

# Social Segmentation and Clientelism in the Extreme West



# Social Segmentation and Clientelism in the Extreme West:

*Studies on Brazil*

Edited by

Odaci Luiz Coradini

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## PREFACE

Unlike publications such as articles in specialised journals, this book is a collection of works by different authors, and this quality gives it a greater diversity of empirical themes. Studies presented cover social categories that include doctors, teachers, businessmen and politicians among others. However, diversity is not restricted to empirical themes, it also covers the issues addressed and the diverse perspectives in the discourse. The issues presented and addressed, in general, consist of burning problems that have no definitive solutions in the social sciences. Furthermore, whether as a result of the diversity of theoretical and epistemological perspectives or of the division by specific disciplines, the issues at stake can have different meanings and definition criteria.

However, beyond the social sciences and their concerns, many of the issues addressed are linked to public discussions and therefore have “practical” or normative meanings and implications. This is the case, to take just a few more obvious and striking examples, of the meanings of themes and notions such as clientelism, of the problems related to the importing and adapting of cultural and institutional models originating in western centres, of the meanings of notions such as that of politics, and the social philosophies of history underlying the different schemes of interpretation of the issues in vogue, among many others. As highlighted in some of the texts presented, these are not just themes that make up the agendas of public or media discussions; they can be associated with values and interpretation schemes that tend to involve the social sciences themselves. As is also highlighted in some of the studies presented, particularly for social sciences at regional and national levels, there is greater difficulty in considering this type of question independent of its normative or identity implications. In general, in addition to questions of understanding, those relating to practical or normative meanings are on the agenda such as the more general “future of the nation.”

With regard specifically to the social sciences, as generally tends to occur when questions without any definitive solution or with the possibility of consensus are discussed, there is a confrontation of the theoretical and epistemological foundations of the perspectives involved. To mention just the most obvious examples, we must enter into the agenda the positions and interpretation schemes concerning the possibilities of universalising



Western cultural and institutional models; the interpretation schemes of the conditions and possibilities of adopting rules that are disembodied or free from reciprocity bonds; the conditions and possibilities of the interdependent relations of the rules of the economic market concerning institutional structures and their evolution; etc. In short, the book is a collection of open questions that lack consensual solution and whose foundations refer to different epistemological foundations and therefore different philosophies of history and conceptions of society.

It should be noted that although this collection is rather far from exhaustive, the indications presented point to great advances in new approaches and propositions, as well as incisive empirical studies, of the issues at hand. This also implies the strengthening of diversity itself to the detriment of any confluence in the sense of some consensual tendency. In any case, given these advances and the diversity of perspectives and theoretical and epistemological bases, the position adopted by this publication is that of trying to contemplate some of the most significant propositions for the issues at hand. Simultaneously, the posture is adopted to avoid any closed position or the adoption of some definitive solution. Furthermore, as this is a set of authors and specific empirical themes, the differences and even eventual theoretical or interpretation divergences are seen as positive.

This attitude of not taking questions without a definitive or consensual solution as something given or closed, however, does not exclude the formulation of working hypotheses. Some of these more general hypotheses are presented in the introduction to the collection, whose author is an adept defender of epistemological scepticism. Other hypotheses are presented and followed in the individual works by their respective authors.

Regarding the more general hypotheses, one of the central ones denies the assumption of the universalisation of cultural and institutional models imported from Western centres as a general rule (based on the reference bibliography, in this case, particularly Badie and Hermet, 1993). In addition to this general hypothesis of the non-universalisation of imported cultural and institutional models, another that stands out is based on E. Wolf's propositions (Wolf and Silverman 2001), particularly of the conception and structure of the family group and its relationships with the other dimensions of the social structure as being essential for the understanding of the relationships of reciprocity. A series of other hypotheses and implications follow from this that cannot be detailed here.

In any case, one of these implications, in addition to denying the assumption of any necessary evolution towards the approximation with Western cultural and institutional models, is the fact that the inexistence of

reciprocity relationships in formal institutions does not result only from some evolution of capitalism or “modernity” but from primordial social structures as well. It so happens that the processes of importing and adapting of Western cultural and institutional models cover, in particular, the less primordial dimensions and focus on the more public or formal dimensions—such as legal, civic or moral rules—in addition to the economic market. It does not seem by chance that it is these more public or formal dimensions that the social sciences tend to take as the main reference for measuring the degree of similarity or mismatch concerning models originating in the West.

Another central implication of the diversity of perspectives in this collection is that the central issue is the relationships between the dimensions of more formal and explicit social structures and the bonds of reciprocity (Bourdieu, 1980a, 209–231). Formulated in this way, what is generally defined as clientelism is just one of the modes of existence and expression of reciprocity bonds and, as such, is part of a much broader problem, at least for the social sciences. Evidently, concerning civic morality or the so-called applied social sciences, including law, this issue is normative and acquires another meaning.

In terms of general hypotheses, another central one that deserves to be highlighted for its implications for the work as a whole is that under conditions such as those in question, society is segmental. This also has a series of implications, starting with the specific meanings that general notions such as markets and politics acquire.

As already mentioned, this type of general category commonly serves as a reference not just for public discussions but particularly for the social sciences. Not by mere coincidence, these are the categories that have their origin in the cultural and institutional schemes and models of Western centres. Significantly, they also consist of those categories most directly referring to the most socially objectified and codified dimensions of social structures.

It is common knowledge, including in official discussions, that social dynamics and practices and their respective logics of action are based on resources and logics of action based on relationships of reciprocity. In the social sciences, this type of resource appears particularly through notions such as that of clientelism and when in conflict with legal rules, particularly related to corruption. One of the general assumptions of this body of work is that, more than any dichotomy between these types of resources and their respective logics of action based on formal rules or relationships of reciprocity, they are modalities of contradictory amalgams, described through the metaphor of hybridisation (Badie and Hermet 1993).

From these conditions arises something that can be defined as, simultaneously, the presence and permanent confrontation between the most diverse and heteronomous resources of action and social hierarchy and the absence of any principle with sufficient legitimacy to impose itself in structuring terms. This also results in a very strong degree of ambivalence that involves taking positions and legitimising everything that is considered politics, which as indicated in the texts presented tends to be conceived as participation and is associated with the totality of what is considered to be socially important.

If this is true, more than the degree of social inequality and its related effects, the notion of segmentation implies conditions of integration and contradictions at different levels. This also has different implications, including concerning relationships with more general and formal modalities and categories of resources and social hierarchy, such as those of markets, the state and social rules in general. The most general of these implications consists of the possibilities of strong competition and confrontation, be it in economic, political or school relationships or in any other sphere, although this construct cannot be directly defined simply as competition in some market. This is because these works generally address competitions and confrontations in specific spheres involving agents and interests previously selected through other criteria and action resources, usually associated with social capital and what is normally referred to as politics.

As highlighted in the general introduction to this collection, one of its main initial inspirations was a previous work on the differentiated economic valuation of schooling according to certain indicators of social position. For the present work, it was possible to formulate a hypothesis according to which the chances not only of the economic or other valorisation of a certain resource but its possibilities of existence under the conditions in question are directly associated with the conditions of social integration. This refers to social integration not in the normative or morally edifying sense but as a resource for action and hierarchy, which makes possible the valorisation and effectiveness of other modalities of resources and means of action. As in the conditions in question, it seems that the main resource that makes social integration possible consists of social capital and its correlates (links based on reciprocity, clientelism, patronage, and mediation among many other modalities), what is considered politics is equivalent to the main resource for social hierarchy and the effectiveness of other resources.



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION: INEQUALITY, SOCIAL SEGMENTATION, AND PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE “EXTREME WESTERN”: STUDIES ON BRAZIL

ODACI LUIZ CORADINI

The central objective of this work is the presentation of a subset of exemplary cases with a view to discussing the effects of reciprocal relationships on school and social success. These texts cover social categories such as doctors, jurists, university professors, professional politicians and businessmen.

The main source of inspiration was a publication whose theme is the relationship between social position and the differentiated economic valuation of schooling (Coradini 2021). In that work, the greater economic valuation of schooling was evident for certain categories in the social hierarchy and high in many of the various countries examined. However, this greater economic valuation of schooling for categories that equate to higher social positions is much greater in peripheral countries, particularly those with a more diversified economy and a larger population.

Thus, the general hypothesis pursued in that work is that in addition to the more socially objectified and explicit resources, such as school degrees or economic capital, social capital as defined by Bourdieu (1980b, 1989) is decisive and bears no relation to other definitions of social capital in vogue. However, the empirical census data used do not allow for a deeper analysis in this regard. In summary, social capital, in its different modalities and conditions of existence (relationships of interdependence and reciprocity in general, types of clientelism, more corporate forms of defence of particular interests, i.e., “corporatism”) requires other sources and collection techniques, analysing empirical materials and delimiting empirical clippings. The starting point for addressing this type of methodological issue and for

techniques and sources of empirical material is that “problems relating to the methodology and measurement techniques cannot be addressed properly without considering more general issues the study-object formulation.” Thus, “the discussion of methods cannot be in the abstract. Any discussion of methods and analytical techniques, therefore, should take into account the formulation of the research object and the conditions of the empirical material to be used” (Coradini 2018, 210, 213).

Under these conditions, the present work is limited to presenting a series of exemplary cases, taking only one peripheral country, Brazil, as an empirical reference. In addition, as social capital and other forms of reciprocal relationships as a resource for action and social hierarchisation are on the agenda, the possibilities of using empirical material and quantitative techniques are very limited. In general, techniques such as trajectory analysis or the like are used.

However, in addition to the problems of sources of empirical material and research techniques, other more challenging issues come into play, first, for instance, with the theoretical and methodological problems in analysing social capital and relationships of reciprocity in general as a means of action and social hierarchy. In general, this type of phenomenon, whether social capital, clientelism or corporatism—in short, particularistic modalities of representation of interests—tend to be approached through the exploration of the concept itself. This could be due to the relative novelty in conceptual definitions or to conceptions of the social sciences as a practice of applying concepts. In any case, whether concerning social capital or any other conceptual definition, the present work has the meaning of a certain type of action resource and social hierarchy based on personal interdependence in specific historical conditions. More specifically, these are resources more directly associated with less socially objectified, codified, and explicit dimensions (Bourdieu 1980a, 111–165; 209–231), as opposed to those more objectified.

In addition to the theoretical and methodological problems inherent in the study of social capital and other modalities of reciprocal relationships, another axis of challenges stems from the need to face issues related to the conditions and limits of universalising cultural and institutional models with their origins in the West. As seen in aforementioned work (Coradini, 2021), the greater differentiated economic valuation of schooling in peripheral countries was evident. This raises problems relating to examining the conditions and effects of importing and adapting social, cultural and institutional models that underlie the de-personification of social relationships in certain dimensions of modern capitalism. This not only covers more general problems such as those relating to the different forms

of development of capitalism but also includes the set of cultural and institutional models and their hybridisation modalities and resulting situations.

As is further detailed below, this problem of supposing some universality, or even the specificities of concrete situations in the import and adaptation of models from the West, is still extremely controversial for the paradigms of social sciences involved. In addition to theoretical and epistemological problems, this type of question directly involves debating the very conceptions of social sciences and society. Therefore, in addition to conceptual and methodological problems, more general issues come into play, including the uses of social sciences as the foundation of certain mythologies related to the universalisation of Western models, in terms of education, politics or any other issue.

By way of illustration, it is worth noting that in addition to the aforementioned work, another source of inspiration for the present work was the reading of a publication by a representative defending this universalisation of Western models, particularly concerning education: The reading of Baker's (2014) work resulted in a review published in *Comparative Education Review* (Coradini 2015), a reading that could be recommended not for its theoretical or methodological qualities but because it represents a type of mythology that takes education as its main foundation. As highlighted in that review, one of the most objectionable aspects of this publication is its presupposition of a supposed universality of the effects of formal education, arising from an ethnocentric perspective and centred on what would have happened with the social structure of the US without considering other historical and social conditions. Although in this review, there was insufficient space to present different conditions, some exemplary cases of social effects contrary to investments in formal education stand out. As far as the available information and studies allow us to see, one of these exemplary cases is the history of education investments in Argentina and its social effects in terms of the values highlighted by Backer, such as economic development and liberal democracy, among others (for more empirical details see especially Sigal 1996 and Neiburg 1998).

However, in addition to these supposed global effects of formal education, publications such as this one by Baker (2014) contain another general idea with claims to universality that should be considered critically: the direct association between formal education and rationalism, in this case embodied especially in the intensive use of the metaphor attributed to Talcott Parsons, which defines education as a "universal solvent." Of course, this has many implications not only for the general meaning of rationalism but in more concrete terms for its relationships to other

philosophies and social resources. Baker's argument is particularly problematic about the associations between definitions of rationalism with utilitarianism, with epistemologies and scientific rationalism, and with their technological uses in the service of the most diverse interests, even with the confusion between uses of technologies and rationalism as the necessary implication. Furthermore, as is more fully detailed below, this is directly associated with the problem of beliefs regarding the assumption of Western or more pointedly American cultural and institutional models and their effects on the social sciences.

In any case, whether concerning the US or other international centres, formulating and disseminating these models whether institutionally or as a social science approach, contains strong controversies that encompass their epistemological bases and foundations and the underlying conceptions of humanity, society and the social sciences. These confrontations are directly affected by the different phases of capitalism in the central countries (for an examination of the confrontations between the conceptions of sociology in the US, see especially Wacquant and Calhoun 1989. On the changes in the conceptions of capitalism in its different phases in the US, see Wolf and Silverman 2001, 14–15). In this evolution of central capitalism, “these periods have been each characterised by a central problem and a set of responses to that problem”:

[T]he common denominator, in that they addressed themselves to the same central issue of the day and that they were marked by a common intellectual mood, even when directly opposed to each other in suggesting possible solutions. The phase of Triumphant Capitalism witnessed the construction of American industry by our untrammelled entrepreneurs; its dominant mode of intellectual response was social Darwinism. The period of Liberal Reform was marked by the drive to democratise America; the dominant mode of intellectual response was to explain and justify the entry of “new” and previously unrepresented groups into the American scene and to adumbrate the outlines of a pluralistic and liberal America. The America of the present is marked by the extension into all spheres of the public life of a set of civil and military bureaucracies, connected through contracts to private concerns. I shall argue that the dominant intellectual issue of the present is the nature of public power and its exercise, wise or unwise, responsible or irresponsible.

Under these conditions, the

major protagonist of this faith in education as a means of liberating people from the outworn canons of the past was Dewey, who saw in the union of education and science the basis for a true association of equals, sustained



through the freely given cooperation of the participants. (Wolf and Silverman 2001, 18)

However, for what is on the agenda in this work, it is necessary to consider the peripheral conditions, not only concerning importing and adapting these cultural and institutional models but also concerning the social sciences. As indicated in detail below, the very central issues under discussion, such as inequality and clientelism, permeate and tend to be redefined based on the processes of importing and adapting social sciences schemes and categories that originate in the centres, which of course tend to favour the mainstream in vogue.

### **Conditions for universalisation: the development of capitalism and theoretical controversies**

A general presupposition that guides this work is the absence of some type of resource and the respective principle of legitimation capable of imposing itself in a structuring way in the empirical universe in question. Therefore, a synthesis of the social sciences perspectives on this type of problem is necessary. Of course, this is the social sciences at an international level; concerning social sciences at a local or regional level, in addition to their relative weaknesses, the biggest obstacle to approaching this type of problem stems from their associations with and dependence on identity processes and references. The main characteristic of the local social sciences literature is its almost exclusive dedication to formulating and instrumentalising principles and movements of identity and political engagement (in the case of Brazil, see particularly Pécault 1990 and for Argentina, Sigal 1996). As is detailed below, practically all the relevant literature on the social and political conditions of the expansion of capitalism under the conditions in question is from foreign authors or else produced under their direct guidance.

As far as the international literature is concerned, as is widely known, there is a wide range of publications covering a relatively long path on themes associated with the conditions and modalities of the emergence of capitalism and its effects on social and political structures. In addition to the extensive literature within Marxism, that associated with certain theories of modernisation and their relationships with the emergence of types of political regimes, such as the work of Moore (1966), also stands out. However, for what is at issue in this work, it does not seem necessary to highlight this type of literature with its more general scope and the intense theoretical controversies it involves. This is because the problems related to

the diversity of social results of expanding capitalism in peripheral conditions are of more direct interest. Even so, it is necessary to highlight some points that can contribute to apprehending the relationships of the more general problems with the issues at hand.

The first point to be highlighted is the assumption of the universality of the Western, or more specifically, the North American model of relationships between capitalism and the political regime. In addition to being the main point of criticism of the opposing theoretical positions, this assumption is associated not only with a particular functionalist theory of modernisation but with an ethnocentric conception of society and politics (for details, see for example Almond and Powell 1993). As seems evident, what is at stake is not only the assumption of the possibilities of universalising the conception and institutional model of Western or North American politics. The very foundations of the social sciences and therefore of conceptual definitions are also on the agenda.

One of the main theoretical and epistemological bases for the critique of this perspective is based on Weber's historical sociology, in addition to the emphasis on the cultural dimension (Badie and Hermet 1993). Evidently, in addition to the more directly universalist perspective of the conception of the relationships between capitalism or modernisation and political regimes, which constitutes the initial object of the confrontations, Weber's sociology has given rise to a series of theoretical and methodological controversies, involving political scientists, historians, sociologists, among others (Badie 1989; 1992, 1993).

From the perspective of some of the main positions, particularly those of political scientists and sociologists, one of the main issues at hand is the conditions and possibilities for comparative politics as a specific discipline. Based on rejecting the assumption of universalising the Western political model, a discipline such as so-called political comparisons makes no sense (Badie 1992). Unlike the epistemological bases of universalism, based on structural-functionalism and a certain empiricist realism that tends to take political institution for granted; in this other perspective, the focus is the social and cultural bases and the dynamics of the constitution of processes and their historical results. However, for what is at issue in this work, regardless of the problems relating to the possibility of political comparison, it is important to highlight the implications of the presupposition of the absence of some universality of politics and the confluence of the results of the expanding capitalism and importing and adapting models from the West. This implies the need to distinguish between social sciences concepts that are cross-cultural and those that originate in the definition of a specific historically circumscribed process or institutions (Badie and Hermet, 1993,

8–9). Another implication of this perspective to be highlighted is that the historical expansion or globalisation of institutions such as the state is inserted in pre-existing culturally and historically constituted structures. Thus, in addition to Western dynamics, a set of what are described as extra-Western dynamics with their respective structures are characterised (Badie and Hermet 1993, 147–177).

For what is at issue, of this diversified set of historical dynamics, those described as “orphan dynamics” are particularly interesting (Badie and Hermet 1993, 180–209). As the definition itself indicates, this is a case that is characterised in negative terms rather than merely by differences with other dynamics. This negative characterisation stems from different historical conditions, among which the following stand out: First, the colonisers historically originate from the periphery of Europe, that is, the Iberian Peninsula. This peripheral position particularly includes the predominant conception of society and is then marked by a hierarchical view based on ethnic divisions and slavery. Second, the extermination of most pre-existing populations at the local level is highlighted. Third, with the break with the colonising metropolises without a social structure in structured social conditions, the result was submission to the potentates of local power. This resulted in the consolidation of an extremely hierarchical and particularist structure of domination, an “imported and unadapted state” based on neo-patrimonialism, the simulacrum of parliamentarism, clientelist relationships, populist movements, and coups d’état and military dictators among other specific characteristics (Badie and Hermet 1993, 180–209).

### **Hybridisation as a metaphor and the action logics**

In addition to criticisms of the premise of universality, empirical studies covering different conditions made specific contributions to the emerging themes related to these conditions. Owing to the valorisation of empirical studies, regardless of theoretical and epistemological problems, perspectives have changed, and one of the most significant developments is the reorientation towards the emphasis of the study of clientelism (Landé 1977). When conducting empirical studies on interest groups and other Western political categories in Southeast Asia, the main finding was that they coexist in amalgamation or *de facto* hybridisation with dyadic relationships based on reciprocity. For Landé (1977), “[i]t seems reasonable to suppose that the mixture of the group and dyadic structure is one of the political systems of these former colonies. But a change in the mixture need not be in the same direction everywhere” (509). In addition to findings and the emergence of new analytical problems, this line of work was reinforced by the incorporation

of new conceptual orientations resulting from new formulations regarding the theory of reciprocity. If initially the areas of study were concentrated in some Latin American countries, particularly Mexico, and in Southeast Asia (Landé 1977; Scott 1977), it later began to focus also on Mediterranean Europe (for example Davis 1977 and Gellner et al 1986).

It would not be fitting to enter here into the intricacies and thematic diversity that has been expanding this bibliography, including growing theoretical and methodological controversies and among representatives of different disciplines. For what is on the agenda, it is more directly interesting to highlight some present analytical problems that still challenge the possibilities of exhaustion. One of these problems, which constitutes a kind of axis of related issues, consists in the relationships of clientelism with other modalities of relationships of reciprocity and particularistic circles with the rules and institutions of the imported models from the West. From the perspective of much of this bibliography, as the case of Landé (1977), the definition of the amalgamation of the bonds based on reciprocity and the impersonal rule of institutions consists of addenda. Because clientelist relationships can only exist in this amalgamation with formal institutions, these addenda would contain both the logic of action based on reciprocity and the impersonal rules of imported institutions (Landé 1977).

In any case, with this questioning and efforts to overcome the assumption of a certain universalism of Western cultural and institutional models, other issues or thematic axes emerge or remain open. If, on the one hand, this perspective and definitions have the merit of focusing the problem on the relationships between the links based on reciprocity and the formal rules of institutions, on the other hand, they leave open a series of central analytical problems. One of these problems is the dynamics of these relationships that make up the addenda as changes occur in the whole of the social structure, whether due to the expansion of capitalism or the importation of Western cultural and institutional models.

From another perspective, Badie and Hermet (1993) use the hybridisation metaphor to approach these problems of the relationship between pre-existing bonds and conceptions and the institutions imported from the West. As already mentioned, in this perspective, the main emphasis is the relationships and legitimation of political power and its social and cultural bases. What is important to highlight is that unlike its conceptual meaning as a metaphor, hybridisation is equivalent to a theoretical orientation that critiques “developmentalism and culturalism.” With regard to developmentalism, it is the rejection of the premise of inevitable convergence towards Western industrial society. As for culturalism, it considers it a “misleading and precarious” perspective, as it does not consider the diversity of import

strategies, interests or specific conditions. Specifically concerning orphan dynamics, hybridisation is “a source of tensions and failures” (Badie and Hermet 1993, 183, 194), and therefore, the metaphor indicates not a sense of fusion but more of a cluster both contradictory and dynamic that the concept of neo-patrimonialism, because of its generality, would not be able to apprehend in depth.

If, on the one hand, formulations such as these far from exhaust the problem, on the other hand, it is undeniable that they represent significant advances in the approach to the relationships between the links based on reciprocity and the rules of models imported from the West. With specific regard to the conditions for the evolution of these relationships, in addition to conceptual problems, the controversies stem from a series of conditions. Among these conditions, it is worth highlighting the first one, the units of analysis of empirical studies, which is even associated with differences in the respective theoretical and methodological perspectives and with divisions by disciplines in the social sciences. For different reasons, but particularly because it involves little quantifiable information and difficult statistical treatment, this type of study tends to take small units or communities as a unit of study, which can be reinforced by the participation of ethnographers. Beyond that, the different perspectives regarding trends in the amalgamation dynamics between reciprocal bonds and formal institutions depend directly on the theoretical perspective, especially how to approach the relationships between different dimensions of the social structure.

In this sense, as representative of a more evolutionist pole that presupposes the overcoming of patronage relationship structures with the strengthening of the market and other Western influences, consider Boissevain (1986) as an example. However, in addition to the respective theoretical perspectives, it is important to consider the units of analysis, which centred in rural areas with strong religious influence. In a position that does not exclude a certain evolutionism, because it takes clientelism in Italy as conditioned by a transition phase, the work of Graziano (1977) stands out. In this interpretation, the “transition from clientelism of the notables to party-directed patronage” would have occurred in southern Italy from the 1950s onward (Graziano 1977, 369) in the political or institutional sphere in general in their relationships with clientelism. Other works support this perspective, but what is important to highlight is that different forms of clientelism are on the agenda, on the one hand associated with the mediation relationships of rural populations with landowners and with the urban universe and on the other, clientelism often defined as political patronage and brokerage. More than its classification, the main problem is

the conditions of passage from one form to another. In addition to Italy and other instances, in this case, this problem of the evolution of clientelism is particularly challenging. As in Brazil and Latin America in general, the large rural property class was historically predominant, which resulted in the so-called *caciquismo*, *mandonism*, or in the Brazilian case *coronelismo*. Local social sciences took clientelism to result from this type of rural social structure. It just happens that with urbanisation and partial industrialisation, clientelism tends to intensify, although expressed in other modalities and conditions. This more recent clientelism is no longer associated with labour and mediation relationships in the rural universe; rather, it is particularly associated with social spheres and institutions considered to be more modern.

At this point, in addition to the emphasis on the cultural dimension proposed by Badie and Hermet (1993), it is important to approach the relationships of clientelism or the modalities of reciprocal relationships with other social dimensions and formal institutions. In this sense, although it may be generic, Badie and Hermet's (1990, 257) proposal seems very intriguing that "it is not enough to define (clientelism in Latin America) classically as a vertical dyadic alliance." Rather, it is necessary to "go beyond the rather illusory functional symmetry contained in this definition, to apprehend the phenomenon in its broader dimension of agency of State power its monopoly by a civil elite hostile to its centralising logic." In any case, despite being quite general, this approach centred on different dimensions beyond simply the sphere of political activities and official institutions has resulted in new questions and very significant working hypotheses.

As the most significant representatives of this perspective that addresses reciprocal relationships in their dependence on different social dimensions and their effects on historical dynamics, several works by Wolff and his followers stand out. In one of the first works more directly focused on this type of issue, some take Mexico as an empirical approach. Even without going into further details, it should be noted that in addition to the conceptions of society and its association with reciprocal relationships involving the very notion of the social structure, its dynamics are directly associated with and dependent on the colonisers' relationships with the pre-existing population and the evolution of the resulting mediation structure. In general terms, in complex societies "the framework of economic and political power exists alongside or intermingled with various other informal structures that are interstitial, supplementary, (or) parallel to it" (Wolf 2001, 167). Focusing especially on Central America in general and Mexico in particular, a series of works highlights the multiplicity of structures parallel

to the nation–state and the market, based on different modalities of kinship, friendship and, in association with extreme social inequality, the use of instrumental friendship in patron–client relationships, in addition to the emergence and strengthening of new identity forms based on ethnicity or other modalities (Wolf 2001, 179–181). This is in line with the findings of Kenny (1977) for Spain, among other studies:

[a] complex society like Mexico could not be understood merely as a mosaic of communities capped by national institutions. Communities and national institutions formed components of an encompassing web of relationships: the personnel of national institutions reached down into communities, while individuals and groups within communities forged ties to controllers of resources and power outside them. Often, in that process, both community-oriented and nation-oriented groups used mediators who then drew resources and influence from their strategic intermediate positions. Moreover, the national-level institutions were not merely formal machines for the execution of national policies. They also constitute strategic groups in which social groups interacted in conflict and accommodated enlisted allies to sustain these relationships. Taking account of these webs of connections, inquiry shifts from communities and institutions to how social groupings, operating on different levels of society, engage one another. (Wolf and Silverman 2001, 124)

However, although this is a specific analysis of the case of Mexico, these results are of particular importance in concerning Brazil about another issue at hand, what is later treated as the problem of politicisation or the conception of politics:

[the] new power holders have moved upward mainly through political channels, and the major means of consolidating and obtaining power on the regional and national level in Mexico today appear to be political. Moreover (...) political advantages are necessary to obtain economic advantages. Both economic and political interests must aim at the establishment of monopolistic positions within defined areas of crucial economic and political relationships. Thus, political and economic power-seekers tend to meet in alliances and cliques on all levels of society. (...) The possession of some wealth, or access to sources of wealth, is important; more important, however, is the ability to adopt the proper patterns of public behaviour. (...) They must learn to operate in an arena of continually changing friendships and alliances, which form and dissolve with the appearance or disappearance of new economic or political opportunities. In other words, they must learn to function in ways that characterise any complex stratified society in which individuals can improve their status through the judicious manipulation of social ties. However, this manipulative behaviour is always patterned culturally—and patterned differently in Mexico from the way it is

in the United States or India. They must therefore also learn the cultural forms in which this manipulative behaviour is couched. Individuals who can operate in terms of both community-oriented and nation-oriented expectations then tend to be selected out for mobility. They become the economic and political “brokers” of nation-community relations, a function that carries its rewards. (Wolf and Silverman 2001, 132–133)

This type of conclusion also serves as a basis for summarising the old discussions about the “national character,” not in the psychological and homogenising sense but following the indications of Elias (2000) regarding the composition of socially dominant groups and their cultural bases of legitimation:

[these] considerations have some bearing on the study of what is often called “national character.” Proceeding from the assumption that all people belonging to a given nation share a national character, attempts have been made to isolate a common national denominator on the psychological level, without reference to factors of ecology, social structure or historical development. (Wolf and Silverman 2001, 96–97)

As is pointed out in more detail below, these observations maintain a strong analogy with the conception of politics in Brazil and its pan-politicism character, particularly with its direct association with participation and with the capital of social relationships and the link manipulation. More than a mere conception, what is on the agenda is an amalgamation between what is considered politics with the capital of social relationships, and even access to economic resources is included in this structure of social integration.

It is important to highlight that in this perspective, which focusses on different dimensions of the social structure, the dynamics of the establishment and transformations of political and institutional regimes maintain relative independent. This is most evident in the study of 20th-century revolutions. In this case, it is about the dynamics of the expansion of capitalism and the consequent crises in certain sectors and social classes, particularly the peasantry (Wolf 1969). These differences in dimensions are more evident in the comparative work between Nordic and Mediterranean Europe carried out in the Alps. In this case too, regardless of the expansion of capitalism and the historical political–institutional structures and crises, the bases of the conceptions of society and their association with reciprocal relationships remain. Synthetically, these bases are constituted by the structures and conceptions of the family group and respective kinship relationships. From these arise conceptions related to transmitting inheritance as well as links with extended kinship and ethnicity, with the



urban and rural universe, and with political activities, in short, with the set of reciprocal social relationships. In contrast, with those of German origin, these links are markedly based on networks of reciprocity concerning the population culturally associated with Italy. Therefore, if in the case of Nordic Europe and, more specifically, in the Germanic part of the Alpine region, the conception of the family group does not directly incorporate relationships of reciprocity as a constitutive element, in the Mediterranean or northern part of Italy, the family group is *de facto* conceived and organised as a reciprocity network. This conception expands to other relationships or social circles, such as those of kinship, and the state itself is taken as an expansion of reciprocal relationships (Cole and Wolf 1974).

From the expansion and thematic diversification of works aimed at the study of clientelism and related themes, without entering into the controversies, two trends should be highlighted. The first consists of expanding the empirical and thematic clippings and not concentrating only on local studies. The second trend is the thematic expansion to incorporate other modalities of clientelism and related phenomena, such as political clientelism and not just restricted to work relationships in rural structures. As a result of these trends, this type of study tends to no longer be restricted to a conceptual definition and encompasses the relationships of clientelism with other relationships based on reciprocity such as mediation and brokerage and, in broader contexts, the association with political activities and other institutions.

A work representative of these trends is Scott's (1969) comparative study of bossism in the US and the evolution of clientelism in Southeast Asia, opposing evolutions whereby the US political representation system incorporated bossism, and Southeast Asia evolved towards situations of coup d'état (Scott 1969, 1156). Another element should be highlighted in addition to these trends is the tendency for patronage and corrupt relationships to particularly encompass state bodies and not just political representation. Consequently, there is a strong association of government policies with the objectives of maximising "its evolving capacity to react and maintain a large popular following with particularist interest," which even results in its "process of demand-formation" (Scott 1969, 1157). In contrast, in addition to the subordination of decisions and implementation of government policies to particularistic action logics, especially patronage and clientelism, the problem of relationships with political representation comes into the agenda. For Scott (1969, 1143), "many of the narrow, parochial demands characteristic of new nations should make their weight felt during the implementation of legislation rather during its passage." As emphasised below, this is related to the conception of politics as

participation as opposed to representation. However, it is not just a matter of conception in the sense of defining principles but also of structures and logics of action based on particularistic interests. The hypothesis that these findings raise, which is taken up later, is that this is directly associated with conceptions of politics that have difficulty with or deny the distinction between politics as representation and politics in other modes such as participation or state policies, among many others. This results from or is directly associated with the impossibility of conceiving and putting into practice one-dimensional and de-personified social relationships, a *sine qua non* for the existence of policies in their modern Western sense (Weber 1984). In a later work, Scott (1972, 106) points out that patron–client systems

have survived—even flourished—in both colonial and post-independence Southeast Asia. There have been important changes, however. New resources for patronage, such as party connections, development programmes, nationalised enterprises and bureaucratic power has been created. Patron–client structures are now more closely linked to the national level with jobs, cash, and petty favours flowing down the network, and votes or support flowing upward.

As shown below, this shift from the local and rural bases to the spheres of political activities and public bureaucracies as the main focuses of clientelism and the mediation of particularistic interests is the main trend in the case of Brazil in the recent period. In Southeast Asia, specifically with regard to relationships in elections,

the dynamics of electoral competition transformed patron–client relationships in at least four important ways: (1) it improved the client’s bargaining position with a patron by adding to his resources; (2) it promoted the vertical integration of patron–client structures from the hamlet level to the central government; (3) it led to the creation of new patron–client pyramids and the politicisation of old ones; and (4) it contributed to the survival of opposition patron–client pyramids at the local level. (Scott 1972, 109)

As Scott (1969) also highlighted earlier, one of the general conclusions is that “a regime that is dependent on its particularistic distributive capacity is also unlikely to solve its financial dilemmas either by structural reform or by tapping new sources of revenue” (Scott 1972, 113). This is directly associated with political instability in these Southeast Asian countries, which, as already mentioned, Scott generalises to other regions including Latin America.

In any case, concerning the conditions for the reproduction of clientelism, the most important thing to highlight is the tendency to convert

clientelism on a local and rural basis to the political and public administration spheres. That is,

there have been important changes, however. New resources for patronage, such as party connections, development programmes, nationalised enterprises and bureaucratic power have been created. Patron–client structures are now more closely linked to the national level with jobs, cash and petty favours flowing down the network, and votes or support flowing upward. In the midst of this change, old-style patrons still thrive. (Scott 1972, 105)

Something similar would have happened in southern Italy, where the

patrons with links to the ruling party and the state bureaucracy had increased their followings at the expense of traditional landholders. A similar process has occurred in Southeast Asia as the integration of villages into a national economy and political system tended to produce a number of more specialised local patrons who often became factional leaders. (Scott 1972, 108–109)

### **Relationships based on reciprocity, clientelism and multidimensionality**

In these discussions that involve certain concepts of the social sciences and empirically verifiable phenomena, much more than concepts and research topics is at stake. Strictly speaking, a series of theoretical problems with no definitive solution is on the agenda. One of the most general of these problems is the aforementioned conception of social sciences as the application of concepts, particularly concerning clientelism in the case at hand. As is evident in the quote from Wolf and Silverman (2001) above, patron–client relationships constitute a modality of those based on reciprocity, among many others. Therefore, an issue is “multiplicity of structures parallel to the nation–state and the market, based on different modalities of kinship, friendship and, in association with extreme social inequality, the use of instrumental friendship in patron–client relationships” (Wolf and Silverman 2001, 179–181).

Therefore, the work does not consist in the application of a concept, such as that of clientelism. Even without entering here into the epistemological problems that the conception of social sciences as an application of a concept implies, including the obvious redundancy, when noticing something already inscribed in the formulation of the problem, it is necessary to emphasise that the most general issue at stake consists of relationships based on reciprocity. It is assumed that a more general definition of the set of this

type of relationship is contained in what Bourdieu (1980b; 1989) defines as social capital.

This problem is associated with another general question, also open and therefore without a concluding solution: the multidimensionality of social structures and its implications for the division of social sciences into specific disciplines. As already mentioned, following Cole and Wolf's (1974) empirical research in the Alpine region on apprehending the origins of reciprocity relationships, the starting point is the conception and structure of the family group. This conception affects the other dimensions of the social structure and the respective weights or effects of reciprocity relationships, whether directly associated with kinship and the rules of intergenerational transmission, the community, or what would currently approach the centre/periphery relationships and the dimensions of the social structure. Although Cole and Wolf do not explicitly highlight it, it seems evident that by taking the conception and structure of the family group as the centre or starting point for examining reciprocity relationships, the family's primordial character of socialisation and forming predispositions comes into the agenda. Furthermore, the family is an institution of social relationships that individualisation (Elias 2000), and the gradual replacement of external violence with self-control and submission to rules does not exclude from what is modern capitalism. For what is at stake, particularly concerning the problem of the effects of importing and adapting Western cultural and institutional models, there are many implications starting with the fact that these processes of import and adaptation particularly affect, both directly and indirectly, certain dimensions of the social structure.

This type of question directly covers another thematic axis: the conditions of possibility for the emergence of rules that go beyond or exclude reciprocity relationships. The problems related to relationships with politics in the broad sense and with the state and government (politics, policies, and polity) come into play. As is well-known, for Weber, at the limit, capitalism presupposes a legal rule that works "like a machine." In other words, the problem of impersonality and the unethical character of market relationships and bureaucracy is at stake (Weber 1984, 498–531). However, the problem of the relationship between politics and the policies or power of injunction and the power of influence is also on the agenda. On a more general level, the problem of the conditions for the possibility of constituting the "individuation" (Elias 2000) come into question.

At a less general level, it is necessary to highlight the different relationships between politics as representation (politics), as state action (policies), and as government (polity). Regarding politics as representation, although it may seem elementary, it is necessary to emphasise that whether

clientelist or not, it is always based on the power of influence. This power of influence can be inscribed in different social and cultural conditions based on the most diverse principles of legitimation and can use different means of expression. In Braud's perspective (1985, 549–550), the basis of the distinction between these forms of power consists of the opposition between “the power of injunction (power *stricto sensu*) based on coercion and the power of influence, which excludes it.” There is “an injunction when the non-compliance with the prescribed conduct or the non-compliance with the required attitude leads to the infliction of damages, despite the possible resistance of the interested party” (Braud 1985, 349). This power of injunction can have different modalities and means, such as the legal norm, the moral prescription and the *de facto* injunction. As for the power of influence, it can be manifest in different ways and means, such as persuasion, manipulation, and authority (Braud 1985, 352–356). In summary, political power in the strict sense, as the power of injunction in the definition of Lagroye (2002, 26–32), consists of the power of will, which extrapolates that of influence or mediation of conflicts.

This has direct implications for the problem of patronage's relationships with politics. It is in this sense that Scott's (1969) observations on clientelism in Southeast Asia in addition to that inscribed in electoral processes hold importance. In other words, the power of influence in the policies is on the agenda. The problem under analysis consists of the absence or not of reciprocity relationships or particularistic interests in this power of influence, whose legitimacy derives from its categorical character and submission to rules with universal and therefore formal and abstract pretensions. Therefore, the representation of interests is part of political representation or power of influence. The question, then, is regarding the existence or non-existence of reciprocity in this power of influence.

These general questions have direct implications concerning another central theme: the conditions of reproducing and transforming reciprocity and clientelism relationships in the historical and social conditions in question. In the recent period, there has been an intensification of works on clientelism and related topics in Latin America. Most of these are focused on what is seen as political clientelism, which consists of studies of elections and particularly of vote buying.

Despite the evident and considerable advances that this type of work represents, theoretical or conceptual problems are evident, and some are pointed out below. These general notes are limited to those problems that are more directly related to the considerations set out above. The first of these problems and one of the most general is linked to the issue of multidimensionality and the division of the social sciences into specific

disciplines. In general, clientelism is only supposed, as if constituting something political independent of its social structure's insertion, or then directly associated with only the conditions of economic poverty. This clientelism is also inscribed in a kind of established electoral market, supposedly representative of something like a "normality," despite dysfunctionalities such as clientelism. In this, clientelism becomes a kind of deviation from the normality of democracy. Evidently, from this perspective, one of the main problems on the agenda becomes the overcoming of this political clientelism.

Concerning some supposed political or electoral markets, particularly in Latin American countries, it is to be assumed that this "market" would be a very problematic metaphor. This does not mean that there cannot be fierce disputes, which does not imply the existence of a market as a regulator. As indicated below for Brazil, including in terms of the labour market, these are segmented social structures. Therefore, disputes cannot be taken as equivalent to some market. If this is true, it makes no sense to presuppose the logics of action inscribed in the segmented social structures governed by personal interdependence or reciprocity as subject to some dynamic of some market, whether electoral or otherwise. (See, for example, Gonzalez-Ocantos and Oliveros 2019; Weitz-Shapiro 2012; Szwarcberg 2013, among others.)

In contrast, one of the advances in the expansion of these works is the distinction between electoral and relational clientelism. Here, the propositions of Robert Gay (1998) stand out. In a critical examination of the current bibliography on the term referring to the case of Brazil (included as a chapter in this collection), he highlights both the permanent changes in observers' predictions about the evolution of clientelism in the first place (Gay 1998, 8) and the changes in the importance attributed to the theme of the arguments used (9). However, the most important thing to highlight in this perspective is that there is considerable evidence to suggest that

clientelism, both in Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America, is increasingly a means to pursue the delivery of collective as opposed to individual goods. (...) This means that political clienteles are less likely to assume the form of loose clusters of independently negotiated dyads than organisations, communities or even whole regions that fashion relationships or reach understandings with politicians, public officials and administrations. In other words, contemporary clientelism exhibits both hierarchical and relational elements and elements of collective organisation and identity (Gay 1998, 14).