

# JOURNAL OF FAMILY HISTORY

Volume 3, Number 4

Winter, 1978

**Editor,** Tamara K. Hareven

**Associate Editor,** Robert Wheaton

**Editorial Assistant,** Victoria E. Morris

**Editorial Board,** Michael Anderson, Lutz K. Berkner, Carlfred Broderick, Hubert Charbonneau, Lawrence A. Cremin, Natalie Z. Davis, Carl N. Degler, John P. Demos, Georges Duby, Glen H. Elder, Jr., Philip J. Greven, Jr., Herbert Gutman, Reuben Hill, Kenneth Keniston, Peter Laslett, Gerda Lerner, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Massimo Livi Bacci, Bruce Mazlish, John M. Mogy, Andrejs Plakans, Ira Reiss, Alice Rossi, Lawrence Stone, Marvin B. Sussman, Stephan Thernstrom, Charles Tilly, Maris A. Vinovskis, Ronald G. Walters, Arthur P. Wolf.

Published quarterly, Spring (March), Summer (June), Autumn (September), and Winter (December) by the National Council on Family Relations.

Address manuscripts and editorial communications to: The Editor, The Journal of Family History, Clark University, Worcester, Mass. 01610. Contributors should submit three copies of a manuscript. Manuscripts should follow the Journal of Family History format. A Journal style sheet will be supplied on request.

Address business correspondence, subscriptions, and advertisements to: The National Council on Family Relations, 1219 University Avenue, Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414.

Subscription rates: Institutions, 1 year \$18.00; Individuals, 1 year \$15.00; Students, 1 year \$10.00; National Council on Family Relations Members, 1 year \$10.00; Association for the Study of Family History and Historical Demography Members, 1 year \$10.00. Single issues \$5.00. Foreign and Canadian Postage, \$2.50 per year. Checks should be made payable to The National Council on Family Relations.

The Journal accepts no responsibility for statements of fact and opinion appearing in the Journal.

Six weeks notice of change of address should be given to the publisher, **The National Council on Family Relations, 1219 University Avenue, Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414.** Claims for undelivered copies must be made within the month following the regular month of publication. The publisher will supply copies when losses have been sustained in transit and when the reserve stock will permit, within six months after publication.

Second class postage paid at Minneapolis, Minnesota, and at additional mailing offices.

Copyright 1978, by The National Council on Family Relations.

Permission to reprint must be obtained from the Council. ISSN 0363-1990

Cover Design, Alison Wampler, Michael Sand Associates

Volume 3, Number 4  
Winter, 1978



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### SPECIAL ISSUE: THE FAMILY IN LATIN AMERICA

SPONSORED BY THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL.

GUEST EDITORS: FRANCESCA M. CANCIAN, LOUIS WOLF GOODMAN, PETER H. SMITH

Introduction	314
Guest Editors	
Map of Latin America	318
Capitalism, Industrialization, and Kinship in Latin America: Major Issues Francesca M. Cancian, Louis Wolf Goodman, Peter H. Smith	319
The Family and the Modern World System: Some Observations from the Caribbean Raymond T. Smith	337
City and Country: The Family in Minas Gerais, 1804-1838 Donald Ramos	361
Marriage Patterns in Mexico City, 1811 Silvia M. Arrom	376
The History of a Mexican Urban Family Larissa Adler Lomnitz, Marisol Pérez Lizaur	392
Family Relations in Argentina: Diachrony and Synchrony Catalina H. Wainerman	410
The Differentiation of the Peasantry and Family Structure: A Peruvian Case Study Carmen Diana Deere	422
The Determinants of Highland Maya Kinship George A. Collier	439
Postscript: The Latin American Essays in the Context of Family History Tamara K. Hareven	454

### CUMULATIVE INDEX, JOURNAL OF FAMILY HISTORY, VOLUMES 1, 2, and 3

Index to Contributors	458
Index to Articles, Reviews, and Reports	462
Index to Authors of Books Reviewed	464



## FAMILY RELATIONS IN ARGENTINA: DIACHRONY AND SYNCHRONY\*

Catalina H. Wainerman\*\*

The family is an institution which has been notably absent from research programs of social scientists in Argentina. With few exceptions, research investigating the Argentine family is virtually non-existent (Horas, 1959; Germani, 1961, 1962; Forni, 1962; Cuevillas, 1964; Babini, 1965; Strickon, 1965; Sito, 1967; Gibaja, 1967; Bilbao, 1974). Demographic data indicate that, with regard to fertility, the Argentine family has followed a pattern both atypical for Latin America and also distinct from nations in North America and Western Europe. The typical 1960 Argentine family, with an average of 1.8 children per household, was smaller than other Latin American countries such as Costa Rica (3.2), Nicaragua and Mexico (3.0), or Panama (2.5) (Pantelides, 1972). Argentine fertility began to fall at the end of the nineteenth century. Compared with that of industrialized countries, Argentine fertility fell faster and reached its current low level at an earlier stage of industrialization. Although some researchers attribute this fertility decline to the lower levels of the large number of Italian and Spanish immigrants (Torrado, 1970), its exact causes have not been determined, nor have

researchers documented changes in internal family dynamics which accompanied these transformations in family structure.

In this paper I will concentrate on the more or less authoritarian or egalitarian character of interpersonal relations within the family. To do this I have made use of an indicator rarely used outside of sociolinguistics: pronominal address in dyadic interaction (specifically, symmetrical and asymmetrical interchanges of the variants *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* of the second person singular pronoun). In Spanish the second person singular has both a formal and a familiar form. The former is *usted*; the latter in most Spanish-speaking countries is *tú*. But in Argentina, as well as in some other Latin American countries, the variant *vos* is often substituted.<sup>1</sup> Basic to the use of this indicator is the assumption that pronominal address

<sup>1</sup>In Old Spanish there were two pronominal variants for the second person singular: the formal *vos* and the informal *tú*. In time *vos* suffered a kind of semantic erosion and came to express such familiarity that around the third decade of the sixteenth century it was replaced by the formal variant *usted*. The locus left by the informal variant came to be occupied by two forms: *tú* and *vos*. *Vos* was very popular in Andalusia from where it was extended to Hispanic America. Today in most urban centers of Argentina *vos* has almost completely replaced *tú* in spoken language. The same has happened in some few other countries in Latin America (Costa Rica, Uruguay, and some sectors of the population of various Central American countries). Elsewhere the form *tú* continues being the only informal variant. From the point of view of this work the "*voseo*" (use of *vos*) and the "*tuteo*" (the use of *tú*) are considered synonymous.

\*Translated into English by Louis Wolf Goodman.

\*\*Catalina H. Wainerman is a social psychologist. She obtained her Ph.D. at Cornell University in 1971. Since 1974 she has been a member of the research team of the Center of Population Studies (CENEP), Buenos Aires, Argentina. Currently she is conducting research on the participation of women in economic activities.



verbally encodes socio-psychological characteristics of interpersonal relations.

In this analysis I will carry out both diachronic and synchronic comparisons of family relations in two distinct urban Argentine locales. The two cities from which data have been collected are Buenos Aires, from the middle of the nineteenth century until the present, and Catamarca today. This choice of cities highlights the extremes of regional inequality characteristic of a developing capitalist country. Buenos Aires, located on the coastal region, is the most developed center of the country and the most tightly integrated into the economic system of the advanced capitalist world. On the other hand, the city of Catamarca, in the Northwest region, is one of the most notably marginalized economically, politically, socially, and culturally.

My aim is to detect when during the last century and in what direction the nature of interpersonal relations between family members in Buenos Aires was transformed and how it differs from that in contemporary Catamarcan families. In both contexts I will analyze behavior in different social classes. The double time perspective will allow me to ask to what extent changes over time parallel differences between two contexts at the same point in time.

### The History of Inequality: Buenos Aires and the Interior<sup>2</sup>

Nearly 24 million people live in Argentina, one of the ten most urbanized countries in the world and the most urbanized in Latin America. Argentina is a country of European immigration, with a very small indigenous population, a literacy rate over 90 percent, a large middle class, and a level of industrialization relatively high within Latin America. Its history is that of

subordination of the interior to Buenos Aires—the seat of the nation's economic, political, and cultural elite.

In the colonial period (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries) Argentina was composed of isolated and self-sufficient regional economic units. The most prosperous regions were those which developed activities tied to the Peruvian (partly now Bolivian) highlands, at that time a dynamic mining center. One of these regions was the Northwest where Catamarca is located and where cloth and mules were produced. During this period the coastal region (where Buenos Aires is located) was among the most backward.

The closed and self-sufficient character of regional units was first changed at the end of the eighteenth century with the opening of the Río de la Plata to colonial commerce and the growing importance on the coast of export-oriented livestock production. The creation of the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata (1776) and the establishment of free trade for the region (1778) laid the groundwork for future regional inequality. This economic shift imposed by the Spanish colonial empire divided the country into two, making Buenos Aires the country's dynamic, modern cosmopolitan center, and making Catamarca and the rest of the Northwest a stagnant and marginalized backwater, the repository of traditional values and culture. Buenos Aires became the natural port of exportation for goods from the interior and the supply center for products imported from abroad.

A new phase in Argentine development began in the second half of the nineteenth century. Its final decades marked the country's boom and change from a pastoral economy to a European outpost of prosperity. From 1869 to 1930, starting from a lower base, Argentina's rate of growth was at levels virtually equal to those of the United States. At the beginning of this period the country was incor-

<sup>2</sup>For this section I have drawn on Ferrer (1962), Rofman and Romero (1973), Rofman (1974), and Scobie (1964).



porated into the world market through its exportation of agricultural products. The rural sector expanded together with the railroad system. Immigration of labor and investment of foreign capital provided other inputs necessary for development. The railroad, whose fan-shaped network connected all zones of the interior with the coast (while maintaining them in isolation from each other) was the most effective force for orienting the whole country towards the city of Buenos Aires. The traditional labor scarcity in the *pampas* (plains) region was overcome by huge immigration—largely Italians and Spaniards—that substantially modified the composition of Argentina's population and the characteristics of the entire nation. However, all regions were not equally transformed: by 1914 about 39 percent of the population of Buenos Aires province was foreign born, as opposed to only 2 percent of Catamarca province.

The extraordinary rate of Argentina's growth came to a halt in the worldwide crash of 1929. The new organization of the world market pushed the Argentine economy toward the manufacture of previously imported non-durable consumer goods. This was concentrated in certain urban centers, especially around Buenos Aires, which received a large migration of workers from the interior. This migration was of major significance for the industrial development of that period, and was of vast future social and political consequences.

When the era of import substitution came to an end, at the beginning of the 1950s, the inter-regional gap had widened, reinforcing the "center-periphery" scheme. In 1970 the city of Catamarca had about 57,000 inhabitants, roughly one-third of the population of its province. Its economic structure had not experienced any substantial alteration since the beginning of the century. In 1970 almost one-third of the province's labor force was

occupied in farming, 25 percent in manufacturing—largely handicraft and cottage industries—and the rest in service activities, mostly in the government sector. By the same date the city of Buenos Aires had reached almost 3 million, and the whole metropolitan area approximately 8.5 million, or nearly one-third of the population of Argentina. Less than 10 percent of the active population of the province were engaged in farming, 40 percent in the manufacturing, and half in services. These differences in labor force structure add to other demographic differences.

The age structure of the province of Catamarca follows the pattern of less developed countries, with a relatively young population. That of the province of Buenos Aires, and even more so of the city, follows that of more developed nations with a relatively mature population. Both age structures are the result of very different patterns of mortality, fertility, and migration. The infant mortality rate in the province of Catamarca was one of the highest in the country and exceeded that of the province of Buenos Aires by almost 50 percent. Fertility rates were even more disparate, with Catamarca's practically twice that of Buenos Aires. With respect to migration the average annual net rate for the period 1947 to 1960 was plus 14 percent for Buenos Aires and minus 14 percent for Catamarca.

What characteristics do kin relations take on in such distinct contexts? In the pages which follow I will try to give an image of some of their aspects through inferences based on modes of interpersonal interaction encoded at the verbal level by pronominal address.

#### Pronominal Address and Interpersonal Relations

It has been shown in a variety of languages (Brown, 1960, 1961, 1965) that pronominal address, as well as many other classes of interpersonal relations (Bales,



1950; Cartwright, 1952; Goffman, 1965; Leary, 1957; Barrien, 1961; Parsons, 1963) is governed by two semantic dimensions: that of power and that of solidarity. The first is essentially asymmetrical and non-reciprocal and is associated with status differences based on such characteristics as age, generation, power, wealth, and prestige. The second is essentially symmetrical and reciprocal and is associated with similarities of psychological orientation which derive from familiarity, frequency of interaction, and the sharing of experiences and common destinies.

The pronominal correlate of power relations—which express social distance—is generically indicated for second person singular dyadic interaction by *T-V*. This empirically corresponds to the *vos/tú-usted* in Spanish, to the *tu-vous* in French, to the *tu-voi/lei* in Italian, to the *thou-ye* of earlier English, and their equivalents in other languages. The correlate of relations of solidarity, which express psychological distance, is generically indicated by *T-T* and *V-V* depending on whether the informal or formal variant is used. The *T-T* corresponds with *vos/tú-vos/tú* in Spanish, *tu-tu* in French and Italian, and *thou-thou* in earlier English. The *V-V* corresponds with *usted-usted* in Spanish, *vous-vous* in French, *voi/lei-voi/lei* in Italian, and *ye-ye* in earlier English. In modern colloquial English this differentiation is implicit in the use of the first name or nickname as opposed to the use of first name or family name preceded by a ceremonial title such as Mr. or Mrs.

When the *T-V* form is used the probability is high that the speakers define their personal relations as hierarchical. When the *T-T* or *V-V* forms are used, the probability is high that the interpersonal relations are defined (psychologically) as egalitarian—be they of an informal or intimate character, or of a formal or distant one. In other words, when the variants of pro-

nominal address are conceived as a semantic set, they are simultaneously conceived as socio-linguistic indicators of a set of socio-psychological relations. Thus, each pronominal variant necessarily has two connotations depending on the nature of the exchange: *T* expresses intimacy when it is reciprocal (for example, among friends), and condescension when it is nonreciprocal (for example, from patron to employee—that is to say from above to below); *V* expresses distance when it is reciprocal (for example, among strangers), and deference when it is non-reciprocal (for example, from employee to patron—that is to say from below to above). From the grammatical point of view the use of *tú, vos, or usted*, with a single speaker, is equally correct. However, from the social point of view, the characteristics of the context—its formality or informality and the social and psychological distance between the speakers—prescribe which variant is appropriate.

Pronouns are non-descriptive words whose meaning is strongly dependent on the context of discourse. The use of pronouns provides an opportunity to examine the social meanings included in interpersonal interaction because of: (1) their high frequency in verbal constructions; (2) their low accessibility to the speaker's conscious control; and (3) the unavailability of their selection in languages such as Spanish which use conjugated verbs to indicate number and person.

In this work I will concentrate on the asymmetrical use (*T-V*) since it is the one which most probably encodes hierarchical relationships. I will begin by tracing the transformations undergone by family relations in the city of Buenos Aires from 1850 to 1950. Later I will compare these with similar relations in 1970 Buenos Aires and Catamarca. In both cases, using data collected in a sociolinguistic research project (Wainerman, 1976), I will attempt to



identify similarities and differences between family members of different social classes.

The data on which I will base my diachronic study were obtained by a content analysis of the dialogues included in 109 literary works (mainly drama) written by 70 Argentine authors around 1850, 1900, and 1950. In all cases the action takes place in Buenos Aires among native characters. In these time periods I observed pronoun use between each of 70, 211, and 207 kin-related dyads, respectively. The three samples are matched and contain comparable proportions of lower- and upper-class dyads (occupationally defined), same- and different-generation dyads, and same- and different-sex dyads. For the synchronic study I will use primary data gathered through a survey carried out in 1970 among 120 Buenos Aires residents and 112 Catamaricans by means of a questionnaire which sought information about pronoun use between each of 923 and 807 kin-related dyads respectively. In both cities informants were selected by quota sampling among native males, aged 30 to 40 years, from lower, middle, and upper-middle classes (occupationally defined). Both samples were matched along the same three variables as in the diachronic study to allow for comparisons.

#### Interpersonal Relations in Buenos Aires Families: 1850-1950

Literary works indicate a clear expansion of symmetrical pronoun use, i.e., a less frequent verbal encoding of hierarchical differences within Buenos Aires families between 1850 and 1950. The proportion of asymmetrical exchange diminished from 53 percent in 1850, to 29 percent in 1900, to 17 percent in 1950. This is consistent with Brown's findings (1960, 1961, 1965) for nearly twenty Indo-European languages throughout the last century (i.e., increase of the symmetrical usage, especially the informal type [T-T] with de-

TABLE 1. PERCENT OF ASYMMETRICAL PRONOMINAL ADDRESS AMONG BUENOS AIRES FAMILY MEMBERS BY GENERATION, RELATION, AND SOCIAL CLASS: 1850 TO 1950

HISTORICAL PERIOD	GENERATION		KIN RELATION				SOCIAL CLASS	
	Same	Different	Same generation	Different generation	(Different Generation)		Lower	Upper
1850	3 (29)	88 (41)	8 (12)	7 (14)	79 (20)	100 (8)	100 (11)	88 (41)
1900	0 (103)	56 (108)	0 (35)	0 (46)	49 (62)	100 (14)	77 (27)	38 (52)
1950	2 (101)	32 (105)	0 (43)	0 (40)	22 (56)	50 (16)	72 (21)	26 (57)

NOTE: The numbers in parentheses (n) indicate the basis on which percentages were calculated. The sums of the n's in columns 3 and 4 and 5 through 7 do not equal the n's reported in columns 1 and 2, respectively, because columns 1 and 2 include data on kin relations in addition to those listed for columns 3 through 7, which did not appear with sufficient frequency to warrant tabular presentation.



crease of the formal [V-V] and of the asymmetrical [T-V]). Brown detected these changes both inside and outside family relations.

The major individual attribute associated with encoding power or authority relations within the family is generational position. As indicated by data in Table 1, asymmetrical usage takes place almost exclusively between family members of different generations. Sex characteristics, however, did not show any differences, a finding which departs from those of other studies carried on in Latin America (cf. Alonso Vargas [1974] for Costa Rica, and Solé [1970] for Peru and Puerto Rico).

The secondary nature of the data imposed limitations on the variety of the kin relations examined. Only five types appeared with sufficient frequency to permit analysis: parent-child, grandparent-grandchild, uncle/aunt-nephew/niece, spouse-spouse and sibling-sibling. The data summarized in Table 1 show an absolute predominance of asymmetrical treatment between grandparent and grandchildren and uncles/aunts-nephews/nieces in 1850, and a considerable decrease towards 1950. Parent-child interaction is shown to be redefined in the same direction, but in much stronger terms.

These findings hide substantial differences among families of different social classes. The secondary nature of the data permits only a crude dichotomous classification of the social class of the speakers in terms of lower classes (lower and middle-lower) and upper (middle-middle and middle-upper). Furthermore, since the Argentine literature of the nineteenth century reflects very little of lower class life, for 1850 data are available only for the upper classes.

The final panel of Table 1 indicates that the historical trend towards a greater egalitarianism between generations seems to have begun in the most privileged families and then spread to the less privileged ones.

Among the former in 1850 the absolute majority (88 percent) of the speakers interacted asymmetrically—a proportion reduced dramatically to 38 percent toward 1900. In 1900 asymmetrical address in the lower-class families remained almost as high (73 percent) as it has been among families of higher social classes fifty years before. By 1950 the more egalitarian nature of interpersonal relations seems to have gained ground among all Buenos Aires families, irrespective of social class.

The transformation of the family dynamics suggested by the change in pronominal address is consistent with changes generally reported by students of the family who characterize the transition from a "traditional," "agrarian," "pre-industrial" family to a "modern," "urban," "industrial" one. The standard characterization implies abandoning relations based on respect and obedience centered around the father as an authority figure, and fostering relations based on affection, companionship, spontaneity, communication, shared authority, and respect for the individual needs of family members.

This transformation, generally associated with the process of urbanization and the industrial mode of production, is reported to be related to the transition from high fertility in families to low fertility through family planning. This transition is, in turn, associated with the expansion of education and the growing participation of women in the modern sectors of the economy.

Demographic data indicate such a transition for Buenos Aires families since the middle of the nineteenth century. In Buenos Aires city the average family size fell from 6.1 members in 1869, to 4.9 in 1914, to 3.8 in 1947. This fact is connected to the expansion of education throughout the entire population, particularly among women. From 1869 to 1947 the literacy



level for men in Argentina was raised from 35 percent to 88 percent, and for women from 22 percent to 85 percent. The percentage of all the university degrees granted to women increased from 1 percent in 1900/1905 to 11 percent in 1921/1925, to 17 percent in 1946/1950, to 28 percent in 1961/1965 (Argentina, 1965).

Female participation in economic activity also changed through movement from traditional to modern sectors. In the city of Buenos Aires, for instance, the percentage of women employed in domestic service (from the total of active women aged 14 or more) dropped from 19 percent in 1914 to 8 percent in 1947, and employment in manufacturing, commerce, and services (excluding domestic service and dress-making) increased from 10 percent to 17 percent in the same period (Germani, 1955:128).

The consequences for the family structure and dynamics which derive from women shifting their economic participation from traditional to modern activities are vast, since the latter generally take place outside the household, with a schedule and a rhythm which hinder the simultaneous performance of domestic and paid worker roles. It is therefore not surprising that the number of children under five enrolled in nursery schools in the country increased from 1,000 in the first decade of this century to 3,000 in 1940, to 33,000 in 1950, and to 84,600 in 1960 (Argentina, 1976)—a date by which the number of married women in the work force had increased markedly (Recchini de Lattes and Wainerman, 1977).

All of these changes affecting Argentine families are presumably paralleled by changes in intra-family social interaction such as these reported above. We now move from an examination of the past to asking questions about the contemporary family in two distinct situations: Buenos Aires and Catamarca.

### Interpersonal Relations in Buenos Aires and Catamarcan Families in 1970

The collection of primary data in Buenos Aires and Catamarca in 1970, besides allowing me to compare the nature of relations between family members in both contexts, also permits: (1) the evaluation of the validity of the results found in Buenos Aires around 1950; (2) the exploration of a greater variety of kin relations; and (3) the determination, with greater precision, of variations among social classes (trichotomized and better measured).

As in the above analysis, in this case I have concentrated on asymmetrical exchange (*T-V*). Informality in Catamarca continues to be expressed at the verbal level by two (not just one) informal pronominal variants (*vos* and *tú*). The presence of *tú* in Catamarcan speech is another indicator of the maintenance of a traditional culture little touched by transformations already undergone by the modern regions of the country. Here I will not differentiate between *vos* and *tú* and will treat them generically as a single pronominal variant.

In general terms it appears that the diversity of address patterns in both contexts is not very large, although the tendency to mark asymmetrical relations is greater in Catamarca (22 percent) than in Buenos Aires (12 percent) (see Table 2). Nevertheless, an examination of forms of address exchanged among family members of different or equal generational positions reveals differences.

Between same-generation kin, whatever their age, there are no differences between the two communities—address is symmetrical in almost all cases.<sup>3</sup> On the other

<sup>3</sup>In Catamarca, as opposed to Buenos Aires, I found a considerable frequency of formal symmetrical (*V-V*) usage—higher between speakers or different generations. This permits the assumption that hierarchical differentiation is more frequent than that encoded by the *T-V* form. Since I do not have suffi-



TABLE 2. PERCENT OF ASYMMETRICAL PRONOMINAL ADDRESS AMONG CATAMARCA AND BUENOS AIRES FAMILY MEMBERS BY GENERATION AND SOCIAL CLASS IN 1970

CITY	GENERATION			SOCIAL CLASS (Different Generation)		
	Total	Same	Different	Lower	Middle	Upper-middle
Catamarca	22 (807)	1 (415)	45 (392)	49 (129)	47 (145)	38 (118)
Buenos Aires	12 (923)	1 (467)	23 (456)	32 (152)	19 (148)	18 (156)

NOTE: The numbers in parentheses (n) indicate the basis on which percentages were calculated.

hand, as one can see in Table 2, interaction between different-generation kin results in twice as large asymmetrical pronominal usage in the Catamarca family as in Buenos Aires (45 percent and 23 percent).

When one takes into account the social class of families in both cities, relations among family members of different generations are shown to be more frequently asymmetrical in the less privileged social classes.<sup>4</sup>

client evidence to state with absolute confidence that the *V-V* form tends to encode hierarchical relations, I prefer to take a conservative position and assign only to *T-V* a semantic content associated with authority relations. If, however, one were to add the frequencies of *V-V* usage to those of *T-V*, the differences between Catamarca and Buenos Aires families would be much sharper.

<sup>4</sup>The only study carried out in Argentina about patterns of family interaction in different social class contexts (Babini, 1965) provides independent evidence which corroborates my findings. Among 300 families living in the city of Buenos Aires in 1962, Babini found a greater predominance of authoritarian attitudes and behavior in the lower classes than in lower-middle and upper-middle class families. The following shows this with even greater clarity: the incidence of the prohibition that children speak at the dinner table—an indicator of paternal authoritarianism and of a pattern of extreme respect for elders—was 37 percent in the lower class and 7 percent in the upper-middle class. Discipline based in threats, scolding, and physical punishment were much more frequent in the lower class (70 percent) than in the upper-middle class (49 percent). As many as 90 percent of the mothers of the lower class think that children should always obey their parents, and only

If we hold social class constant, inter-regional differences are *greater* than intra-regional differences among social classes. This is true not only for the lower and middle classes, but for the upper classes as well, revealing that the absence of regional integration takes place even at the level of the local elites. Or, to put it differently, regional inequalities go beyond class inequalities.

An examination of eight concrete family relations provides a more vivid image of the differences between and within regions (see Table 3). Most of the Buenos Aires informants engage in symmetrical relations between father/son, grandfather/grandson, and uncle/nephew. Catamaricans, on the other hand, incline more markedly to asymmetrical relations. (The

58 percent of the upper-middle class have the same opinion. Also, the opinion predominating in the lower class is that children should not point out defects in their parents (58 percent), a position maintained by only 39 percent in the upper-middle class. Furthermore, 58 percent of the mothers of the lower class asserted that children were educated better in earlier times because there was more obedience and respect, as opposed to only 17 percent of the upper-middle class. This panorama is practically reversed when the question deals with the educational benefits resulting from greater friendship and confidence among parents and children. On this issue, 41 percent of the upper-middle class felt that this has a positive effect and only 6 percent of the lower class held this opinion. With few exceptions, most of the lower-middle class families adopted an intermediate position on all of these issues.





that the population of 1970 Catamarca is less than one-tenth of that of Buenos Aires around 1900.

Although we do not have earlier data for Catamarca, some of the findings of the present research suggest that a process of redefinition of family relations has taken place, although fifty years after that of Buenos Aires.

In the future family relations in Catamarca will most likely follow the same pattern of change as in Buenos Aires, perhaps with a smaller delay. I would suggest that this will be so even in the case that Argentina fails to experience a process of integrated socioeconomic growth that leads to a narrowing of regional disparities.

My conjecture is based on the belief that in the sphere of family life, as perhaps also in other spheres of social life, changes occur not only in response to local transformations. Changes are also due to processes emanating from central regions of a country. The diffusion is increasingly facilitated by technological developments such as mass communications and rapid land and air transport, which reduce distance and accelerate the transmission of ideas and patterns of life. Examples of such changes in Catamarca include the fall of birth and death rates, the expansion of education and of life expectancy. They have taken place even though Catamarca continues to be a bulwark of stagnation and traditionalism, marginalized from the process of growth undergone by the more privileged regions of the country.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Argentina

- 1965 Ministerio de Trabajo, Dirección de Recursos Humanos, Oficina Nacional de la Mujer. Evolución de la mujer en las profesiones liberales en la Argentina, años 1900-1965.
- 1976 Ministerio de Cultura y Educación. De-

- partamento de Estadísticas. Informaciones Estadísticas. Octubre.
- Alonso Vargas, Carlos  
1974 "El uso de los pronombres 'vos' y 'usted' en Costa Rica." *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*. Universidad de Costa Rica 8:7-30.
- Babini, Ana María  
1965 Educación familiar y status socioeconómico. Buenos Aires: Instituto de Sociología. Universidad de Buenos Aires. Colección Estructura 2.
- Bales, Robert F.  
1950 Interaction Process Analysis. Cambridge: Addison Wesley Press.
- Berrien, P. K.  
1961 "Leadership and Homeostasis of Groups." L. Petrullo and B. Bass, eds., *Leadership and Interpersonal Behavior*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston: 82-99.
- Bilbao, Santiago A.  
1975 "La familia en San José de Boquerón (Provincia de Santiago del Estro)." *Cuadernos de CICSO. Serie de Estudios* 13 y 24.
- Brown, Roger and Albert Gilman  
1960 "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity." In T. A. Sebeck, ed., *Style in Language*. Cambridge: Technological Press: 253-276.
- Brown, Roger and Marguerite Ford  
1961 "Address in American English." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 62, 2:375-385.
- Brown, Roger  
1965 *Social Psychology*. New York: The Free Press.
- Cartwright, Darwin  
1952 "Emotional Dimensions of Group Life." In M. L. Reymert, ed., *Feelings and Emotions: The Moosehart Symposium*, 439-447. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Cuevillas, Fernando  
1964 "La familia Argentina ante el cambio social." *América Latina* 7, 3:73-87.
- Ferrer, Aldo  
1963 *La economía argentina, las etapas de su desarrollo y problemas actuales*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Forni, Floreal H.  
1962 "Familia y sociedad rural en la Argentina." *Cuadernos Latinoamericanos de Economía Humana*. Montevideo V, 13:53-69.
- Germani, Gino  
1955a *La estructura social de la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Raigal.
- 1961b "Investigación sobre los efectos sociales de la urbanización en un área obrera del Gran Buenos Aires." Philip Hauser, ed., *La Urbanización en América Latina*. UNESCO 208-235.



- 1962 *Política y sociedad en una época de transición*. Buenos Aires: Páidos
- Goffman, Erving  
1956 "The Nature of Deference and Demeanor." *American Anthropologist* 58, 3:473-502.
- Horas, Plácido A.  
1959 "La estructura del grupo familiar en la Argentina." *Boletín de Estudios Políticos*. Mendoza: Universidad Nacional de Cuyo.
- Leary, Timothy  
1957 *Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality*. New York: Ronald Press.
- Pantelides, Edith A.  
1972 *El hogar como unidad de análisis de los datos censales: Importancia y posibilidades*. Santiago de Chile. CELADE: Serie C-147.
- Parsons, Talcott  
1963 "The Incest Taboo in Relation to Social Structure and the Socialization of the Child." In N. Smelser and W. T. Smelser, eds., *Personality and Social Systems*. New York: John Wiley.
- Recchini de Lattes, Zulma and Catalina H. Wainerman  
1977 *Marital Status and Women's Work in Argentina*. Working Paper. IUSSP General Conference, August 8-13. Mexico.
- Rofman, Alejandro and Luis A. Romero  
1973 *Sistema socioeconómico y estructura regional en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu.
- Rofman, Alejandro  
1974 *Desigualdades regionales y concentración económica: El caso Argentino*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones SIAP. Planteo.
- Scobie, James  
1964 *Argentina: A City and a Nation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sito, Nilda  
1967 "Socialización de niños de clase baja." *Revista Latinoamericana de Sociología* III, 3: 466-486.
- Solé, Yolanda R.  
1970 "Correlaciones socio-culturales del uso de tú/vos y usted en la Argentina, Perú y Puerto Rico." *Thesaurus* XXV, 2:161-195.
- Strickon, Arnold  
1965 "Class and Kinship in Argentina." In D. Heath and R. Adams, eds., *Contemporary Cultures and Societies of Latin America*, 324-341. New York.
- Torrado de Ipola, Susana  
1970 "Natalidad y fecundidad en Argentina desde fines del siglo XIX." *Conferencia Regional Latinoamericana de Población*. Actas I, 278-283. IUSSP. México.
- Wainerman, Catalina H.  
1976 *Sociolingüística de la forma pronominal*. México: Trillas.
- Weinberg, Beatriz and Myriam Najt  
1969 *Los pronombres de tratamiento en el español de Bahía Blanca*. Universidad Nacional del Sur.