LATIN AMERICAN SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS: A PROBLEM AND A SOLUTION

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SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS HAVE FORMED AROUND LARGE CITIES THROUGHOUT the world, mushrooming particularly since the end of World War II. In an excellent preview to a forthcoming book, Turner (1966) has discussed some common features among squatter settlements in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Europe. Morse (1965a) has also referred to squatter communities and to general characteristics of Latin American urbanization in an article in this journal.[1] Without repeating the work of Turner and Morse I would like to present a preliminary survey of Latin American squatter settlements with a model of their formation, growth, and social development that contradicts many views held by planners, politicians, newspapermen, and much of the general population, including many residents of the settlements themselves.

Several writers have referred to various local names given to squatter communities: *colonias proletarias* in Mexico, *barriadas brujas* in Panama, *ranchos* in Venezuela, *barriadas* in Peru, *callampas* in Chile, *cantegriles* in Uruguay, *favelas* in Brazil, and, in other places, marginal areas, clandestine urbanizations, *barrios* of invasion, parachutists, phantom towns, etc. There are no general works on the subject, but some good descriptions of local conditions do exist. The major sources used are listed by country in note 2. Not many sources are available and, unfortunately, several appear only in mimeographed form. The reports point out that squatter populations consist mainly of low income families but all of the authors distinguish between squatter settlements and other types of lower class housing in tenements, alleys (*callejones*), shack yards (*coralones, jacales*), and rented slum buildings. They agree, sometimes to their own surprise, that it is difficult to describe squatter settlements as slums. The differentiation of squatter settlements from inner-city slums is, in fact, one of the first breaks from the widely shared mythology about them. (See, for example, Patch, 1961; Mangin, 1965.) The purpose in noting this mythology is not merely to set up a straw man for the paper. A review of the "Chaos, Crisis, Revolution and Wither Now Latin America" literature, or, of most governmental, United Nations, or AID reports, or, of most newspapers and magazines in Latin America will show that it is the predominant position on squatter settlements.

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The standard myths, not all incorrect and by no means mutually consistent, are, with some variation among countries, as follows:

1) The squatter setlements are formed by rural people (Indians where possible) coming directly from "their" farms.

2) They are chaotic and unorganized.

3) They are slums with the accompanying crime, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, family breakdown, illegitimacy, etc.

4) They represent an economic drain on the nation since unemployment is high and they are the lowest class economically, the hungriest and most poorly housed, and their labor might better be used back on the farms.

5) They do not participate in the life of the city, illiteracy is high and the education level low.

6) They are rural peasant villages (or Indian communities) reconstituted in the cities.

7) They are "breeding grounds for" or "festering sores of" radical political activity, particularly communism, because of resentment, ignorance, and a longing to be led.

8) There are two solutions to the problem: a) prevent migration by law or by making life in the provinces more attractive; or b) prevent the formation of new squatter settlements by law and "eradicate" (a favorite word among architects and planners) the existing ones, replacing them with housing projects.

The myths are embodied in writings ranging from the ridiculous—for example, a North American M.D. from the ship *Hope* (Walsh, 1966), reflecting the views of many of his Peruvian medical colleagues, says of a barriada near the city of Trujillo,

In this enormous slum lived some 15,000 people many of whom had come down from the mountains, lured by communist agitators. Why starve on a farm the agitators asked, when well-paid jobs, good food, housing and education were waiting in Trujillo? This technique for spreading chaos and unrest has brought as many as 3,000 farmers and their families to the barriadas in a month. Once they arrive (on a one-way ride in communist-provided trucks) they are trapped in the festering slums with no money to return to their farms.

to serious observations by responsible people—for example, a North American sociologist (Schulman, 1966) who worked in a Colombian *tugurio* for nine months writes of squatter setlements,

It is the rudest kind of slum, clustering like a dirty beehive around the edges of any principal city in Latin America. In the past two decades poor rural people have flocked to the cities, found no opportunities but stayed on in urban fringe shanty-towns squatting squalidly on the land. . . . Living almost like animals, the tugurio's residents are

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overwhelmed by animality. Religion, social control, education, domestic life are warped and disfigured.

A familiar theme of anti-city feeling and rural, small town bias runs through much of the European and North American commentary on squatter settlements.[3] Latin American academics and politicians, on the other hand, tend to be anti-countryside and pro-city, considering the latter to be the repository of all that is good and beautiful in Spanish and Portuguese culture. In a strange way, both points of view reinforce each other in condemning squatter settlements as disorganized products of outside agitation, and in suggesting eradication and shipment back to the rural areas as a solution.

It is probably apparent from the tone of the above remarks that my own views differ from those mentioned. In discussing the eight myths, I believe that I can portray a very different picture. Other myths, however, influence my own thinking so not all of the observations to which I refer are mistaken. They are biased, but they do reflect an aspect of reality. In presenting a different, and I believe a more hopeful and realistic, view, I do not mean to minimize the problems of overpopulation, rapid urbanization, poverty, prejudice, and lack of elementary health and social services that play such an important part in squatter setlement life.

William F. Whyte (1943) provided an effective counter to the anti-city literature by revealing strong informal institutions created by people in a Boston slum to serve their own needs. Since then many studies have drawn similar conclusions, including a recent study of the same area (Gans, 1962) that shows stability through change. Turner (1963, 1966) and I (1963, 1964, 1965) have noted similar kinds of institutions in squatter settlements, viewing them as solutions to difficult social problems rather than as problems in themselves.[4] The formation of squatter settlements is a popular response to rapid urbanization in countries that cannot or will not provide services for the increasing urban population.[5] In their study of the Polish peasant in Europe and America, Thomas and Znaniecki (1920) viewed situations of great change and disorganization not as "a mere reinforcement of the decaying organization," but as ". . . a production of new schemes of behavior and new institutions better adapted to the changed demands of the group; we call this production of new schemes and institutions social reconstruction." I, too, see the squatter settlements as a process of social reconstruction through popular initiative.

FORMATION OF SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS

In two studies I have described the planning of a barriada invasion (Mangin, 1963) and constructed a composite history of a barriada in Peru (1960). The process is also discussed and photographed in a UN film, *A Roof of My*

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Own, advised by John Turner in the International Zone series. Subsequent investigation has indicated that strikingly similar sequences have occurred in other countries.

As a general pattern the majority of residents of a 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. According to a census of a typical Lima barriada in 1959, the average time of residence in Lima for heads of families originally from the provinces was nine years, and practically none of them had been in Lima less than three years. [Barriadas may now contain 400,000 of Lima's population of two million as opposed to 45,000 in 1940 (Abrams, 1965).] Frieden (1964) writes that in a 1958 census in Mexico City more than half of the residents of metropolitan tenements were of rural origin and that they were the squatters in the colonias proletarias. The colonias have two million inhabitants and may occupy 40 per cent of the land area of the Federal District by 1970 (Harth Deneke, 1966). Cortén (1965) reports that the majority of squatters in Santo Domingo are from the provinces and that not a single rural immigrant in his sample settled directly in a newly formed squatter settlement. Cuevas (1965) notes that in Guatemala City, where the squatters comprise 10 per cent of the population, "the great majority of the inhabitants (73 per cent) are economically displaced from the city itself," and that they are originally from the provinces or the rural areas of the Department of Guatemala. Lopez et al. (1965) corroborate this finding. In Venezuela, where squatters in ranchos comprise about 35 per cent of the population of Caracas and 50 per cent of that of Maracaibo (Abrams, 1962), Talton Ray's study (1966) shows that most rancho residents are migrants but that "close to 100 per cent come from barrios within the city, not from the countryside." C. B. Turner (1964) and Usandizaga and Havens (1966) describe the same circumstances in Bogotá and Barranquilla, Colombia. Lutz (1966) found the same situation in Panama City, Bon (1963) in Montevideo, and Leeds (1966) in Rio de Janeiro, where favelas contain more than 500,000 people. Rosenbluth found that this relationship obtained for the callampas in Chile (1963) (6 per cent had come directly from the provinces only since 1960, 12 per cent before 1930). In the callampa sample of Goldrich, Pratt, and Schuller (1966) the residents are from rural areas but only 6 per cent had been in Santiago less than three years, and 80 per cent had been there 12 years or more. They estimate that about one-tenth of Santiago's population of two million are in callampas; Abrams (1962) uses the figure of 25 per cent.

The establishment of the community varies with local conditions, geographic and political. They arise on vacant land, usually uncultivated and owned by a governmental entity, on the outskirts of cities, or on undesirable land

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within the city, e.g., on steep hillsides, swamps, river beds, and dumps. Where there has been no active opposition from governments, settlements have been formed in an unorganized fashion by a few families drifting onto a site or, as in Guatemala, Guayaquil (Vitale, which I have personally observed), and parts of Lima, augmenting a group of families relocated by the government after a natural disaster. More common, however, is an organized invasion in the face of active opposition from the police. In countries not noted for governmental efficiency some of the invasions have been remarkably well organized. In Lima, after months of planning, thousands of people moved during one night to a site that had been secretly surveyed and laid out. They arrived with the materials to build a straw house, all their belongings, and a Peruvian flag. They were determined and, in several cases, returned to sites two and three times after police burned their belongings and beat and killed their fellows (reported in the Peruvian bimonthlies, *Caretas* and *Oiga*, 1963, for example). Police opposition to organized occupations has also been encountered in Brazil, Santiago de Chile (Clark, 1962), Cali (Powelson, 1964), Bogotá, Acapulco, and other places. Very little data is available on the organizers of invasions outside Peru. In Peru, evidence from my own experience and that of many Peace Corps volunteers and other observers indicates that the organizers were generally residents of the barriada of invasion. They often sought help from outsiders such as engineering students, lawyers, and, at least in two cases, army officers. The situation most closely approximating the often alleged agitation by outsiders involved men who helped form invasion groups on several occasions apparently because they thoroughly enjoyed and gained status from the meetings and the excitement. Land speculators have been involved in several countries, but they generally appear after the invasion.

The migrants come from rural provinces but many of them are from towns rather than farms. In Peru they come from a variety of settings and economic levels (Matos, 1961). In Chile 65 per cent of the migrants to Santiago had lived in towns of more than 5,000 as of 1946 (Herrick, 1965). Sixty per cent of the migrants to Buenos Aires studied by Germani (1961) had fathers who did manual labor, but many had shopkeeper fathers. Many of the migrants in countries where the data are available have lived for a time somewhere between the rural setting and the metropolis. Of migrants studied in villas miserias, Germani (1961) notes that 15 per cent had migrated from areas of less than 2,000 population, more than a third from settings with 2,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, and 50 per cent from large towns.

INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS

In the barrios formed by organized invasion, the original organization is

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strong at first. In those formed by other means, organizations are established to defend the community and advocate its cause to the government. The only exception is the Dominican Republic in which Cortén (1965) suggests that the lack of organizations was due to the dictator Trujillo and that since his regime they have been formed in new squatter settlements. In Lima the invasion organizations lose their power as the barriada becomes integrated with the city, but in some places they remain important as intermediaries with the government and as organizers of mutual aid public works. In most of the barriadas studied, orderly, unofficial elections were held annually, and the importance of the organization depended largely on the personality of the elected leader. National politics had a part in many of the elections, but regionalism and personal charisma played a greater role in the elections I observed. Goldrich et al. (1966) compare political organizations in barriadas and callampas in Lima and Santiago and find the Chilean callampa organizations to be more permanent because they are able to change their function from invasion and defense to that of "output agencies mediating between the community and the government." Lutz (1966) emphasizes that practically the only political activity in the barriadas of Panama is the barriada organization. In the papers by Leeds, Hoenack, Wygand, and Morocco (1966) on Rio's favelas, the degree of organization in the favela associations is striking. They have organized everything from private water systems, markets, labor division, and groups to raise money to buy the land on which they live, to Carnaval dance groups essential to the famous Rio festival. In Lima and Rio, national political parties figure somewhat in squatter setlement politics, while in Venezuela, according to Ray (1966), they play a larger role. Nevertheless, the internal organization of a Venezuelan rancho is strong and, despite the struggles over plots of land during the original occupation of the rancho, the residents show great respect for each other's lot once they begin construction.

Membership in the associations varies but there are always nonmembers. In most cases membership doesn't imply participation but it appears that in squatter settlements there is at least as much and probably more participation in local politics than in other parts of the countries. The associations have trouble enforcing rules and often fail in their dealings with the bureaucracy. They do seem to be able to control, to a certain extent, who will be the members of the invasion group and the new residents; they favor nuclear families with an employed male as head. Associations frequently manage to get some assistance in installing sewers, water, roads, etc., and they provide a low-level, unofficial court for minor disputes. Most important, associations often give people a feeling of controlling their own destinies. This is frequently illusory, and distrust of local leadership is present almost from the start. The association does,

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however, have a major accomplishment that is visible at all times, namely, the invasion and successful retention of a piece of land.

SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

In Rio and Lima, many people warned me not to go into barriadas or favelas because they were full of criminals. Other scholars have had the same experience in other countries. In fact, however, squatter settlements are overwhelmingly composed of poor families who work hard and aspire to get ahead legitimately. Petty thievery is common, low-level tax evasion a national pastime; disputes occur over land titles, children annoying or damaging others' property, small debts, dogs, etc. Wife and child beating are frequent, at least in Lima and Rio, and drunkenness is common. Assault outside the family is rare. Organized crime is practically nonexistent.

The favelas of Rio de Janeiro seem to present something of an exception. The situation is not quite that described by *Time* (September 23, 1957),

Squeezed by belt-cinching inflation and an influx of some 3,700 newcomers a month, the favelas gangsters have moved into the city's streets, boosted the crime rate alarmingly in recent weeks. In previously safe lovers' lanes, girls were raped, and their boy friends robbed, beaten or murdered. . . . In the favelas, where policemen rarely tread, gang lords built up Robin Hood reputations, casually rubbed out rivals and stool pigeons, and treated attempts to catch them with growing contempt.

Studies such as the SAGMACS (1960) report, however, indicate a higher rate of crime in the Rio favelas than in those of most of the other countries, and the existence of criminal gangs. A BEMDOC official in Rio told me last year that the vast majority of favelas were safe and several Peace Corps volunteers confirmed this assertion. According to the same official, one of BEMDOC's sociologists found that a gang of thieves living in a favela enforced very strict rules of honesty among their members within the favela to avoid attracting police attention.

Empirical evidence does not indicate that crimes occur with more frequency within squatter settlements than outside. In the only comparative study I could find (Rotondo et al., 1963) the rate of delinquency in a central city slum of Lima was high and varied, while that of a barriada was low and unvaried—primarily complaints of wives against husbands and petty thievery.

The traffic in most squatter settlements doesn't warrant serious prostituition efforts but there are part-time prostitutes in Peru and Brazil. Some prostitutes lived in a barriada in which I worked in Lima, but they plied their trade elsewhere. Gambling is also on a low level because of the lack of money and traffic. Goldrich (1966) writes of callampas in Chile and barriadas in Peru,

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"In the face of their reputation for social disorganization, these settlers reveal remarkably little of it; crime, promiscuity, broken homes occur infrequently, particularly in comparison to the bridgehead settlements and traditional city slums. Though born as illegal invasions, these communities display a prevailing orientation toward law and order."

Family and kinship relationships are strong and provide a degree of crisis insurance. Rotondo, referring to a Lima barriada (1965) and a slum (1961), notes greater involvement with kin and much less social pathology in the barriada. Pearse (1961) discusses kin group controls on behavior in favelas. The importance of the family cannot be overestimated. The information on all the squatter settlements indicates that by far the greatest number of households consist of nuclear, bilateral families with resident fathers. The exceptions are Buenaventura, Colombia, where Mallol (1963) found a large number of female-based households, and Puerto Rico, where Safa (1965) encountered a similar situation. Grandparents and other relatives are also prevalent but the populations are generally younger than the already young national population averages. Since some squatter settlements have been in existence for 20 years there is variation in the age levels and one can see a family cycle (see Hammel, 1961, 1964). As Turner (1966) points out, the invader spends several years consolidating his building lot and constructing a house. This provides a start for his children. Desertion and early death of males are probably about the same as outside the settlement, but the widow or abandoned wife has the assets of a house and lot to make her an attractive marriage or common law partner.

The birth rate is higher than the national average in all of the squatter settlements. Rosenbluth (1963) notes that there are 4.5 children per mother in callampas as opposed to 2.38 in the rest of Santiago. The SAGMACS report (1960) indicates the same ratio as does a more recent publication of BEMDOC in Rio (BEMDOC, 1965). The Colombian and Peruvian data also give similar statistics. Illegitimacy figures don't have great significance in lower class Latin American populations because of the large number of stable consensual unions. I could find no solid information on the subject in squatter settlements.

Family relationships are as ambivalent in the squatter settlements as outside. Gordon Parks' account of violence and bitterness within a favela family (1961) could be duplicated inside and outside squatter settlements throughout Latin America and inside and outside slums throughout the world.[6] Padilla (1958) and Wakefield (1957) report social disorganization among Puerto Rican migrants to New York but emphasize that parents integrate and sacrifice for their children. Lewis (1966a), in a much more intensive study of fewer people, reports some integration and sacrifice for children but emphasizes

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disorganization, bitterness, and violence. Lewis notes the same conditions among rural migrants to Mexico City (1960) but many observers have taken issue with him (for example, Butterworth, 1962; Paddock, 1961; Bendiner, 1967), and in other studies (Lewis, 1952, 1959, 1965) he, too, emphasizes very different sorts of migrant behavior in Mexico City. Fried (1959) and I (1961, 1964) describe family attitudes in a Peruvian barriada in very different terms. He found and stressed pity and pessimism; I encountered and stressed self-help and optimism. As I have pointed out (1967), we are both correct in stressing apparently contradictory aspects of reality that exist in the same population. Lewis and Butterworth are both right. Lewis and Wakefield are both right about Puerto Rico. Bonilla (1961) says that Camus, in his film *Black Orpheus*, and Parks in his *Life* photographic essay, "each fasten on separate phases of the emotional cycle of the favela." The film stresses favelados as ". . . carefree, full of boundless energy and rhythm, with an unfettered zest for life." Parks' family is ". . . a proto-human band, weakened by chronic illness, callously indifferent to each other's suffering, living in a monotone degradation punctured only by flashes of violence." Both exist in favelas, barriadas, colonias proletarias, and outside.

The differences, pessimism and optimism, exist between families. Contrast, for example, the bitter complaining of Carolina María de Jesús in her diary of favela life (1962) with the enterprising hopefulness of Achilles and María (Leeds, 1966), a favela couple. Contradictions also exist within the same family and within individuals. In a Lima barriada we administered a section of an MMPI to a randomly selected sample of 74 adults and found apparent contradictions:

Q. The future looks blacker every day.
      Yes 61   No 13
Q. A young man of today can have much hope for the future.
      Yes 69   No 5
Q. Many children are a burden.
      Yes 50   No 23
Q. One should sacrifice all for one's children.
      Yes 71   No 3

The same people who see the future becoming blacker every day have hope for the future. The same people who view their children as a burden believe that they should sacrifice for them. The contradictions are more apparent than real. This kind of ambivalence characterizes the human condition .

Discussions of alienation and the quality of urban life probably digress too far from the purpose of a survey article, but I believe existing evidence indicates that inhabitants of squatter settlements are less alienated from the national state and more involved with each other than are residents of cen-

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tral city slums. Although reports are not explicit on the subject, one of the reasons for this difference is that squatters can constantly see around them a major accomplishment of their own, i.e., the seizure of land and the creation of a community.

THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS

Just as tradition economists have difficulty with peasant economics, they have difficulty in evaluating the contribution (or lack of it) of squatter settlements to national and city economies. Obviously one major contribution is that millions of people have solved their own housing problem in situations where the national governments were practically unable to move. On the other hand, as Abrams (1965), Turner (1963), and many governmental planners have pointed out, by so doing they have occupied land that might have a more "logical" use in a city, and they have made the provision of services such as water, sewage disposal, electricity, and paved streets much more expensive than if the land were empty. This dilemma, unfortunately, is only a dilemma for planners. People who need housing can't be kept in the pipeline for years as a plan can. Clearly the land invaders want services and, in most cases, have shown themselves to be quite willing to pay for them. They are not, however, willing to wait for them on the basis of a governmental promise. The result has been the creation of many unsanitary communities with expensive private water and electric arrangements and poor internal transportation. One of the rational considerations weighed by potential residents in established squatter settlements as well as by invaders is the balance between the economic advantages of paying no rent, "owning" your own home, and joining a community, on the one hand, and having few services, building your own house, risking great loss if dislocated, and taking unpopular and often illegal political action, on the other. Since some squatter settlements are located close to the dwellers' places of employment, this is also a consideration. The central city slums are also close to employment but they are expensive and undesirable. The few governmental attempts to build new projects (Peru, Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina) have chosen sites that are much too far from work and have proved to be much too expensive for the squatters.

Squatter settlements make four kinds of contributions to national economies. First is the investment in housing and land improvement mentioned above. The literature on types of houses is extensive (see Turner, 1966) and includes many photographs since the settlements tend to be very photogenic. Housing is often temporary and, of necessity, hastily built upon the first occupation of the land through invasion or other means. The residents then put a good deal of the capital, which would have been used to pay rent, into con-

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structions that may take as long as ten years to complete. Most of them live on the sites in temporary houses or shells during this period but a few don't move in until they have completed an elaborate house. Land titles play a major role in investment in housing, and in places where a title or some assurance of permanence is thought to exist constructions are more elaborate than in those without titles. Even with the land title problem the vast majority of squatter residents are owner-occupiers. In no report does the percentage of renters go higher than 46 per cent (in colonias proletarias in Mexico City) and it usually is closer to 4 or 5 per cent (Venezuela, Peru, Brazil). The older the settlement, the higher the percentage of renters. One of the reasons for hesitancy to invest in housing in favelas is that so many of them are on private land and are frequently threatened with eviction. In Lima and Mexico City, although each city has known evictions and pitched battles between squatters and police, constructions are substantial because most of the land occupied is state land and some provisional titles have been granted. The construction of houses, stairways, streets, water systems, water control dikes and spillways, etc., in the Rio favelas amounts to millions of dollars, despite the threat of eviction (Leeds, Smith, 1966; Pearse, 1961).

The second contribution is in the job market. Unemployment figures are difficult to evaluate because of the large number of marginally employed and self-employed people. Rosenbluth (1963) estimates a high of 27 per cent unemployment in Chilean callampas. Herrick (1965) writes that migrants to Santiago are in about the same proportion in callampas as in the city, and that migrants are much more active economically than they were in their places of origin. The BEMDOC (1965) study of a favela in Rio indicates that 12 per cent of family heads are unemployed. Usandizaga and Havens (1966) give 8 per cent as the unemployment figure for squatter in Barranquilla. In the Bucaramanga, Colombia, study (Pinto, 1966) a population of about 10,000 had 60 per cent stable employment and 40 per cent casual employment. Matos (1961) notes that 71 per cent of the active population of Lima's barriadas (in 1956) had stable employment, 27 per cent casual employment, and 2 per cent unknown. These studies and many others (Bon, 1963; Germani, 1961; Leeds et al., 1966; SAGMACS, 1960 for example) cover a wide variety of occupations ranging in income from gardening and garbage collection, through skilled and unskilled factory work, through service jobs in restaurants, police forces, armies, government offices, and banks, to store owners, teachers, lawyers, and doctors. In the barriada Pampa de Comas in Lima the membership of the residents' *Club John F. Kennedy a Favor de Comas* included a medical doctor, a bank branch manager, a police lieutenant, two university students, a lawyer, several store and bar owners, and two resident Peace Corps volunteers. Squatter settlements are seldom one-class communities.

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In addition to the jobs held outside the settlements (the ones that appear in national employment figures) many people work full and part time within the settlement. Construction workers particularly find a great deal of part-time work. Turner (1966) reports that the owner occupiers often provide only the unskilled labor value on their houses and that the difficult, skilled, and expensive work, such as roof building, is done largely by local construction workers. Hoenack refers to burden carriers in favelas. Rosenbluth and Bon mention different kinds of jobs in callampas and cantegriles.

In a version of Foster's (1965) image of limited good, upper and middle class Latin Americans accept an 18th century view of "the poor" and see no way to raise their income because the economy won't stand it unless the money comes from the wealthy. They also believe that poverty is always with us, part of the natural law of life, and millions of poor people join them in this belief (Miller and Rein, 1964). In very few Latin American countries is there a clear relationship between merit, hard work, and success. This serves to keep aspiration levels rather low. Many persons know of cases in which poor people win lotteries, or rise to wealth through athletic ability, entertainment skills, or possibly through the military.

Unions have been strong in some countries but a number are often influenced by management, political dictators, U.S unions, or communists to take actions quite apart from those that would further the welfare of their members. They have seldom moved outside the specific labor dispute area, although a few unions in Peru assisted their members in developing squatters settlements in Arequipa (graphic arts union) and Chimbote (steel workers).

A very important area of economic development where people have created capital on their own, and where hard work and ability have demonstrably paid off is in the growth of small businesses in squatter settlements. This third contribution is the least known outside the settlements and extremely important monetarily. There is a tremendous proliferation of small enterprise. When a squatter settlement has become more or less established and accepted by the government, banks appear (mobile banks in panel trucks appear long before this point), movie houses are built, chain stores open, horse race lottery shops open, etc. Even from the outset, however, the local people begin buying and selling to and from each other at a great rate. In a Lima barriada of approximately 1,500 houses, we counted more than 100 houses where something was sold. Converting the room that faces the street into a store is a very common pattern in rural Peru and is followed in barriadas. Some had very low stocks of merchandise, others did a booming business. Leeds (1966) and Hoenack (1966) describe large numbers of stores and restaurants opened by favelados in Rio, and Hoenack points out that owners of small stores often oppose change in favela conditions in order to protect their businesses. Bars, restaurants,

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garages, repair shops, barber shops, school supply stores, bakeries, groceries, fruit stores, and newsstands are reported in all of the squatter settlements. Bus companies are among the first groups to be formed if the established companies won't serve the community. Some people charge admission to watch their television and use the proceeds to make the time payments on the set. Peattie (1966) makes a similar point about investment and small business in the ranchos of Caracas.

Markets grow up within squatter settlements and hundreds of peddlers go back and forth from central markets to the settlements by bicycle, tricycle, bus, and taxi carrying produce for resale. Bradley (1966) discusses the involvement of barriada dwellers in Lima's wholesale market, La Parada. Hoenack (1966) describes in detail many of the problems of supplying and selling in Rio favelas. In Lima, the arrival of market inspectors and tax collectors is not exactly welcomed but they do abet those who stake out market stalls by attempting to drive off peddlers who display their limited wares on the ground around the market itself. Tax collection is often tolerated as a sign of recognition from outside and can be the final confidence builder needed to encourage permanent construction. I have never seen a barriada or a rural store in Peru that did not keep a special set of books for the tax collector. Hoenack notes the same procedure in favelas.

Real estate speculation takes place as does considerable buying and selling of land with very elaborate, and generally totally illegal, titles changing hands. Renting is forbidden in some settlements but is found in all. Money lenders thrive in squatter settlements in Rio and Mexico City but are seldom found in Peruvian barriadas where the residents go to kinsmen or *compadres* for money. Credit unions exist in many of the settlements, often promoted and sometimes funded originally by outside capital from a national credit cooperative, a church group, or a U.S. aid group.

The fourth contribution—intangible social capital invested in the creation of a community—is not exclusively economic and I shall continue to discuss it in the next section. The community makes possible investment in housing and neighborhood improvements and investment in the numerous small enterprises. The community also involves the inhabitants of a squatter settlement in the life of the nation with a small but increasingly effective power base. Leeds (1966) discusses social investments in neighborhood, family and kin groups and their economic consequences in favelas, making more or less the same point that the considerable economic contribution to the city is directly related to the social relationships that led to the invasions. Another socio-economic aspect of squatter settlements is that they are beginning to attract worldwide attention as possible focuses of direct economic aid and community development. Foreigners from the U.S., Europe, and the United Nations view

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them in this light because they have already developed active communities with high morale and have created conditions for further economic and social development.

PARTICIPATION IN CITY AND NATIONAL LIFE

The data on social participation vary. Economic participation is at a high level and most of the adult men are away from the settlements working in the city on week days. Women work as domestic servants, waitresses, and factory workers and are often in the city. Men and women go to and from markets, stores, churches, and places of amusement. Children go to high schools and private schools in the city. Most settlements seem to have their own state primary schools, often built by the residents, and some have private schools. A few do not have primary schools in the settlement and bus their children to other locations in the city. I have met a few women in Lima barriadas who lived within sight of the bright lights of downtown yet had never been there; they had, however, been to the wholesale market area and to the nearby sections of the city. Similar cases are noted in other studies.

Not only do squatters do much of the service work of the city, but they also patronize the movies, bars, soccer games, musical tent shows, TV broadcasts, and other amusements. They attend Catholic and Protestant services. They also buy from city merchants, borrow from and deposit money in city banks, and maintain a constant flow of traffic to and from governmental offices.

People have relatives in all parts of the city and make friends at work. Visiting kinsmen, a common Latin American pastime, is an important activity for squatters who travel throughout the city to make their visits. In Lima we found people from one barriada working in practically every section of the city, some with a commuting time of almost two hours. Plotkin (1966) points out that favelas are not social enclaves isolated from the city and Morocco (1966) describes the intense involvement of the favela-based samba schools in the life of Rio.

The lack of social participation among squatters is frequently attributed to their illiteracy and ignorance. The data do not support this assertion. Without exception education ranks near the top of the list of *desiderata* for children in every country referred to in this survey. In several places, particularly in Peru, the squatters have provided their own school buildings and, in some cases, hired their own teachers. In Guatemala, Cuevas (1965) writes, "In spite of all the inconveniences, the index of literacy (80 per cent) is appreciably higher than that which exists in the urban and suburban areas of origin of the adults of the families." He adds that the great majority of the children of squatters attend school regularly. Matos (1961) notes that in Lima barriadas, ". . . 86

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per cent of the population above the age of 5 years had received or were receiving an education and only 10 per cent were illiterate." Paredes (1963), in a survey of Lima's most urbanized barriada, found an even higher literacy rate. It is higher than the literacy figure for Lima as a whole and considerably higher than that for the whole country. In the barriada in which I worked intensively the great majority of the illiterates were older people, primarily older women. Goldrich (1966) found 10 per cent and 7 per cent illiteracy in two Chilean callampa samples. A UN study of Santiago's callampas (1963) gave a 29 per cent illiteracy figure. Rosenbluth (1963) found 29 per cent illiteracy in callampas and reports that 45 per cent of callampa children do not attend school. This high figure is not reflected in the Goldrich study of two callampas. The SAGMACS study and Leeds' material on Rio's favelas describe variations among favelas, but a keen interest in education, many schools, and a high literacy rate. On the other hand, the BEMDOC (1965) study of a favela noted an illiteracy rate of 34 per cent, the highest reported figure. The 16 per cent illiteracy rate in cantegriles in Uruguay (Bon, 1963) is high for Montevideo but not for parts of rural Uruguay and it is concentrated in the population over 40.

Newspapers and magazines sell in large numbers in squatter setlements, and transistor and plug-in radios are in practically every house. TV aerials abound in almost any photo of a settlement and we counted more than 50 sets in a ten square block area of the Pampa de Comas in Lima. Abrams (1964) writes that 30 per cent of Venezuelan rancho homes have TV sets. Musical programs, dramatic serials, and sports are the most popular fare but the owners also listen to political and other local news shows in Lima and Rio, the only places for which I have information. Involvement of squatter settlement residents in national and city life through newspapers, radio, and TV is a carry-over from life in the city and is also increasingly common in the rural areas of most countries. Many of the migrants to the city who eventually go to the settlements have passed through rural towns and provincial cities, where they have been exposed to mass media and have developed what Reina (1964) has described in Peten, as ". . . a strong urban style of life in the absence of a true city."

Finally, it should be stressed again that the particular conditions created by the squatter settlements forcibly involve them with the cities. They are compelled to acculturate strategically in order, as they so frequently point out, to defend themselves. They keep up with news, become sophisticated about how to manipulate the national and international bureaucracies, play off political parties, and become real estate and legal specialists. We were constantly surprised by the large numbers of "ordinary" barriada residents in Peru who were conversant with the legal number and the content of complex laws deal-

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ing with land titles, etc. Jobs, marketing, schools, and kinship and voluntary associational ties keep most people in close touch with the city.

SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS AS RURAL COMMUNITIES
RECONSTITUTED IN THE CITY

Since most of the adult residents of the squatter settlements are from rural areas they do bring rural customs with them. Since they also usually have more space in the settlements than they had in the city centers they are likely to supplement their diets and incomes by raising small animals or cultivating gardens. Combine this practice with the sight of a few people wearing rural clothes, particularly rural Indian clothes, and, in Peru, where many barriadas are carved out of steep hillsides, the impression of a rural Andean community is very strong.

The rural-urban differences are greater in countries with large Indian populations because they often involve basic cultural differences, but non-Indians as well as Indians live in rural areas and the non-Indians seem to be more likely to migrate to cities. Indians who do move to squatter settlements probably have spent years in the city and have become acculturated to the national culture (Mangin, 1967). Matos (1961) writes of Peru, "As most of the members come from Indian communities, which are organized on a cooperative basis, the associations of residents of the barriadas tend to be reproductions of such communities on an urban scale." He then points out quite correctly that many features of rural culture such as diet, popular medicine, magic, religious beliefs, and dress exist in barriadas. I would take issue, however, with Matos' assertion that rural, and in this case, Indian, social structural features are present in barriadas.[7] The cooperation involved in the invasion and organization of squatters settlements seems to be much more the product of a secular and essentially urban social structure. Voting for local officials is by secret ballot and often involves national political parties. In Lima and Mexico City squatter candidates frequently run for office on the basis of region of origin but the identification is generally departmental or provincial rather than confined to one community. The squatter associations are defense organizations based on labor union rather than rural community models and function as pressure groups on the government as well as screening committees for new residents.

Extended family bonds and godparenthood are important in squatter settlements, just as they are outside, so their presence has little to do with the rural or urban character of the communities. Certain barriadas in Lima have bilateral kindreds that are large enough to play a role in the control of the community, but the majority of individuals have, at most, one or two rela-

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tives in households in the same barriada. In analyzing data from one barriada at least one kinsman beyond the nuclear family was found in about 200 households out of 561. In approximately three-fourths of the cases it was a relative of the husband. In rural communities or in towns or urban neighborhoods in Peru there is a tendency to reinforce the male line in a bilateral system, and for one or two bilateral kindreds to control much of the local political and social life. The kinship bonds and use of godparenthood for mobility and for cementing kinship and other relationships carry over into squatter settlements. Many individuals, however, say that they migrated from rural areas to escape kinship ties, godparenthood, and religious obligations.

In reports on other countries the local kinship systems function in squatter settlements as they do in rural and urban areas. The Brazilian kinship and *panelinha* and *pistolão* systems of mutual alliances described by Leeds (1964) are as common in favelas (N. Smith, 1966) as outside, and there is no reason to assume that they differ significantly from each other. In most of the studies, the kinship, godparent, regional, and voluntary associational ties existing in squatter settlements tie them to the rest of the country rather than create rural communities in the ciy (see, for example, Mangin, 1959).

With the exception of Buenaventura (Mallol, 1963) and Puerto Rico (Safa, 1965) where a matri-centered family is frequently found, the Latin American city kinship pattern is bilateral. Whitten (1965), in his study of Negroes in an Ecuadorean town, makes a statement that seems to describe the squatter settlement situation: "Unlike the unilineal and bilineal kinship systems that tend to break down in societies undergoing intercultural contact and economic rationalization, the cognatic descent system, based on personal and stem kindreds, seems highly adaptable to expanding and changing functions."

Formal religious activity may be more intensive in cities than in rural areas because of the larger number of priests and ministers, but fiesta activity probably declines. Data are scarce on the subject. In Peruvian barriadas and to a larger extent in Rio's favelas (Willems, 1966) evangelical sectarian Protestantism flourishes. Wakefield and Padilla comment on the same development among Puerto Ricans in San Juan and New York. In Peru, most of the Catholic priests working in barriadas are North American, Irish, or French, and offer temporal programs based on social action rather than the Peruvian and Spanish emphasis on reward in heaven. They also share with the evangelists and adventists a much more egalitarian ideology and have far greater appeal. This phenomenon occurs when the same groups of foreign Catholics and Protestants operate in rural areas, so it does not reflect the creation of rural communities in the city. It is, however, a mark of general cultural change.

The feature most frequently cited to support the country-in-the-city view is the presence of mutual aid house construction and public works. Both are

common. I have seen mestizo squatters, migrants from Peruvian coastal cities and plantations, working on roads and sewer trenches in barriadas on Sundays and saying that they were working in *minga* groups just like the Incas. Most of them had never heard of mingas before they read about them in newspapers. Nonetheless, the inspiration for cooperative work organization may well be a rural pattern re-created in the city. Cooperative labor is noted for every country in the survey and is often referred to by the authors and squatters as a carry-over from rural culture.

Rural people retain many elements of rural culture in the city and in the squatter settlements. The settlements are, however, urban phenomena resulting from sophisticated urban decisions made by long-time urban residents, and the internal political organization is new, following no rural pattern.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY, RADICAL AND OTHERWISE, IN SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS

In their book on housing in Latin America, Koth, Silva, and Dietz (1964) write of squatter settlements and slums, "Probably most importantly, political agitators in urban slum areas find fertile ground for spreading doctrines of conflict and social disorder and efforts to improve housing may decrease conflict." Schmitt and Burks (1963) state that

Unemployed and unskilled workers have clustered into shanty-towns called ranchos, particularly around Caracas, and as elsewhere in Latin America they are vulnerable to the blandishments of radical agitators and revolutionaries.

Trevor Armbrister of the *Saturday Evening Post* called a Lima barriada a "red seedbed." A Peruvian Catholic magazine, *Accion*, in January of 1963 came close to the Walsh statement (p. 3) that 3,000 migrants a month arrived in Trujillo in communist trucks. *Accion* informed its readers that the reason they didn't see their police and army officer friends and relatives on New Year's Eve was because they had all been alerted and had thus prevented an attack on upper class parties in private homes and clubs by "the people of the barriadas."

Other more sophisticated views of the squatter settlements as hovering presences menacing cities could be cited. Again, the facts, scarce as they are, portray quite a different situation. Turner (1966) states that the assumption that squatters are political radicals, is universal, while the opposite is actually true. He writes, "If development of marginal areas (squatter settlements) ceases the upper-class prophesy could become self-fulfilling." He adds that most squatter settlements are "slums of hope rather than slums of despair," (a distinction made by Charles Stokes, 1962, and used by Peattie in reference to Venezuelan ranchos) in comparing them to Watts and Harlem (see also

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Jones, 1964). Myron Wiener (1962) has also demonstrated that slum voting in general is often more conservative than middle class voting.

For most Latin American squatters the *only* communal political action they perform is the original invasion and defense of the settlement. Despite this fact the fear of squatters in the general population spreads back even to the settlements themselves; we found in Peru, and heard from Peace Corps volunteers in Colombia, Chile, and Brazil that residents of one settlement would assert "Here, we are all humble, honest people. But you must not go there (some other settlement). They are murderers, thieves, and communists." My impression was that they believed the first two descriptions and threw in the communists because we were North Americans and like to hear about communists. The political fear however, is real in the cities and results in inexcusable inaction and harsh reaction by people in power.

Goldrich (1965), citing Bonilla (1961) writes:

In the swelling favelas of Rio de Janeiro, where observers have imagined politicization to be high, nearly half the residents interviewed in a recent study saw nothing to be gained through political action, and less than one-fifth had discussed politics heatedly with a friend in the previous six months, even though over half of them said that things had gotten worse for them in the last five years.

He also cites Gutierrez (1961) on barriada organizations in Panama City,

Nevertheless, the squatters' action was apparently aimed entirely at preventing owners of the property from evicting them from their shacks and adjacent lands. It never became either programmatic or oriented toward other political action. (Goldrich, 1965.)

My own impression from the studies cited and my experience in Lima is that a paternalistic ideology, combined with a "don't let them take it away" slogan, would be more appealing than a revolutionary "let's rise and kill the oligarchy" approach. Probably not many inhabitants of the squatter settlements would have regrets if someone else took the latter action, but they themselves are too busy. Of the many reported instances of confrontations with, and often subsequent violence by, the police during invasions and attempts to dislodge settlers, only one seems to have involved organized radical political parties. This case appears to refer to home-grown, non-ideological communists.

Clark (1962) describes a police cordon and siege of a callampa in Santiago in 1957 where the squatters were led by elected communists. When Clark returned four years later he found that there were six communists, three socialists, and one Trotskyite on the committee of the callampa and that the Trotskyite considered the communists not sufficiently revolutionary. In Goldrich's study (1966) of "politicization" of callampas and barriadas—the best study on this subject of all those cited—he finds little relationship with national parties but

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a high degree of politicization directly after the invasions with a decreasing amount from that point on; this is especially true in Peru where sanctions have been applied rather heavily by the government. "The Santiago residents responded much more affirmatively than those in Lima to their political system and its components" (Goldrich et al., 1966).

Inhabitants of a Peruvian barriada are skeptical about political leaders. Many of their own elected officials are members of national political parties such as APRA, Christian Democrats, some faction of communists, etc.; but in the elections of 1962 (cancelled by the military who did not like the result) and 1963, the barriadas appear to have voted heavily for the third place loser and ex-general-dictator and conservative, Odría (Bourricaud, 1964). Halperin (1965) also notes that,

In the Venezuelan presidential election (1963) . . . , Arturo Uslar Pietri, a conservative intellectual and representative of business interests, polled a majority of the shantytown vote of Caracas. In the Chilean presidential election of 1964, the Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei prevailed over the Marxist candidate, Salvador Allende, in the shantytowns of Santiago and Valparaiso.

In a short visit to a favela in Rio I noticed pictures of ex-dictator Vargas in several houses. Later a BEMDOC worker informed me that, although dead, Vargas is the major political hero of favelados. The popularity of Perón in villas miserias in Argentina is apparently considerable. Cárdenas is universally admired among lower class urban Mexicans. In a very real sense they are political radicals, but certainly nationalist and establishment radicals.

The Guatemalan and Dominican squatters seem to have the least political involvement with only sporadic committees for specific purposes existing in Guatemalan marginal areas and, until the death of Trujillo, no organizations in Dominican settlements. Venezuela and Chile are the most involved politically. Peru, Brazil, Panama, and Colombia have strong associations but only occasionally use and are used by national and city politicians. Panama City (Lutz, 1966) and Arequipa, Peru, are the only cities where federations of squatter settlements seem to be operating successfully. Odría tried to organize one in Lima in 1956, but it broke up over national political issues.

Turner and I reached a similar conclusion about Peruvian barriadas in 1959 after considerable contact with attempts at organizing communities for various purposes. The dominant ideology of most of the active barriada people appeared to be very similar to the beliefs of the operator of a small business in 19th century England or the United States. These can be summed up in the familiar and accepted maxims: Work hard, save your money, trust only family members (and them not too much), outwit the state, vote conservatively if possible, but always in your own economic self-interest; educate your children for

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their future and as old age insurance for yourself. Aspirations are toward improvement of the local situation with the hope that children will enter the professional class. All of the above statements pertain perfectly to favelas.

A somewhat puzzling factor must be noted in these populations that have achieved so much. Despite their own problem-solving efforts they seem to believe that the only answer to their problems lies in outside solutions from the government, the United States, the United Nations, etc. This is also the assumption of practically every governmental report I have read on squatter settlements. We asked our sample in a Lima barriada how the problems of the barrio could be solved. Only 11 of more than 70 replied that they could do anything to solve their own problems. In the sample were heads of families, many of whom had taken part in the invasion and were at the time active in the local association working on water, sewage disposal, and legal problems.

Aspirations levels for many of the adult migrants are relatively low and many of them feel that when they have a steady income, a house of their own, and their children in school, they have achieved more than they had believed possible. If mobility is blocked and their extremely high aspirations for their children are not satisfied, as they almost surely will not be, then some change may occur in the political climate. At present they seem capable of mobilization only as a group to defend their homes.

"SOLUTIONS" TO THE PROBLEM

The phrasing of the title assumes a problem, yet my major thesis has been that the squatter settlements represent a solution to the complex problem of rapid urbanization and migration, combined with a housing shortage. The problem is the solution is the problem.

Schulman (1966) presents the well-intentioned view,

There are some men—their numbers are small, but they are growing—of good will and insight who are profoundly disturbed, and passionately concerned with the eradication of these subhuman clusters. Msgr. Ruben Isaza, Bishop Coadjutor of Bogotá, has called them 'malignant tumors that have grown on my city' and, along with others of his country men, is working for their displacement and for the betterment of the social and economic factors which have created them.

To use the bishop's biological analogy, this might be termed the "festering sore-bleeding heart" view. Another good example is "Down with the shantytowns! Brazilian students lead the way," in *The Community Development Review,* June 1963. The students will lead the poor peasants out of their isolated city misery. This view is the most popular one in print and can be found in all of the countries. When acted upon, it generally results in housing projects and

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satellite cities that prove to be too expensive for the dislocated squatters as do urban renewal projects in the United States.

The other prevalent view, not as popular in print but just as frequently expressed by planners and decision makers, is to eradicate the settlements and send the squatters back to the farms from which they came. At the risk of over-stating the analogy, this might be called the "festering sore-hard nosed" view. Thus far it has led mainly to talk. In Peru in the early fifties, a law was intro-duced requiring all those intending to migrate from the provinces to Lima to get permission from the prefect of the department. Since many people did not know about the law, many did not know about the prefect, and those who did could not find him because prefects spend a large part of the time in Lima, the law was never implemented.

The latter position, if set in the context of regional development and de-centralizaiton programs, might have some effect on migration of new people to cities but I doubt that it would affect squatter settlements. In a small jungle colonization program in Peru where the government and the Great Plains Wheat Foundation financed a move by a number of barriada residents to the upper Amazon region, the squatters simply "sold" their homes to others. Brasilia and Cuidad Guayana, Venezuela, are spectacular attempts to decentralize, and have been more or less successful, but squatter settlements had developed in both places before the planned cities were constructed (Ludwig, 1966; Rodwin, 1965).

Attempts to displace the squatter settlements, when modest in scale, pro-viding land, sewers, water, technical assistance, and possibly house shells, and allowing people to build at their own pace, has worked at least once in Val-divieso, Lima (Turner, 1963). That effort, however, used unoccupied land and did not involve eradication. The many proponents of eradication assume an in-vestment of almost nothing in straw and scrap construction instead of the in-vestment of millions of dollars in labor and so-called "noble" materials actually involved in most of the settlements.

As Turner notes (1963), the governments of Peru, Chile, and Colombia have experimented with housing cooperatives, credit programs, and minimal aid programs with some success on a very small scale. Meanwhile thousands of people have applied what he calls the "unaided self-help solution." In Vene-zuela, where resources are vast, the housing projects and "Superbloques," have scarcely touched the housing need. Turner (1966) reports that the thousands in the Superblocks have had no effect on migration to Caracas or on population expansion in the ranchos. The satellite cities of Ventanilla (Lima), Ciudad Kennedy (Bogotá), and Vila Kennedy and Vila Esperança in Rio (joint na-tional government-AID housing programs) have proved to be heavily subsi-dized and extremely expensive developments. They have met the needs of some

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of the more affluent working class and white collar members of the population, but have had no effect on and provided only negative solutions to the housing shortage problem.

AID and government officials, in the Salmon report (1966) and the Wagner, McVoy, Edwards report (1966), are beginning to recommend a third solution that seems to reflect a greater degree of ethnographic and political reality. The report by Wagner et al. stated that the Rio satellites were too far from places of work and that residents complained of losing jobs because of transportation problems. Zoning and planning regulations prevent the growth of local enterprise. Salmon points out that the mortgage payments are too high, particularly if an emergency arises, since people live so close to the margin economically. He also notes that a number of ex-favelados felt safer on the streets of the favelas because there were more people around and they knew everyone. Lance Belville, in *The New York Times,* November 21, 1965, reports identical feelings in Vila Aliance, another satellite city near Rio, and quotes a resident who formerly lived in a favela overlooking Botafogo Bay, close to his place of work,

I hate it here . . . they brought me to this place in handcuffs . . . it's too far from my work . . . my old shack had plenty of room for me and the family . . . and the shack didn't leak . . . I'm too far from the beach to go find crabs . . . sometimes I just can't make the payments on the house . . . the house can wait. My children cannot wait.

In Safa's study of matched people in shantytowns and public housing in Puerto Rico (1964) she finds that in public housing bureaucrats have taken control of neighborhood affairs that are in the hands of local men in shantytowns; that it is considered the responsibility of "management or the police to settle disputes between neighbors or to reprimand a delinquent youth," thereby replacing informal sanctions that existed previously.

The maximum income level imposed by project regulations discourages the man from improving his socioeconomic position. The result is that the comparatively wide range of incomes found in the shantytown is sharply reduced in public housing. Women find friends in both places but men do not. One man said, (of the housing), 'Here one can die and there is no-one to do you a favor. There is no brotherhood or good neighbors.' Men also felt that the avenues of cooperation open to them in shantytowns were not open in housing. They 'do not even have a place to get together in the project, since the local *cafetin* and pool parlor have been eliminated.'

Oscar Lewis (1966b), in an excerpt from *La Vida* subtitled, "Portrait of a Puerto Rican family—from deprivation in the slums to disaster in a housing project," quotes a woman with very similar views,

She left the squatter settlement because she didn't want to upset her social worker who

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had been good to her. She found it dead and said, 'I hated to go out because it's hard to find your way back to this place even if you know the address.' 'Listen, I'm jittery, really nervous, because if you fail to pay the rent even once here, the following month you're thrown out.' The squatter settlement she left was more expensive (she was renting) but she could decide on how much electricity and water to use and she had many legal and illegal avenues to make money there that were blocked in the project.

In the Lima barriadas many of my informants were quite conscious of the insurance value of their squatter's houses in the event of emergency.

One man said, 'I can build my house when I can afford it. If I have overtime work in construction one week, I can buy bricks and cement, and food and beer for my brother-in-law to come and help. If I have no work, or I spend, as when I had to travel to the *sierra* for my mother's funeral, I don't work on the house, and I don't pay rent.'

The solution under *consideration* in Peru, Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, and Chile is to check the growth of new squatter settlements by providing cheap land and services for those who want them, and to rehabilitate rather than eradicate most existing squatter settlements. The AID report of Wagner (et al., 1966) states, "Generally speaking, the cost of upgrading the favelas will be less than the cost of relocation of favela dwellers in new housing construction." With regard to upgrading favelas, Juan de Onis writes,

Many favelas have schools, meeting houses, churches, stores and small shops; they also have self-help-constructed water and electricity distribution systems, and in some instances sewer systems. Small industries operated by individual owners or as family enterprises are scattered throughout most favelas. A good many houses are of perfectly sound construction. (*The New York Times,* August 12, 1966.)

Latin American rural people are so accustomed to being cheated and dispossessed by banks and mortgage holders that the very concept of a bank loan or a mortgage is suspect.

Reasoning supporting rehabilitation rather than eradication is documented in detail by Helio Modesto and Charles O'Neil in sections of the previously cited, forthcoming book by Leeds (1966). This solution makes eminent sense for Peru and has been suggested by certain middle level planners. The president and other leading architects, however, have thus far decided in favor of large construction programs involving high rise apartments (*Time,* March 12, 1965). Usandizaga and Havens (1966) note pride in achievement and suggest rehabilitation rather than eradication in Barranquilla. The O'Neil article and another (in the same series) on eviction in a favela by Smith (1966) describe some of the political and social difficulties of eradication. O'Neil also points out, aptly for other countries as well as Brazil, that national political considerations about

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U.S. aid as a source of income opportunities through contracts, purchases, new government agencies, etc., are involved in the decisions about whether to rehabilitate or to eradicate by urban or rural displacement. By choosing the latter these considerations could better be accommodated. Agencies in governments tend to survive, once created, whether or not they are effective in their stated purpose.

Eviction and eradication often create serious internal political disturbances. The tendency thus seems to be to establish the responsible agency and talk about eradication but not do very much. In my view this inaction is better than effective eviction, but not as good as investigating the settlement and rehabilitating it.

At least one source from every country surveyed stated that the squatters were more satisfied with their present housing and economic situation than with what they had had in the rural areas, small towns, and in the central city. This includes even the Argentine situation (Germani, 1961) where the squatters are of a somewhat different character (see note 5). Herrick (1965), referring to migrants to Santiago and not exclusively to callampa residents, noted that return movement was rare.

Of these migrants, all of whom had moved to Santiago within the last ten years, only one-seventh knew anyone who had come to Santiago to live and who had subsequently returned to his place of origin for any reason.

In my study of a barriada in Peru, only two families from the sample moved out in two years, one to return to the mountains, one to go to a house in the city. I heard of very few families returning to the country. The city growth and the squatter settlements are permanent developments.

Few would now agree with the Guatemalan government official who stated at an international meeting in 1964 that "The sudden growth of shanty towns is in many cases the consequence of the lack of a firm attitude on the part of governmental and municipal authorities." Interested persons are much more aware that migrants come to cities for economic and other reasons; that central city slums are expensive, often unpleasant places in which to live, and provide no opportunities to invest in the future; that national governments (even with U.S. aid) cannot provide housing; and that people must go somewhere. There are also small indications that a few governments are beginning to find it more productive to work with popular initiative than to fight it.

In conclusion, I suggest that despite the talk about urban anthropology, anthropologists have done very little urban work. Other than those on East Africa the number of studies has been very small and mostly unpublished. The few anthropologists, architects, sociologists, and political scientists (Latin and North American) who have worked in squatter settlements have to a large ex-

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tent been responsible for some of the policy changes noted above. Whether or not influencing policy is anyone's goal, the need for more research on squatter settlements is apparent. To fully appreciate the intense personal and familial histories presented by Lewis for Mexico and Puerto Rico, we need to understand a great deal more about migration, squatter settlements, and the relationship of urban social organization to squatter settlements. Simmons (1952) suggested that Peruvian barriadas, and by inference squater settlements in other countries, provided a cheap and efficient way to study the ethnography of the whole country since they contained migrants from every province. The settlements also present a unique community formation that is important in the development of cities all over the world. As places to study institutional development they are singularly useful. Finally, as a special inducement to anthropologists, who might be dissuaded by my previous comments that barriadas are not rural communities reconstituted in the city, let me add that they do have many of the characteristics of small communities. Considerable face-to-face interaction takes place and people feel part of a community, if only because they are so often under attack. In addition, local institutions have some influence on behavior, thereby enabling the residents to relate to the outside world as a community.

NOTES

1. There are several good sources on Latin American urbanization. The sources I have consulted as background are Hauser (1961), a report on a UN seminar on urbanization in Latin America; Dorselaer and Gregory (1962); Union Panamericana (1965); and T. Lynn Smith (1960) on population studies; Rycoft and Clemmer (1963); the special issue on urbanization of *Scientific American* (Sept. 1965); and Charles Abrams' book (1964) on world housing problems.

2. I refer specifically to studies in the text when I discuss matters in detail. When I refer to Peru without giving a specific source I am using my own experience based on more than six years of field work. I do, on occasion, refer to "the studies in the survey," "all the reports," or say "the sources all agree, etc. Following is a list of the major sources I consulted by country. Mexico: Frieden, 1964, 1965; Lewis, 1959, 1960; Harth, 1966; Butterworth, 1962. Guatemala: Cuevas, 1965; Lopez y otros, 1965. Dominican Republic: Cortén, 1965. Venezuela: Ray, 1966; Peattie, 1962, 1966; Jones, 1964. Colombia: C. B. Turner, 1964; Usandizaga and Havens, 1966; Pinto, 1966; Mallol, 1963; Bernal, 1963. Panama: Guiterrez, 1961; Lutz, 1966. Puerto Rico: Lewis, 1966a; Safa, 1964, 1966. Uruguay: Bon, 1963. Argentina: Germani, 1961; Wilson, 1965. Brazil: SAGMACS, 1960; Pearse, 1961; BEMDOC, 1965; and an invaluable set of mimeographed reports of chapters in a forthcoming book on favelas by Hoenack, Leeds, Modesto, Morocco, O'Neil, Smith, and Wygand, 1966. Peru: Turner, 1963, 1966; Matos, 1961; Hammel, 1961, 1964; Rotondo y otros, 1961, 1963; Rotondo, 1965; Mangin, 1960, 1963, 1964.

3. For an analysis of some of the anti-city literature in U.S. social science, see Mills, 1943. For a discussion of urbanism in Latin America, and elsewhere, see Morse, 1965b.

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4. Lima and other cities have always grown through the formation of squatter settlements. In *Relación del virrey Conde de Superinda*, Documento C1312, Biblioteca Nacional del Peru, a report from 1746 denounces the formation of barriadas in present-day Rimac, notes that they are unsanitary, and that the people should be sent back to the mountains (I am indebted to John Te Paske for calling my attention to the document). Schaedel (1966) points out that pre-Spanish, and pre-Incaic cities on the Peruvian coast used the same sorts of land for housing that are presently being used by barriadas, and he refers to this type of use as "characteristic of indigenous America at its highest point of development," and "resolving urban living problems better than the imported Spanish variety."

5. As Mack and McElrath (1964) point out, "The fastest rates of urbanization now are occurring in societies with relatively low levels of urbanization." Wingo (1966) has made the same statement about Latin America, and he separates Argentina, Uruguay, and Cuba from other countries on the basis of their more advanced urbanization. Migration to cities has slowed down, and squatter settlements reflect a pushing out of the least competitive members of the society rather than an outlet for the pressures of rapid urbanization. Silvert (1966) has made the same division, adding Costa Rica, and making a similar point. The Argentine material does suggest a difference from the others. Germani (1961) points out that delinquency is higher in squatter settlements than in tenements and that recent migrants are more apt to be found in squatter settlements. This contradicts the information from other countries and may be due to the distinction made by Wingo and Silvert. Wilson (1965), however, says that squatters are very much like other Argentines and are in the settlements because of the housing shortage that affects the total population of Buenos Aires. The Uruguayan situation is not described in sufficient detail, but it appears to fit the general, rather than the Argentine, pattern. I could find no information on squatter settlements in Cuba or Costa Rica.

6. The concept of the culture of poverty developed by Lewis, as described in the introduction to *Children of Sanchez* and revised in *Scientific American*, October, 1966, is an important idea that is applicable to certain older squatter settlements, but moreso to central city slums. I would take issue with the term "culture," since a change in employment or sudden acquisition of wealth *may* change an individual's "culture" if it is the culture of poverty. Carolina María de Jesús (1962), from a Rio favela, and the people Lewis describes in La Esmeralda, a Puerto Rican squatter settlement, fit the concept perfectly, and sudden wealth does not necessarily change their culture. I do feel that the concept has no particular application to the majority of the residents of the majority of squatter settlements. Despite their poverty in relation to that of poor people in the United States, the fantastic disparity in wealth and power between the squatters and their own upper and middle classes, and the ambivalent attitude of the national governments reflected in the violence of the army and the police toward the squatters coupled with half-hearted attempts to assist them with housing, they are not alienated, hopeless people caught in a vicious circle of poverty. For most of the adults their condition in the squatter settlements is the best of their lives and a marked improvement on their previous two or three houses. I am always suspicious of the characterization of any population as apathetic, and it is certainly an inappropriate term for squatter settlements.

7. Arias (1965) points out that Indians migrate to cities much less frequently than Ladinos in Guatemala. This situation prevails in Peru. This statement, however, presupposes a cultural definition of Indian and a man who leaves an Indian community in adolescence and lives for several years on a plantation or in a small town, becomes a national Peruvian

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or Guatemalan. He might then migrate to the capital and, for purposes of classification, not be counted as an Indian. By the time he moves to a squatter settlement, after years of residence in the city, he is not an Indian. As I have pointed out (Mangin, 1964) there is a very small number of older women, and even fewer men, who speak no Spanish in barriadas. Barriadas do have ethnic and racial tensions, however, and light skinned coastal people are generally richer and more powerful than darker skinned, shorter *serranos* (mountain-people). But this is not, by any means, always the case, and serranos often join together to elect one of their own to a barriada presidency. Rotondo and I have noted serrano-Negro hostility both in and out of barriadas. In the few favelas I visited in Rio it seemed that whites had the majority of the best houses in the best locations, and that the majority of those in the poorer houses nearest to sewers, mud flats, etc., were Negroes.

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