RACE, GENDER, AND DEVELOPMENT IN BRAZIL*

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Latin Americanists have devoted considerable attention over the past two decades to the relationship between economic growth and social inequality. A bibliography of the articles and books on the consequences of development for income, class, and gender would surely run to many pages. Yet within that impressive literature, much less attention has been given to the ways that structural changes have altered racial inequalities. Scarcer still are empirical analyses that document the manner in which changes over time have affected women and men within different racial groups.

These relationships assume particular relevance in the case of Brazil. Today Brazil is home to the world's largest population of African descent except for Nigeria. According to preliminary estimates, the 1991 census reported nearly one hundred and fifty million Brazilians, almost half of them classified either black or mulatto. Moreover, Brazil occupies a special place in the study of race relations because of its history of widespread miscegenation, a resulting dynamic system of multiracial classification, and the absence of legally sanctioned discrimination since slavery was abolished in 1888. These unique characteristics helped create the widely held but increasingly suspect view that Brazil is a racial democracy free of the racial violence, segregation, and discrimination that mark other multiracial societies like the United States.

The purpose of this research is to extend previous studies of development and inequality in Brazil by examining the differential gains made by white and Afro-Brazilian women and men in the urban workforce. Using sample data from the 1960 and 1980 demographic censuses (the most recent ones available), I have estimated the magnitude of racial

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^{1.} Notable exceptions include the recent work by Wood and Carvalho (1988, chap. 6), Smith (1990), Carroll (1991), Jonas (1991), Andrews (1991), and Wade (1993).

differences by gender in place of residence, education, occupational distribution, and wages.² Results from the 1960 and 1980 censuses are compared to determine whether the social transformations taking place in Brazil during this period narrowed or widened socioeconomic disparities according to race and gender. Because employment and earnings are directly related to human welfare, differences along these dimensions measure the degree to which race and gender structure the life chances of different population subgroups in contemporary Brazilian society.

PERSPECTIVES ON INEQUALITY AND DEVELOPMENT

Development theorists from such diverse traditions as modernization, Marxism, and neoclassical economics have predicted that social inequality based on ascriptive differences (such as race and gender) would decline under capitalist development.³ With respect to Brazil, Florestan Fernandes asserted that if capitalist development continued its course, the country "could become the first major racial democracy in the world created by the expansion of modern Western civilization" (Fernandes 1972, 30, as cited in Andrews 1991, 10). Brazil indeed experienced unprecedented levels of economic growth in the era following World War II. Despite cyclical downturns, Brazil's economy grew at an annual rate of some 7 percent per year between 1956 and 1984 (Wood and Carvalho 1988, 2). Yet Brazilian data showed that relatively high levels of aggregate growth (especially in the so-called miracle years between 1969 and 1973) did not reduce and may have actually increased the high concentration of income in the country (Fishlow 1972; Lluch 1979; and Pfeffermann and Webb 1979).

In Brazil (as in other developing countries), the dissonance between theory and data sparked a debate about the relationship between economic growth and social equity. This debate led to the emergence of new theoretical perspectives in the sociology of development—namely, dependency and its further extension, world-systems theory.⁴ Calling

- 2. The Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatísticas (IBGE) actually completed the decennial population census in 1991. IBGE projects that the results will be released sometime late in 1994.
- 3. Influenced by Emile Durkheim and Max Weber, researchers in the modernization school viewed ascriptive differences (like those of race and gender) as transitory and destined to give way to modern values, attitudes, and behaviors (see Greenberg 1980, chap. 1; and So 1990, chap. 2). Karl Marx came to much the same conclusion in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, observing that the "icy water of egotistical calculation" destroyed all feudal, patriarchal, and idyllic relations, leaving no other nexus between people than that of "callous cash payment." Neoclassical economists similarly regarded racial and gender inequality as temporary market imperfections that would ultimately be overcome once equilibrium was achieved in a competitive marketplace (Stiglitz 1973; Thurow 1975; Cain 1976; Friedman 1982; also discussed in Boston 1988, chaps. 1 and 3).
 - 4. Early dependency analysts included Frank (1967, 1969), Dos Santos (1970), Sunkel and

attention to unequal exchange and the dependent relationship of underdeveloped countries within a historical and global framework, these perspectives represented a significant advance over the unilinear premises of the once-dominant theory of modernization.⁵ Yet while relations of dependency were useful in explaining underdevelopment, they by themselves did not reveal much about the internal processes of social change and differentiation among subgroups of the population in the periphery. The shortcomings of early dependency studies prompted analyses of developing countries focusing on their specific historical processes and internal structures (e.g., Laclau 1971; Cardoso and Faletto 1979; and Chilcote and Johnson 1983). Even so, initial studies of national histories in Latin America emphasized class relations rather than racial or gender distinctions. The priority given to social class emanated from the assumption (derived from Marx) that racism and sexism were not independent forces worthy of study in their own right but rather phenomena ultimately reducible to presumably more basic economic determinants.6

In a new round of theoretical debate begun in the 1970s, feminist scholars in advanced and less-developed countries faulted theories of dependency and world systems for their inattention to the economic and social status of women.⁷ Now, after nearly two decades of research highlighting the experiences of women throughout Latin America, a rich body of literature suggests that gender inequality was reinforced during the region's economic growth and modernization (e.g., Young 1978; Nash and Fernández-Kelly 1983; Bossen 1984; Nash and Safa 1985; and Saffioti 1985). These contributions on women's participation in social development remain at the forefront of contemporary study of development and inequality.

The debates and empirical analyses stimulated first by dependency and later by feminist perspectives significantly advanced scholarly understanding of the external and internal processes of social and economic changes within Latin America. Yet with respect to racial differentiation, these efforts remain deficient in two important respects. On the one hand, the studies exclusively concerned with global properties of the world economy overlook race except insofar as racial cleavages may have

Paz (1970), Cardoso (1972, 1973), and Amin (1976). Wallerstein (1974a, 1974b) advanced the most significant formulation of the world-systems perspective.

^{5.} Summaries of the debate between modernization and dependency advocates include Portes (1976), Valenzuela and Valenzuela (1978), Evans and Stephens (1988), and Portes and Kincaid (1989).

^{6.} For a discussion of Marxist perspectives on race, see Blauner (1972), Lecourt (1980), Rozat and Bartra (1980), Wright (1982), Rex (1983), Worsley (1984, chap. 4), Miles (1984), and Stone (1985, chap. 3).

^{7.} Feminist scholarship on Latin America includes the work of Lourdes Arizpe, Lourdes Benería, Carmen Diana Deere, Maria Patricia Fernández-Kelly, June Nash, Martha Roldán, Helen Safa, and Heleieth Saffioti. For a discussion of the study of gender and development, see Fernández-Kelly (1989).

affected the process of capital accumulation (Wallerstein 1974a). On the other hand, when attention is turned to the internal structure of countries in the periphery, race is often relegated to secondary importance due to the conceptual priority accorded social class or gender. As a result, racial inequality and the race-class-gender nexus make up a relatively neglected topic that remains on uncertain theoretical terrain in studies of Latin American development.

THE MYTH AND THE REALITY OF RACE IN BRAZIL

The significance of the extent to which race relations in Latin America (particularly Brazil) have been similar to or different from race relations in the United States is found in the implications for understanding the contemporary situation of Afro-Brazilians and for explaining in what ways their social position has been affected by development. At the risk of overgeneralizing, two schools of thought can be identified concerning the racial situation in Brazil over the past century. Neither view denies the presence of prejudice nor disputes the fact that most Afro-Brazilians are poorer than whites. Yet the two views have different explanations for the fact that far more blacks and mulattos are likely to be found at the bottom of the socioeconomic order.

On one side of the argument stand those who contend that the question of racial inequality in Brazil can be summed up by the so-called class-over-racism argument. Their reasoning draws its inspiration from the observation that in a developing country like Brazil, most people—black and white—are poor. This observation, combined with the apparently benign character of race relations and the fact that Afro-Brazilians seemed to suffer less social prejudice the richer they became, led a number of scholars to conclude that the prejudice existing in Brazil appears to be based on class distinctions rather than on racial characteristics.⁸ In other words, if Afro-Brazilians are looked down on by the middle and upper classes, it is because they are poor and uneducated rather than because they are not white.

The class-over-racism model further suggested that once Afro-Brazilians achieved education and higher levels of income, they would encounter no barriers to social mobility. The argument was consistent with the official Brazilian ideology maintaining that there is virtually no "racial problem" in Brazil (discussed in van den Berghe 1967). This line of reasoning was also consistent with one of the most salient features of

^{8.} Consistent with the modernization paradigm, Charles Wagley predicted that in the course of Brazil's development, "the great contrast in social and economic conditions between the darker lower strata and the predominantly white upper class should disappear" (Wagley 1969, 60). Other scholars who shared this perspective included Pierson (1942), Azevedo (1953), and Harris (1964).

Brazil's race relations when compared with those in the United States: while in the United States, the slightest evidence of black ancestry has been enough to label a person as black, racial categories in Brazil seemed to be far more numerous and fluid.

At stake here is the very explanation of racial inequality in Brazil. If the class-over-racism hypothesis is correct, the implications are clear: once Afro-Brazilians acquire sufficient levels of education and income (sometimes called "human capital"), they will gain equal opportunity for social advancement and their social reception in higher circles will be guaranteed. Moreover, if Afro-Brazilians are poor today, the reason can be traced to the legacy of slavery and the different starting points for whites and blacks at the time of abolition. According to this view, racial inequality is a vestige of the past that is destined to be overcome by the forces of modern capitalism. Hence racial inequality is attributed to differences in human capital (as in unequal education) that distinguish the various groups.

On the other side of this debate is a growing body of research substantiating the significance of racial discrimination in contemporary Brazil. This view, which originated in the more critical social climate that preceded the military coup in 1964, has come to be known as the "São Paulo school." Prominent scholars in this school of thought such as Octavio Ianni and Fernando Henrique Cardoso did not deny the legacy of slavery but went on to show that discrimination is a characteristic feature of contemporary Brazil. In advancing this perspective, Carlos Hasenbalg stressed the adaptation of racism to the structural characteristics of Brazil's dependent development: the racial antagonism that originated in slavery did not wane with the rise of industrialization in Brazil but rather assumed a new role and meaning. According to Hasenbalg, "Race prejudice and discrimination are functionally related to the material and symbolic benefits obtained by whites through the disqualification of non-whites as competitors" (1985, 27).

RACE AND GENDER IN CONTEMPORARY BRAZIL

Some of the first estimates of contemporary racial inequality were presented in works in the late 1970s by Nelson do Valle Silva and Carlos Hasenbalg (see Silva 1978, 1985; Hasenbalg 1979, 1985). Their studies of inequalities in the labor market and social mobility showed that nearly one hundred years after the abolition of slavery, Afro-Brazilians were still clustered in the lowest economic strata and those who attempted to climb the social ladder continued to experience discrimination. These findings have inspired a new generation of scholars to examine race relations. Brazilian as well as U.S. researchers have been producing a body of theo-

retical and empirical literature documenting pervasive and persistent racial inequality in Brazil.⁹

Similarly, recent research on women in Brazil demonstrates that the prevailing style of development does not favor equitable incorporation of women into the economy. As in advanced industrial countries, Brazilian women are paid less than similarly qualified men (Bruschini and Rosemberg 1982). Being handicapped by the gender gap in earnings, Brazilian women are also disproportionately concentrated in the lowest-paying economic sectors (Faria 1989).

Wage and occupational discrimination affecting Afro-Brazilians and women thus afflict women of African descent even more. Studies have demonstrated that Afro-Brazilian women work longer hours and earn even less than white women (Carneiro and Santos 1985). The largest single job category for Afro-Brazilian women continues to be that of domestic servant, 90 percent of whom are black (Patai 1988). In addition to holding low-status jobs, Afro-Brazilian women are more likely than white women to be single heads of poor households (Oliveira, Porcaro, and Araújo 1987). Analyses have shown that racial inequalities in the labor market (Andrews 1992; Lovell 1992) and gender inequalities (Saffioti 1985) have actually increased along with Brazil's economic growth and modernization.

CENSUS CATEGORIES AND RACIAL IDENTIFICATION

Census-based studies of the racial composition of the Brazilian population must deal with two critical complexities. The first is Brazil's multiclassification system of racial identification. Anthropological research has documented the fine distinctions made by Brazilians when asked to identify a person's race. For example, Marvin Harris employed a set of portrait drawings to explore the range of terms that can be applied to a given individual, and he recorded forty different racial terms used to identify color and phenotype variations between the extremes of black and white (Harris 1964).

This system of multiple racial categories raises legitimate questions about the four-category color classification scheme used in the Brazilian census (*branco*, *preto*, *pardo*, and *amarelo*). The crucial question is the extent to which the census scheme departs from individual's self-classification if other options were allowed. To address this issue, researchers

^{9.} Recent theoretical contributions include Winant (1992) and Skidmore (1993). Empirical studies include works on labor-market inequalities (Andrews 1992; Lovell 1989, 1992, 1993; Telles 1992); differential child mortality (Wood and Lovell 1992); residential segregation (Rolnik 1989; Telles 1991), intermarriage (Telles 1993); and educational inequality (Hasenbalg and Silva 1987, 1991).

^{10.} For a discussion of racial classification and terminology in Brazil, see Andrews (1991, 249–58).

from the census bureau conducted a survey comparing responses to an open-ended questionnaire on racial identification with responses to the four-color menu. The results showed that the census bureau's four-color classification system was not perfect but was valid enough to warrant its continued use.¹¹

Second, racial classification in Brazil can also be influenced by a person's social class. As a result, dark-skinned Afro-Brazilians with higher socioeconomic standing may invoke descriptive terms closer to the white end of the color continuum when compared with lower-class individuals of the same skin color. The multiple-category classification system and its interplay with social class imply that upwardly mobile individuals who identify themselves as black at one point may later redefine themselves as mulatto or white.

To investigate mobility from one racial category to another, one recent study used indirect demographic techniques to measure the magnitude of the reclassification that took place between the 1950 and 1980 censuses (Wood 1991). The results showed significant reclassification from the category of preto (black) into that of pardo (brown or mulatto). The distinction between white and Afro-Brazilian, in contrast, remained stable over the same period. If anything, a tendency existed by 1980 for whites to reclassify themselves as pardos. The stability of the color line between white and Afro-Brazilian categories provides a compelling methodological rationale for collapsing pardo and preto into a single category, especially when census data are used to estimate changes in racial inequalities over time.

On the basis of these and other findings,¹² I divided the sample population into two racial groups for purposes of my analysis: whites (brancos) and Afro-Brazilians (pardos and pretos).¹³ The sample studied was restricted to urban wage laborers.¹⁴

- 11. For a discussion of this study, see Oliveira, Porcaro, and Araújo (1985), Soares and Silva (1987), and Silva (1988).
- 12. Beginning in 1980, the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatísticas began analyzing and publishing racial data in biracial form. This practice is now followed by the statistical service in the state of São Paulo, SEADE, and also by numerous leading researchers on race in Brazil including Nelson do Valle Silva (1978, 1985), Carlos Hasenbalg (1979, 1985), and Charles Wood and Jose Alberto Magno de Carvalho (1988). George Reid Andrews has argued that this dichotomy "corresponds not just to 'objective' statistical indicators but to subjective Brazilian perceptions of race as well, at least in Southeast Brazil" (1991, 250).
- 13. The color classification used in the Brazilian census does not distinguish between those of Indian and African descent. Given that the primary objective of my study is to determine whether workers are treated differently on the basis of skin color, the inability to distinguish between persons of Indian and African descent is insignificant. Also, because this analysis is restricted to urban workers and excludes Amazonia, it is unlikely than many individuals of Indian descent were included in the analysis.
- 14. The sample is further restricted to the northern and southern regions of Brazil. The northern region includes the urban areas of Maranhão, Piauí, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Fernando Norte (1960 only), Alagoas, Sergipe, and Bahia. The south-

SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE PERSISTENCE OF THE RACE-GENDER GAP, 1960–1980

Between 1960 and 1980, Brazilian society experienced profound social change. ¹⁵ Unprecedented economic growth led to rapid industrialization and urbanization. Formal-sector employment increased substantially as women and Afro-Brazilians entered the labor force in increasing numbers. The distribution of public services, such as water and electricity, expanded markedly. Access to health care and education improved, fertility rates fell, and the rate of life expectancy increased for the population as a whole. The striking transformations in social, economic, and demographic structure occurring between 1960 and 1980 nevertheless beg the central question of this study: did Brazilian development widen or lessen racial and gender disparities in occupation and wages?

The first step taken to answer this question was to estimate differences by race and gender with respect to four key features of Brazil's stratification system: place of residence, education, occupational position, and earnings. The results presented in table 1 of simple cross-tabulations by race and gender in 1960 and 1980 provide information on changes in area of residence and access to schooling.

Regional Distribution

The relationship between region of residence and racial inequality in Brazil has been discussed at length (Lovell 1993). Since the days of slavery, most Afro-Brazilians have lived in the less-developed Northeast. This largely rural region has lagged behind the rest of the country in terms of income level, educational achievement, and other indicators of living standards. The white population, in contrast, is concentrated in the highly developed Southeast (Andrews 1992, t. 2). Urbanized, industrialized, and modernized to a far greater extent than the rest of the country, the Southeast has been the nation's locus of manufacturing and finance since the heyday of coffee production.

Over time, continued growth and diversification of the Brazilian economy have lessened but not eliminated the unequal distribution of population and wealth. Beginning in the late 1950s, industrialization in south-central Brazil lured migrants from the Northeast and rural areas to the dynamic urban metropolises, especially Belo Horizonte, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo. The spatial redistribution of the population has

ern region includes Minas Gerais, Serra dos Aimores (1960 only), Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, Guanabara (1960 only), São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, Mato Grosso do Sul (1980 only), Mato Grosso, Goiás, and the Federal District.

^{15.} For reviews of the social and demographic changes that Brazilians experienced during these decades, see Merrick and Graham (1979), Wood and Carvalho (1988), and Bacha and Klein (1989).

TABLE 1 Brazilian Urban Workers according to Region of Residence and Years of Schooling, by Race and Gender in 1960 and 1980

	1960			1980		
	White ^a (1) (%)	Afro-Brazb (2) (%)	(1)-(2) (3) (%)	White ^c (4) (%)	Afro-Brazd (5) (%)	(4)-(5) (6) (%)
Women Region of residence North or						
Northeast Central-West, Southeast,	14	35	-21	9	30	-21
or South	86	65	21	91	70	21
Total	100	100		100	100	
Years of schooling						
0 years	14	43	-29	5	17	-12
1–4 years	51	50	1	30	42	-12
5–8 years	17	4	13	18	19	-1
9+ years	18	3	15	47	22	25
Total	100	100		100	100	
Men Region of residence North or						
Northeast Central-West, Southeast,	10	38	-28	7	30	-23
or South	90	62	28	93	70	23
Total	100	100		100	100	
Years of schooling						
0 years	10	26	-16	7	17	10
1–4 years	66	67	-1	41	51	-10
5–8 years	13	5	8	21	20	1
9+ years	11	2	9	31	12	19
Total	100	100		100	100	

Sources: Estimates derived from the 1960 sample (1.0%) and 1980 sample (0.8%) of the census.

NOTE: Workers selected were between the ages of eighteen and sixty-four.

a In 1960 white women numbered 11,917; white men 30,289.

^b In 1960 Afro-Brazilian women numbered 6,392; Afro-Brazilian men 10,372.

c In 1980 white women numbered 28,108; white men 46,719.

^d In 1980 Afro-Brazilian women numbered 15,119; Afro-Brazilian men 25,301.

been accompanied by notable gains in Afro-Brazilian and female urban employment. Between 1950 and 1980, the proportion of individuals of African descent employed in cities increased from 36 to 62 percent (Oliveira, Porcaro, and Araújo 1987), and the proportion of women receiving a wage rose from 13.6 percent in 1950 to 33 percent by 1983.

Yet three decades of urbanization, economic expansion, and migration have not erased unequal distribution of population. Despite considerable internal migration, data in table 1 show that by 1980 the proportion of the Afro-Brazilian workforce residing in the Northeast fell by only 5 percent for women (from 35 percent in 1960 to 30 percent) and 8 percent for men (from 38 to 30 percent). Evidently, the social and economic transformations that took place between 1960 and 1980 did little to reduce the relative inequality in population distribution. Associated with the unequal distribution of the population are racial disparities in education.

Educational Attainment

Overall levels of education in Brazil are low. For example, the average working adult in 1960 had completed less than four years of schooling. Even at these low levels, disparities by race manifested themselves. Afro-Brazilians in 1960 were more likely than whites to lack formal schooling and were less likely to have completed middle school. Whites had a sizable educational advantage in being nearly six times as likely as Afro-Brazilians to have completed nine years of schooling or more.

Within racial categories, educational attainment varied according to gender. Among whites in 1960, 7 percent more women than men had completed middle school or gone on to high school. Among Afro-Brazilians, the largest gender disparity existed among those with no schooling: an estimated 43 percent of employed women had not attended school, as compared with 26 percent of men. These results suggest that Afro-Brazilian women had the least access to classroom instruction in the years prior to 1960.

Over the next two decades, educational levels in Brazil rose substantially. Women in particular made significant progress. Between 1960 and 1980, the number of women completing middle school or beyond increased from 3 to 22 percent for Afro-Brazilians and from 18 to 47 percent among white women. Similar gains were achieved by men. Afro-Brazilians nevertheless continued to be disadvantaged as a result of an increased racial gap at the highest level of schooling. Whereas in 1960 white women who had completed nine years or more of schooling exceeded Afro-Brazilian women by 15 percent, this gap increased to 25 percent by 1980. Among men, the same gap widened by ten points. The gender gap also widened over time. By 1980 nearly 50 percent of all white working women had acheived the highest category of schooling, as com-

pared with 31 percent of white men. Similarly, Afro-Brazilian women surpassed Afro-Brazilian men by 1980, outnumbering them by 10 percent.

Data in table 1 confirm that during this twenty-year period, continued absolute gains in education were achieved among all groups. The increased access to education benefited women most, as evidenced by the finding that by 1980, women were more likely than men of the same race to have completed a middle-school education. Yet despite this remarkable progress, Afro-Brazilians continued to be relatively disadvantaged. The persistence of the racial gap in education resulted at least partly from Afro-Brazilians' restricted access to upper levels of schooling.

Changes in the Occupational Structure

Rates of completing schooling are important indicators of life chances in that they determine access to better paying jobs. In this regard, my findings on educational attainment suggest two possible outcomes. First, given that Afro-Brazilians had lower levels of education overall in both decades, it can be anticipated that they were disproportionately concentrated in less prestigious occupations that required fewer skills. As a second possible outcome, gender differentials within each racial subgroup suggested that by 1980 women had a sizable lead over men in more advanced schooling. The latter finding implies that in the absence of bias, educated women and men should have had equal access to jobs requiring advanced schooling by 1980.

Occupational data presented in table 2, classified according to gender and race, are divided into two broad categories: white-collar positions (manager-administrator, professional-technical, and clerical) and blue-collar positions (skilled manual, transportation-communication, and unskilled manual or personal services). These categories and their subdivisions capture the employment profiles of the urban female and male workforce and indicate how these distributions changed over the twenty-year period.

The estimates in table 2 suggest that women in the urban labor market in 1960 were primarily employed as unskilled manual and personal service workers. An overwhelming 88 percent of Afro-Brazilian women holding jobs were employed in this category, compared with 52 percent of white women. Most of the Afro-Brazilian women were domestic servants. As the economy expanded over the next two decades, the biggest change for women was their exodus from unskilled jobs and entry into white-collar employment, especially clerical jobs. White women increased their representation in white-collar job categories by 15 percent, and Afro-Brazilian women by 22 percent. Absolute gains were largest among Afro-Brazilian women, partly because they were so overrepresented in unskilled positions in 1960 and underrepresented in office work.

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TABLE 2 Occupational Distributions of Brazilian Urban Workers by Race and Gender, 1960 and 1980

	1960			1980		
	White (1) (%)	Afro-Braz (2) (%)	(1)-(2) (3) (%)	White (4) (%)	Afro-Braz (5) (%)	(4)-(5) (6) (%)
Women						
White-collar						
Manager-adminstrator	0.7	0.1	0.6	3.9	1.5	2.4
Professional-technical	26.4	8.1	18.3	26.7	14.3	12.4
Clerical	21.2	3.7	17.5	32.5	18.3	14.2
Total white-collar	48.3	11.9	36.4	63.1	34.1	29.0
Blue-collar Skilled manual Transportation-	15.8	13.8	2.0	17.5	21.9	-4.4
communication Unskilled manual-	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.4	-0.2
personal services	35.7	74.0	-38.3	19.3	43.5	-24.2
Total blue-collar	51.8	88.1	-36.3	37.0	65.8	-28.8
Total	100.1	100.0		100.1	99.9	
Men						
White-collar						
Manager-administrator	2.4	0.5	1.9	9.6	3.4	6.2
Professional-technical	13.4	8.3	5.1	14.5	6.9	7.6
Clerical	21.8	8.4	13.4	22.4	14.9	7.5
Total white-collar	37.6	17.2	20.4	46.5	25.2	21.3
Blue-collar						
Skilled manual	38.4	54.5	-16.1	41.2	61.1	-19.9
Transportation-						
communication	11.4	16.6	-5.2	9.3	10.7	-1.4
Unskilled manual						
personal services	12.6	11.7	0.9	3.1	3.1	0.0
Total blue-collar	62.4	82.8	-20.4	53.6	74.9	-21.3
Total	100.0	100.0		100.1	100.1	

Sources: Estimates derived from the 1960 sample (1.0%) and 1980 sample (0.8%) of the census.

NOTE: Deviations from totals of 100.0 are due to rounding.

The shift away from personal services led to an overall increase in the socioeconomic status of women. These changes, however, disproportionately benefited the white population, which gained access to the new opportunities in much greater numbers than Afro-Brazilians did. By 1980, 63 percent of white women were working in the more prestigious and better-paying occupations, compared with only 34 percent of Afro-Brazilian women. At the opposite end of the occupational hierarchy, employment trends were nearly mirror images of each other: 66 percent of Afro-Brazilian women were employed in blue-collar occupations as compared with 37 percent of white women. Even so, comparison of racial differences (columns 3 and 4) in occupational distribution over the twenty-year period shows a narrowing of the racial gap between women.

Among men, occupational mobility was less striking. The shift for the urban male workforce took place from transportation-communication and unskilled manual or personal-service positions into skilled manual and white-collar positions. Total white-collar employment rose by 8 percent for men in both racial categories, while employment in skilled manual-labor occupations increased by 7 percent for Afro-Brazilians and 2 percent for whites. Yet despite these absolute gains, by 1980 men were almost as differentiated by race with regard to occupations as they had been in 1960.

Occupations were clearly segregated by gender as well. While men predominated in skilled manual occupations, women of both races continued to outnumber men in traditional female-dominated clerical and service occupations. One exception was the substantial inroad made by women into professional and technical positions. By 1980 the hierarchy in the professional-technical job category ranked as follows: white women (27 percent), white men (15 percent), Afro-Brazilian women (14 percent), and Afro-Brazilian men (7 percent). Afro-Brazilian women also advanced tremendously in the skilled manual-labor jobs that previously were maledominated: by 1980, 22 percent of Afro-Brazilian female workers were employed in skilled blue-collar occupations.

Despite the locational disadvantages and persistent racial gap in education discussed earlier, these results suggest that by 1980 Afro-Brazilians had made substantial progress in moving into occupations traditionally reserved for whites. Women in particular gained greater access to betterpaying jobs. The improved occupational distribution of Afro-Brazilians and women resulted from two factors. First, the expansion of jobs in Brazil between 1960 and 1980 and the accompanying urbanization and economic growth implied a higher demand for labor, and Afro-Brazilians and women were able to move into formal-sector employment. Second, as demonstrated by the educational gains shown in table 1, both groups had become better-qualified for these jobs. But despite improved levels of education, evidence of persistent race and gender labor-market segrega-

tion can be perceived in the data summarized in table 2. In short, the most powerful positions in management and administration remained the domain of white men.

Earnings by Race, Gender, and Occupation

Despite absolute gains in access to schooling and better-paying occupations, Afro-Brazilians in 1980 were still disproportionately concentrated in the most disadvantaged regions, educational categories, and occupations. In addition, white men clearly outnumbered all other groups in management and administration. The persistence of these labor-market disparities predict differences in wages according to race and gender. This observation provokes three related questions. How large was the wage differential between white and Afro-Brazilian women and men in both groups? Did the gap narrow or widen over time? And did the wage differential vary more by race than by gender?

Table 3 presents estimates of average monthly wages in constant 1980 cruzeiros. Information is shown for urban workers between the ages of eighteen and sixty-four by occupation. In all six of the occupational comparisons, estimates show absolute increases over time in wages for all four groups. Yet at every level of occupation, whites received the highest earnings. Racial differences in both decades, however, were smaller among women than among men. In professional-technical positions, for instance, Afro-Brazilian women averaged 6,250 cruzeiros less per month than white women, while the racial gap between the two groups of men was 16,056 cruzeiros. The smaller racial gap among women suggests that gender inequality in earnings was greater than racial inequality (which will be discussed further). When comparing racial wage differences between white- and blue-collar occupations, the data show that the gap was widest for both women and men in the higher-status occupations. Over time, the racial wage gap increased among white-collar workers and decreased slightly among blue-collar workers.

The same information on wages is arranged differently in table 4 in order to compare wages by gender. The most striking finding is the magnitude of the gender wage gap. Despite evidence that women had completed higher levels of education than men, women earned the lowest wages. In all six of the occupations compared, men's wages were nearly double those of women holding similar jobs. Like the pattern of racial differences, the gender wage gap increased between 1960 and 1980 among white-collar workers and decreased among blue-collar workers.

These patterns of wage differentials demonstrate the interplay between race and gender. A comparison of the results shown in tables 3 and 4 with separate unreported estimates indicated that gender differentials within the same racial subgroup were larger than racial wage differ-

TABLE 3 Average Monthly Wage of Brazilian Urban Workers by Occupation, Race, and Gender, 1960 and 1980

	1960			1980		
	White (1)	Afro-Bz	(1)-(2) (3)	White (4)	Afro-Bz (5)	(4)-(5) (6)
Women						
White-collar						
Manager-administrator	17,026	9,437	7,589	22,285	13,586	8,699
Professional-technical	9,152	5,644	3,508	15,499	9,249	6,250
Clerical	9,962	7,504	2,458	10,308	7,498	2,810
Blue-collar						
Skilled manual	5,815	3,944	1,871	5,726	4,906	820
Transportation-	0,0 =0	-,	-,0. 1	o,. _ 0	2,700	
communication	5,433	4,338	1,095	7.247	5,462	1,785
Unskilled manual-	,	-,	_,	-,	-,	,
personal services	2,719	1,899	820	4,165	3,751	414
Men				ŕ		
White-collar						
Manager-administrator	27,002	12,053	14,949	40.787	23,696	17,091
Professional-technical	20,333	10,499	9,834	36,154	20,098	16,056
Clerical	14,811	9,867	4,944	14,965	10,265	4,700
Blue-collar				,		
Skilled manual	7.994	5,843	2,151	10,584	8,320	2,264
Transportation-	.,,,,	0,010	_,101	10,001	0,020	_,_0
communication	8,907	6,855	2,052	11,497	10,372	1,125
Unskilled manual-	0,, 0.	0,000	_,00	11,177	10,0. =	-,
personal services	7,700	5,262	2,438	8,917	6,892	2,025
Sources: Estimates derived tensus.	from the	1960 samp	le (1.0%)	and 1980	sample (0.8	3%) of the

NOTE: Wages were computed in constant 1980 cruzeiros.

ences.¹⁶ Lower earnings for women reflect the fact that gender inequality in wages was indeed greater than racial inequality. According to these figures, the hierarchy of rewards in the Brazilian labor market ranked white men at the top, followed by Afro-Brazilian men, white women, and Afro-Brazilian women at the bottom.

These wage comparisons lead to three conclusions. First, all urban workers experienced an absolute increase in wages over the twenty-year

^{16.} In an attempt to control more rigorously for racial and gender differences in education and job experience, I estimated wage differences by occupation for workers between the ages of eighteen and twenty-nine who had completed twelve years or more of schooling. Even at this educational level, the largest wage gap at every occupational level was that between white men and white women.

TABLE 4 Average Monthly Wage* of Urban Brazilian Workers by Occupation, Gender, and Race, 1960 and 1980

	Whites			Afro-Brazilians		
Occupation	Men (1)	Women (2)	M-W (3)	Men (4)	Women (5)	M-W (6)
1960 Census						
White-collar						
Manager-administrator	27,002	17,026	1.59	12,053	9,437	1.28
Professional-technical	20,333	9,152	2.22	10,499	5,644	1.86
Clerical	14,811	9,962	1.49	9,867	7,504	1.31
Blue-collar						
Skilled manual	7.994	5,815	1.37	5,843	3,944	1.45
Transportation-	-,	0,020		0,010	-,	
communication	8,907	5,433	1.64	6,855	4,338	1.58
Unskilled manual-	.,	-,		-,	-,	
personal services	7,700	2,719	2.83	5,262	1,899	2.77
1980 Census	•	,		·	·	
White-collar						
Manager-administrator	40,787	22,285	1.83	23,696	13,586	1.74
Professional-technical	36,154	15,499	2.33	20,098	9,249	2.17
Clerical	14,965	10,308	1.45	10,265	7,498	1.37
Blue-collar	,,	20,000	2125	,	.,250	1.0.
Skilled manual	10,584	5,726	1.85	8,320	4,906	1.70
	10,364	3,720	1.65	0,320	4,900	1.70
Transportation- communication	11,497	7,247	1.59	10,372	5,462	1.90
Unskilled manual	11,47/	1,247	1.39	10,372	3,402	1.90
personal services	8,917	4,165	2.14	6,892	3,751	1.84
personal services	0,917	4,103	4.14	0,092	3,731	1.04

Sources: Estimates derived from the 1960 sample (1.0%) and the 1980 sample (0.8%) of the census.

NOTE: Wages were computed in constant 1980 Brazilian cruzeiros.

period. Second, among those employed in professional occupations, the wage gap by race and by gender widened over time. Finally, the gender wage gap was greater than the racial wage differential. These conclusions suggest that the structural transformations that took place between 1960 and 1980 increased labor-market opportunities for women and Afro-Brazilians and raised wages but did little to reduce racial or gender differentiation. On the contrary, women and Afro-Brazilians who rose to the top of the occupational ladder experienced more wage inequality.

RACE AND GENDER AS INDEPENDENT PREDICTORS OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES AND REWARDS

The findings on racial and gender differences in access to education, prestigious occupations, and higher wages suggest the presence of exclusionary practices but do not directly measure them. Analysts of racism and sexism in the labor market have noted that discrimination can occur in two ways. First, women and nonwhites are prevented from entering better-paying occupations, regardless of their qualifications, a practice that results in "occupational discrimination." The second form of labor-market discrimination occurs when similarly qualified workers in the same job category receive unequal pay on the basis of race or gender differences, a practice referred to as "wage discrimination." The objective of the following analysis is to investigate whether—over and above differences in region, education, occupation, and additional sociodemographic variables—race and gender exert independent effects on the sorting of individuals into occupational positions and in the distribution of wages.

The analyses that follow are restricted to women and men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-nine who worked forty hours a week or more. Because information on the number of hours worked was not available in the 1960 census, equations were estimated only for 1980. The sample was further limited to women without children. The objective in restricting the data in these ways was to identify a subsample of women whose employment histories were most comparable with those of men.¹⁷

Measuring Occupational Discrimination

To address the issue of unequal access to employment opportunities, the occupational categories were used as a dependent variable in a logistic regression analysis. This technique generates estimates of the probability of finding individuals of a given skin color and gender in a particular occupation, after eliminating the effects of background characteristics and varying levels of individual qualifications. To take such differences into account, I estimated the probability of white and Afro-

17. Considerable debate has surrounded the question of whether the labor-force experience of women can be compared with that of men. Men spend most of their adult years working continuously in the labor force, but many women are likely to withdraw from the labor force to raise families and then reenter the job market later. Noncontinuous employment influences women's labor force experience in at least three ways. First, women may acquire less total work experience, job tenure, and seniority than men. Second, women's qualifications may actually depreciate during periods of absence from the labor force. Third, women who plan to leave the labor force for domestic duties may defer on-the-job training until they reenter the labor market. These factors may lower women's wages and occupational mobility relative to men's. To minimize these effects, the logistic and multiple regression analyses used in this study were restricted to full-time workers between the ages of eighteen and twenty-nine. The sample was further limited to women without children.

Brazilian women and men holding a white-collar job¹⁸ at equal levels of job experience, education, region of residence, migrant status,¹⁹ and marital status.²⁰ By holding these predictors constant, it may be found that equally qualified individuals had equal access to better-paying jobs regardless of race or gender. Such a finding would suggest the absence of exclusionary practices. But if race and gender differences persist after controlling for the effects of other variables, the results would indicate that women and Afro-Brazilians were subject to occupational discrimination. Coefficients for these models are shown in table 5.

The results of the logistic regression model confirmed expectations that the likelihood of holding a white-collar job was strongly related to level of schooling.²¹ At the lowest levels of education, few women or men of either race were employed in these positions. At five years of schooling or more, race and gender differences began to emerge. With an elementary education, white women were most likely to hold these jobs. The racial and gender gap then narrowed at the highest level of schooling. Among high school graduates, 99 percent of white women, 98 percent of Afro-Brazilian women, 95 percent of white men, and 94 percent of Afro-Brazilian men held white-collar jobs. Based on a broad definition of white-collar employment, this analysis suggests that for women, education lowered the barriers to the more prestigious occupations. Race continued to influence opportunities within gender categories, however. Thus white women were more likely than similarly qualified Afro-Brazilian women to have access to these positions, and white men were more likely than comparable Afro-Brazilian men. Hence gender worked as a mediating

18. Working women and men were divided into two groups by race: those in white-collar occupations (managerial-administrative, professional-technical, and clerical), and those in all other occupations (including blue-collar workers).

- 19. Migratory status also helps explain earnings differentials in an industrialized environment. Migrants tend to move to areas with increased opportunities, bringing with them labor-market characteristics that compare favorably with natives in the new environment. Studies of Brazil have shown that the wages of migrants are usually higher than those of natives (Martine and Peliano 1977). Women and men of both races had similar migrant experiences. Roughly half were migrants in 1960, but only one-third resided outside of their state of birth in 1980.
- 20. Marital status as a measure of the respondent's family responsibilities is frequently used as an indicator of the individual's commitment to work. In this sense, marriage is presumed to affect workers' productivity and hence their employability and income. Marital status was coded in two categories, married and not married, the latter including those who are single, separated, divorced, or widowed.
- 21. To estimate the proportion of each group holding such jobs, it was necessary to convert the results of the logistic regression equations into probabilities. To do so, it was necessary first to add the intercept of each equation to the appropriate coefficients for job experience, educational attainment, region of residence, and marital and migrant status. The sum is the log of the odds of being employed in white-collar occupations. For example, for a white woman with five years of job experience and twelve years or more of schooling who was a married native of the Southeast, the sum of the effects parameters would be 4.2828, a total implying that 98.64 of the women in this subgroup held such jobs. A complete set of the probabilities is available on request from the author.

TABLE 5 Logit Model of the Odds of White-Collar Employment for Brazilian Urban Workers by Race and Gender, 1980

_	M	len	Wo	men
Independent Variables	Whitea	Afro-Brazilian ^b	Whitec	Afro-Braziliand
Intercept	-2.5636	-3.1911	-4.2446	-4.7089
Experience	.0423	.0869	.0939	0625
Experience ²	0013	0032	0012	.0049
Years of school				
1-4	.7427	.7878	1.8324	2.3699
5-8	2.0069	2.0435	4.1012	4.4324
9–11	3.7086	3.6949	6.4425	6.5935
12 or more	5.4847	5.6962	7.9442	8.5051
Region				
North-Northeast	.2162	.1245	.1152	.5294
Migrant status	1235	0521	5388	3861
Marital status	1942	1147	.1197	.2183
-2 Log likelihood Degrees of freedom	21,371.272 21,337	10,859.326 11,886	7,374.293 9,547	4,005.271 4,933

Sources: Estimates derived from the 1960 sample (1.0%) and 1980 sample (0.8%) of the census.

NOTE: This model treats the log of the odds of being employed as a manager-administrator, professional-technical, or clerical worker as the dependent variable. The intercept represents unmarried workers with no schooling who are natives of the South.

factor in that educated women of both races had greater access to white-collar employment than did men.²²

Measuring Wage Discrimination

Once individuals are sorted into occupations, labor-market discrimination takes a different form. It is manifested in racial or gender differences in wages that are not explained by differences in qualifications. The first step in measuring wage discrimination is to estimate wage regression equations. The model used to describe racial and gender dif-

22. In a separate (unreported) analysis, I used similar logistic regression models to estimate the probability of employment in the most prestigious white-collar positions (in administrative or managerial jobs). Results indicated that at every educational level, the group most likely to hold these jobs was that of white men. Among those who had completed twelve years or more of schooling, the models estimated that 17 percent of white men, 11 percent of Afro-Brazilian men, 5 percent of white women, and .3 percent of Afro-Brazilian women held administrative or managerial positions. This finding suggests caution in drawing conclusions about the elimination of gender discrimination in the job market.

^aWhite men numbered 15,826. ^bAfro-Brazilian men numbered 11,770.

cWhite women numbered 7,232.

dAfro-Brazilian women numbered 4,805.

TABLE 6 Wage Regression Equations for Urban Brazilian Full-Time Workers, 1980

								Models
Independen Variables	t (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Mena (5)	Women ^b (6)	White ^c (7)	Afro- Brazilian ^d (8)
Race	345		352	128	125	128		
Sex		418	423	386			371	421
Experience	•			.124	.150	.099	.133	.095
Experience	2			003	004	003	003	002
Years of So	chooling	;						
1–4 years				.225	.250	.112	.231	.244
5–8 years	;			.537	.595	.330	.557	.536
9 or more	years			1.206	1.320	.885	1.254	1.099
Region								
North- Northea	ct			351	352	353	374	325
				551	552	555	J/ -1	525
Occupation				201	4.5		220	1.40
White-col				.201	.145	.357	.230	.142
Migrant st				.100	.113	.072	.092	.122
Marital sta	itus			.218	.204	.144	.243	.162
R ²	.055	.075	.132	.440	.393	.428	.422	.387
Constant	9.059	9.064	9.190	7.446	7.230	7.407	7.339	7.558

Sources: Estimates derived from the 1960 (1.0%) and 1980 (0.8%) samples of the census.

NOTE: The sample was restricted to workers between the ages of eighteen and twenty-nine and to women with no children. All variables were significant at .001 or less. The total number sampled was 47,742.

ferences in earnings assumes that how much a person earns is influenced by her or his years of experience in the labor force,²³ educational attainment, region of residence, occupational position, and migrant and marital status. Table 6 presents eight models that estimate average monthly wages while controlling for these standard predictors of earnings.

The first model (shown in column 1) compares the earnings of Afro-Brazilians with those of whites. The negative sign of the race coefficient (-.345) indicates that in the absence of any controls for sociodemographic differences, Afro-Brazilians received lower pay than white workers

^aThe sample of men numbered 33,243.

bThe sample of women numbered 14,499.

^cThe sample of whites numbered 30,904.

dThe sample of Afro-Brazilians numbered 16,838.

^{23.} Brazilian demographic censuses do not contain information about the respondent's work history. I used a transformation of age and schooling as a proxy measure of labor-force experience by subtracting from the individual's age the number of years of school completed and a constant of 6, the average age at which a child begins school.

did. Similarly, model 2 (shown in column 2) compares women's earnings with those of men. The negative gender coefficient (-.418) shows that in the urban labor market, women earned less than men. Including the race and gender variable together as predictors of wages (as shown in model 3 in column 3) had little effect on reducing the size of either coefficient, implying that race and gender continued to explain nearly the same amount of variance in wages.

The complete model (shown in column 4) introduces controls for labor-force experience, schooling, region, occupation, and migrant and marital status.²⁴ Despite these controls, race and gender still affected wages negatively to a significant degree. In the complete model, however, the effect of race on wages was reduced. A comparison of the race coefficient in model 1 with that in model 4 shows a decrease from -.345 to -.128. The gender effect, in contrast, decreased only slightly, from -.418 in model 2 to -.386 in model 4. This comparison of race and gender coefficients suggests that once sociodemographic differences were accounted for, gender reduced wages more than race did.

To examine differences by gender further, wages were estimated separately for men and women in models 5 and 6. Separate analysis for men and women is an easy way to determine whether gender differences exist in wage returns to similar qualifications. For example, by comparing the size of the coefficients (columns 5 and 6), one finds that women received smaller economic gains for years of labor-force experience and their investment in education than men did. The reverse was true for the occupational measure, however. White-collar employment was associated with greater earnings for women (.357) than for men (.145). Of particular interest is a comparison of racial differences by gender. When comparing the race variable for women (-.128) and men (-.125), it can be seen that (after controlling for background characteristics) being Afro-Brazilian reduced wages nearly equally for women and men.

Models 7 and 8 present the results of separate wage regressions by race. Similar to the previous findings for women, a comparison of these coefficients (in columns 7 and 8) shows that Afro-Brazilians were less highly rewarded for their investments in labor force experience and higher levels of education than whites were. In contrast with women's occupational advantage, however, Afro-Brazilians received much lower wages for white-collar employment (.142) than whites did (.230). In addition, the reduction in earnings associated with being a woman was greater for Afro-Brazilians (-.421) than for whites (-.371), suggesting that among all four subgroups, Afro-Brazilian women were compensated least for their qualifications.

The most important findings of the wage regression analysis are

^{24.} The intercept includes married white men with zero years of schooling who were nonmigrants residing in the South and working in blue-collar jobs.

that after controlling for differences in job experience, education, occupation, and other wage predictors, women were paid less than men, and Afro-Brazilians less than whites. The fact that race and gender continued to affect wages substantially even after introducing these variables indicates that the disparity in earnings between women and men and between whites and Afro-Brazilians cannot be reduced to mere differences in socioeconomic standing. These findings clearly suggest that in the urban Brazilian labor market, women and Afro-Brazilians suffer wage discrimination.

The Cost of Discrimination

To quantify wage discrimination, I applied a technique commonly used in economics to separate race and gender wage differentials. This statistical procedure first estimates the complete wage regression model separately for each of the four race and gender subgroups. The standardized wage gap is then disaggregated into three components: composition, or the amount of the wage gap due to differences in sociodemographic characteristics (such as different levels of education or differential sorting into occupations); discrimination, or the proportion of the wage gap due to unequal pay among similarly qualified workers; and interaction, which represents the combined effect of composition and discrimination. This method is appealing because the second component serves as a summary measure of wage discrimination. In the present analysis, white men are the comparison group, and thus income differences are obtained by comparing white men with white women and white men with Afro-Brazilian men and women.

The results of applying the decomposition analysis, shown in table 7, present the overall wage gap between groups and the decomposition of that difference into the three components: composition, discrimination, and interaction.²⁶ The first generalization that can be drawn from this analysis is that women and Afro-Brazilians averaged earnings far below those of white men. Afro-Brazilian men earned average monthly wages that were 4,307 cruzeiros less than that of white men; the comparable wage gap between white men and Afro-Brazilian women was 7,621 cruzeiros, and that between white men and white women was 4,473.

Compositional differences (for example, unequal levels of education and occupation) explained a large proportion of the wage gap be-

^{25.} The decomposition model is $(Y^h - Y^l) = [(a^h - a^l) + EX^l(b^h - B^l)] + Eb^l(X^h - X^l) + E(b^h - b^l)$ ($X^h - X^l$). For a review of this model see Duncan (1968), Winsborough and Dickinson (1971), Blinder (1973), and Jones and Kelly (1984).

^{26.} The positive interaction component for all three groups implies that jointly changing wage-related resources as well as returns to those resources would have a substantial positive impact on the earnings of both men and women.

TABLE 7 Decomposition of Average Wage Differentials for Full-Time Urban Brazilian Workers by Race and Gender, 1980

Component	Afro-Brazilian Men (in cruzeiros)	Afro-Brazilian Women (in cruzeiros)	White Women (in cruzeiros)	
Composition ^a Discrimination ^b	1,699 (39%)	1,255 (16%)	144 (3%)	
Interaction ^c	1,034 (24%) 1,574 (37%)	3,919 (51%) 2,447 (32%)	3,836 (86%) 2,447 (32%)	
Total difference	4,307 (100%)	7,621 (99%)	4,473 (100%)	

Sources: Estimates derived from the 1960 sample (1.0%) and 1980 sample (0.8%) of the census.

NOTE: Sample restricted to workers between the ages of eighteen and twenty-nine and to women with no children. The base group was the category of white men. Deviations from totals of 100.0 are due to rounding.

tween white and Afro-Brazilian men (39 percent). Composition differences appear to be a less important factor for women, accounting for 16 percent of the wage gap between white men and Afro-Brazilian women but only 3 percent of the wage gap between white men and women. The composition effect in this analysis reflects the changing labor market characteristics of urban workers, especially women's greater educational attainment and entrance into higher-status occupations.

Having accounted for the proportion of the wage differences due to unequal levels of individual attributes (or qualifications), the most interesting result for purposes of this study is the discrimination component. Twenty-four percent of the differences in the average earnings of white and Afro-Brazilian men can be attributed to labor-market discrimination. The corresponding figure for Afro-Brazilian women is 51 percent. Conversely, a striking 86 percent of the gender wage gap among whites was due to unequal pay. The magnitude of the discrimination component for white women was unexpected, given the previous findings that white women had completed more years of schooling than white men and (after controlling for explanatory factors) were more likely to hold white-collar jobs and receive higher wages for those positions.

From this information, the monetary disadvantages suffered due to labor-market discrimination can be estimated. The 1980 "cost of discrimination" averaged 1,034 cruzeiros for Afro-Brazilian men, 3,919 for Afro-Brazilian women, and 3,836 for white women. The highest absolute monetary cost of discrimination was suffered by Afro-Brazilian women, reflecting the double effects of race and gender. Nevertheless, these re-

^aThe amount of the wage gap due to differences in sociodemographic characteristics (such as different levels of education or differential sorting into occupations).

^bDefined here as the proportion of the wage gap due to unequal pay among similarly qualified workers.

^c The combined effect of composition and discrimination.

sults suggest that in 1980, white women actually experienced the most wage discrimination proportionately.

CONCLUSION

The objective of this study has been to address the relationship between economic development and inequality by using urban labor-market indicators as measures of the opportunities and rewards available to white and Afro-Brazilian women and men.²⁷ Estimates derived from the 1960 and 1980 censuses showed that two decades of economic growth and modernization yielded contradictory outcomes. On the one hand, all four groups achieved absolute gains in education and wages as well as more favorable occupational and demographic distributions. On the other, the economic rewards of these gains were not distributed equitably. The persistence of race and gender differentials is especially significant given the profound transformations in Brazilian social and economic organization. The findings show that even though women and Afro-Brazilians benefited in absolute terms, they continued to suffer relative disadvantages.

Nevertheless, structural change in Brazil between 1960 and 1980 opened up new opportunities and removed many of the traditional barriers to employment. By 1980 Afro-Brazilians and women with high school diplomas were no longer restricted to the lowest-status occupations. Yet contrary to Brazil's long-standing emphasis on racial democracy and the "class over racism" explanation of racial inequality, racial barriers to occupational placement continued to exist. In further analyses of the 1980 data, logistic regression equations substantiated occupational discrimination. Whites and Afro-Brazilians with similar qualifications did not have equal access to better-paying positions. After accounting for sociodemographic differences, white women were more likely to secure white-collar jobs than Afro-Brazilian women were, and the same was true of white men in comparison with Afro-Brazilian men. Access to the most powerful positions was restricted on the basis of both race and gender, with white men being most likely to obtain executive or managerial positions.

Multiple regression analyses and decomposition of wage differentials revealed significant wage discrimination. Even after controlling for differences in qualifications, men earned more than women and whites earned substantially more than Afro-Brazilians. Contrary to predictions that race and gender divisions in the workplace would yield to the ho-

^{27.} Yet this step can only be considered a preliminary one. Measurements of racial and gender differences cannot be understood independently. Race and gender as well as social class are interconnected, interdetermining historical processes that are experienced simultaneously rather than being separate units of analysis. My task here is to attempt to unravel the connections among race, gender, and development. Future approaches will require that these connections also be reassembled.

mogenizing forces of industrialization, my findings suggest that the modern urban labor market in Brazil continues to be segregated by race and gender.

The unequal distribution of opportunities and rewards has not gone unchallenged. In Brazil's post-authoritarian politics of the late 1970s, issues of race and gender emerged as important rallying cries. Hundreds of Afro-Brazilian and feminist organizations sprang up in the more liberal political climate of the 1980s. For the first time in Brazil's history, political parties, state and federal government agencies, church officials, and labor unions have all joined social activists in a national-level discussion of the role played by race and gender in structuring opportunities and distributing rewards in contemporary Brazilian society. Yet despite this dialogue, empirical evidence suggests that racial and gender inequalities may be on the rise. The persistence of unequal opportunities thus invites further investigation and challenges our understanding of the relationships among race, gender, inequality, and development in contemporary Latin America.

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