TOPICAL REVIEW

TRENDS AND ISSUES IN LATIN AMERICAN URBAN RESEARCH, 1965–1970

(PART I)

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ALTHOUGH THIS PAPER IS A SEQUEL TO AN EARLIER REVIEW OF LATIN American urban research (1965b), the volume and sophistication of work in the urban field during the past five years have made it advisable to limit the number of themes addressed, to dwell on complementary or discrepant approaches to certain central issues, and to suggest comparative perspectives. The first section, restricted to Spanish America, attempts to clarify some colonial antecedents of contemporary phenomena and is even less systematic than the other four sections as a research inventory. Attention to nineteenth-century developments is limited to references in Section V. The review of contemporary themes is weighted toward anthropological, sociological, and general institutional matters; the author has no credentials for prowling the arctic realms of economics, political behaviorism, and geographic place theory.

I. COLONIAL TOWNS

A. *The Functions of Towns*

An examination of Latin American urban development must come to grips with the urban history of Western Europe, both because the European experience generated so much classical urban theory and because the founding and growth of towns in Latin America recapitulate certain fragments of that experience. Previously I have emphasized (1962a; 1962b) the distinction between Pirenne's account (1939; 1956) of town formation in northwest Europe and the urbanization of colonial Latin America. This may overschematize the

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contrast between the centripetalism of the European town as a crystallization point for commerce and the centrifugalism of the Latin American town as a point of assault on the land and its minerals. Stated too baldly, the dichotomy slights the abundant scholarship that has refined the master image of Pirenne. It also exaggerates the "emptiness" of pre-Columbian America; it disregards the influence of Amerindian settlement patterns on urban site selection, and it neglects both the Indian circulatory systems that survived to provide underpinning for new urban networks and the urban hierarchies determined by Iberian administrative practice.

Here we will pursue the urban contrasts and parallels between Old and New Worlds, aspiring not to typologize so much as to identify strategies of analysis pertinent to the diverse urban experience of Latin America. We may ask, for example: If medieval French towns were characteristically chartered by rural seigneurs, what implications—political, economic, sociological—attach to the fact that Latin American towns ensconced proprietors on the land? Or: Of what significance is it that the European hanse was a league of towns which *created* a "rational" interurban system, while a procuratorial junta in Latin America assembled town representatives to formulate petitions *within* an existing legal order or imperium? Such questions suggest that our concern is not with classifying discrete sets of cities but with perceiving the urban environment as a locus of forces, whether for stability or change, affecting whole societies. It is in this sense that Pirenne's theory of town origins stands the test of time as an *idée force*. Latouche (1961: 238), otherwise an exacting critic, endorses his commercial emphasis:

> The new and interesting factor as we approach the eleventh century is not so much the revival of town life which, thanks to the Church, never entirely ceased to exist, but the appearance of a new kind of town in which trades and crafts introduced an element unknown in the ancient world. . . . Its originality consisted in the simultaneous existence of a *portus*, a market, a merchant and business quarter alongside churches, clerics' houses and the garrison *burg*.

In a similar vein Mundy (1963: xix) asserts: "The only outright rejection of Pirennian economism as applied to urban origins is to be seen in England."

Van Werveke (1963), a sympathetic disciple, shows that Pirenne's thesis of economic primacy may energize rather than limit and rigidify an urban typology. Thus for medieval Europe he identifies: (1) trading towns with extended commercial radii which, as they acquired regional and export industries, acted as a "chemical precipitate" to cause rural-urban division of labor; (2) market towns of limited radii, subject to intervention by seigneurs; (3) political, episcopal, military, and university towns which were centers of

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economic consumption; (4) pseudo-urban centers that had been walled or granted rights by a lord. The first was the critical type because "it set in motion the process of urban development" and produced "the most important centres."

Colonial Latin America exhibited all these varieties (with some redefinition of the pseudo-urban village), although here as in Europe hybrids and mutants were frequent. Houston (1968) identifies five urban types for New Spain and Peru: military towns, agricultural centers, mining settlements, administrative centers, and resettled nuclei of Indians. For New Spain at least, the first three types are said to represent successive stages of conquest. One could subdivide his categories—or expand them to include trade and market centers—but the issue is how to move beyond disjunctive typology to a criterion justifying the assertion that Latin American cities constitute "a veritable urban family" (Tricart, 1965). If commercial towns are the critical type for late-medieval Europe—and for colonial British America as well[1]—may one suspect that regional agro-administrative centers have equivalent significance for colonial Spanish America? If so, what windows do they open to processes of the larger society?[2]

Of the cities founded in the preliminary, Caribbean phase of the Spanish conquest (1492–1519), many were coastal strongholds located to maintain transatlantic contact and serve as bridgeheads for exploration of the interior (Hardoy, 1965: 389). As Pasquel (1958: 29) puts it for the case of Veracruz, this port city:

> . . . was not created by a *hinterland*—that is, the progress of its adjacent territories —to provide an outlet for its produce or communication for its inhabitants. Rather, it was created by the *exterland*, the exterior maritime zone, to support Spanish penetration of the interior; its founding therefore initiated the military operations of the conquest, transforming the port into a base for them.

The maritime redoubt-trading post-bridgehead was not, however, the exclusive model even in the early years. Ovando's strategy in 1504–05 for establishing 15 towns throughout Española was no less than a regional development plan that linked ports to the mining, farming, and ranching areas, and the latter with the Indian labor supply in the west (Palm, 1955: I, 79–86; Lamb, 1956: 143–60; Sauer, 1966: 151–55). Velázquez based his urban scheme for Cuba on similar criteria in 1512–15. "The bond established between the first settlers and the land by Velázquez'clever plan was so strong and sites were so wisely chosen that the first seven Spanish towns have survived all the economic and political crises of Cuban history" (Guerra, 1921–25: I, 287). Then and subsequently, Spanish town-founding required a strong dose of personalist leadership. That towns were born of a caudillo's act of will is obscured in litera-

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ture on the sources and substance of the colonizing ordinances as they developed after 1514. The elegant code eventually compiled in 1573 should be complemented by the *Milicia y descripción de las Indias,* a practical handbook for the "good caudillo" published in 1599 by a long-time *caudillo general* in the Indies (Vargas, 1892).

If personalist leadership in vassalic relation to the crown was the instrumentality of early town-founding, the usual objectives, as Vargas Machuca makes clear, were land distribution, appropriation of native labor, and preemption of privileges by firstcomers. Hardoy's survey (1965) of Indian influences on Spanish urbanism concludes that they were less important in determining urban layout, zoning, or architecture than in dictating site selection. Principal urban sites (Tenochtitlán, Cuzco) and secondary ones (Bogotá, Quito, Tzin Tzun Tzan, Iximché) were used by Europeans as centers of military control, political prestige, religious conversion, administrative and fiscal organization, convenient residence, and control of rural labor.

On Española, Ovando had concentrated Spaniards in towns and regimented Indian labor for their support. By treating the Indians as virtually expendable, this system was in the long run more disastrous than Bartholomew Columbus' previous, badly executed plan to preserve the Indian tribes and use caciques as tribute collectors. The Indian civilizations of the mainland offered a more serviceable basis on which to graft Spanish urban design. Gibson (1964: 32–57) describes the process for the Valley of Mexico. The conquering Spaniards perceived Aztec society more readily as a "mosaic of towns" than as a system of tribes. Upon this mosaic they imposed the hierarchical urban nomenclature of Castile (*ciudad, villa, pueblo* in descending order). Urban status was determined partly by size and partly by the Indians' success in petitioning the king to distinguish their communities. This honorific hierarchy coexisted with another that was politically and economically more functional, descending from the *cabecera* to the *sujeto* to the *barrio* (urban ward) or *estancia* (outlying ward). In selecting cabeceras the Spaniards were guided neither by urban size nor by the Aztecs' prior imperial design. Instead they erected their classification at "a sub-imperial or pre-imperial level within Indian society," with the *cabecera* becoming identified as the capital town of a local Indian ruler (*tlatoani*).

The urban hierarchy, therefore, while responsive to local ecological, economic, and military considerations, fitted into a larger imperial calculus of political and fiscal privilege. The Laws of the Indies required magistrates to respect the monarchs' awards of coats of arms to ciudades, villas, and *lugares* of the New World, and reserved for the Council of the Indies the right to elevate settlements of Spaniards or Indians to ciudad or villa status (Recopilación, 1943: *lib.* IV, *tít.* VII, *leyes* i, vi). These categories recall the ancient

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Roman practice of ranking cities as stipendiary, free, and federate according to privileges enjoyed by concession or treaty (Jones, 1954: 140–41). Indeed, the Roman example was present to the Spaniards. In 1647 Solórzano (1736–39: I, 180–84) recollected how Roman emperors had required nomadic peoples "to unite and settle Cities and Villages and to submit (*que se reduzcan*) to political life;" he compared the policy to that of the Spanish in "congregating" the Indians for civilizing purposes. The Roman or Spanish town therefore served as a point of administration and control in a large scheme of empire. The world, wrote Solórzano, "which is as a great City where all men live, is divided into smaller ones." In contrast, the late-medieval north European city is characteristically viewed as a source of ferment and innovation, a growth pole, a seedbed of political radicalism, a challenge to what Spengler (1939: II, 87–110) called the somnolence and piety of village life and the " 'feudal' powers of blood and tradition."

The fact that Spanish American towns were a bridgehead to the land, distributing settlers directly or via urban offshoots, caused continuing erosion of the initial urban pattern. In central Mexico, where small-town and village population was largely aboriginal, the crushing mortality rate of the Indians caused a rural labor shortage and migration from town to hacienda. In Gibson's analysis (1955) the equilibriums of the mid-sixteenth century were soon upset. The hacienda offered villagers the only alternative to starvation. Whereas the sixteenth century had witnessed a concentration of people in communities exhibiting a high degree of political development, "the contrary tendencies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were again disruptive, as peoples were drained from the [Indian] towns." Vagabonds roamed the countryside, preying on settled communities and often finding their way to the metropolis, Mexico City.

Economic as well as demographic factors affected urban development. Moreno (1970) illustrates three contrasting regional patterns within the hegemonic radius of Mexico City: (1) the archetypal case of Puebla, which dominated its economic hinterland, centralized the administrative, religious, educational, commercial, and productive functions of the region, sapped the autonomy of smaller centers, and attracted an Indian labor force to its peripheral *barrios* (Marín-Tamayo, 1960; Bazant, 1964); (2) the parallel cases of Orizaba and Córdoba, which grew in symbiosis less than twenty miles apart—Orizaba as a transport, processing, and manufacturing center,[3] Córdoba as a commercial and agricultural storage center; (3) the atypical case of the Bajío, a prosperous agricultural and mining region supporting an active network of specialized towns with neither of the largest cities, Guanajuato or Querétaro, achieving primate domination.

Studies of colonial urban systems exist for other regions of Latin America,

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although the larger picture need not be sketched here.[4] One should be aware, however, that if the principle of centripetal and centrifugal phases of urban development is generalized to the whole continent, the terms may refer more properly to factoral components than to sequential stages (Germani, 1968: 12), or to an unresolved centralizing-decentralizing "dialectic" (Kaplan, 1968: 19–21). Moreover, the "centrifugalism" of colonial towns is often better thought of as a flow of energies (appropriation of land; growth of an hacienda-based rural-urban aristocracy) than as an absolute or relative decline in urban population.

The Hardoy-Aranovich studies (1966; 1967; 1969a; 1969b; 1970) shed light both on urbanization rates and on urban functions. Relying largely on the surveys of López de Velasco and Vázquez de Espinosa, they establish baselines in 1580 and 1630, then interpolate aspects of the urbanizing process for the intervening half century. They assume that by the earlier date the basic urban distribution for Spanish America had been achieved and that administrative loci now tended to correspond to centers of productive and strategic importance. The emergency solutions of the conquest had yielded to a design of continental dominion and consolidation. Within this design, cases of rapid urban growth can be correlated with such factors as the availability of Indian labor, mining activities, or privileged maritime location. What stands out is that despite precipitous demographic decline throughout large areas (which caused the emptying of Indian towns observed by Gibson), there was an afflux of population to larger towns (Table 1).

TABLE 1

Urban Population of Spanish America

size of town	1580 number of towns	1580 number of vecinos	1580 % of vecinos	1630 number of towns	1630 number of vecinos	1630 % of vecinos
over 500 vecinos	8	8,500	37	31	57,000	75
10 to 500 vecinos	181	14,516	63	135	19,448	25
totals	189	23,016	100	166	76,448	100

Source: Hardoy-Aranovich, 1969a: 195.

Note: These statistics present two difficulties: (1) Neither enumeration is complete, and that of 1630 is especially deficient for smaller settlements. The relative rate of increase of larger towns is therefore inflated. (2) A *vecino* was a landholder who had access to Indian labor, could hold office, shared municipal expenses, and was available for military service. The correlation between number of *vecinos* and either *moradores* (adult Spanish males) or total urban population varied from city to city and during the career of a given city. In 1569, for example, Lima had 32 vecinos and 2,500 moradores (1:78) while Quito had 50 and 250 respectively (1:5) (Gakenheimer, 1964: 46–52).

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In addition to ranking towns by population size (number of vecinos) Hardoy-Aranovich employ a weighted scale of urban functions grouped under four headings: administrative, ecclesiastical-administrative, religious, and services (hospitals, universities, colleges). They find considerable agreement between these two methods of ranking, except for cases of certain ports and mining centers or of towns which lost population without losing functions acquired during their prosperity. This functional scale does not include economic activities because of the difficulty in ascertaining reliable indicators. The omission, however, seems to cause little distortion; the authors assume that urban industry produced largely for local consumption. The occasional industries that "exported" to a larger hinterland, or in special cases overseas, were found precisely in towns which rank high by non-economic indicators. Moreover, such "export" industries were unimportant "save for those serving a wide, steady market (generally for limited periods) and located at sites enjoying very special advantages" (1966: 20). In short, the surest indicators of rank-order for colonial towns seem attached to functions determined or sanctioned by politico-administrative decisions of the metropolis—a hypothesis supported by Kaplan (1968: 11–12) and by Gibson's conclusion that: "Only in the mining cities and the ports was there a close connection between urbanism and the main economic purposes of empire. An economic determinist would have difficulty in explaining what the other cities of New Spain were for" (1969: 239).

Cortés Alonso (1965) illustrates some leading characteristics of colonial towns in her study of seventeenth-century Tunja. Tunja was second in importance only to Bogotá in the New Granada highlands, just as pre-conquest Tunja had been the second-ranking stronghold in the Chibcha area. The Spanish city was founded in 1539 on a chilly slope at an altitude of 2,870 meters. This site was preferred to a warmer valley because a chieftain's palace stood there and, as the act of founding specified, there were "caciques and Indians and available land to sustain the Spaniards."

The city plan centered on the plaza and cathedral. By 1623 there were 476 buildings, including 20 churches and convents but only seven "public buildings or industries." The population had risen to 3,300 adult Spanish males and an indeterminate number of Indians, Negroes, and mixed-bloods. The municipal elite were the families of 70 or more *encomenderos* from whom city officials were drawn. Their houses were tile-roofed, occupied a quarter of a block each, might rise to two stories around interior patios, and boasted stone trimming and coats of arms. Humbler Spaniards lived in cramped, one-story dwellings, often thatched-roofed. They included merchants who imported from Spain and other regions of New Granada; master craftsmen (masons, carpenters, smiths, painters, silversmiths) who built and beautified the city; and the tailors, sad-

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dlers, cutlers, cobblers, and hosiers who supplied its residents. An occasional encomendero was mestizo, and one was an Indian, the only one of his race to carry the honorific *don*. Otherwise, non-Europeans and half-castes were burden-bearers, living generally in *bohíos* on the outskirts of the urban grid.

Tunja's commercial activity was at three levels. The 15 leading merchants, commanding capital of 10,000 to 80,000 pesos each, imported fine cloth from Spain (often of Flemish, French, or Italian origin) and a range of domestic and devotional articles. Second, regional trade, in which these and lesser merchants participated, reached cities as distant as Bogotá and Pasto to the southwest, Santa Fe de Antioquia to the west, and Cáceres to the northwest. To these points Tunja shipped farm and ranch products, blankets and sandals, and the surplus of its tanneries and flour mill; the city's 30 mule and horse teams provided transportation, a business lucrative for encomenderos. Finally, Tunja had its semiweekly *tiangues* for local produce, and Indian-made cotton blankets and pottery.

In spite of the multiplicity of trade arteries converging there, the rudimentary state of Tunja's industry and financial institutions and the agrarian orientation of its patriciate indicate that commerce was of secondary importance in the functional definition of the city. More conclusive were the lines of fealty and control for which Tunja was the nexus. The social hierarchy physically represented in the concentric rings of architectural styles symbolized other hierarchies, spatially more extended and also centering on the urban plaza.

Tunja's politico-administrative involvements corresponded to its three levels of commercial activity. First, it was a point of precarious equilibrium between the claims and favors of the Hispano-Christian empire and the separatism—or local imperium—of the encomenderos, many of them descended from the mutinous soldiers of Pizarro. Just as religious buildings dominated the townscape, so nine of the largest encomiendas (those Indian communities that had most fiercely resisted conquest) belonged to the crown. At the same time, Tunja's encomenderos were the wealthiest and most powerful patriciate of New Granada; in the 1590's theirs was the only cabildo of the region to organize serious resistance to the *alcabala* (Liévano, n. d.: I, 203–08). Second, Tunja was the administrative capital for Spanish towns in a surrounding area of 30 to one hundred miles' radius. Their allegiance was secured by sentiment as well as fiat. Tunja's commercial exchange with them was not:

> . . . a mere mercantile transaction, for ties and dealings with neighboring towns were rooted in something loftier than a few pesos' profit. This traffic originated in prior colonizing and town-founding by people from Tunja itself who had gone forth since the early days of settlement on the plain of the *Zaque* to explore and populate nearby zones (Cortés Alonso, 1965: 200).

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Finally, Tunja was the control center for 161 encomiendas (as of 1610) which, as well as being units of agricultural production, represented tributary villages of 80 to 2,000 Indians.

In short, the town's laddered administrative functions (outpost of empire, satellite towns, tributary Indian villages) paralleled its commercial ones (metropolitan trade, regional markets, indigenous tiangues). By giving prominence to the former we stress the city's role as a hierarchical linchpin, not as a point of production and transfer.

The example of Tunja suggests an alternative to taxonomy as a way of characterizing colonial Spanish American towns. It leads us to consider the town as a scene of tension between claims of appropriation and those of accommodation—that is, claims exerted by a tributary hinterland upon those who would appropriate its produce and Indian labor, and claims (sweetened by rewards and franchises) made by church and state accommodating the agro-urban unit to its station in a far-flung patrimonial order. Thus, levels of urban trade and manufacturing were determined on one hand by the raw materials and available labor of a hinterland and on the other by an imperial mercantilist strategy which could underwrite positions of "insured primacy," a term applied to Manila (Reed, 1967: 132). Urban form expressed the confluence of these divergent orientations: the bold grid-plan nucleus, where elegant churches shouldered encomenderos' mansions, with its fringe of huts of non-Europeans and, at varying distances, its satellite Indian villages—a pattern echoed in miniature by the mother city's offshoot towns.

This approach to Spanish American towns enlivens functional classification with a calculus of forces and tensions. In the case of penurious settlements beyond the reach of royal control and favor, the pull of the land may draw off municipal leaders and paralyze town government. In so large a center as Tunja, claims and rewards of the hinterland may interact in uneasy equilibrium with those of the empire. In a viceregal capital the wealth, sinecures, diversions, and permissiveness of a patrimonial center create a mecca for aspiring or displaced persons of every station, from the rural *vagabundo* to the impecunious hidalgo. Mining cities with their jumbled street plans are less exceptions to than special instances of the agrarian-patrimonial calculus. The same may be true even of ports. Havana was designated the rendezvous point for homegoing convoys, which caused it to jump from seventieth to ninth place on the Hardoy-Aranovich scale (1969b: 14) between 1580 and 1630. Yet the crown rewarded the city for its services as a naval supply base by granting the Havana council authority to distribute lands in its jurisdiction without higher approval.[5] A *Defensorio* for Buenos Aires of 1667 pointed to the "good example" of Havana, which

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had strengthened its military force by attracting one hundred married farmers with the promise of tax-free farmlands (Molina, 1961: 474).

The words "tension" and "calculus" used above suggest a relation more complex than "antagonism" or "conflict" between a town's agrarian and imperial affiliations. The crown relied on towns as the principal agency for colonizing, nucleating the population, distributing land, and converting overseas Spaniards from predatory to sedentary pursuits. Creation of orderly urban nuclei, though they were potentially ungovernable and separatist, seemed the only alternative to a human landscape of adventurism and vagabondage (Cf. Martin, 1957; Góngora, 1966).

B. *The Iberian Legacy*

The functional analysis of Spanish American towns should be conducted with an eye to their inheritance from the mother country. Institutional historians matter-of-factly trace the origins of New World municipal offices and organization to medieval and early modern Spain. Historians of urban form, however, have been more adventurous.[6] Kubler (1948: I, 102) suggests that in New Spain "the form of the Indian towns may have affected and conditioned the Spanish layouts" and that the experimental, expansive, grand-scale course of urban form in Mexico may have anticipated subsequent European solutions. Avoiding the extreme of Amerindian determinism, Kubler (1966) enjoys reflecting that American cities, both pre- and post-Columbian, are distinguished from European ones by persistent qualities of clarity, adaptability, regeneration, and grandeur.

If Kubler's may be called an "innovative" thesis, Stanislawski's may be called "replicative" (1947). He believes that the Spaniards' need for an urban master plan turned them to ancient sources, as reflected in progressive correspondence between Spanish ordinances and the precepts of Vitruvius. The "formalistic" thesis of Foster (1960: 34–49) features not the adoption of an ancient model but a bureaucratic yen for spaciousness and symmetry which had accompanied national political development but could not be appeased in the cluttered townscape of sixteenth-century Spain.

The "imperialist" thesis of Palm (1955: I, 63–75; 1968) links New World geometrism with an imperial will to dominate conquered territories through rational organization. Athough recognizing multiple influences on urban form in the Indies, he stresses the ascendancy by the mid-sixteenth century of Renaissance design and the Italian example of the monumental civic center. Guarda's "traditionalist" thesis (1965) finds that precepts for town planning in the Indies owe much to the writings of two Spanish ecclesiastics of

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the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and, via them, to St. Thomas Aquinas. Those of the 1573 ordinances which were of Renaissance or neo-Vitruvian inspiration were precisely those not put into effect.

Of special promise is the "pragmatic" thesis of Hardoy (1968; 1970b) who, unike the art historians, historian, geographer, and anthropologist just discussed, is himself an experienced planner. An extensive review of legislation, cartography, and other sources convinces him that the emergence of the grid plan was the product of decades of trial and error and that Spanish officialdom did not acquire an integral image of the ideal city of the Indies until 1573, when the cumulative experience of the settlers was codified with concessions to classical elegance. Hardoy discounts the influence of Italian planners not simply because they inclined to the radial-concentric rather than the simple grid form, but because the whole Renaissance conception of the ideal city had a symbolism and organic functionalism quite distinct from those of the Spanish ordinances.

To call a course of action "pragmatic" implies that its agent is receptive to influences from various quarters as long as they are practical and psychologically congenial. The question why certain solutions were more congenial to pragmatic Spaniards in America bends back upon Guarda's historico-cultural thesis. His argument, it turns out, deals not merely with formal antecedents for urban design but also with the transmission of a deep-seated Hispano-Christian moral image of the city—"un cuerpo místico, proporcionado en cada una de sus partes"—which lent coherence to physical solutions without necessarily predetermining their form. Apparently, urban design is now being reincorporated into the mainstream of Spanish American cultural and institutional history, and Foster's elaborate strategy for treating it on "the 'formal' side of conquest culture" has outlived its usefulness.

The "moral image" of the Spanish American city was clearly manifested in the politico-legal order. Again one turns to transatlantic origins, and again the Pirennian benchmark is handy. Central to Pirenne's studies is the proposition that European burghers evolved into a legal group as they acquired personal liberty, then created a uniform legal order and a regime of security or "urban peace." This *pax villae* transformed the city into a "commune" based on a *conjuratio* or oathbound confederation. The conjuration was a permanent *conspiratio* against seigneurial ties, for "feudalism, like the ancient State, like ecclesiastical organization, represents a hierarchy, while the *conjuratio* is destructive of all hierarchy" (Boulet-Sautel, 1954: 379). Schneider (1954) describes German towns as constantly expanding the jurisdiction of "urban peace" over the surrounding feudal domain of the *plat pays,* which Schib

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(1954: 517) generalizes from the Swiss experience that: "The conquest of autonomy is a fundamental trait of the evolution of cities."

In his complementary analysis Weber (1958) emphasized the cutting of status connections between townsmen and rural nobility; supersession of clan groups by nonfamilistic protective associations and by territorial organization; the tendency toward social leveling, the burghers' loss of exclusiveness, and civic participation by single persons. Eventually the nation-state invaded these islands of municipal autonomy (Petit-Dutaillis, 1947: 245–357) to produce the "malady" of centralization deplored by Tocqueville (1955). If this process reflected municipal decadence or capitulation, however, it also served to universalize the "rational" legal order of the urban third estate. "Burgher law," wrote Weber (1958: 112), "is a half-way house between the old feudal law and the law of territorial units." Elsewhere, in discussing legal sources of the European nation-state, he developed the point as follows (1967: 275):

> [In] the reception of substantive Roman law the "most modern," i. e., the bourgeois groups, were not interested at all; their needs were served much better by the institutions of the medieval law merchant and the real estate of the cities. It was only the general formal qualities of Roman law which, with the inevitable growth of the character of the practice of law as a profession, brought it to supremacy. . . .

For a Spanish parallel to the archetypal European city of Pirenne and Weber, one looks to the northern pilgrimage route from the Pyrenees to Santiago de Compostela, which became well trafficked in the late-eleventh century by travelers from France and more distant lands (Vázquez-Lacarra-Uría, 1948–49). Many travelers settled permanently in towns along the way as merchants and artisans, often in extramural commercial zones, and were known as *francos*, a term implying both trans-Pyrenean origin and free juridical status. Francos might be encouraged to settle by princes striving to stimulate economic activity; they might also be accorded the statutory privileges of *burgueses*. When such privileges were incommensurate with need, conflicts might arise. Rebellions of burgueses occurred in Sahagún, Lugo, Tuy, Orense, and Oviedo from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. One of the more famous was the "oath of mutual aid and defense," or conjuratio, against the bishop of Santiago in 1116–17. Certain northern Spanish cities, that is, experienced revolts against lordly jurisdiction similar to those of the communes of Flanders, northern France, and the episcopal Rhenish cities (Valdeavellano, 1960: 142–55).

The urban traditions of the Leonese-Castilian meseta were forged under different circumstances. Here the word burgués was rarely used; a property-owning townsman was a *civis, cibdadano, vecino,* or *omo bueno*. The *Siete Partidas* of thirteenth-century Castile do not refer to burgueses but identify

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the estates of society as defenders, preachers, and farmers (Valdeavellano, 1960: 85–91, 130–37). The resettlement of central Spain by Christians from the north and emigrant Mozarabs from the south took place largely under royal auspices, although frequently through the agency of secular or ecclesiastical magnates. Rebuilding of forts and urban walls provided defense points for rural lands and villages occupied by *presura* (squatters' rights). The Leonese or Castilian town of the tenth to twelfth centuries was characteristically a military and ecclesiastical center with only slight commercial and manufacturing functions. The nucleus was administratively merged with a surrounding agricultural territory (*alfoz*), and distinctions between village, town, and city were largely ones of scale. The labor shortage and the presura system produced a relatively free peasantry and militated against a full-blown manorial regime. The power of the crown increased during the reconquest, and was the source of privileges and *fueros* which legitimized municipal governments. Royal centralization in the fourteenth century caused the general suppression of local representative government.

The charter of a meseta town, then, did not originate as a protest against a manorial or feudal order.

> In effect the commune formed part of the general structure of the State as a dependency of it; local administration depended on the sovereign power as did other kinds of administration. . . . And one of the main objectives of the large communes which depended on the king was to preserve this dependence and keep from passing under control of another lord. . . . Here, unlike elsewhere in Europe, there was no communal movement with the convulsions and struggles to establish urban institutions (Font, 1954: 267, 271).

It was the urban tradition of the meseta and not of the Cantabrian north that oriented Spain's colonization of America, both for reasons of cultural and institutional continuity and for those of ecological similarity between the reconquest and the multiple American conquests. The founding of Veracruz by Cortés in 1519 in defiance of his superior, Velázquez, and the direct appeal to the emperor by the justiciary and council of the new town, succinctly recapitulate the municipal and patrimonial traditions of the peninsular reconquest.

The view of cities within a vertical politico-legal order invites mention of their "horizontal" or intermunicipal relationships. For northern Europe the archetypal interurban system was the hanse, for the Hispanic world the *hermandad*. The hanse-type association was a response to weak central political power or to conflict between towns and territorial princes. The Baltic Hanse was a loose commercial association without regular administrative organization, an independent judiciary, or a permanent tax base. Member towns ac-

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quiesced in the leadership of Lübeck, but central authority rested on their moral support; they could exercise compulsion only by excluding a town from trade privileges. The reason for the fifteenth-century decline of the Hanse was that no strong national government emerged, vis-à-vis centralized France and England, to consolidate and extend the "rational" commercial regime of this interurban league (Rörig, 1967: 181–87).

Quite different were the hermandades of Castile. During their first phase in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they functioned to support and protect legitimate royal power (though also to defend members against royal usurpation and aggression from the magnates). Revived in the fifteenth century as royal authority became more centralized, the *Santa Hermandad* was subordinated to a council presided over by a crown representative. It received royal instructions, performed police and judicial functions, and supplied the crown with troops. At both periods, then, hermandades were directly related to royal power and linked their constituent towns to the political structure of the state.

It might be said that the New World sequel to the hermandad was the procuratorial assembly. Moore (1954: 121) estimates, doubtless conservatively, that some 40 were held in colonial Spanish America, most of them in the first half of the sixteenth century. (See also Bayle, 1952: 238–44). In 1518 the elected procurators of the towns of Española met at Santo Domingo "to choose and name a person to go to the kingdoms of Castile to kiss the feet and hands of the King our lord . . . [and make requests] for the common welfare of this island and its vecinos and moradores." The junta was a test of strength between the island's two political "clans," to be resolved by appeal to higher authority. Giménez (1954) suggests that it was related to the contemporary *comunero* movement in Castile and that it also set a precedent for the "commune" of Cortés at Veracruz in 1519. In this historical context the commune was not of course an oath-bound, legally innovative association in the classic French sense. It was a movement to restore traditional prerogatives (Castilian comuneros) or to legitimize a new community within an existing patrimonial structure (Veracruz).

The delegates to procuratorial assemblies in Cuba, held from 1515 to 1550, came to be elected by the vecinos rather than appointed by the town councils. Their meetings therefore had a "popular" character and gave "legitimate representation to the whole population of the island;" their petitions to the king might be unrelated to the decisions of individual town councils. Guerra (1921–25: I, 307) suggested that the Spanish prototype for the junta was the medieval hermandad rather than the parliamentary Cortes.[7]

In his discussion of the Chilean case, Meza (1958: 19–47) stresses that

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the right of representation through town councils was a concession from the crown; royal will and vassals' welfare were blended in a unitary system of power. "For these vassals during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the superurban unity constituted for purposes of royal administration was a collection of cities, and according to this idea the whole representation of the vassals of the realm consisted in the total of urban representations." Santiago became the natural leader of this urban system; its city council even administered the oath of office in the king's name to crown-appointed governors. The weaker, sometimes desolated towns, sent procurators to Santiago, although without renouncing their right to individual petition, and the Santiago council assumed the function of *cabeza de gobernación* to represent other towns vis-à-vis the king or his agents.[8]

Castilian and Spanish American cities, then, were embedded in a framework of empire,[9] while north European cities provided an arena for legal innovations marking the transition from feudalism to "the law of territorial units." In the latter tradition urban life became identified with social change, economic opportunity, personal freedoms, and political radicalism—and subsequently with anomie and social breakdown. Such phenomena are by no means alien to Spanish American cities. But the patrimonial traditions of governance and society within which they developed condition the ways in which innovation is produced or accommodated in the urban setting. Spanish American social organization, attitudes toward authority, social mobility patterns, entrepreneurship and achievement motivation, and urban-rural "dependency" relations are stamped by traditions which pressures of commercialism and industrialism can rework but not efface. It is precisely this cross-hatch of cultural commitment and imperatives for change that deserves central focus in urban research in contemporary Latin America.

II. PATTERNS OF CITYWARD MIGRATION

Internal migrations are a logical starting point for an inquiry into modern Latin American urbanization. It has been losely said that one-half to two-thirds (Hauser, 1961: 31) or 40% to 70% (Friedmann, 1964: 4) of recent urban growth is attributable to migrations. Arriaga (1968) claims, however, that "migration has not been the principal cause of city growth" in Latin America. His study of Mexico, Venezuela, and Chile indicates that natural growth accounted for 58% to 70% of the population increase of cities over 20,000 during the intercensal 1950s. He therefore deems it unlikely that internal migration in Latin America "is now greater than that observed at any time in the industrialized countries—it may even be smaller."

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It is well known that the high death rates of European cities in the early industrial period put the burden of urban growth on migrations. In 1899, Adna Weber (1967: 238–39) observed:

> The point of self-maintenance, which was reached in Paris before the close of the eighteenth century, in London in 1800, in the German cities in the first half of the present century, in Stockholm after 1860, has not yet been universally attained even in civilized Europe.

By the latter part of the century the growth rates of European cities registered such a diverse mix of migration and natural increase that generalization on statistical grounds was impossible beyond the broad statement that "it is only in the nineteenth century that any considerable number of cities have had a regular surplus of births over deaths" (A. Weber, 1967: 283).

Generalization about twentieth-century Latin America is no less difficult than for nineteenth-century Europe. First, time periods are an important variable. If, as Arriaga shows, natural increase accounted for more urban growth in Mexico in the 1950s than did migrations, the reverse is true for the 1940s (Unikel, 1968: 150). Second, Arriaga's formulation masks the importance of migrations to large cities. During the 1940s, migrations accounted for more than 70% of the growth of Brazil's six largest cities (Camargo, 1968: 108), and in the following decade they contributed more than two-thirds of the growth of Cali and (if foreign-born are included with internal migrants) of Caracas (Valencia, 1965a: 14; Celis, 1969: 241). Finally, Latin American countries should be grouped according to patterns of demographic behavior such as those suggested by the three "polar cases" of Wingo (1967): Venezuela (rapid population growth and rapid urbanization), Uruguay (slow growth and urbanization virtually complete), and Haiti (slow growth and incipient urbanization).

The critical difference between urbanization in Europe of the last and in Latin America of the present century seems related less to the share attributable to migrations, which varies markedly for regions and census periods, than to (1) the higher natural growth rate of contemporary Latin America, (2) the possibilities for extracontinental migration available to nineteenth-century Europeans, and (3) the nature of the cultural and institutional obstacles faced by migrants to Latin American cities. The third point will receive special attention in this paper. Balán (1969: 6–8) suggests that we approach it by classifying the migrants' communities of origin as rural or urban, stagnant or developing. Urban centers, both developing and stagnant, are said to provide selective, educated, ambitious migrants; developing rural zones to produce few migrants; rural, stagnant zones to provide massive, low-status migration.

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The predominant stream, Balán feels, has shifted in recent decades from urban-stagnant to rural-stagnant sources.

Characterizing the origins of migratory flows is as hazardous as generalizing about their relative size. Earlier observers, influenced by the Malthusian pressures emanating from unproductive agrarian systems and by the apparent "ruralization" of macrocephalic cities, frequently ascribed rural origins to migrants. Beals (1953: 172) found it significant that Indians in Mexico and Ecuador were moving directly from rural into urban, industrial occupations. Matos (1961) claimed that most of Lima's *barriada* dwellers came from rural backgrounds, while a Pan American Union study (1955) implied without proving a similar conclusion for migrants to Caracas.

More recent researchers find reason to discount the ruralization hypothesis. First, the phrase "rural origins" is spongy; for example, Browning-Feindt (1968: 184) found 56% of their Monterrey migrants to be from "rural" places, statistically defined with a generous upper limit of 5,000 inhabitants. Further, rural origins mean little if the place of socialization is urban; and, as Leeds-Leeds (1967) insist, even farm workers may grow up exposed to "urban" ways of life.[10] Nonetheless, the continuing rural inflow to cities should not be dismissed. Rivarola (1967) finds that Paraguayan migrants to Buenos Aires have come increasingly from rural backgrounds since 1936. In a *barrio clandestino* of Bogotá, 57.5% of the migrant household heads were born in and 45.3% had come directly from places of less than 2,000 inhabitants (Flinn, 1968: 80–81). Of his migrant sample in Brasília, Pastore (1969: 64–65) found that while about 50% were born and socialized in rural zones, only 17% remained there after the age of fourteen. At the same time, 56% had had agricultural experience, and 30% were farm workers immediately before coming to Brasília. He therefore concludes stage migration and farm labor by small-town residents to be a common pattern in Brazil.

For Brazil there is evidence that the large metropolis may receive a disproportionate share of rural migrants in comparison to certain secondary cities. Almeida-Mendes (1951) found that 49% of the migrants to São Paulo came directly or with brief stopovers from rural settings, while Lopes (1964: 31) estimated two-thirds of the semi- or unskilled workers in the city to be from agricultural or generally rural backgrounds. It is possible, moreover, that "the migratory stream from the small semirural communities of Bahia and the Northeast directly to the urban zones of the South may be increasing" (Lopes, 1968: 63). In view of these impressions from São Paulo (1960 population, 3,165,000), researchers in Recife (1960 population, 789,000) were surprised to find that of their migrant sample 75.6% had been born in towns, 8.6% in villages, and 15.8% in rural zones; of the respondents over ten years of age

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only 21.1% had worked in farming or ranching before coming to Recife (Instituto, 1961; also Callier, 1964–65). A partial explanation advanced is that rural out-migrants from the Northeast *sertão* (drought-ridden zone of extensive stock-raising) and *agreste* (cotton-cereals-cattle zone) who fail to adapt to the agro-industrial life of the *mata* (humid coastal sugar zone) tend to depart along traditional routes to the south-central urban region, 1,200 or more miles away, rather than try their luck in the regional capital[11] (Table 2).

From a study of the rural zone of the department of Gualeguaychú in Entre Ríos province, Argentina, Forni-Mármora (1967) produce some unusually refined hypotheses about the migratory process. The independent variable for the study is socioeconomic structure (land values, technological development, land division, land tenure); the dependent variable is migratory behavior. Mediating them is the intervening variable of "social climate," which the researchers believe modifies common-sense inferences about the direct influence of economic factors on migratory decisions. "Social climate" is defined by two scales: (1) "open-closed" with respect to acceptance of change and (2) "integrated-disintegrated" with respect to norms and expectancies of social behavior. The result is four types of community with the characteristics summarized in Table 3.

The research findings suggest the following hypotheses (1967: 78–79):

—*integrated* communities produce more female emigrants, who prefer small towns or other rural zones while male emigrants prefer large cities; female emigration from *integrated* communities correlates positively and male emigration negatively with land values in place of origin;

—emigration to large cities from *open* communities correlates positively with land values in place of origin and emigration to other rural zones correlates negatively;

—emigrants from *closed* communities prefer large cities irrespective of land values in place of origin;

TABLE 2

Pernambucan Migrants to Recife and São Paulo

zone of origin	distribution of migrant sample in Recife (c. 1960)	per 10,000 male population of zone of origin (1950)	number of migrants arriving in São Paulo in 1950	per 10,000 census population of zone of origin (1950)
littoral and *mata*	1,289	17.0	716*	7.0*
agreste	671	11.8	5,903	49.8
sertão	98	3.1	4,089	62.4

* excluding migrants from Recife

Source: Instituto, 1961: IV, 45.

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TABLE 3

Community Types and Migratory Tendencies in a Rural Zone of Argentina

SOCIAL NORMS	ACCEPTANCE OF INNAVATION *open*	ACCEPTANCE OF INNAVATION *closed*
integrated	DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT standards of business and consumption changing; cumulative investments create new jobs; gross and per capita production rising; new technology adopted; IMMIGRATION ATTRACTED	REGRESSIVE standards of business and consumption unaffected; technology and gross product unchanging; per capita consumption falling; natural population growth; NO EMIGRATION
disintegrated	SUBORDINATE DEVELOPMENT standards of business and consumption changing; investment fails to create new jobs; gross product steady; per capita income rising; EMIGRATION	STATIONARY business norms unaffected; no investments; technological change variable; gross product steady; consumption patterns change and per capita consumption falls; EMIGRATION

Source: Adapted from Forni-Mármora, 1967: 23.

—*open-integrated* communities produce more emigration to small towns and to rural zones of low land values;

—*open-disintegrated* communities produce the largest emigration;

—female emigrants from *closed-disintegrated* communities prefer large cities, while males prefer other rural zones (i. e., the reverse of the case for *integrated* communities).

Such research at the point of origin seems more promising for determining the dynamics and flow patterns of migration than reliance on census data or surveys at point of destination.

If we move from push to pull factors, it is clear that large cities exercise stronger and more indiscriminate attraction than secondary ones. For Peru, Alers-Appelbaum (1968: 5–7) find that geographic proximity heavily determines the destination of migrants to smaller cities and towns, whether of coast or Sierra, while the influence of proximity on migration to Lima-Callao is slight. In Brazil, migrants to Niteroi are primarily from the state of Rio de Janeiro, while those to the city of Rio across the bay are from throughout the nation and from abroad (Leeds, 1969: 62). This conforms to the nineteenth-century experience of Europe, where migration was predominantly short-distance except when directed to the largest cities. The larger the city, "the

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larger its proportion of outsiders, and the more distant the countries or districts which contribute to it" (A. Weber, 1967: 283).

Once arrived at the urban destination, it is now widely accepted that Latin American migrants characteristically proceed to inner-city slums, which serve as staging areas for invasions of peripheral land. Turner and Mangin came to this conclusion for Lima when they discovered that the "rural" appearance of squatments, or "uncontrolled settlements," belied the urban experience of their residents, and that their "village"-type organization in reality reflected a history of exposure to city problems and institutions.[12] (For bibliography see Mangin, 1967; Parisse, 1969; Welsh, 1970.) Mangin reports similar findings for Mexico City, Santo Domingo, Guatemala City, Caracas, Bogotá, Barranquilla, Panama City, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, and Santiago de Chile, and he concludes (1967: 68):

> As a general pattern the majority of residents of a [squatter] settlement have been born in the provinces and have migrated from farms or small towns. They have also come largely from tenements, alleys, and other slums within city limits where they settled upon arrival.

Leeds-Leeds (1967: 8), Cardona (1968: 69), and Roberts (1970b: 16) confirm the hypothesis for Rio, Bogotá, and Guatemala. Gurrieri (1965: 2) and Ronceray (1966: 151), however, report even mixing of new migrants and urbanites in the *callampas* and in the inner-city *conventillos* and *cités* of Santiago, while the Buenos Aires *villas miserias* and São Paulo *favelas* are described as reception camps and integrative mechanisms for new migrants (Margulis, 1968: 89; Goldman, 1965: 526). Flinn's study (1968) of a barrio clandestino in Bogotá finds its inhabitants more "affluent" than inner-city slum dwellers, suggesting that the move to shanty residence correlates with socioeconomic status as well as with exposure to urban ways. Family size seems a key determinant in Guatemala, where inner-city landlords cater to childless couples and single persons, and families with young children are attracted to shanty towns and peripheral zones; in this smaller capital, moreover, it is emphasized that migrants experience no "severe problems of adjustment to city life" (Roberts, 1970b: 9, 16).

Mangin's is in effect a "stage" theory which identifies the inner-city slum as the critical setting for the migrant's acculturation to urban life. The more traditional stage theory stresses adjustments made by migrants at one or more intermediate points *before* arrival in the metropolis of final destination. Thus Cardona (1968: 69) concludes from his Bogotá study that "the 'culture shock' experienced by migrants occurs with greater intensity when the peasant leaves his farm plot to be absorbed into the life of a small town than when he leaves

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this town for the big cities." Although McGreevey (1968) denies stage migration to Cali, Valencia (1965a) finds that three smaller places serve as vestibules for migrants to that city: Palmira, 16 miles distant; Buenaventura, Cali's port which funnels migration from the underdeveloped Pacific coast; and Popayán, the "preindustrial" capital of an impoverished agricultural department.

Ghersi-Dobyns (1963) use the valley settlement of Virú, Peru, as a case study of a staging area for migration. From 1948 to 1960 the community's in-migrants grew by 37% and total population by only 5.5%; the researchers call Virú an acculturation point or "springboard" for city-bound migrants. The town is conservative, distrustful of outsiders, and without industry; largely an agricultural and transport center, its population was only 2,221 in 1960. If its inhabitants share the migratory objective of those of Huaylas, where Doughty (1963: 126) found that 86.5% of the potential emigrants dreamed of Lima or industrial Chimbote, their trajectory becomes a ladder with a single low rung.

Regional and national migration studies show refreshing agreement on the proportion of stage to direct migrations to large cities. Germani (1963: 321) estimated that at least one-third of the migrants to Buenos Aires make one or more intermediate stops en route to final destination. Among migrants to Santiago, Chile, Elizaga (1969: 339) found that 35% of the men and 28% of the women had moved once or more between the age of 14 and arrival in the capital. In his Bogotá barrio, Flinn (1968: 81) found that 34% of the migrants had changed residence at least once before arrival. In two other barrios of that city, Cardona (1968: 68) found that 54% of the respondents had migrated in one or more stages from place of birth; stopovers were often brief, however, for 66% completed the migration in less than one year, while 14% did so in one to five years and 20% in more than five years. Of the Recife migants, 28% came in one or more stages (Instituto, 1961: IV, 54), as did 27% of a migrant sample in Guatemala City (Roberts, 1970b: 10) and 24.2% of a sample in Mexico City (Valencia, 1965b: 256).[13]

Without forgetting regional discrepancies, one can plausibly generalize that (1) only one-quarter to one-third of the migration to large cities occurs in stages, (2) direct migration from rural and semirural places to large cities, while not unusual, cannot account for the balance of the migratory movement. The second conclusion is supported by a frequent finding that migrants to large cities are "urbanized" beyond national averages by indices of education and occupational skill and that they are not severely disadvantaged in the urban job market with respect to native urbanites. Alers-Appelbaum (1968: 37–39) conclude that migrants to Lima are less well schooled than urbanites but better

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schooled than nonmigrants in communities of origin; in fact, rates of full and part-time employment in Lima do not differ for migrants and natives. In Santiago "the average young male migrant was not likely to be educationally handicapped in his job search." His competitors had no "statistically significant edge over him in educational attainment;" migrants even tend to show a lower rate of unemployment than Santiago natives (Herrick, 1965: 77–85). McGreevey (1968) and Adams (1969) reach similar conclusions for Colombia.

One must, then, reconcile the fact that migrants to large cities tend to come direct from place of birth, and are more "urbanized" than the national average, with the fact of heavy rural exodus. The total Latin American population is growing at 2.8% a year, with the rural rate at 1.5% and urban rates at 5–7% (IA-ECOSOC, 1967: 7; Wolfe, 1967a: 28). The answer seems to be "fill-in" migration, which is in effect an inter- rather than intragenerational version of the stage theory. Herrick (1965: 53) substantiates the hypothesis for Chile, where two-thirds of the migrants to Santiago are born in towns of over 10,000, which claim less than 40% of the Chilean population outside Santiago. At the same time, Chilean urban population is growing at 3.9% a year and rural population at only 0.7%. These data indicate that rural migrants go to small nearby towns and that their offspring move on to the capital. McGreevey (1968) finds fill-in migration to hold for Colombia, while Margulis (1968: 147–48) reports it for Argentina, though by no means to the exclusion of direct and stage migration. To the extent that fill-in migration is widespread, the Latin American case, as Herrick (1965: 16, 53) points out, obeys Ravenstein's "laws of migration" formulated in the 1880s for Europe and North America, with the difference that in Europe the proximity of a city was more important than its size in attracting migrants, so that step migration (farm to village to town to city to metropolis) was less marked than in contemporary Latin America (A. Weber, 1967: 257–76).

Research on Latin American internal migrations has hitherto been restricted largely to determining statistical rates and patterns of flow, cataloguing push and pull factors, and working up case studies of migrant adjustment in cities. The most interesting current trend is toward placing the whole process of migration and resettlement into an institutional context that allows explanation of regional variations and offers firmer ground for prediction and planning.[14] Forni-Mármora (1967) classify patterns of out-migration for various socioeconomic settings, while Balán (1969) provides a simpler, rather loose typology of cities to differentiate the probable careers of in-migrants. In a more flexible and inclusive inventory, Leeds (1969) assembles a host of factors to account for the existence of squatter settlements, their sources of migrants, their types and rates of growth. His sets of variables allow concentric focusing on the

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global phenomenon, the Latin American one, and national and local versions. These include: preconditions (hierarchical urban systems, capitalism and private property, neocolonialism, depressed wages, inflation, internal differentiation of national economies); sociopolitical-administrative variables (control mechanisms maintaining social cleavages and elitism; effects of public policy and economic change on hierarchies of cities); secondary variables (historical peculiarities of cities, city-regional labor markets, markets for cheap housing, action of public agencies, laws of land tenure and use); tertiary variables relating to internal ordering of cities (location and age of squatments, transportation and land-use gradients, climate, topography, intra-city labor market, squatment size and aggregate income, links with outside agencies and with politics). Leeds' illustrative comparisons from Brazil and Peru demonstrate the need for such a matrix in migration research.

III. SMALL TOWNS

Given the fact that in much of Latin America, two-thirds or more of the migrants to large cities come from towns and small cities, one wonders why contemporary social scientists pay them little attention, or why the small-town studies of the 1940s and 1950s by such anthropologists as Foster, Gillin, Harris, Hutchinson, Lewis, Pierson, Redfield, Wagley, and Willems are so neglected in urbanization research. A survey-analysis of such studies which related them to processes of change at the national level would be a service at this point.[15] After years of rural supremacy in social science research, however, one understands why the metropolis—suddenly the cockpit of "populist" politics and an economic "growth pole"—seized the stage. Small urban centers tend to be seen as captive of the archaic agrarian order, larger ones as enjoying spin-off modernization from big cities.[16]

The criticism frequently leveled at Redfield's static model of the folk-urban continuum seems not to extend to its dynamic corollary, namely, that Yucatán's leading city serves as a lightning rod for transmitting "modern Euro-American ways" to smaller centers. Redfield's research communities—municipal seat, peasant village, tribal village—were "in that order increasingly distant from Merida, where social change, for Yucatan, originates and from which social and political influence emanates" (1941: 14). The city's price for transmitting social change to small communities was a reverse flow of "ambitious young men" and "successful merchants and planters" (1941: 21). A generation later, tears are still shed over the urban siphon effect: "Large cities receive young, intelligent, dynamic immigrants; small towns lose their best people, who are replaced by peasants without training or capital" (McGreevey, 1968: 218).[17]

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Justification for this last statement is laid under doubt by a study of inter- and intragenerational mobility in two towns of the Brazilian Northeast (Juàzeiro, population 28,000, and Petrolina, population 21,000). It suggests that in-migrants may be quicker than natives to seize on job opportunities and that out-migration of natives to larger cities may partly signify their being edged out by more aggressive groups (Casimir, 1967). For Latin America in general, an ECLA study (1969: 110) notes that "medium landholders, who formerly composed the upper classes of provincial towns and cities, are being increasingly displaced toward the big cities, often leaving their lands to groups on the rise." In big-city labor markets "dynamic" arrivals may even be at a discount. Cali industrialists prefer "docile" workers from the impoverished minifundios of Nariño to the less deferential, more proletarianized workers from Caldas and Antioquia, who are "less given to submission and are better informed as to the value of their labor" (Valencia, 1965a: 46). In other words, the consequences of step migration may not be quite so inevitable as Leeds (1969: 62) assumes when he takes it to mean that "both different levels of urban experience and different levels of skill are being sorted out and distributed along the hierarchy, a gradient of increasing skill and increasing urban experience, the higher up the city hierarchy."

The issue goes beyond the small-town exodus, which has been lamented in the West at least since Goldsmith's *Deserted Village.* The point is that when Europe and the United States were at the industrial threshold, sources of innovation were widely disseminated, not limited to traditional big cities (see Pred, 1966: 143–215). Page Smith (1966: 209) believes that the Puritan ethic of the "covenanted" community or "small town" was so commanding in American life that when big-city ways finally triumphed the city sentimentalized the town and called it (erroneously) "the heart of American democracy." This historic thrust and counterthrust of small town and big city has no counterpart in Latin America.

The "passivity" of the Latin American small town is best demonstrated by crosscultural comparison. Setting aside the North American case, which seems incommensurable, we can serve our purposes with information from studies of two small towns in Mexico and France. Each of them lies ten miles from a metropolis, Wissous (Anderson-Anderson, 1966) at the periphery of Paris (1962 population, 2,780,000) and Tonalá (Díaz, 1966) at the periphery of Guadalajara, Mexico's second-largest city, a state capital and historic administrative, commercial, and educational center (1960 population, 737,000). Wissous is an age-old agricultural village, probably of Celtic origin, although the earliest documentation dates from 1090; the modern town (population 2,500), described as *très fermé,* still registers the weight of tradition in its ap-

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pearance and tempo. Tonalá (population 5,400), also an ancient farming center, was a tribal capital when the Spaniards reached it in 1530. Findings on each town, summarized in Table 4, reveal differences of kind not ascribable merely to divergences of cultural style and economic level, nor even to the more powerful metropolitan orbit of Paris.

The explanation for the differential response of Tonalá and Wissous to bombardment by big-city pressures is deep-lying in the social order. The Mexican town "is not the village that chose progress; it is a town to which few things have happened" (Díaz, 1966: 211). New careers followed by townsmen "do not function for communicating the urban culture to Tonalá." Tonaltecans do not "take on city ways or city values as a result of the visits of the prodigal sons" (216). The industrial growth of Guadalajara since World War II has not caused Tonalá to respond "as a separate unit through all the stages of development from a peasant community through an industrial town." Its fate is probably mere physical engulfment by the city (220). Wissous, on the other hand, has witnessed a "silent revolution," in response not to legal changes but to "an evolutionary development, a spread outward" from the metropolis that has caused social structure to change "generically from of that a farming village to that of an urban-industrial suburb" (Anderson-Anderson, 1966: 261–62).

To quantify this disparity, one might design research to identify the number and social location of change-prone or achievement-oriented persons in each community. Such studies, however, are more documentary than explanatory; further, they construe motivations along polar coordinates, not in cultural clusters. The two studies in question go far beyond quantification, just as they go beyond the familiar dichotomy into communities dominated by diffuse primary groups and by rationalistic secondary groups.

In Tonalá, religious associations are the only corporate groups and are perceived as having purely ritual functions. "They are not the nuclei around which to form mutual loan funds, marketing cooperatives, or civic organizations." The infrequent case of corporate action for a civic purpose (e. g., to get electric power restored) is a dramatic, easily organized, one-time action which solicits outsiders to make decisions and supply remedies. Local leaders are restricted to administrative, not innovative action. Factionalism is *ad hoc* and situation-oriented. *Even kinship does not support social action* because families, like the larger society, are composed of "a series of separate, divided roles hierarchically arranged." An individual's life is governed by external duties, not internal norms. Each person maintains an idiosyncratic set of dyadic relationships, with crosscutting allegiances that preclude definition of group boundaries (Díaz, 1966: 123–37).[18]

The case of Wissous reveals how misleading it can be to classify Tonalá

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TABLE 4

A Comparison of Small Towns: Tonalá (Mexico) and Wissous (France)

	TONALÁ	WISSOUS
Government	Administrative structure reflects Spanish traditions. Limited municipal autonomy; town budget only $480. Mayor removable by state governor. Federal or state control of water supply, schools, anti-malaria program, *ejido* organization, Court of First Instance, health center. Town officials maintain only elementary services, cannot initiate urban renewal. "As long as Tonaltecans depend upon the *bondad y gentileza* . . . of outsiders and of powerful politicians, they will not develop the prerequisites for corporate action" (27–28, 105–15).	Revolutionary law of 1789 provided "well-developed rational-legal organization." Mayor is "the hinge between local and national government," has police authority and appointive power as local head of national bureaucracy, represents elected municipal council, supervises "all communal establishments and undertakings." Local government assisted by 15 commissions and committees, which include outside experts and interest groups (135–48).
Marriage	Institutionalized "bride-stealing" reinforces dominance-submission in marriage, antagonisms between affinal groups, in-group character of *cuarteles* (neighborhoods) (54–66).	"Choice of spouse is at the initiative of the young couple, and only informal pressures may be employed to influence their decision." Marriage a "bilateral contract" benefiting both parties, may involve a "property contract which can be explicit and written." Fathers may take aggressive political action in a family association (174–77).
Social classes	Most villagers classifiable within "lowest groups of the social ladder; a few families might be considered lower middle-class." Dichotomy between manual and nonmanual workers. Bourgeoisie of storekeepers, grazers, landowners, grain dealers, two priests, a pharmacist, a factory owner; bourgeois models of behavior "are pre-Revolutionary patróns and hacendados." The mass "are convinced they are *los pobres*"; largest group are potters, others are farm and factory workers. The innovator or upwardly mobile is "a laughable rather than a respected figure" (94–99, 213).	Small upper-middle class of businessmen, factory managers, professional people—mostly newcomers. Older inhabitants distributed in middle-middle class of medium-hold farmers and merchants; lower-middle class of smallholders, shopkeepers, artisans, established field hands; small upper-lower class of field laborers; small lower-lower class of underemployed field hands. Lower classes swelled by unskilled immigrant factory hands (232–34).

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Religion	
Guadalajara more important to Tonaltecans as ecclesiastical than as administrative center. Recent priest reorganized neighborhood religious festivals to eliminate personal violence. Religious associations are the only corporate groups. Town is pro-clerical, suspicious of "atheistic, socialist" government politicians (32, 115–16, 129).	Priest "an ineffective leader apart from religious functions." Church participation "emotionally and intellectually dead at the end of the eighteenth century. No doubt it had been so for a long time" (164–66).
Agriculture	
Low productivity, poor technology and information, bad organization caused by "amoral familism." Corn, beans, squash produced for family consumption, some peanuts and corn for market. Peripheral chicken farms owned by outsiders. (192–97).	"Generally, the Wissous farmer has always been ready to offer new products according to market demands." Close relation to Paris market. Economic cooperation not based on kinship. Cooperative granaries and insurance companies, apprentice training, technological improvement programs. Most farmers above average in possession of cars, utilities, luxuries (184–91).
Business and industry	
Pottery-making a household industry; no attempt to maximize output or efficiency; economic rewards subordinated to personal respect; resistance to assembly-line and cooperative methods. Pottery-making regarded as *destino,* not vocation. Uneasiness over contractual, business-like social relationships. Guadalajara entrepreneurs see Tonalá as poor investment site, though one shirt factory attracted there by "sweatshop" wages, low taxes, lack of government supervision. Exchange not impersonal and market-oriented but imbedded in social relationships (38–41, 162–89, 199–206).	Modest industrialization (five manufacturing firms). Much commuting to Paris factory jobs. Town becoming an "agglomeration of strangers." Trades and industries controlled by national organs; government agencies set standards and prices, collect taxes, supervise industrial management. Workers unionized. Family no longer basic unit of production (111–12), 193–96).
Source: Díaz, 1966 (page references in parentheses).	Source: Anderson-Anderson, 1966 (page references in parentheses).

as a "traditional" society. One may argue indeed that Wissousians value "tradition" more postively than do Tonaltecans, that in appreciable measure the "silent revolution" of Wissous has occurred not under the banner of economic progress, social justice, and democracy, but as the outcome of strategies

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shrewdly designed to *rework* and *preserve* traditional values, privileges, and institutions in face of metropolitan pressures. After identifying some 40 associations in Wissous (for education, sports and youth, neighborhood development, religion, family, merchants, farmers, veterans, and workers) the Andersons find (1966: 197–230, 243–44) not that they supersede or cut across age-old groupings of community proper, church, family, shop, and farm, but that they comprise a *replicate social structure* "based upon and devoted to the special interests of each of these groups." A central conclusion is that factional associations do not so much hasten the disintegration of the small, traditional, urbanizing community as "reinforce and adapt traditional institutions by providing a rational-legal, hierarchical structure for the older groups." As a result, class lines, although important on the national scene, are "no longer meaningful [locally] as part of the social structure of institutionalized groups."

The Tonalá-Wissous contrast, then, is best construed not as a tradition-prone versus a change-prone society, but as two societies wedded to traditional identities and forms of social action. Both communities, that is, prefer preservation of identity to modernization, but the French community harbors "antibodies" to modernism that foster the reworking and reinforcement of traditional structures, thus engendering "development." It would seem, then, that "developers" in Latin America might take a leaf from the psychoanalyst and, contrary to current practice, give priority to questions of identity over those of change.[19] As Santos (1969: 46) insists:

> The object of development theory cannot be to describe the course of a society which one does not really understand toward a society which will never be. In other words the object of development theory must consist in the study of the *laws of development* of the societies we wish to understand.

To the extent that Tonalá typifies small-town societies in Latin America—and no extravagant claims need be made[20]—two sets of questions pertinent to this paper are raised. First, if we imagined a similar town located farther from a metropolis and serving as a source or relay point for migration, who would be the out-migrants? Who would be the "ambitious young men," the "successful merchants," the "young, intelligent, dynamic" elements whose exodus is so often deplored? Patron groups do not fit the description, while climbers from client groups adapt to patron-group models of self-advancement or entrepreneurship. That is, the town neither utilizes internally nor characteristically exports an equivalent to that product of the American "small town" described as "a highly mobile character type that proved ideally suited to play a succession of vitally important roles in the development of the United States: the

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small-town boy who generation after generation made good, and making good, helped to make America" (Smith, 1966: 257).

The evidence frequently given for the talent drain from Latin American small towns is that out-migrants have above-average schooling for their communities of origin. The inference that this is a "loss" for home towns assumes that their education is relevant to local needs and that their services are in demand. Margulis' study (1968: 144–46) of towns and villages in La Rioja, Argentina, however indicates a probably more typical case. Local education "does not correspond to the economic needs of the region of origin" and serves rather "as a means of socialization for future out-migrants." Community leaders accept migration as a long-standing, inevitable process and regard schooling as a way of preparing Riojanos for city life. Although leaders deplore regional economic stagnation, they blame it on external factors and devote their energies to preserving the status quo. "Rooted in cultural stereotypes, their attitude toward education is paternalist and charitable. The schooling imparted separates the individual from roles oriented to the local economy and prepares him for urban roles." In the rural zone of Córdoba province Critto (1969: 346) observes that the urban middle-class orientation of school curricula is such that the "failure of children in school, a most frequent occurrence, signifies the victory of community integration." Similarly in highland Peru:

> The school acts as an organism to promote emigration. Teachers tell the young that on the coast there are secondary schools, work, industries, ministries, etc. The need to work or to keep studying obliges them to leave, and the attraction of Lima arouses expectations in them by the demonstration effect of the capital (Montoya, 1967: 104; see also Lowder, 1970: 27–30).

Wolfe (1967b; also ECLA, 1969: 177–206) indicates that such cases are typical. He observes that Latin American elites have, by default, relegated responsibility for public school curricula to urban middle-class cadres of teachers, functionaries, and planners; that schooling kindles vague aspirations that cannot be satisfied in rural settings; and that youths must go to larger towns for postprimary education. Griffin's assumption that "the most valuable human resources of the [Peruvian] countryside are lost to the urban areas" (1969: 63) is therefore in partial contradiction to his assertion that Spanish American schools provide "literary, legal and humanistic training—at the expense of instruction in science, mathematics and applied technology" (1969: 101).

Large cities do not so much drain off talent and enterprise from towns, perhaps, as provide a structural complement to small-town attitudes and institutions, particularly in the case of the "disintegrated" community as defined by Forni-Mármora (1967). For the "education" of prospective migrants consists

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not in imparting skills and trades for which there is a big-city market—a service which French towns rendered for nineteenth-century Paris (Chevalier, 1950)—but in communicating a general outlook and set of expectancies and in making youths dysfunctional for local occupation.[21] To urge upon Latin America the model of the stolid bourgeois town of Flaubertian France or the more dynamic "covenanted" town of the United States is a bit like thrusting on it the legendary model of the entrepreneurial middle class. In fact the analogy is close. For just as some observers suggest that the Latin American middle classes may become polarized either toward patronal identification or toward proletarization (Graciarena, 1967: 201–03), so one might loosely say that certain towns stand a chance to become "small cities," given a happy conjunction of "external" factors, while many face a destiny of stagnation and impoverishment (Wolfe, 1966a: 39; Tricart, 1964: 243–44; ECLA, 1969: 98–100).

In Mexico, a third of the population lives in dispersed rural nuclei, barely touched by the forces of urbanization and social change (Unikel, 1968: 159). Larger towns register more change but little industrialization. Their rapidly growing middle classes live off tertiary activities linked with agriculture (Reyna-Villa-Albrechtsen, 1967), but prefer to invest their capital in urban commerce and real estate rather than agriculture or local industry. Wolfe (1967a: 24–27) suggests that cyclical processes may be restoring the historic concentration of wealth, power, and control over the labor force; "the decline of the traditional haciendas and the flight to the cities of the older small-town upper class might be followed by a reconsolidation in the hands of the small-town commercial intermediaries and political bosses."

Such considerations raise a second set of questions concerning the role of towns in the development process. It is logical to suppose that small towns attract and retain migration if they offer well-paid industrial employment. Such is the case in Pernambuco, where two municipalities with low out-migration rates to Recife have important textile industries that make them "catchment towns" (*ciadades-barragem*) (Instituto, 1961: IV, 83–91). Both towns, however, are close to the state capital, and one assumes that their industries were implanted by outside initiative. The question now arises, how, if we set aside the case study method, can we document on a regional scale the impoverishment of small towns in start-up mechanisms for economic development?

Gauthier (1968) offers a strategy when he correlates transportation and industrialization in São Paulo state. His finding that transportation "leads" industrial growth rather than interacting with it in balanced relationship suggests that metropolitan decisions to extend the highway system encourage metropolitan decisions to make industrial investments in small towns. If the

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periphery harbored a substantial development impulse, one would expect oscillation between the primacy of transportation and of industrial growth. This interpretation of Gauthier's data is buttressed by a report which finds the infrastructure for a regional urban network to be spongy. Industry is heavily concentrated in São Paulo city and penetrates the interior by "territorial expansion" along a "continuous zone of industrialization centered on São Paulo, with no other important industrial centers located outside these belts" (Costa-Kowarick, 1963: 395; also Singer, 1968: 69–70).[22]

Further aspects of the center-periphery question will be discussed later. But we can here anticipate the conclusion that to construe the metropolis-small town relationship as one of "internal colonialism" places an excessively ideological construction on a complex issue of social and regional morphology.

Part Two will be published in the next issue of LARR (Summer 1971)

NOTES

1. Muñoz (1954) and Davis (1960) compare the colonial towns of British and Spanish America.
2. This section of the paper is restricted to Spanish America. Reis (1968) offers comparative information for Brazil. Schwartz (1969) compares colonial Mexico City and Salvador, Brazil; he notes differences in urban functions and social organization but finds similarities in the transferral of late-medieval social structure, political behavior of elites, and role of the city as a control center for empire. Borah (1970) compares Spanish American and Brazilian cities with respect to physical form.
3. Orizaba originated in good Pirennian fashion as a stopping point on the Mexico-Veracruz. route; it had no *traza*, ejidal lands, or *propios* till the eighteenth century.
4. Houston (1968) offers a good panorama. Regional studies include Perera (1964) for Venezuela, Marciales (1948: 228–39) and Avila-Bernal (1968) for Colombia, Guarda (1967; 1968) for Chile, Comadrán (1962) for western Argentina, and Holanda (1966) for southern Brazil.
5. Such authority was enjoyed only by Havana and the insignificant town of Tolú, in Cartagena province, whose lands were so sterile that they were left fallow for several years after each year of use (Recopilación, 1943: *lib.* IV, *tít.* XII, *leyes* xxii, xxiii; *Ots,* 1959: 52–53).
6. Borah (1970) ably summarizes and evaluates the controversies.
7. The Cuban assemblies were declared illegal in 1574, long after the island's depopulation and decadence had terminated them. At this time procuratorial functions were split between a newly defined procurator, who served as a municipal inspector and could not meet with colleagues from other towns, and the municipal attorney, who might be empowered as a petitioner before the crown (Guerra, 1921–25: II, 134–35).
8. Procuratorial assemblies were also held in Brazil. Zenha (1948: 128) refers to one convoked in São Paulo in 1700 to assess municipal contributions toward the salary of a new crown-appointed circuit judge.
9. See Hardoy-Aranovich (1969b: 88) for a summary statement of how Spanish colonization created, politically and economically, "a 'scheme' of urbanization and not a 'system' of cities interconnected among themselves."

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10. Conning (1966) explores some of the methodological problems.
11. Lavaréda (1960) offers a case study of the town of Caruaru (1950 population, 78,000), whose commercial advantages and later industrial growth made it one of a limited number of *centros detentores* for migrations in the *agreste.*
12. Delgado's attempt (1969) to provide a more elaborate classification of Lima's settlement zones is branded by Jaworski (1969: 45) as a view from the "legal" city.
13. Cornelius (1969: 837) suggests that stage migration may give way to direct migration after firstcomers establish metropolitan beachheads.
14. "Migraciones" (1970) is a symposium of divergent views on "internal migrations and development" in Latin America.
15. Wagley-Harris (1965: 53–55) offer a cultural typing of towns; Wolfe (1966a: 8–10) classes them by size. Imaz (1965) and González (1968) are recent town studies that break the anthropologists' familiar mold. Reyna-Villa-Albrechtsen (1967) demonstrate a statistical method for determining national trends in small-town occupational structure.
16. The sociology of research allocation should perhaps not be overlooked. Small towns fall between the stools of bushwhacking anthropologists and of macrocosmic social scientists who appreciate metropolitan amenities and the chance to consort with national elites.
17. Although from the urban end, observers who find that migrations are currently becoming *less* selective are alarmed by the prospect of new *metropolitan* problems! (Browning-Feindt, 1970b).
18. Foster's notions of the "dyadic contract" (1967: 212–43) and the "image of limited good" (1967: 122–52) are important clues to understanding Latin American urban as well as village societies. Silberstein (1969), for example, finds dyadic analysis fruitful for the Rio favela.
19. Some of the best known small-town studies miss this point. Redfield's confusion about his "village that chose progress" becomes explicit when in the closing paragraph he observes that the people of Chan Kom "*have no choice* but to go forward with technology . . . ." (1950: 178; italics supplied). Harris' claims for the "urbanness" of Minas Velhas rest largely on attitudinal, not psychological or structural features of the society (1956: 274–89).
20. For two much larger towns, Querétaro and Popayán, Whiteford (1960) demonstrates differential rates of social change.
21. Centralized education planning may "rationalize" this pattern. Herrick (1965: 37) reports that Chilean vocational schools are concentrated in towns outside Santiago which provide no market for their graduates—with obvious effects on migration.
22. Stokes (1968: 11–72) analyzes the contrary case of the Tejerias-Valencia *autopista* in Venezuela, built from "demand strategy" in response to needs of the thriving towns and cities of the Aragua Valley. In developing nations, however, the "supply strategy"—provision of transport in the hope that it will create its own demand—is more usual as well as "more tentative and difficult" (1968: 149).

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