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POLITICAL CULTURE AND POWER RELATIONS IN SÃO PAULO:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL IMAGINARY OF SÃO PAULO IN THE 1930S

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Abstract: This article highlights a sociological approach to the political history of São Paulo. Its objective is to affirm the long historical duration of political experiences, expanding to the universe of political culture, the debate that conditions events resulting from the 1930 Revolution in São Paulo, such as the Constitutionalist Revolution of 1932, to the simple ability to react of the agrarian elites who fought to restore their power.

Keywords: 1. São Paulo; 2. Political Culture; 3. Social Imaginary.

INTRODUCTION

Contrary to what it may seem, the intention of this article is not to deny the evident participatory action of São Paulo's rural elites in the political events resulting from the Revolution of 1930 in the state of São Paulo, but rather to defend that their struggle flags only found resonance in society of São Paulo, because there already existed a cultural structure conducive to its implementation. This argument seeks to condition the actions of political actors in São Paulo to the cultural traditions and myths that characterized São Paulo society at the time.

In this new way of dealing with the issue, the symbolic order stands out, manifest in political culture, which governs the set of ideas that characterize the political organization of each society. It is a theoretical approach that seeks to find in the influences of the cultural past the bases of São Paulo's social imaginary, an order formed by customs, values and collective feelings that developed in São Paulo over time.

When dealing with the reasons that drive human beings to act in a certain way in a given situation, much more than the simple effort to understand their current reasons or recent aspects of their socialization, it is sometimes necessary to go back to the remote past, seeking social values and customs that are characterized by resisting the action of time: this is an issue that involves political culture.

Political culture is a multidisciplinary concept. The expression was created in the 1960s by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba from the combination of sociological, anthropological and psychological perspectives in the study of political phenomena. The notion of political culture refers to the set of attitudes, beliefs and feelings that give order and meaning to a political process, highlighting the rules and assumptions on which the behavior of its actors is based (KUSCHNIR and CARNEIRO, 1999).

As Déloye (1999) reminds us, the task of the historical sociology of politics is to break down the barriers that naturalize the influences of the past in the present time. It is a logic that places the past and the present side by side, reaffirming the long historical duration of the political experiences of any society. This methodological approach, centered on political culture, privileges the impacts that symbols present in the social world have on historical actors.

In general, the universe of ideas, understood as the symbolic ordering that gives meaning to the social behavior of historical actors, has not always been treated with due care.

According to Geertz (1989), the attempt to understand both the organization of social activity and the nature of its relationships imposes on us the difficult scientific task of interpreting culture. And, to interpret culture, it is necessary to turn to the universe of ideas: a set of attitudes, beliefs and feelings that give order and meaning to the social behavior of human beings.

THE PAST AND PRESENT IN SOCIAL LITERATURE

The social relations that bring the present time closer to the past are easily identified in classical social literature. Let's start by

analyzing some primordial concepts from the authors that make up the tripod of classical social thought: Durkheim, Marx and Weber.

When dealing with the rules of his sociological method, Émile Durkheim, while stating that explaining social facts means demonstrating the function they play in society, also clarifies that this explanation is not found in the social utility that we project onto things in society. present or future time, but rather, in the investigation into the reason that motivated the emergence of the social practice in question in the past.

As can be seen, although the investigation of the past is the essence of the explanatory method of the present elaborated by Durkheim (1999), his sociological orientation aimed at society, the object of analysis, distanced him from the universe of ideas: an approach that necessarily requires the investigative centrality in the individual, historical subject.

Karl Marx's historical materialism is also concerned with relating past and present times. By breaking with Hegelian idealism, Marx conditions the interpretation of the social reality of bourgeois and proletarians of his time, present, to the study of the history of social classes, of the past.

When dealing with the social relations that reproduce class domination, the father of historical materialism highlights this link that unites the present with the past, highlighting that: "men make their own history, but they do not make it as they want; They do not do so under circumstances of their own choosing, but under those they directly encounter, bequeathed and transmitted by the past." (MARX, 1997, p. 21).

In this debate that enters the field of ideologies, it is evident that for Marx, the human being becomes a hostage of the universe of ideas, represented by the social superstructure.

In his theory of social action, Max Weber conditions the action of social actors to the long historical duration of their life experiences and social customs. In the Weberian rational comprehensive method, this temporal order, past versus present, is closely linked to the universe of ideas, since for him, social reality can only be explained through understanding the ideas, customs and feelings of historical actors.

In the work "Protestant ethics and the spirit of capitalism", when studying the origins of modern society, Weber (2000) resorts to the values present in the ideas and way of thinking about life of Calvinist Protestants of the past to demonstrate the predominant leadership of members of this religious denomination in the multiple activities of the present capitalist economy.

In addition to the classics, several authors of relevance to the Social Sciences built their theoretical methods highlighting social relationships that bring the present time closer to the long historical past. Among these authors, Norbert Elias, Alexis de Tocqueville and Pierre Bourdieu deserve to be highlighted, as they dedicated special attention to the so-called universe of ideas.

By describing the social habits and customs that interconnect the past and present of a society, Elias demonstrates that the reflections of a glorious past, or the traumas of failures, decisively interfere with the actions and feelings of the present. It is a psychosocial order that imposes on the present of individuals an experience in the shadow of the glories or frustrations of their past. Thus, in the work "The Germans", Elias finds in the values and social feelings of the German past, the elements that justify Hitler's rise to power.

Without this study that highlights the rules of a traditional code of honor from the German past - in which there is an "aristocratic determination not to submit personal disagreements between men of

the same group to which they belong, to the competent verdict of the king and his courts of justice, claiming, on the contrary, the right to resolve them independently" (Elias, 1997, p. 15-31) -, as our gaze would focus on the rebellion of the bohemian and romantic jurisprudence student Karl Marx, who, driven by the cultural values inherited from ancient Germanic aristocracy, defended its honor by dueling with swords?

> Another concern of his parents was about the bohemian life that Marx led in Bonn, spending money freely. On one of these nights, he was arrested for vagrancy and drunkenness. And when Heinrich Marx wrote to him asking him to be careful not to fall into the idiocy of fighting in a duel, another fashion that had already claimed several fatalities, Marx had already narrowly escaped, having been injured just above his left eye. (SIMÕES JR., 1988, p. 24).

Tocqueville, in the first part of the classic "Democracy in America", by highlighting the colonizing agent, deals with the laws and social customs of the past that had a decisive influence on the democratic experience of society in the United States of America in the present time. Emphasizing the past experiences of the social condition, religion and political and legal customs of the first immigrants in the formation of their new homeland, he exclaims: "no one can completely free themselves from the past" (TOCQUEVILLE, 2001, p. 52).

In the same way, how can we understand French women's preference for men older, taller and richer than them, described by Bourdieu in "Male Domination", without understanding its sociocultural focus that finds in the social magic of the past, expressed through androcentric rites, the origins of the masculine symbolic power that governs present-day Western society?

Bourdieu (1999) deals with male domination in the dynamics of symbolic powers present in everyday life in Western

societies. These "invisible" powers represent social relations of domination that are transmitted through culture. The essence of the existence of this type of domination is that it is internalized by the victim, being practiced and reproduced unconsciously.

Advancing to renowned national literature, the understanding that the facts of the present derive from the long duration of historical processes finds a prominent resonance in the works of Sérgio Buarque de Holanda and Gilberto Freyre.

Holanda (1997), faithful to the tradition of the modernist movement that aimed to "rediscover the country", in 1936, when rethinking the history of Brazil, treats its social, economic and political processes as historical cultural phenomena. In other words, as resulting from a cultural heritage that affects the collective way of thinking, feeling and acting.

Surrounded by the scenario of the first years of the 1930 Revolution, it contextualizes it within the social transformations resulting from the Abolition of Slavery in 1888. It believes that this was the dividing line between two eras: the first, represented by the period that extends from Portuguese colonization to Abolition, where the "gravitational center" of social life focuses on the domains of values and customs of the rural way of life; the second refers to its later period, the moment when the social values of the urban way of life began to come into force. These new values represented by the liberal ideals of republicanism will coexist side by side with the agrarian cultural heritage of the Ibero-American tradition, caudillo personalism, of national oligarchies.

With regard to Gilberto Freyre, despite the criticism that his main work, ``Casa-grande e Senzala``, suffered, including from Sérgio Buarque de Holanda for not highlighting the class contradictions and the ills of the social, political and affective life of colonial society

Brazilian, even so, one cannot fail to take into consideration, the relevance of their studies to break with the prejudices of the national society that defended the social unviability of Brazil due to the racial inferiority of its colonial matrices: the Indian, the black and the exiled European.

Although Gilberto characterizes the Brazilian, the result of racial miscegenation, as a model of a "concordant man", the main actor of a supposed racial democracy, the importance of his work for understanding the cultural contribution of the ethnic groups that made origin to Brazilian society.

It is through Gilberto Freyre's attempt to demystify the figure of the Portuguese exile who arrived in Brazilian lands that we find the most insightful example of a sociological approach centered on the universe of ideas. It is based on this approach that we understand the phenomenal success of the State policy of the small and depopulated Portugal of the navigations, which, with its "stray stallions", banished from the moral values of Christianity and medieval law, constituted an immense mixed-race population in its territories. conquered.

According to Freyre (2000), the success of the Portuguese State policy that linked the crime of exile to the ethnic profile of men who were unable to adapt to the rigid commandments of medieval Christianity was due to the long historical duration of socio-religious, polygamous-Mohammedan values., culturally inherited by the Portuguese from the Moorish invasion at the time of the Crusades.

In the opening chapter of ``Casa-grande e Senzala``, Gilberto Freyre deals with the polygamous social/sexual customs of the Mohammedan (Moorish) peoples who conquered part of Portuguese territory through the Wars of the Crusades. He defends the thesis that the incorporation of the social customs of the Islamic faith into the traditional customs of Catholicism had a decisive influence on the success of Portugal's state policy, which used native women to form the colonial population. This practice differed from the colonizing methods of the rival Spanish State because it did not share the same population needs as Portugal, which allowed them to decimate the conquered primitive populations. In this sense, men who suffered exile for being carriers of polygamous cultural/ sexual heritage were fundamental for the Portuguese State to constitute the population, marked by miscegenation, necessary for the defense and colonization of its new territories.

THE PAST AND PRESENT IN THE SOCIAL IMAGINARY OF SÃO PAULO

The political and social contradiction detected in São Paulo society in the period after the 1930 Revolution, in the field of political culture, reflects a set of ideas of superiority: social representations of the glory and success of its people in the past.

On this topic, Haguette (1999, p. 53), citing the social dramaturgy of Erving Goffman, highlights that appearances influence "the behavior of individuals and groups, leading them to act in order to transmit certain impressions to others and, at the same time, at the same time, to control their behavior based on the reactions that others transmit to them in order to 'pass' an image that differs from what they really are".

Objectively, the symbolic ordering of social superiority of the population of São Paulo found resonance in imaginary constructions solidified in the popular culture of this federated unit, as in the saying of the time that described the economic strength of São Paulo as "a locomotive pulling twenty empty wagons". (BASBAUM, 1976, p. 128).

This popular saying cannot be interpreted

in any other way than the universe of ideas. In other words, this popular saying can only be understood within a social context that passionately highlights the colonial pioneering spirit of the bandeirante and the broad political and economic dominance of the São Paulo federative unit during the years of the Old Brazilian Republic.

THE DIMENSION OF SÃO PAULO'S ECONOMIC SUPERIORITY IN THE SOCIAL IMAGINARY OF SÃO PAULO

In the economic aspect, the political culture of social superiority that gives meaning to the imagination of the people of São Paulo, arises from the ideas and information we have regarding the dynamism of coffee plantations and population growth resulting from the large immigration flow, national and foreign, from three first republican decades in São Paulo.

The railway system that left the capital of São Paulo in 1865, had already almost completely interconnected all regions of this federative unit by the end of the Empire. São Paulo coffee production, according to Cano (1977, p. 31), jumped from 16% at the beginning of the 1870s to 40% of national production in the last four years preceding the Republic.

Still according to Cano, from 1920 onwards São Paulo assumed Brazilian economic command, when its individual production exceeded half of the total national production. Its industrial percentage came to occupy first place with 31.1% of the Brazilian total, against 11.5% in the Federal District, at the time Rio de Janeiro, in second place. São Paulo's textile activity already represented 20.4% of the national sector, compared to 7.6% in Pernambuco and 6.1% in the Federal District, respectively in second and third place. Its population, which in 1890 represented 9% of Brazil's inhabitants, now corresponded to

15%. A decade later, in 1930, its population of 7,160,000 inhabitants represented 20% of the Brazilian total.

THE DIMENSION OF POLITICAL SUPERIORITY OF SÃO PAULO IN THE SOCIAL IMAGINARY OF SÃO PAULO

São Paulo's cultural tradition of political superiority began with the transfer of military republican power to a civilian president in 1894. This was the moment in which Prudente José de Morais e Barros, a São Paulo native from the city of São Paulo, assumed the presidency of the country. Itu, a municipality on the coffee route described as Oeste of São Paulo.

Recovered from the surprise of the republican regime that redirected national political decisions towards the ideals of an urban and literate elite, the party-political scenario was reorganized around the old interests of Brazilian agrarian leaders.

After the failure to create a national Republican Party in 1896, the party organization began to be regionalized, and the old political disputes reflected in different subtitles began to take place within the same party.

This political organization centered on regional strength greatly favored São Paulo, as the so-called "Governors' Policy", drawn up by Manuel Ferraz de Campos Salles in 1898, focused on supporting the governor of the group that controlled national power, and furthermore, the São Paulo's subsequent economic growth made the state the center of political decisions.

With around 70% of the population associated with rural activity and living in cities located in the interior of the country, the electoral structure centered on the hierarchy of agrarian power of large coffee farmers made the São Paulo Republican Party (PRP)

and the state of São Paulo the responsible for nominating more than half of the presidents who governed the Republic of Brazil from November 15, 1894 to October 24, 1930.

THE DIMENSION OF SOCIOCULTURAL SUPERIORITY OF SÃO PAULO IN THE SOCIAL IMAGINARY OF SÃO PAULO

A first relevant aspect to the construction of São Paulo's social personality is found in the myth of the bandeirante. In summary, in the feat of the inhabitants of São Paulo who, in the name of the Portuguese Crown and the Catholic faith, spectacularly fulfilled the military mission of conquering, occupying and expanding the territories discovered under the aegis of the Treaty of Tordesillas of June 7, 1494 According to Volpato (1997), this heroic vision of the brave colonizer of São Paulo and Brazil, always treated in a mythical way in textbooks, took root in São Paulo and national common sense.

The French traveler Saint-Hilaire, in 1818, described Bandeirantism as being an "incalculable" adventure of exploration and territorial conquest of men who "belonged to a race of giants" (ALMEIDA, 1948, p. 19).

Reading Scantimburgo (2000), demonstrates that it was from the social value that was always given to military actions that began in the Courtyard of the College of the Society of Jesus in São Paulo in the early years of the 17th century that the myth of greatness was formed and the glory of the bandeirante and, consequently, of the people of São Paulo.

Another sociocultural aspect that can be considered of great relevance for understanding the popular identity of São Paulo is found in what Valladares (1990) called socialization in the world of order, or work. In the case of São Paulo, the heavy work, with hoe handles, developed by the large mass of immigrants, mainly Italians, who arrived on São Paulo's coffee farms from 1870 onwards. This occurred as a result of the prohibition of the slave trade in 1850, when the government and private societies such as the Central Immigration Society and the Immigration Promoter Society encouraged the arrival of European workers in Brazil (WALKER, 2000).

It was as a result of the hard work and activity carried out by these European workers who joined the coffee plantations of São Paulo after the First World War (SINGER, 1995) that an identity anchored in the effort of physical work was developed.

Falcão (2000) also identified this social value in the southern states of Brazil when studying the differences that characterized the separatist groups in that region: it is a social feeling that hierarchizes, through prejudice, Brazilian society.

In the specific case of São Paulo, its people move away from the values and customs that highlight the so-called Brazilian way, represented by trickery and idleness, typical, in their prejudiced view, of Rio society and part of the northeast region. In this context, the economic and political leadership of the São Paulo federative unit would not be the result of chance, but would reflect the historic pioneering spirit of the Bandeirantes and the culture of valuing work in São Paulo from the moment that the social ascension of immigrants from the arduous work on coffee plantations.

SOCIAL IMAGINARY AND PAULIST UPRISING IN THE PERIOD AFTER THE 1930 REVOLUTION

In the context of Goffman's (1996) social dramaturgy, in which appearances inherited from the past play a prominent role in the behavior of individuals, leading them to create illusory ideas about themselves, it is possible to affirm that the resentments produced by

the loss of control of national power caused the emergence in São Paulo, anchored in the traditions and myths of its past, a political culture of social superiority of its people.

> São Paulo is the Brazilian wonder. In Brazil, it occupies a position similar to that of the sun in the stellar world and, therefore, provokes hatred and resentment from those who, due to their criminal intentions, cannot act under the splendors of light, but in the shield of darkened nights. (``*DIÁRIO DA MANHÃ. Ribeirão Preto*``*, Friday, August 12, 1932).*

In general, São Paulo sentiment, as it was called at the time, due to the supposed economic and political centrality that São Paulo exercised throughout the period of the Old Republic, had solid cultural roots, as can be seen in the news from various press organizations in the capital and the interior of the state. In the case of the quote highlighted below, it is worth highlighting that the Rio newspaper "O País" did not represent the desires of the population of the state of Rio de Janeiro, in fact expressing the feeling of the president of Brazil, a São Paulo native who exercised government in the capital da República, where the official newspaper of the Republican Party was based.

> São Paulo's bravery is just an expression of the feeling of Brazil's unity and greatness. That Brazilian state vehemently reveals, as a synthesis, the moral hour of every nationality. And the proof is that the pulse of São Paulo's civic spirit vibrates in the same tone in Bahia, Pará and other parts of Brazil. It could be said that a communion of defense crystallized in São Paulo. But its substance is the same as that of the other units of the Federation that combine to maintain the unity of the Fatherland. In São Paulo, due to its geographical situation, that instinct manifests itself more clearly and enthusiastically in brilliant performance. It is the traditional State, where the great energies of nationality are perpetuated and where, since the Bandeirantes, the very individuality of our race has come from *(CORREIO DE SÃO CARLOS. São Carlos, Friday, October 24, 1930, reproducing an article from the Republican newspaper of Rio de janeiro:* ``*O PAÍS*``*).*

In reality, the 1930 Revolution, by promoting the end of the colonel political model that favored the centrality of São Paulo in national power decisions, generated a collective feeling of social devaluation of the São Paulo federative unit. The widespread understanding that São Paulo had entered a time of restrictions and humiliation favored the channeling of the revolt that was crystallizing in the state.

> In the midst of so much disillusionment that has embittered the hearts of Brazilians, the attitude of the São Paulo united front, which has been responding with flagrant pride to the gestures of the dictatorship, which is only now recognizing that São Paulo cannot continue to be treated as a conquered land, is comforting. (``*O IMPARCIAL*``*. Araraquara, Saturday, April 23, 1932).*

> It seems that there is dancing in the heavy atmosphere any reason to suspect a new purpose of returning São Paulo to its humiliating position as a conquered land, whose rights are those that the conquerors want to give it. Ultimately, the land of São Paulo has the right to not have the right to anything (``*DIÁRIO DA MANHÃ*``*. Ribeirão Preto Tuesday, May 31, 1932).*

The feeling of greatness arising from Bandeirante's past apparently gained momentum after the Constitutionalist Revolution of 1932. Its consequences favored the social construction of the myth of the constituent hero. This is a character associated with the need to resign, even from life, for the benefit of preserving the pioneering tradition of the state of São Paulo in national command: the constituent hero. The mythical construction of the constituent

hero strengthened the collective feeling that transformed São Paulo's victims of the fight against national forces into a hero who would have a guaranteed place in the historical gallery of the great bandeirantes of the past.

In this dynamic that involves the symbolism of myths, the hero has no ethnic or socioeconomic identity, he simply radiates admiration for his courageous actions and identification with the ideals of his people.

> Another hero who falls, more blood that bathes the fields of Piratininga. IT'S OTHONIEL – the brave Indian volunteer who, in his eagerness to free his homeland, gives his own life to it. He is the second from Rio Claro to fall on the glorious field of struggle, victimized by the bloodthirsty and murderous rage of enemy machine gun fire. (**``DIÁRIO DO RIO CLARO``. Rio Claro, Sunday, August 28, 1932).**

Although the social literature of our country is generally concerned with conditioning the events in São Paulo after the 1930 Revolution, such as the Constitutionalist Revolution of 1932, for example, to the simple reaction capacity of the agrarian elites eager to restore their power, one cannot fail to take into consideration, the sophisticated way in which these rural elites acted. The colonels from São Paulo knew how to explore and enhance the cultural feeling of political and economic superiority present in the social imagination of São Paulo. Hiding the differences between social classes and the interests that distinguish power elites from ordinary people, São Paulo sentiment unified the inhabitants of São Paulo against the revolutionary government of Getúlio Vargas. The desires of São Paulo's elites were confused with the stories and feelings that highlighted the tradition of supposed bravery and honor peculiar to the people of São Paulo. The consequences of this armed revolt were present in history books and in monuments to heroes present in public

squares in almost all municipalities in São Paulo.

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