

THE TRAJECTORY OF LATIN AMERICAN URBAN HISTORY

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Cities have long played a central political and cultural role in Latin America. They were fundamental to the formation of vast, centralized, indigenous empires as well as to European conquest and colonial rule; after independence, cities formed a bastion of “civilization” against the perceived menace of rural and nonwhite society. Today, many Latin America cities are among the largest in the world, and indeed, urban society dominates not only politically and economically but also demographically in many Latin American nations. After centuries of a rural/urban antinomy, the Latin American city, as suggested by Richard Morse, is no longer “an intrusive bastion against and control center for the rural domain. The nation has invaded the city. Cities are now nodal points for the nation and not its citadels of control.”¹

The necessity, utility, urgency, or convenience of urban history should be seen in the framework of the increasing importance of the Latin American city. The growing weight of actual urban problems brought many scholars to look in the past for explanatory keys to the present and to facilitate the formulation of contemporary policies. Others, on the contrary, reaffirmed their conviction that the past is not a source of lessons for the present, and that the history of cities is no more than a way to demonstrate the complexity of the urban experience. Scholars of both inspirations were and are a heterogeneous group, coming from many diverse disciplines—first of all, history, but also the history of architecture, urban planning, sociology, and more recently, from cultural studies.

But what is urban history? How can we define "the urban"? How can we delineate the urban history of the region from its social history? If it exists, what is the internal coherence and formal definition of urban history? Is it a field of studies defined by a relatively circumscribed geography, theory, methodology, and specific documentation? Is there a separate field of urban history in Latin American historiography? Or, is the urban history of Latin America simply a privileged and contained site for varieties of economic, social, and cultural history? These questions, needless to say, are difficult and persistent ones to answer, and not only for Latin America. In this article, we suggest key trends in works of Latin American urban history in an attempt to provide a context for the articles presented in this special issue. In spite of a comparable body of literature on urban colonial society, our focus here, as with the articles in this special issue, is on the postindependence period.²

The trajectory of the urban history of Latin America reveals two tendencies. One was, and still is, an empirical approach akin to very traditional versions of local history or histories of the *patria chica* (little fatherland), where anecdotal narration mixes with a patriotic vision of the city's past. It is a celebration of an inevitable progress that, more often than not, loses sight of the broader context and ignores the contribution of previous generations of Latin American social critics and moral reformers who wrote about their cities.³

Since the 1950s, a more refined focus that is more attentive to processes and problems began to produce "biographies" of cities and to discuss dimensions of the urban experience in depth. These studies trimmed down the object of research to hem in specific cultural, social, economic, or political problems. What this renovated historiography offers is a type of pointillism, a sort of subfield that results from the addition of more and more specific studies that have chosen the city as their geographical space. The advantages and limits of this pointillism are obvious enough: The more they enrich urban historiography, the less clear the specificity of urban history becomes. In a similar sense, Latin American urban history seems to be heavily indebted to other historiographies.⁴

The expansion of the subfield of urban history has renovated studies of the past of cities, defined the tone of research in Latin American

and North American institutions, and, without a doubt, overshadowed the traditional celebratory urban history. But, even with advances and new contributions of urban history that attempt to reflect on the object of study, Gerald Michael Greenfield's assertion made in the late-1980s that the urban history of Latin America "remains relatively unexplored" continues to be valid in the late-1990s.⁵

In the 1960s, Latin American cities began to rival and surpass in size and population the metropolises of advanced industrialized nations, and the balance between rural and urban population in many of the larger countries of Latin America shifted definitively toward cities. The urgencies of the contemporary urban scene brought many scholars who approached the city as their subject to seek in the past explanatory clues for contemporary problems. Thus, the practice of urban history became a type of "school of life," and in consequence, a source of validation for policies destined to orient accelerated urban changes that were transforming Latin American cities. This orientation necessarily led to an agenda much wider than previous local histories. It was in this context that urban history began to attract the attention of city planners (a new profession in the region) and urban sociologists. Scholars formed in both disciplines offered a vision of the past heavily shaped along the lines of their contemporary interventionist efforts in urban spaces. New trends in which interdisciplinary studies were encouraged but not always successfully applied also influenced historians. Central questions for these scholars were how and why Latin America's cities grew in particular periods, and whether and to what extent they developed differently from U.S. and European cities.

This renovated urban history—cultivated now by historians as well as by economists, urban planners, architects, and sociologists—incorporated strategies of analysis modeled on theories of modernization, imperialism, dependency, and world systems. While they most often offered explanations of the process of Latin American urbanization in terms of colonial legacies and the region's subordinate or peripheral incorporation into the world economy, specific concerns emerged: patterns of urban primacy, regional and national urban networks, international and domestic migrations, problems of land occupation, and the reproduction of urban poverty and inequality within cities. Interdisciplinary and dependency perspectives on cities

ensured attention to the economic and political relationship of cities to rural hinterlands where exports were produced, and to the role of cities as commercial centers and intermediaries with European and U.S. capital and consumer markets.⁶ In a few cases, scholars analyzed the process of urbanization from the perspective of the history of ideas.⁷ These studies generally emphasized macro processes, which overshadowed microsocial processes.

The privileged period of these studies was (and, to some extent, continues to be) the end of the nineteenth and the first two decades of the twentieth century. This era was the golden age of integration into the North Atlantic industrial economies and European immigration, when national and state capitals and some secondary cities assumed much of the form (invariably inspired by Haussman's Paris), infrastructure, and many of the problems of modern cities. Specific histories usually examined capital cities, marked by demographic primacy and political centralization. These pioneering urban biographies avoided the celebration of traditional local history, instead offering historical synthesis and combining the concerns of urbanization with attention to social and cultural processes within the city as well as its position within the nation and the world. In a few cases, historians with this agenda also examined secondary cities or provincial towns.⁸ Some of these historians made an explicit critique of patterns of urban growth in this period. Rather than cities as the engines of economic change, they reflected the economic change of the countryside; while providing showcases of Latin America's economic and cultural modernity, the broad avenues, parks, and monumental facades belied a lopsided development within city and nation.

Since these first studies of urbanization and urban biographies began to renovate urban history, an effort to place new themes in the geographical, social, and cultural space offered by the city has prevailed. In contrast to earlier efforts, these studies tend to particularize and atomize the urban experience. Social historians of the city have explored in greater depth some of the themes tentatively introduced in the urban biographies—questions of class structure, living conditions, and relations and conflicts between people of different groups, classes, races, and origins, with greater attention to changes and

continuities over time. Some brought greater attention to aspects of daily life and material culture, while others privileged the geographic space of the city to discuss aspects of social experience, and occasionally managed to combine analysis of physical and social dimensions of the city.

The dichotomies within cities, in particular the relation of movements of people to the processes of industrial change, class formation, and racial and ethnic identity, are at the heart of many of the urban social histories of Latin America in the past two decades. Urban historians and sociologists have paid particular attention to internal migrations of peasants, Indians, and former slaves from the countryside to cities, and to the massive influx of European immigrants at the turn of the century to parts of Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina. Studies of urban migration and immigration have focused on the social mobility, or the lack of it, among these groups, the construction of racial and ethnic identities in urban settings, and the relations of different racial and ethnic groups within the city.⁹

The nature of urban populations and production in Latin American cities and the literature on contemporary social movements have led historians to move beyond traditional models of a formal working class and workplace to consider the role of women as workers and family members, and to examine mobilizations outside of the workplace and around issues of consumption.¹⁰ The persistence and transformation of patterns of popular politics, such as riots and other forms of collective action that historians of Europe have generally associated with premodern societies, have received continued and innovative attention in studies of Latin American cities during periods extending well into the twentieth century.¹¹ A few recent studies have focused on attempts by urban elites to “civilize” the urban poor, examining issues of policing and crime, and the regulation of drinking, hygiene, and prostitution.¹² Among these studies of different aspects of the urban social experience is an increasing concern for the agency of subordinate urban groups, although these studies are at times overzealous in their attempts to find agency and resistance in all actions and places. But, again, in most of these studies the city is the privileged context where these social relations occur more than it is the central focus of

the narrative or analysis. Thus, one could make the case that for the most part, this is social history in an urban context.¹³

Labor historians often have found the city to be a useful level of analysis. However, the field has sustained an interesting debate over the relative importance in shaping national labor movements of workers (artisans, industrial, and informal) in major cities producing goods and services for domestic markets as opposed to the importance of workers producing for or servicing export sectors (agricultural, transportation, and extractive industries) who often live in smaller towns and rural areas.¹⁴ Aside from this debate, recent studies of working-class formation have been increasingly attentive to different analytical categories within a diverse body of working people. Scholarship has focused on their daily life, culture and material conditions, the reluctant and partial adaptation of rural migrants to the rhythms of and dependence on waged labor, and the middle-class morals and manners of an urban society dominated by other groups.¹⁵ Many labor studies go beyond the period of the turn of the century to explore the transformation of artisanal work and political participation in nineteenth-century cities and the place of urban workers in the context of the industrial transformation and the populist regimes of many Latin American countries after 1945.¹⁶

While many social historians have seen social mobilization in the city as a form of political expression, far less attention has been paid to formal electoral processes and political institutions at the municipal level. The lack of political studies at the local level is a factor of both limited archival sources and the assumption of a very limited suffrage and tightly controlled electoral participation—even in cities—throughout much of the independence period. For the post-1945 era, one of far greater electoral participation, the fragility of electoral democracy, frequently interrupted by military regimes, has meant that the few studies of electoral behavior have focused on particular moments of intense political contestation or incorporation.¹⁷ More important than electoral politics have been studies of the form, policies, and administration of particular municipal institutions, which have tended to be rather weak *vis-à-vis* national governments, particularly in capital cities or the practice of bureaucratic incorporation of different social sectors at the municipal level.¹⁸

Finally, the intellectual and cultural history of the Latin American city recently has received attention from more historians and cultural critics. Studies have examined Latin American cities as imagined by intellectuals, professionals, political elites, and articulate minorities. These urban "utopias" were propagated in literature and public celebrations and at home as well as abroad. At another level, a few historians have begun to explore the continuities and transformations of popular urban culture, whether perceived as autonomous or in relation to dominant values and elite culture.¹⁹

These emphases bring with them all the advantages and limitations produced by the renovation of historical studies of the past two decades. At times, these studies suggest old themes in new wineskins or else new themes in old containers. What is increasingly evident is a tension between a more-or-less decontextualized empiricism—though certainly much more ambitious than the traditional local history—and narrative efforts that focus on processes and problems. Of course, these tendencies are not mutually exclusive, and while there have been continual advances in our knowledge of the empirical substrata of the urban experience, there has been no lack of efforts to weave a more sophisticated narrative, anxious to use the latest theoretical framework, and careful to cite Marx, Weber, E. P. Thompson, Foucault, or more recently, Habermas.

Thus, in the manner of "histories within cities," the urban history of Latin America has been unfolding in the form of a fan, more often than not adding themes on top of others. One disadvantage of this accumulation of themes is that few scholars have generated historiographical debate around a set of questions unique to urban history. Instead, these studies are much more likely to engage in debates specific to national or other historiographies, such as that of the Mexican Revolution, populism, or the making of urban working classes. These histories within cities suggest that urban history has become a tributary field of historiographical efforts with agendas that are only indirectly centered on the city, or rather, that use the city as a resource—physical, geographical, social, cultural, economic, literary—to discuss a given problem but not the city itself as the problem.

While various pieces of the historical urban experience of Latin America are now more visible, the urban history of the region is far

less focused than it was thirty years ago. New frames of reference offer advantages and limits. Certain focuses help to reveal some dimensions of life in the city but frequently at the cost of others. For example, the delimitation of the functions of a city help to organize a confusing historical reality but also can flatten the multifaceted urban experience. Viewing the city as the center of economic production and social reproduction gives prominence to society but also can minimize geographic and specifically urban dimensions. The examination of the images and meanings that circulate in the urban world reveals a social and cultural milieu that is often closer to representations than to realities. The city as a space of power intertwined with discourses of discipline reveals subtle strategies of control but can ignore the responses of those who are objects of such controls. Of course, the fragmentation of both empirical and methodological approaches is a trend in historical studies in general. Moreover, since the subfield of Latin American urban history is still relatively new, recent research in these various directions seems fundamental to any future attempt to recover the urban experience as a whole.

The articles included in this special issue of the *Journal of Urban History* are representative of the tendencies that characterize this subfield in the making. David Sowell's article explores the changing "repertoires of contention" by which popular urban classes have asserted themselves politically in urban Colombia from the late colonial period to the 1948 Bogatazo riot. Brian Owensby traces how the middle class in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo defined itself culturally during the 1930s and 1940s, a period of rapid economic growth and social change, taking into account the discourses and experiences of markets, homes, and politics. Diane Davis explores Mexico City municipal politics during the 1950s and 1960s—a period of explosive growth—showing how issues of urban growth have often been negotiated politically with different urban social sectors and local as well as national actors. In a final note, Diego Armus and Juan Suriano critically review the historiographical debate—probably the only one for Argentine urban history—that has emerged in the last decade around the issue of popular housing in turn-of-the-century Buenos Aires.

NOTES

1. Richard Morse, "Cities as People," in *Rethinking the Latin American City*, ed. Richard Morse and Jorge Hardoy (Washington, DC, 1992).
2. For the urban colonial past, see Fred Bronner, "Urban Society in Colonial Spanish America: Research Trends," *Latin American Research Review* 21 (1986); and Lyman Johnson and Susan Socolow, "Urbanization in Colonial Latin America," *Journal of Urban History* 8 (November, 1981). For more bibliographical information in English about Latin American cities, see the bibliographies in Gilbert Joseph and Mark Szuchman, eds., *I Saw a City Invincible: Urban Portraits of Latin America* (Wilmington, 1996); Gerald Michael Greenfield, ed., *Latin American Urbanization: Historical Profiles of Major Cities* (Westport, 1994); and James Scobie "The Growth of Latin American Cities, 1870-1930," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 620-4.
3. This historiography is too large to elaborate here. In Latin America, as probably is the case anywhere else, any city that prides itself as such must have its own official history and historians.
4. The recent provocative essay by Charles Tilly, "What Good Is Urban History," in the *Journal of Urban History* 22 (September, 1996), suggests that this problem is also present in historiographies of other regions.
5. Gerald Michael Greenfield, "New Perspectives on Latin American Cities," *Journal of Urban History* 15 (February, 1989), 205-14.
6. Glenn Beyer, ed., *The Urban Explosion in Latin America: A Continent in Process of Modernization*, (Ithaca, 1967); Richard Morse, ed., *Las Ciudades Latinoamericanas: 2 in Desarrollo Histórico*, (México, 1973); Jorge Hardoy, *Las Ciudades de América Latina: Seis Ensayos sobre la Urbanización Contemporánea* (Buenos Aires, 1972); Jorge Hardoy, ed., *Urbanization in Latin America: Approaches and Issues* (New York, 1975); Alejandro Portes and John Walton, *Urban Latin America: The Political Condition from Above and Below* (Austin, 1976); Bryan Roberts, *Cities of Peasants: The Political Economy of Urbanization* (Beverly Hills, 1978).
7. José Luis Romero, *Latinoamérica: Las Ciudades y las Ideas* (Mexico City, 1976); Richard Morse, "Los intelectuales latinoamericanos y la ciudad (1860-1940)," in *Ensayos históricos-sociales sobre la urbanización en América Latina*, ed. Jorge Hardoy and Richard Morse (Buenos Aires, 1978), 91-112; Angel Rama, *The Lettered City* (Durham, 1996).
8. James Scobie, *Buenos Aires: From Plaza to Suburb, 1870-1910* (New York, 1971); Richard Morse, *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1974); Alejandra Moreno Toscano, ed., *Ciudad de México, Ensayo de Construcción de una Historia* (Mexico City, 1978); and Alejandra Moreno Toscano, et al., *Investigaciones sobre la historia de la ciudad de México*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1974); James Scobie, *Secondary Cities of Argentina: The Social History of Corrientes, Salta, and Mendoza, 1850-1910* (Stanford, 1988); Luis González, *San José de Gracia: Mexican Village in Transition* (Austin, 1972); Eulalia Maria Lahmeyer Lobo, *Historia do Rio de Janeiro. Do Capital Comercial ao Capital Industrial e Financeiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978); Paul Singer, *Desenvolvimento Economico e Evolução Urbana: análise da evolução economica de São Paulo, Blumenau, Porto Alegre e Recife* (São Paulo, 1968).
9. Diego Armus, ed., *Mundo Urbano y Cultura Popular, Estudios de Historia Social Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1990); Ronn Pineo and James Baer, *Cities of Hope and Despair: Urbanization in Latin America, 1870-1930: Daily Life and the Patterns of Working Class Politics*

(Boulder, forthcoming); Charles Sargent, *The Spatial Evolution of Greater Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1870-1930* (Tempe, 1974); John Lear, "Mexico City: Space and Class in the Porfirian Capital (1884-1910)," *Journal of Urban History* 22 (May, 1996); George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988* (Madison, 1991); Guy Bourde, *Buenos Aires: Urbanización e Inmigración* (Buenos Aires, 1977); Samuel Baily, "The Adjustment of Italian Immigrants in Buenos Aires and New York, 1870-1914," *American Historical Review* 88 (April, 1983), 281-305; Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880-1945* (Austin, 1969); Brian Roberts, *Cities of Peasants: The Political Economy of Urbanization* (Beverly Hills, 1978); Zuleika Alvim, *Brava Gente! Os Italianos em São Paulo, 1870-1920*, (São Paulo, 1986); Juan Oddones, *La Formación del Uruguay Moderno. La Inmigración y el Desarrollo Económico-social* (Buenos Aires, 1969); Francis Korn, *Buenos Aires 1895* (Buenos Aires, 1981).

10. Silvia M. Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857* (Stanford, 1985); June E. Hahner, *Poverty and Politics. The Urban Poor in Brazil, 1870-1920* (Albuquerque, 1986); Sidney Chalhoub, *Trabalho, Lar e Betquim: o cotidiano dos Trabalhadores no Rio de Janeiro de "Belle Epoque"* (São Paulo, 1986); Leandro Gutiérrez, "Condiciones de la vida Material de los Sectores Populares en Buenos Aires, 1880-1914," *Revista de Indias* (Sevilla), 163/164, 1981; Diego Armus, ed., *Huelgas, Habitat y Salud en el Rosario de Novecientos* (Rosario, 1995).

11. Silvia M. Arrom and Servando Ortoll, eds., *Riots in the Cities: Popular Politics and the Urban Poor in Latin America, 1765-1910* (Wilmington, 1996); Teresa Meade, "'Living Worse and Costing More': Resistance and Riot in Rio de Janeiro, 1890-1917," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 21 (May, 1989); David Sowell, "The 1893 Bogotazo: Artisans and Public Violence in Late Nineteenth-Century Bogotá," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 21 (May, 1989), 267-82; José Alvaro Moisés and Verena Stolcke, "Urban Transport and Popular Violence: The Case of Brazil," in *Past and Present* 86 (February, 1980), 174-92; Juan Suriano, *La Huelga de Inquilinos de 1907 en Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1983).

12. Thomas Holloway, *Policing Rio de Janeiro: Repression and Resistance in a Nineteenth-Century City* (Stanford, 1993); Donna Guy, *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family and Nation in Argentina* (Lincoln, 1991); Pablo Piccato, "La experiencia penal de la ciudad de México: cambios y permanencias tras la Revolución," in *Ciudad de México: Instituciones, Actores Sociales y Conflicto Político, 1774-1931*, ed. Carlos Illades and Ariel Rodríguez (Zamora, 1996), 81-116; Margaret Rago, *Os Prazeres da Noites* (São Paulo, 1991); Marcos Cueto, "La ciudad y las Ratas: la Peste Bubónica en Lima y en la costa Peruana a comienzos del Siglo Veintes," *Histórica* (Lima) 15 (1991), 1-26; Boris Fausto, *Trabalho Urbano e Conflito Social* (São Paulo, 1976).

13. Eugene Sofer and Mark Szuchman, "City and Society: Their Connection in Latin American Historical Research," *Latin American Research Review* 14 (1979), 113-29; Diego Armus, "Mundo urbano historia social. A modo de introducción," in *Mundo Urbano y Cultura Popular*, 7-13.

14. For a dependency-inspired focus on export sectors, see Charles A. Bergquist, *Labor in Latin America: Comparative Essays on Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia* (Stanford, 1986). For a defense of an urban focus, see Peter DeShazo, *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902-1927* (Madison, 1983); and David Sowell, *The Early Colombian Labor Movement* (Philadelphia, 1992).

15. William E. French, *A Peaceful and Working People, Manners, Morals, and Class Formation in Northern Mexico* (Albuquerque, 1996); Jonathan Brown, *Oil and Revolution* (Berkeley, 1994); Leandro Gutiérrez and Luis Alberto Romero, *Sectores Populares, Cultura y Política. Buenos Aires en la Entreguerra* (Buenos Aires, 1995); Steve Stein, *Lima Obrera, 1900-1930* (Lima, 1986).

16. Sonia Pérez Toledo, *Los Hijos del Trabajo: Los artesanos de la ciudad de México, 1750-1855* (Mexico City, 1996); Carlos Illades, *Hacia la República del Trabajo: la organización artesanal en la ciudad de México, 1853-1876* (Mexico City, 1996); John Lear, "Mexico City: Popular Classes and Revolutionary Politics," in *Cities of Hope*; Joel Wolfe, *Working Women, Working Men: São Paulo and the Rise of Brazil's Industrial Working Class, 1900-1955* (Durham, 1993); John French, *The Brazilian Workers' ABC: Class Conflict and Alliances in Modern São Paulo* (Chapel Hill, 1992); Daniel James, "October 17th and 18th, 1945: Mass Protest, Peronism, and the Argentine Working Class," *Journal of Social History* 21 (Spring, 1988), 441-61; James Brennan, *The Labor Wars in Cordoba, 1955-1976; Ideology, Work and Labor Politics in an Argentine Industrial City* (Cambridge, 1994).

17. Richard Walter, "Elections in the City of Buenos Aires during the First Yrigoyen Administration: Social Class and Political Preferences," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 58 (1978), 595-624; John French, "Workers and the Rise of Adhemarista Populism in São Paulo, Brazil 1945-1947," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 86 (February, 1988), 11-43; José Murilho de Carvalho, *Os Bestializados. O Rio de Janeiro e a República que Não Foi* (São Paulo, 1985).

18. Ariel Rodríguez Kuri, *La experiencia olvidada: el ayuntamiento de México: política y gobierno, 1876-1912* (México, 1996); Diane Davis, *Urban Leviathan: Mexico City in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia, 1994); Carlos Illades and Ariel Rodríguez, eds., *Ciudad de México: Instituciones, Actores Sociales y Conflicto Político, 1774-1931* (Zamora, 1996); D. C. Platt, "Domestic Finance in the Growth of Buenos Aires, 1880-1914," in *The Political Economy of Argentina, 1880-1916*, ed. Guido Di Tella and D. C. Platt (Basingstoke, 1986).

19. Jeffrey Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque* (Cambridge, 1987); Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, "1910 Mexico City: Space and Nation in the City of the Centenario," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28 (1996), 275-304; Diego Armus, "O discurso da regeneração. Espaço urbano, utopias e tuberculose em Buenos Aires, 1870-1930," *Estudos Históricos* 8 (1995), 235-50; William Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club* (Lincoln, 1989), Chap. 3, 89-124; Armus, ed., *Mundo Urbano y Cultura Popular*; Beatriz Sarlo, *Una modernidad periférica: Buenos Aires 1920-1930* (Buenos Aires, 1988); Jorge Liernur and Graciela Silvestri, *El Umbral de la Metrópolis. Transformaciones Técnicas y Cultura en la Modernización de Buenos Aires (1870-1930)* (Buenos Aires, 1993); Nicolau Sevcenko, *Literatura como Missão. Tensões Sociais e Criação Cultural na Primeira República* (Rio de Janeiro, 1983); Richard Morse, "Cities as People."