

METROPOLIS OF AN UNDERDEVELOPED REGION

In this chapter, I shall outline the historical development that transformed Recife into the "metropolis of an underdeveloped region" (Andrade, 1979). The periodization roughly coincides with the demographic development of the city as presented by De Melo (1978:110). The first period covers colonial times, and is marked by the growth of the Pernambucan sugar plantations and the stagnation of the sugar trade from the mid 17th century onward. In terms of the demographic development of Recife, this was a "long period of slow growth." A second period roughly corresponds to the 19th century, beginning around 1820 and ending around 1920. This was when a regional division of labour emerged in Brazil, under the hegemony of the central-southern region. The coffee boom made it dominant and it then consolidated its position as a result of industrialization. Efforts to modernize sugar production in Pernambuco at the end of the 19th century were related to the demise of the old planter class and, in conjunction with the expansion of cotton production in the interior, were reflected in a reshuffling of local political alliances. For Recife, this period was a "century of accentuated growth." It was to be followed by the "decades of explosive growth" from the 1940s onward, that can largely be attributed to the "decomposition of the rural complex" (Singer, 1968), i.e. the modernization of the sugar industry and the decline of the cotton trade resulting in a decomposition of the cotton-cattle complex of the interior (Andrade, 1980) and, eventually, in the emergence of a form of modernized cattle-ranching. In the absence of alternative employment opportunities, these developments turned Recife into a "swollen city." In the next two chapters, this will be analyzed in greater depth, devoting particular attention to the urban policies of the *Estado Novo*¹ period in Pernambuco and their effects on the city of Recife, and then to the political developments of the 1950s and early 1960s which propelled Pernam-

¹ The *Estado Novo* (1937-1945) was established by way of a coup by President Vargas on the eve of the 1937 presidential elections, in which he was not allowed to participate according to the Constitution. The coup inaugurated a period of more systematic state-promoted industrialization accompanied by the consolidation of a corporatist trade union structure and policies of national unification. The *Estado Novo* drew inspiration from the Southern European fascist regimes of the time.

bucó onto the world's television screens, be it mainly the North American ones, and which saw the emergence of urban movements in Recife.

2.1. The colonial period

The ancient nucleus of the town of Recife was located on a flat peninsula in the delta of the Capibaribe and Beberibe Rivers, a natural harbor, protected by a reef (*recife*) off the coast. Over the centuries, the swamp areas of the river delta were to be consolidated by gradual landfills to form a site for the town.

Until the Dutch invasion (1630-1654), the *Povoação dos Arrecifes* was of relatively little importance. Two years after his arrival in 1535, Duarte Coelho, the *donatário* of the *Capitania* of Pernambuco, settled himself a bit further north on the hill of Olinda. Olinda was the capital of what was to be the most successful of the *capitanias* of Portuguese America (Furtado, 1962). Pernambuco, together with Bahia, became the center of world sugar production and remained so until Brazilian sugar started losing out to Caribbean competition in the middle of the 17th century. Olinda was the administrative center of the *Capitania* of Pernambuco. It was where plantation owners had their permanent residences and where education and religious life were concentrated. The port of Recife, located on the southern end of a peninsula which connects it to Olinda, slowly grew into more than just some "storehouses, warehouses and taverns." In 1561, French pirates evidently thought the place was worth attacking and in 1595 the English pirate John of Lancaster was attracted by the sugar stores (Andrade, 1979).

Sugar plantations were established along the river shores, the *várzeas*, and some of the present-day neighborhoods of Recife still bear the name of the original *engenhos*, sugar mills. By 1584, Pernambuco had 66 sugar mills along the various rivers of its coastal area (Andrade, 1980:45).

During the Dutch invasion, Recife gained in importance. In 1631, after burning down Olinda, they made Recife the capital of the new colony. The island of Antônio Vaz, now the neighborhoods of São José and Santo Antônio, was turned into Mauritsstad, protected by a row of fortresses. A bridge was built to connect the city to the harbor area proper and a second bridge connected it to the mainland. The clustering of houses on that side of the bridge was to become the neighborhood of Boa Vista, where tracks led inland to some of the plantations. A further connection to the mainland was established by building a dike to the small strongpoint of Afogados, the later starting point for roads to the south and southwest. Transportation was still largely by water (Nederveen Meerkerk, 1989).

After the expulsion of the Dutch in 1654, the demographic development of Recife seems to have stagnated for some time. Olinda was reinstated as capital of Pernambuco in 1657, although it had already been overtaken by Recife in size. By

that time, rivalry between the two cities had started, reflecting the conflictive relations between the aristocratic plantation owners of Olinda and the Recife based traders and financiers. The former had always been dependent on mercantile capital, but this became really problematical with the fall of sugar prices and the ensuing stagnation of the Brazilian sugar trade from the middle of the 17th century onward. The contradiction overlapped the distinction between the "native" Brazilians of Olinda and the Portugal-oriented traders or *mascates* (hawkers), as they were depreciatively called by the aristocrats. Throughout the 17th century the two groups squabbled over the location of the Municipal Council. When the metropolitan government decided to split off the *vila* of Recife from the jurisdiction of Olinda, honoring the demand of the *Recifences*, the rivalry resulted in the *Guerra dos Mascates* (1709-11) (Melo, 1984).

Although Olinda had become a city and the seat of the bishopric by 1776, it was overtaken by the commercial center of Recife. By then Recife probably had about 20,000 inhabitants and functioned as the factual capital of Pernambuco. This is reflected in the fact that the uprisings of 1817 and 1824 had Recife as their principal site. The 1817 insurrection was against Portuguese domination and mercantilist interventions. The 1824 uprising, two years after Brazil's independence, was against the political centralism of the central south and involved various of the northeastern provinces in the secessionist *Confederação do Equador*. Meanwhile, royal decrees had made Recife a city in 1823 and in 1826 it officially became the capital of the province.

By the end of the colonial period, the Northeast had lost its former predominance. From the middle of the 17th century onward, Brazilian sugar production had succumbed to Caribbean competition and was in a period of stagnation. Moreover, the discovery of gold and diamonds in Minas Gerais had prompted a reorientation of the colonial economy starting in the late 17th century. The shift was reflected in the transfer, in 1763, of the colonial capital from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro, close to the new economic center as well as the strategically important Rio de la Plata region. The northeastern backlands, the *sertão*, which had provided cattle for the sugar producing coastal area, now also started to supply the expanding market of the gold-mining region. A second indirect consequence of the mining expansion was the rise of sugar production in the south. Sugar could now be taken as return-freight on ships that had delivered goods to Rio. For Recife, the latter part of the 18th century was, at best, a period of stagnation (Singer, 1968:274-278).

Around the turn of the century, developments on the world markets for sugar and cotton temporarily boosted the city to new prominence. In response to the troubles in the Caribbean, such as the Haitian rising of 1792, Brazil's share in the world sugar market increased, though prices were rapidly falling. A factor that was of even greater importance to Recife's prosperity around the turn of the 18th

century was the expansion of cotton production during the American Revolution, when the Brazilian product came to replace American cotton on the British markets. This development put an end to the northeastern dependence on a single product and stimulated diversification of the economy. Although in some places cotton actually competed with sugar, its main areas of production were the *sertão* and the *agreste*² where it was linked to cattle raising and subsistence farming. After 1820, Brazilian cotton was once again rapidly defeated by North American competition. Sugar, by contrast, entered a new phase of expansion, this time on a much more competitive market due to the rise of beet-sugar production in Europe and preferential trade arrangements made by the industrializing countries with their areas of influence (cf. Eisenberg, 1974; Singer, 1968:284).

2.2. The process of regionalization in the 19th century

In spite of the expansion of sugar production in the 19th century, the Brazilian Northeast became a region that "did not make it." The "plight of the Northeast" and the emergence of significant regional differences in Brazilian economic development became evident in the course of the 19th century. Colonial Portuguese South America has often been characterized as an archipelago, in the sense that though various parts of the area might have been connected to the metropolis, they were hardly interconnected. The 19th century, however, witnessed the emergence and consolidation of a regionally differentiated but interconnected system under the hegemony of the coffee-producing and subsequently industrializing areas of the Southeast. Comparing 19th-century development to the earlier economic cycles of sugar and gold production, Dowbor (1982:117) points out that this time a sectoral disequilibrium -the dominance of the coffee sector- gradually turned into a durable regional disparity.

Whereas the share of coffee in total Brazilian export revenues rose from 19% in 1821-23 to 50% in 1871-73 and 60% in 1912-14, the share of sugar dropped from 30% in the 1820s to a mere 6% by the end of the 19th century. The volume share in the world market for sugar fell from about 10% in 1845 to less than 1% by the beginning of the 20th century (Eisenberg, 1974:15-31; Leff, 1982b:11-15). These indicators reflect declining shares in growing markets. The quantity of sugar produced in Pernambuco increased, but this was not accompanied by the kind of technological innovations that were taking place in other parts of the world. Relatively cheap slave labor, relatively cheap land, and the gradual decline of world market prices contributed to the technological backwardness of northeastern

² The *agreste* is the intermediate zone between the humid coast, the *zona da mata*, and the arid, occasionally drought-stricken, northeastern backlands, the *sertão*.

sugar production. This situation was not to change until around the 1870s, when the suppression of the slave trade started to make itself felt and world sugar prices dropped faster than before.³ By that time, regionalist feelings started to be clearly voiced by Pernambucan planters who felt discriminated by the new hegemonic core area (Eisenberg, 1974:142-145; Silveira, 1984).

From 1875 onward, the modernization of the sugar industry was to be stimulated by various government incentives. The first effort involved the promotion of *engenhos centrais* by the imperial government. The project failed because the *engenhos*, which did not have plantations of their own, depended on the supply of cane by independent planters who, however, could also turn to the less sophisticated sugar mills, the *bangüês*. After 1890 the Republican government adopted a policy of promoting *usinas*, which were vertically integrated with plantations. Partly due to huge state funding, the number of *usinas* in Pernambuco rose from 10 in 1885 to 46 in 1910. Nevertheless, in 1910 the state also still counted about 1,500 *engenhos bangüês* (Andrade, 1980: 71, 81-86; Eisenberg, 1974:85-118; Singer, 1968:285-301). The belated industrialization of the production process could not save the Pernambucan sugar industry from low profitability and further stagnation. By the early 20th century, part of Pernambucan sugar production was for the internal Brazilian market, located in the Southeast, rather than for export purposes. This internal trade did not make up for the losses due to the subordination of the Northeast to the new hegemonic core (Leff, 1982b:29; Singer, 1968:312).

Cotton did not fare much better. After its spread in the late 18th century, it boomed during the American Civil War, only to rather quickly lose its importance as an export product again. Technological developments in spinning techniques diminished the advantages of the long fibre varieties produced in the region, and after 1882, British industries were assured of an abundant supply of Egyptian cotton. The rise of the cotton/cattle economy contributed to the settlement of the northeastern interior, an occasionally drought-stricken region. With an increased population, the repercussions of droughts became more obvious. The drought that hit the area in 1877-79, after decades of sufficient rainfall, drove numerous hungry *flagelados* to the cities and occasioned the first central government aid for the afflicted. Beside the droughts, the northeastern interior became known for its *coronelismo*, i.e. virtually absolute rule by local bosses, and for the rural banditism and messianic movements that marked the late 19th and early 20th century

³ The redistribution of the slave population after 1850 indicates the emerging regional divergence. In spite of attempts by the northeastern planters to stop the interprovincial slave trade, the share of the total slave population -between 2.5 and 3 million- dropped from 54% in 1823 to 32% in 1872, whereas over the same period the southeastern share rose from 39% to 59% (Leff, 1982b:21). In the northeast the availability of a labour reserve was not as great a problem as it was in the southeast where, after 1888, European immigration was successfully promoted (Eisenberg, 1974; Huggins, 1985; Kowarick, 1987).

(Hirschmann, 1973:22; Levine, 1978:30-33, 93-99; Oliveira, 1977; Souza Martins, 1985:31-41).

By the first decades of the 20th century, sugar and textiles accounted for about three quarters of Pernambucan industrial output. The other quarter was basically accounted for by small food-processing enterprises. Industrialization had picked up during the last quarter of the 19th century with the installation of various textile factories, some of which were located in Recife and the surrounding municipalities. By 1915 Pernambuco had 6,180 textile workers and 3,154 looms. The mills produced rudimentary goods for the local market, such as sugar bags, gray cloth, burlap and coarse cotton shirts. Attempts at diversification toward higher quality products were thwarted by foreign owned trade companies (Goés, 1964; Levine, 1978:31; O, 1971; Oliveira, 1977:55; Singer, 1968:304-306). All in all, the industrial structure of the state remained weak and heavily dependent on foreign investments:

Foreign firms controlled the capital's urban transport system, the Recife-based regional railroad network, the gas works, and the telephone system. Foreigners dominated such local industries as cotton and vegetable oil processing and the small mechanized fishing fleet, besides operating several usinas and the two largest textile mills in the state. Foreign brokers and shippers handled a substantial portion of Pernambuco's imports and exports, including much of the traffic in hides, cotton, machinery, dried cod and beef, cement, pharmaceuticals, sugar, alcohol, flour, and wax. Twenty-three of the 37 leading firms in 1912 were foreign or had been founded by non-Brazilians in earlier times (Levine, 1978:37).

Contrary to what happened on a national level, the First World War severely hit the Pernambucan industries and was followed by a decline in foreign investments. The transfer of foreign holdings to other regions illustrates the consolidation of the Northeast's subordinated position in the early 20th century (Levine, 1978:39). The development of the Brazilian textile industry provides another indication. In 1866, 6 out of a total of 9 textile factories were located in the Northeast, but by 1885 only 15 out of a total of 48 were located in the region (Leff, 1982b:10). In subsequent years, this concentration was to become even greater (Singer, 1968:323).

Railways, banks and other institutions concentrated in the new hegemonic region provided the base for further differential development. The process can be described as a replacement of the bilateral relationship between Brazilian regions and external metropolises by a triangular relationship. The direct exchange of raw materials for manufactured goods was gradually replaced by an exchange in which the Rio-São Paulo axis exported manufactured goods to other Brazilian regions, whence it imported raw materials for consumption or for export to the exterior in exchange for capital goods and, still later, for technology (Dowbor, 1982; Furtado, 1969; Leff, 1982a, 1982b). The development is reflected in the concentration of industrial production as shown in the following table.

Percentage Shares of various States in National Industrial production

	1907	1920	1938
São Paulo	16.5	31.5	43.2
Federal District (Rio de Janeiro city)	33.1	20.8	14.2
Minas Gerais	4.8	5.5	11.3
Rio Grande do Sul	14.9	11.0	10.7
Rio de Janeiro	6.7	7.4	5.0
Pernambuco	4.0	6.8	4.2
Santa Catarina	--	--	1.8
Paraná	4.9	3.2	1.8
Bahia	3.2	2.8	1.7

(Source: Singer, 1968:320-328)

By the early 20th century, Recife had thus become the capital of a region subordinated to the hegemonic dynamism of the central south (Frank, 1969; Leff, 1982b:5-40; Eisenberg, 1974; Oliveira, 1977).

In Pernambuco the gradual decline of the old planter class was reflected in a reshuffling of political alliances. Levine (1978:82) pinpoints the presidential elections of 1911 as a turning point. Ever since 1896, politics in Pernambuco and its capital had been dominated by the old planter class via the *Partido Republicano Federal*. As a result of the restructuring of the sugar economy during the last quarter of the 19th century, their influence was on the wane, however. The *senhores de engenho* had increasingly been subordinated to the *usineiros* and their role had become one of simple cane-suppliers -*fornecedores*- leading to growing tension between the two groups. The 1911 electoral campaign exposed the cracks in the dominant alliance and the 1911-1930 period was to be marked by factional disputes among elite groups. The *usineiros* came to play a more prominent political role and the *coronéis*, the local bosses from the interior, gained influence in state politics. Meanwhile, the role of the urban electorate increased (Levine, 1978:82). By the late 1920s, various opposition groups formed a coalition around a new party led by the *usineiro* Carlos de Lima Cavalcanti who became *interventor* after Vargas' *coup*. Under his successor, Agamemnon Magalhães, the *coronéis* of the interior were to dominate Pernambucan politics in the context of the *Estado Novo*-arrangements (see 3.1).

It was against the backdrop of these developments that the city of Recife expanded from 1820 to 1920, De Melo's (1978:115) "century of accentuated growth," though opinions diverge on the exact rate of growth. According to the data of the first census in 1872, the municipality of Recife counted 116,671 inhabitants. Although this is probably an overestimate, the population can be said

to have more or less tripled since the 1820s (Singer, 1968:302; cf. Andrade, 1979; Melo, 1978:115).

Since the census data for 1890 and 1900 seem to indicate a drop in population relative to the 1872 data, the late 19th century demographic development of Recife is subject to some discussion. According to Singer (1968:302-304) and Melo (1978:115-116), the 1872 census probably overestimated the population, whereas the two later censuses may have underestimated it. The restructuring of the sugar economy and the abolition of slavery in 1888 are likely to have contributed to some population growth. The proportion of migrants from the Northeast⁴ rose from about 13 or 14% of the city population in the early 19th century to 39% by the last decade of the century (Melo, 1978:119; cf. Levine, 1978:52). Levine (1978:13-20), on the other hand, felt that epidemic diseases and appalling living conditions in the city might have accounted for the sluggish demographic development. Conditions started to improve from the 1920s onward but even so, life expectancy in Recife was still dismally low in 1939: 28 for men and 32 for women.

Population Growth, Pernambuco and Recife, 1872-1980

Year	<i>Pernambuco</i>		<i>Recife</i>	
	Thousands of persons	Index 1872=100	Thousands of persons	Index 1872=100
1872	842	100	117	100
1890	1,050	125	112	96
1900	1,178	140	113	97
1920	2,155	256	239	204
1940*	2,688	319	348	297
1950	3,395	403	525	449
1960*	4,081	485	788	674
1970	5,161	613	1,061	907
1980	6,147	730	1,204	1,029

* For 1940, the Secretaria de Planejamento (1986) and Levine (1978) give a different figure for the Recife population, namely 384,000. For 1960, Levine (1978) and Melo (1978) give the Pernambucan population as 4,137,000 and like the Secretaria de Planejamento (1986) both of them give the Recife population as 797,000.

(Sources: FIDEM, 1982:108-115; Fontes, 1986:141-144; Levine, 1978:19; Melo, 1978:121; MINTER/SUDENE, 1984; 1985; Secretaria de Planejamento, 1986).

⁴ The Northeast in this case is defined as what Levine (1978:1) has called the "satellite bloc" of the city of Recife, consisting of the provinces of Pernambuco, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba and Alagoas.

2.3. The "swollen city"

In the course of the present century, Recife became a *cidade inchada* -a swollen city-, with a rise in population but no concomitant increase in employment opportunities. The "swelling" of the city occurred against the backdrop of the increasingly subordinated insertion of the Northeast into the Brazilian economy. The process of industrialization in the Southeast, which had started in the late 19th century, was boosted after 1929 by the growth of import-substituting industries. After Vargas' take-over in 1930, the valorization-policies in support of coffee production were internally financed instead of relying on external loans, as had been the case before. One side-effect was that internal demand was sustained, despite the fall of export revenues, and that import-substituting production was promoted. Between 1933 and 1945, industrial production grew at about 10% per year, enhancing the predominant role of the southeastern region.

With the establishment of the *Estado Novo* in 1937, the state came to play a new role in restructuring the accumulation process. Import-substituting industrialization became a consciously pursued policy. Investments in the infrastructure and in primary industries, exemplified by the Volta Redonda steel complex in the state of Rio de Janeiro, exhibited a substantial increase. The state apparatuses themselves were restructured and a more modern techno-bureaucracy emerged. Fiscal and industrial policy-making powers were concentrated in the hands of the federal government and the harmonization of banking, taxation and marketing policies furthered the development of a national market.

The main northeastern products -sugar and cotton- came to face competition from the central south. As a result of the coffee policies, a frost period in 1918, and the 1929 crash, agricultural production in the southeastern states diversified. Between 1925 and 1929 sugar production in this region increased sevenfold and cotton production increased from 4,000 ton in 1930 to 300,000 ton in 1940 (Cohn, 1976:26-32). A large share of this increased production was exported to Germany and Japan, but the traditional cotton producing areas gained little from this development. During the Second World War, Brazil became one of the major textile exporters, a position that was however soon to be lost again. In 1933, as part of the political alliance building of the Vargas government, an *Instituto do Açúcar e Alcool* (IAA) was created to regulate the sugar market, which was plagued by overproduction. The quota system implemented by the IAA resulted in a freezing of the conditions of production in the northeastern sugar producing areas, which became ever more poverty-stricken (Andrade, 1981:29-32; Oliveira, 1977:60). Attempts to do something about the drought-stricken interior also failed to alleviate the problems of the poor. The funds channeled to the area through the

Inspetoria Federal de Obras Contra as Sêcas (IFOCS) principally served to boost the position of the *coronéis*. In the 1950s, as we will see, new attempts were made to do something about the "plight of the Northeast," resulting in the founding of the SUDENE in 1959 (Andrade, 1981: 38-49; Cohn, 1976:57-64; Hirschmann, 1973:37-66).

The growth of Recife, now a city with a "metropolitan vocation" (Andrade, 1979), can basically be attributed to the expulsion of the population from the countryside triggered by the "decomposition of the rural complex" (Singer, 1968:331-337).⁵ Production relations in the sugar industry were gradually modernized, implying the proletarianization of the labor force which until then had access to *sítios* -small subsistence plots- on the outskirts of the plantations. This process was accelerated with the recuperation of sugar exports after the Second World War. The sugar-producing areas accounted for the major influx into Recife, followed by the *agreste* where cattle raising was intensified from the 1950s onward (Melo, 1978:150). In the 1920s and 1930s, every year only an estimated 3,850 people migrated to the city, but this flow increased to 11,370 in the 1940s when De Melo's (1978:120) "decades of explosive growth" began. In the 1950s the number of migrants rose to an annual 14,875. In the 1940s three out of every four inhabitants of the Pernambucan capital was to be a migrant (Singer, 1968:335-337). Between 1940 and 1960, the population of the city doubled.

The annual growth rate of the Recife municipality population was about 4% in the 1940s and 1950s. It dropped to 3% in the 1960s and to 1.3% in the 1970s. This drop only partly reflects the decreasing significance of migration in the metropolization process. It also means the core municipality had become saturated. By 1980, it had reached a demographic density of 5,499 inhabitants per square kilometre (FIDEM, 1982: 116-131; Fontes, 1986:145). From 1940 to 1970, the annual population increase for the metropolitan region was about 4%, dropping to 2.8% in the 1970s. It was in the 1960s that the population of the metropolitan region started to grow faster than of its core municipality. If we calculate the annual growth of the metropolitan region without the municipality of Recife during the 1970s, it still amounts to 3.8%. The contribution of the migratory flow

⁵ Some data indicate the relevance of push rather than pull factors. In 1940 only 6.3% of the total population of the municipality of Recife was employed in industry, as compared to 13.2% in São Paulo (Singer, 1968:330). If we make a similar calculation for the metropolitan area in 1970, we see that of a total population of 1.7 million, 114,594 or 6.6% were employed in the secondary sector. Ten years later, the secondary sector was to employ 205,192 persons of a total population of 2.3 million or 8.6%. In relation to the economically active population of the metropolitan region, this means industrial employment increased from 24% to 27%. In 1970 as well as 1980, 62% of the economically active population was to be found in the tertiary sector. Over those ten years, primary sector employment dropped from 5.6% to 3% (Andrade, 1979:27; CONDEPE 1987:202-203). In 1978 about 70% of the employed population (*pessoas ocupadas*) in the metropolitan region earned no more than 2 minimum salaries and 45% was considered underemployed since they did not even earn one minimum salary (FIDEM, 1982:153-162).

leveled off to 20% of the growth of the metropolitan population in the 1960s and 12% in the 1970s. At the time, about a third of the population of the metropolitan region consisted of migrants. In 1960, 30% of the population of the state of Pernambuco lived in the metropolitan region and by 1980 its share was to be 38%. In both years, the share of the metropolitan region in the total urban population of the state was about 58%, indicating that urban population growth was also taking place in the cities of the interior. For the state of Pernambuco as a whole, the urban population rose from 45% in 1960 to 62% in 1980 (Andrade, 1979:23; FIDEM, 1982:108-115, 126; Fontes, 1986:140-144, 155; Melo, 1978:146).⁶

Population Growth, Recife and its Metropolitan Region (RMR) 1940-1980

Year	<i>Metropolitan Region*</i>		<i>Recife</i>	
	Thousands of persons	% growth over 10 years	Thousands of persons	% growth over 10 years
1940	554	--	348	--
1950	819	48	525	51
1960	1,226	50	797	52
1970	1,719	40	1,061	33
1980**	2,348	37	1,204	13

* The Metropolitan Region of Recife (RMR) was officially created in 1973 (see 5.2.3). It initially consisted of the municipalities of Cabo, Igarassu, Itamaracá, Jaboatão, Moreno, Olinda, Paulista, São Lourenço da Mata and Recife. In 1982 the municipalities of Abreu e Lima, Itapissuma and Camaragibe were created by redefining within the area of the RMR.

** For 1980, the data provided by FIDEM (1982) have been taken. They diverge slightly from those provided by Fontes (1986) and in CONDEPE (1987: 43-50).

(Sources: FIDEM, 1982:110; Fontes, 1986: 141, 144)

⁶ It should be noted that the population concentration around Recife was attenuated by the migratory flow toward the industrializing Centre-South. According to Melo (1978:146), in the 1960s 261,100 Pernambucans migrated to other states, particularly the Centre-South, whereas the flow to the Metropolitan Region of Recife only amounted to 165,200 persons. MINTER/SUDENE (1984:21; 1985:55) indicate even larger interstate migratory flows.

2.4. A final remark

In this chapter I outlined the development of Recife in its regional context. I noted that, despite some ups and downs, the regional economy has been stagnant since the decline of the sugar trade in the 17th century. The expansion of cotton production in the 19th century brought some diversification, but failed to revert the tendency toward stagnation. The modernization of sugar production after the 1870s similarly failed to bring about development in a broader sense of the term. The relative prosperity of the cotton trade nevertheless made for a reshuffling of economic and political power positions which, by the end of the 1930s, was reflected in a political dominance of the *coronéis* from the interior. As I shall explain in Chapter IV, the rise and decline of this specific regional socio-economic and political constellation may account for the political trajectory of Pernambuco and its capital in the 1950s and early 1960s.

First, however, I shall discuss the expansion of the "swollen city" and the development of urban policies during the first half of the 20th century in greater detail. I already traced the demographic development of the city in its regional context. In the following chapter, I shall discuss the spatial aspects of the city's expansion and how it was divided into rich and poor areas.