
RESEARCH REPORTS AND NOTES

THE STATE OF OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION STUDIES IN ARGENTINA: A Classificatory Scheme*

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Research in social mobility in postcolonial Argentina has not benefitted from the sweeping changes in methodology and content found in histories of other periods and areas.¹ The question of social mobility receives close attention in these studies partly because it offers such a variety of research opportunities and is measurable in several forms. Usually, the laboratory for these recent studies is the city—the place with the greatest opportunities for self-improvement. Since the nineteenth century, the city has become the locus of concentration for countless native and foreign migrants. With the appropriate data, urban social historians have investigated their spatial and economic dimensions of mobility.² In addition, one of the bases of social change most often studied is the shifting within the occupational structure. The ties between occupation and social ranking are intimate. “Thus,” writes Michael Katz, “to trace the movements of a man from occupation to occupation is, to a considerable extent, to trace his

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vertical movement within social space; the sum of those movements determines the patterns and rate of social mobility, the degree of openness, within a society."³

Comparable historical studies for Latin America are few, tentative, and not addressed to urban social mobility; rather, they stress the changing character of urban areas. Some researchers investigate the repercussions of political struggles in cities; others show some not too surprising connections between population size and urban institutions.⁴ What is of greatest interest to us, the study of occupational mobility in Argentina, has usually been expressed in the analytically limited terms of the primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors of the economy.⁵ Moreover, occupational stratification research has not been the province of social historians, but has been virtually monopolized by Argentine economic historians and sociologists who rely principally on the published censuses for its historical aspects nationwide, and on survey techniques to measure recent changes, primarily in Buenos Aires.⁶

The utilization of published aggregate data and surveys has provided us with broad views of social changes; in fact, the possibilities are strong that the wide occupational categories that these studies employ may hide important particularities which could amend significantly the present body of conclusions. The use of the primary-secondary-tertiary division, for example, may be appropriate for economic studies of sectoral participation in the gross national product, for questions of economic planning, or for reviewing the results brought about by import substitution programs. But such a scheme is inadequate to social historians interested in individual cases of movement (or lack thereof) along an occupational scale in which the basic conditioning units are the skills of workers, rather than the occupations' economic roles in national production.

Some works, again by sociologists, employ more refined occupational categories, but are applicable only for the recent period. Gino Germani has used the traditional trichotomy of economic sectors in addition to a rough-hewn dual "socio-occupational" classification. Persons involved in commerce, services, industry, agriculture, liberal professions, employees, and "similar" occupations form one stratum, while skilled and unskilled workers, peasants, day-laborers, and "similar" types form another.⁷ Only when studying modern society does he divide the working population of metropolitan Buenos Aires into seven categories of skill which form a manual/nonmanual dichotomy.⁸ Sergio Bagú has interpreted occupational stratification in Argentina from a four-sector classification involving agricultural production, industrial manufactures, state employment, and commerce-related occupations.⁹

One economic historian devised a table showing the distribution of the Argentine working population from 1869 to 1914 in which extremely wide occupational sectors were lumped indiscriminately with social class levels; moreover, “middle class” and “upper class” were indistinguishable.¹⁰ Furthermore, she projected regressively—and by design—a modern international classification of occupations and industries on a nineteenth- and early twentieth-century society.¹¹ Thus, the common historiographical thread running through Argentine studies of pre-1960 social structure has been the use of published population, industrial, and agricultural census volumes.¹² Fortunately, the raw population census schedules, from which the published data had been gathered, are now available for 1869 and 1895, thanks to their recent discovery and placement in the *Archivo General de la Nación*. The raw data are there for those who wish to do systematic and rigorous work on local rural or urban areas.

With the aid of these and other sources, the authors are presently involved in the study of nineteenth- and twentieth-century social mobility among three ethnic groups in two Argentine cities; the groups are Jews, Frenchmen, and Spaniards in the cities of Buenos Aires and Córdoba. The voluntary associations of each of these groups provide an additional wealth of data about their memberships and their activities which has heretofore been neglected.¹³ These sources form the basis from which we are able to put together, for the first time, an occupational classification for Argentina which bypasses the manipulation of the data—through aggregation or exclusion—by public officials or researchers. Our goal is to place foremost emphasis on the use of “bottom-type” documentation which has, so far, been ignored. This term refers to sources containing the documents prepared by or for the individuals living at the time, not to the documentation written about them by others; thus, for example, the vital records and personal affairs of those whose lives are traced by the researcher form the essential bibliography.

The occupational listing comes from a number of primary and unpublished sources found in the cities of Buenos Aires and Córdoba as part of two broader studies on urban social mobility and integration. The bulk of the materials used in gathering the occupations includes the manuscript census returns for the cities of Buenos Aires (1895) and Córdoba (1869 and 1895); the registries of members of the *Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina de Buenos Aires* (1905–73), the *Sociedad Española de Socorros Mutuos de Córdoba* (1872–1927), and the *Société Française de Secours Mutuels du Córdoba* (1875–1973); city directories for the Jewish community in Buenos Aires (1921, 1923, 1927, and 1945); city directories for the city of Córdoba (1901, 1904, 1918, and 1921); voter

registration lists (1894–1907); biographical dictionaries; and telephone books for the city of Buenos Aires (1907, 1917, 1927, and 1936). The occupations may show faulty spelling, and may represent incorrect usage in Spanish, but we wanted to safeguard the original nomenclature.

The usefulness of the list is that it provides directions, patterns, and trends when tracing lives of individuals. However, since there are almost one thousand occupations, disagreements over the placing of individual occupations within certain categories are inevitable. Furthermore, the rigorous quality of the listing is limited by and relative to (a) the veracity and thoroughness of information exacted from the sources, and (b) the complexities of human behavior, exemplified by multiple occupations for the same individual at the same point in time.

One of the difficulties encountered in correctly classifying the occupation of a sample member is that information concerning his economic status is very difficult to trace. In Argentina there are no property assessments preserved, no tax rolls, no property registries by purchaser, and no available bank records of private accounts. There exist other indicators, however, and they were used whenever appropriate and necessary to clear up any questions. These indicators are, among others, the 1895 manuscript census returns, which tells whether or not individuals owned real property; and civil litigation records, which relate to economic status (*juicio sucesorio*, *testamentaria*, *desalojo*, *embargo*, *cesión de bienes*, *convocatoria de acreedores*, *quiebra*, and others).

Although we have consulted several studies of occupational prestige scales, we have kept primarily within the boundaries of the Argentine source materials.¹⁴ We made our choice not because of any conflict with international prestige uniformities or a culturalist theoretical framework, but because so many of the sampled individuals from whom we drew occupations were active at a time when prestige listings were unknown. Furthermore, shifting generational concepts of man and society create problems of context for which there are yet no clear answers. Lastly, prestige scales place an occupation in a dual context: (a) As a function of its essential quality in the economy, and (b) as a function of the less rigorously defined “aura” that the occupation may elicit from the respondents. As historians dealing with written data we are limited in our capabilities to make the data “come alive.”

We have devised eleven occupational categories: (I) Unskilled and Menial, (II) Semiskilled and Service, (IIA) Semiskilled and Service Related to Rural Occupations, (III) Skilled, (IIIA) Skilled Related to Rural Occupations, (IVL) Low Nonmanual, (IVM) Middle and Unspecified Nonmanual, (IVH) High Nonmanual, (VL) Low Professional, (VH) High Professional, and (VI) Miscellaneous and Unknown. We also identified

twelve characteristics which all occupations, consequently all categories, possess to varying degrees. The characteristics are:

1. Age required
2. Education required
3. Training required—training need not be formal, but, as in the case of artisans, the training is acquired through an apprenticeship
4. Training period required
5. Mode of operation
6. Level of complexity
7. Dependence on local and national economic situation—description of the degree to which one may be forced out of a job for noneconomic reasons (e.g., import substitution programs)
8. Financial security—here it may help to think in terms of how well and long an individual can continue without suffering in times of economic stress; it is a function of ownership together with accumulated wealth, as dictated by the remuneration of the occupation
9. Job schedule—the regularity with which the occupation functions (e.g., street repairs may last only two weeks)
10. Audience to which classification is primarily directed—in terms of width or scope of the population to which the job addresses itself on a daily basis
11. Financial remuneration
12. Duties on a daily basis—not to be thought of in specific terms but in broad aspects (e.g., a medical doctor heals as a generality despite the variations of his patients' illnesses, but a day laborer may pick cotton one day and dig ditches the next).

The occupations are classified according to how they conform to each characteristic of the categories: An occupation that fulfills a minimum of seven of the category's characteristics lies within that category.¹⁵ An occupation can have a multiple classification, depending on information about the person holding that occupation. Unspecified occupations (e.g., *peón*) are sometimes classified differently than precise occupations (e.g., *peón de albañil*). The classification of a job depends in great part on the primary requirements for getting that job done and not solely on its prestige or monetary rewards. This point is particularly relevant in the commercial sector, the constituents of which were mostly petty dealers in products often made by the merchants themselves in conjunction with a handful of employees.

It is within the commercial sector that we find some of the greatest difficulties in categorization. How could we classify a *zapatero* as against a *zapatería*, if there is proof that both the *zapatero*, representing the worker, and the *zapatería*, representing the owner, died with no savings, real

property, or other indicators of economic success? The worker is classified as skilled, while the owner, who may well have participated in the production process, is classified as both skilled and low nonmanual, since the *primary* requirements of the owner are that some money be manipulated and that the operation be supervised in all aspects—purchase of materials, seeking loans, paying the debts, hiring and firing. Complications of this type are not insurmountable and can be usually resolved on a case by case basis.

The need for an occupational classification for Latin America is clear if we are to speak of social mobility in a historical context with any degree of specificity. In this way we shall be able to discern social distances usually hidden by scholars' panoramic views of societies: Not all *comerciantes* are equal in wealth or prestige, nor are all *labradores* poor peons barely earning a living. An occupational classification has limited value by itself, but used in conjunction with other data concerning individuals' areas of residence, life styles, and finances, it will place the subjects under study in clearer perspective. With the aid of computers, properly coded occupations can show patterns of occupational mobility for groups too large or too unwieldy to handle manually.

Our effort should be the first of many to code occupational structures in Argentina and the rest of Latin America, each to suit the needs of particular types of scholarly projects. The classificatory scheme presented here, however, may not satisfy everyone studying the Argentine occupational structure through time; for example, researchers may come across labels used exclusively in the particular region of their interest, and it is likely that such occupations are not included here. Each researcher may be inclined to create his own classification, but he must be prepared to devise careful and unbiased theoretical and operational frameworks to suit his list of occupations in a uniform manner. Those who do find this classification compatible with their projects, however, will spare themselves the effort of having to devise their own. Our hope is that this be one of several contributions to the study of social mobility, a specialty of Latin American social history that is now the concern of a growing number of scholars.

Much work needs to be done before an occupational classification for all of Latin America becomes possible. The classification we present here can be useful in the compilation of a broader one encompassing regions with some commonality of economic development, as may be the case of the countries of the southern cone. In the meantime, it will aid historians wishing to investigate social mobility in Argentina, where thorough research has yet to validate the historic premise of economic opportunity.

APPENDIX A PARAMETERS OF CLASSIFICATIONS

Characteristics of Categories	I Unskilled and Menial (Rural and Urban)	II Semiskilled and Service (Urban)	IIA Semiskilled and Service (Rural)	III Skilled (Urban)	IIIA Skilled (Rural)	IVL Low Non-Manual	IVM Middle and Unspecified Nonmanual	IVH High Non-Manual	VL Low Professional	VH High Professional
1. Age required	None	Above 12*	Above 12*	Above 16*	Above 16*	Variable	Variable	Variable	Above 20†	Above 24†
2. Ed. required	Little or none none	Must read or write	Must read or write	Must read and write	Must read and write	Must read and write	Must read and write	Must read and write	Sub-univ normal sch.	University
3. Training required	None	At learning stage and/or under immediate supervision	Some experience	Technical	Experience	None	None	None	Licensed sub-univ. degreed	Licensed university degreed
4. Training period required	None	Variable	Variable	Variable	Variable	None	None	None	Variable/ internship†	Variable/ internship†
5. Mode of operation	No tools/ muscular as against manual	Few or no machines/ manual	Tools/ manual	Tools and machines/ manual	Tools and machines/ manual	Worker-proprie manual	Nonmanual	Involved with finance/ nonmanual	Nonmanual	Nonmanual
6. Level of complexity	No detailed work	Little or no detailed work		Detailed work/ technical		Detailed and/ or technical	No detailed work	High	High	High
7. Dependence on local and nat'l. eco. situation	Subject to eco. and noneco. strains	Subject to eco. or noneco. strains	Subject to eco. or noneco. strains	Subject to eco. strains	Subject to eco. strains	High	High	High	Low	Low
8. Financial security	Non-ownership	Non-ownership (usual)	Non-ownership	May have ownership	May have ownership	High	High	High	Independent	Independent
9. Job schedule	Unsteady	Steady/ seasonal	Steady/ depends on contract if rents	Steady/ seasonal	Steady/ depends on contract if rents	Steady	Steady	Steady	Steady	Steady
10. Audience to which cat. is primarily directed	None	None		Employer/ commerce		Mass/client	Mass/client	Mass/client	Limited/ client	Limited/ client
11. Financial remuneration	Low	Low	Low	Variable	Variable	Variable	Variable	Variable	Medium to high	High
12. Duties on day to day basis	Multivariate	Slight variations	Multivariate	No variations	No variations	No variations	No variations	No variations	No variations	No variations

*Approximate

†Determined by degree and/or licensing requirements

APPENDIX B OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION FOR ARGENTINA

Because of limited space, the following list represents only a fraction of the total compilation and is given to show the types of occupations that fall within the different categories. Our complete occupational dictionary is available on request.

<i>Classification</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Translation</i>
I. Unskilled and Menial Service	bracero	day-laborer
	doméstico	servant
	lava	washes
	mendigo	beggar
II. Urban Semiskilled and Service	prostituta	prostitute
	agente de policía	policeman
	amasa	kneads
	aprendíz zapatero	apprentice cobbler
	asfaltero	paver
	barraquero, peón de calero	warehouse (laborer in) lime maker
	carbonero	collier
	carterista	postman
	cementero	precipitator
	cochero	coach builder
	colectivero	bus driver
	conchabo	domestic servant, ward
	confitero	confectioner
	diarero	newspaper vendor
	estibador	stevedor
	fondista a sueldo	salaried tavern-keeper
	herrero peón	blacksmith (laborer)
	leñalero	wood cutter
	matadero	slaughterhouse
	moel	circumciser
	mozo de casamiento	waiter
	obrero (unspec.)	worker
	peón de arriero	muleteer laborer
	pinero	pine cutter
	policía	policeman
	quinesiólogo	masseur
sereno	night watchman	
tabernero	bar-keeper	
trabajador (planchador)	worker (presser)	
valijero	postman	
vigilante	policeman	

Appendix B (*cont.*)

<i>Classification</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Translation</i>
II A. Rural Semi-skilled and Service	agricultor (unspec.)	agriculturist
	hortelano	truck gardener
	peón en campo	day laborer in the fields
	quintero	works in <i>quinta</i>
III. Urban Skilled	acerador	strengtheners (with steel)
	albañil	mason
	aparador de carteras	wallet framer
	bordador	embroiderer
	camisero	shirt maker
	carpintero y tienda	carpenter and store
	chalera	shawl maker
	cobrero FCCN	coppersmith, Ferrocarril Central del Norte
	conductor de trabajos	foreman in public works
	cortador	cutter
	curtidor	tanner
	elásticos	elastics
	engarzador	stringer
	fábrica (camas de hierro)	factory (iron beds)
	fidelero	pasta maker
	foguero	stoker
	fundidor	smelter
	gomero	rubber worker
	guantero	glove maker
	hojalatero	tinsmith
	impresor	printer
	jardinero	gardener
	latero	tinsmith
	lomillero	saddle maker
	maquinista	machinist
	marroquinero	leather worker
	minervista	printer
	mueblero	furniture worker
	oficial de zapatero	shoemaker
	panadero	baker
	pasamanero	lace maker
	peletería y fábrica de gorras	fur shop
	pirotécnico	fireworks laborer
	plomero mecánico	mechanic-plumber
renovador sofá y cama	sofa and bed restorer	
sastre de señoras	ladies' tailor	

Appendix B (cont.)

Classification	Occupation	Translation
III. Urban Skilled (cont.)	sillettero	chairmaker
	taller	workshop
	tapicería	upholstery shop
	techero	roofer
	técnico televisor	television technician
	tejedor	knitter
	tonelero	cooper
	trabajo en imprenta zapatero	work in a printing shop shoemaker
IIIA. Rural Skilled	agricultor	agriculturist
	chacarero	small plot farmer
	hortelano	truck gardener
	horticultor	truck gardener
	quintero	works in a <i>quinta</i>
IVL. Low Nonmanual	ambulante	hawker
	barbero	barber
	camisería y sombrería	shirt and hat shop
	carnicería	meat store
	cervecero	beer maker or seller
	cocinas domésticas	domestic stoves
	comprador	buyer
	dependiente	employee
	escribiente	scribe
	fondista	tavern keeper
	gomería	rubber shop
	imprenta	printing shop
	jefe de estación	station (RR) master
	librería	bookstore
	mercachifle	hawker
	parador	innkeeper
	peletería	fur shop
	perito mercantil	book keeper
	prendero	pawnbroker
	revendedor	hawker
	sedería	silk shop
tabernero	bar keeper	
tienda y mercería	shop and dry goods store	
zapatería	shoe shop	

Appendix B (*cont.*)

<i>Classification</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Translation</i>
IVM. Middle and Unspecified Nonmanual	abastecedor barraquero corredor de seguros fabricante mercero tendero de ultramarinos venta de tierras	purveyor warehouse keeper insurance broker manufacturer mercier import goods dealer sale of land
IVH. High Non-manual	academia de empresas administrador bolsa de comercio comisionista director industrial ganadero industrial músico periodista rector de colegio	enterprise academy administrator stock exchange commissions agent industrial director cattle owner industrialist musician newspaperman school director
VL. Low Professional	boticario contador eclesiástico farmacia militar procurador redactor de diario técnico (químico industrial)	pharmacist accountant clergyman pharmacy military man (career officer) solicitor newspaper editor technician (industrial chemist)
VH. High Professional	abogado botánico escribano ingeniero médico profesor veterinario	lawyer botanist notary engineer doctor professor veterinarian
VI. Miscellaneous and Unknown	becado con sus hijos escolar jubilado sin ocupación vive de sus rentas	holder of scholarship with his children student retired no occupation lives on his earnings

NOTES

1. For a review of some titles in this genre for the colonial period, see James Lockhart, "The Social History of Colonial Spanish America: Evolution and Potential," *LARR* 7 (Spring 1972), esp. pp. 20–30; Karen Spalding, "Social Climbers: Changing Patterns of Mobility among the Indians of Colonial Peru," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 50 (November 1970): 645–64.
2. Howard P. Chudacoff, *Mobile Americans: Residential and Social Mobility in Omaha, 1880–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); Stephan Thernstrom and Peter R. Knights, "Men in Motion: Some Data and Speculation about Urban Population Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 1 (Autumn 1970): 7–35; see Peter R. Knights, *The Plain People of Boston, 1830–1860: A Study in City Growth* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. xii, for some of the limitations to the gathering of economic data on individuals; see Stephan Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century City* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), pp. 262–63, for ways of ameliorating and skirting, with some success, the problem of lack of sources to determine amounts of liquid assets, and pp. 121–31 for some results.
3. Michael B. Katz, "Occupational Classification in History," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 3 (Summer 1972): 63–68. Research on occupational mobility in the United States has emphasized various aspects of work and society. For example, the effects of ethnicity on local labor situations have been the concerns of Clyde Griffen and Stephan Thernstrom; see Clyde Griffen, "Workers Divided: The Effects of Craft and Ethnic Differences in Poughkeepsie, New York, 1850–1880," *Nineteenth-Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History*, eds. Stephan Thernstrom and Richard Sennett (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 49–97; Stephan Thernstrom, "Immigrants and WASPs: Ethnic Differences in Occupational Mobility in Boston, 1890–1940," *Nineteenth Century Cities*, pp. 125–64. Herbert Gutman has directed his attention to the occupational divisions within the same industry; see Herbert G. Gutman, "The Reality of the Rags-to-Riches 'Myth': The Case of Paterson, New Jersey, Locomotive, Iron, and Machinery Manufacturers, 1830–1880," *Nineteenth Century Cities*, pp. 98–124.
4. James R. Scobie, "Changing Urban Patterns: The Porteño Case, 1880–1910," *El proceso de urbanización en América desde sus orígenes hasta nuestros días*, ed. Jorge Enrique Hardoy and Richard P. Schaedel (Buenos Aires: Eitorial del Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, 1969), pp. 323–38; and "Buenos Aires as a Commercial-Bureaucratic City, 1880–1910: Characteristics of a City's Orientation," *The American Historical Review* 77 (October 1972): 1035–73; Carl Solberg, "Immigration and Urban Social Problems in Argentina and Chile, 1880–1914," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 49 (May 1969): 215–32; Jorge Enrique Hardoy and Carmen Aranovich, "Urban Scales and Functions in Spanish America toward the Year 1600: First Conclusions," *LARR* 5 (Fall 1970): 57–91.
5. Roberto Cortés Conde, *Corrientes inmigratorias y surgimiento de industrias, 1870–1914* (Buenos Aires: Universidad, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1964); Gino Germani, *Estructura social de la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Raigal, 1955), chap. 8.
6. Gino Germani, "La movilidad social en la Argentina," *Movilidad social en la sociedad industrial*, ed. Seymour M. Lipset and R. Bendix (Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1969), pp. 317–66; and *Política y sociedad en una época de transición: De la sociedad tradicional a la sociedad de masas* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Paidós, 1962).
7. Germani, "Movilidad social," p. 324.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 335.
9. Sergio Bagú, *Evolución histórica de la estratificación social en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1961), p. 108.
10. Susana Torrado, "Cambios en la estructura social de la Provincia de Córdoba durante el periodo de la inmigración masiva, 1870–1914," *Jornadas de historia y economía argentina en los siglos XVIII y XIX* (Sponsored by the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional del Litoral and the Instituto de Desarrollo Económico y Social [I.D.E.S.], Buenos Aires-Rosario, 1964), p. 216.
11. Torrado, "Cambios en la estructura social," p. 222

12. Among the official published census volumes, some of the most often used are: *República Argentina, Primer censo de la República Argentina (1869)* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Porvenir, 1872); *Segundo censo de la República Argentina (1895)* (Buenos Aires: Talleres Tipográficos de la Penitenciaría Nacional, 1898); *Tercer censo nacional* (Buenos Aires: L. J. Rosso, 1916–1919); *Cuarto censo nacional* (Buenos Aires: Dirección Nacional del Servicio Estadístico, 1947); *Argentine Republic: Agricultural and Pastoral Census of the Nation; Stockbreeding and Agriculture in 1908 . . .* (Buenos Aires: Oficina Meteorológica Argentina, 1909); *Censo nacional agropecuario, Año 1937* (Buenos Aires: G. Kraft, Ltda., 1939); *Censo industrial de 1935* (Buenos Aires: Jacobo Peuser, 1938); and *Censo de comercio, 1954* (Buenos Aires, 1959).
13. A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists: The Santa Casa de Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550–1755* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), offers an example of the bibliographical richness that local sources, such as urban voluntary associations, can give to studies of specific urban groups. For a brief statement on part of the role of immigrants' voluntary associations in Argentina see Gino Germani, "Mass Immigration and Modernization in Argentina," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 2 (1966): 175.
14. Some of the better-known occupational prestige scales include: Robert W. Hodge, Donald J. Treiman, and Peter H. Rossi, "A Comparative Study of Occupational Prestige," *Class, Status, and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Seymour M. Lipset and R. Bendix, 2nd ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 309–22; Robert Hodge, Paul M. Siegel, and Peter H. Rossi, "Occupational Prestige in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology* 70 (November 1964): 286–302; Alex Inkeles and Peter H. Rossi, "National Comparisons of Occupational Prestige," *American Journal of Sociology* 61 (January 1956): 329–39; Albert J. Reiss, et al., *Occupations and Social Status* (New York: The Free Press, 1961); and the 1947 North-Hatt-NORC occupational prestige study.
15. This decision, admittedly, was subjective, but not arbitrary. There were sound, common-sense grounds that guided our thinking in dealing with this problem. No social structure is so mechanically contrived as to fit perfectly within well-defined social spaces; such imperfections become exacerbated in preindustrial and agrarian societies. One of the ways we found patterns were interrupted was through the listing of a much higher level occupation than the individual actually held; this was the case, for instance, with some *hacendados* who were, in fact, self-glorified owners of small plots of land with run-down equipment and housing. Another example of deviation from reality were the "empresarios" who were closer to small-time entertainers than to managers or agents. We found that, on the whole, our rule of conformity to seven variables held up quite well the patterns of occupations and their fit in the categories without seriously distorting the results. For a discussion of some facets of orientation to the norms of a nonmembership group, see Robert K. Merton and Alice Kitt Rossi, "Reference Group Theory and Social Mobility," *Class, Status, and Power*, ed. S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix.