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INQUIRY INTO THE SOCIAL EFFECTS OF URBANIZATION
IN A WORKING-CLASS SECTOR OF
GREATER BUENOS AIRES

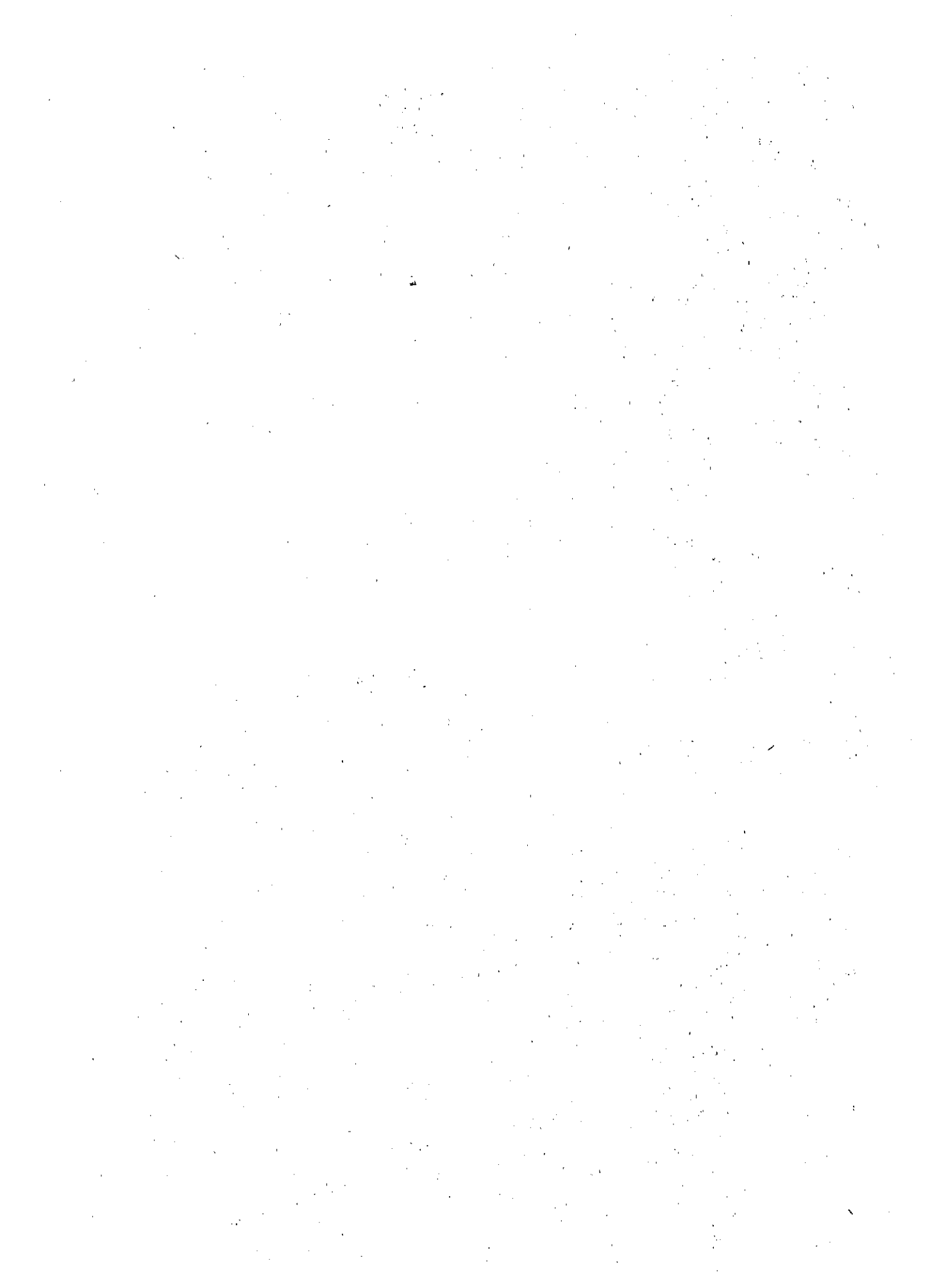
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PRELIMINARY NOTE

This report has been specially prepared for the Latin-American seminar on urbanization organized by UNESCO and the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America. It is based on a preliminary breakdown of data obtained from an inquiry conducted in a small working-class sector within the Greater Buenos Aires area. The inquiry comprises:

- A. An intensive general survey of selected groups of residents of the district: recent migrants, earlier migrants and city-born residents.
- B. A survey covering all the pupils of the school serving the area studied. This also includes a comparative study of the intellectual level, type of personality and problems of adaptation of the children of migrant and city-born families.
- C. A health survey of two groups (city-born and migrant selected from the cases under A above).
- D. An inquiry into the diet of a group of families in categories A and C.

Survey A was undertaken by the Argentine and Buenos Aires Institute of Sociology (La Plata) and by the Institute of Sociology of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters (Buenos Aires).

Survey B was conducted by the latter body. Both were under the direction of Professor Gino Germani and the staff of the two institutes. Survey C was undertaken by the Chair of Social Medicine of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Buenos Aires and was under the direction of Dr. Guido Ruiz Moreno. Survey D was carried out by the National Institute of Nutrition, under the direction of Dr. Boris Rotman.

This report is based wholly on information obtained from Survey A. It is in the nature of a preliminary analysis only, since:

- (1) The results had to be condensed as much as possible in order to keep the report to the desired size;
- (2) The report is based on a provisional tabulation of the data in which much detail needed for a more ambitious analysis had to be omitted. An effort will be made to incorporate all the information from the various surveys in the final report.

Chapter I

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY AND METHODS USED

1. Scope

The objectives of this inquiry can be defined as follows:

- (a) To describe a group of persons who have migrated to Greater Buenos Aires from the interior of the country;
- (b) To study the causes and circumstances of the migration.
- (c) To observe certain aspects of the impact of urban life on the migrants;
- (d) To ascertain the differences between groups of migrants of varying length of residence in the city, and also between such migrants and groups of city-born residents.

The scope of this study is very wide and covers both facts and attitudes bearing on many aspects of family life, work, social participation and consumption, income and housing.

An inquiry of this kind, covering a very wide field of study, with a vast number of variable factors, cannot claim to do more than prepare the way for other work by providing useful data for the improvement of concepts, hypotheses and methods of work. It is an undertaking calculated to throw valuable light on a field about which there is an almost complete lack of knowledge in this country. At the same time it has definite limitations, and these must not be overlooked in any assessment of its value. One insurmountable difficulty has been the want of basic anthropological and sociological studies of the cultural and social structure of the regions from which the migrants originally came. Had there been adequate and detailed studies of this kind they would have provided a starting point for the inquiry. The only material available for determining the pattern and trends of the process of cultural assimilation was too scanty to permit a comparison between the migrants established in Isla Maciel and groups living in the regions from which these migrants came originally. This made a change of approach necessary and is one of the reasons why the emphasis has been shifted to a comparison between migrants at different stages of cultural assimilation and city-born residents of Greater Buenos Aires.

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If the comparative groups seem to be of a rather "artificial" character, it should be realized that they were designed specifically for the study of family units. The heterogeneous nature of this cross-section of the population, the many variables which had to be brought into some kind of order to establish a measure of comparison on a really sound basis, and, lastly, the cost of carrying out a semi-experimental project in this field, naturally made the attainment of this objective extremely difficult, so that it was disregarded for the purposes of the study at this stage. What has actually been produced, therefore, is rather in the nature of a preliminary picture, although the use of comparative groups opens up interesting possibilities of analysis.

2. Population groups studied

For the purposes of the inquiry, a small urban area was chosen on the outskirts of the Federal Capital to the south in the Avellaneda sector of Buenos Aires. This district, known as Isla Maciel, lies between the Riachuelo and what was once a stream now diverted, the Maciel, which at one stage separated the district from the rest of the area, forming an "island". This is an area purely working-class in occupational structure, organization and tradition, and contains two clearly differentiated zones. One of these has the usual characteristics of urbanization and is composed of modest homes - mostly rented houses of wood and corrugated iron. Those who live there are either families of city-born residents of Greater Buenos Aires or migrants of long standing; the other zone is a conglomeration of rough and ready home-made shanties - a typical shanty-town (villa miseria) which has grown up over the last fifteen years and is inhabited mainly by migrants from the provinces of the interior.

Isla Maciel was chosen as being particularly suitable for the purpose. A ready-made base was provided by the Centre for Integrated Community Development of the University Extension Department of the National University of Buenos Aires, which had asked for a survey for social welfare purposes; and the district had a population sufficiently varied to give scope for comparative study. The existence of this centre as a means of establishing good relations with the population was

one of the decisive factors. It should be realized not only that this was the first study of its kind to be undertaken in Argentina, but that conditions at the time were such as to make communication between different sectors of the population difficult and sometimes impossible in the conditions which followed the events of September 1955. All the work - contact-making, preliminary surveys and field work - had to be undertaken in election periods (there were two elections between the end of July 1957 and the end of February 1958) and was interrupted by all kinds of political and social disputes and strikes. Besides this, the population of the villas lived in constant fear of being evicted and various circumstances (such as searching of private homes and house-to-house counts of residents by armed police, etc.) did not tend to allay such fears. Much effort and time had to be spent on building up good relations with the local people. With the help of frequent visits to social organizations and their leaders and of careful encouragement of the right psychological attitude on the part of the people, the work was brought to a satisfactory conclusion. We found it advisable, however, to avoid any very conspicuous activities and to use unobtrusive methods.

The results cannot be considered as "typical" of the migrant population from the interior. To obtain such results a completely different approach would have been necessary. The actual proportion of migrants from other provinces in the Argentine population of Greater Buenos Aires is estimated at 36 per cent of the total number, i.e. some 2.3 million persons. It is also a fact that this section of the population is the result of a flow of migration which has gone on without interruption (though it has been at its highest over the past twenty years); and it can be assumed that it is composed of a wide variety of groups and social strata, of which the working-class element, although the most numerous, is only a part. It will be evident that the present inquiry relates solely to working-class migration and there is no question of it being "typical" except of that element of the population. Moreover, the form of the inquiry (a comparison of selected groups in relation to certain criteria) and the method used to select the district, ruled out any such purpose. However, if the district were wholly untypical or

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marginal in character, an allowance would have to be made for this in the evaluation of the results of the inquiry. An attempt has therefore been made to compare some of the features observed in the selected groups in the Maciel area with such data as are at hand concerning similar segments of the population. The data available come from two surveys on villas miseria in the City of Buenos Aires and Lamís (Greater Buenos Aires) and on a section of Buenos Aires consisting of old buildings occupied for the most part by working-class people who are city-born residents or migrants of long standing (and therefore comparable to the urbanized part of Maciel). Two considerations arise here: one is that there are wide variations between the different villas miseria, despite certain common features (such as the predominance of migrants) and the data given in Table 1 is an average for seven groups investigated in Buenos Aires. The other is that neither of these surveys was undertaken for the purposes of research, nor were they carried out on a sound critical basis: they have merely been used a posteriori for study purposes. Moreover, both give information of a general nature only.

A comparison based on Table 1 shows that the Maciel district comes more or less within the range of variation to be found in the other districts. The biggest difference is in the occupations held previous to migration. We find a higher proportion of persons of clearly rural origin in the other villas, where the figures for "primary" occupations range from a maximum of 54 per cent of the male population to a maximum of 26 per cent (the figure for Maciel being 16 per cent). Differences in education, though very much smaller, point in the same direction. It is exceedingly difficult, however, to state at this stage what ratio the "rural" element actually bears to the migrant working-class population as a whole, since it can be assumed that there has been quite considerable migration from intermediate urban districts where there is under-employment. In other respects the difference is small or even points in the other direction (for instance, the number of "legal marriages" in Maciel is larger, although this is rather a "rural" feature. There are no apparent differences in the two urbanized districts (Calle Córdoba and Isla Maciel) except for the higher educational level of the "Córdoba" group (which is actually rather out of line with other characteristics of this group).

Table 1

SOME COMPARATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GROUPS SURVEYED AND OF SIMILAR GROUPS

Characteristics	Villas Miseria (Migrants)			Urbanized areas (city-born residents)	
	Maciel	Seven villas Buenos Aires	Villa of Lands	Maciel (Isla)	Calle Córdoba (Buenos Aires)
Persons per family	4.5	4.1	-	3.6	3.2
Persons of 18 years of age and upwards per family	2.2	1.9	2.2	2.4	2.1
Legal marriages (045 100 families)	49.0	68.0	-	99	94
Persons per room	2.7	2.4	-	1.4	1.4
Average family income	2 290	2 100	1 950	2 600	2 700
Persons gainfully employed	37.5	37.8	-	45.0	49.7
Average age of population in years	22.6		32.2	31.3	
Male population	1 300	1 200	1 356	1 181	1 180
Previous job (males)			-	-	-
Primary occupations	16	42	-	-	-
Other forms of manual labour	12	2	-	-	-
Skilled and unskilled work	36	35	-	-	-
Miscellaneous	32	13	-	-	-
Education (14 and over)					
None	13	12	12	2	-
First to fifth grades	64	73	59	45	-
Sixth grade and over	22	13	12	49	99
Place or origin (Argentinians)					
Coast	67	46	50	-	-
North east	6	46	26	-	-
Other regions	27	8	22	-	-

3. Selection of cases

For the purposes of the inquiry groups of Argentine migrants had to be selected who had originally come from the interior and had lived in Greater Buenos Aires for various periods and at least one group of city-born residents. The decision to select these groups from a working class area in one part of which urban development had followed the usual municipal pattern while in another part there was a villa miseria was taken not merely because it would be a simple matter to find a higher proportion of recent migrants in it, but because the secondary aim was to take account of the kind of urban environment in which recent migrants were living. Hence, a further factor affecting the formation of the groups, in addition to their origin and date of migration to the city, was the type of district in which they lived (urbanized section or villa). Finally this comparison had to be made within a working-class economic and social framework, following the principles mentioned in the previous paragraph. To sum up, four main variables had to be considered in the selection of the groups:

(a) Origin (interior or Greater Buenos Aires); (b) Date of migration to Greater Buenos Aires; (c) Place of residence (normal urban district or villa); (d) Comparable economic and social level in keeping with the basic scheme of the inquiry.

As regards point (d) the basic scheme of the inquiry ruled out any question of strict parity of level, since one of the aims of the project was precisely to establish the differences in level between migrants and city-born residents (for instance, the opportunities which the latter have for social advancement). The requirements of "comparability" of level were therefore regarded as satisfactorily met by the very choice of what was a typically working-class district, although fine distinctions did in fact exist in the composition of its population. Clearly therefore, in speaking of comparable level, we refer to a broad classification other than a strict definition.

Once the boundaries of the survey area had been laid down, the correct approach would perhaps have been first to undertake a complete census of its population. But shortage of personnel and equipment and

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the over-riding need to avoid any large-scale measure which would interfere unduly with the life of the community (because of the difficult circumstances mentioned previously) made such an approach impracticable. As the inquiry related exclusively to Argentinians who were either city-dwellers or migrants from the interior, use was made of the new electoral return lists obtained on the basis of the universal and compulsory re-registration carried out a few months previously. These are lists of persons of Argentine nationality of eighteen years of age and upwards residing in the district. Actually, the electoral district (the circuito) also included some city blocks outside the boundaries of the selected area. Accordingly, these were ignored. On the basis of these lists and by process of sampling at regular intervals, another list was drawn up and those on it were included in the preliminary survey, to obtain the basic data needed for a selection based on the date of migration.

It must be emphasized that although this procedure may be acceptable for the selection of "Argentinians of eighteen years of age and upwards" it cannot be applied to the selection of family units (since it is probable that there are considerable differences in the number of members of families included in the electoral lists. Nevertheless, we decided to adopt the procedure^{1/} in the light of the various physical and psychological considerations already mentioned and because the purpose of the inquiry was to study groups constructed in accordance with fixed and objective criteria.

On the basis of the preliminary interviewing (origin and date of arrival of head of family, family composition, occupation) the intensive study covered the following: (a) the whole group of city-born residents with their families (entirely or predominantly city-born) residing in the old urbanized area (referred to as "Isla"); (b) all the migrant group

1/ This procedure should tend to increase the number of families with members of eighteen years of age and upwards. A comparison with the information provided by the two surveys mentioned in the previous paragraphs shows that the average number of persons of this age varies from 1.8 and 2.2 per family in the villas miseria of the Federal Capital and Lanús, and is 2.2 in the "Villa Maciel". In the urbanized section of "calle Córdoba" it is 2.2; and it is slightly higher - 2.4 - in the urbanized part of Maciel.

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with their families (entirely or predominantly migrants) who arrived in Greater Buenos Aires between 1946 and 1957, whether resident in the Isla or Villa. The reason for using the word "predominantly" is that the area is an extremely heterogeneous one in respect of both origin and date of arrival (as is the case everywhere in Greater Buenos Aires) and its use implies that amongst the families included there are some which are not entirely homogeneous in this respect. This can be adequately dealt with in analyses based on the individual; but other criteria are called for in regard to family groups. As explained in the next paragraph, a solution to the problem was found by constructing a series of groups rising steadily in degree of "contact with urban life". It was also thought that the use of these groups would not only keep the variable factors under control but would also more faithfully reflect the true composition of the majority of the families.

4. Formation of family groups

A combination of four general criteria was used in making up the comparative groups for the analysis by families: (a) Origin (interior or Greater Buenos Aires) of the head of the family; (b) Length of residence in Greater Buenos Aires (including the head of family); (c) Proportion of members of the family aged 18 or over who are either from the interior of the country or local-born residents of Greater Buenos Aires; (d) Location of the dwelling: regularly built-up areas (Isla) or clusters of makeshift dwellings (Villa). On the basis of these criteria five groups were constructed. These were subsequently reduced to three to meet a number of requirements in the preliminary analysis so that they could be arranged in a kind of progression beginning with the migrant "families" who were most homogeneous with respect to their members' origin and recent migration characteristics and ending with families who were entirely local-born residents of the district (see table 2).

The exceptions described in the footnote to the table are based on the detailed criteria laid down under the various headings of the classification. The same rules were applied to the few foreigners in the predominantly or totally Argentine families interviewed. Latin Americans

Table 2
COMPARISON OF FAMILY GROUPS

Family group	Criteria					N° of separate cases (families)	Total N° of individuals
	Origin of head of family*	Origin of majority of adult members of family	Date of migration to Greater Buenos Aires	Average length of residence in the city	Place of residence (Isla or Villa)		
Group 1	Interior	Interior	1951-57	3 years	Villa	73	330
Group 2	"	"	by 1950	13 years	Villa	24	116
Group 3	"	"	1951-57	3 years	Isla	6	19
Group 4	"	"	by 1950	16 years	Isla	33	133
Group 5	Local-born residents of Greater Buenos Aires	Local-born residents of Greater Buenos Aires	Local-born residents of Greater Buenos Aires	Local-born residents of Greater Buenos Aires	Isla	74	269

* Group 1 includes two heads of families from Greater Buenos Aires, Group 2 includes one, and Group 4 includes five. Group 5 includes two heads of families from the interior of the country (arrived before 1945) and three foreigners (arrived before 1950).

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who had immigrated from border areas to the provinces from which the internal migrants came were classified with the foreigners. The total number involved in Groups 1 to 4 was thirty or about 5 per cent. There remained ten case of Europeans who had emigrated a long time previously, all of them in Group 5 families (a total of 3.8 per cent of this group). The application of the criteria as laid down was checked by means of an individual examination of the questionnaires, especially in regard to these doubtful cases, and it was found that they were correctly classified according to the basic principle of degree of contact with urban society measured in terms of (a) length of residence in the city (b) degree of accessibility to urban life (residence either in the Villa or in the urbanized (Isla)).

For the purposes of this provisional breakdown three rather than five groups were usually used, groups 1 and 2 being combined and group 3 omitted. The justification for combining groups 1 and 2 was that although the period of residence was different, the fact that both groups were domiciled in the Villa placed them on the same footing as regards "accessibility" to urban culture; on the other hand, the average period of residence in both cases was six years, i.e. less than the Group 4 average. If it should prove really necessary they will of course be considered separately, even for the purposes of this provisional inquiry. Group 3, where the numbers are very small, will be examined case by case in the final report. These groups - properly corrected in respect of origin - have been used for individual cases in order to simplify the work of tabulation: on this basis, Groups 1, 2 and 4 include only Argentines migrating from the interior (the few foreigners found amongst these families are ignored) and Group 5 contains only persons born in Greater Buenos Aires.

5. Use of the questionnaire: methods and collation

The questionnaire contained 169 main questions, often subdivided into a series of subordinate questions. The duration of the interviews varied from three to seven hours according to the type of family. They were

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generally in two stages and often in three. The answers had to be given either by the head of the family and the wife or, where the family was incomplete, by a second adult if one existed. The questionnaire related to all the members of the family and there was provision for further information to be obtained from the persons directly concerned if the husband and wife were unable to provide the answers. Certain sections of the questionnaire, however, had to be answered by the head of family and the wife alone, for instance, family attitudes, outlook with regard to migration and urban life, causes and circumstance of migration; while other sections, such as job history affected only the head of the family. Proper precautions were taken to ensure that the same type of person was chosen to answer the various categories of questions. The questionnaire was subdivided into the following main sections:

- A. Family composition
- B. Education (general and technical, past and present studies)
- C. Minors, parental problems and attitudes
- D. State of health
- E. Food. Likes and dislikes. Differences between city and provinces
- F. Residence and migration history
- G. Causes and circumstances of migration. Attitude towards city life
- H. Work. Attitudes towards work
- I. Economic problems and attitudes
- J. Social participation. Recreation
- K. Physical features of the home

The questionnaire interviews were conducted by a small group of interviewers; they had been most of them sociology and psychology students, together with some members of the permanent staff of the participating Institutes. Quite a few had had previous training in conducting interviews of a psychological character. The training took the form of classes, prescribed reading (a "manual" was prepared - based in part on extracts from the one used by the Survey Research Centre, Michigan), simulated

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and genuine interviews. The field work had to be done nearly four months after the preliminary inquiry owing to difficulties in the district which made it seem advisable to postpone it. The field work took approximately three months. In the Villa district there were practically no refusals; even in the urbanized district there were very few (7.2 per cent in all).

Two main reasons of the questionnaire were drawn up, and some minor variants were tried out before it was finally adopted.

As a general rule each heading starts off with a number of free questions. Then follow a series of multiple-choice questions. Each interviewer, besides arranging for the completion of the questionnaire had to write a description of every family visited. We have thus a large number of these descriptions, providing information of great value to the inquiry. In general this information has not been used in the present interim report. The collation took a considerable time, and the staff of both Institutes collaborated in it at different stages. The same staff processed the data. This involved a great deal of hard work and constant checking in regard to the analysis of the content of the free questions.

The present report is based on a provisional tabulation done manually. The final collation consists of approximately 300 tables.

In most instances no attempt has yet been made to evaluate the differences found. This will of course, be done in the final report. Meanwhile, the analysis was based mainly on a logical interpretation of comparisons of the behaviour of the different groups interviewed, with special reference to rate and direction of trends.

Chapter II

MIGRATION

1. Origin of migrants

As in most of the villas miseria, the majority of the Villa Maciel migrants came from one region, in this instance from one or other of a small number of provinces in the north east of the country (see tables 3 and 4). Corrientes and Entre Ríos accounted for almost half the persons interviewed, and a quarter were from the Chaco and Misiones. Some 19 per cent were born in Santa Fe and the rest were from other provinces. Common origin is less pronounced amongst the earlier migrants, (although a quarter of them did in fact come from one province - Entre Ríos) and the different regions of the country are more evenly represented. The fairly high incidence of common origin is attributable, as will be seen, to the circumstances surrounding the migration, which frequently comes about through connexions in the city, relatives and friends, or other persons from the same district.

The majority of these migrants did not come from rural areas; only about 15 per cent had lived in areas having a population of less than 2,000 and there is no difference in this respect between the recent arrivals and residents of longer standing. More than a third of the migrants had been born in medium-sized towns of 2,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, and the 50 per cent in large towns. The occupations of heads of families before migration reflect this origin, although among the earlier migrants more heterogeneous in origin, the proportion of persons formerly engaged in farm work is a little higher. In point of fact, many of the small and medium-sized towns classified as "urban" on the basis of their population include a number of persons having rural occupations regularly or periodically. Only some 60 per cent are known to have had a "permanent" occupation; the others either did not work or, if they did, were in casual employment. For the most part these migrants were peones and unskilled or semi-skilled labourers or were "self-employed" in some kind of haulage work. The remaining 20 to 25 per cent could be regarded as skilled workers or were non-manual workers. There is no significant difference here between earlier and the recent migrants.

Table 3

PROVINCE OF BIRTH OF MIGRANTS

Provinces	Recent Migrants (1/2)	Earlier Migration (4)
	<u>Villa</u>	<u>Isla</u>
Buenos Aires	2	21
Corrientes	29	10
Chaco	11	5
Entre Ríos	16	24
Misiones	11	2
Santa Fe	19	10
Other	12	29
Total	100	100

Table 4

BREAKDOWN BY AGE OF MIGRANTS FROM THE INTERIOR OF THE COUNTRY
 AND CITY-BORN RESIDENTES OF GREATER BUENOS AIRES

Age group	Recent migrants (1/2)		Earlier Migration (4)		City-born residents	
	<u>Villa</u>		<u>Isla</u>		<u>Isla</u>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-13	28	36	10	12	28	29
14-19	13	13	20	7	7	8
20-39	46	40	49	51	34	28
40-59	11	9	17	19	20	26
60 and over	3	2	5	12	11	8
Not known	--	--	--	--	--	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	187	149	41	47	138	92

2. Causes and nature of migration

These rather scanty occupational data certainly confirm what is already known about the economic causes of the migrations. They are also in keeping with the migrants' own statements. When they were asked directly to say why they had migrated, they said that the most important factors had been "lack of work", "badly paid jobs" or the fact that there were opportunities for "better jobs in Buenos Aires"; however, causes not specifically economic in character were also mentioned, e.g. the "need for a change", the "desire to get on", the "attraction of the city" and "the fact that everyone has gone". The economic factors no doubt operate on a background of other underlying causes, as can be inferred also from comments made by the migrants on those who have stayed behind and those who have gone. Over 80 per cent state that "many others have left the village". In other words they took on migration (rightly or wrongly) as the normal course to take. With regard to those who remain behind, the migrants explain that the fact is due not to economic considerations but to fear that things may turn out to be worse, to a lack of desire to get on, or to inertia. These motivations attributed to others are a projection of their own, at any rate as they imagine their motivations (see tables 5 and 6). The same factors are evident in regard to the choice of Buenos Aires, although "family" reasons also play an important role here, as will be seen shortly. About one half of the men came alone, most of the women came with their families or, at any rate, followed some member of the family who had arrived ahead of them. The word "family" here should of course be taken to mean the immediate family and not merely relatives (see table 7).

In the most recent migrant group two-thirds of the families already existed at the time of migration, but only a third in the case of earlier migrants. The majority of migrants leave their place of birth before the age of thirty; a third do so between sixteen and twenty years of age and a third between the ages of twenty and thirty. Here again there are differences between males and females; a larger proportion of the latter migrate before the age of sixteen, probably accompanying other members of the household (see table 8).

Table 5
 OCCUPATIONS OF HEADS OF FAMILIES
 (MALE) BEFORE MIGRATION

Nature of occupation	Recent migration (1/2) <u>Villa</u>	Earlier migration (4) <u>Isia</u>
<u>Sphere of activity</u>		
Primary producers	17	29
Secondary producers	42	24
Commerce, transport services	41	47
<u>Occupational status</u>		
<u>Peones, etc.</u>	52	60
Semi-skilled	14	7
Skilled workers and foremen	18	13
Non-manual workers	9	7
Self-employed workers	7	13
Permanent employment	70	68
No permanent employment	27	5
Not working	3	27

Table 6

ALLEGED REASONS WHY SOME MIGRATE AND SOME DO NOT

Alleged reasons for migrating or nor migrating	Recent migrants (1/2) <u>Villa</u>	Earlier migrants (4) <u>Isla</u>
<u>Reasons for migrating</u>		
No job	80	58
Great poverty	6	17
To get on	10	22
Other reasons	4	3
<u>Reasons for not migrating</u>		
Holds a job or post	47	56
Fear of being worse off; fixed habits, no desire to get on, unable to go	41	31
Other reasons	12	13

Table 7
 CIRCUMSTANCES OF MIGRATION (ALONE OR WITH FAMILY)
 (Head of family and spouse)

Circumstances of arrival	Earlier migrants 1/2		Recent migrants (4)	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
With family	33	44	14	33
Some member of the family arrived earlier	7	33	14	47
Arrived alone	47	13	63	20
Not specified	13	10	9	-
	100	100	100	100

Table 8

AGE AT THE TIME OF MIGRATION OF PERSONS WHO ARE AT PRESENT
 TWENTY YEARS OF AGE OR MORE

Age at the time of migration	Recent migrants (1/2)		Earlier migrants (4)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Under 16 years	20	39	37	33
Between 16 and 20	32	16	22	30
Between 21 and 30	32	27	34	20
31 or more	16	18	7	17
	100	100	100	100

In the majority of cases the decision to migrate was not preceded by lengthy discussions: it was taken suddenly, perhaps when circumstances happened to be favourable (see table 9). In less than a third of the cases in either group, the migrants had given some thought to the problem beforehand. The decision in most cases was taken by the head of the family or "by all concerned"; there were few instances in which the attitude of the spouse was mentioned as decisive. If any objections were raised - this happened in less than one-fifth of the cases - they came principally from the parents and only occasionally from the spouse.

Why then did these migrants decide to make the journey? There is no doubt that the sole reason for many of them was the fact that they had relatives or friends or both in Buenos Aires. Not all of them received help, of course, but the fact of having relatives or friends in Buenos Aires must have given them some hope of finding in one way or another a solution to the problems which they would meet on arrival. Thus approximately 60 per cent say that before they left they had given some consideration to the way in which they would find a place to live. The concentration of migrants from a particular province in a single group and the same area is the result either of the help which existing residents give to newcomers or of the hopes raised by the simple fact of knowing of the existence of the group. Relatively fewer migrants had any ideas about how to find work; a general feeling of optimism about the opportunities offered by Buenos Aires was the operative factor.

Most of the migrants received assistance from relations or friends in one form or another; housing is most often mentioned (see table 10). For those living in the Villa, this assistance meant settling into the Villa itself or in some other similar quarter, and, to a lesser extent, help in finding work. More than 60 per cent received some degree of help on arrival either with accommodation or in finding a job or in some other way. The proportion of earlier migrants living in the more urbanized section who received assistance is somewhat higher than the comparable proportion of recent migrants living in the Villa. Although

Table 9

HOW THE DECISION TO MIGRATE WAS REACHED

Factors affecting the decision to emigrate	Recent migrants (1/2) <u>Villa</u>	Earlier migrants (4) <u>Isla</u>
<u>Decision to migrate was taken:</u>		
On the spur of the moment	62	50
After much reflection	26	35
Not specified	12	15
<u>Had made some plans in regard to:</u>		
Housing	59	74
Work	40	46
<u>Decision was taken by:</u>		
Head of family	20	15
Spouse	6	-
"All concerned"	24	22
Other families or friends	4	9
Self (persons living alone)	33	39
Not specified	13	15
<u>Opposition to the decision:</u>		
None	66	50
Objections from parents and older generation	9	9
Other members of the household and friends	5	13
Not specified	20	28

it is impossible to say whether the former group also received a greater degree of assistance, the fact is noteworthy in connexion with the comparison of the extent to which the two groups have adapted themselves to urban life. The Isla group is not only of longer standing; it also includes a larger number of families who received help from persons already living in the city.

Buenos Aires was the chosen goal of more than two-thirds of the migrants although almost a quarter of the most recent migrants made the move in several stages and did not settle in Buenos Aires for a varying number of years after they left their native villages or towns. The most common moves were from less urban to more urban localities (in terms of population in the towns). There were, however, some who moved -- in the course of the intermediate stages -- from more urban localities to less urban localities. Here too there were differences between the most recent migrants and the earlier migrants (see tables 11, 12 and 13).

Approximately half the migrants -- of both recent and earlier groups -- arrived in Buenos Aires with the intention of settling there permanently.

Table 10

ASSISTANCE RECEIVED BY MIGRANTS ON ARRIVAL

Assistance received	Recent migrants (1/2) <u>Villa</u>	Earlier migrants (4) <u>Isla</u>
<u>Had in Buenos Aires:</u>		
Relations and friends	26	28
Relations only	44	46
Friends only	11	17
Not connexions	12	7
Not specified	7	2
<u>Received some assistance in regard to:</u>		
Housing	27	33
Work	4	7
Housing and work	16	28
Money	3	-
Housing and money	2	1
Housing, work and money	7	7
Other matters	2	7
Received no assistance	30	15
Not specified	9	2
<u>Sources of assistance:</u>		
Brothers and sisters and other relatives of the same generation	62	82
Other relatives and friends	12	15
Not specified	26	3

Table 11

TIME TAKEN TO MIGRATE TO BUENOS AIRES
 (From time of departure from birth-place)

Time taken	Recent migrants (1/2) <u>Villa</u>	Earlier migrants (4) <u>Isla</u>
Travelled direct	69	82
Less than 3 years	2	-
From 3 to 5 years	2	5
From 6 to 15 years	9	23
More than 15 years	10	-
Not specified	8	-
	100	100

Table 12

MORE URBAN OF MORE RURAL NATURE OF THE INTERMEDIATE STAGES
 (IN THE CASE OF MIGRANTS WHO DID NOT TRAVEL DIRECT TO
 BUENOS AIRES)

Intermediate migration	Recent migrants (1/2) <u>Villa</u>	Earlier migrants (2) <u>Isla</u>
From less urban to more urban	41	74
From more urban to less urban	34	13
Between similar urban districts	25	13
	100	100

Table 13

REASONS FOR CHOOSING BUENOS AIRES

Reasons for choice	Recent migrants (1/2) <u>Villa</u>	Earlier migrants (4) <u>Isla</u>
Better jobs	47	50
Better future prospects	5	14
Preferred the city	6	9
Family reasons	18	27
Other reasons	24	-

Chapter III

FAMILY ORGANIZATION

1. Composition of family

In the matter of family composition, migrant and city-born families differ only in respect of the average number of children who make up each family household: this figure is highest in the recent migrants group and drops steadily until it reaches a minimum in the city-born families. The average size of the latter families is smaller than that of the migrant group families; in fact there is a steady reduction in the size of families proportionate to length of residence. Moreover just as the typical form of the majority of families in the country is the separate basic family unit, with no other relatives living as part of the same household the characteristic feature of the recent migrants is the existence of composite households (convivencias) - groups of unrelated persons, usually men, living under the same roof and regarding themselves as being members of one unit. There were some 3 per cent of these composite households in the group interviewed. Although no exact comparison can be made, it is important to realize that the composition of the family according to other surveys of similar groups does not differ appreciably from the one described here. (See tables 14 and 15.)

2. Legal and non-legal marriages

The breakdown by marital status of persons interviewed who were more than fourteen years of age shows a sharp contrast between the migrants and the city-born residents (see table 16). Free unions, not sanctioned by the law, and several other irregular types of situation are characteristic in varying degrees of both groups of migrants from the interior. This situation reflects clearly the general pattern in the regions from which these migrants came, where free unions are practically as frequent as marriages performed by the civil or religious authorities. These free unions are often not substantially different from regular marriages, but the proportion of unstable unions of this nature is also known to be relatively high. Thus, the illegitimacy rate is very high, amounting to as much as 50-55 per cent of all births.

Table 14

MIGRANTS FROM THE INTERIOR AND CITY-BORN RESIDENTS, BY MARITAL STATUS
 (PERSONS FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER)

Marital status	Recent migrants <u>Villa</u>		Earlier migrants <u>Isla</u>		City-born <u>Isla</u>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Unmarried	37	16	43	18	37	29
Married	28	39	43	50	60	60
Common-law marriage	26	31	14	13	-	-
Separated or divorced	1	3	-	-	2	-
Unmarried persons with children, separated from common-law partners; common-law widows and widowers	1	4	-	11	-	-
Widowed	2	3	-	8	1	11
Not specified	5	4	-	-	-	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 15
 FAMILY COMPOSITION OF THE THREE GROUPS

Family composition	Recent migrants	Earlier migrants	City-born
	<u>Villa</u> (1/2)	<u>Isla</u> (4)	I Isla
Complete families with childrens	67	63	70
Complete families without children	16	12	8
Incomplete families with or without children	8	12	18
Composite households (<u>Convivencias</u>)	3	-	-
Unattached persons	6	12	4
	100	100	100
Average number of family members (whether or not related by marriage)	4.7	4.0	3.6
Average number of family members (related by marriage)	4.4	3.8	3.6
Average number of children living with the family	3.0	2.6	1.7
Statistical families (whether complete or not)	72	70	71
Families which include other relatives (whether complete or not)	28	30	29

Table 16

LEGAL MARRIAGES AND FREE UNIONS; CHILDREN OF DIFFERENT
 PARENTS (AMONG MIGRANTS AND CITY-BORN RESIDENTS)

Type of union	Recent migrants <u>Villa</u>	Earlier migrants <u>Isla</u>	City- born <u>Isla</u>
<u>Type of marriage:</u>			
Legal	51	71	100
Free union	49	29	-
<u>Children of different parents:</u>			
Of the husband or mate (exclusively)	2	-	4
Of the wife or mate or of both	16	9	0

Table 17

LEGAL MARRIAGES IN THE THREE GROUPS, BY LENGTH
 OF RESIDENCE IN THE CITY

Family groups	Length of residence in city (average)	Domicile	Legal marriages %
Group I migrants	3 years	<u>Villa</u>	49
Group 2 migrants	13 years	<u>Villa</u>	55
Group 4(a) migrants	10 years	<u>Isla</u>	55
Group 4 (b) migrants	17 years	<u>Isla</u>	82
City-born residents, group 5	native-born	<u>Isla</u>	100

/No relevant

No relevant studies are available, but the idea that families in rural and less highly urbanized areas exhibit a greater degree of stability and attachment to the traditional family values clearly cannot be applied without reservation to these groups. It is therefore a rather complicated matter to determine the "impact" of the city on groups of persons whose cultural patterns would, if judged by urban standards, be regarded as symptoms of "disorganization". The observations made of the groups covered by the study lead to the conclusion that the city produces two opposite effects: on the one hand, the majority of families acquire urban ways of living, including those relating to the family; on the other hand, the familiar factors of disintegration which are particularly active in certain parts of the city affect a minority, destroying or undermining a certain number of previously well-integrated family units. In other words, the process of cultural assimilation to urban society has the simultaneous - and somewhat paradoxical - effect of knitting some families more closely together and disorganizing others. However, the latter process is much more difficult to measure, not only because of the obstacles to systematic observation, but also because of the absence of a reliable basis for comparison with the distinguishing features of provincial life and because of insufficient knowledge of the actual extent of differences between behaviour patterns in the provinces - particularly as regards sexual mores - and those prevailing in the city.

Table 17 and, to an even greater extent, table 18 show a remarkably regular pattern in the progressive tendency to accept the pattern of "legal marriage". The correlation between the proportion of legal marriages and length of residence holds good, with a single exception, for all the groups which were studied. The proportion of legal marriages progressively increases from group 1 (three years' average residence in the city), with 49 per cent, to group 4(b) (seventeen years' average residence), with 82 per cent, and group 5 (city-born) with 100 per cent. The only apparent exception, which results from the division of group 4 into sub-groups (a) and (b), can be explained, as will be seen, by a similar hypothesis, namely, that the factors implicit in "length of residence" operate only in so far as such length of residence also implies ease of contact. In

Table 18

PERCENTAGE OF LEGAL MARRIAGES IN THE THREE GROUPS, BY AVERAGE
 FAMILY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, AVERAGE INCOME LEVEL,
 AND LEVEL OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Family group	Educational level		Per capita income level		Level of social participation	
	Up to four years	More than four years	Less than 500	More than 500	No affilia tions	One or more affilia tions
Group 1	60	39	58	37	38	56
Group 2	67	50	44	50	37	61
Group 4	63	78	50	83	20	83

this instance group 2, with length of residence thirteen years, shows the same proportion of legal marriages as group 4 (a), whose average period of residence is shorter (ten years); however, the shorter period of residence of group 4 (a) may have been offset by its closer proximity to urban life, inasmuch as it resides in the urbanized area rather than in the marginal area of the "Villa". The type of marriage might be expected to depend on where the family was formed, but that is not the case: approximately the same proportion of legal marriages is to be found among unions formed before and after migration.

These observations are confirmed when the three groups of migrants are analysed in terms of other variable factors. It is important to note that, in the case of groups 1 and 2, neither the average family educational level nor the average family income level shows the expected correlation with the proportion of legal marriages; on the other hand, the three groups do show a correlation with another variable factor, namely the level of social participation as measured by the presence or absence of formal organizational affiliations. As will be seen below, one of the characteristics of the local-born population of this area (and, indeed, a trait which distinguishes the ordinary people in Buenos Aires) is a high degree of participation in voluntary associations; the migrant population, by contrast, is distinguished by the absence or low level of such participation. The acquisition of this trait can thus be regarded as a sign of integration into urban society; and the same can be said of legal marriage, which becomes a symbol of respectability once we take as reference group not the rural or provincial society itself, which did not regard it as important or necessary, but urban society, which, on the contrary, considers it essential.

These observations, based on a small number of cases and on differences which are not always statistically significant or which were not computed, lead to nothing more than hypothetical assumptions; for example, in determining the pattern of legal marriage they may provide a suitable yardstick for measuring the extent of a group's adaptation to urban life, though this is probably bound up with other factors characteristic of that process. Indeed the chapters which follow present certain factors in regular sequence, according to their incidence in the various groups studied.

3. Voluntary limitation of births

Awareness of the problem of limitation of births is greater in the families with a longer period of residence and is greatest, among the cases studied, in the city-born group. The differences are not very great, but the trend is as might be expected. Furthermore, they run parallel with the diminishing size of the family in the three groups, though this comparison cannot be applied rigidly inasmuch as the groups are not uniform as regards age breakdown, duration of married life, etc. Among the women who were studied, the number of children decreases as one proceeds from the migrants to the city-born residents, and from the more recent to the less recent migrants. The number of cases is, of course, very small, and the fact that group 4 (married twenty-one years or more) consists of only four cases may explain its departure from the rule. (See tables 19 and 20.)

4. Family income and economics

The average family income of the recent migrant groups is lower than that of the earlier migrants and the city-born families. (See table 21.) This is so not only because the individual members of each group differ in the manner indicated, but also because the earlier migrant and city-born families include more persons who are gainfully employed and make a financial contribution (the families are smaller and there are fewer children). There is considerable overlapping among the groups in income distribution; this also applies to the per capita income (including both working and non-working members) of the family unit. Not all the earnings of the working members of the family go towards the family expenses, and it was found that the practice in this respect varied; on the average, the proportion of aggregate earnings contributed to the family comprised from 73 to 82 per cent.

Prevailing attitudes towards family expenses were explored in some detail, and here are some of the results: more than half the migrant families have difficulty or even great difficulty in covering their expenses; the proportion decreases in the two other groups in accordance with the usual pattern. It must be borne in mind that we are dealing

Table 19

AWARENESS OF THE PROBLEM OF LIMITATION OF BIRTHS

Degree of awareness of the problem	Recent migrants <u>Villa</u>	Earlier migrants <u>Isla</u>	City- born <u>Isla</u>
Recognize the problem and wish to limit the number of children	58	62	75
Recognize the problem and do not wish to limit the number of children	12	3	4
Are unaware of birth control and/or do not practise it	21	10	-
Attitude not determined	9	24	21
	100	100	100

Table 20

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN FOR THREE GROUPS OF MIGRANT
 AND CITY-BORN WOMEN, BY DURATION OF MARRIED LIFE

Duration of married life	Recent migrants (1/2) <u>Villa</u>	Earlier migrants (4) <u>Isla</u>	City- born (5) <u>Isla</u>
Up to 10 years	1.87	1.80	1.46
11 to 20 years	3.79	3.00	2.00
21 years or more	3.85	4.75	2.00
Average	3.17	3.18	1.83

Table 21

CHARACTERISTICS OF AVERAGE MONTHLY FAMILY INCOME, AGGREGATE AND
 INDIVIDUAL, IN THE THREE GROUPS (IN PESOS; DECEMBER 1956 TO
 FEBRUARY 1957)

Particulars of family income	Recent migrants (1/2) Villa	Earlier migrants (4) Isla	City- born (5) Isla
<u>Scale of aggregate monthly income</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Up to 1 000	5	9	7
1 000 - 1 600	29	16	6
1 600 - 2 000	23	16	22
2 000 - 3 000	21	31	30
3 000 - 5 000	18	19	25
5 000 and over	4	9	10
<u>Average monthly income per family member (whether or not working)</u>			
Less than 600	50	38	26
More than 600	50	62	74
<u>Average aggregate monthly income</u>	2 290	2 520	2 770
<u>Number of family members gainfully employed</u>	2.6	2.4	2.2
<u>One per family</u>	54	58	48
<u>Two per family</u>	29	21	35
<u>Three or more per family</u>	17	21	17

/with attitudes

with attitudes here, so that the assessment of the problem depends on the level of what each group desires or expects. This particularly in the case of the least well-off group, may well fall below the level of what an observer would regard as the minimum subsistence requirements. The manner in which the various groups react to the problem of inadequate income, and the practices they follow with respect to their monthly expenses, are determined not only by their income level but also by the level of their wants and by certain economic attitudes. There is no question that the inadequate income of the recent migrant families (and perhaps the fact that more of them are day-labourers) is of itself sufficient to explain why there is less budgeting of expenditure among them. Nevertheless, the behaviour of the intermediate group (whose income is fairly close to that of the most recent migrants) indicates some tendency to adopt more systematic practices, such as budgeting, so that in this respect the behaviour of the intermediate group is more akin to that of the city-born group. (See table 22.)

5. Relations within the family

A brief review of the findings as regards the type of relations prevailing within the family shows differences among the various groups surveyed. (See table 23.) At times, the differences are small. Nevertheless, it should be noted that most of them involve a higher level of family participation among the city-born residents and the earlier migrants who reside in the more urbanized areas; in these groups, working members of the family make a larger contribution to the family's support, and the number of cases in which difficulties arise in connexion with this contribution tends to decrease as the length of residence increases. Among one-third of the most recently arrived migrant families, it was noted that the financial contribution by the husband or other adult responsible for the support of the family unit gave rise to serious difficulties and in some cases was nil. This situation is obviously related to the degree of family disintegration, which is examined elsewhere in this report and occurs much more frequently among the migrants than in the city-born group.

Table 22
 ATTITUDES TOWARDS FAMILY INCOME AND EXPENSES

Attitudes towards income and expenses	Recent migrants (1/2) <u>Villa</u>	Earlier migrants (4) <u>Isla</u>	City-born (5) <u>Isla</u>
<u>Income</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Adequate; some saving possible	17	11	30
Adequate	28	44	31
Barely adequate	30	30	31
Inadequate	24	15	8
<u>End-of-month difficulties</u>			
All expenditure curtailed (including food)	31	33	7
"Inessentials"	29	21	37
Bills left unpaid	6	3	-
Other difficulties	5	-	-
No difficulties	29	43	56
<u>Expenditure on day after pay-day</u>			
No difference	37	52	64
Some difference	63	48	36
<u>Budgeting of monthly expenditure</u>			
No budgeting (living from day to day)	40	22	20
Budgeting of some kind	57	69	69
Systematic budgeting	3	9	11

Table 23
 SOME INDICES OF FAMILY RELATIONS

Characteristics of family relations	Recent migrants (1/2) <u>Villa</u>	Earlier migrants (4) <u>Isla</u>	City-born (5) <u>Isla</u>
<u>Level of family participation</u> (<u>shared activities</u>)	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
All members eat at home	38	59	54
Members listen to radio together	50	52	60
Members generally gather in the evening	78	84	85
Husband helps with the housework	56	52	58
Members generally go out together	63	83	70
<u>Level of family participation</u> (<u>economic</u>)			
Percentage of gainfully employed members who contribute to family budget	84	96	92
Percentage of earning contributed	73	75	82
Percentage of cases in which contribution does not give rise to difficulties	67	76	82
<u>Family atmosphere</u>			
Friendly relations exist between husband and wife	74	80	93
Co-operative, democratic behaviour	57	80	66

The family "atmosphere" also varies among the three groups and shows the same correlation with origin or length of residence: more families in the city-born and earlier migrant groups display a relatively unconstrained atmosphere, a greater degree of friendliness among the adult members of the family, and more co-operative and democratic behaviour; this contrasts with the relatively greater prevalence among the recent migrant families of an authoritarian atmosphere. In this whole question of types of family life and domestic relations, however, the environment must always be borne in mind. The extremely precarious housing conditions in the villa miseria contrast sharply even with those prevailing in the working-class districts of the urbanized area, where the housing consists chiefly of barrack-like tenements with one-room apartments which are sub-standard in sanitary conditions and ordinary amenities. These conditions in the villas make it extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to live a normal family life, since the basic requirements for carrying out - even on a very low level - the routine operations around which so much of daily life revolves, are lacking.

6. Housing characteristics

According to one of the criteria which were established in defining the groups, one group, namely that with the shortest period of residence, consists of villa dwellers; hence, its housing naturally reflects the criterion that was adopted. The ownership of the land or of the dwelling itself, the type of building material used, the flooring, and, in particular, the utilities provided - water, sewerage, electricity - are different from those found among the other groups, and to some extent the data can serve to measure the difference between them. These meagre indices show how primitive are the conditions in which the residents of the villa are compelled to live: the basic utilities are lacking; there is extreme overcrowding; the buildings have dirt floors and are made of materials completely unsuitable for building, with the inevitable resultant danger - not shown in the table - of flood, fire and collapse (all three occurred in the area studied); there is an almost complete lack of protection against the elements; and the absence of sewers has its effect.

/By contrast,

By contrast, the dwellings in the other area meet at least certain minimum requirements although it must be said that, for the most part, this is true only in a comparative sense. As we see, these buildings are in most instances two-or three-storey lodging-houses, with a common patio in the centre surrounded by the rooms or one-or-more room apartments. They are built of wood and zinc, and the great majority are provided with the basic utilities (water, electricity, sanitary facilities). Strictly speaking, the conditions in these dwellings are also unsatisfactory - there is overcrowding, lack of privacy, nowhere for the children to play, poor sanitary conditions, etc.

On the other hand, differences are noticeable between the recent migrant group and the city-born group, with the former occupying an intermediate position in this respect, too. The families with a longer period of residence have also benefited from the freezing of rents, while those who settled in the city at a later date have not. Rent control has had two effects, one of which is observable among the city-born group. On the one hand, it kept rents at low levels for the older residents. On the other hand, it tended to make families remain in the houses they were already occupying; in a great many cases, the new families established by the children moved in with the parents or other relatives, while those families whose children moved into new homes were left with a certain amount of space to spare. Bearing in mind the composition and age distribution of the city-born families, this process is also probably one of the reasons for their smaller number of persons per room. (See tables 24 and 25.)

Table 24

CERTAIN GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF DWELLINGS

Certain general characteristics of the type of dwelling	Recent migrants (1/2) <u>Villa</u>	Earlier migrants (4) <u>Isla</u>	City- Born (5) <u>Isla</u>
<u>Property:</u>			
The plot is owned by the family	2	0	27
The dwelling is owned by the family	94	6	27
<u>Type of dwelling:</u>			
Isolated	91	0	11
Leased	1	91	80
Other type	8	9	9
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
<u>Number of rooms:</u>			
One	45	42	15
Two	41	21	34
Three or more	14	37	51
person/room average	2.7	2.0	1.1
<u>Number of beds (or pieces of furniture serving this purpose)</u>			
<u>Number of persons per bed:</u>			
Up to 1 person per bed	16	24	32
From 1 to 1.50 persons per bed	25	45	38
1.50 persons and more	59	31	30

Table 25

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE DWELLING

Physical features of the dwelling	Recent migrants <u>Villa</u> (1/2)	Earlier migrants <u>Isla</u> (4)	City-born <u>Isla</u> (5)
<u>Building material</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Rubble	2	11	11
Corrugated sheet-metal	30	30	38
Wood	34	52	45
Other	34	7	6
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
<u>Flooring</u>			
Tile	1	8	26
Wood	23	68	59
Dirt	60	3	2
Other	16	21	13
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Electricity	41	97	96
Some running water	3	79	94
Sewers	1	80	94
<u>Percentage of families owning various household electrical appliances</u>			
Radio	45	64	91
Iron	23	61	89
Electric fans	5	39	54
Refrigerator	4	33	41
Washing machine	3	18	14

Chapter IV

OCCUPATIONS, ATTITUDE TOWARDS WORK AND TECHNICAL SKILLS

1. Grade of employment and economic sector

Virtually no unemployment was to be found among the three groups at the time the survey was made, although, as we shall see, a great many members of the groups had not worked for six or more months during the previous year for a variety of reasons related to their type of occupation. The number of gainfully employed persons in the three groups naturally depends on the age distribution of the group; hence, the city-born group shows a high proportion of persons who are retired, pensioned, incapacitated, etc. Five per cent of the males above the age of fourteen in the city-born group were found to be unemployed; in the other two groups, the figure was 2 or 3 per cent. Twenty-one per cent of the women in the recent migrant group were gainfully employed, while the proportion was lower among the native-born women. Here, too, age distribution appears to be a factor. The intermediate group showed a higher proportion of working women. (See table 26.)

The number of persons employed in industry increases with the length of residence (conversely, a greater number of the recent arrivals are engaged in commercial, transport and service occupations). The city-born residents are employed primarily in shipbuilding and meat-packing, which together absorb a third of the labour force among those surveyed. Another third are employed in the metallurgical, printing, oil and electrical industries, in that order of frequency. (See table 27.)

Shipbuilding is a traditional industry in the area, where shipyards began to be set up at the end of the last century. Later, some thirty years ago, two meat-packing plants transferred to the area from places in the province of Buenos Aires, thus producing a first wave of migration from the interior. The proportion of workers employed in this branch of industry is roughly the same in the three groups. The migrants are employed primarily in tertiary occupations: as stevedores or in sea transport. The type of work performed by residents of the area employed in these two occupations is essentially the same. The third of the city-born group

Table 26

PERSONS FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY GRADE OF EMPLOYMENT

Grade of employment	Male			Female		
	Earlier migrants <u>Villa</u>	Recent migrants <u>Isla</u>	City-born <u>Isla</u>	Earlier migrants <u>Villa</u>	Recent migrants <u>Isla</u>	City-born <u>Isla</u>
Gainfully employed	88.8	89.2	79.5	20.8	34.2	15.4
Not gainfully employed	11.2	10.8	20.5	79.2	65.8	84.6
Housewives	-	-	-	72.9	55.2	70.7
Students	0.8	2.7	-	2.1	2.6	6.2
Retired, pensioned, incapacitated, ill	4.4	2.7	15.3	1.1	8.0	6.2
Unemployed	5.2	2.7	2.0	3.1	-	-
Others	0.8	2.7	3.2	-	-	1.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 27

RESIDENTS FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY TYPE OF OCCUPATION

Economic sector	Recent migrants Villa (1/2)	Earlier migrants Isla (4)	City-born Isla (5)
<u>Males</u>			
<u>Secondary occupations</u>	36	48	50
Meat packing	10	15	13
Shipbuilding	5	12	22
Building trades and construction materials	7	-	-
Other industries	14	21	31
<u>Tertiary occupations</u>	65	77	50
Sea transport	14	-	3
Dockyards	17	24	4
Commerce	14	13	15
Other services	19	15	12
	100	100	100
<u>Females</u>			
<u>Secondary occupations</u>	35	23	50
<u>Tertiary occupations</u>	65	77	50
Domestic service	55	8	-
Commerce and other services	10	69	50
	100	100	100

who do not work in industry are employed in trade and in various services, some of which are directly concerned with their local area. This breakdown by type of occupation reflects certain recent changes following a prolonged shipbuilding strike, as a result of which a great many workers were dismissed from their jobs or left them. It also explains the fact that a number of the city-born residents who were surveyed show a fairly extended period of unemployment during the previous year. The proportion of city-born residents employed in shipbuilding was certainly greater before the strike; these workers had to seek other types of employment, and some of them suffered a certain decline in occupational status. It is also possible that part or all of the migrants who were employed in this field had entered it as replacements for the strikers.

2. Occupational level, stability and mobility

The occupational level of the three groups clearly reflects their length of residence and the various opportunities which the members of each group received and skills they possessed when they were integrated into economic life. The findings which we are discussing here may well be a faithful reflection of the process by which the successive waves of migrants have taken their place in urban society. The city-born residents are the children of foreign immigrants (principally Italian) who at the beginning of the century took part in the first industrial activity in the area; their higher level of skills, and their preferential position not only in the area's traditional industry but also in other, more highly skilled types of work, are obviously related to that fact. The migrants from the interior who began to arrive in the 1930-35 period were at first in a more unfavourable position: the survey found them to be at an intermediate stage, having attained an occupational position which on the average was inferior to that of the city-born group, but superior to that of the recent migrants, in respect of type of occupation, remuneration and status. The recent migrants held the least desirable positions and are probably repeating, although in a different and perhaps more difficult setting, the experience of their predecessors. (See tables 28, 29 and 30.)

Table 28

LENGTH OF TIME EMPLOYED DURING PAST YEAR; EARNINGS
 (MIGRANTS AND CITY-BORN RESIDENTS IN THE
 THREE GROUPS)

Characteristics of employment	Recent migrants <u>Villa</u> (1/2)	Earlier migrants <u>Isla</u> (4)	City- born <u>Isla</u> (5)
<u>Months employed during past year</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Throughout the year	45	61	77
Seven to eleven months	23	21	8
Four to six months	18	9	-
Up to three months	14	9	15
	100	100	100
<u>Average earnings - Males</u>	<u>1 249</u>	<u>1 642</u>	<u>1 720</u>
Up to 1 000	10	9	11
1 000 to 2 000	77	67	58
More than 2 000	13	24	31
	100	100	100
<u>Average earnings - Females</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>931</u>	<u>817</u>
Up to 1 000	88	46	50
1 000 to 2 000	12	54	50
	100	100	100
<u>Percentage of males having a second occupation</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>-</u>

Table 29

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF PERSONS FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE
 AND OVER WHO WERE SURVEYED

Classification	Male			Female		
	Recent migrants	Earlier migrants	City-born	Recent migrants	Earlier migrants	City-born
Day labourer or unskilled worker	61	42	6	20	8	-
Apprentice or trainee	3	9	8	5	-	10
Semi-skilled worker	3	12	10	-	8	-
Skilled worker	11	22	23	-	-	10
Foreman	3	3	5	-	-	-
White-collar worker	11	9	28	-	8	20
Supervisor or manager	-	-	6	-	-	-
Employer	1	-	3	-	-	-
Self-employed	4	-	10	35	46	50
Others	3	3	1	40	30	10
	100	100	100	100	100	100

/Table 30

Table 30

CHANGE OF OCCUPATION AND STABILITY IN JOBS
 (Heads of family)

	Recent migrants <u>Villa</u> (1/2)	Earlier migrants <u>Isla</u> (4)	City- born <u>Isla</u> (5)
<u>Number of times individual moved to new neighbourhood or city in search of work</u>			
Two or more times	22	-	not determined
<u>Length of time with present firm</u>			
Three months or less	14	13	8
Five months to one year	35	19	19
One to five years	41	26	22
Five to ten years	8	29	19
More than ten years	2	13	32
	100	100	100
<u>Number of times individual changed trade or occupation</u>			
Never	6	16	28
Once	9	24	25
Twice	35	16	19
Three times or more	50	44	28
	100	100	100
<u>Change of status in changing from one trade or occupation to another</u>			
Improvement in status	23	40	50
No change in status	63	47	44
Decline in status	14	13	6
	100	100	100

/Most of

Most of the recent migrants can be classified as peones, day labourers with no special skills; perhaps a quarter of them have some qualification, and the level varies. Approximately half of the recent migrants are unskilled; among the city-born residents the figure is about 15 per cent. In addition to skilled workers, the latter group includes a certain number of self-employed artisans and lower-grade white-collar workers. The women in the recently-arrived group are employed primarily in domestic service, and a few in industry.

Less than 50 per cent of the migrants worked throughout the year; a third of them were able to work only six months or less. The position of the earlier migrants is somewhat better in this respect, the corresponding proportion being 18 per cent. This is attributable to the fact that, as we have seen, many of the recent migrants are employed in a type of work (dockyard work and sea transport) which is dependent on the fluctuating business activities in the area. The fact that almost a quarter of the city-born group was found to have been unemployed during part of the year is primarily the result of the strike already referred to. Even if we discount the fortuitous factors which affected continuity of employment in the three groups, it is apparent that a large proportion of the recent migrants included in the survey cannot in any sense be regarded as fully employed. The level of earnings reflects the employment situation as we have outlined it.

Contrary to expectations, only a small percentage of the migrants and none of the city-born residents were found to have a second occupation. It had been thought that the number was greater.

The tendencies among members of the three groups to remain in the same type of work or to move about in search of employment, and their length of employment in their present jobs, follow the expected pattern. The recently-arrived group is more inclined to change environment in search of work and also shows a greater tendency to change occupation. By contrast, the length of time spent in the present job is greater among the earlier migrants and the city-born residents.

A dynamic view of the position of the three groups can perhaps be obtained from the data relating to changes in occupational status. By

/means of

means of a simple index showing the shifts from completely unskilled work to semi-skilled, skilled, supervisory, and managerial work, etc., an attempt has been made to obtain a rough measurement of the significance of these shifts. The three groups show a certain tendency to rise in occupational status; more of their members are moving upwards than downwards. However, while half of the city-born group and 40 per cent of the earlier migrants show a rise in status, the figure is only 23 per cent among the recent migrants. To be sure, there is also an age factor to be considered (since the city-born group includes a greater number of older persons) but, even if this differential element is discounted, the greater mobility of the city-born and other residents of longer standing remains apparent. On the other hand, these differing percentages reflect the history of the last few decades - the upward movement which has been fostered by the successive waves of migration referred to above.

3. Attitude towards work

An attempt was made, through various sets of questions (both free and multiple-choice), to obtain data on attitude towards work; some of the findings are given here (see table 31). On the whole, it was not possible, with the degree of analysis employed in this report, to form a coherent picture of the differences (if any) between the various groups, much less the possible trends, as was done in examining other aspects of this question. Of course, some predictable characteristics, chiefly bound up with differences in occupational status, do appear. One example is the greater degree of satisfaction with work shown by the city-born group and the earlier migrants. Here there is a distinct trend which follows the anticipated pattern. The city-born residents give a greater variety of reasons than the migrants for describing a particular position they have held at some time as their "best job". Nevertheless, two factors are cited more frequently by all of them: pleasant work (the one most frequently mentioned) and good pay. The reasons given by the persons surveyed for describing a particular position as the "worst job" they have ever held also coincide and diverge in varying degrees. The order of frequency of the reasons most often cited is virtually the same: work was difficult, was dangerous, was poorly paid. An even greater measure of agreement was

Table 31

ATTITUDE TOWARDS WORK (HEADS OF FAMILY)

Attitude towards work	Recent migrants <u>Villa</u> (1/2)	Earlier migrants <u>Isla</u> (4)	Native- born <u>Isla</u> (5)
<u>Adjustment to present occupation</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Completely satisfied	42	58	67
Resigned to job but does not like it	26	17	17
Dissatisfied	23	8	9
Other attitudes	9	17	7
	100	100	100
Considered changing occupation	43	32	25
Best job individual ever had was characterized by:			
Good pay	32	23	21
Pleasant work	37	47	30
Greater responsibility	-	12	4
Other factors	30	30	45
	100	100	100
Worst job individual ever had was characterized by:			
Difficult work	40	18	30
Poor pay	21	18	13
Unhealthy or dangerous working conditions	16	39	31
Other factors	23	25	26
	100	100	100

/obtained when

obtained when the subjects were asked which characteristics of a job (sixteen in all) were highly important, which were important, and which were of lesser importance. In the relative rank given to these characteristics, a correlation of 94 per cent was found between the recent and earlier migrant groups and one of 85 per cent between the recent migrant and city-born groups. Some divergence (lighter work given as highly important) and large areas of agreement were noted.

In comparing work in the provinces with work in Buenos Aires, the migrants express once more in different ways their reasons for migrating and for remaining in Buenos Aires. The two groups of migrants state that work in the provinces was much more difficult to obtain, less well paid, less steady and more difficult; they also state that they had fewer trade-union rights, worked harder, and longer hours, and had less opportunity for advancement (the last factor being cited particularly by the earlier migrants). The two groups agree that there are no noticeable differences in the attitudes of employers or supervisors, in the difficulty of the work, in their fellow-workers, etc.

4. Level of general and technical education

Although the origin and different length of residence of the three groups are reflected in the level of general education there are some exceptions, attributable, perhaps, to the age composition of the groups and past differences in their educational opportunities. On the one hand, the level of education drops as age increases (i.e. it is lower in the older age-groups); on the other hand the older migrants, especially if they arrived as young people or children, enjoyed the greater opportunities offered by the town. At all events the technical education received at school is markedly superior in the earliest migrant group and, of course, in the city-born group. The recent migrants have the highest illiteracy rate and only some 30 per cent had had an education at least at the primary level. As we have seen, the educational level is generally lower among women than among men in all three groups (see table 32).

Table 32
 LEVEL OF GENERAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Type of education	Males			Females		
	Recent migrants	Earlier migrants	City-born	Recent migrants	Earlier migrants	City-born
	(1/2) <u>Villa</u>	(4) <u>Isla</u>	(5) <u>Isla</u>	(1/2) <u>Villa</u>	(4) <u>Isla</u>	(5) <u>Isla</u>
<u>General education</u>						
None-illiterate	7	3	2	14	11	3
None-able to read	3	3	-	2	14	2
Primary, up to second grade	19	11	12	32	14	13
Primary, up to third, fourth or fifth grades	41	46	33	40	39	36
Complete primary	23	32	36	12	17	29
One year or more of secondary, etc.	7	5	17	-	5	17
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Technical education</u>	36	28	68	21	29	31
<u>Training received for:</u>						
Industrial work (except building trades and handicrafts)	11	16	36	1	-	-
Building trades	5	-	3	-	-	-
Non-domestic handicrafts	7	3	5	17	16	17
Semi-professional and professional technical work	6	3	4	3	3	3
Miscellaneous	5	3	4	-	5	5
Administrative work	2	3	15	-	5	6
<u>Where technical training was received</u>						
On the job	63	40	66	13	40	-
At school	22	60	34	2	51	95
Elsewhere	15	-	-	85	9	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Chapter V

PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL LIFE AND RECREATION

1. Voluntary associations

One of the traits which mark off the recent migrants most clearly from the city-born residents is the degree of formal and informal participation in social life, especially formal. In the urbanized part of the area studied there are many active voluntary associations, mainly devoted to sports or providing entertainment of various kinds to their members. (See table 33.) This feature is common to all the working-class population of Buenos Aires, though in varying degrees. Institutions have sprung up spontaneously, sometimes without initial capital, and through the co-operation of their members some of them have reached a noteworthy level of equipment and organization - they have their clubhouses (which they sometimes own), sports grounds and other installations needed for their activities. The vast majority of city-born families are members, sometimes of more than one association, and the local people frequently spend a good deal of their free time in organizing and running them.

In addition to these institutions, which are essentially local enterprises, their sphere of activity being confined to the area, many of the city-born residents interviewed belong to other organizations, especially trade unions and mutual societies for medical care. Ninety per cent of the city-born families were members of one association or another, and the average number of memberships per family was almost 2.9. Active participation, as distinct from mere membership, also tends to be high. Over 50 per cent fall into the category of "medium" participation (based on an index), which means not only that they belong to more than one association but also that the members regularly attend or hold some office. There is no doubt that the clubs, in particular, perform a significant function in the formation of the local community. Apart from contacts made at work, contacts are made mostly within the ecological environment and frequently at the club, which is the regular meeting-place for male members of the city-born families. In addition these organizations sometimes undertake to deal with more general problems of the local community and have set up, with the co-operation of the Integral

Table 33

INDEXES OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS
 MEMBERSHIP AND DEGREE OF PARTICIPATION

Social participation (Voluntary associations)	Recent migrants 1/2 Villa	Earlier migrants (4) Isla	City-born (5) Isla
<u>Average membership per family</u> (voluntary associations)	0.8	2.1	2.9
<u>Degree of participation in</u> voluntary associations: combined index based on the number of memberships and the degree of participation. Average per family.			
None	41	18	10
Low	31	32	10
Medium	27	45	53
High	1	5	27
	100	100	100

Development Centre in operation there, a council on which they are all represented. Thus the quarter tends to inherit - in a different form, and in the metropolitan setting - some of the functions of the small communities of traditional society, and even maintains intact some feelings of identification and "belonging", which are fairly evident in the urbanized area of the Isla.

This picture contrasts with the situation prevailing in the villa among the recent immigrants. The rate of participation is much lower at both the informal and the formal level. Forty per cent of families do not belong to any association, and almost all the others belong to only one; furthermore, very few of them belong to local clubs. They may be members of trade unions and in some cases mutual societies - though they do not seem to use the latter. There may possibly have been some discrimination against recent arrivals (Villa dwellers) at some clubs, but it is also known that other institutions have applied no such measures or have even sought to attract members in some way. Furthermore the Development Centre has had, and still has, to overcome serious difficulties in inducing the inhabitants of the Villa to join in organized activities in any capacity. Occasionally, groups from the Villa have achieved some form of spontaneous organization, for example to hold dances. These have been short-lived activities of a casual nature. The earlier migrants living in the urbanized area occupy an intermediate position which, however, is much closer to that of the city-born group than to that of the recent migrant group, especially in the case of families which belong to some association and participate at at least medium level. There is no lack of migrants in leading positions.

2. Informal social participation

The picture is similar when we come to consider the degree of informal social participation among the groups studied. (See table 34.) Over one-third of the recent migrant families have no one with whom they can keep up a degree of intimacy or confidence, whom they can "approach for aid or advice" in case of need; this proportion drops to about 15 per cent among the earlier migrants and natives. As in the number per family, there are differences in the averages and in distribution. As regards the type

Table 34

INFORMAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION; PERSONS APPROACHED FOR AID OR ADVICE.
 REGULAR CONTACTS OF THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD

Informal social participation	Recent migrants (1/2) Villa	Earlier migrants (4) Isla	City-born (5) Isla
<u>Persons approached for aid and advice</u>			
Average per family	1.6	2.0	2.3
<u>Persons approached for aid and advice</u>			
Percentage of families who have no one	36	18	15
These persons are:			
Acquaintances (percentage of families)	29	33	48
Companions "	33	30	30
Friends "	46	58	63
Relatives "	33	61	63
<u>Percentage of contacts for each group</u>			
Where met:			
in the quarter	52	48	56
at work	26	27	19
at the club	5	10	9
elsewhere	17	15	16
	100	100	100
<u>Frequency of contacts of the head of the household with friends, relatives and neighbours</u>			
Relatives (regularly)	18	64	72
Friends (")	7	22	17
Neighbours(")	20	18	29

of relationship maintained with such trusted persons, those described as "friends" take first place in all three groups, but among the earlier migrants and natives they share that position with "relatives"; the latter, too, hold a prominent position. The less frequent incidence of such contacts among the recent migrants is obviously connected with the fact that most of their relatives live in the provinces. The lower degree of participation is also reflected in the lesser frequency of "acquaintances" declared by the immigrants. With regard to the place where these trusted persons are first met, the quarter comes first in all three groups, but they differ in that the place of work is more important among the migrants, and the club is more important among the city-born residents and the earlier migrants. The reason why the proportion of trusted persons met at the club seems low (when we consider the importance attributed to these institutions from the standpoint of social participation) is that, especially among the city-born people, the club and the quarter, the local community, merge or overlap because they are made up of the same people. Thus, as already stated, the male natives meet at the club more than one-third of all their regular contacts outside the home.

The relatives outside the basic family unit seem to retain their importance in informal social participation; besides being the group from which persons of trust are most frequently drawn, they represent for the head of the household the nucleus of most of his regular contacts. It should be borne in mind that, while the questions do not measure specific behaviour patterns, which were not observed, they do at any rate imply that certain attitudes are taken. Among the migrant groups the situation is the same when we take into account contacts maintained by correspondence or visits. The recent migrants continue to have relatives and friends and to keep in touch with them; this, however, applies with far greater frequency to relatives, and friends in the provinces are much rarer. The same is true of the earlier migrant group, where the existence of relatives and relationships with them is at least as frequent as in the case of recent migrants, if not more so, while contact with friends is very rarely maintained. (See table 35.)

Table 35

THE MIGRANT' RELATIONSHIPS WITH FRIENDS AND
 RELATIVES IN THE INTERIOR

Relations with friends and relatives in the provinces	Recent migrants (1/2) <u>Villa</u>	Earlier migrants (4) <u>Isla</u>
<u>Having relatives or friends in the provinces:</u>		
Ascendants and/or friends	54	51
Descendants and/or friends	5	4
Collaterals and/or friends	34	42
Friends only	1	-
Neither relatives nor friends	6	3
	—	—
	100	100
<u>Relationships with relatives</u>		
Through visits	12	16
Through letters	38	31
Both	22	38
Other relationships	4	2
No relationships	17	11
No relatives	7	2
	—	—
	100	100
<u>Relationships with friends</u>		
Through visits	4	-
Through letters	13	11
Both	22	7
No relationships	26	2
No friends	35	80
	—	—
	100	100

/These very

These very brief observations on the data covering formal and informal social participation show clearly that the city-born and earlier migrant groups are more highly integrated, and that for these groups residence in the small local community means that most of their contacts (quarter and club) are made within the area, probably with persons born there or residents of long standing. The nucleus of relatives outside the basic family unit remains important in all groups, but among recent migrants contacts are limited for material reasons; moreover such migrants, set apart ecologically in the Villa and socially by differences in family customs and other social traits, participate little if at all in the activities of the local community and are not in a position to create another community in their own area. These facts must also bear some relation to the lower degree of family integration already referred to in an earlier chapter, and must be borne in mind when we consider the incidence of various pathological phenomena among the different groups.

3. Other contacts

Newspapers and magazines, radio. All three groups seem to be regular newspaper-readers, and to differ little in the extent of this reading. In all three there are very few families where no newspaper is read, and about 50 per cent read two or more. There is a scale of frequency so far as magazines are concerned: two-fifths of the recent migrants, as against only one-fifth among the city-born group, read none. At the other extreme, the relative frequency with which three or more publications are read varies in the same way among the three groups. Preferences in regard to the daily papers most frequently read also show rising or falling trends in the three groups; while the more popular dailies are read most by all three groups, we find that the frequency with which newspapers of a more middle-class type are read increases as we turn from the recent to the earlier migrants; conversely, the dailies closer in content and presentation to the tastes of the working classes are less frequently read among the earlier migrant and city-born groups. Similar trends are observable in the reading of magazines, with some exceptions, the significance of which was not studied. The fact that (except in a minority of cases) Villa dwellings are without electricity /is probably

is probably the main reason why only 42 per cent listen regularly to the radio. However, in the migrant group living in normal dwellings (with electricity) in the urbanized area, regular radio listening is still less common than among the city-born residents.

Lastly, a similar gradation is observed in participation in public entertainments - mainly films and sporting events. No detailed tabulations have been made, but the general figures show that more than half the recent migrant families do not attend such performances or do so only occasionally, and that the proportion of persons attending is greater in the other groups. Cases in which only the head of the household attends public performances (more numerous in the Villa) have been distinguished from the rest; in such cases the participation of the family group in the cultural life of the city is obviously much lower.

To sum up: of the various media of mass communication through which migrants may be brought into contact with different aspects of the life of the city and of society as a whole, the daily newspaper has the greatest (in fact universal) impact; the frequency of use is smaller for all other media, including radio. Here again the participation of the recent migrant group is on a smaller, though still considerable, scale. On the whole the recent migrant group is the most isolated, the one least in touch with the city's culture and with society at large; there is more such contact among the earlier migrants, and most of all (as regards the group studied) among the city-born families. (See table 36.)

Table 36

MASS COMMUNICATION MEDIA. RADIO, PUBLIC
 ENTERTAINMENTS, NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES

Mass communication media and recreations	Recents migrants (1) <u>Villa</u>	Early migrants (4) <u>Isla</u>	Native Isla (5)
<u>Newspaper and magazine reading:</u>			
Average number read <u>regularly</u> per family	Newspapers 1.5	1.7	1.5
	Magazines 1.5	2.6	2.2
Percentage of families which:			
read no newspapers	7	3	6
read one	42	39	44
read two or more	51	58	50
Percentage of families which:			
read no magazines	39	27	19
read one	18	6	12
read two	16	21	14
read three or more	27	46	55
<u>Radio</u>			
All or most members of the family listen <u>regularly</u> to the radio (every day or not less than three times a week) (percentage of families)	42	58	70
<u>Public entertainments</u>			
Percentage of families in which the adults <u>usually</u> attend (excluding cases where only the husband attends and never the wife)	45	58	73
Percentage of families in which only the head of the household attends	17	8	3

Chapter VI

SOME ASPECTS OF ADAPTATION

1. Fulfilment of expectations and difficulties encountered

The most powerful motive for migration - the search for employment and better working conditions - has certainly found fulfilment in the Buenos Aires area. In this respect at least, the migrants' expectations have been fulfilled. The majority found work within a fortnight of their arrival, others a little later, but all or almost all did find work. Furthermore, the groups investigated consider working conditions at Buenos Aires decidedly superior to those in the areas from which they emigrated. So far as physical conditions are concerned, however, they found a change for the worse in regard to housing. On this the majority view is just as definite as it is on working conditions, and the interesting point is that the same attitude is found among the earlier migrants, who live in similar dwellings to those of the city-born families. It should be noted, however, that the latter too place housing at the head of their list of problems; and it must be mentioned in this connexion that the conditions prevailing in the interior, in both rural and urban areas, are very bad; yet these migrants consider the conditions in which they have to live at Buenos Aires to be even worse. On the whole the balance struck by the different soundings of opinion is in no sense unfavourable to the town.

As against one-fifth or fewer who say they have sometimes regretted their decision to migrate, two-thirds are satisfied with their decision. Many of these have had their material problems - especially with regard to housing, and to a lesser extent with regard to work - and also difficulties of psychological adaptation; they cite the people and the way of life, the hustling, the urban pace of life, to which they were not accustomed; but from what they said when questioned, these problems arose at the start, and they have now adapted themselves. While, as we shall see, many retain ties with their birth-places, through visits or correspondence, most do not seem to miss them particularly. In the replies, their memories are counter-balanced by the reasons which impelled them to migrate.

/The things

The things they found worse at Buenos Aires - apart from housing - were the "climate", the "people" and, less frequently, "family life". No one said that he had found his mates better to work with at Buenos Aires than in the provinces, and a number said the opposite. It should be noted that the wave of migration in the past fifteen years had produced some evident reactions among the resident population, namely a certain amount of discrimination in the manner of referring to the newcomers, or even hostility with, at times, political overtones, but often bearing no relation to any other factor. Thus, in the area studied, the people of the more urbanized part (Isla) do not hide their contempt for the recent arrivals, from whom they do not differ politically. This attitude has, however, rarely given rise to acts of overt discrimination. In view of this situation it might be supposed that some degree of adverse feeling towards migrants would have been observed fairly frequently amongst the townspeople. The sampling taken did not confirm this, or at any rate not fully. Only one quarter found any hostility; the majority considered the attitude of the townspeople friendly and one third considered them indifferent.

All the ways in which the recent migrants differ from those who arrived earlier run in the direction of a more frequent acceptance of the various aspects of town life about which questions were asked; fewer difficulties on arrival, less hostility observed, and a more favourable comparison of Buenos Aires with the provinces. These attitudes obviously reflect a combination of factors: the group is already much better adapted to urban life; the time which has elapsed since migration is much longer; and perhaps the circumstances in which the actual migration itself took place were better (see tables 37, 38 and 39).

Over half the recent migrants consider that family life was better in the provinces; among the other the proportion is lower. In both groups the proportion who consider it "better in the city" is very small. How far these attitudes reflect the high degree of social disorganization typical of the Villa cannot be determined from the analyses made so far. What can be stated is that, side by side with adaptation to urban ways, as described in chapter III, we find other phenomenon - disintegration, which will be discussed in the ensuing paragraphs.

Table 37

TIME TAKEN BY MIGRANTS TO FIND WORK

Time taken to find work	Recent migrants	Earlier migrants
	<u>Villa</u> <u>(1/2)</u>	<u>Isla</u> <u>(4)</u>
Immediately	8	15
Two weeks or less	66	56
Two weeks to one month	11	19
Over one month	15	10

Table 38

THE MIGRANTS' ATTITUDE TO THEIR EXPERIENCES ON REACHING
 BUENOS AIRES

Attitude of migrants	Recent migrants	Earlier migrants
	<u>Villa</u> <u>(1/2)</u>	<u>Isla</u> <u>(4)</u>
Find conditions satisfactory at Buenos Aires	76	84
Have sometimes regretted moving	20	16
Find conditions bad	3	-
Things not as expected on arrival	20	3
<u>Material difficulties at Buenos Aires</u>		
None	53	55
Difficulties over housing	39	24
Difficulties over housing, money, work	27	21
<u>Psychological difficulties at Buenos Aires</u>		
None	45	51
People and way of life	20	14
Atmosphere and excessive pace of living	16	11
Loneliness	8	8
Other difficulties	11	16
Townspeople hostile to people from the provinces	25	19
Townspeople friendly to people from the provinces	45	50
Townspeople indifferent	31	31
Miss native village or town	43	46

Table 39

SOME COMPARATIVE ASPECTS OF LIFE IN THE BUENOS AIRES
 AREA AND IN THE PROVINCES

Comparison between Buenos Aires and the provinces	Recent migrants <u>Villa</u>	Earlier migrants <u>Isla</u>
<u>Found better at Buenos Aires</u>		
Work	74	94
Schools; health care; opportunities for the children	75	77
Amusements	61	82
<u>Found the same at Buenos Aires</u>		
Food	60	28
Friendships	51	61
<u>Found worse at Buenos Aires</u>		
Housing	71	72
Climate	55	41
People	53	28
Family life	56	45

2. Minors

Truancy and failure to attend school are more prevalent among the migrant families living in the Villa than among the city-born families and those of the earlier migrant group. In the first-named group it was found that one third of all minors between six and fourteen years of age inclusive, i.e. at the age of compulsory school attendance had left off attending school or had never gone to school. This proportion fluctuates around 10 per cent among the migrant or city-born families living in the urbanized area. Among the city-born group only four girls per thirty school-age children of both sexes failed to attend. The difference becomes clearer if we analyse the proportion of families (in all three groups) in which all or no children attend school; the latter category includes some 17 per cent of recent migrant families, some 7 per cent of the earlier migrant families, and none of the city-born families. Roughly speaking, the children tend to leave school at the start of the second primary grade or earlier, and very few children of recent migrant families have managed to pass this point (only three were between the third and sixth grades, a little over 12 per cent of all the minors concerned). The high incidence of truancy and failure to attend among these families reflects not only their unsatisfactory present situation but also an equally serious characteristic in their areas of origin, where the figures for both these phenomena are usually very high.

Among the migrant families the number of children under fourteen years of age who are at work is negligible. Among the city-born families there are none. In this connexion it should be remembered that it is illegal to work at this age. Between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years, on the other hand, the proportion of adolescents, especially boys, in regular work is much higher in the city-born group than among the more recent migrants. Among women work outside the home is much less common, and in the city-born group almost non-existent. Among the recent migrants most boys between fourteen and eighteen years of age who work do so as day labourers (peones) or apprentices in various trades. No young people in this age-group are classified as

/peones among

peones among the earlier migrants or city-born residents; in these cases they are trainees or apprentices. Among the women of the recent migrant groups, almost all are employed in domestic service.

Alongside the environment of the Villa, the precarious conditions of family life and the degree of disorganization of the latter, we find the level of problems affecting children to be far higher than among the families of the city-born or earlier migrant groups resident in the urbanized area. "Gangs" of children and juveniles are formed, and in some cases gradually turn into bands of real delinquents. This is also confirmed by the feeling which the grown-ups have about the situation. They mention "bad company" and the "danger of going wrong" as the most serious problems they have to face; and in this respect there is a significant difference between the recent immigrant families and the others. (See tables 40, 41 and 42.)

3. Social disorganization

The degree of social disorganization observed in the Villa is high, exceeding that in the earlier migrant group resident in the urbanized area and, of course, the proportion which could be ascertained among the city-born families. Among those from the Villa interviewed, twenty-one families were found to have serious problems. Except for perhaps six cases, in which the problems were confined to the children, all of them were practically disrupted: that is to say, either they were incomplete, or else the family relationship was extremely disturbed, the adults (or the adult males) taking no part, or no regular part, in maintaining the household, and the families being on the point of splitting up (in some cases this happened while the inquiries were in progress); at all events they lacked any semblance of normal family life. Some units had two or even more problems at once, and for this reason the number of problems shown in the headings of the table is greater than the number of families. More than one fifth of the recent migrant families had serious problems; the proportion was the same in the two groups of different length of residence into which the families in this area can be divided (22 per cent in both groups). The proportion dropped to 15 per cent among the earlier migrants resident in

Table 40

CHILDREN BETWEEN SIX AND FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL
 AS A PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN OF THE SAME AGE AND SEX

Groups	Male	Female	Total
Recent migrants (<u>Villa</u>) (groups 1 and 2)	38	26	32
Earlier migrants (<u>Isla</u>) (group 4)	15	-	8
City-born (group 5)	-	26	13

Table 41

PROPORTION OF FAMILIES IN WHICH ALL OR NO CHILDREN
 OF SCHOOL AGE ATTEND SCHOOL

School attendance	Recent migrants <u>Villa</u>	Earlier migrants <u>Isla</u>	City-born <u>Isla</u>
Families in which all children attend school	59	86	92
Families in which no children attend school	17	7	0

Table 42

SOME OF THE PROBLEMS PARENTS SAY THEY HAVE WITH THEIR CHILDREN.
 PROPORTION PER 100 FAMILIES IN EACH GROUP

Problems	Recent migrants (1/2) <u>Villa</u>	Earlier migrants (4) <u>Isla</u>	City-born (5) <u>Isla</u>
"Keep bad company"	50	22	22
"In danger of going wrong"	49	26	17
"Are disobedient"	30	30	26
"Do not attend school"	23	9	7
"Are bad-tempered"	26	17	13
"Have nowhere to go"	47	57	16
"Quarrel with neighbours"	12	22	13
"Are lazy"	14	17	5
Mention some problem	58	26	48

to Buenos Aires. On the other hand we get the impression that in some of the cases observed migration has had a disintegrating effect, has aggravated existing problems or has created new ones. The final, more detailed breakdown and the study of cases will supply more accurate information on this point.

Meanwhile the analysis of social participation in its various forms has shown how far the group of recent migrants differs from the city-born group and from that of longer residence. In the Villa the machinery of social control is almost wholly lacking or in a sad state at the family level, at the level of the local community, and at the level of society as a whole. We also know that at least one of the mainsprings of this control, the nexus of family relationships based on the basic family unit, was more active in the provinces; frequent contacts with this group are still maintained, and its stabilizing effect must certainly have been much more powerful when contact was direct. Hence, even in the absence of basic studies on the social condition of the communities from which the migrants came, it is possible to affirm that, in the group studied, the normal bonds of control (previously more effective) were found to be weakened and that, at any rate in the Villa, nothing had taken their place.

Furthermore there is a tendency towards the accumulation in such areas, not only of the demoralizing factors which are due to economic difficulties and primitive housing conditions, but also of the factors which arise from the inclination of individuals already on the fringe of normal behaviour, or partly disintegrated, to gather there. The effect of "contagion" (a handy term for a group of complex mechanisms) then tends to act as a catalyst, and all the other conditions accumulate. In this atmosphere, moreover, traits of behaviour which express a difference in culture rather than disorganization take on a different meaning; they may, in fact, promote disorganization even though they cannot in any sense be regarded as in that category.

Although all detailed reference to questions of methodology has been omitted from this interim report, we must now give some indication of the degree of accuracy and validity of the observations made. The

questionnaire did not, of course, include questions directly on these lines, but (a) there were a great many items from which it was possible to infer with reasonable accuracy the type of family organization, internal relationships, regularity of behaviour at work, amusements, friendships and so on, and thus to determine the existence of problems and their nature; and (b) the interviewer had to use his interviews to obtain all available information, and to make a special report on it. This was done, and in many cases the problems were described explicitly; in other cases plausible inferences could be drawn concerning the actual situation. Sometimes, where confirmation was needed, it was obtained from institutions active in the community. As a rule the attitude of the city-born families was more reserved; this attitude to "private matters" may have concealed the presence of some problems which were regarded as shameful or reprehensible. However, it would have been very difficult for cases of disorganization on the scale found among the migrants to escape observation, that is to say, cases classifiable as "problems" according to the definition adopted.

