

Zavala writes with elegance. His tone is balanced, a balance that comes from a lifetime of immersion in the sources. He describes Native American labor forms with a firm foundation in the documentary evidence. As don Silvio himself admits, the evidence may be interpreted in more than one way. But those who interpret, then theorize, will stray from the hard factual evidence at their own peril.

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NOBLE DAVID COOK

Household Economy and Urban Development: São Paulo, 1765–1836. By ELIZABETH ANNE KUZNESOF. Boulder: Westview Press, 1986. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Appendixes. Bibliography. Index. Pp. xvii, 216. Paper. \$27.50.

This is the first comprehensive work to be published in English using the manuscript census returns for São Paulo from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These exceptionally detailed censuses contain information on household membership broken down by sex, race, age, and civil status, as well as data on agricultural production, slave ownership, and occupation for each household. Using the censuses of 1765, 1802, and 1836 for São Paulo, Elizabeth Kuznesof traces the evolution of the city from what she calls a “subsistence” oriented community of 808 households in 1765 to an “exchange” oriented city of 2,236 households in 1836. She argues that these changes were spurred on in part by an entrepreneurial commercial and political elite who reversed the region’s historic isolation by developing roads, port facilities, and personnel necessary for an export economy.

Kuznesof’s analysis focuses on the consequences of these changes for the households of the city’s population, the majority of whom were poor free laborers, craftsmen, servants, and seamstresses. The picture she paints of the changes in their lives during this 70-year period is a dramatic one. As the city grew, the nuclear family dropped from 54 percent of all households in the urban center in 1765 to 29 percent in 1836, while the numbers of households headed by women peaked at 45 percent of all households in 1802. Illegitimate births and abandonment of children increased as did the number of *agregados* (retainers, lodgers, or dependents) living in households. To be sure, occupational diversification occurred, but largely in jobs only marginally able to support urban households, such as sewing and making cloth. The distribution of income within the city became more uneven as resources such as slaves became more concentrated in the hands of a few. The “feminization of poverty” has deep historical roots, as is clearly evident in São Paulo.

Kuznesof has done an excellent job of bringing to the attention of scholars hard quantitative evidence of unusual patterns of social adjustment and change which need to be seriously addressed in future studies of urbanization and family

life in Brazil. Except in passing, however, she does not consider the origins or implications of her results in this monograph.

As more scholars use the census returns to study economic change, family life, and urbanization, they will need to address issues such as the relationships between the city and the province; the origins of the economic changes which swept São Paulo in the late eighteenth century; how elite and nonelite families responded to or influenced these changes; and the meaning of urbanization in a frontier region rapidly emerging as a center of commercial agriculture. Kuznesof is to be commended for defining the perplexing patterns which must be explained.

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ALIDA METCALF

NATIONAL PERIOD

Elections and Democratization in Latin America, 1980–85. Edited by PAUL W. DRAKE and EDUARDO SILVA. San Diego: Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies; Center for U.S.–Mexican Studies; Institute of the Americas, 1986. Notes. Figures. Tables. Maps. Bibliography. Pp. 335. Paper.

This collection of 15 original papers examines the unprecedented upsurge in elections and democratic rule occurring in Latin America during the 1980s. With the exception of the editors' brief introduction, all of the chapters focus on a single country and analyze the role of elections in transitions from authoritarian rule. Six studies of "liberalizing elections" in Central America and Mexico make up the first part of the volume. The other chapters deal with elections held in conjunction with redemocratization processes in Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay. Omitted from consideration are democratic transitions in the Andean region, recent elections in established democracies, and elections that did not inaugurate but follow and help consolidate transitions to democracy.

The editors are careful not to confuse elections with democracy. Nevertheless, they do argue that "[a]t the very least, elections matter because they can play a role in instigating, liberalizing, or democratizing authoritarian regimes" (p. 1). Whether they are likely to do so is another question. The contributors focusing on Central America and Mexico are anything but sanguine. In a chapter on elections in El Salvador, Terry Karl argues, "To the extent that external forces continue to impose elections to facilitate the conduct of the war and thereby prevent any agreement with opposition forces, the overriding consequence of elections will be to impede the accommodation which must precede democratization" (pp. 35–36).