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A city of trades: Spanish and Italian Immigrants in Late
Nineteenth Century Buenos Aires. Argentina

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Abstract

The city of Buenos Aires is an extreme case in immigration history since the native workers were less than one third of the labour force. This paper is the first attempt to present empirical evidence on occupations and wages for Buenos Aires ca. 1890s. Using a large dataset, we look at the performance of Argentineans vis-à-vis the largest two immigrant groups, the Italians and the Spaniards. We find that, on average, Argentineans enjoyed a higher wages; however, this group did not dominate all skill levels. We find skill specialisation by nationality. Despite higher literacy levels and the language advantage, Spaniards did not outperform Italians when looking at earnings and access to homeownership. With deeper and older ties to the community, Italians formed richer networks that helped their fellow countrymen in the host labour market.

JEL classification: N36, F22

Keywords: migration, wages, labour force, Buenos Aires

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During the era of mass migration the United States was the main destination for European immigrants; however, the ability of Argentina to attract large numbers of immigrants relative to its own population is striking. Many immigrants to Argentina became rural workers but more than a third established in cities in the late 19th century (Alfredo Lattes and Zulma Rechini de Lattes 1975, 119). In particular, the city of Buenos Aires retained a third of the total immigrants, which largely explains the dramatic increase in population from 1880 up to 1914. Of all the immigrants to Argentina, one of every four Italians and one-third of Spaniards settled in Buenos Aires. Scores of works studied this mass migration to Argentina¹; however, we still lack a detailed understanding on the structure of the urban labour market, in particular in relation to the makeup and performance of the native and immigrant labour force.

In migration studies, one of the most heated debates relates to the impact of immigrants on the host economy, especially in terms of the labour market (George Borjas 2003, Gianmarco Ottaviano and Giovanni Peri 2012). Literature on contemporary migration is not completely conclusive on the beneficial or harmful effects of immigration on native workers' welfare. On the contrary, economic historians agreed on the negative impact of immigration for native workers in the United States during the age of mass migrations. Claudia Goldin (1994) estimated the impact of immigration on American cities between 1890 and 1915: a 1 % increase in the immigrant population reduced the wages of American unskilled labour between 1 and 1.5 %. Timothy Hatton and Jeffrey Williamson (1998: chap.8) concluded, from a macroeconomic analysis, that immigration in late nineteenth century United States had an important negative impact on real unskilled wages.

This paper brings to light a rather extreme case in immigration: Buenos Aires in the late 19th century, a city where the native labour force was less than one third. In particular, we look at the most important immigrant groups, the Spanish and Italians in comparison to the Argentineans.

¹ See section I for a comprehensive literature review.

Using new data from a random sample of the original records of the 1895 national census, we compare the Argentines, Italians and Spaniards in different dimensions including labour market participation, human capital, and wealth. In addition, we assigned earnings from a variety of sources to different occupations of immigrants and native-born workers. Our dataset is the first attempt to present empirical evidence on occupations *and* wages in late nineteenth century Buenos Aires.

During the age of mass migration, foreigners flooded the Argentine labour market. This immigrant wave had complex effects on the urban labour market. On average, natives enjoyed higher wages than the immigrants as the market rewarded literacy, experience and language. However, these comparative advantages did not translate into native upgrading throughout the skill range; the relative concentration in different occupations was not evenly distributed. What explains this distribution? With no discrimination from a wage perspective, we find specialisation via nationality from the observed labour force composition. We discover the existence of clusters as Argentines had a greater participation in higher skilled occupations while Spaniards dominated the retail sector and Italians the crafts. This pattern does not match to human capital accumulation for the immigrant population as both Spaniards and Italians had relatively high literacy rates, particularly the former. It appears that through the network channel, the Spaniards and Italians helped their fellow immigrants integrate into the labour market. This strategy was especially successful for the Italians as revealed by higher average wages earned and a higher homeownership rate. With deeper and long-established networks in Buenos Aires, the Italians had the first mover advantage, a benefit that persisted (at least) until the end of the 19th century.

The paper is organized as follows. The first section presents a picture of Buenos Aires and Argentina at the end of the 19th century as related to the immigrant flows. The second section presents the data from the 1895 census sample and the main characteristics of immigrants and natives. A third section analyses the labour market looking at occupations and wages for

Italians, Spaniards and native Argentines. Section IV focuses on human capital and wealth among immigrants and offers explanations on their different outcomes and a final section provides concluding remarks.

Section I

Buenos Aires was a major destination for international migrants since the 1870s. The city was the major port of Argentina, the seat of the federal government and the arrival point for thousands of immigrants every year. In the late nineteenth century Buenos Aires was in a continuous expansion that included a larger territory and investment in transport infrastructure, urban utilities and port modernization. By the late 1880s construction became the city major industry although temporary slowed down by the crash of 1890. Classic research such as James Scobie (1974) portrayed Buenos Aires as the political and commercial hub of Argentina.²

As many other cities in the New World, immigration drove population growth in Buenos Aires; nearly 70 % of the population growth was due to immigration between 1887 and 1895 (Lattes and Rechini de Lattes 1975, p. 131). In those years, the growth of Buenos Aires population was 6.6 % annually, similar to New York City's growth spur. According to the national censuses, the share of foreigners residing in Buenos Aires peaked in late nineteenth century with Italians as the largest group (Table I.1). Looking at the employed population, foreigners represented more than 70 % in 1887 and 1895 (Guy Bourd  1974).

Immigration policy and economic bonanza attracted this steady flow of immigrants. A short-lived subsidy program helped, especially to Spanish immigrants (Blanca S nchez-Alonso 2004).³

The 1890s crisis affected the labour market but the effects were temporary. Return migration

² Other classic studies include Bourd  (1974) and Sargent (1976). For a more recent analysis see Llach (2007). Industrial development in the city has been recently studied by Rocchi (1999 and 2006) and there are several studies on labour movement and living conditions in Buenos Aires see Gutierrez (1981) and Suriano (1994).

³ With the financial crisis of 1890 the government abolished the subsidies programme in 1891.

reached very high levels in 1890-95: net migration dropped to 8.2 % compared to 38 % during 1885-90 (see Section II).⁴

What were the characteristics of the labour market in Buenos Aires in the late nineteenth century? A growing demand for unskilled labour was a key feature of the Argentine labour market. Young adult immigrants of working age joined the ranks of unskilled workers. Day labourers and peons, who had no ties to any specific branch of the economy and could move easily between rural and urban occupations, were a large share of the labour force. For Roberto Cortés Conde (1979, p. 198) high mobility was a mechanism that allowed “rapid adjustment between supply and demand of labour.”

Buenos Aires was facing a transition between a small workshop and artisan city to a large scale manufacturing one. In the late nineteenth century small consumer goods factories comprised a large share of the Buenos Aires industrial sector. The trend towards a mass production for the local market was reinforced during the 1890s depression with the devaluation of local currency (Rocchi 2006, chap.1).

The literature stresses the casual and uncertain nature of employment in industries such as the docks and the building trades, the large share of highly mobile unskilled workers and the high percentage of foreigners in artisan workshops and retail commerce (Hilda Sabato and Luis E. Romero 1992, Jeremy Adelman 1994). Losing a job and changing occupations was common in Buenos Aires. However, skilled workers in small shops or certain industries enjoyed relatively more stable working conditions.

Conditions of labour markets in the city (casual labor, temporary engagements, and constant spatial and occupational mobility) made it difficult for employers to instill regular, industrial work habits in their workers.⁵ In a non-regulated labour market friends and family networks

⁴ In the year 1891 out-migration was higher than immigration resulting in a negative migratory balance of nearly 30,000 (Vázquez-Prevedo 1971).

⁵ See Rocchi (2006), chapter 1 for a description of different forms of organizing labor power in the city.

were key for both workers and employers.⁶ While the Argentine government established an official agency to place and transport immigrants to rural jobs, there was no counterpart for immigrant placement in Buenos Aires city. Migrants were important player as supply of and demand for labour. In 1895, foreigners owned 92% of the industrial firms and 80% of the retail businesses. Similarly, foreigners held 75% and 80% of the industrial and retail jobs respectively (Scobie 1974).

Of all the immigrants, Italians and Spaniards were consistently more than 70% of the migration flows during the *Belle Epoque*. Italians and to a certain extent Spaniards were the “old immigrants” in Argentina compared to other groups like Eastern Europeans who arrived in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, the literature stresses that Italians were much more successful than Spaniards⁷.

Historians conclude that Italians in Argentina found ready investments for their savings and had little difficulty in achieving rapid economic and social mobility. On the eve of First World War “all the available data (...) point in the same direction of the extraordinary success for a people who had only entered the national economy and were still overwhelmingly of the first generation” (Herbert Klein 1983, p. 323). Research shows Italians in Buenos Aires as a highly successful group, particularly in contrast with Italians in the US cities. Regional origins, a friendly environment from the host society and the lack of competition with previous immigrants largely explains the differential performance between Italians in Argentina and in the United States (Samuel Bailly 1999).

Spanish immigrants are often represented as an immigrant group primarily urban, with relatively low social mobility, heavily concentrated in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs and in retail

⁶ As late as the interwar period, in London a wide range of jobs were filled through personal contacts, and often through friends and relatives (Hatton and Bailey 2002).

⁷ Italians in Argentina have received preferential attention from historians thanks to research by Devoto and others (Devoto and Rosoli (1985), Devoto and Fernández (1988), Cacopardo and Moreno (1984)), among others. In contrast, Spaniards can still be considered as “invisible immigrants” in Argentina (Moya 1998).

trade⁸. In his classical work on Italian immigration, Robert Foerster (1919, p. 265) stressed that in Buenos Aires “fluency in the use of the language has been of immense use to them [Spaniards] and has given them a place in the professions, journalism and in officialdom that no other immigrant group enjoys. For their numbers, they have not been enterprising”.

Knowing the language of the country of destination is an usual variable in any migration study explaining the choice of destination and the assimilation process (Barry Chiswick and Paul Miller 2007). This seems to have been the case for Italians and Spaniards in Buenos Aires. For the latter, the assimilation costs would have been even lower given that the language barrier was virtually nonexistent.

General attitudes towards European workers might have facilitated the process of adaptation to the host labour market. In spite of the 1890s crisis, the positive ideas about the influence and the need of immigrants did not change.⁹ José Moya (1998) highlights the greater opportunities for newcomers to Buenos Aires when compared with more developed and industrial cities. US cities had larger, older, more powerful and better-established sectors dominated by natives and old immigrants. In addition, the Spanish immigrants had a priori two important advantages in Argentina compared to Italian immigrants. Relative to the native population, they were more literate and shared the same language (Sánchez-Alonso 2004). But they had one important disadvantage compared with the Italians: they arrived later and they were less numerous up to the years immediately before WWI.

Since the Spaniards enjoyed the advantage of the language and similar cultural background, why were they less successful than the Italians? Was it because of an initial disadvantage in

⁸ Szuchman (1980) concluded, in his pioneer work on the Spaniards in the city of Cordoba, that none of the semi-skilled workers improved their position and that “most [Spaniards] remained small traders; they left Cordoba or died with little more than what they had when they arrived”. More recently, Moya (1998, p. 276) concludes in a more optimistic vein that in the city of Buenos Aires “few became Anchorenas (...) but many saved some pesos, sent millions in remittances back home, raised families, and became fathers and mothers of teachers and bookkeepers (...) For most of the immigrants, that was ‘make the America’. [In Argentina the name Anchorena evokes wealth and power. The Anchorena dynasty had Spanish origins and reached the peak of their prosperity and influence in late 19th and early 20th centuries.]

⁹ The first restrictive measure towards foreigners came in the early years of the twentieth century because of fear of anarchist and radical labour agitators (Sanchez-Alonso 2013).

skills? How important was time of arrival to Argentina and competition with other immigrant groups?

The literature has stressed the great success of the Italian community in Buenos Aires when compared to Italians in US cities. Scholars have focused in the great predominance of Italian immigrants among commercial and industrial and real estate owners. In contrast, the Spaniards are presented as less successful because of their concentration in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. To our knowledge, no research to date combines data on earnings and occupations to compare these two communities.

Section II

This paper looks at the two most important immigrant communities in Buenos Aires in 1895 vis-à-vis the native population.¹⁰ In particular we are interested in their socioeconomic characteristics in order to analyse their participation in and their impact on the labour city markets. Buenos Aires had nearly 664,000 inhabitants in 1895, more than half were foreigners, and among these, more than 80,000 were Spaniards (24%) and 180,000 Italians (53%). In this section we present our data sources and methodology together with a general characterization of the immigrant communities' vis-à-vis the native population.

To achieve this characterization, we use a variety of sources: official publications (national and municipal censuses)¹¹, microdata (census individual records), and other primary and secondary sources for wage and earnings data (e.g. administrative census). With the significant exception of Moya (1988) and partly Baily (1999), the literature used aggregate statistics to analyse the performance of the two immigrants groups, in particular, national and municipal censuses.

This micro dataset allows us to identify a number of socioeconomic characteristics of the immigrant and native populations on an individual level such as literacy, occupation, sex and age. These data are a sample collected from the original census records housed at the

¹⁰ The 1890s after the Baring crisis is a decade of transition between two booms; economic growth and mass immigration was intense in the 1880s and it reassumed from the turn of the century until 1914.

¹¹ The national censuses corresponded to the years 1869, 1895 and 1914. For the city of Buenos Aires, three municipal censuses (1887, 1904 and 1909) are also available.

Argentine National Archive.¹² They only include Italian and Spanish inhabitants of the city of Buenos Aires, the two most important immigrant groups. It is a random sample with individuals and their household members (when applicable) selected according to surnames starting with the letters M and G, very common initials in Spanish and Italian surnames. This sample covers 3.4% and 5.3% of the Italian and Spanish population in the city of Buenos Aires, respectively.

Despite the wealth of information this sample provides it has several limitations. First, since there are no similar documents for the other two national censuses we cannot trace immigrants over time. For comparisons over time we have to rely on aggregate data in the national and municipal censuses. Second, it is not possible to distinguish regional origins of migrants since very few reported place of birth and Argentine officials classified them according to nationality.¹³ Third, we cannot make any estimation about unemployment since 'no occupation' does not necessarily imply unemployment and declaring an occupation is not equivalent to employment status. Fourth, information only covers the Italian and the Spanish communities so comparisons with other immigrant groups are limited.

To overcome this limitation, we use another sample gathered from the same census. In 1967 Jorge Somoza and Alfredo Lattes (S&L) presented their study of a wide sample for the first two national censuses, 1869 and 1895. It was a random sample of 1% of the total population for each census. We used the subsample for Argentines living in the city of Buenos Aires in 1895 for the purpose of comparisons of the native population with the Italians and Spaniards.¹⁴ The

¹² The census of 1895 was carried out in May and recorded information by individual such as name and surname, sex, age, marital status, birthplace, literacy, occupation, ownership, attendance to school for children, and for women years of marriage and number of children.

¹³ Less than 5% of immigrants in our sample reported place of birth. Among Italians, 43% were from Liguria and Lombardy in the North while 58% of Spaniards were from the northern regions Galicia, Asturias and the Basque country. However, 15% of the very few reporting place of birth came from the South both in Italy (Campania) and Spain (Andalusia).

¹⁴ The Somoza-Lattes sample (S&L) is a random sample that selected one out of 38 households. It is representative of the entire census as detailed by the authors (Somoza and Lattes 1967). The sample also includes nationality; however, we prefer our own sample as it is more representative (larger share of the population) and has more detailed information on occupation and family structure. The

S&L data and our dataset are comparable. Natives are on average slightly younger than migrants and the latter surpassed Argentines in the male and single share.

Another possible shortcoming of our data is the effect of return migration after the 1890 crisis in Argentina. Italians and Spaniards opted for returning home or moving to another destination during the period 1890-1894 but Italians did so in higher numbers. Italians net migration to Argentina dropped to 5,200 migrants in sharp contrast with around 267,000 who remained in the country during the boom years (1885-1889). Migratory balance for the Spaniards was 12,500 for the early 1890s compared to more than 110,000 during the late 1880s.¹⁵ We cannot speculate on how selectivity affected the out-migration flow.¹⁶ Literature stresses that return migrants may have been negatively selected because those who were unsuccessful returned home. But return migration can also be a deliberate strategy for improving living standards back home;¹⁷ however, the high return rate of the early 1890s from Argentina was an immediate reaction to the deep decline in the workers' living conditions and the distress in the urban labour market due to the Baring crisis.¹⁸ We assume that our 1895 census sample (those who remained in Buenos Aires) could have an unknown bias.¹⁹

Our micro dataset recorded the original self-declaration of occupation of immigrants from the 1895 census. To assess the skill level, we codified these occupations following the 1950 Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) classification for the population aged 14 and older by sex (see appendix).²⁰ This classification makes our dataset comparable to the

occupations in S&L sample appear already grouped in very broad categories and codified according to Argentine census occupational classification.

¹⁵ Dirección General de Inmigración, (1925). Argentina subsidised immigration from Europe during the years 1887-1889. The program was abolished in 1891.

¹⁶ The available data on migration outflows do not distinguish the place of residence within Argentina. Hence we cannot assume that the emigration flows of the city of Buenos Aires matched the ones from the country as a whole

¹⁷ See, for example, Abramitzky, Boustan, and Eriksson (2014)

¹⁸ Many immigrants in Argentina opted for Brazil as new destination instead of going back home.

¹⁹ Our sources for wages, Adrian Patroni (1897) and William Buchanan (1898) collected data in order to show the negative consequences of the crisis for workers in Buenos Aires.

²⁰ Information for women occupations and wages are scarcer. In historical terms, whether a woman performed remunerated work in the market (her labor force participation) has probably been more

historical studies on US immigration. The US datasets on IPUMS are design to allow comparability over time. For occupations, it imposed a standard occupational classification scheme in all US censuses from 1850 to 1990 based on the 1950 classification. According to Matthew Sobek (1995), the common coding is a status-hierarchy classification used frequently by social scientists (i.e. professionals, clericals, skilled workers, labourers).²¹ It allows researchers to use 1950 occupations and their groupings as a means of locating persons in the occupation/social structure. The benchmark year was selected as it roughly falls in the middle of the period.

Applying measures that relate to mid-twentieth century conditions to 1895 data may seem clearly rather crude and ahistorical, since the relative ranking of occupations is unlikely to have remained still in the interim. However, there is a consensus among scholars that “the 1950 codes generally worked well as a means of locating individuals in the occupational structure as far back as the mid-19th century” (Sobek 1995, p. 49). There is also a clear continuity over time: high-income occupations have tended to remain high-income; low-income occupations have remained low-income, at least for men.

The next step was to assign earnings to different occupations. We used a wide variety of sources. For working class wages, we used the study by Adrián Patroni in 1896 (Patroni 1897). It is a pioneer work on workers’ conditions with very detailed information on different occupations, wages received and number of working days. Another important source was a publication by the American consul living at the time in Buenos Aires, William Buchanan in 1898. Buchanan (1898) collected information on wages for different occupations during the years 1886, 1890, 1892, 1894 and 1896. All Buchanan wages used here are a simple average of the 1894 and 1896 data. With Patroni (1897)’s data we were able to convert daily to annual

significant than the kind of work she did, given the limited range of work options and the link between life course and work for women.

²¹ Social historians starting with the pioneer research by Thernstrom (1973) have frequently used variations of the IPUMS classification. Thernstrom himself actually relied upon a reworking of these mid-20th century groupings applied back to 19th century data. Moya (1998) follows a classification design for Argentina by Szuchman and Sofer in 1976 which is, fortunately, very similar to the one used here.

wages using the number of working days by occupation. In the case of no data for a specific occupation, we assigned the average for all occupations collected by Patroni, i.e. 261 working days per year. When information on wages for the same occupation appeared in both sources a simple average was used to generate the salary. All wages are annual and in *pesos moneda nacional* (m\$*n*).

For professionals and white-collar occupations we used an administrative census (Censo de Empleados Municipales) for the city of Buenos Aires in 1892. This source provides a wealth of wage data by individual, not by broad categories. It includes information for professionals, managers, officials of public administration, etc. and we also codified it according to IPUMS and employed averages wages by occupation.²²

Based on the sources described above, we assembled the first dataset on immigrant and native active population for the city of Buenos Aires in 1895. This dataset with almost 18,000 observations (over 11,000 working age individuals), includes key individual characteristics together with a comparable and consistent IPUMS occupation classification and the corresponding annual wage. Table II.1 presents the aggregate data for the sample of Italian and Spanish immigrants from our own micro dataset and for the Argentines and “Other Europeans” from Somoza and Lattes (1967).²³ Both immigrants’ communities show classic features of migration flows in its composition by sex and age: high percentage of economically active men. Italian males between 20 and 44 years of age represent 54% of our sample while Spaniards in the same age group are 60%²⁴. The sample presented here does not distinguish between newly arrived immigrants and those established in Buenos Aires for a longer period of time. Since the length of stay in the host country is a crucial variable to analyse adaptation to

²² This publication also provides information on nationality and we find that there was no difference in the wages paid to foreigners relative to Argentineans for the same occupation.

²³ Other Europeans were French (51%), English (15%), Germans (11.4%) and from other European countries (23%)

²⁴ Italian children (27% younger than 14) surpassed Spanish ones (21%).

the labour market, we would need to estimate when Italian and Spanish immigrants arrived to the city (see section IV).

Section III

Immigrants played a dominant role in the Buenos Aires labour market representing almost 70% of the labour force aged 14 and above in 1895 (Segundo Censo Nacional 1895). Even though 50% of the population was of Argentine origin, the native share of labor force was barely over 30%. The occupational distribution between Spaniards, Italians and Argentines was also fairly distinct. Table III.1 presents the occupational structure for Italian and Spanish immigrants vis-à-vis the natives in the city of Buenos Aires (see also Figure 1.)

Italian males were heavily concentrated in the craftsmen category both compared with the Spaniards and the Argentines. According to Moya (1998, p. 222) Italians concentrated heavily in manufacturing and handicrafts since the strong industrial tradition of Northern Italy may have provided a comparative advantage. On the contrary, Spanish male workers dominated the sales occupations and almost doubled the Italians in the service workers category.

Knowledge of the language appears to have been an asset. Spanish immigrants featured prominently in the general category of labourers when compared to the other nationalities. It could be the case that unskilled Spaniards had a higher tendency to be seasonal workers of the rural sector and shifted between rural and urban markets according to the seasonality of employment (Adelman 1994).²⁵

We can also compare the occupational distribution of the two immigrants' communities on arrival to Argentina (Table III.2). The percentage of laborers is slightly higher for Spaniards when compared to Italians but the concentration is less remarkable than in our sample. There is no clear match between occupations declared at arrival and actual occupation in the Argentine labor market. For example, few Spanish immigrants declared sales workers or

²⁵ With our data it is impossible to control for casual labourers in the city shifting frequently occupations. The 1895 census was conducted in May well before the harvest season. Since in our sample people declared themselves an occupation, there is no reason to believe that there was a bias in one or other direction between Italian and Spanish immigrants.

artisans as their occupation but the census shows that they heavily concentrated in those occupations in Buenos Aires in 1895. In the same vein, nearly 70% of Italians were classified as farmers. This data are not strictly comparable with census data since immigrants on arrival declared a profession that would be best received in the host country. It is a sign of how immigrants, over time, adapted to local conditions.

Natives outnumbered immigrants in professional and technical occupations although the participation of Italians is noteworthy in relative terms (see Table III.1). Nearly 20% of natives appear in category 10 “non-occupational response”, hence not part of the labour force per se as the most commonly declared occupations were “gentleman at leisure” or “owner”.

Our characterization is very similar to Moya’s (1998, table 32) analysis of Spanish immigrants’ occupations in Buenos Aires using a sample from the same census. While it was a random sample, it was not stratified as it included every employed adult from only three heavily Spanish districts of the city. This methodology led to a bias in favour of the Spaniards while Italians actually outnumbered Spaniards in the city.²⁶ If we re-classified our data according to Moya’s categories, the results show discrepancies in the Professional group with a higher share for Italians and Spaniards in our sample; the non-manual category presents also a higher share for Spaniards (31.6% versus 24.4% in Moya’s sample). Despite these differences, the broad picture from both samples is broadly similar.

Looking at the demand side of the labour market, it is possible to identify the sectors where immigrants dominated. Overall, the most important sectors in terms of total vacancies were manufacturing, services and retail (see Table III.3). In manufacturing, retail and transportation, immigrants amounted to 60% of the labour demanded. Within retail, while both Spaniards and Italians worked mostly in general retail stores, Italians predominated in food retail sector. In transportation there was a sharp division, Italians worked at railroads and navy while Spaniards and Argentines mostly operated ground transportation. Not surprisingly, Argentines

²⁶ Moya’s sample is biased toward working-class neighbourhoods. The sample used here is not selected by district or other individual characteristics but by the initials of surnames.

prevailed in the public sector where the majority of the positions were as postal workers. In the United States, migrants were more likely to be managers and foremen while the native-born were more likely to be salesmen and clerks, two occupations with high returns to fluency in English.²⁷ In Buenos Aires, Spaniards dominated these occupations because of the same reason.

In terms of earnings, weighed-average earnings for Italian and Spanish male workers are very similar: 962 m\$ per year for Italians and 929 m\$ per year for Spaniards (compared to 1,160 m\$ for native workers) but they are statistically significantly different (see Table III.4 and Figure 2). There are, however, differences among major occupational groups. As expected, Argentines had higher wages among the highly skilled groups: professional and technical and managers, officials and proprietors followed by the “Other Europeans” group (French and British mainly). Argentines dominated that category due to the strong concentration in public administration occupations. In the other categories, earnings are very similar. On the contrary, immigrants had higher earnings than natives in the craftsmen category and in the service workers, which could be explained by immigrants’ specialisation in certain occupations.²⁸

Figure 3 compares, for Italians and Spaniards, the weighted average wage for each occupation category in relation to the Argentine average. Both groups surpassed Argentine workers’ earnings in the craftsmen and service workers. Our data show that in Buenos Aires labour market earnings in the Italian and Spanish communities represent around 80% of the average earnings of the native population and in some categories foreigners show higher wages than natives. None of the contemporary observers (such as Patroni, for example) mentioned labour market discrimination against foreigners in a city where immigrants made more than 70% of working population. In order to find out whether there was discrimination in the labour market (natives vs migrants) we should compare the wages of equally skilled (or unskilled)

²⁷ Abramitzky et. al. (2014)

²⁸ The wage differences described here are the result of compositional effects in terms of occupations, not in terms of wage differences between foreigners and natives.

workers. Unfortunately we do not have direct information on wages actually received by workers since we have assigned wages by occupations. However, we do observe occupational clustering by nationality.

Latin immigrants specialised in particular occupations but this clustering may not have been the outcome of discrimination (unless we assume employers discrimination by nationality): Italian employers preferred to hire Italian workers in craftsman occupations and Spanish employers did the same in the salesmen category. This pattern is in line with contemporary evidence on the US labour market. Giovanni Peri and Chad Sparber (2011) analyse the effects of specialisation of immigrants and natives in performing different tasks concluding that in the American labour market foreign-born workers specialise in occupations that require manual and physical labour skills while natives pursue jobs more intensively in communication and language tasks. This could have been the case for less educated Italian immigrants in Buenos Aires but it is not clear at all for the Spanish case that shared the language skills with the natives but concentrated heavily in unskilled occupations. A similar phenomenon was present in the United States in the early 20th century as shown by Jeanne Lafortune and José Tessada (2014). Immigrant networks explain occupational clustering by ethnicity based on different skills.

Another explanation for this clustering is the scarcity in the supply of native-born labour for certain occupations.²⁹ This could be the case for the craftsmen category in Buenos Aires since literature stress that Italian immigrants increased the supply of manual skilled labour due to the strong industrial tradition of Northern Italy (Moya 1998; Baily 1999). Italians in Buenos Aires concentrated in craftsmen occupations but our data show that Spanish earnings were slightly higher than Italians' in the skilled manual category. The converse is true among service workers, the preferred occupation for Spaniards, with higher average earnings for the Italian group. Studies of immigrant earnings and occupational attainment consistently find that pre-

²⁹ Waldinger (1994)

immigration experience has a small effect on labour market outcomes in the destination (Chiswick 1991, 2000). A deeper analysis of the craftsmen category reveals differences between Spanish and Italian immigrants. The former are younger and with very high rates of literacy (30.8 year of age and 92.7% literate); the latter are older (average age 33.9 years) and with a lower literacy rate (86.2%). In addition, within the craftsmen the high concentration of Italians in occupations with relatively low paid salaries such as brickmasons (17.7%) explains the differences between Italian and Spanish immigrants (5.6%). Few Italians appear in high salary occupations within the category such as bakers. On the Spanish side, their share is higher in relatively skilled and well-paid occupations: bookbinders, composers and typesetters, pressmen in the printing industries and machinists. In the most common occupations (tailors, carpenters, shoemakers and painters) both communities display similar shares.

Wage differentials may arise because of differences in human capital either from educational attainment or from experience in the host labour market (see section IV)³⁰. Looking at average earnings in relation to human capital (measured crudely by literacy rates), there is a clear relation of highly skilled occupations and human capital, although it is remarkable the high literacy rates for Spanish workers even in the unskilled jobs (Figure 3).

The age earnings profiles of natives and immigrants present (Figure 4) rising earnings up to the age of 45 with a flatter tail for foreigners. This pattern may indicate that older immigrants, particularly unskilled, entered and stayed in the labour market even in relatively low paid occupations in order to receive a salary.

All the evidence leads us to offer a qualified picture of the success of Italians in Buenos Aires. It appears that the Italian prosperity in Buenos Aires was not based on superior earnings or skills. As a result, we should look for possible factors that drove the Italian superior affluence: the size of the community as it relates to networks and the advantage of being the “old”

³⁰ For the Jewish in the turn of the century United States, experience in the American labour market is much more important than skills in explaining occupational distribution (Chiswick 1991).

immigrants. On the contrary, the Spanish community living in Buenos Aires in 1895 compares relatively well with the Italians according to mean wages by occupations, in particular, for the skilled manual category (craftsmen). This finding challenges the traditional view of Spaniards as lagging behind the Italians.

To sum up, our analysis based on this new dataset shows that the Buenos Aires labour market exhibited occupational specialisation by nationality. Natives outnumbered immigrants in highly skilled occupations although the participation of Italians is remarkable in relative terms.

Overall earnings of immigrants were very similar with some significant differences by occupations. As a result, wage differentials appear due to a compositional effect. Our analysis so far points to clustering in certain occupations by nationality. The next section will explore the factors driving this specialisation.

Section IV

The labour market in Buenos Aires at the close of the 19th century showed specialisation by nationality: Argentines concentrated in more skilled occupations such as professionals and clerical workers. Spaniards shared the mid-skilled segment possibly due to the language advantage while Italians concentrated in the artisan and blue-collar occupations.³¹ What explains this specialisation? The literature points to a flexible labour market, suggesting a possible switch between similar occupations.

A potential explanatory factor is the skill level measured by literacy and occupation at the country of origin. In terms of human capital, it is well known that Spanish immigrants were positively selected according to literacy rates (Sánchez-Alonso 2000)³². In Italy the selectivity of the transatlantic migratory flow seems to have been lower than in other countries: the larger the migratory flow the closer the typical emigrant would be to the average population of origin. Following Chiswick (2000) we argue that selection in the Italian case seems to have

³¹ Spaniards also concentrated in unskilled occupations.

³² The main exception refers to the Canary Islanders migrating to Cuba. They came from the least educated section of the population at home (Juif 2015).

been relatively less intense than in Spain because of lower direct costs of migration (e.g. stock of previous immigrants, pre-paid tickets, remittances).³³

Linguistic advantage and literacy can be important predictors of earnings in the labour market.

To estimate the impact of human capital and language on earnings, we used a simple regression model adapted from Chris Minns (2000) using our micro dataset for all males over the age of 14. The specification of the estimation is:

$$\log(\text{annual wage}) = f(\text{literacy, language, age, age}^2) \quad (1)^{34}$$

We proxied human capital accumulation with literacy for education and age for labour market experience. In terms of language, we created a dummy variable for knowledge of the Spanish language with value one for Argentines and Hispanic immigrants.

Table IV.1 presents the results for the pooled data for all the males in the sample over 14 (columns 1 and 6) and for Spaniards, Italians, and "Other Europeans" (columns 3, 4, and 5). In all specifications except for 'Other Europeans', literacy is highly significant. From the general specification (column 1), we learn that for all male workers literacy translated into a boost in earnings of about 24%. It is clear that literacy matters more for Spaniards than for Italians as indicated by the size of the coefficients in the columns (3) and (4). Experience measured by age and age-squared had the higher impact for Argentines with a higher and positive coefficient and highly significant.³⁵ It is possible that age is not a good proxy for experience for immigrants and time since migration to Argentina would be a more accurate indicator. Unfortunately the census did not provide such information.³⁶

Spanish immigrants in Argentina were a highly literate group (Table IV.2). The overall picture is, for the two nationalities, one of extraordinary high literacy rates, particularly for Spanish

³³ When immigrant's literacy is compared to literacy rates of potential emigrants from regions of high emigration the selectivity of the process appears quite clear for Spain (Sánchez Alonso 2000).

³⁴ We also experimented with another dependent variable, the index of socio-economic prestige (SEI). Literacy turns out to be, once again, a highly significant explanatory variable.

³⁵ To potentially tease out the impact of qualifications such as literacy, we carried out an Oaxaca decomposition based on separate regressions for Italians and Spanish with poor results.

³⁶ Sánchez Alonso (2004) used the age of the first-born from immigrant father or mother as a proxy for stance in the country. Unfortunately, we do not have enough observations for econometric purposes.

male immigrants. The average Spanish male immigrant was more literate than his contemporary at home, than Southern Europeans immigrants to the United States (Kevin O'Rourke and Jeffrey Williamson 1997) and even *porteños*. Male Spaniards showed a literacy rates 10 percentage points higher than Italians and native-born population.³⁷ However, in terms of skills, the occupation reported at port of entry suggests low skills given the overwhelming majority of farmers and labourers for both Italians and Spaniards (see Table III.2).

Figure 5 displays average literacy by skill range: highly skilled occupations are, as expected, associated with high literacy rates with a notable feature. Spanish immigrants surpassed Italians and natives in categories 2 (managers, officials and proprietors) and 3 (sales workers). In the manual categories, both skilled and unskilled, there are lower levels of literacy for the three groups considered.

Given this division within the labour market, the high literacy rates and the language advantage, it seems surprising that the Italian community outperformed Spaniards in economic terms. Both in terms of income (though with differences in some categories) and wealth, Italians surpassed the Spanish. Historians have stressed that Italian-born immigrants did extremely well in landownership (Baily 1999, Klein 1983). Table IV.3 presents the results for our sample and for the aggregate national census in the city of Buenos Aires.³⁸ There is no such striking difference in our sample between Italian and Spanish owners as scholars have pointed out, though the data are scarce. However, from the census aggregates we know that only 6% of Spaniards owned real estate, it was almost double for Italians³⁹ while the Argentine

³⁷ Differences are smaller in female literacy.

³⁸ Our sample data do not distinguish rural or urban property and when there is no information we cannot be sure whether means "no property" or "no response".

³⁹ Percentages are calculated for population older than 20 years of age. Among foreigners in 1895, the French owners, 10%, surpassed the Spaniards. Over time, as the data for the 1914 census show, the picture remains similar.

share was 21% in the city of Buenos Aires.⁴⁰ These figures are consistent with evidence on real estate operations. Of nearly 55,000 real estate sales in the city during the decade from 1886 to 1895, Italians participated in 33% of them, the Spanish only figured in 7% while the Argentineans appeared in 54%. In addition, the average purchase value of real estate by Italians was systematically lower than the ones by the Spaniards. This is not surprising as Spaniards lived in the most expensive neighbourhoods in the city (Dirección General de Estadística 1892-1895).⁴¹

A greater proportion of long-term residents among Italians could explain that even with little or no difference in relative earnings, Italians had a longer time horizon for saving in the host economy⁴². If we look at male age in our sample and assuming an earlier timing of arrival of Italians, the differences between Italians and Spaniards could partly explain differential rates in ownership: 49% of Italian males versus 44% of Spaniards were at least 30 years old.

Another explanation of the success of Italian immigrants is a higher social status. In spite of similar wages Italians could be concentrated in occupations with higher social prestige.

Applying the Otis D. Duncan's (1961) Socioeconomic Index (SEI) on our database we do not find evidence to support the case. The mean value, weighted by workers in each IPUMS occupational category, is 36 for Italians and 38 for Spanish immigrants (values go from 7 to

⁴⁰ On the contrary, in the city of Córdoba 8.6% of the Spanish population owned real property in 1895; this figure was only 1% below that of the native born (Szuchman 1980, 126).

⁴¹ Spaniards lived in the centre, especially in the neighbourhoods of Catedral (Norte y Sur), Montserrat and San Nicolás while Italians settled in more remote locations. The central locations were the most densely populated accompanied by high prices. For example, the Spanish represented over 37 per cent of the population in the neighbourhood Catedral al Sur where the price per square meter was over \$200. In contrast, in San Juan Evangelista where 38 per cent of the population was Italian, the price per square meter was a meagre \$13 in 1894 (Dirección General de Estadística 1895)

⁴² Another possible explanation is the lower celibacy rates of Italians and their higher fertility that may have encouraged home buying (Moya 1998, 173 using data for 1904). Our sample, however, shows a very similar number of children per family in the two cases: 1.97 for Italians and 1.94 for Spanish families.

70). The SEI is higher for Spanish in all categories, except in the unskilled, and they clearly surpassed the Italians in the category of managers, officials and proprietors (64 versus 53).⁴³ Time of arrival to the host country can be an advantage for immigrants' communities. Italians and Spaniards can be considered 'old immigrants' in Argentina, but the Italians were the first massive wave of immigrants. Figure 7 shows net migration for the two immigration groups before 1895. In particular, during the 1870s and 1880s Italians outnumbered Spaniards in a very significant way. However, we do not know how many of them established in Buenos Aires. Yet, by 1855 Italians already represented over 11% of Buenos Aires population.⁴⁴ As a result they were able to establish immigrants' norms of integration and powerful networks earlier in time. In the 1880s there were no older and large immigrant community in the city of Buenos Aires to compete with the massive inflow of Italians.

There is no information on *when* the individual in our sample moved to Buenos Aires and it is not possible to infer this from other information in the records. However, since our sample was collected taking into account family units, we can proxy the length of stay for those immigrants living in Buenos Aires with their families in 1895. Argentine law, based on *ius soli*, registered as native Argentines all children born in the Argentine Republic from foreign parents. The census recorded the place of birth for every individual therefore we can proxy the length of stay in the country by the age of the first child born in Argentina for families⁴⁵.

Around 45% of Spanish and 48% of Italian families had a child born in Argentina, the majority of them in the city and province of Buenos Aires. The age of the child can be used a proxy for the minimum length of stay in Argentina for those families (see Figure 8). Only 22% of Spanish families had been living in Argentina more than 10 years compared to 33% of Italian families.

The majority of Spanish families were "newly arrived" to the country (less than 5 years).

⁴³ The regression analysis confirms these results. Using the log of SEI as the dependent variable we find that literacy allowed Spaniards to find opportunities in more prestigious occupations. The coefficient is highly significant and much higher than for Italians.

⁴⁴ Spanish population living in Buenos Aires in 1855 represented 6.3%.

⁴⁵ All immigrants in the sample single or without being part of a family group are excluded.

Longer experience in the country also translated in the creation and expansion of formal networks. A social network approach has been the favourite tool in research on immigrants' assimilation. In the context of immigrant employment, networks comprise a source of "social capital," source of information, access to the first employment and a tool to smooth the transition into the new labour market (Lafortune and Tessada 2014).

Buenos Aires is a good example of immigrants developing social capital. By 1895 there were nearly 200 associations dedicated to diverse purposes such as education, culture, and cooperation. Remarkably, over 28% of the associations were for Italian nationals while only 5.4% for Spaniards. In terms of membership, the Italians vastly surpassed any other national association with almost 44,000 members followed by the Argentines with less than half.⁴⁶ Large immigrants communities from the same source country traditionally generate more ethnic institutions providing services ranging from medical to recreational, as the Italians did in Buenos Aires in a significant way. The role of these associations cannot be minimized as they served as hubs for information and networking within the national communities and decreased the costs of adaptation to the new city (Moya 1998, p. 327). Baily (1999, pp. 213-214) stressed the fact that the Italians developed, already before the mass migration period, an extended, wealthy and powerful immigrant institutional structure around a handful of large mutual aid societies. The network was expanded with banks, clubs, hospitals, and other organizations during the 1880s. He concludes that "[The Italians' institutions] of the Buenos Aires community were significantly more developed, participation of the Italians in them much greater, and their assistance in the process of adjustment therefore more extensive" (Baily 1999, p. 189). Therefore, the well-developed Italian immigrant structure in Buenos Aires was an important factor to the more rapid and complete adjustment of the Italians in Buenos

⁴⁶ Association data available by date of foundation from the Buenos Aires city census in 1904. We used the current membership reported in that year given the lack of earlier information.

Aires.⁴⁷ The Spanish community also developed an institutional structure but by the 1890s it was still less powerful and extended than the Italian (Alejandro Fernández 1989).

According to the literature, the longer the immigrant community has been established the better it adjusts to the host society and the more it is accepted by the host society (Hatton and Leigh 2011). Thus, economic outcomes for immigrants should depend not just on their own characteristics but also on the legacy of past migration from the same country. In addition, if we assume that the size of immigrant stock captures the network size, it seems clear that the Italians enjoyed larger and more powerful networks than the Spaniards. Timothy Hatton and Andrew Leigh (2011) also suggest that immigrants assimilate as communities and not as individuals. They find that –holding constant an immigrant’s own characteristics- the immigration tradition does indeed have positive effects on immigrant earnings. It could be suggested that this was indeed the case for Italians in Buenos Aires since the Italian community outperformed Spaniards in economic terms.

Italians’ social capital seems to have been more influential than Spaniards’ language advantage in spite of other forms of human capital (i.e. higher literacy). Language and literacy seem to explain the specialisation of Spanish immigrants within the sales workers and in relatively well paid occupations among the craftsmen. However, Spanish immigrants also dominated the service workers and the unskilled labourers where neither language nor literacy seems to play a role. A possible explanation is that in 1895 a large proportion of the Spanish community were relatively new in Buenos Aires labour market and they profited from flexibility in low skilled segments of the market.

Section V

The city of Buenos Aires experienced dramatic changes during the late 19th century. As the political and commercial hub of the Argentine economy, the city welcomed thousands of immigrants during the age of mass migration. From 1887 to 1895, 70% of population growth

⁴⁷ We are not considering here the possibility that the larger the size of the community and the more powerful the networks, the more negatively selected the immigrants.

was due to immigration. This inflow of immigrants was magnified in the labour market as less than a third of the labour force was of Argentine origin.

In this paper we look at the formation and development of the Buenos Aires urban labour market at the end of the 19th century. In particular we are interested in unveiling the effects of such large inflow of immigrants on the city's labour market. Building a large dataset with information on Argentines and immigrants, we characterize the labour supply by skill and assign representative wage rates based on multiple secondary sources. In particular, we are interested in looking at the two most important immigrant communities: the Italians and the Spaniards. Our dataset allows for comparisons with other urban labor markets in the United States given the vast research done for immigrants' adjustment in New York, Boston or Chicago among other American cities.

With this new dataset we are able to compare the participation and performance of male workers in the labour market by nationality. We find that workers clustered in different occupations: Argentines in professional jobs, Italians in crafts and Spaniards in retail. Human capital mattered (proxied by literacy) to achieve higher earnings; however, Spaniards did not outperform Italians in terms of average wages or access to homeownership. This puzzling outcome is resolved when looking at an important pull factor in migration studies: the network effect. With the Italian networks in the city being older and richer, it appears that this community was capable to help fellow countrymen to integrate in this vibrant city.

This study helps us understand the adjustment of labour markets in the presence of a large inflow of workers. Armed with different skills and aided by networks, workers found their niche in this ever-expanding market.

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Tables and graphs

Table I.1: Population of Buenos Aires. 1869-1914

	Total population	% Foreign	% Italian	% Spanish
1869	187.346	49.3	23.6	7.8
1887	433.375	52.7	31.8	9.1
1895	663.854	52.0	27.4	12.1
1904	950.891	45.0	24.0	11.1
1909	1.231.698	45.5	22.5	14.2
1914	1.576.597	50.6	19.8	19.5

Sources: National and Municipal census (several dates)

Table II.1: Aggregate data of the population of the city of Buenos Aires: Argentines, Italians and Spaniards.

	Argentines	Spanish	Italians	Other Europeans
N	7,402	4,288	6,235	1,149
Share				
Male	46%	63%	60%	55%
Female	54%	37%	40%	45%
Active population (aged 14 and older)				
Total	3,214	3,477	4,663	1,060
Share				
Male	41%	65%	62%	55%
Female	58%	35%	38%	45%
Mean age (years)	28	31	33	37
Marital Status				
Share				
Single	44%	57%	55%	34%
Married	50%	38%	43%	56%
Widow	6%	5%	2%	10%

Sources: Italians and Spaniards: Archivo de la Nación Argentina. Sample from Segundo Censo Nacional, 1895. Archival files num. 466 to 584 and 800 to 1041; Argentines and Other Europeans: Somoza and Lattes (1967).

Table III.1: Occupational structure in Buenos Aires 1895

		Share					
		Italy		Spain		Argentina	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
		%	%	%	%	%	%
0	Professionals, technical	3.9	1.3	2.8	2.0	5.8	1.7
1	Farmers	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.1	2.1	0.1
2	Managers, officials, and proprietors	1.9	0.0	1.8	0.0	1.3	0.6
3	Clerical and kindred	4.8	0.8	7.7	0.4	14.5	0.2
4	Sales workers	16.3	3.2	26.7	3.2	15.9	0.2
5	Craftsmen	38.6	9.3	18.5	5.8	18.5	1.4
6	Operatives	10.6	10.3	8.8	7.4	8.9	2.7
7	Service workers	6.4	11.8	12.2	23.4	4.1	11.9
8	Farm laborers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
9	Laborers	8.2	0.5	13.0	1.0	5.9	0.3
10	Non-occupational response	9.0	63.1	8.0	56.3	19.4	69.1
		100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: Italy and Spain: our dataset, see text; Argentina: Somoza and Lattes (1967).

Table III.2: Immigrants' occupation on arrival to Argentina (% total by nationality) 1876-1897

Occupations	Italians	Spaniards	Other	
			Europeans	Other nationalities
Farmers	69.1	41.3	47.7	33.5
Brickmasons	1.6	3.3	1.6	3.6
Craftsmen	2.8	3.5	6.4	16.4
Farmers (tenants)	3.7	8.0	6.5	6.2
Sales workers	1.1	1.5	4.8	6.2
Labourers	11.1	16.0	7.1	5.2
Other occupations	2.7	8.4	9.9	6.4
Without occupation	8.9	15.4	13.4	13.6
Total	100	100	100	100

Sources: Segundo Censo Nacional 1895-vol. I. p. 651

Table III.3: Sector distribution of labour in Buenos Aires, 1895, in %

	Share of total jobs			Sector Relative weight
	Spaniards	Italians	Argentines	
Primary	7.2	18.2	25.5	2.6
Manufacturing	8.2	45.7	53.9	34.3
Retail	13.1	42.7	55.8	18.1
Services	20.3	35.5	55.8	25.0
Government	15.5	24.6	40.0	6.5
Transportation	11.6	16.7	28.3	10.0

Sources: Based on Somoza and Lattes (1967)

Table III.4: Male wage earnings: Buenos Aires, 1895 (weighted average for each category)

		Italians		Spaniards		Other Europeans		Argentines	
		W	(c.v.)	W	(c.v.)	W	(c.v.)	W	(c.v.)
0	Professional, Technical	2972	0.57	2875	0.62	4396	0.65	4519	0.35
2	Managers, officials and Proprietors	2272	0.30	2553	0.38	2645	0.21	3000	0.37
3	Clerical and kindred	1063	0.89	1003	0.78	1203	0.53	1027	1.06
4	Sales workers	973	0.26	956	0.26	1065	0.00	1001	0.23
5	Craftsmen	866	0.34	921	0.33	824	0.35	808	0.34
6	Operatives	685	0.35	662	0.26	679	0.18	666	0.37
7	Service workers	825	0.23	727	0.24	612	0.22	677	0.26
9	Laborers	604	0.80	589	0.83	698	0.00	587	0.71
Average earnings		962		929		1076		1160	

Sources: See text.

Note: All wages are annual wages in m\$ñ (pesos moneda nacional)

Table IV.1: Regression results

	All (1)	Argentines (2)	Italians (3)	Spaniards (4)	Other Europeans (5)	All (6)
age	0.0055* (0.0022)	0.0319*** (0.0067)	0.0026 (0.0029)	-0.0069 (0.0056)	0.0104 (0.0094)	0.0055* (0.0022)
age2	0.0000 (0.0000)	-0.0003*** (0.0001)	0.0000 (0.0000)	0.0001 (0.0001)	-0.0001 (0.0001)	0.0000 (0.0000)
literacy	0.2181*** (0.0120)	0.3527*** (0.0415)	0.1890*** (0.0156)	0.2158*** (0.0220)	0.1271 (0.0679)	0.2181*** (0.0121)
language						0.0004 -0.0109
constant	6.4444*** (0.0388)	5.9567*** (0.1060)	6.5314*** (0.0541)	6.6001*** (0.0868)	6.3988*** (0.1948)	6.4440*** (0.0399)
R ²	0.039	0.094	0.042	0.044	0.017	0.039
N	6526	1001	2614	2038	518	6577

Sources: See text.

The dependent variable is the *log of wage*, *Literacy* is a dummy variable, *Language* is a dummy variable with value 1 when for Spaniards and Argentines and 0 otherwise. (*), (**), and (***) denote significance at 10%, 5%, and 1% respectively. 'All' corresponds to all the pooled data. Robust standard errors are in parenthesis.

Table IV.2: Literacy Rates in Buenos Aires, 1895 (population older than 6)

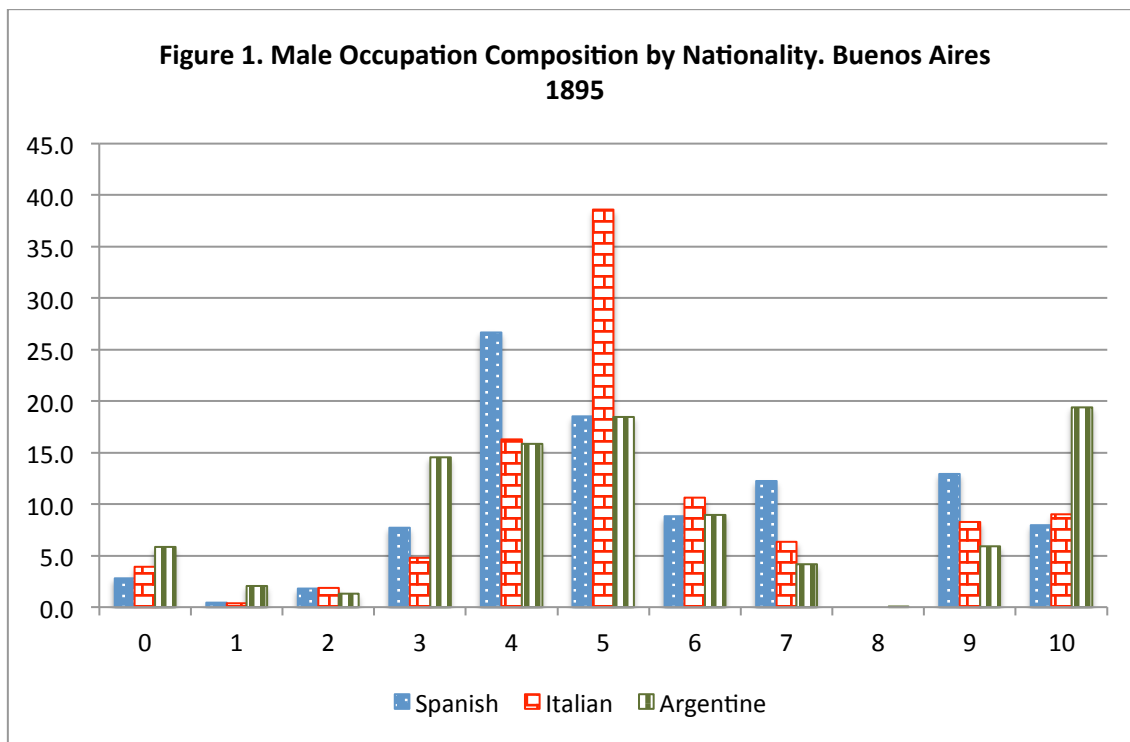
	Male	Female	Total
Italian	78%	66%	73%
Spanish	88%	68%	80%
Argentines	78%	75%	76%
Total foreigners	76%	60%	70%

Sources: Italian and Spanish our sample from national census; Argentines and total foreigners. Segundo Censo Nacional, 1895. vol. 2. p. 30

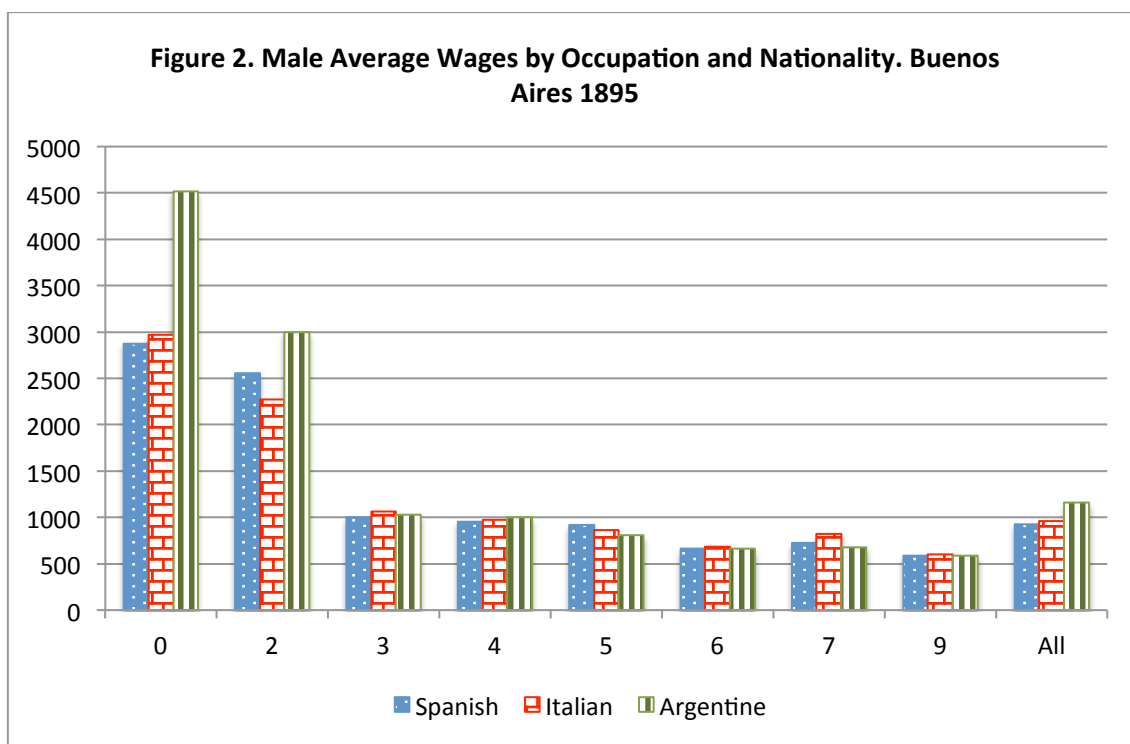
Table IV.3: Property owners (% over population older than 20): city of Buenos Aires, 1895

	Italian	Spanish	Natives
Panel A (sample)	8.3	5.1	
Panel B (aggregate census)	12.0	6.0	21.0

Sources: calculated from the 1895 census sample. Segundo Censo Nacional 1895. Vol. 2.

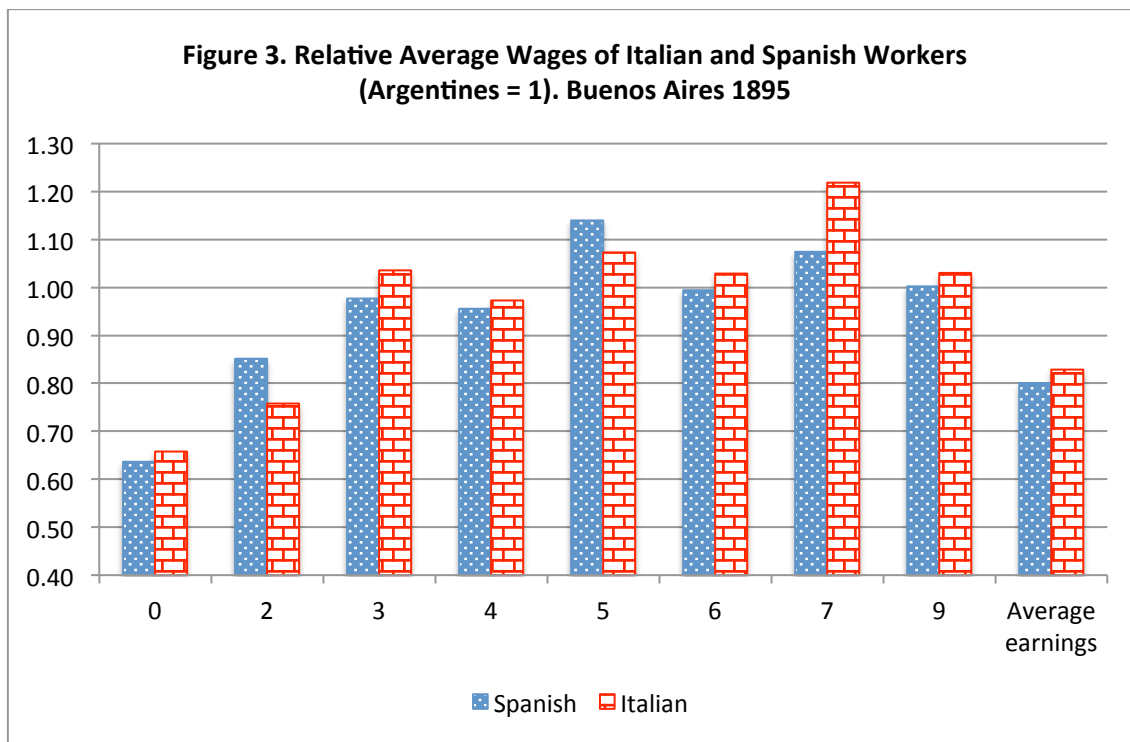


Sources: see text.

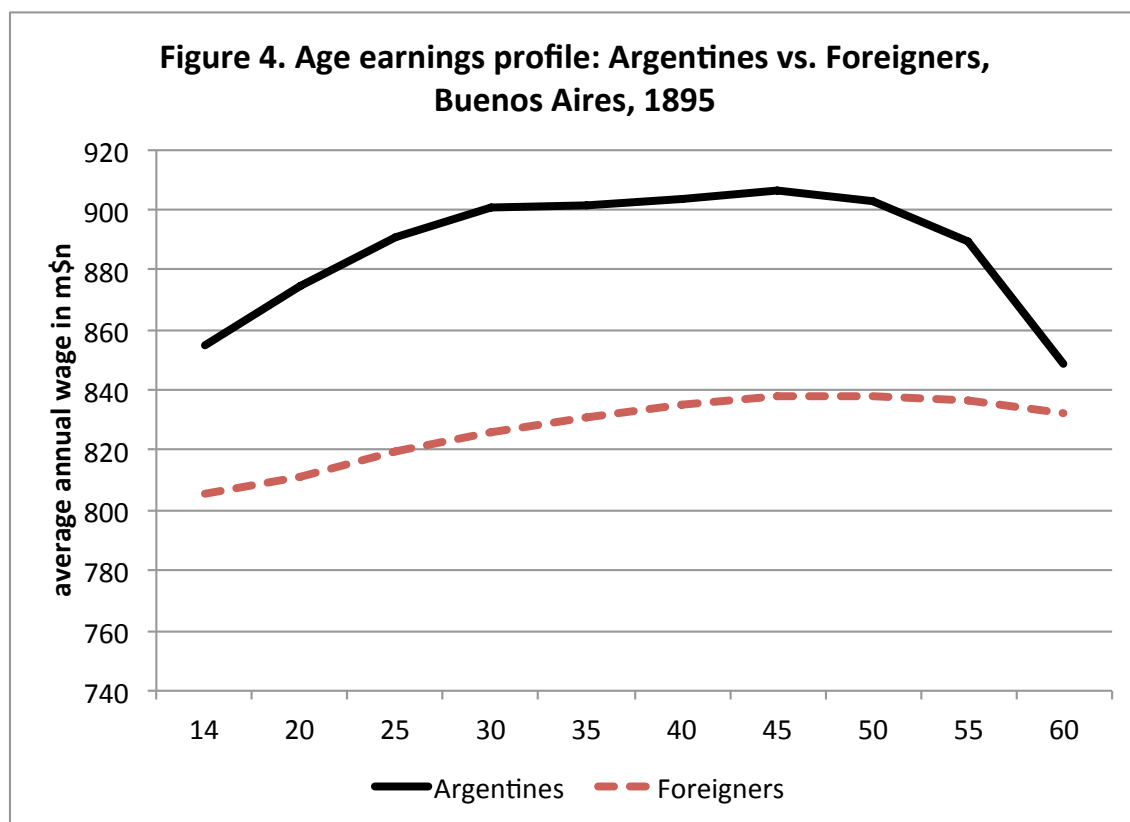


Sources: see Table III.4.

Notes: Annual wages (weighted average) in m\$ (pesos moneda nacional).

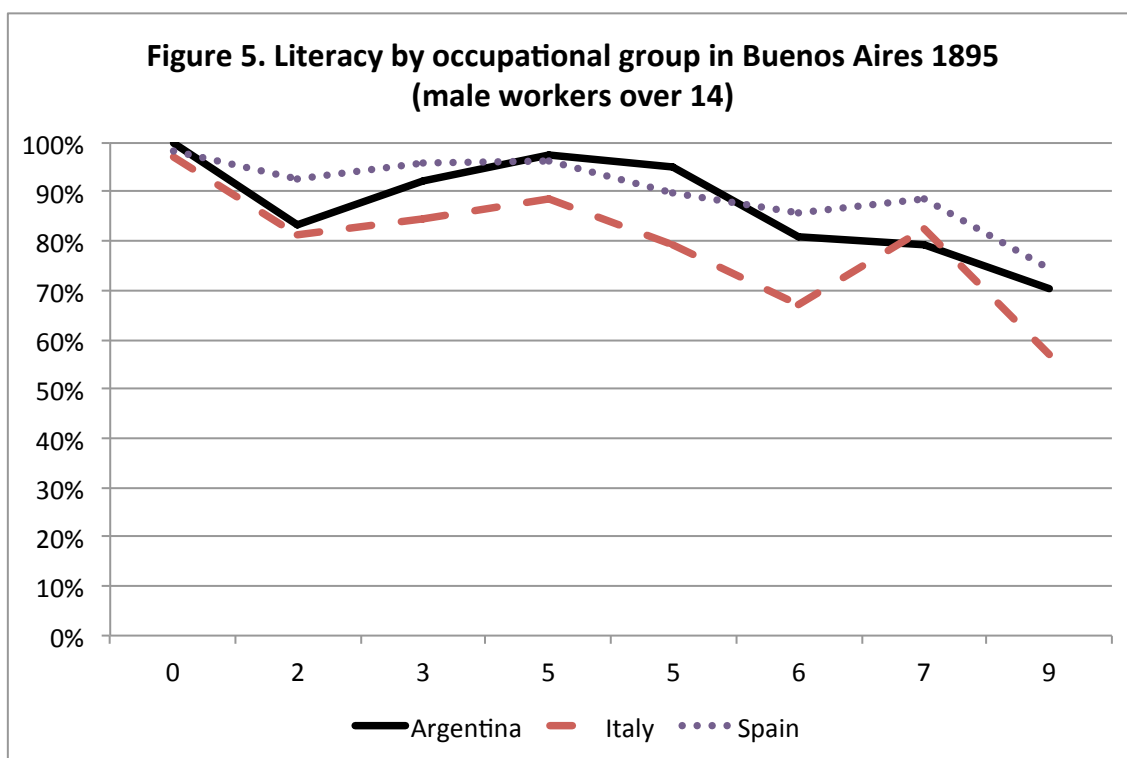


Sources: Calculated with data from Table III.4

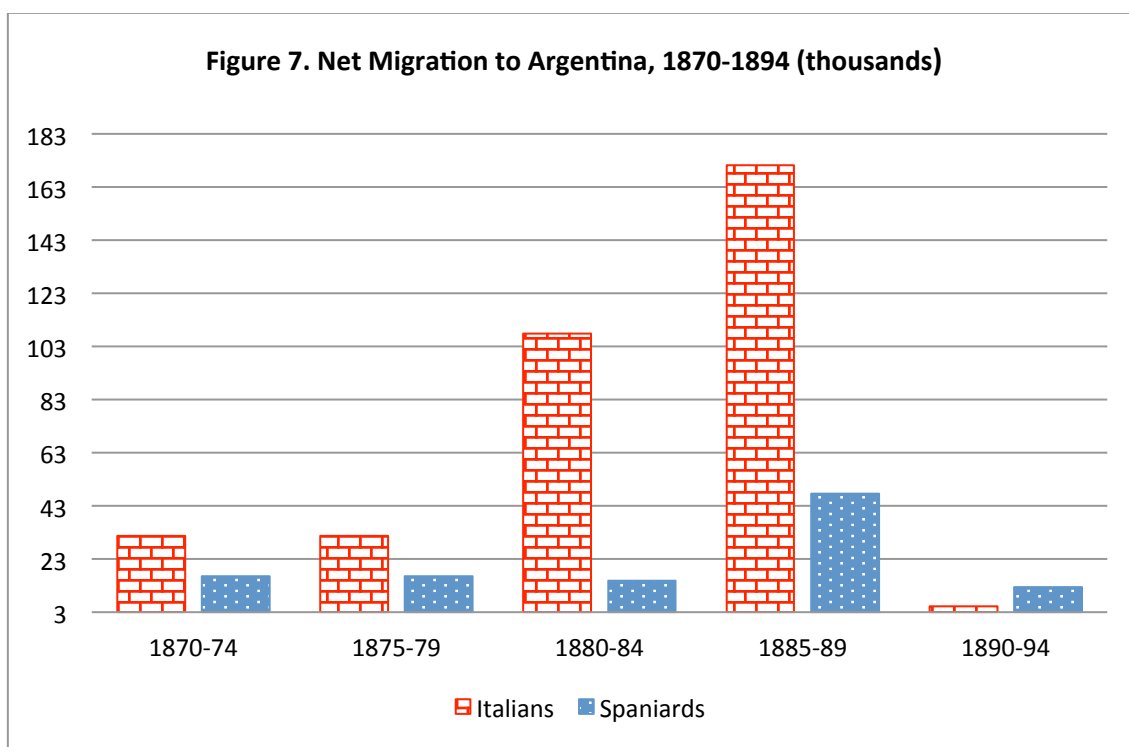


Sources: Argentina: Somoza and Lattes (1967), Foreign (=Italians+Spaniards): see text.

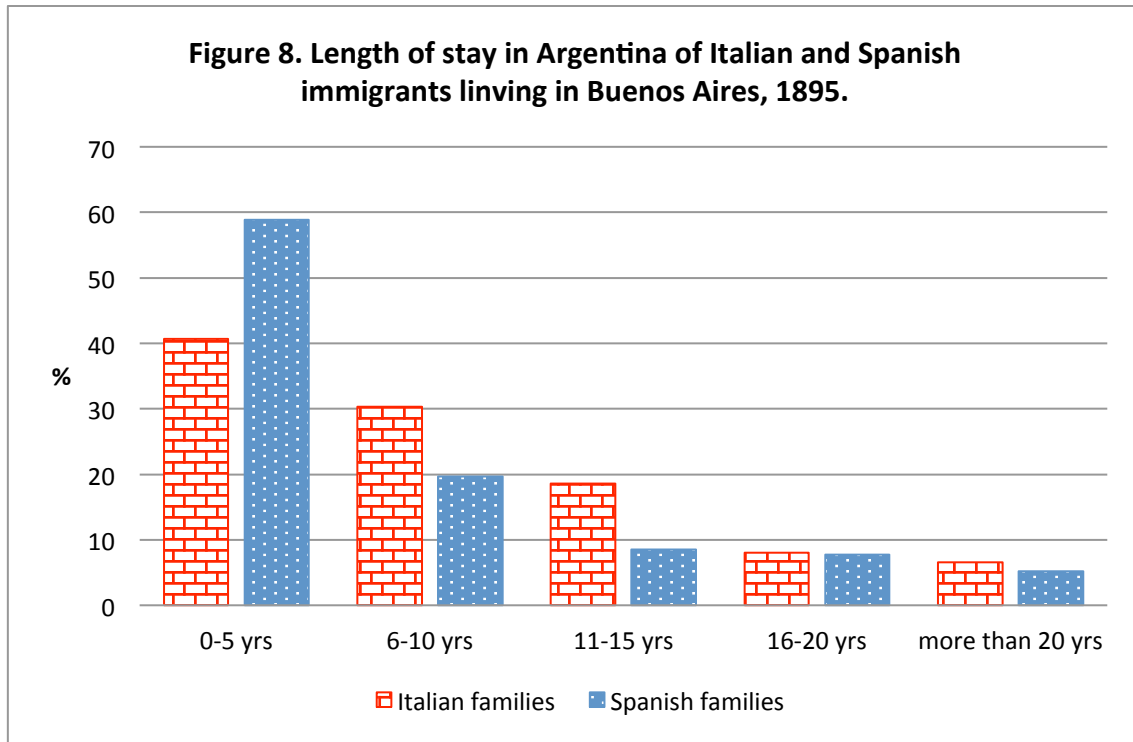
Note: Smooth series with winsored outliers.



Source: Italy and Spain calculated from census sample, 1895, Argentina: Somoza y Lattes (1967).



Source: Resumen estadístico del movimiento migratorio en la República argentina. 1857-1924. Buenos Aires. Dirección General de Inmigración. 1925.



Sources: calculated from the census sample 1895 according to the age of first child born in Argentina. See text.

Appendix: IPUMS Occupational Categories

Code	Label	Code	Label
0	Professional, Technical:	320	Cashiers
000	Accountants and auditors	321	Collectors, bill and account
001	Actors and actresses	325	Express messengers and railway mail clerks
002	Airplane pilots and navigators	340	Messengers and office boys
003	Architects	342	Shipping and receiving clerks
004	Artists and art teachers	350	Stenographers, typists, and secretaries
029	Professors and instructors: Subject not specified	360	Telegraph messengers
031	Dancers and dancing teachers	365	Telegraph operators
032	Dentists	380	Ticket, station, and express agents
035	Draftsmen	390	Clerical and kindred workers (n.e.c.)
036	Editors and reporters	4	Sales workers:
046	Engineers, mechanical	400	Advertising agents and salesmen
049	Engineers (n.e.c.)	410	Auctioneers
055	Lawyers and judges	430	Hucksters and peddlers
073	Pharmacists	450	Insurance agents and brokers
074	Photographers	460	Newsboys
075	Physicians and surgeons	470	Real estate agents and brokers
078	Religious workers	480	Stock and bond salesmen
091	Sports instructors and officials	490	Salesmen and sales clerks (n.e.c.)
092	Surveyors	5	Craftsmen:
093	Teachers (n.e.c.)	500	Bakers
097	Therapists and healers (n.e.c.)	501	Blacksmiths
098	Veterinarians	502	Bookbinders
2	Managers, Officials, and Proprietors:	504	Brickmasons, stonemasons, and tile setters
201	Buyers and shippers, farm products	505	Cabinetmakers
205	Floormen and floor managers, store	510	Carpenters
210	Inspectors, public administration	512	Compositors and typesetters
230	Managers and superintendents, building	515	Electricians
250	Officials and administrators (n.e.c.), public administration	521	Engravers, except photoengravers
270	Postmasters	522	Excavating, grading, and road machinery operators
280	Purchasing agents and buyers (n.e.c.)	523	Foremen (n.e.c.)
290	Managers, officials, and proprietors (n.e.c.)	525	Furriers
3	Clerical and Kindred	530	Glaziers
300	Agents (n.e.c.)	531	Heat treaters, annealers, temperers
301	Attendants and assistants, library	542	Locomotive firemen
302	Attendants, physician's and dentist's office	533	Inspectors (n.e.c.)
304	Baggagemen, transportation	534	Jewelers, watchmakers, goldsmiths, and silversmiths
305	Bank tellers	535	Job setters, metal
310	Bookkeepers		

Code	Label	Code	Label
544	Machinists	645	Milliners
550	Mechanics and repairmen, automobile	672	Power station operators
554	Mechanics and repairmen (n.e.c.)	673	Sailors and deck hands
555	Millers, grain, flour, feed, etc.	674	Sawyers
561	Molders, metal	675	Spinners, textile
564	Painters, construction and maintenance	681	Switchmen, railroad
571	Photoengravers and lithographers	682	Taxicab drivers and chauffers
573	Plasterers	683	Truck and tractor drivers
574	Plumbers and pipe fitters	684	Weavers, textile
575	Pressmen and plate printers, printing	685	Welders and flame cutters
582	Shoemakers and repairers, except factory	690	Operative and kindred workers (n.e.c.)
584	Stone cutters and stone carvers	7	Service Workers:
590	Tailors and tailoresses	720	Private household workers (n.e.c.)
591	Tinsmiths, coppersmiths, and sheet metal workers	740	Barbers, beauticians, and manicurists
593	Upholsterers	750	Bartenders
594	Craftsmen and kindred workers (n.e.c.)	751	Bootblacks
595	Members of the armed services	752	Boarding and lodging house keepers
6	Operatives:	753	Charwomen and cleaners
601	Apprentice bricklayers and masons	754	Cooks
602	Apprentice carpenters	762	Firemen, fire protection
612	Apprentices, metalworking trades (n.e.c.)	763	Guards, watchmen, and doorkeepers
615	Apprentices, trade not specified	764	Housekeepers and stewards
624	Brakemen, railroad	770	Janitors and sextons
630	Chainmen, rodmen, and axmen, surveying	772	Midwives
631	Conductors, bus and street railway	773	Policemen and detectives
632	Deliverymen and routemen	780	Porters
633	Dressmakers and seamstresses, except factory	781	Practical nurses
634	Dyers	784	Waiters and waitresses
635	Filers, grinders, and polishers, metal	790	Service workers (n.e.c.)
640	Fruit, nut, and vegetable graders, and packers, except factory	9	Laborers:
641	Furnacemen, smeltermen and pourers	910	Fishermen and oystermen
642	Heaters, metal	930	Gardeners, except farm, and groundskeepers
644	Meat cutters, except slaughter and packing house	970	Laborers (n.e.c.)

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