

UNITED NATIONS



ECONOMIC
AND
SOCIAL COUNCIL



GENERAL
E/CN.12/URB/9
UNESGO/SS/URB/LA/9 ✓
25 September 1958
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: SPANISH

SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA

Jointly sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs and the secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, in co-operation with the International Labour Office and the Organization of American States

Santiago, Chile, ~~8-20 December 1958~~

6 - 18 - July - 1959

U.N. IV
772

(19-)
411
~~10183~~
H

THE PROCESS OF URBANIZATION IN ARGENTINA

by Gino Germani

Professor at the Institute of Sociology,
Faculty of Philosophy and Literature,
National University of Buenos Aires

CONTENTS

| | <u>Page</u> |
|---|-------------|
| Foreword..... | 3 |
| I. Characteristics of the urbanization process..... | 4 |
| II. Internal and external immigration as a factor in the urbanization process..... | 8 |
| III. Economic and social factors in urbanization..... | 24 |
| IV. A few demographic characteristics of internal migrants | 35 |
| V. Social consequences of the urbanization process..... | 39 |
| <u>Notes</u> | 52 |

Foreword

An attempt has been made in the present survey to summarize the various reports which are available on the subject of urbanization in Argentina, the circumstances in which it took place, its causes and its consequences. It has often, however, been necessary to resort to a fresh examination of the basic data, and in particular census data, in order to bring out the characteristic features of the process, more especially of its rhythm, and the factors which influenced it.

In the case of Argentina, urbanization began nearly a century ago, and although it has acquired fresh impetus and new aspects during the last fifteen years, there were periods in the past when all the features characteristic of the process of development of a modern urban society were present. Hence, any study of the matter should not be confined to what occurred during the last two decades but should have a wider scope so as to place recent developments in better perspective.

My thanks are due to two members of the technical staff of this Institute, Miss Celia Durrity and Mr. Ernesto Laclau, for their help in making the calculations for the statistical tables and in preparing the bibliography, and to Miss Roxana Balay for making the final copy of this survey.

I. Characteristics of the urbanization process

1. Of the factors influencing the distribution of the Argentine population throughout the country, two are particularly characteristic: first, the way in which the demographic centre is constantly moving from the interior toward the region known as the "littoral", and, secondly, a high degree of urban population. That these two factors are closely interrelated is apparent from the fact that the population of the country is largely concentrated in this region where, moreover, the capital city - whose inhabitants, from the middle of the last century, have comprised 38 per cent of the entire urban population - is also situated.

On the basis of the official definition of "urban population" - that is, the population of places having 2 000 inhabitants or more - the proportionate increase in the urban population in the period between the first census (1869) and the most recent (1947) has been as set out in table 1.

Table 1
PERCENTAGE OF URBAN POPULATION TO TOTAL POPULATION^{a/}

| Year | "Urban" percentage |
|--------|--------------------|
| 1869 | 27 |
| 1895 | 37 |
| 1914 | 53 |
| 1947 | 62 |
| (1957) | (65) |

^{a/} Census returns and, in the case of 1957, estimate.

No official information is available concerning the trends since the 1957 census, but if changes in the distribution of voters on the electoral registers and other estimates of the economically active population engaged in rural pursuits are taken into account, the urban percentage is probably not less than 65 per cent at the present time.

/It was only

It was only during the first inter-censal period (1869-1895) that the contribution of the rural population to the total average growth was greater than that of the urban population. In each year subsequent to 1895 the urban areas assumed an increasing share in the natural and migratory growth in the population in spite of the widening disparity between the urban and rural birth rates.

Table 2

AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH, IN ABSOLUTE TERMS AND PER THOUSAND INHABITANTS
 TOTAL POPULATION, URBAN POPULATION AND RURAL POPULATION a/

| Period | Annual growth in thousands | | | Average annual growth per thousand inhabitants | | |
|-----------|----------------------------|-------|-------|--|-------|-------|
| | Total | Urban | Rural | Total | Urban | Rural |
| 1864-1895 | 85 | 38 | 47 | 30 | 13 | 17 |
| 1895-1914 | 207 | 140 | 67 | 35 | 24 | 11 |
| 1914-1947 | 243 | 175 | 68 | 21 | 15 | 6 |

a/ National census.

2. A more accurate idea of the increase in the urban population can perhaps be obtained by using an index number which shows in a simple way the rate of growth of urban areas of various sizes in the census years. According to this index number, the process reached its maximum, not in the last few decades, but between the years, 1895 and 1914. During that period the index number rose at the annual rate of 0.77, whereas during the preceding and following periods the rates of increase were respectively 0.43 and 0.45.

Table 3

PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION LIVING IN TOWNS OF VARIOUS SIZES AND INDEX NUMBERS SHOWING DEGREE OF URBANIZATION a/

| Urban centres | 1869 | 1895 | 1914 | 1947 |
|------------------|------|------|------|------|
| 100 000 and over | 10.8 | 16.8 | 25.8 | 37.2 |
| 50 000 and over | 10.8 | 19.1 | 30.0 | 42.1 |
| 20 000 and over | 13.7 | 24.2 | 35.7 | 48.3 |
| 10 000 and over | 17.2 | 27.1 | 40.1 | 52.7 |
| 5 000 and over | 22.1 | 32.0 | 46.3 | 56.9 |
| General index | 18.6 | 29.8 | 44.5 | 59.3 |

a/ From the four national censuses.

The general index, suggested by K. Davis, is obtained from the arithmetical average of the four preceding index numbers.

The rate of growth was not the same for each group. As can be seen from table 4, the proportion of the total population living in the villages and towns of the 2 000 to 20 000 population group remained constant, while the percentage lost by the rural sector was transferred to the larger population centres, and especially those with more than 100 000 inhabitants.

Table 4

PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION LIVING IN URBAN CENTRES AND RURAL AREAS a/

| Urban centres | 1869 | 1895 | 1914 | 1947 |
|------------------|------|------|------|------|
| 100 000 and over | 11 | 17 | 26 | 37 |
| 20 000 to 99 999 | 3 | 7 | 10 | 11 |
| 2 000 to 19 999 | 15 | 13 | 17 | 14 |
| Under 2 000 | 71 | 63 | 47 | 38 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

a/ The four national censuses.

3. The comparisons made thus far have been based on a classification of population centres according to the size of the population as recorded in each of the four censuses. When this method is used, the natural increase in the population of the different centres transfers them to a higher place in the table at each successive census. Another method whereby the development of urbanization can be studied is to compare the figures recorded in each period for the population of a given urban centre. By this means, an analysis can be made of the process of growth in particular groups of towns. On the basis of the population groupings determined by the 1947 census, the relative population of the various groups of towns has been calculated for each of the three preceding censuses.

Table 5

URBAN CENTRES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF INHABITANTS RECORDED IN THE 1947 CENSUS. INDEX NUMBERS OF THE POPULATION AT THE TIME OF THE FOUR CENSUSES (1869 = 100) a/

| Urban areas classified according to the population in 1947 | Index numbers | | | |
|--|---------------|------|------|-------|
| | 1869 | 1895 | 1914 | 1947 |
| Greater Buenos Aires | 100 | 348 | 935 | 2 250 |
| 100 000 and over | 100 | 317 | 840 | 2 022 |
| 50 000 to 99 999 | 100 | 185 | 369 | 955 |
| 20 000 to 49 999 | 100 | 201 | 465 | 1 072 |
| 10 000 to 19 999 | 100 | 310 | 881 | 1 844 |
| 5 000 to 9 999 | 100 | 257 | 386 | 1 617 |
| 2 000 to 4 999 | 100 | 229 | 893 | 2 256 |
| Under 2 000 | 100 | 200 | 322 | 501 |
| Total population | 100 | 227 | 452 | 913 |

a/ The four national censuses

As can be seen from table 5, the rate of growth for the various groups of urban centres was uneven. It was greatest for greater Buenos Aires, where the 1869 population increased by more than twenty-two times, as against a ninefold increase for the country as a whole.

/Towns which,

Towns which, in 1947, had 100 000 inhabitants and over and, at the other extreme, those with 2 000 to 5 000 inhabitants underwent an increase greater than that for the population as a whole. The lowest rate of increase, apart from the purely rural areas, took place in the 50 000 to 100 000 and the 20 000 to 50 000 groups.

Table 6

PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION LIVING IN URBAN CENTRES AND IN RURAL DISTRICTS DIVIDED INTO TWO REGIONS. 1947 a/

| Population group | Buenos Aires Córdoba Santa Fé Federal capital | Remainder of the country |
|----------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| Greater Buenos Aires | 100 | - |
| 100 000 and over | 88 | 12 |
| 50 000 to 99 999 | - | 100 |
| 20 000 to 49 999 | 54 | 46 |
| 10 000 to 19 999 | 60 | 40 |
| 5 000 to 9 999 | 54 | 46 |
| 2 000 to 4 999 | 59 | 41 |
| Under 2 000 | 44 | 56 |
| Total population | 66 | 44 |

a/ The four national censuses.

II. Internal and external immigration as a factor in the urbanization process

4. In any attempt to determine the different factors which contributed to the growth of Argentine towns, a certain amount of basic information would be required. As a minimum this would include, for each urban centre, information on the origin of the population at the time of each census. In addition, information should be available concerning birth and death rates and migration so that growth curves could be prepared and the effects of natural increase and migration could be studied. Although

/information of

information of this kind is not available, estimates (however incomplete they may be) useful for the purposes of the above types of analysis can be computed from both published and unpublished census data. In the first place, figures are available concerning the origin, i.e. whether Argentine or foreign, of the inhabitants of each of the departments and districts into which the provinces and territories of the country are divided. In the census returns for 1869, 1895 and 1947, the persons of Argentine nationality can also be classified into two groups, viz., those born in the province in which they reside, and those who migrated there from some other Argentine province or territory. It is thus possible to ascertain the scale of migration between one province and another (but not within the same province) for each department and district at the time of the four censuses. Each of these administrative subdivisions may include more than one urban centre and both rural and urban areas. For the purposes of an analysis of the urbanization process, this information was classified into six categories according to the size of the largest urban centre in each department and district in 1947. As is obvious, virtually the entire population in the upper categories is urban, while the proportion of the urban population decreases in each of the succeeding categories. The more heterogeneous character of the areas in categories 3, 4 and 5 must be borne in mind together with the fact that this classification is not comparable with those, based solely on urban centres, that were used in the preceding tables.

Table 7

ARGENTINE DEPARTMENTS AND DISTRICTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE SIZE OF THEIR LARGEST URBAN CENTRE IN 1947: PROPORTION OF INHABITANTS TO THE TOTAL FOR THE WHOLE COUNTRY AND PERCENTAGES OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION FOR EACH CATEGORY OF DEPARTMENTS AND DISTRICTS a/

| Category | Number of inhabitants for each category per hundred inhabitants in the entire country | Percentage in each category | |
|-------------------------|---|-----------------------------|-------|
| | | Urban | Rural |
| 1. Greater Buenos Aires | 30 | 98 | 2 |
| 2. 100 000 and over | 11 | 92 | 8 |
| 3. 50 000 - 99 999 | 5 | 84 | 16 |
| 4. 20 000 - 49 999 | 10 | 60 | 40 |
| (10 000 - 19 999 | 12 | 39 | 61 |
| 5. (5 000 9 999 | 13 | 36 | 64 |
| (2 000 - 4 999 | 10 | 25 | 75 |
| 6. Under 2 000 | 9 | - | 100 |
| T o t a l | 100 | 62 | 28 |

a/ Fourth National Census (Vol.I).

In the case of the first two categories, almost the entire population is urban and belongs to the largest centres that were the determining factor in assigning a department or district to the particular category. As to the other categories, the urban population may include that of some urban centre of smaller size than that which was used as the basis of the classification. The last category is wholly rural. Despite the above circumstances which make it difficult to analyse the growth of the specifically urban population in the lower categories, the calculations made in this regard bring out certain important features in the urbanization process.

Table 8

DEPARTMENTS AND DISTRICTS CLASSIFIED ON THE BASIS OF THEIR LARGEST URBAN CENTRES. STRUCTURE OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO PLACE OF ORIGIN, i.e., PERSONS BORN IN THE PROVINCE OR TERRITORY IN WHICH THEY RESIDE, IMMIGRANTS BORN IN OTHER AREAS, IMMIGRANTS BORN OUTSIDE ARGENTINA. PER HUNDRED INHABITANTS IN EACH CATEGORY. 1869, 1895, 1914 AND 1947 ^{a/}

| Category | Persons born within the area | | | | Immigrants of Argentine nationality from other areas | | | | Persons of foreign origin | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|------|------|------|--|------|------|------|---------------------------|------|------|------|
| | 1869 | 1895 | 1914 | 1947 | 1869 | 1895 | 1914 | 1947 | 1869 | 1895 | 1914 | 1947 |
| 1. Greater Buenos Aires | 50 | 42 | 40 | 45 | 3 | 8 | 11 | 29 | 47 | 50 | 49 | 26 |
| 2. 100 000 and over | 76 | 55 | 54 | 68 | 15 | 11 | 11 | 17 | 9 | 34 | 35 | 15 |
| 3. 50 000 to 99 999 | 84 | 73 | 67 | 75 | 8 | 9 | 11 | 18 | 8 | 18 | 22 | 7 |
| 4. 20 000 to 49 999 | 79 | 70 | 66 | 73 | 9 | 7 | 18 | 17 | 12 | 23 | 26 | 10 |
| 5. 2 000 to 19 999 | 85 | 72 | 67 | 75 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 15 | 7 | 19 | 23 | 10 |
| 6. Under 2 000 | 92 | 83 | 77 | 79 | 5 | 8 | 9 | 12 | 3 | 9 | 14 | 9 |
| T o t a l s | 181 | 66 | 60 | 66 | 7 | 9 | 10 | 19 | 12 | 25 | 30 | 15 |

^{a/} First, Second, Third and Fourth National Censuses (including unpublished tables from the Fourth Census).

5. The available information makes it possible to base this analysis on conditions as recorded at the time of the four censuses. This circumstance would seem to introduce an arbitrary element in determining the points at which the tempo of urbanization would be measured over the course of time. This is not entirely the case, however, since some at least of the censuses occurred at important moments in the evolution of Argentine society. Thus, the first (1869) was, broadly speaking, the starting-point of the change in the traditional structure of the country brought about by the wave of immigration and the introduction of stock-raising and agriculture. The next two censuses (1895 and 1914) took place at intermediate stages on the road to industrialization and at periods when an agricultural and stock-raising economy was expanding and foreign immigration was increasing

/and reaching

and reaching its peak. The fourth census (1947) may be considered to mark a significant point in the industrialization process which, after experiencing its most vigorous growth in the course of the preceding fifteen years, now came to a halt. It is with respect to this last period - from the middle of the nineteen-thirties to 1947 - that there is a dearth of comparative data for studying the demographic development which accompanied the stage of rapid industrial growth. In the case, however, of greater Buenos Aires, estimates both of the population and of the population structure according to origin can be carried out on the basis of the municipal census of 1936, the census held in the Province of Buenos Aires in 1938 and the male electoral registered for the Buenos Aires area. From these various sources it has been possible to reconstitute with some accuracy the situation that existed in the Buenos Aires area in the middle of the period 1930-1940. Although there is no way of projecting the results for the Buenos Aires area to other urban centres in Argentina, it should not be forgotten that this area quite apart from its economic, political and social importance, embraces a very large part of the urban population of the entire country. For the purposes of this survey the period in question will be considered in four stages, as follows: 1860-1895, 1895-1914, 1914-1930/35, 1930/35-1947/57.

6. Tables 8 to 12 and graphs I to IV bring out fairly clearly certain important features which are typical of the urbanization process in Argentina between 1869 and the present day. In particular, they reveal how demographic factors such as internal and external migration affect urbanization in varying degrees. Furthermore, although the scale of migration within a province and of immigration from other provinces cannot be directly estimated, deductions can nevertheless be made concerning the relative importance of each of these factors.

7. During the first two periods (1869-1895 and 1894-1914), urban growth was due mainly to immigration from abroad and to natural increase. Internal migration between provinces was of little importance, although it increased during the second inter-censal period. On the other hand, migration within the same province played a greater part, especially that from

/the rural

the rural districts to centres with 2 000 or more inhabitants. The significance of these different factors varied considerably with the type of urban area, and specifically in the following ways:

(a) Foreign immigration exerted its maximum effect in greater Buenos Aires and in urban centres with 100 000 inhabitants or over; its influence was much less in areas with a smaller urban population and smaller urban centres.

Table 9

POPULATION OF GREATER BUENOS AIRES AND POPULATION STRUCTURE
 ACCORDING TO PLACE OF ORIGIN. 1869-1957 a/

| | 1869 | 1895 | 1914 | 1936 | 1947 | 1957 |
|---|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Total population (in thousands) | 230 | 783 | 2 035 | 3 430 | 4 724 | 6 370 |
| Origin of the population (percentages): | | | | | | |
| Argentine nationals born within the area | 50 | 42 | 40 | 52 | 55 | 42 |
| Argentine migrants from outside the area | 3 | 8 | 11 | 12 | 29 | 36 |
| Foreigners | 47 | 50 | 49 | 36 | 26 | 22 |

a/ Estimates based on the four national censuses; unpublished data from the Fourth National Census; the Fourth Municipal Census (1936); and information in the electoral registers.

(b) As early as 1869, the foreigners in greater Buenos Aires constituted 47 per cent of the total population of that area, and in the period 1895-1914 this figure hovered in the vicinity of 50 per cent. In both cases the net immigration from abroad (per thousand inhabitants of the total average population in each inter-censal period) was greater than the rate of natural increase (births less deaths and migration) and represented about half of the total rate of increase. Greater Buenos Aires always absorbed the greater part of the increase in the foreign population, and this trend became more pronounced as time went on, e.g. 36 per cent

/of the

of the total increase in the number of foreigners between 1869 and 1895, and 43 per cent between 1895 and 1914. The six urban centres which in 1947 had more than 100 000 inhabitants absorbed 13 per cent of the net increase in the foreign-born population in both inter-censal periods. Here, too, the net immigration from abroad accounted for more than half the average annual increase in the total population in the period 1869-1895, and for more than a third in the period 1895-1914. In all the lower categories, however, the net immigration from abroad was below the average rate of increase for the population of the country as a whole, being 10.8 per thousand for the period 1869-1895 and 12.3 per thousand for the period 1895-1914.

(c) The increase attributable to migration between the provinces was very small during the two inter-censal periods, the annual rate being 2.9 and 4.1 per thousand respectively. In greater Buenos Aires as well as in the smaller urban areas, the increase from this source stood at about 10 per cent of the annual average increase.

(d) Although no actual figures are available, it is possible that intra-provincial migration was of some significance in the growth of the urban areas. In this connexion the factors referred to in the following paragraphs should be borne in mind.

(e) A comparison between the rates of increase for Argentinians who at the time of the census were still resident in the province or territory of their birth (irrespective of whether born in the same department or another department of the province) and the rate of natural increase for the total population shows that migration was greatest from the departments that were most uniformly rural in character. If the rate of natural increase for the total population is taken to be 100, that of the native-born population in the completely rural departments was 37 between 1869 and 1895 and 31 between 1895 and 1914. Even if the difference in the birth rate as between urban and rural areas was not as great during those periods as it became later on - even if, for example, the rates in both cases are taken to have been the same, or slightly higher, than the national average - the difference here

/between the

between the purely rural areas and the national average reveals a high degree of emigration, amounting to almost two-thirds of the natural rate of increase. This emigration, which seems to have accounted for a substantial proportion of all internal migration in both periods, must have been both inter-provincial and intra-provincial. The available information does not throw much light on this type of migration, but some of the intermediate categories - and in particular the 20 000 to 50 000 group during the first period - benefited by it.

(f) Another interesting point is that in the purely rural areas where, by contrast with the urban centres, the number of foreign inhabitants continued to be small in relation to the total population, the average increase in the number of foreign immigrants was proportionately large in relation to the increase in total population. Thus, more especially between 1895 and 1914, foreign immigration accounted for more than 40 per cent of the total increase in population in the completely rural districts. Accordingly, the large-scale emigration of native-born inhabitants noted in those areas was in part counter-balanced by immigration from abroad, the native Argentinians migrated to the urban centres of the same province, and the foreigners taking their place.

Table 10

RATES PER 1 000 INHABITANTS OF THE AVERAGE INTER-CENSAL POPULATION: TOTAL INCREASE; ARGENTINIANS BORN IN A GIVEN AREA (PROVINCE OR TERRITORY OF BIRTH); ARGENTINIANS HAVING IMMIGRATED FROM OTHER PROVINCES OR TERRITORIES; FOREIGNERS. DISTRICTS CLASSIFIED UNDER THE LARGEST URBAN CENTRE. (EXCLUDING THE AREA OF GREATER BUENOS AIRES). 1869-1947 a/

| Areas | 1869 | 1895 | 1914 |
|-------------------------------|------|------|------|
| | 1895 | 1914 | 1947 |
| 2. 100 000 and over | 36.6 | 44.8 | 23.5 |
| Argentinians born in the area | 16.5 | 24.1 | 18.5 |
| Argentinians from other areas | 3.1 | 4.5 | 5.2 |
| Foreigners | 17.0 | 16.2 | -0.2 |
| 3. 50 000 to 99 999 | 26.2 | 35.3 | 23.9 |
| Argentinians born in the area | 16.5 | 21.2 | 19.4 |
| Argentinians from other areas | 2.2 | 4.8 | 5.3 |
| Foreigners | 7.5 | 9.3 | -0.8 |
| 4. 20 000 to 49 999 | 31.3 | 34.0 | 19.9 |
| Argentinians born in the area | 20.2 | 20.9 | 15.7 |
| Argentinians from other areas | 1.3 | 3.2 | 5.3 |
| Foreigners | 9.8 | 9.9 | -1.1 |
| 5. 2 000 to 19 999 | 30.8 | 32.0 | 16.9 |
| Argentinians born in the area | 19.0 | 19.6 | 14.4 |
| Argentinians from other areas | 3.0 | 3.8 | 3.6 |
| Foreigners | 8.8 | 8.6 | -1.1 |
| 6. Less than 2 000 | 12.0 | 10.7 | 17.7 |
| Argentinians born in the area | 7.1 | 5.5 | 14.3 |
| Argentinians from other areas | 1.9 | 1.0 | 2.7 |
| Foreigners | 3.0 | 4.2 | 0.7 |

a/ National Censuses; unpublished data from the fourth census. Estimates.

/It can

It can be supposed that a similar process occurred in the rural parts of the areas included in the other categories, particularly category 5, although the average rates for mixed rural and urban areas do not make this obvious.

Table 11

RATES PER 1 000 INHABITANTS OF THE AVERAGE INTER-CENSAL POPULATION (i.e., BETWEEN THE YEARS WHEN ESTIMATES WERE MADE); TOTAL INCREASE: ARGENTINIANS BORN IN THE AREA; ARGENTINIANS HAVING IMMIGRATED FROM OTHER DISTRICTS; FOREIGNERS. AREA OF GREATER BUENOS AIRES. 1869-1957 a/

| Greater Buenos Aires | 1869 | 1895 | 1914 | 1936 | 1947 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1895 | 1914 | 1936 | 1947 | 1957 |
| Total increase | 42.0 | 46.8 | 23.2 | 28.8 | 29.7 |
| Increase among Argentinians born in the area | 16.2 | 18.5 | 16.0 | 7.8 | 9.9 |
| Increase among Argentinians from other areas | 4.1 | 6.0 | 3.2 | 20.3 | 17.5 |
| Increase among foreigners | 21.7 | 22.3 | 4.0 | 0.7 | 2.3 |

a/ National censuses; Fourth Municipal Census of the City of Buenos Aires; unpublished data from the Fourth National Census; estimates.

8. A completely different situation arises in the two following periods up to 1947. One of the reasons why these two periods should be studied together is that there are, as mentioned previously, no data during this interval covering the whole of the country.

On the average, during these two periods - and up to the present time - the basic feature has been an increase in internal migration towards the towns which has taken the place of immigration from abroad as the significant factor in the growth of cities.

Immigration from abroad was interrupted for the first time after the outbreak of the First World War, and although it again reached a high level in the decade 1920-1930, it declined almost to nothing after that period. Only between 1947 and 1957 was there a recrudescence of net immigration on any scale. The result of these interruptions became obvious in the census of 1947, which showed a sharp fall in the percentage of foreigners in relation to the total population (from almost 30 per cent in 1914 to a little over 15 per cent in 1947). This census also showed

/an aging

an aging structure for the immigrant population, nearly all the members of this group being of considerable age.

Table 12

RATES PER 1 000 INHABITANTS OF THE AVERAGE INTER-CENSAL POPULATION. TOTAL INCREASE; ARGENTINIANS HAVING REMAINED IN THE DISTRICT WHERE THEY WERE BORN; ARGENTINIANS HAVING MOVED TO OTHER DISTRICTS; FOREIGNERS. CENTRE COUNTRY. 1869-1947. a/

| Centre country | 1869 | 1895 | 1914 |
|--|------|------|------|
| | 1895 | 1914 | 1947 |
| Total increase | 30.0 | 34.9 | 20.4 |
| Increase among Argentinians residing in the province or territory where they were born | 16.3 | 18.5 | 14.6 |
| Increase among Argentinians having left the province or territory where they were born | 2.9 | 4.1 | 5.7 |
| Increase among foreigners | 10.8 | 12.3 | 0.1 |

a/ National censuses. Unpublished data from the fourth census.

During the same period, however, migratory movements between provinces increased considerably. In 1947 they were almost twice as numerous as in the first period (1869-1895) and affected almost 23 per cent of native born Argentinians.

The chief beneficiary of these internal population movements was undoubtedly the area of greater Buenos Aires, where, in 1947, Argentinians born in other areas of the country represented almost 30 per cent of the total population (as compared to 11 per cent in 1914). Significant increases, however, occurred in other areas, the number of internal migrants tending to be smaller in direct proportion to the degree of urbanization in each area (about 18 per cent in the more urban areas, and from 15 per cent down to 12 per cent in the more rural areas).

As has already been pointed out, however, an analysis of the process of urbanization during this inter-censal period seems to demand a clear distinction between two periods. Estimates concerning the population structure of greater Buenos Aires by origin in 1936 indicate that the

/flow of

flow of migrants into the city from other areas of the country was far from being constant throughout the decade 1930-1940. This changing pattern, as will be shown below, went hand in hand with profound changes in the economic structure of the country. It is reasonable to suppose that this trend was also characteristic of other urban areas.

Table 13

INCREASE AMONG THOSE MEMBERS OF THE ARGENTINE POPULATION WHO WERE STILL RESIDENT AT THEIR PLACE OF BIRTH AT THE TIME OF THE CENSUS, AS COMPARED WITH THE TOTAL NATURAL INCREASE. RATES PER 1 000 INHABITANTS OF THE AVERAGE INTER-CENSAL POPULATION (RATE OF TOTAL NATURAL INCREASE = 100).
 1869-1947 a/

| Areas | 1869 1896 0/00 | 1895 1914 0/00 | 1914 1947 0/00 |
|---|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Total natural increase | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Increase among Argentine inhabitants continuing to reside at their place of birth | 85 | 82 | 72 |
| 1. Greater Buenos Aires | 84 | 82 | 58 |
| 2. Towns of 100 000 or over | 86 | 106 | 91 |
| 3. Towns of 50 000 to 99 999 | 86 | 94 | 96 |
| 4. Towns of 20 000 to 49 999 | 105 | 92 | 77 |
| 5. Towns 2 000 to 19 999 | 99 | 87 | 71 |
| 6. Towns of less than 2 000 | 37 | 31 | 70 |

a/ Tables 10, 11 and 12.

(a) In the area of greater Buenos Aires, internal migration remained at about the 1934 level until 1936. According to the census and to the estimates relating to that date, the proportion of internal migrants was the same as for the previous census, the proportion of foreigners had decreased considerably (but to a much smaller extent than for the country as a whole), and two-thirds of the increase in the population of the city was due to the natural increase. During the period 1914-1936 the total increase in greater Buenos Aires was of the order of 23.2 per thousand, as compared with 46.8 per thousand for the preceding period of 1895-1914.

Table 14
 NET IMMIGRATION FROM ABROAD (ANNUAL AVERAGES). 1857-1957 a/

| Years | Average annual net immigration (in thousands) |
|-------------|---|
| 1856 - 1860 | 2.8 |
| 1861 - 1870 | 7.7 |
| 1871 - 1880 | 8.5 |
| 1881 - 1890 | 63.8 |
| 1891 - 1900 | 32.0 |
| 1901 - 1910 | 112.0 |
| 1911 - 1920 | 26.9 |
| 1921 - 1930 | 87.8 |
| 1931 - 1940 | 7.3 |
| 1941 - 1946 | 5.5 |
| 1947 - 1954 | 93.4 |

a/ Data provided by the Dirección Nacional de Estadística (National Statistical Office).

Table 15
 PERCENTAGE OF NATIVE-BORN ARGENTINIANS WHO MOVED OUT OF THE PROVINCE OR TERRITORY OF THEIR BIRTH. FIGURES PER 100 NATIVE-BORN ARGENTINIANS a/

| Year | Percentage |
|------|------------|
| 1869 | 8 |
| 1845 | 11 |
| 1914 | 15 |
| 1947 | 23 |

a/ Table 9 and national censuses.

(b) According to the estimates, there was a drastic rise in internal immigration in 1936 amounting to almost three-quarters of the total increase. On the basis of other estimates, (1) there was a very similar trend in the period 1947-1957. In absolute figures the net internal

/migration is

migration is estimated to have averaged 83 000 (2) a year in the period 1936-1947 and 97 000 in the period 1947-1957, thus representing more than one-third of the net natural increase for the rest of the country.

Table 16

PROPORTION OF THE NET NATURAL INCREASE FOR THE ENTIRE COUNTRY ABSORBED BY INTERNAL MIGRATION TO GREATER BUENOS AIRES. 1869-1957 a/

| Periods | Percentage of net natural increase |
|-------------|------------------------------------|
| 1869 - 1895 | 5 |
| 1895 - 1914 | 8 |
| 1914 - 1936 | 5 |
| 1936 - 1947 | 37 |
| 1947 - 1957 | 33 |

a/ Table 11 and reports of the National Statistical Office.

(c) The small amount of immigration from abroad during the period 1914-1947 was also mainly absorbed by greater Buenos Aires, and this also seems to have been the case, but on an even larger scale, in connexion with the favourable balances of the period 1947-1954. The number of foreigners decreased in absolute terms in all other areas (except the most rural) while increasing in greater Buenos Aires.

(d) Areas with urban centres of 100 000 or more inhabitants and those with centres of 50 000 to 100 000 inhabitants also experienced considerable increases which, in relative terms, were generally comparable to the increases in greater Buenos Aires. Inter-provincial migration was undoubtedly less important here, but this was probably made up for by intra-provincial migration because the increase in the "native" population of these centres seems too close to the national average not to have included a fair number of persons born in other parts of the same province.

Table 17

PROPORTION OF INTERNAL MIGRANTS IN GREATER BUENOS AIRES ACCORDING TO SIZE OF LOCALITY OF ORIGIN. PROPORTION OF TOTAL POPULATION (EXCLUSIVE OF GREATER BUENOS AIRES) LIVING IN URBAN CENTRES (AND RURAL AREAS) OF VARIOUS SIZES. a/

| Population of the locality of origin | Earlier immigration groups (1940) | Recent immigration | | Proportion of the population in centres other than greater Buenos Aires |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|------------|---|
| | | Before 1950 | After 1950 | |
| Over 100 000 | 21 | 15 | 15 | 15 |
| 20 000 to 99 999 | 16 | 36 | 31 | 13 |
| 10 000 to 19 999 | 19 | 14 | 13 | 6 |
| 2 000 to 9 999 | 33 | 21 | 23 | 13 |
| Less than 2 000 | 11 | 14 | 18 | 53 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

a/ G. Germani: Investigación sobre los efectos sociales de la urbanización en un área obrera del Gran Buenos Aires (Inquiry into the social effects of urbanization in a working-class area of greater Buenos Aires). Provisional report. Institute of Sociology, 1958.

(e) Although the rates of increase for the native population residing in the area of birth are affected by various kinds of contradictory influences such as the differences between urban and rural birth-rates, the intensity of emigration towards other areas and of intra-provincial immigration, it would seem that during the period 1914-1947 emigration made itself felt not only in the purely rural areas but also to a very similar extent in urban areas with small and medium-sized centres (from the 2 000 to 20 000 and from 20 000 to 50 000 inhabitants). It is very important to note that there was apparently less emigration from the rural areas than during the period 1895-1914. Observations regarding groups of migrants into greater Buenos Aires (table 17) go some way towards supporting this view, for more than a third of these migrants appear to have come from medium-sized centres (between 2 000 and 20 000 inhabitants) and only some 15 per cent came from rural areas.

9. The observations that have so far been made show very clearly that urbanization in Argentina has gone through four stages. The first and second stages correspond to the first two inter-censal periods - 1869 to 1895 and 1895 to 1914 - and were characterized by a preponderance of international migration as a factor in the growth of Argentine cities. In both these stages, however, there was a certain amount of internal migration presumably intra-provincial in character and originating in the more purely rural areas. There was also a strong tendency for the population to congregate along the coast (except in the extreme north and south), and this movement continued to grow in the succeeding stages. In the third stage - 1914 to 1930/35 - the process of urbanization seems to have become much less intense. This was due to the decrease in the number of immigrants from abroad as a result of the First World War and the world depression of 1929 and also to the fact that although internal migration may well have increased to some extent, it was not great enough to replace migration from abroad. There also seems to have been a decline in emigration from the more rural areas during this period. On the basis of what took place in the metropolitan area of greater Buenos Aires a fourth stage seems to have started in about 1936. This was characterized by a new wave of massive immigration towards urban centres and particularly towards greater Buenos Aires. Internal migration had now completely replaced immigration from abroad and seemed to be drawing as many people from the medium-sized urban centres as from the purely rural areas.

III. Economic and social factors in urbanization

10. If a comparison was made between the degree of urbanization in Argentina and in other countries at the time of the first Argentine census in 1869, it would show that the proportion of the Argentine population in towns and smaller urban centres was even then greater than could be expected from the country's economic structure alone.

The increasing urbanization which has taken place since that time has not, of course, been due merely to the continuance of pre-existing historical causes but also to various new factors. As has already been seen, it is necessary to think in terms of different stages coincident with various economic and social changes.

11. In the first two stages of the urbanization process the decisive factor, as already noted, was the immigration policy. This was a powerful force in the development of Argentine towns and made itself felt in two ways: directly, in that great masses of immigrants settled in the urban centres, especially the capital; and indirectly through the development of agriculture, to which the immigrants made such an overwhelming contribution and which, partly owing to the further changes that were thus brought about, was accompanied by a shift of the native inhabitants - whose normal occupations and mentality did not, as a rule, equip them for specifically agricultural work - to the more urban areas.

The change in the proportion of foreigners and natives in strictly agricultural occupations between 1895 and 1914, as shown in the following figures, is very significant.

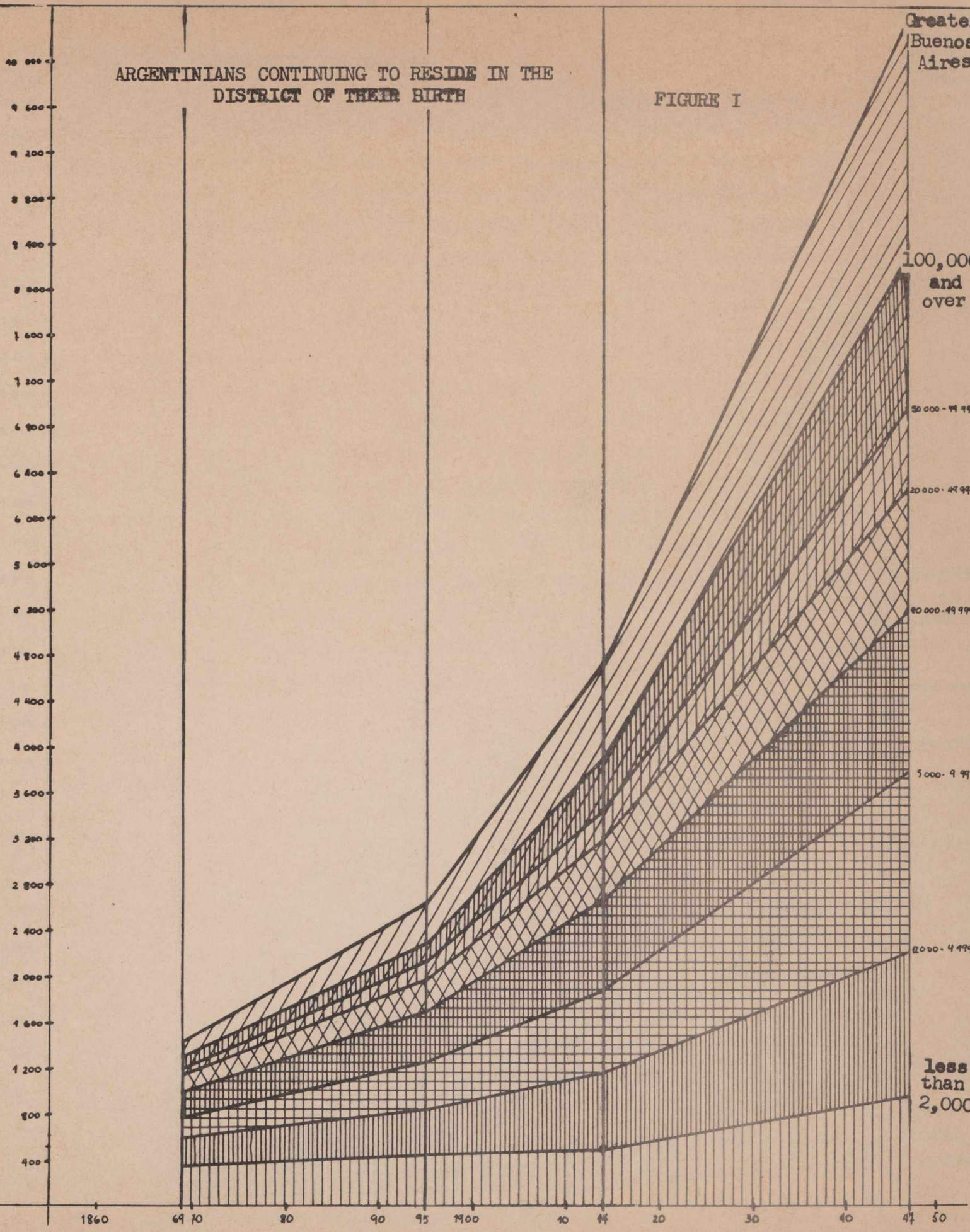
| | <u>1895</u> | <u>1914</u> |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Argentinians | 65 | 55 |
| Foreigners | 35 | 45 |

It must also be remembered that as agriculture expanded, it came to be more highly mechanized. As an illustration of this, the value of farm machinery more than doubled between 1908 and 1914.(3) According to Bunge, (4) the high productivity of agricultural workers was an important factor in reducing the proportion of the country's population engaged in farming. Additional causes, in the opinion of some writers, of the

/shift to

ARGENTINIANS CONTINUING TO RESIDE IN THE DISTRICT OF THEIR BIRTH

FIGURE I



ARGENTINIAN IMMIGRANTS

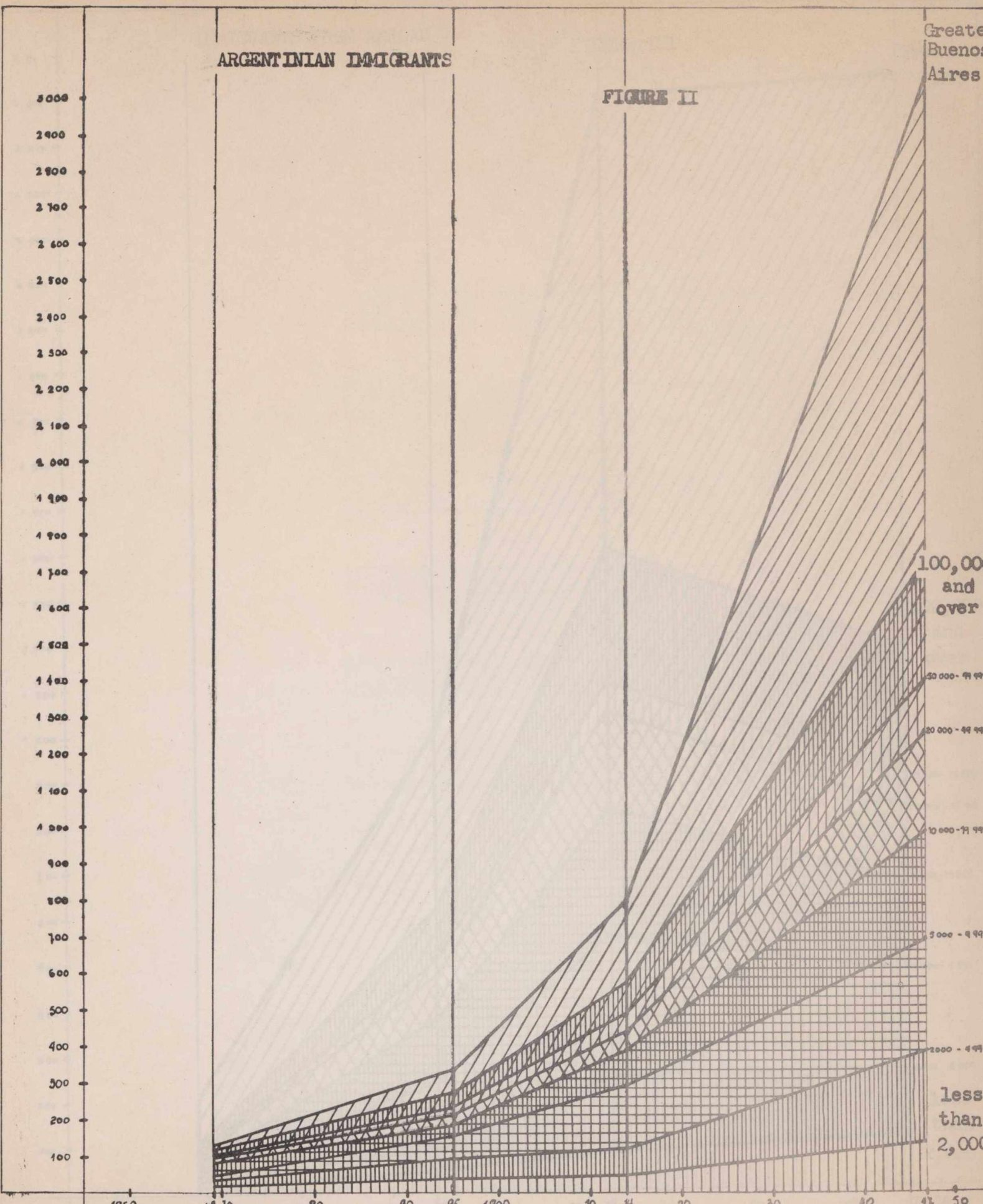
FIGURE II

Greater Buenos Aires

3000
2900
2800
2700
2600
2500
2400
2300
2200
2100
2000
1900
1800
1700
1600
1500
1400
1300
1200
1100
1000
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100

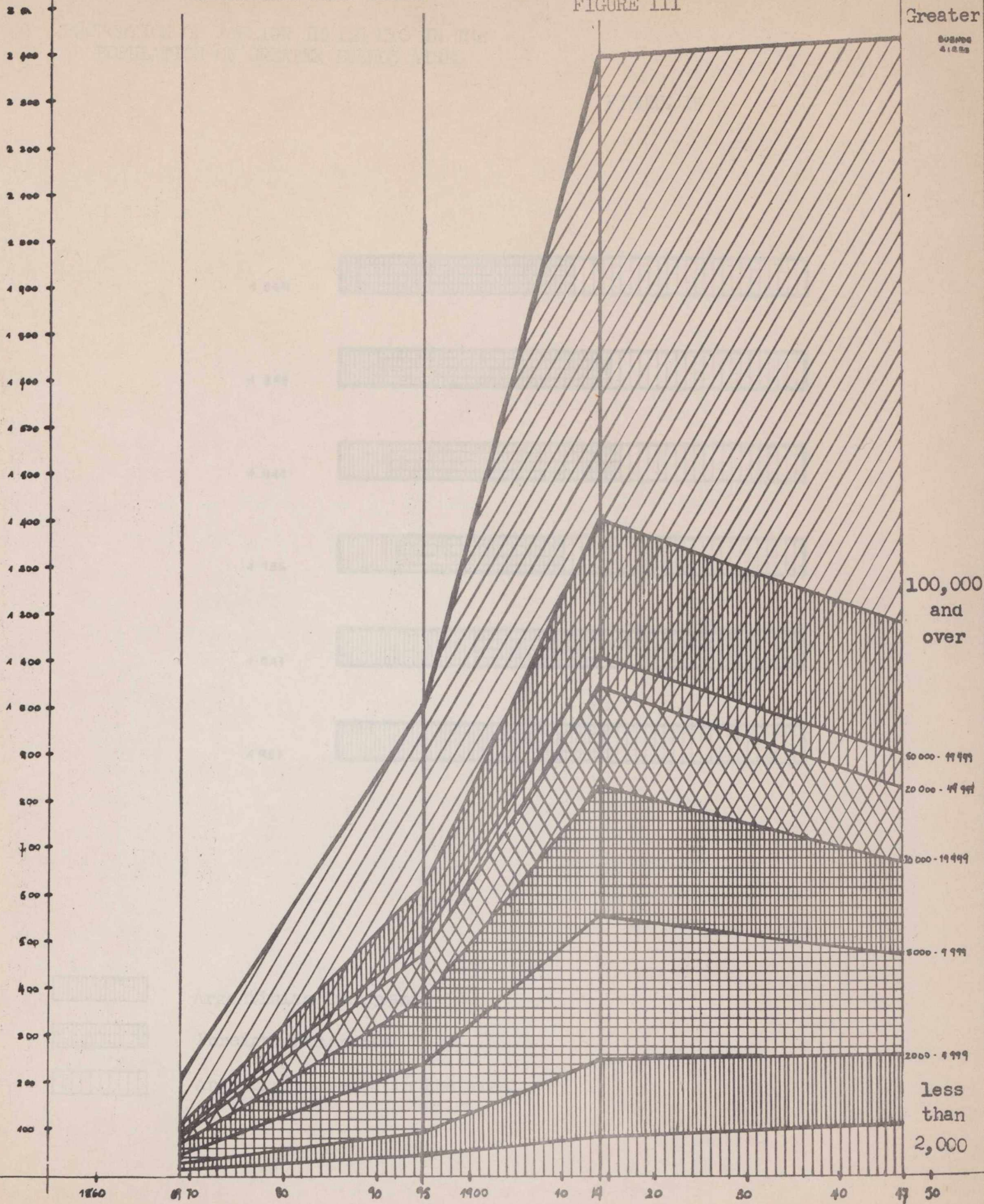
100,000 and over
50,000 - 99,999
20,000 - 49,999
10,000 - 19,999
5,000 - 9,999
2,000 - 4,999
less than 2,000

1860 61 10 80 90 96 1900 10 14 20 30 40 47 50



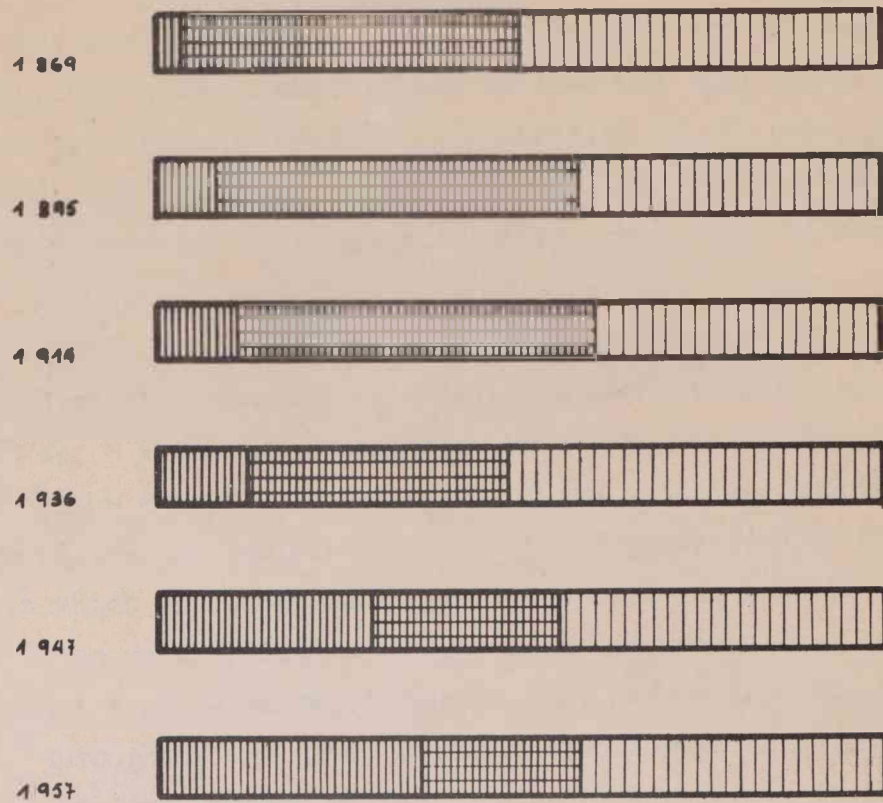
IMMIGRANTS FROM ABROAD




FIGURE III



PROPORTION OF FOREIGN IMMIGRANTS IN THE
POPULATION OF GREATER BUENOS AIRES

FIGURE IV



 Argentinian immigrants
 Foreign immigrants
 Argentinians born in the area

shift to urban centres were to rise in land prices - especially in the grain-growing area - the trend toward the concentration of property rights, the speculative nature of farming operations and the ascendancy of the tenant-farming system. (5) Still another factor was the expansion of the rail network, which attained its peak between the closing years of the last century and the year 1914, for the railways not only encouraged the establishment of new centres but also fostered migration to those already existing. (6) In addition to all this, the currents of internal migration were affected by the same forces as caused most immigrants from overseas to congregate in the urban areas of the littoral.

12. To the "expellant" forces referred to above must be added the forces of "attraction", which also affected both internal and external immigration in much the same way. Argentina exemplified in a high degree that type of economy in which the export of a few types of raw materials and the import of a large volume and variety of manufactured goods lead to the growth of towns in which the commercial operations relating to this trade are centralized. The port of Buenos Aires, which has monopolized foreign trade - mainly import trade - since colonial times, has maintained its dominant position throughout the great economic transformation which has taken place since the last decades of the nineteenth century. It is true that as the export trade has expanded and new ports have been created or enlarged, a considerable volume of exports has been channelled through other outlets. This development, however, has gone hand in hand with urbanization. For example, the port of Rosario, which ranks second in size of population, attracted over one-third of the export trade in 1929. A considerable proportion is also absorbed by Santa Fe, Bahía Blanca, Mar del Plata and La Plata. Exclusive of greater Buenos Aires, these five ports comprise five of the seven towns which in 1947 had more than 100 000 inhabitants.

In this connexion reference is again made to the importance of the railways, which not only met the needs of foreign trade but also intensified the centripetal tendencies and effects of the economy as manifested in the drift of population towards the littoral and the growth of the large towns, most of them situated in that region. (7)

Table 18
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE INCREASE IN THE ECONOMICALLY
 ACTIVE POPULATION IN THE FOUR STAGES OF URBANIZATION
 1869-1957 a/

| Years | Distribution of the increase in the economically active population | | | | Urbanization | |
|-----------------|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|--|
| | Agricul- t- ure | Other than agricul- ture | Other than agricul- ture | | Stage | Proportion of net natural increase (internal migra- tion absorbed by greater Buenos Aires) |
| | | | Industry | Services and trade | | |
| 1869-1895 | 40 | 60 | 15 | 45 | I | 5 |
| 1895-1900/4 | 44 | 55 | 19 | 36) | II |)8 |
| 1900/4-1910/14 | 25 | 75 | 34 | 41) | | |
| 1910/14-1935/39 | 38 | 62 | 22 | 40 | III | 5 |
| 1935/39-1945/49 | 4 | 96 | 43 | 53) | IV | 37 |
| 1945/49-1955 | 8 | 92 | 22 | 70) | | |

a/ First and Second National Censuses and ECLA: El desarrollo económico en la Argentina, 1958, Vol. 5

13. So far no mention has been made of the political and administrative factors which, as is often the case, contributed to the growth of the towns. These factors must, of course, be counted among the historical causes which had already set the main pattern of the country's urban development by the time of the first census. Thus, of the eight towns which by 1869 had more than 10 000 inhabitants, seven were provincial capitals. Some of these political and administrative centres went on to become important trading centres and are among the towns which had more than 100 000 inhabitants in 1947. In these cases economic development and political and administrative factors served to reinforce one another. This was particularly true of Buenos Aires, where were thus concentrated all the dynamic forces that were to give it absolute predominance as an urban centre. Because of its importance as a nucleus of foreign trade and much of the domestic trade, it became the focal point for the services and organization indispensable for such trade. To the concentration
 /of wealth,

of wealth, resources and consumer capacity that thus resulted were added the increasing needs of the country's political capital and the cumulative effects of the other centralizing tendencies.

14. Yet another force which, towards the end of the last century, began to attract people to the towns was industrialization. Although this phenomenon was most marked in the first fifteen years of the present century, it had begun to make itself felt earlier, especially since 1890. "At this period", says Dorfman, "Argentine industry underwent a profound transformation. The old-style pre-capitalist establishments and home crafts disappeared, to be replaced by industry in the modern sense of the term, albeit feeble and as yet largely undiversified". Some of the traits of pre-industrial labour - payment in kind and ownership by the worker of the tools used by him - had begun to disappear, at any rate in the littoral, before that time; (8) and the 1895 census records, alongside the "non-factory industries" which absorbed the lion's share (59 per cent) of the labour force, a considerable proportion of factory industry in the strict sense of the term, which employed almost a quarter of the labour force and accounted for a third of the capital resources. The 1914 census was to show a considerable further advance in industrialization. It is true that the industry of that time was still closely bound to agriculture and was engaged in supplying - however inadequately - the local demand for consumer goods, and it is also true that, despite the progress made since 1895, small workshops and primitive techniques still abounded. (9) There is no question, however, that so far as its social effects were concerned this development was highly significant and helped to stamp the closing years of the last century and the first decade of this century with the distinguishing marks of a society in course of urbanization and industrialization.

In the period 1900-1914, industry for the first time absorbed an appreciably higher proportion of the annual increase in the economically active population than did agriculture. While in the preceding period, tertiary activities had absorbed almost three-quarters of the surplus labour which did not find employment in farming, industry now ran the latter very close. This is indicative of the nature and complexity of the

/urbanization

urbanization process during that period when, as has been seen, the tempo of urbanization was more intensive than in the preceding and following periods. Leaving out of discussion the inhibiting factors at work in the rural areas, the increase in the population of the towns was not due solely to the forces of attraction set up by the expansion of trade and of administrative and political activity, but also to the needs of new productive enterprise. This is also reflected in the change in the internal composition of "services", domestic service, for example, which had accounted for half of all tertiary activities between 1895 and 1896 and which had fallen to less than 27 per cent by 1914. This sector too was therefore moving through a process of maturation in the direction of more modern forms of employment.

Indeed this same period was characterized by notable changes in the class structure. Between 1895 and 1914, a middle class began to emerge and eventually acquired sufficient strength to become a meaningful factor in the life of the country. It should be noted, however, that this process was confined mainly, if not entirely, to the littoral and above all to Buenos Aires. Here the occupational pattern of a great modern city took shape: among the working class, which in absolute terms was shrinking, the proportion of workers employed at comparatively advanced industrial plants was on the increase; a democratic middle class made its appearance; and more people entered the professions and skilled trades.

15. The main contribution to urbanization during this period was the flow of immigrants from abroad. Foreign immigrants were also the source of industrial growth.

Table 19 throws some light on the openings which must have been available to foreign and internal immigrants, and which helped respectively to keep them in, and attract them to, the towns. Most of the foreign immigrants found work in the secondary sector, particularly at the entrepreneur level, and in industrial or semi-industrial occupations in general. The proportion of Argentinians was greater in home crafts (female labour), domestic service, and those middle-class sectors which were undergoing expansion: public and private white-collar employment and, to some extent, the professions. It was mainly in these categories,

/especially the

especially the more modest of them, that the internal immigrants found their place.

The most salient characteristic of this initial phase of industrial development was its concentration in the littoral and especially in greater Buenos Aires. In 1914, over 70 per cent of industry was concentrated in that region, chiefly in the town and province of Buenos Aires, where, moreover, were situated the most advanced industries employing three-quarters of the basic motive power and mechanical and technical equipment. (10)

This adds a last and, unquestionably, very influential factor to the other centripetal forces which gave the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires such a dominant position.

16. In the third stage (1914-1930/35), the forces tending to hold the rural population in the countryside were probably stronger than in the preceding stage. Agriculture was once again absorbing a much larger proportion of the increase in the economically active population than was industry, while the tertiary sector remained at the same level as in the preceding stage. As is apparent from table 18, these developments are reflected in the proportion of the total natural increase outside greater Buenos Aires that was absorbed into that area by internal migration.

Table 19

PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGNERS AMONG THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION AND IN VARIOUS URBAN TYPES OF EMPLOYMENT. 1895 and 1914 a/

| Year | Total economically active population | <u>Secondary occupations</u> | | <u>Entrepreneurs</u> | | <u>White-collar Employment</u> | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------|--------------------------------|------------|--------|------------------|
| | | Home crafts, mostly women | Remainder of group | Trade | Industry | Professions | Commercial | Public | Domestic service |
| 1895 | 39 | 18 | 57 | 75 | 84 | 55 | 43 | 30 | 25 |
| 1914 | 46 | 27 | 57 | 72 | 64 | 45 | 51 | 18 | 38 |

a/ Second and Third National Censuses; and G. Germani: Estructura social de la Argentina, Buenos Aires, Raigal, 1955.

/Among the

Among the various causes to which this increased attraction of the rural areas might be ascribed, the most potent was the favourable economic situation prevailing up to the great depression of 1929. This was reflected chiefly in a high level of exports, which consisted almost entirely of agricultural and livestock products, with agricultural produce taking first place and thus recovering the position it had held in 1905-1914. Thus, during this period there was an expansion of agriculture, in terms both of output and of area under cultivation. At the same time certain factors served to improve, at any rate temporarily, the prospects for the purchase of small and medium-sized farms and thus encouraged the expansion of the areas under cultivation. Among these factors were the provisions enacted in 1919 to encourage the ownership and settlement of land through the grant of credits up to 80 per cent of the value of a farm. Although the importance of these facilities in keeping the rural inhabitants on the land may not have been as great as is sometimes maintained, the 6 300 farms that were purchased under this scheme between 1921 and 1929 undoubtedly exerted a favourable influence. (11)

17. By contrast with the progress in agriculture during the decade, industry suffered a setback. (12) Despite the favourable conditions created by the First World War and some piecemeal development at the start of the period, the absorptive capacity of industry could not keep pace with the increase in the economically active population. Industry continued, however, to perform the function of keeping most of the foreigners in the towns, especially Buenos Aires, and was even more effective in doing so than in the period preceding the interruption of immigration in 1914. There was an increase in the absolute number of foreign residents only in greater Buenos Aires.

18. The fourth stage opens with the years of the great world depression, which greatly affected the rural areas and created conditions favourable to intensive industrialization. The Second World War merely accentuated this situation and gave rise to the great wave of internal immigration and consequent urbanization that have been described in previous paragraphs.

/Although, apart

Although, apart from temporary setbacks, the area under cultivation and the total value of agricultural and livestock production continued during this period to rise, the drastic drop in exports, which diverted a large proportion of the output to the internal market and even to uneconomic uses, reduced the potentialities of this sector which especially so far as agriculture proper was concerned, could not hold its own in competing for labour against industry. (13) In addition to this, other negative factors which had been present in the previous stages became more prominent during this stage. Of particular importance in this connexion were the system of land tenure and the size of the farms. With regard to land tenure, the proportion of farmers owning their farms decreased from 45 per cent in 1914 to 38 per cent in 1938 and 37 per cent in 1947, as against an increase in the proportion of tenant farmers and of "other systems" of tenancy, which, in the opinion of some authors, frequently represent a more primitive type of relationship between owner and cultivator. With regard to the size of the farms, successive censuses have shown a progressive increase at both ends of the scale, that is, in the number of very small and very large farms. This increase seems to have been particularly marked in recent years so far as the very small farms are concerned. Thus, according to some estimates, the proportion of farms under twenty-five hectares in area, which was 33 per cent in 1914, 34 per cent in 1937 and 36 per cent in 1947, had risen to 49 per cent by 1952. According to the same sources, the proportion of farms below the minimum economic size is almost two-thirds of the total number of farms in the five provinces of the "grain and meat region" (Buenos Aires, Córdoba, La Pampa, Entre Ríos and Santa Fe). (14)

Still another factor in the deterioration of the rural areas is the impoverishment of the soil, especially through erosion, which has affected wide areas of the country in different degrees.

19. To what extent have all these factors fostered the drift of the rural population towards the towns? About 1943 Taylor stated that farm-family levels of living were not so bad as many Argentine city dwellers believed.

/From an

From an analysis of various indexes, and, of his own observations on a small sample of rural families in different parts of the country, he concluded that, while the rural areas of Argentina were far below the urban areas in standards of culture and education, the same did not apply to "physical levels", which he considered approximately as high in rural as in urban areas. (15) These remarks are certainly worth recording, especially in view of the tendency to under-estimate income in monetary terms in the case of families which are partly self-supporting. It is very important to realize, however, that Taylor's observations apply only to the category of employers and their families, and not to permanent and temporary employees, who form the majority of the agricultural population. The living conditions of this group are unquestionably much worse than those of their employers, and their wages are far below those of urban workers. Furthermore, even Taylor himself recognized that there were many families whose living conditions were precarious. According to other authorities, the income and living conditions in 1950 of a farmer working a medium-sized farm were far inferior to those enjoyed by workers in an urban centre. (16) Director observations have been made on the exodus from the countryside and its causes. García Aller, (17) for example, in a survey covering the three provinces of San Juan, La Rioja and Catamarca, describes the cumulative effect of some of the causes mentioned in previous paragraphs: excessive subdivision brought about by the increase in population, serious deterioration of the soil, erosion, shortage of water and adverse climatic conditions. Many farms were found to have been abandoned by their owners and some rural centres to have been depopulated, and there were many cases of intra-provincial migration - as distinct from inter-provincial migration and migration to Buenos Aires - where rural inhabitants had gone to more promising rural areas or to towns. Moyano Llerena (18) was able to show that in 1936 the volume of internal migration to Buenos Aires stood in inverse ratio to the economic capacity of the province of origin and the distance between that province and Buenos Aires.

20. In table 18 the figures for the proportion of the increase in the economically active population absorbed by industry in the period 1935-1949 call for no further comment; agricultural employment is cut to a minimum (4 per cent of the increase), while industry claims 43 per cent. This stage was marked by a decisive advance in the progress towards a mature industrial structure, and in this respect considerable impetus was given by the Government's policy of encouraging Argentine industry. The tertiary sector also underwent internal changes indicative of further development. To mention only those features which are of major social significance, emphasis should be given to the twofold concentration - technical-economic and geographical - characteristic of industrial growth in this stage. In 1947 some 2 900 establishments accounted for almost 60 per cent of the total industrial output and the industrial labour force, and out of the total number of persons dependent on the industrial sector, no less than 30 per cent were employed by establishments having more than 100 workers. At the same time more than 50 per cent of this activity was concentrated in greater Buenos Aires, which, of course, also had the lion's share of the most advanced forms of industry (for example, over 70 per cent of the establishments having ten or more workers were situated in the town and province of Buenos Aires).

Table 20

LABOUR FORCE EMPLOYED IN THE SECONDARY SECTOR, BY SIZE
 OF EMPLOYING ESTABLISHMENT. PERCENTAGES OF WORKERS IN
 THE SECONDARY SECTOR a/

| Establishments | Percentage of total employed in secondary activities |
|----------------------|--|
| 100 or more workers | 31 |
| 10 to 99 workers | 15 |
| Less than 10 workers | 44 |
| Own-account workers | 10 |
| | <u>100</u> |

a/ Estimated. Cf. Germani, op.cit., page 180.

21. This geographical concentration is reflected in the composition of the economically active population according to the six categories of urban areas referred to in previous paragraphs. Table 21 is of great interest; it shows that many urban centres - especially those with a population of more than 100 000 or between 50 000 and 100 000 - had a "secondary" population that was relatively much smaller than that in greater Buenos Aires but a "tertiary" population that was very high and even comparatively higher than that of Buenos Aires. Since, moreover, the more advanced industrial activities are more heavily concentrated in the Buenos Aires area than are the secondary activities, a high proportion of the "industry" in the centres with over 100 000 or over 50 000 inhabitants would seem to consist in large measure of handicrafts and similar activities.

Table 21
 COMPOSITION OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION ACCORDING
 TO THE SIX CATEGORIES OF URBAN AREAS, 1947 a/

| Area | Percentage urban | Economically active population | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|----------|-------|
| | | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Total |
| 1. Greater Buenos Aires | 98 | 2 | 45 | 53 | 100 |
| 2. 100 000 and over | 92 | 7 | 32 | 61 | 100 |
| 3. 50 000 to 99 999 | 84 | 16 | 27 | 57 | 100 |
| 4. 20 000 to 49 999 | 60 | 39 | 21 | 40 | 100 |
| 5. 2 000 to 19 999 | 34 | 52 | 18 | 30 | 100 |
| 6. Under 2 000 | 9 | 64 | 13 | 23 | 100 |

a/ Unpublished results of the fourth census.

The noteworthy increase in the population of the towns in these intermediate categories cannot, therefore, be regarded as a concomitant or result of their industrial development (or at any rate this cannot be more than a partial explanation). These towns continue, primarily, to be commercial, administrative and political centres. The high proportion of persons employed in "services" is very probably indicative of a high degree of underemployment. As would appear from tables 8,

10 and 13 and graphs I to III, the considerable internal migration into these centres originated not only in other provinces but also in various parts of the province in which the particular centre is situated. At the same time, these centres represent the point of departure for a fair proportion of the internal migrants native to the area who go to Buenos Aires (cf. table 17) and also for immigrants who use these centres merely as a stopping-off point. According to one inquiry, (20) more than one-third of the persons who migrate to Buenos Aires from other parts of Argentina make the journey from their birthplace to their final destination in one or more stages.

Thus some of the internal migration into greater Buenos Aires is likely to be due to underemployment in these medium-sized urban areas. 22. The results of the few inquiries carried out among immigrant groups at Buenos Aires appear to confirm the figures and estimates given above, which indicate that most of the migration is economic in origin. On one inquiry, however, the economic factors that tend to "expel" migrants from one area and "attract" them to another were found to be appreciably reinforced by factors of a different kind.

According to table 21, economic factors are obviously paramount, but in the inquiry in which attitudes were analysed in rather more detail, psychological factors were also fairly frequently in evidence. Indeed, they were present in the other inquiry too, although strictly speaking the two inquiries are not comparable because different methods of computation were used.

This trend towards the towns has quite obviously been encouraged in some measure by increased ease of contact and by the influence of mass communications media which, having undergone their greatest development in recent years, now reach into sectors that until recently had been totally or relatively isolated.

IV. A few demographic characteristics of internal migrants

23. Logically enough, the migrants who move from the interior to other areas are in the adult age-groups although, according to 1947 census, 10 per cent of these migrants were under ten years of age. Sixty per cent

/of the

of the internal migrants residing in greater Buenos Aires were between twenty and fifty-nine years of age. This age distribution is in contrast with the generally higher ages of the immigrants from abroad. The age distribution of internal migrants in other parts of the country is not markedly different.

One of the typical effects of internal and external migration is to alter the masculinity rate. The consequences of immigration from abroad are opposite, in this respect, from those of migration from the interior. The former tends to increase the proportion of men and the latter to reduce it in the centres in which the immigrants settle. As women emigrate to the towns more frequently than the men, the masculinity rate is highest in the urban centres and lowest in the rural areas. The city of Buenos Aires proper has the lowest masculinity ratio in the entire country, viz. 763 men to 1 000 women.

The internal migrants arriving in the towns have a lower level of education than the urban residents (table 25). The proportion of those with any technical or business training also appears to be lower and according to some observers is about one-third (21).

As mentioned previously, the internal migrants come from both urban and rural areas. This fact is reflected in their previous occupations, to the extent that these are known. However, the available data indicate some differences in respect of the proportion formerly employed in agriculture and stock-raising. It should be noted that the data on occupation from the two sources cited (table 26) are not readily comparable.

/Table 21

Table 21

REASONS FOR INTERNAL MIGRATION ACCORDING TO TWO SURVEYS OF
 MIGRANT GROUPS IN GREATER BUENOS AIRES. 1957. a/

| "Isla Maciel" (Buenos Aires) | | | Seven "Villas Miseria" of Buenos Aires | | | | |
|--|----------------------|-------------------------|--|--------|------------|------------|-------|
| Reasons given as "most important" (multiple replies) | Arrived since 1950 % | Arrived prior to 1950 % | Reasons (single reply) | Origin | | | Total |
| | | | | Pam pa | North west | North east | |
| No work (E) | 67 | 74 | Work | 66 | 83 | 73 | 72 |
| Work poorly paid in the provinces (E) | 52 | 72 | Economic considerations | 9 | 9 | 12 | 10 |
| Desire for change | 45 | 44 | Retirement | 7 | 4 | 7 | 6 |
| Offer of a better job (E) | 42 | 41 | Housing | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Many people left | 39 | 39 | Relatives | 5 | 1 | 5 | 3 |
| Attraction of the city | 37 | 24 | Convenience | 5 | - | - | 2 |
| Urging of relatives and friends | 27 | 30 | Other reasons | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| Desire for improved conditions | 19 | 50 | | | | | |
| Illness | 12 | 9 | | | | | |
| Moved with family | 7 | 9 | | | | | |
| Other reasons | 21 | 13 | | | | | |
| Number = | 165 | 46 | Number = | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

a/ V. E. de Pablo and M. Ezcurra: Investigación social en agrupaciones de "Villas Miseria" de la ciudad de Buenos Aires (Social Investigation carried out in various "Villas Miseria" of the city of Buenos Aires). National Housing Commission, 1958.

Germani, G.: Investigación sobre los efectos sociales de la urbanización en un área obrera del Gran Buenos Aires. (Inquiry into the social effects of urbanization in a working-class area of greater Buenos Aires). Institute of Sociology, 1958. Interim report.

Table 22
 POPULATION NATIVE TO THE AREA, INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL MIGRANTS,
 BY AGE-GROUPS. PERCENTAGES. 1947. a/

| Age group | Greater Buenos Aires | | | Rest of country | | |
|-------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|------------------|---|------------------------|
| | Natives of Greater Buenos Aires | Internal immigrants | Immigrants from abroad | Native residents | Argentine migrants from other districts | Immigrants from abroad |
| 0 - 9 | 26 | 12 | 1 | 30 | 10 | 1 |
| 10 - 19 | 21 | 24 | 3 | 24 | 19 | 3 |
| 20 - 39 | 37 | 46 | 23 | 30 | 43 | 21 |
| 40 - 59 | 14 | 15 | 52 | 13 | 22 | 50 |
| 60 and over | 3 | 3 | 21 | 3 | 5 | 25 |
| Unknown | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

a/ Fourth National Census. Unpublished data.

Caution should be exercised, however, in basing conclusions on the education and previous occupations of the migrants from the interior. Although the majority come from the poorest strata of the population, there may be a certain proportion, not known but possibly substantial, comprised of persons from the middle social and economic level. This is particularly likely with respect to greater Buenos Aires. The scant data available and given here refer only to the poorest sector of internal migration.

/Table 23

Table 23
 MASCULINITY RATES IN AREAS OF VARYING
 URBAN DENSITY. 1947. a/

| Urban centres | Total population | Argentiniens | Aliens |
|---|------------------|--------------|--------|
| Greater Buenos Aires | 978 | 908 | 1 203 |
| 100 000 and over | 965 | 910 | 1 363 |
| 50 000 to 99 999 | 921 | 887 | 1 348 |
| 20 000 to 49 999 | 949 | 901 | 1 286 |
| 10 000 to 19 999 | 976 | 942 | 1 345 |
| 5 000 to 9 999 | 960 | 918 | 1 379 |
| 2 000 to 4 999 | 1 023 | 970 | 1 579 |
| Under 2 000 (and population living in rural areas) | 1 198 | 1 143 | 1 884 |
| Total | 1 051 | 1 000 | 1 385 |

a/ Fourth National Census (unpublished data).

Owing to a serious omission in the 1947 census, viz., the fact that the origin of some 30 per cent of the immigrants is not specified, the proportion of persons born in the various districts of the country and residing in greater Buenos Aires cannot be accurately determined. Of the 70 per cent for whom this information is available, the majority were born in the provinces of Buenos Aires (excluding parts of greater Buenos Aires), Cordoba and Santa Fe, that is, in the most developed provinces as compared with the rest of the country. The composition by origin of the immigrants residing in the "Villas Miseria" differs substantially in this regard, since the majority in this case came from the less developed areas.

V. Social consequences of the urbanization process

24. In attempting to appraise the social consequences of urbanization in Argentina, it should be borne in mind that this process - although it has taken on some new features in recent years - is not new and was preceded by other phases of intensive urban immigration and rapid urban growth. A study

/of the

of the effects of urbanization can cover a wide range of topics: changes in social structure, particularly in social classes; changes in the political and trade-union systems; modification of other aspects of social organization, in particular the family and the status of women, and resulting attitudes; changes in the structure of consumption and in income levels; changes in opportunities; phenomena of social disorganization: crime, mental illness, suicides, etc.; other "social problems"; housing; child labour; working hours; adaptation to factory discipline; etc. This is unfortunately a field in which, even more than in any other, the available information and studies will not permit anything beyond a rather approximate description of the changes that have occurred. The considerations which follow will necessarily be fragmentary and vague.

25. The social problems characteristic of urbanization and industrialization made their appearance in Argentina at the end of the last century and became particularly acute during the first decade of this century. During that period, the most primitive forms of labour relations, such as payment in kind, gradually disappeared from the littoral, although that was not the case in some regions of the interior where these practices were current until very recently. It was also at that time that the system of the worker's ownership of his tools disappeared. "When the first factories of the customary type appeared in Argentina", says Dorfman (22), "they had all the features of the European factory system at its inception" - long hours of industrial work for women and children (up to "six or seven years of age"), very low wages, unsanitary conditions in the factories and dangerous equipment with no safety devices. As the external immigration at the time was predominantly from rural areas, it is reasonable to assume that the dual impact of adaptation to a foreign country and to an urban pattern of life had a profoundly disturbing effect which, during that initial period, was offset solely by the voluntary organizations which were established by the immigrants themselves and which in the course of time became very important.

Table 24

DISTRICT OF BIRTH OF MIGRANTS TO GREATER BUENOS AIRES. GENERAL DATA (1947 CENSUS) AND RESIDENTS OF "VILLAS MISERIA". 1957. a/

| Provinces and territories of origin | Total (1947 census) | Villas Miseria | | |
|---|---------------------|----------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| | | "Maciel" | 7 "Villas Miseria" (capital) | Villa de Lanús |
| Littoral | | | | |
| Buenos Aires, Córdoba) | 42 | 21 | 23 | 20 |
| Santa Fe) | | | | |
| Corrientes, E. Rios | 11 | 46 | 23 | 30 |
| Northwest | | | | |
| Catamarca, Tucumán, Santiago del Estero, La Rioja, Salta, Jujuy | 8 | 6 | 46 | 26 |
| Centre and West) | | | | |
| San Luis, San Juan) | 4 | - | 2 | 2 |
| Mendoza) | | | | |
| Northeast | | | | |
| Chaco, Formosa, Misiones | 1 | 2 | 5 | 17 |
| South | | | | |
| La Pampa, Neuquén) | 3 | - | 1 | 3 |
| Rio Negro, Chubut) | | | | |
| Santa Cruz, C. Rivadavia,) | | | | |
| Tierra del Fuego) | | | | |
| Not known | 31 | - | - | 2 |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

a/ V. de Pablo, op.cit.; G. Germani, op.cit.; J.P. Graciarena: Una "Villa Miseria" en Lanús. Institute of Sociology of Argentina and Buenos Aires (in publication); Fourth National Census.

Table 25

LEVEL OF EDUCATION AMONG GROUPS OF MIGRANTS FROM THE INTERIOR. 1957. a/

| Level of education | "Maciel" | 7 "Villas Miseria" (capital) | Villa de Lanús |
|---------------------------------------|----------|------------------------------|----------------|
| No education | 13 | 12 | 12 |
| Up to second year (elementary school) | 24 | 32 | 32 |
| From third to fifth year | 40 | 41 | 27 |
| Sixth year | 18 | 12 | 10 |
| Secondary education | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| No precise information | 1 | 2 | 17 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

a/ See table 24.

Table 26
 PREVIOUS OCCUPATIONS OF GROUPS OF MIGRANTS
 FROM THE INTERIOR. 1957. a/

| Classification number | Occupational groups (adapted from the COTA classification) | "Maciel" (Greater Buenos Aires) | | 7 "Villas Miseria" (Greater Buenos Aires) |
|-----------------------|--|---------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| | | Migrated since 1950 | Migrated before 1950 | |
| 4-5 | Farming, livestock-breeding, forestry, mining | 16 | 19 | 42 |
| 8 | Manual workers not included in other categories | 12 | 12 | 2 |
| 7 | Craftsmen, factory workers and related occupations | 36 | 12 | 35 |
| 6-9 | Transport and service occupations | 16 | 18 | 3 |
| 2-3 | Clerical, sales and related occupations | 7 | 15 | 1 |
| 10 | Other workers and persons whose occupations are unknown | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| | Unemployed | 4 | 15 | 8 |

a/ See Table 24.

This was also the time when the broad family groups characteristic of traditional society gave way to the isolated family nucleus that is typical of modern urban society. The size of the family unit became steadily smaller, decreasing from 6.05 in 1869, to 5.48 in 1895 and 5.24 in 1914 (23). The birth rate also dropped during this period, there being 761 children up to five years of age per 1 000 women of reproductive age in 1895 as against 626 in 1914, i.e., a decrease of 16 per cent. This was a direct effect of urbanization and related factors, and the drop was greatest at Buenos Aires.

Economic changes, immigration from abroad and the growth of the towns effected a radical transformation in Argentine society during that period.

/Reference has

Reference has already been made to the effect on the class structure and to the emergence of a large middle class consisting not only of merchants and manufacturers but also of employees, professional persons and technicians. The social mobility created by the new opportunities was undoubtedly very intense. This situation, together with the formation of an urban industrial proletariat, had various political repercussions. The trade unions came into being and gathered strength, and labour conflicts became particularly intense and frequent to an extent comparable only to the turmoil in the years subsequent to 1945. As has already been stated many times, the political changes of that period, and in particular, the participation of new social strata in the exercise of power are closely related to all these events, and particularly to the growth of the towns and the internal changes in their population (24).

Table 28
 STRIKES, STRIKERS AND WORKING DAYS LOST.
 FIVE-YEAR PERIODS. 1907 TO 1949.

| Periods | Number of strikes | Strikers (thousands) | Working days (thousands) |
|-----------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1907-1909 | 162 | 62 | 345 |
| 1910-1914 | 132 | 187 | 422 |
| 1915-1919 | 169 | 123 | 1 568 |
| 1920-1924 | 116 | 115 | 1 397 |
| 1925-1929 | 92 | 30 | 290 |
| 1930-1934 | 73 | 20 | 568 |
| 1935-1939 | 71 | 43 | 994 |
| 1940-1944 | 66 | 15 | 247 |
| 1945-1949 | 78 | 245 | 1 939 |

To summarize, it may be said that during these first stages of urbanization, there was established not only the demographic basis of the country's large towns - and particularly the metropolitanization of Buenos Aires - but also the pattern of urban culture in the modern sense and the /assimilation (often

assimilation (often far from smooth) into that pattern of the masses of immigrants from abroad.

26. The social conditions in which the most recent stages of urbanization took place were certainly different from those which prevailed during the earlier stages. There was also a difference in the type of immigrants to the towns, in that before they were foreigners, but this time were Argentinians, although in both cases they were partly of rural origin and partly natives of small and medium-sized urban centres. The effects of the large-scale immigration of the last two decades are, to some extent, comparable with those of the earlier immigration from the point of view of the changes they brought about in the social structure and their repercussions in the political and trade-union fields.

One differentiating factor, undoubtedly, is the existence today of a considerable amount of social legislation and, above all, an ideological climate very different from that which prevailed at the beginning of the century.

The effects on the immigrants of the change in their way of life and the problems of their adaptation to the conditions of an urban society obviously vary according to the origins and the social and cultural characteristics of the immigrants and the circumstances of their immigration.

One of the phenomena which, in Argentina as elsewhere, has been the chief, if not the sole, object of public attention has been the concentration of internal immigrants in emergency housing areas which, at Buenos Aires, have been called "Villas Miseria". Although this social and human problem deserves and even demands considerable attention, it is not, from the point of view of the "social effects of industrialization and urbanization", the only sector which should be taken into account. Consideration must also be given to the rest of the immigrant population from rural or less urban areas and the manner in which they have adapted themselves to the new surroundings. As previously pointed out, the immigrant population, at least in the case of greater Buenos Aires, is very mixed as regards its origins and presumably also its social and cultural characteristics. The population of the "Villas Miseria" should therefore be regarded as an extreme example of the "social problems of urbanization".

27. There appears to be no doubt that immigration has meant an increase in real income for the persons migrating to greater Buenos Aires. The level of wages in that area is, of course, higher than in the remainder of the country, but no direct information is available concerning the level of living in the interior as compared with Buenos Aires (25). On the whole, however, from the comments of observers and from what is known of the views of the immigrants themselves, the level of living appears to be higher at Buenos Aires. The same cannot be said of other towns which, as mentioned earlier, have been the point of departure for migration to Buenos Aires. The income level of recently immigrated families (those living in the "Villas Miseria") is lower than that of the earlier immigrants and, of course, than that of working families native to the area. The proportion of unemployed is greater among the recent immigrants (about 10 per cent), than among the native inhabitants of a similar economic level (about 1 or 2 per cent). There is no way, however, of determining to what extent this unemployment is of economic origin or is due to other causes. The majority of the immigrants find work within the first fortnight, and some of them obtain employment immediately.

At Buenos Aires and in other Argentine towns, rapid urbanization, along with other factors, has caused an acute housing crisis. Since the enactment of rent-control legislation, the construction of rental accommodation has practically ceased. By far most of the new dwellings are built to be sold and are generally intended to meet the needs of the middle class. The housing situation, both in rural and urban, was already bad in the two previous decades. The 1938 Census of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry presented a far from encouraging picture of rural housing (26), and some years later, in 1943, the School Census revealed that approximately 20 per cent of the families in the city of Buenos Aires lived in a single room and that this percentage reached 43 per cent in the rural areas.

Table 29
PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES IN EACH AREA LIVING
IN A SINGLE ROOM a/

| | Percentage of families living in a single room |
|------------------|---|
| Entire country | 30 |
| Federal capital | 19 |
| All urban areas | 23 |
| Semi-urban areas | 38 |
| Rural areas | 43 |

a/ Fourth National School Census, 1943, Vol I.

It was later estimated that 40 per cent of the dwellings at Buenos Aires consisted of one room. For more than a decade, housing areas consisting of dwellings which are built with all sorts of surplus material, are totally unsuited for occupation and lack the most elementary sanitary facilities have sprung up not only in greater Buenos Aires but also in many smaller urban centres. The distribution of these areas appears to have been based not only on the degree of attraction of these centres but also on the routes followed by migrants coming from nearby districts. In 1956, the number of persons living in such areas at Buenos Aires was estimated to be about 112 000 but is believed actually to have been higher (27). Although these flimsily built developments are generally thought to represent the first stage in the life of immigrants after their arrival, it has been found that in some of these areas in the Buenos Aires region, the proportion of those who moved in before 1950 ranged from 12 to 57 per cent (28). It was also found that the population of some of these developments included a high proportion of natives of greater Buenos Aires (approximately 40 per cent in some cases). In the housing problem, as in the other "social problems" created by urbanization, the "Villas Miseria" represent an extreme case among the substantial proportion of urban inhabitants who live in extremely unfavourable conditions.

Table 27

NUMBER OF CHILDREN UP TO FIVE YEARS OF AGE PER 1 000 WOMEN FROM
 FOURTEEN TO FIFTY YEARS OF AGE. ENTIRE COUNTRY AND CITY OF
 BUENOS AIRES. 1895-1947 a/

| Year | Entire country | City of Buenos Aires |
|------|----------------|----------------------|
| 1895 | 761 | 600 |
| 1914 | 626 | 413 |
| 1947 | 498 | 256 |

a/ Second, Third and Fourth National Censuses.

28. From the point of view of vital statistics, Argentina has for some time presented the characteristic features of a highly urbanized society. The decrease in the birth and death rates, which began in the first stage of the urbanization process, continued until 1942/43 when - as happened also in those countries where this process is more advanced - a slight trend in the opposite direction was first noticed among the urban middle classes (29). There is thus a considerable difference between urban and rural fertility in Argentina, and the age structure of the population exhibits the characteristic consequences in both cases, particularly a gradual aging. It is important to note that the birth rate of the working class at Buenos Aires follows the same curve as that of the middle class, although with a certain time-lag. There are also some differences as between the urban and rural infant mortality rates.

The family in the extended sense can be said no longer to exist in Argentina, the great majority of both rural and urban families now being of the isolated "nucleus" type. In 1947 the average family consisted of 4.95 members in the rural and 4.03 in the urban areas (3.29 at Buenos Aires). These differences are mainly attributable to the number of children (i.e., the differential birth-rate and not to the number of relatives living with a family under the same roof, this latter number being approximately the same in both areas - twenty-nine persons per 100 urban and thirty-four

/persons per

persons per 100 rural families of the nucleus type (30).

29. No information is available concerning the changes in family life and customs that have been a concomitant of urban living and industrialization. Apart from the gradual spread of birth control as revealed by demographic statistics, it is generally recognized that there have been internal changes in family relations tending towards a greater degree of equality between spouses and between children and their parents. The position of women has also changed in conformity with the other developments. A substantial proportion of them work, particularly before marriage. At Buenos Aires, for instance, almost half the women between the ages of eighteen and twenty-nine were working in 1947. Moreover, the type of work mainly done by women has changed considerably since 1914. Whereas formerly more than 26 per cent of the women of Buenos Aires worked in domestic service and other home occupations (e.g., dressmaking), this proportion had decreased to 14 per cent by 1947. On the other hand, the proportion of women engaged in industry and commerce almost doubled, and the number of female students increased four-fold. Although divorce is not permitted in Argentina, the changes in family life have undoubtedly lessened family stability. At Buenos Aires, for example, the number of "separated" persons doubled between 1936 and 1947 (31). These various conditions are the culmination of a process of change in traditional society that began in the second half of the last century.

In the light of the theory that urban life has a disorganizing effect, the impact of urbanization on immigrants from the interior, particularly those from the less developed areas (e.g., those living in the "Villas Miseria") is not quite the same as might have been expected. This is due to the type of family life which is predominant in the less developed areas of Argentina, both rural and urban. A great many marriages in those areas have not been sanctioned either by the law or by the church. As a rule, these are entirely normal families which simply do not consider the legal sanction as being an absolute social necessity, but there is also known to be a certain proportion of incomplete or separated families. The proportion of illegitimate children is very high, reaching 40 and even 55 per cent, in some provinces. It is not exceptional to find family units which include
/children of

children of different fathers and frequently the mother is the only stable element in the home (32). The immigrant families tend to follow this same pattern in the towns. According to some surveys, only 60 per cent of the marriages are legal and 20 per cent of the family units include children of different fathers. These conditions are found much less frequently among native urban families at the same social and economic level. What is important, however, is the apparent tendency for the more stable patterns of family life gradually to take hold even among the immigrants. A comparison of families on the basis of length of residence has revealed a steadily declining curve in the number of consensual unions and of families with children of different fathers. Also apparent are changes in the family climate in the sense that there is more often a relationship of equality between the various family members and a greater concern and feeling of responsibility towards the children. Together with these trends, there is a tendency among the immigrant families with a longer period of residence towards smaller families and fewer children and a more frequent acceptance of voluntary family limitation and contraceptive practices (33).

This adaptation to urban conditions, while generally favourable, has probably had its cost in the form of individuals and families that have suffered from the effects of disorganization. However, the conditions prevailing in the various areas from which these people come make it difficult to distinguish between effects resulting from the reproduction in the city of a situation previously existing in the place of origin and the actual negative effects of the new environment.

30. It is very difficult to evaluate the cost of urbanization in terms of such other aspects of social disorganization as delinquency - particularly juvenile delinquency and problems of minors in general - mental and other disease, prostitution and so on. Observers are in general agreement that this cost is high, and there are, of course, many good reasons for believing this to be so. However, a balanced picture of the situation can be obtained only on the basis of a general study.

As in every other metropolitan zone, there are in greater Buenos Aires areas of social disorganization, the number and population of which may have /increased. The

increased. The "Villas Miseria" have been mentioned as providing an atmosphere particularly suited to these pathological aspects of social life. However, although the observations that have been made reveal a greater incidence of the above-mentioned ills in these areas, the situation varies greatly from one area to the next. In some it is very high (areas of complete social disorganization), while in others - which represent the majority - it is moderately or extremely low. In general it can be stated that among the immigrants, as compared with the native inhabitants of the same social and economic level, there is a greater proportion of minors who give up primary schooling before completion, there is less possibility of family education and there is a greater risk of acquiring a typical or truly delinquent form of behaviour.

It should be pointed out, however, that in this as in other respects the situation among long-established immigrant groups residing outside the "Villas Miseria" is better. Child labour, being prohibited for children of fourteen years of age and strictly regulated for those of fifteen to sixteen years, is rarely encountered and even then is sporadic in character. A certain amount of prostitution has been found in the "Villas Miseria", but in this, as in other forms of delinquency, the differences observed between one area and the next are due to the particular environmental circumstances. For example, the "Villas Miseria" that are situated near the port area or in previously existing delinquency areas provide an environment favourable to organized prostitution and frequently serve a base for recruitment among the recent immigrants. It is nevertheless important to note how the incidence of this phenomenon and of crime in general varies from area to area.

Some figures are available concerning the extent of crime at Buenos Aires. As will be seen from table 30, there has been an increase in crime - in the case of juveniles, particularly between the years 1935 and 1949, and in the case of adults apparently beginning in 1945. Being very meagre, these data should be regarded as indicative merely of general trends.

/Table 30

Table 30

CRIME RATES AT BUENOS AIRES. ARRESTS OF PERSONS OF BOTH SEXES UP TO THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN YEARS AND OVER EIGHTEEN YEARS, PER 100 000 INHABITANTS. OFFENCES AGAINST PERSONS AND OFFENCES AGAINST PROPERTY. a/

| Years | Juveniles | | Adults | |
|-----------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| | Against persons | Against property | Against persons | Against property |
| 1929 - 34 | 12.3 | 9.7 | - | - |
| 1935 - 39 | 22.6 | 13.2 | 192 | 74 |
| 1940 - 44 | 18.4 | 12.0 | 184 | 72 |
| 1945 - 49 | 12.2 | 12.0 | 212 | 106 |
| 1950 - 54 | 8.0 | 10.0 | 187 | 100 |

a/ National Statistical Office

31. The fact of most far-reaching consequence in the process of urbanization and industrialization has no doubt been the profound transformation which has been wrought in the social structure, that is to say, the changes in the class structure and in the relative importance of the various classes and the integration of people from the under-developed sections of the country into a modern urban culture. As previously pointed out, there is, in spite of a number of differences, a certain similarity in this regard between the phase of intensive urbanization which occurred between 1895 and 1914 and the more recent phase. From the point of view of participation in the national life, these may be considered as two stages in the process of integration which Mannheim has called "fundamental democratization". The first phase involved the integration of foreign immigrants or, more particularly, of their children and the task of incorporating in the national life the new social classes created by urbanization, agricultural development and the beginnings of industrialization. The recent phase involved the integration of a recently immigrated urban proletariat - a process which in large measure has represented the recent history of the country.

/NOTES

NOTES

- (1) These estimates differ somewhat from those published by G. GERMANI in Estructura Social de la Argentina, Buenos Aires, Raigal 1955. The figures given there were 72 000 for the period 1936-1943 and 117 000 for the period 1943-1947, the resulting average thus being slightly higher (88 000). The present figures are partly based on other unpublished data of the National Statistical Office and on other reports.
- (2) Estimates based on the increase in the number of names on the electoral lists and other sources.
- (3) C.C. TAYLOR: Rural Life in Argentina, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1948, pages 143-148.
- (4) R.O. ORTIZ: Historia Económica de la Argentina, Buenos Aires, Raigal, 1955; Vol. II, chap. IV and VII.
- (5) A. BUNGE: Una Nueva Argentina, Buenos Aires, Kraft, 1940.
- (6) R.O. ORTIZ: Ibid.
- (7) R.O. ORTIZ: Ibid.
- (8) A. DORFMAN: Historia de la Industria Argentina, Buenos Aires, Losada, 1942; pages 88 and 139.
- (9) A. DORFMAN: Evolución Industrial Argentina, Buenos Aires, Losada, 1942; page 22.
- (10) Ibid., pages 23-24.
- (11) R.O. ORTIZ: op. cit., pages 104-106; 220-223; C.C. TAYLOR: op. cit., pages 349-350.
- (12) A. DORMAN: op. cit., chap. II.
- (13) ECLA: El desarrollo económico en la Argentina, 1958; pages 55-56.
- (14) Estimates of the Dirección Nacional de Economía Agropecuaria (National Office for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry) in ECLA, op. cit., part II, pages 276-279.
- (15) C.C. TAYLOR: op. cit., chap. XII.
- (16) H.G.E. GILBERTI: "La producción agrícola en el decenio 1940-1949", in Cursos y Conferencias, 1950: 437-438.
- (17) A.H. GARCIA ALLER: "El hombre y el suelo en tres provincias andinas", in Anales del Instituto Etnico Nacional 1951; Vol. IV, No. 1: pages 53-58.

- (18) C. MOYANO LLERENA: "Las migraciones internas en la Argentina" in Revista de Economía Argentina, 1943: 109-144.
- (19) Cf. UNITED NATIONS: Report on the World Social Situation, New York, 1957, page 157.
- (20) G. GERMANI: Investigaciones sobre los efectos; cit.
- (21) Loc. cit.
- (22) A. DORFMAN: Historia, cit., chap. III, V and VI.
- (23) G. GERMANI: Estructura social, cit., chap. IV.
- (24) Cf. S. BAGU: "La clase media en la Argentina" in "Materiales para el Estudio de la Clase Media en la América Latina", Washington, Pan American Union, 1950, Vol. I.
- (25) The published surveys are very old (approximately fifteen years); V.E. DI PABLO, op. cit., gives instances of family budgets of inhabitants of the "Villas Miseria". Other documentation does exist, but there are really no adequate data on this subject.
- (26) Censo Nacional Agropecuario (National Census of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry), 1937.
- (27) COMISION NACIONAL DE LA VIVIENDA: Plan de Emergencia, 1956.
- (28) Surveys, as cited, of the "Villas Miseria".
- (29) G. GERMANI: Estructura Social, op. cit.
- (30) Fourth National Census; unpublished tables.
- (31) Fourth National Census and Fourth General Census of Buenos Aires.
- (32) Surveys as cited.
- (33) G. GERMANI: Investigación, cit.