, and as such prepare students for middle class work which will require further schooling outside of Muitaspedras.

All of the above components of the educator's role with students are part of the traditional formal role of educators in the community as transmitters of some variant of the larger society's culture to children. One important type of change which has occurred is in which variant of the larger society's culture is being transmitted. The replacement of a frontier equivalent of an academy masquerading as a vocational school with a frontier equivalent of an industrial trainer/city school is a result of a shift in the Brazilian government's attitude toward education. The old aristocratic emphasis on education

as culture and tradition is being legislated away by an increasing emphasis on vocational training for urban, industrial work. The government's ideal is the technician rather than the professional man (or man of letters). Nonetheless, students can still choose to use the new model school to accomplish the traditional educational goals. Until middle schooling becomes the rule rather than the exception for students, the tendency for any vocational model middle school to be used as an academy will continue.

One hopeful sign of primary and middle schooling becoming more accessible to children is recuperation. In 1976-77, recuperation was reducing the high failure rate which has long been a feature of Brazilian education in the lower grades. It has always been possible for students from more prosperous families to receive remedial instruction from private tutors or special cram courses. Recuperation extends this extra help to all public school students and therefore expands the educator's role by offering a better opportunity for children from all social classes (once they pass barriers to enroll and attend).

A second chance has also been offered to adults through the night school programs, ensino supletivo and MOBRAL, therefore expanding the role of educators in the community by offering education to a broader spectrum of the population--more children and adults.

The expanded role of educators in a changing community also includes socialization of the community to changes and continuities in community life during school-sponsored entertainment events. They promote patriotic nationalism by celebrating Brazilian folklore, creating a feeling of solidarity during ritual events, and validating political alliances among groups. This helps accustom the community to a new political

order emerging from alliances among Catholic church groups, local government, merchants, new agencies, and the army. The community schism of outsider versus insider is temporarily bound together by the ritual context. The community is also reassured that familiar patterns of social relations, such as patronage, the multi-class system, and the social dominance of some groups, will continue. The middle class values of marriage, family life, the importance of schooling, and the art of appearances are socialized to the larger community by educators during festivals.

Through these types of community socialization, educators are helping to spread the middle class revolution on the frontier. Long an isolated oasis of urbanism in a sparsely settled region, Muitaspedras' population grew large enough to warrant more administrative and commercial infrastructure. Middle class migrants settled there in hopes of more rapid career advancement or in some cases because the jobs they seek are no longer readily available in larger urban centers. Government-sponsored development programs benefited the middle class by providing job opportunities in an area where few existed previously. Muitaspedras' "middle class revolution" then, is the creation of a social class which did not previously exist in the community, thereby expanding the old two-class system by merging the new middle class with the old local elite. Educators make up one of the largest new bureaucracies so they are both vanguards and transmitters of the middle class revolution to the community.

A notable feature of the expanded role of educators in the community is their increasing initiative at the local level, which is evident in several types of activity. Although state and national

level education bureaucracies sponsor teacher training inservice courses in the community, educators from local level bureaucracies cooperate to sponsor these courses. This type of local level initiative is based on horizontal cooperation through joint local sponsorship of these courses, the egalitarian style of teacher trainers, and the team method of classroom activity. Thus they are prepared to socialize the community to horizontal cooperation 1) among local level power groups and 2) the primus inter pares relationship within small groups.

Another type of local initiative by educators is the sponsorship and organization of entertainment events for the larger community. This is the type of activity in which educators can exercise their leadership, demonstrate it to the larger community, and socialize other educators as well as students to leadership roles. At the local level, educators have the chance to initiate activities as opposed to merely implementing activities mandated from the state and national level education bureaucracies. In addition to the ways in which educators socialize the community during entertainment events, they raise much-needed funds for school improvements. Educators can decide how these funds will be spent without consulting state level bureaucrats, thus demonstrating their own ability to solve problems and make decisions.

However, even in their implementation of bureaucratic directives, educators demonstrate their skill in problem solving and decision making. Teachers are socialized into their bureaucratic role at frequent inservice courses during which they observe administrative problem-solving behavior and sometimes receive instruction from administrators. Every classroom teacher is a bureaucrat as well, and imposes bureaucratic

patterns of behavior on students and their families. This socializes a large segment of the community (families with children or adult members in school) to one major community bureaucracy, therefore preparing them for the others. Administrators of the education bureaucracies and the school directors are skillful in acknowledging and balancing the official rules of bureaucracy and the unofficial rules of the community, and they use formal social behavior and paperwork to impose social control according to which rules they have decided to enforce in a particular case. In this way, educators implement bureaucratic directives from the state and national levels in ways which are adapted to local conditions.

Local educators are initiators of community development efforts. Leaders among educators as well as the mayor have pressured state officials to start a high school in Muitaspedras. Following the traditional way of starting schools in rural areas, a plan was submitted which called for joint sponsorship of a high school by organizations at several levels. Although the state (SEDUC) rejected the plan, the high school remains a priority with the mayor, along with paving the streets. Both are important to the image of the community as a civilized, progressive, urban center.

Local educators are realists, however, and they acknowledge the need for patrons. Since outsider dominance or the economic dependency on capital, expertise, and market forces outside the community and region has a long history, educators solicit patrons from two "outsider" sources: agencies at the state or national levels, and the new agencies which are the local representatives of state and national agencies. Both types of patrons have sponsored teacher training inservice courses.

The new local-level agencies have provided health services to the schools and have contributed time and money to school-sponsored entertainment events. The socialization that educators receive in vertical and horizontal cooperation in inservice courses (and probably from their families, too, since both types of cooperation are traditional) has enabled them to seek patrons for school improvement projects and to mediate alliances between old and new patrons who both can benefit from the schools.

Educators and Development

The change in which variant of the larger society's culture is transmitted, coupled with the expansion in those to whom it is transmitted, has given educators a role in three kinds of development: that of the community as a whole, individual human resources, and economic development.

First, educators are official promoters of patriotic nationalism and national integration. When they perform this role, they promote community development by promoting community solidarity, integration, and pride, uniting insiders and outsiders as fellow Brazilians performing their patriotic duty by developing the frontier. Integration occurs in classrooms among teachers and students, in schools and offices among educators and sometimes parents, and in schools, clubs, and sports fields among educators and other community members. While continued residence in the community will eventually make outsiders insiders, the community is likely to remain a stratified aggregate of many groups who sometimes conflict and sometimes form either vertical or horizontal

alliances. Individual educators are leaders both in bringing together large groups to instill a temporary spirit of community unity through participation in ritual events, and in bringing together representatives of the smaller groups who have power over various resources to cooperate as patrons of the schools. As a group, educators promote community pride whenever they or their students advance their educational level, because better-educated community members are just as much an image of progress and civilization as are beautiful schoolyards, parks and town halls. This is a qualitative type of community development whose importance rests on the need of isolated people to gather together for recreation, develop a sense of pride in community accomplishments, and "keep up with the Joneses" in state capitals and more developed regions. In short, educators have become developers of movimento, the sine qua non of Brazilian community life.

A second component of the role of educators in community development is their being unofficial but no less forceful proponents of middle class family life, with both positive and negative effects on community development. In a community whose middle class is just emerging as an important sector, educators contribute to community development by being vanguards and transmitters of the middle class revolution. Although they are only one middle class occupational group among many, they reach more of the community than any other group. During festivals, they demonstrate how patrons from these different groups can cooperate to help the school while polishing their own image in the community. New groups, such as army personnel, can find a place in community life and old groups, such as local government personnel, can be seen to cooperate with new powers while also seeking to redefine their own niche

in the expanded community power structure. Educators, as a middle class occupational group, make the school an arena for other middle class groups, where they can work out their interrelationships. In this way, educators help the community adjust to rapid growth and the changes rapid growth has forced on the social system.

However, this middle class bias may be seen as having a negative effect on the lower class majority in the community. Bureaucratic barriers and the related pressures toward middle class behavior which can also be barriers to lower class participation are one example of pitfalls in coping with bureaucracies and other facets of middle class life which members of the lower class will have to overcome in order to find patrons and take advantage of opportunities for advancement in the community.

This brings us to the consideration of a second type of development, that of human resources, in which educators affect people as individuals rather than as a group. Socializing students and members of the larger community to bureaucratic ways and teaching literacy skills together form the educators' contribution to human resources development. Both allow people to learn or improve skills which give them a better chance of consolidating and maintaining improvements when opportunities change.

In the urban, industrialized world of developed Brazil (the South), the skills of literacy and the skills of bureaucracy (i.e., documentation) are linked and are transmitted together in educational systems, even in supposedly nonformal education programs like MOBREAL (Buschman 1977). This linkage of skills is becoming increasingly a part of Multaspedras' school system, as educators are taught how to plan and

keep records on paper and are then required to do so by the state. In turn, educators are becoming stricter with students and their families about enforcing documentation requirements.

This means that the role of educators in human resources development is more than teaching literacy skills; it also includes socialization to bureaucracy and more general patterns of middle class behavior as an equally important skill necessary for human resources development. While official development plans include formal education and vocational training as requirements for human resources development (which in turn is a requirement--as human capital--for economic development), they do not mention socialization to bureaucracy and middle class behavior. Both types of skills are necessary today to all members of the community. Rural people are aware of the need for literacy as a defense against exploitation (U.N. 1968; Thomas and Wahraftig 1971). However, documents are also needed to participate in the benefits of development, such as enrolling in school, opening an account at the bank, and the like. Literacy is necessary to read the documents once obtained, but before that, sociocultural knowledge is needed to interact with middle class bureaucrats (social workers, agricultural extension agents, teachers, bankers) to obtain documents. Literacy alone does not necessarily include the skill to understand documents. New teachers and the more remote river village and rural hamlet teachers had the most trouble filling out my written educator questionnaire. A small storekeeper in a river town was literate but still unable to understand his income tax form (an experience with which many literate, middle class Americans can empathize). Only experience with bureaucratic organizations, their personnel and their identity symbol, paperwork, slowly socializes people to defensive behavior.

It may be argued that the rural educators and the storekeeper had a less developed literacy; it is true that they had fewer years of schooling than did many educators who understood the questionnaire quickly, but they also had less experience with bureaucracies. The teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and socialization for bureaucratic, middle class behavior are inextricably linked in the schools. Educators are socialized to both types of learning when they are trained, and they in turn socialize their students to both. Given the growth of bureaucracies in the community and the increasing use of paperwork to keep track of people (which is part of the army's national security activities which require all outsiders in the community, including the Project Rondon students, to register at the base) socialization for bureaucracy can help members of all social classes secure benefits through bureaucrats in agencies. Thus it is a positive role for educators in human resources development. This is not meant to suggest that lower class people should learn to act like middle class people. It does suggest that people can better communicate with each other if they understand each others' customs. Communication in this sense means to give or receive necessary information in order to accomplish a goal, something people in all social classes do though in different ways.

The third type of development in which educators have a role is economic development. This is a direct and positive role for the educators themselves, as they and other members of the new middle class and old local elite have benefited more from government economic development programs in Muitaspedras than has the lower class. New educators have been recruited from both insiders and outsiders in the community to staff new or growing schools and new educational bureaucracies. New and

old educators have been paid to attend inservice teacher training courses, some of which have increased their level of education and therefore their salary and chances of career advancement. Experienced teachers have become school directors, secretaries, and administrators. The MEC salary bonus has boosted the salaries of both state and county educators.

As far as the rest of the community is concerned, the role of educators in economic development is an indirect contribution through their role in developing human resources. Educators do have an expanded role in this area, since they keep more community residents of all ages in school longer with recuperation and night school programs. Through this pedagogical effort plus the socialization to bureaucratic, middle class behavior patterns, educators develop human resources by fostering skills needed to adapt to an urbanizing community with an expanding class structure but still uncertain economic conditions.

The people of Muitaspedras need to be flexible and adaptable to the changing economic fortunes of their community. The willingness to migrate for economic and educational opportunities is one traditional characteristic of the population which educators are passing on to the next generation through their own example and through the desire to continue schooling which they help foster in successful students. However, educators' success in human resources development has a negative effect on economic and community development in the case of middle school graduates, who at present are lost to the community when they leave to seek a high school or university education. Starting a high school in Muitaspedras would temporarily alleviate the problem or at least its educational aspect. Beyond school-related activities, though, the educator's role ends, since economic development depends

primarily on economic activities which create jobs. Brazilians have demonstrated their willingness to migrate to the frontier in search of economic opportunity. Whether or not they will stay depends more on the jobs they find than it does on the ability of educators to improve community life by providing schooling and entertainment.

An Educational Dilemma

The most important educational dilemma which Muitaspedras' educators and its other middle class residents faced in 1977 pits the need for a high school against the continuing problem of school-age children who are not enrolled in school as well as school-age children who drop out or fail to continue beyond the first or second grade. This dilemma places in opposition two goals which the middle class values--universal public schooling versus education for their own children (Wagley 1968). These goals are in competition because educational resources are slim when compared to the expense of satisfying both goals.

There is no doubt in my own mind that both goals are worthwhile, although not everyone would agree. For example, after a state planner in Belém heard that Muitaspedras' mayor had named a high school as a top priority for the community, he said, "And what would they do with a high school education after they got it?" Probably they would do just what they did with a middle school education in 1977--plan to leave Muitaspedras to pursue a higher education. And why should they not, since a Brazilian researcher has demonstrated that the personal economic rewards for finishing university are greater than for finishing high school (Senna 1975:145). However, the same study also shows that

Brazilian society as a whole benefits more from extending universal primary education to all of its citizens (Senna 1975:176).

The new middle class of Muitaspedras now faces the same dilemma which has faced the Latin American middle class in urban areas since Wagley described it in 1964: to whom shall schooling be extended next? To the lower class children of families who still often lack birth certificates and other documents necessary to enroll their children, as well as facing other barriers to enrollment and attendance? Or shall schooling be extended to the most successful minority of students in Muitaspedras, the middle school graduates who are ready to attend the new high school if it is started? The latter students are predominantly middle class.

It would be unrealistic to expect educators, who are themselves middle class, overworked and underpaid, to deny their children the chance to receive a local, public high school education in favor of enrolling more lower class children in primary and middle school. If both goals could be reached, both classes would have the opportunity to benefit, in the long run.

APPENDIX I
ORGANIZATIONAL ACRONYMS

ACAR	Associação de Crédito e Assistência Rural
ACI	Associação Comercial de Itaituba
AEC	Associação de Educadores Cristãos
ASSINTEC	Associação Interconfessional de Educação de Curitiba
BIS	Batalhão de Infantaria da Selva
CDI	Conselho de Desenvolvimento de Itaituba
CDP	Companhia das Dócas do Pará
CEF	Caixa Econômica Federal
CELPA	Centrais Elétricas do Pará
CFE	Conselho Federal de Educação
CFP	Campanha de Financiamento de Produção
CIBRAZEM	Companhia Brasileira de Armazenagem
CNAE	Campanha Nacional de Alimentação Escolar
COBAL	Companhia Brasileira de Alimentos
COSANPA	Companhia de Saneamento do Pará
COTELPA	Companhia de Telefones do Pará
CPRM	Companhia de Pesquisa de Recursos Minerais
DEF	Departamento de Ensino Fundamental
DNER	Departamento Nacional de Estradas de Rodagem
DNPM	Departamento Nacional de Produção Mineral
EMATER	Empresa de Assistência Técnica e Extensão Rural

ETC	Empresa de Telégrafos e Correios
FENAME	Fundação Nacional de Material Escolar
FAB	Força Aérea Brasileira
FAG	Fundação de Assistencia dos Garimpeiros
FSESP	Fundação Serviço Especial de Saúde Pública
FUNAI	Fundação de Assistencia aos Índios
FUNKRURAL	Fundo de Assistencia ao Trabalhador Rural
IBDF	Instituto Brasileiro de Desenvolvimento Florestal
IBGE	Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística
ICOMI	Indústria e Comércio de Minérios S.A.
IDESP	Instituto de Desenvolvimento Economico-Social do Pará
IEP	Instituto de Educação do Pará
INCRA	Instituto Brasileiro de Colonização e Reforma Agrária
INPS	Instituto Nacional de Previdencia Social
MEC	Ministério de Educação e Cultura
MOBRAL	Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetização
MT	Ministério de Trabalho
NAEA	Núcleo de Altos Estudos Amazônicos
PIN	Programa de Integração Nacional
PMI	Prefeitura Municipal de Itaituba
RADAM	Radar da Amazonia
SEDUC	Secretaria de Estado de Educação e Cultura
SEFA	Secretaria de Estado da Fazenda
SEPLAN	Secretaria de Estado de Planejamento
SIMA	Sistema Nacional de Informação de Mercado Agrícola
SMER	Servico Municipal de Estradas de Rodagem
SUCAM	Superintendencia do Controle da Malária

UDESC Universidade de Desenvolvimento do Estado de Santa
Catarina

UFP Universidade Federal do Pará

APPENDIX II
AGENCIES IN MUITASPEDRAS: 1970-1977

Type of Agency	1970	1977
Communications	ECT	ECT TELEPARA
Local Administration	PMI	PMI SMER CDI
Social Services	FAG	FAG ^a INPS MT
Health Services	Note ^b	FSESP SUCAM FUNRURAL
Public Utilities	CELPA COSANPA	CELPA COSANPA
Fiscal Agencies	SEFA Receita Federal	SEFA Receita Federal
Highway-Related Agencies		INCRA EMATER DNER COBAL
Educational Services	Note ^c	SEDUC MEC MOBRAL CNAE Project Rondon
Financial Services		Bank of Brazil CEF CFP
Military	FAB	FAB 53 BIS
Mineral and Resources Management		IBDF CPRM
Total Number of Agencies	8	31

^aFAG is currently undergoing reorganization.

^bFAG operated a hospital, and SUCAM personnel from Santarém sprayed against malaria every six months.

^cAlthough schools with teachers were present, agency personnel were located in Santarém.

APPENDIX III
EDUCATOR QUESTIONNAIRE

LEVANTAMENTO DE RECURSOS HUMANOS

1. Nome _____
 2. Endereço _____
 3. Censo de todos os habitantes da casa _____

Nome	sexo	idade	Relação ao Sr.(Sra.)	Nível de Ensino	Onde nasceu? cidade o estado	Profissão

4. Horário do emprego do Sr. (da Sra.)

turno	Nome da escola	Local	Função	Serie atuação	Materia

5. Quais são os locais onde o Sr. (a Sra.) já leccionou (antes desde ano)?

Escola	Local--cidade e estado	serie atuação	turno	Função

6. O Sr. (a Sra.) tem outro profissão ou emprego alem de ser professor?

Sim _____ Não _____ O que é? _____

7. Quantas horas por dia (mais ou menos) o Sr. (a Sra.) dispõem para fazer planejamento para cada turma? _____

8. Nome de todas as escolas ou cursos que o Sr. (a Sra.) frequentou como aluno

Nome da escola ou curso	Local--cidade o estado	Quantos anos ou meses?

9. Quanto tempo o Sr. (a Sra.) mora aqui? Anos _____ Meses _____

10. Se o Sr. (a Sra.) transferiu sua residencia para cá, porque o fez? _____

11. Quanto tempo o Sr. (a Sra.) pretende ficar aqui? _____

12. Qual é a igreja que o Sr. (a Sra.) frequenta?
- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Igreja Catolica _____ | Assembleia de Deus _____ |
| Igreja Batista _____ | Igreja Presbiteriana _____ |
| Igreja de Deus no Brazil _____ | Outra _____ |
13. Em que atividades o Sr. (a Sra.) participa fora da escola?
- festas _____
- jogos de futebol _____
- o cinema _____
- atividades religiosas _____
- outras _____
14. O Sr. (a Sra.) gostaria continuar estudar? Sim _____ Não _____
- Se a resposta é sim, quais sao os planos para continuar o estudo _____

15. Se o Sr. (a Sra.) tem filhos, ou vai ter filhos no futuro, que tipo de profissão ou emprego gostaria que eles tivessem?

16. Os filhos que estudam, tem emprego além de ir escola? (emprego em casa ou fora) _____
17. Na sua opinião qual é a problema mais sério no sistema educativo local? _____

18. Na sua opinião o que seria necessario para melhorar o sistema de ensino? _____

APPENDIX IV
EIGHTH-GRADE STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

LEVANTAMENTO DE ALUNOS DE 8ª SERIE

1. Nome
2. Onde nasceu?
3. Idade
4. Tem emprego além de ir a escola?
Se a resposta é sim, o que é?
5. Quais são os planos para o futuro?
 - A. Gostaria de continuar estudar? se a resposta é sim, em que tipo de escola e onde?
 - B. Que profissão ou emprego gostaria de ter?
 - C. Pretende ficar em Muitaspedras? Se a resposta é não, vai se transferir para onde, e por que?

APPENDIX V
SCHOOL CALENDAR, 1977

GOVERNO DO ESTADO DO PARÁ
SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DE EDUCAÇÃO
DEPARTAMENTO DE COORDENAÇÃO, ORIENTAÇÃO E CONTROLE

14ª DIVISÃO REGIONAL DE EDUCAÇÃO

MUITASPEDRAS - PARÁ

CALENDARIO ESCOLA DO ENSINO SUPLETIVO - 1977

1º SEMESTRE - 74 DIAS

ABRIL - DIAS LETIVOS : 22

S	T	Q	Q	S	S	COMEMORAÇÕES
				01	02	
04	05	06	X	X	X	07 - Abdicação de D. Pedro
11	12	13	14	15	16	13 - 1ª execução do H. N. brasileiro
18	19	20	X	22	23	7 á 9 - Semana Santa
25	26	27	28	29	30	15 - Conservação do solo
						18 - Dia do livro e M. Lobato
						19 - Dia do indio
						21 - Inaguração de Brasilia
						- Tiradentes
						22 - Descobrimento do Brasil
						- Comemoração da semana da Educação

MAIO - DIAS LETIVOS : 26

S	T	Q	Q	S	S	COMEMORAÇÕES
02	03	04	05	06	07	01 - Dia do trabalho
09	10	11	12	13	14	05 - Marechal Rondon
16	17	18	19	20	21	09 - Dia das maes
23	24	25	26	27	28	13 - Abolicao da escravatura
30	31					25 - Dia do trabalhador Rural
						27 - Ascencao

JUNHO = DIAS LETIVOS : 25

S	T	Q	Q	S	S	COMEMORAÇÕES		
				01	02	03	04	09 - Anchieta - Corpus Christh
06	07	08	X	10	11			12 - Criação do Correio Nacional
13	14	15	16	17	18			13 - Santo Antonio
20	21	22	23	24	25			24 - São João
27	28	29	30					29 - Dia do pescador
								- São Pedro e s. Paulo

JULHO - DIAS LETIVOS : 07

S	T	Q	Q	S	S	COMEMORAÇÕES
				01	02	
04	05	06	07	08	-	27 - Sant'Ana - Padroeira de
-	-	-	-	-	-	Muitaspedras
-	-	-	-	-	-	

 AGOSTO = DIAS LETIVOS : 23

S	T	Q	Q	S	COMEMORAÇÕES
01	02	03	04	05	05 - Oswaldo Cruz
08	09	10	11	12	11 - Dia do Estudante
15	16	17	18	19	15 - Adesao do Pará a Independencia
22	23	24	25	26	- Dia de Folclore

 SETEMBRO - DIAS LETIVOS : 19

S	T	Q	Q	S	COMEMORAÇÕES
		01	02		05 - Dia da Juventude
X	06	X	X	09	07 - Independencia do Brasil
12	13	14	15	16	10 - Dia da Imprensa
19	20	21	22	23	18 - Criacao dos Simbolos Nacionais
26	27	28	29	30	21 - Dia da árvore
					- Dia do Rádio
					25 - Dia do Transito
					18 á 23 - Semana Mundial de Alimentação

 OUTUBRO - DIAS LETIVOS : 20

S	T	Q	Q	S	COMEMORAÇÕES
03	04	05	06	07	05 - Dia da Ave
10	11	12	13	14	12 - Dia da Crianca
17	18	19	20	21	- Descobrimento da América
24	25	26	27	X	15 - Dia do Mestre
31					15 á 23 - Semana da Educação Sanitária
					23 - Dia do Aviador
					24 - Dia da O N U
					28 - Dia do Funcionário Público

 NOVEMBRO : DIAS LETIVOS : 20

S	T	Q	Q	S	COMEMORAÇÕES
	01	X	03	04	01 - Todos os Santos
07	08	09	10	11	02 - Finados
14	X	16	17	18	05 - Dia da Cultura
21	22	23	24	25	14 - Dia Nacional da Alfabetizacao
28	29	30			15 - Proclamação da República
					17 - Incorporação do Acre do Brasil
					19 - Dia da Bandeira
					26 - Dia Nacional de Ação de Graças

 DEZEMBRO : DIAS LETIVOS : 20

S	T	Q	Q	S	COMEMORAÇÕES
		01	02		08 - Imaculada Conceição
05	06	07	X	09	15 - Fundação da cidade de Muitas- pedras
12	13	14	X	16	
19	20	21	22	23	25 - Natal
26	27	28	29	30	

JANEIRO - 78					RECUPERAÇÃO FINAL - 15 DIAS
S	T	Q	Q	S	COMEMORACOES
		03	04	05	01 - Confraternização Universal
08	09	10	11	12	06 - Reis Magos
15	16	17	18	19	09 - Dia do Fico
22	23	-	-	-	12 - Fundação da Cidade de Belém
-	-	-	-	-	

ANO LETIVO : 182 DIAS

△ REFORÇO DE APRENDIZAGEM

1º PERIODO : 74 DIAS

X DIAS FERIADOS

2º PERIODO : 108 DIAS

- RECESSO ESCOLAR

○ RECUPERAÇÃO FINAL

NORMAS PARA O CUMPRIMENTO DO CALENDÁRIO ESCOLAR DO ENSINO SUPLETIVO,
NO ANO LETIVO DE 1977, PELAS UNIDADES DE ENSINO DA REDE ESTADUAL.

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Linda Hahn Miller was born on April 22, 1947, in Bayshore, New York. She attended public schools in New York and Florida and was graduated from Riviera Beach High School in 1965. In June of 1969, she received her Bachelor of Arts degree from Eckerd College, St. Petersburg, Florida. From 1969 until 1975 she was an editor's secretary at Random House, Inc., New York, and an elementary school teacher in Indiantown and Williston, Florida.

In the summer of 1974 she assisted her husband in his research in the Brazilian Amazon. This experience reinforced her decision to pursue graduate studies in anthropology and focused her research interest on problems of educational development in the Amazon. She began the master's program at the University of Florida in 1975. In 1976-77, she did Ph.D. level research with a grant from the Tropical South America Program at the University of Florida. Her interests include anthropology and education, community studies, and applied anthropology. Upon completion of the Ph.D., she plans a career in university teaching and research.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Elizabeth M. Eddy, Chairperson
Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Anthropology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 1982

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