
TOPICAL REVIEW

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION RESEARCH IN LATIN AMERICA

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TO UNDERSTAND THE DEVELOPMENT OF RESEARCH ON LATIN AMERICA WE must not overlook the present status of the social sciences throughout the world. One of the characteristics of the contemporary world is that distances hardly exist; scientists thus continually stage "invasions" from more developed into the so-called underdeveloped societies. Such phenomena, of course, existed in the past, too; the origin of anthropology is linked to the study of primitive societies in colonial times. The amount of resources available today, modern transportation facilities, and the constantly growing number of researchers make it increasingly impossible that one area or country could be without social scientists studying something.

Latin America recently became one of the most important areas under study. After the Castro experience, interest in Latin America by the United States increased. Today it is estimated that more than a thousand research projects involving some aspect of the Latin American countries or societies are being carried on.¹

The development of competent research in the social sciences on Latin America is no longer restricted to that conducted by Latin Americans in Latin America. Thus, the number of people from other areas, particularly Europe and the United States, provides the framework in which we shall discuss the problems of research on this continent; and the appearance of this journal testi-

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fies that one of the most important elements in the development of research today is the number of people involved.

In order to treat some reasonable part of the large total range of social science research on Latin America, I shall discuss studies of Latin American social stratification and mobility and the importance of these studies for social science as well as for Latin Americans.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND MOBILITY

No other aspects of social life have been so much discussed as the phenomena of social stratification, social classes, and related topics. Lists of publications are enormous; the number of empirical and theoretical papers is so great that hardly any scholar can read all of them. Studies of inequality, caste, estate, social status, class, etc. have become ultimately so extensive that even specialists must depend on reviews as well as on the available material.

Social stratification and mobility were always implicit, I think, in the social studies since their beginnings; the ideas of inequality and differences in given populations have always been the objects of study. But with the appearance of Sorokin's book, *Social Mobility*, the whole topic became more explicit. It is almost a *must*, even in studies which do not specifically deal with the subject.

Almost as numerous as the studies are the disagreements on approaches, theories, and ways that the studies were and are conducted. It is interesting to note that disagreement occurs at the theoretical as well as at the empirical levels. Perhaps on no other topic do people differ more than regarding studies of social stratification and/or social class. Marxists, on the one hand, insist in their kind of approach that social class is a phenomenon different from social stratification. Many others use social class and status synonymously. Even among non-Marxists approaches differ widely.² Consensus is at a minimum compared to other areas. Tremendous arguments have taken place and even where there is a certain concordance, the discussion continues to be extensive; e.g., in regard to the problems of social mobility and its measurement.³ Probably the implicit political involvement is one of the reasons for such a continuing argument.

In Latin America such discussion, especially between Marxists and non-Marxists, tends to be contentious and more theoretical than empirical. Non-Marxists contend that Marxists discuss the subject without empirical evidence and that their concepts of the "new urban bourgeoisie" and the "old aristocracy" are not operational. Marxists regard studies of social classes based on assessing their different subjective or evaluative characteristics as a "capitalist, conservative" way to study inequality in society.

Studies of Latin American social stratification are characterized both by

their abundance—and their scarcity. This paradox is easily understandable because it is a subject treated in most of the “social” studies published. Taken at random, any book, monograph, or report on any aspect of social life is likely to have topics or chapters on diverse hierarchical groups in a given society, community, or region. Social stratification, “estate,” “rank,” “classes,” or other concepts referring to inequality are always present. For example, *Current Sociology* (1955) devoted two issues to social stratification and mobility. In the first issue (vol. 2) 616 titles were listed. The second issue (vol. 4), covered the United States, Sweden, and Japan, with 290, 133, and 464 listings respectively by country⁴ and Pfautz in 1953 listed 333 items.⁵ Because so much has been published since, we must remember that these bibliographies were compiled more than ten years ago.

Yet specific studies and research on social stratification in Latin America are few, despite the impression that they are abundant. The reason can be attributed to the fact that social stratification as a topic is easy to classify, as a category it is present in most of the contemporary social studies, as for instance, in politics, education, and achievement. Class and stratification are treated, however, in almost every study carried out by foreign social scientists in Latin America. In studies of communities, class descriptions regularly appear and several anthropologists have thoroughly analyzed and described the class structure of the communities they studied. Books on entire countries also contain chapters dealing with different kinds of ranked social groups.⁶

Until the 1950's Latin America was an area for anthropologists rather than sociologists. Schools of social science were few, and most were devoted more to anthropology than sociology. Therefore, studies of social stratification focused on anthropological approaches. Except for Warner, social stratification has received very little theoretical thought by anthropologists. The 1950's were an important period for the social sciences generally, and work on Latin America reflects this. In that decade comparative social stratification studies were encouraged.⁷ Also in Latin America the first publication regarding the continent as a whole appeared in *Materiales para el estudio de la clase media* (1951–52), published by the Pan American Union. All Latin American countries were represented in it with the exceptions of Peru and Guatemala. Twenty-seven collaborators were involved, seven from the United States. The best reports came from Argentina, Panamá, Cuba, Colombia, Costa Rica, Venezuela, and Uruguay.

The different qualitative and quantitative levels of papers in the *Materiales* make synthesis difficult, but for the time when the work was completed, it probably represented a step forward. The reader immediately notices very different spheres of treatment as well as the varying quality of the studies. For

instance, while Poviña is discussing whether a middle class exists in Argentina, Smith is arguing about its origin in Colombia; the Brazilian part is presented by a case study of a *município* (county) in São Paulo.

The *Materiales* vary also in method, scope, depth, and theoretical orientation. The basic purpose of the study was to question whether the Latin American countries presented different patterns of development, and how they may have varied. Specifically the collaborators tend to answer the following questions: 1) Were there evidences of a middle class in Latin America? and 2) was its expansion desirable? It is evident that the whole work was based on the premise that a stabilizing effect is produced by the existence of a middle class. The studies tended to be impressionistic rather than factual; many were filled simply with personal opinions. Partially this can be attributed to the lack of basic data or reliable statistics for many countries and to the inability of the collaborators to analyze existing data sensibly. Even the census was not available for most countries with any regularity. Thus it is not surprising that reports and publications on the theme of stratification were and often still are based more on impressions than on studies for which data has been systematically gathered. However, in the decade of the Fifties, data which could be used cumulatively began to be gathered systematically. Perhaps the most familiar syntheses are Beals' analysis⁸ of social stratification in Latin America and Wagley and Harris' typology of Latin American sub-cultures.⁹

Wagley and Harris' work is not properly a study of social stratification, but the concept is implicit because of the overlapping of subcultures and groups with social strata. They take a different approach from that of Beals, who asked historical questions about the cause of the differences. Wagley and Harris consider Latin America as a unit and then approach the different subcultures existing within that unit. The great disadvantage of their analysis is that it does not portray Latin America. On the contrary it is confusing because it does not lead to a comprehension of the total of the relationships in a system of subcultures, but only of the different types of existing subcultures. Furthermore, the authors cover a given subculture, for example in Brazil, but not its occurrence in other countries where it may or may not be present. Although the word "typology" is used in their title, more could be gained if the authors had tried to see similarities and differences in subcultures as related to the social strata instead of merely listing subcultures. Their approach gives the impression that a theoretical integration was the aim, although it is not explicit in the paper; but if so the work is a good example of an attempt that failed due to the lack of integrative social theory.

Among most Latin American scholars we find generally two major types of research: the first is the mere description with little or no theoretical orientation, and the second is theoretical discussion with little empirical evidence. This

latter type generally has considerable political and philosophical implications. The study of social stratification in Latin America involves many problems. In reading different reports one gets the impression of a lack of continuity between past and present publications. Cumulative studies are not the rule. Latin Americans like to be "original" (a trait which seems to be characteristic of almost all social scientists), and thus pay little attention to previous work done in their area. They generally choose one of two alternatives: either they base the work on "foreign" experience and theoretical schemes, or they try to study the phenomena from a "national" or intuitive approach. Therefore what we find are studies which are more unique than cumulative. It must also be recalled that communication among the different Latin American countries is not easy and is seldom maintained, so that the use of scholarly experience from other Latin American countries is difficult.

The use, however, of experiences from non-Latin American countries in Latin American areas presents problems both on the theoretical and empirical levels. As is generally known, Latin America presents characteristics which make it different from other Western countries as much as the Latin American countries differ among themselves internally. Beals has divided the different countries according to the population composition.¹⁰ Although such a classification has its defects, as the author says, it is interesting to use it for discussing two important aspects of research in Latin American social stratification: the effect of non-Latin American approaches and the differential approaches by countries.

Which approach to use involves many of the basic problems the social sciences face. The non-Latin American is more general in the sense that the results of given research in a given society can be transferred into hypotheses and tested in Latin America. Beals presents the population composition of the countries only as a classification device, but it is an important one. The fact that a large part of the population of various countries is composed of Indians leads to a kind of social stratification of a character different from that of countries where Indians are not present. Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia are the most evident examples; and questions concerning the existence of caste relationships in these countries show that their type of social stratification varies sharply from countries such as Uruguay or Chile. Countries with large Indian contingents have the problem of national integration, i.e., their absorption into a national structure. It is also very difficult to study social stratification of a society when the social strata are not common to the total population.

These topics, which have been touched on by several Latin Americanists, are those about which many questions have been raised but few solutions given. It is evident that society and culture in Latin American countries are not the same as those of Europe and the United States. Nevertheless the basic frame of

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reference used by scholars is fundamentally the same as in Europe and North America; and they tend to imitate studies done in the latter area with some variations for Latin America,¹¹ assuming conditions to be similar. Thus it is obvious that Latin American studies are suffering from a lack of consensus in the social sciences on the theoretical nature of social class and stratification and also from the problem of the use of common methods and theories. A good example is provided by the seminar on social stratification and mobility carried out in Rio de Janeiro.¹²

RECENT TRENDS

The internationalization of the social sciences in Latin America has taken place only in the last ten years. Formerly Latin American publications aimed at a national rather than international public. Latins read publications in their own language with little contact with those of "foreigners." This is one reason why articles and published studies contained few references to research done in the rest of the world. North Americans too were correspondingly isolated, being more familiar with their own publications and not those published in Latin America.¹³ The lack of academic communication between the continents inhibited the distribution of most studies. Translation on a large scale is a recent phenomenon.

Since the latter part of the Fifties the social sciences in Latin America have been internationalized, passing from the armchair to field work. Various factors have contributed to this change. Many young social scientists went abroad to study and came back with broader perspectives. Such men existed in the past but had been ineffective because few chances for research in the social sciences were available. Secondly, Latin American scholars began to be involved as participants in studies conducted by North Americans and Europeans. This can be seen in the trend to make bi-lateral and multi-lateral research efforts on the assumption that isolated efforts are not as productive as team research.

Aside from these bi-lateral programs, the first and most significant project linking Latin Americans was the project on Social Stratification and Mobility conducted in four Latin American countries. The selection of this topic reflects the great interest in it during the last decade. The subject was and is considered an important aspect of any society, and since little was known about it in Latin America, it was selected for study. In 1957 the Directing Committee of the Latin American Center for Research in the Social Sciences (CLAPCS) decided it would conduct research on social stratification through various national institutions. The countries selected for simultaneous study were Argentina,

Brazil, Chile and Uruguay. In 1959 the first seminar on the subject was held in Buenos Aires and the following projects selected:

- 1) An bibliographical review of completed social stratification research projects in the countries which were to be the object of further research.
- 2) A historical study on the traditional patterns of social stratification, and the determination of a "significant moment" when the present traditional pattern was delineated.
- 3) A survey on social stratification and mobility which would study characteristics of present populations and perspectives for change in the four countries.¹⁴

The first bibliography was completed for Brazil in 1956.¹⁵ It was to serve as the basis for those of the other three countries. In the Brazilian bibliography 304 items were included, which reveals the quantity of literature which dealt with social stratification in some way. The Chilean bibliography, published in 1960, contained 457 items; the bibliography on Argentina, 254 items; Uruguay, 327 items.¹⁶ From the bibliography it is clear that many publications touched on social stratification and mobility but few were actual studies. Most works only referred to it or treated it in a general way. If the bibliographical reviews were to have been compiled with a strict definition of social stratification, their size would have been considerably reduced.

Regarding the second aim, the only publication on the historical aspect of social stratification was that of João Camilo de Oliveira Torres,¹⁷ the Brazilian historian, whose approach is the historical analysis of social differentiation. It is clear in Torres' work that he was isolated from the work of other social scientists. If historical analysis is crucial in understanding present structures, the focus of the historian and sociologist should be the same. The work is interesting despite the fact that the author still uses the classical historical approach, as manifested by the several economic cycles. An interesting aspect is his use of census data from 1870 to 1950.

Four institutions were involved in the CLAPCS project: The *Instituto de Sociología de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, the *Instituto de Ciencias Sociales de la Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales de Montevideo*, the *Instituto de Sociología de la Universidad de Chile* and CLAPCS. Each one conducted local researches and the Center, though a regional organism located in Rio de Janeiro, handled Brazil. The research fell into two parts: 1) a local study with samples drawn from the populations of Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Santiago, and Rio de Janeiro, and 2) a comparative analysis of various materials. Field work took place in 1959–61. Once data was collected the Center carried out comparative analyses.

The project was an excellent idea because it would for the first time give a picture of social stratification and mobility in four large Latin American cities.

At the same time it had the advantage of all comparative studies of this type; the time factor can be controlled and thus make possible the comparison of data at lower levels of abstraction. The surveys conducted in the four countries were the most important part of the project. This represented the first attempt to do such work in Latin America. Data collected for comparative research purposes was a new idea, and with no prior experience errors were to be expected. Those familiar with the project know that the comparative analysis presented many problems which will be the object of my comments here. It is necessary to record and discuss them so they may be avoided in the future.

A comparative study throws light on the social stratification and mobility of developing countries as well as permits an analysis of the different rates of mobility and stratification which can be ultimately related to the steps of development. Also, facts on different population compositions in Brazil¹⁸ in relation to social stratification and mobility could be tested. Time control can facilitate the answer to questions such as: What would be the consequences of Brazil's economic development which is more recent than Argentina's or Uruguay's? My comments on the project pertain only to its comparative work except when the national surveys are relevant. The project's importance lies in its comparative analysis and most problems arose in this portion of it. The national surveys in themselves presented few problems.

The major difficulty of a comparative study is the definition of the level of comparability. In other words we find a number of differences and similarities among men and societies, and the problem is to define what will be compared and at which level. Much traditional social science research is based on historical and *ex post facto* material. The different levels of the data and analysis did not constitute the major problem because they were already collected and available. In the Four Cities Project the problem was reversed, i.e., the information would be gathered to compare basic aspects: socio-economic status, social stratification profile, rate of social mobility, consumption, the role of education, and class identification.

The research was basically independent, each country conducting its own. Certain factors were common to each, e.g.: a) the kind and size of the population to be interviewed; b) the questions referring to occupational structure and geographical, educational, economic, class identification and consumption aspects, and c) the codes for these various aspects. Nevertheless the project lacked basic design. That is to say, the design reflected the national more than the comparative approach. Basically we have two alternatives in research designs, either an existing conceptual frame is used or we look for a redefinition of the concepts, taking into account specific characteristics of particular societies.

The first alternative, the more comfortable with which to work, can lead to biased analysis as, for instance, the study of Bernard Rosen in Brazil.¹⁹ Rosen

claims that the "achieving-competitive" personality is absent in Brazil. Therefore economic development is hindered. But it can be argued that any society is competitive internally when scarcity exists. The modalities of competition can and in fact do vary greatly from the American framework from which Rosen's indicators are drawn. Rosen draws his criteria of competition from North American social structure and social psychology, which are so widely different from and, as models, irrelevant to Brazil. He repeats the same approach in a later article when achievement orientations are compared by social class within Brazil (São Paulo) and the United States.²⁰

To impose an exogenous frame of reference inevitably leads to such a problem. As we know it is easy to obtain data by using a questionnaire, the most common instrument, but many problems arise with its indiscriminate use.²¹ With the given alternatives the interviewer tends to force an answer into a category, limiting or distorting the relevance of facts. Sometimes although the data are collected, their meaning is lost. To obtain information is not difficult, but to know what it means is another problem. Instruments developed mainly in the United States can be applied in Latin America, but only with the greatest care, because we do not have the same amount of experience and accumulated knowledge as in the United States. A dangerous technique is to use and impose a given questionnaire designed for use in the United States on a Latin American situation. Yet the trend of using *translated* questionnaires is more and more frequent, and it can be considered most unfortunate because it does not take into account cultural variations.

The second alternative is the creation of new frameworks and definitions to be used in the comparison. Comparative research often has the great advantage of making possible the redefinition of a concept. In order to do this it is necessary to take into account cultural variations of a given phenomenon and their implications. The Four Cities Project reflects an intermediate alternative. Not all aspects of the research design seem to have received the same attention. The team established the design in a "democratic way"; they met and made a group decision. It could be argued that a democratic comparative research design is not the best solution because in such matters the majority may be wrong (as many times they are). The project lacked a central team to define the boundaries of comparison. A better result would have been reached with a common research design based on a uniform theory of stratification, pre-tests in the different countries and a subsequent meeting to discuss the problems. Instead, the project directors met with the group and established basic items to be compared and the population to be interviewed. They then established codification procedures for the various items on the questionnaire.²² Many of the items are Warnerian indicators which present more problems when applied in Latin America than in the United States.²³

The manner in which the research was conducted presented another problem. The field work in Uruguay was done relatively quickly. Buenos Aires had the best questionnaire with respect to the extent and quality of the questions; Chile used a similar questionnaire, but the field work was more time-consuming, from 1959 to 1961; and Brazil's questionnaire was the poorest. The sample from Rio de Janeiro was more than 3,500, but in the middle of the work the project director was changed and some changes were incorporated in the field work. In Santiago out of the initial sample only about 60 percent (822) were interviewed because the remainder gave no answer. In Uruguay, which has had no census since the beginning of the century, the sample was based on the data given by the "Welfare Teams."²⁴ In Buenos Aires the election precincts provided the framework for the sampling.

As we can see, each of these factors can be controlled in some way during the analysis of the data for each report. But when it comes to the comparative level, the problems involved limit the use of the data. For instance some of the samples do not permit the analysis of social mobility and stratification because they should be based on the adult population whereas the sample was of heads of households.²⁵ The length of time involved in field work in Rio de Janeiro made possible the use of income distribution. Because of inflation the minimum wage increased twice. The number of refusals on the Santiago survey (because the *same* sample had already been used in several surveys) puts serious doubts on the representativeness of the sample.

Apart from that, several other problems emerged due to the excessive freedom that the national investigators had. The coding systems were not the same. While for one country one said, "born in large, medium, small cities"; another said, "born in cities of more than one million," or "cities from less than 1,000,000 to 500,000" and so on. Are the large cities of country *x* comparable to the cities of more than one million of country *y* or should they be put under the other category of 500,000 to 1,000,000? Some asked such questions as how many occupations the respondent had, and others did not. Summarizing the results of the project on a comparative level presents several problems, problems which represent lack of experience on one hand and the nature of the type of investigation on the other.

Many other comparative projects are being carried on in Latin America, and they are in the phase of data gathering or analysis. Despite the fact that many of the problems were solved, others are still appearing. Nevertheless this Four City Project has thrown light on several topics, as the few papers already presented (see Four City Project) show. Similarities among the countries seem to be more frequent than the differences. The project has also the great merit of calling attention to the possibilities of doing similar studies.

It is also important to mention that the type of comments that I made on

the project imply a new stage of development of the social sciences in Latin America. The most significant change in this decade is that comments on specific aspects *can* be made. In the past the works were either too general or intuitive on the one hand, or presented a mass of data without analysis on the other. Today we can disagree or not but there is at least something with which to disagree. Perhaps what is happening is that social scientists in Latin America are becoming professionals. It is also true that the professionalization of most of them has been possible only in this decade.

Another recent study for Latin America is the publication of the Pan American Union entitled *Tipología socioeconómica de los países latinoamericanos* (1963).²⁶ In the third section of the book called "La variable social," Frederic Debuyst analyzes the social stratification and mobility in Latin America. Although it is typology that he attempts, the author does not succeed. He uses many tables but the picture he presents is not consistent, and is sometimes completely incomprehensible, such as page 160 when Debuyst discusses the importance of *minifundios* and *latifundios* (paragraph 3). Criteria such as seven years of schooling are taken to measure the cultural variable (p. 154), and he does not say why he uses seven and not five or ten. The kinds of data he uses are not corrected in order to make comparisons. Yet conclusions toward a general typology are made, some of the observations being of the type: "Brazil passed from a caste regime to a class system," and so on. Such a study does not add very much toward a better knowledge of social stratification and mobility in Latin America.

The most recent studies are following a new trend. The incorporation of Latin America into the international social sciences brought several advantages. The most significant and recent direction is the contact between North Americans and Latin Americans on the one hand, and with Europeans on the other. Examples are the joint work of the University of Wisconsin and University of Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil; the University of California and Ceará (Brazil); the M. I. T. and the CENDES (with a project on Sociological Research and Political Formulation); the Colégio de México and The University of Texas, and this latter institution and the Instituto Tecnológico in Monterrey (Mexico). These are a few examples of this recent pattern. The Latin Americans are developing their social science techniques toward an international level, while the North Americans can develop a more realistic depth in their studies, instead of imposing techniques and methods developed in their own country.

COUNTRY SUMMARIES

Present studies in different countries:

Argentina—In 1955 Gino Germani published a book called *Estructura Social de la Argentina; analisis estadístico*. This investigation is based on census and statistical data, in which the author shows the several characteristics of the class structure in Argentina and its change due to urbanization. Bagú is another social scientist who wrote on social stratification in Argentina, using census data for historical analysis. Several projects are now being carried out including the Four City one already mentioned, using a sample of the questionnaire of the 1960 census. Some material not published in the 1947 census will also be used in order to prepare a series of publications on the "Social Structure of Argentina." A topic on social classes and occupational structure is being studied. The Federal Council on investments, and the Institute of Comparative Sociology of the Di Tella Foundation, with Gino Germani as the project director, is carrying on another study. T. C. Aguella (Universidad de Córdoba) is studying the educational system, social classes and also the family structure of the emergent middle class in Córdoba. Argentina also participates in the Fertility and Family Planning Survey in Latin America²⁷ that aims at a comparison, and a differential analysis by socio-economic strata of the several demographic characteristics.

Bolivia—The urban pre-revolutionary society is referred to in the study by Leonard. Since the revolution no analytical studies have come to our attention. However Goins, Heath, Patch and others have been investigating aspects of rural development and agrarian structure.

Brazil—The Brazilian Center for Educational Research (C.B.P.E.) sponsored a study on social stratification and mobility in São Paulo. It was conducted by B. Hutchinson (1960) who worked with a team of Brazilians. The study, a significant mark in the development of social stratification in this country, was more a series of topics than an integrated study. The research is somewhat of a replication of the study done by Glass's team in Britain.²⁸

The inclusion of this country in both comparative projects (Stratification and Fertility) makes Brazil one of the countries in Latin America most studied on these topics. The *Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade do Brasil* is also carrying on a study of the industrial labor force and the mobility of the working class in Rio de Janeiro. The study is specifically oriented toward lower sectors of the urban population. In São Paulo, a group of sociologists of the *Universidade de São Paulo* is making a series of studies relating the rural-urban migration and the integration of the Negroes through social mobility.

L. T. Medeiros of the *Universidade do Rio Grande do Sul* is also studying rural-urban migration as far as the foreign immigrants are concerned.

Central America—In Central America some countries are more privileged than others. In Costa Rica some studies are being carried out, one in social stratification under the auspices of the Instituto Centroamericano, similar to the Four City Project. A fertility survey took place in Panama and Costa Rica and is now in the analysis phase. In these two countries, El Salvador and Guatemala, family budget research²⁹ (See Arriaga, E., 1964) was also carried out, this time by the national governments.

R. C. Williamson studied the social class in Costa Rica and El Salvador (1962). The main topics investigated were family and social life, social values, social mobility, socialization and kinship orientations.

Guatemala is undergoing considerable study. A large project directed by R. N. Adams of The University of Texas is being carried out to investigate the power structure, and several aspects of social structure such as class relationships, migratory movements, and differential opportunity. The project covers both rural and urban sectors.

Tumin and Felman studied social class in Puerto Rico as described in a work already published in 1960. Several studies relating social class and status and family planning were done in Central America such as that by Stycos.

Chile—Chile became a “laboratory” for the various regional institutions located in Santiago. Perhaps because of this fact it is becoming one of the most researched countries in Latin America. Nevertheless, in social stratification the basic study which developed was that resulting from Chile’s participation in the Comparative Study (Four Cities). Research in Chile is mainly of two kinds: (1) the hundreds of papers on studies done by graduate students as part of their training, using Santiago or Chile as laboratory; and (2) the researches done by the regional centers such as that of ECLA or the *Centro Latino-Americano de Demografía* in their study of fertility and on rural-urban migration.

Other projects include one by L. Ratinoff (*Centro de Planificación Económica, Universidad de Chile*) in Aconcagua, and a study of nineteenth century social stratification carried on by C. A. de León A. Ruiz, analyzing the changes in the traditional social structure compared with the present one.

Ecuador—Work in Ecuador has been sparse. Two recent studies may be mentioned as evidence of growing concern for the topic. The *Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas de la Facultad de Ciencias Económicas de la Universidad Central del Ecuador* carried out a study on an “Analysis of the Family Budget,”

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in 1955. E. M. Nett carried out research on the role of the servant class in Ecuador. The study was sponsored by the Universidad Central.

Haiti—In Haiti, Leyburn's classic analysis of the castes in *The Haitian People* remains the only nation-wide report on the subject, although numerous partial studies using census data give a more detailed picture of stratification of various sections of the country (e.g. Sylvain, Simpson).

Mexico—Urban class stratification studies in Mexico are worth emphasizing. In Mexico City, the *Escuela Nacional de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales de la Universidad Nacional de México* is carrying on a study of social stratification and mobility in Mexico City in collaboration with the CLAPCS. R. Benitez is also studying the effects of social and economic factors affecting the fertility of working-class women. The project is sponsored by the *Escuela de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*. After this study in Mexico City a sample of the whole population was drawn as part of the fertility survey.

In Monterrey, a joint project of the *Instituto Tecnológico* and the Population Research Council of The University of Texas is carrying on a study of the occupational structure related to the migratory process in this city of northern Mexico. Joseph Hahl carried out a study comparing social stratification and values in Brazil and Mexico.

Paraguay—Paraguay is a "forgotten" country. An article published by the *Revista Paraguaya de Sociología* in its first issue constitutes one of the few publications in this country on the topic: "Bases Preliminares para el Estudio de la Movilidad Social en el Paraguay"³⁰ by Domingo M. Rivarola.

Peru—Studies by Gillin, Hammel, Simmons, Adams, Mangin and various Cornell-Vicos and *Plan del Sur* reports provide a kind of basis for what has been done so far in caste analysis and class stratification in Peru.

Uruguay—After Rama's book on Social Classes in Uruguay (1960) the most significant work in this country resulted from its participation in the Four City Project and some of this data is available (see Four City). Isolated analysis of social class of the type made by national scholars is exemplified by Solari (1956).

Venezuela—Until the recent CENDES-MIT study, class stratification in Venezuela was studied principally in the rural areas.

NOTES

1. In 1962, Philip F. Flemion and Murdo J. MacLeod compiled a publication entitled *Survey of Investigations in Progress in the Field of Latin American Studies*, Washington, D.C., Pan American Union. They reported 861 projects on the area being

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- carried on in the United States. If we add the ones being carried out by Latin Americans plus the new ones, we probably have more than one thousand projects.
2. Examples of such disagreements are, for instance, between the functionalist and non-functionalist. See Buckley, "Social Stratification"; Davis and Moore (1945); Davis, "A Reply to Tumin" (1945); and Moore (1953).
 3. A recent example is the discussion between Saburo Yasuda and Edward Gross. See Yasuda (1964); Gross (1964); and Yasuda, "Reply to Gross" (1964). Other types of measurement have been used by Glass in the studies of social mobility in England.
 4. MacRae (1953-5); Wirth, *et al* (1953-5).
 5. Pfautz (1953).
 6. Classical examples of books on countries are: Olen Leonard (1952), *Bolivia: Land, People and Institutions*; Lowry Nelson (1952), *Rural Cuba*; T. Lynn Smith (1964), *Brazil, People and Institutions*, revised; Carl Taylor (1946), *Rural Life in Argentina*; Nathan Whetten (1958), *Rural Mexico*. Examples of studies of communities are numerous. Tumin (1952) perhaps is the best known. Others generally devote chapters to the topic.
 7. MacRae (1953-5).
 8. Beals (1953).
 9. Wagley and Harris (1955).
 10. The first group is composed of those countries which are predominantly European in orientation: Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Costa Rica, and the Dominican Republic; the second one is composed of the countries with Indian populations or large mestizo groups with an Indian way of life: Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Panama, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Mexico; the third group is composed of those countries with significant Negro components in whole or in significant sub-regions: Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Panama, Haiti, Cuba, Brazil. See Beals (1953).
 11. See Morse's paper in this journal, pp. 51-2, 58.
 12. See the list in bibliography of papers presented at the Seminar on Social Structure, papers of which are to be published by the Pan American Union.
 13. The study of M. Tumin and A. Feldman, *Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico*, is an example of research using more the literature available in the United States than in Latin America, as it is clear by the references; while in Latin America the public to which the author writes is national, as most studies on social class or related topics show.
 14. See preface of the bibliographies compiled for Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay by the Latin American Center for Research in the Social Sciences (CLAPSC).
 15. Bazzanella (1956).
 16. Centro Latino Americano de Pesquisas em Ciencias Sociais (CLAPSC) (1959, 1961).
 17. Oliveira Torres (1965).
 18. Beals (1953).
 19. Rosen (1962).
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26. Debuyst (1963).
27. See Encuestas Comparativas de Fecundidad (1963).
28. Glass (1954).
29. See Arriaga (1964).
30. Rivarola.

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The author wishes to express his gratitude to Dr. Anthony Leeds for his collaboration with the compilation of the select bibliography.

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