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MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION

The "barriadas" of Lima: an example of integration into urban life

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CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION.....	3
Part One: URBANIZATION AND THE BARRIADAS OF LIMA.....	4
1. Cultural transformation of Peru.....	6
2. Rural culture in the city.....	8
3. The peripheral barriadas.....	10
4. Number of barriadas and their population.....	12
5. Origins.....	14
6. Education.....	15
7. Occupations and income.....	15
8. Services provided.....	16
9. Structure of domestic groups.....	17
Part Two: REASONS FOR MIGRATION FROM THE PROVINCES TO THE CITY OF LIMA.....	18
1. Economic reasons.....	19
2. Social reasons.....	27
3. Educational reasons.....	31
4. Military reasons.....	33
5. Health reasons.....	33
6. Housing reasons.....	34
7. Miscellaneous reasons.....	34

/INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The present study represents an attempt to describe the process by which a considerable part, 10 per cent, of the population of Lima, originating mostly in rural areas and living in special areas of the city called barriadas, is becoming incorporated into the life of the city. This process has accelerated in the last few decades and has revealed certain features which we shall attempt to analyse.

Part One describes the main characteristics of the barriadas.

Part Two deals with the reasons why people leave the rural areas to go to the urban area and why many families in the urban area move to the barriadas. This study is based on data obtained from a general census of the barriadas, taken in 1956, as well as the findings of a sample survey carried out in one of the barriadas. A fundamental structural analysis of the economic and social factors in this process has also been undertaken.

In preparing Part One, use was made of the work that has been done by the Institute of Ethnology of the Universidad Nacional Mayor of San Marcos under the supervision of the present writer since 1955, in which year a general report on the problem was submitted by me to the United Nations. Later, in 1956, a further study was carried out for the National Agrarian Reform and Housing Commission and included a general social and economic census of the barriadas.

In order to obtain fresh data for this study, a survey dealing at greater length with the motivations recorded in the 1956 census was made during the current year. All available information was used for the present study in order to give as objective a picture as possible of the manner in which these groups are adapting themselves to urban life.

Part One

URBANIZATION AND THE BARRIADAS OF LIMA

The barriadas of Lima represent a fairly typical example of the manner in which the urbanization of Peru is taking place. Various methods may be used to study the process of adaptation by which people become integrated into urban life. A sampling of various districts in any of the cities of Latin America will provide useful data in this regard. Another method is to follow the immigrants from some rural community to the city or, in the particular case of Lima, to make a study of the provincial associations, of which there are more than 200. Still another method might be to make a sample survey of labour centres, workers' guilds, trade unions, hospitals, schools, colleges, centres of higher education and so on. In other words, there are many different ways in which the problems involved in the adaptation of rural groups to urban life can be studied.

At Lima, as in other capitals of South America, various factors, which are generally representative of defects in the economic and social structure of the nation as a whole, have given rise to colonies of dwellings that are known by different names but are, as a rule, fairly similar. In nearly all cases, these colonies are just outside the law and are the result of various economic, social and political pressures. They are established on tracts of wasteland on the outskirts of towns and gradually develop into typical forms of community, which often follow traditional cultural patterns or patterns representative of the culture of their inhabitants, who endeavour to secure recognition of these colonies as urban districts.

The common feature of all the barriadas is their instability. They are unhealthy and are populated by individuals and families who are at the bottom of the urban social scale and have come, in large measure, from the rural areas. In the case of Lima, the great majority come from the mountain or Andes region. These groups provide an excellent opportunity for studying the problems of adaptation to urban life in a way that gives a clear idea of the problem of urbanization in Peru and is illustrative of the general problem of urbanization throughout Latin America.

/The barriadas

The barriadas reveal in a striking manner the magnitude of the problem of migration from rural to urban areas and give a fairly clear idea of its economic and social consequences. In addition to the attraction exerted by any large city, various other factors have tended to concentrate the migratory currents and to affect the adaptation of the migrants. The barriadas reflect the lack of balance in the national economic and social structure. The urban housing problem initially appears to be the most vital one, whereas it is in fact only an obvious manifestation of a problem which is far larger and more complex.

We have referred to the lack of economic and social balance in the country. This is reflected in the first place by the high rate of migration of the rural population to the urban areas, particularly to Lima. In 1940, Lima had a population of 533 645, and by 1957 the figure had reached 1 360 729. In other words, the population increased roughly three-fold within seventeen years. This is markedly out of proportion to the population of the other cities. Arequipa, the second city of Peru, had a population of 117 208 in 1957, which is less than 10 per cent of the total population of Lima and less than the number of persons living in the barriadas of Lima. Cuzco, the third largest city of Peru had a population of only 66 167 in the same year. In other words, Lima has at present more than 50 per cent of the urban population of Peru, taking into account all cities and towns of more than 2 000 inhabitants. This indicates that the economic and social conditions outside Lima are unfavourable and that the growth of the urban population is out of proportion to the economic development of the country.

Owing to the prevailing conditions, including the form of land tenure and the limited technological progress in Peru, the rural areas and people are backward, and there are no opportunities for advancement. These people therefore see in the big city the source of all that they desire. It is there that they can find the best the nation has to offer in every field: health, education, administration of justice, employment opportunities, etc. There are no regional plans, there is no industrial development, and

no new areas are being opened up to provide for future growth. This absence of national planning for economic and social development has resulted in migration, which in turn has made the problem more acute and created general congestion in the city. The growth of the barriadas is concrete evidence of the extreme nature of this lack of balance.

1. Cultural transformation of Peru

In recent years, Peru, like other countries of Latin America, has been going through a phase of intensive cultural change that is felt everywhere and is the result of powerful and far-reaching forces. This cultural change takes many different forms. A large part of the Indian or peasant population living in rural communities and areas is being subjected to modern urban influences for such reasons in particular as the following:

(a) In the first place there has been a considerable increase in the population as a consequence of the great attention now being paid to health throughout the country. There have been many national and international campaigns for the eradication of endemic and epidemic diseases, and these have produced positive results. The consequent lowering of the death rate has thus meant an increase in population. This pressure of population is felt acutely in the rural areas and induces some of the people there to seek new living horizons, especially as the economic and social conditions of the rural areas have undergone very little change. The usable land is not adequate to support the increased population, and the prevailing systems do not permit a more balanced distribution of land holdings. There are large estates to which the additional rural population does not have access, and these people, not having land to work, are compelled to leave their agricultural communities. The local handicrafts have lost their former appeal and do not attract new workers. The process of industrialization is slow, being concentrated in the large towns and particularly in the capital. Wages in the rural areas are low, and there is little demand for farm workers and labourers. It should be borne in mind that 63 per cent of the population of Peru is comprised of peasants who live by antiquated systems of cultivation that do not preserve or

/increase the

increase the productivity of the soil. It is only on the large estates of the coastal region that new techniques are employed. As a result of these conditions, the children of the country people, as well as entire families, leave the country for the nearest towns in search of better living conditions. This has been the cause of migration on a national scale from the agricultural communities or rural areas to the nearest centres of population, from there to the largest town of the region and finally to Lima. The trend is generally from the rural mountain areas to important towns in the large valleys of the Andes, and from there to the coastal region. Surveys conducted in the barriadas of Lima reveal the various patterns in this migratory process. The main centres of attraction for migrants are the towns of Piura, Chiclayo, Chimbote, Huacho, Lima, Ica and Tacna.

(b) There are also other very important factors favouring these migratory trends. These include the considerable improvements in transport facilities and communications media. Motor highways serve to increase the attraction of the cities and bring the cost of the journey there within the reach of the rural inhabitants. The initiative taken by agricultural communities and remote villages in building roads to connect with the main highways facilitates the dissemination of culture in an intensive and effective manner throughout the whole country. National newspapers and periodicals penetrate everywhere. The rural inhabitants are beginning to be informed on national problems and on the opportunities and way of life in the cities. The age of the pioneers has passed, and there is now no rural community without some inhabitants who have had experience of life in the cities and who encourage others to go there too. Radio broadcasting is gradually reaching remote areas. In the cities, particularly Lima, there are movements to improve the status of the Indians who are living there in large numbers. Associations have been established to defend their interests, and classes have been provided for them throughout the entire country. Although there is still some prejudice against them, this is diminishing. Both migratory and social mobility combine to bring large numbers of the rural inhabitants to the towns where they are able to respond

/to the

to the stimuli they have received and where they see the possibilities of a better life.

(c) A third factor contributing to the migratory process is the school system. Schools are now to be found everywhere under the uniform educational system which has been established in this culturally heterogeneous country. Many of the stimuli which the schools set up in the rural school population have their response only in the towns. For instance, many of the country people set great store by the attainment of a professional standing and spare no efforts to secure for their children and education leading to a professional career. The fact that the instruction given in the rural schools is not in any way related to rural life contributes to the migration to the cities of those who finish their schooling and want to achieve a higher level of living.

The influence of these factors, which have been singled out as being of most importance because of their ramifications and national scope, is bringing about a vast cultural change throughout the country and giving rise to a large mestizo population which, in turn, is establishing new cultural patterns and giving a new colour to Peruvian culture generally. A new class is emerging which has its own values and its own particular concept of urban living.

2. Rural culture in the city

It should be noted that the people who come from the rural areas into the cities bring with them their own way of life which is that of an under-developed people of peasant mentality, with the addition, in the case of those from the Andes region, of traditional "Indian" cultural patterns. Thus, the migrants who come to settle at Lima, preferably in the barriadas, bring with them their traditional way of life and have to face an urban existence that proceeds at a different pace. The contrast between two ways of life leads to serious conflicts which are reflected in mental, social and economic maladjustment that militates against satisfactory integration.

In the first place, the arrival of these people tends to increase the already large supply of unskilled labour, and this naturally means that

/they receive

they receive low wages. The availability of cheap and disorganized labour hampers efforts to improve living and working conditions and places difficulties in the way of campaigns to increase productivity and rationalize the economy. As stated in a United Nations report:^{1/}

"There is a reluctance on the part of employers to adopt labour saving devices in view of the supply of cheap labour, and on the part of workers themselves, who fear unemployment as a consequence ... Underemployment and unemployment in the labour force, along with instability, are thus not only wasteful but also slow down the development of industry, which is concurrently slowed down by the lack of qualified and skilled manpower".

Secondly, the great concentration of population and the constant arrival of newcomers from the rural areas make it impossible to accommodate families in dwellings with the basic minimum of facilities. As such accommodation is not available, these people have established themselves in slums and back-streets and mainly in the barriadas, which lack practically all public amenities and therefore constitute the principal problem faced by the city.

The third factor may be regarded as a consequence of the two just mentioned. Low wages and highly inadequate living conditions have created problems of health and nutrition. Although they are now visiting the city welfare centres in increasing numbers, the migrants are still frequently cared for by "quacks" and other untrained persons who, following the methods of their places of origin, practice medicine in the most unfavourable conditions, with a consequent waste of human lives. The diet of the migrants is alarmingly inadequate, as regards both quantity and the intake of proteins, vegetables and fruits.

As will be seen below when their structure is examined, the barriadas are organized along somewhat the same lines as the traditional community systems and to that extent make it easier for the persons living in them to

^{1/} See Bureau of Social Affairs, Report on the world social situation, United Nations publication, Sales N°: 1957. IV. 3, Part Two, chapter VII, p. 130.

become adapted to urban life. The associations of provincial residents of Lima, the associations of residents of the barriadas and the trade unions are likewise compensating factors which alleviate the social and economic problems of the inhabitants. However, it is always the family which provides the greatest source of security for the inhabitants of these areas. Even when very unsettled and living in very overcrowded conditions, the family is always the mainstay of its members.

Since all those who are capable of doing so have to work, the children are frequently uncared for during most of the day. Although they are under school supervision for part of the time, they are otherwise left to their own devices. While some of them engage in peddling, others become initiated into vagrancy, vices and bad habits. The matrimonial instability of many homes also contributes to family maladjustment of which the children are the principal victims. Nevertheless, despite the change in the family's functions as a consequence of the transition from a subsistence to a monetary economy, the family continues to be the main source of security for the migrants, as has been revealed by the survey which has been carried out.

As most of their members come from Indian communities, which are organized on a co-operative basis, the associations of residents of the barriadas tend to be reproductions of such communities on an urban scale. The help which they give to projects for the common good is steady and effective and is perhaps their most valuable contribution. Their officers are chosen in a public election in which all adults representing a family are entitled to vote. This system differs from that employed in the selection of local and national government officials, who are appointed rather than elected. Popular medicine, traditional diet and indigenous living patterns, magico-religious beliefs and even some types of indigenous dress are retained in these areas. This means that rural culture is making a contribution to the urbanization process and is influencing the development of an urban culture.

3. The peripheral barriadas

The peripheral barriadas, or marginal quarters, all have their own peculiar characteristics in each of the countries of Latin America. We

/shall endeavour

shall endeavour to indicate here some of the main characteristics of those in the capital city of Peru.

A peripheral barriada, or marginal quarter, may be defined as a social agglomeration formed by a population which takes over waste land, usually owned by the State, the public welfare authorities or the municipalities or by private owners who do not make use of it. These areas are situated on the perimeter of the city, and a glance at a map of the city will clearly show how they form a ring around it.

When a given area is thus invaded, the land is first divided into plots of various sizes and is allotted to the families which have applied for it.

Each family, using any kind of building materials, immediately proceeds to build a dwelling on its plot in order to establish squatter's rights.

A barriada is always set up in this organized manner. At the same time a residents' association is formed on the initiative of the promoters of the invasion - who are generally urban mestizos - and, once established, elects its own officers.

The residents' associations are established to defend the rights of the inhabitants and to act on their behalf in their efforts to achieve their basic goal of obtaining ownership of the plots on which they reside. This is the main objective of these associations and the principle basis of all their actions. Through such associations and the joint action of their members in carrying out public works, a district of the city begins to take form. From the very beginning, efforts are made to provide the basic public services such as water, electricity and sewage, with varying results. Later, a public-health unit, a school, a church, a public square, a communal hall and some form of police force are established. Many different methods are adopted in order to secure these services, including pressure on politicians, recourse to official services, assistance from religious bodies, and so on.

In the beginning, none of the residents pay any rent for the plots which they occupy but they do pay monthly dues to the association in order to provide it with funds for its struggle to secure official recognition of the community and the provision of services. Later, when all the plots are
/taken and

taken and the area becomes overcrowded, a system of rentals and sub-tenancies begins.

The barriadas therefore constitute organized communities having as their specific objective home ownership. Since no practical measures have been taken to cope with the tremendous increase in the size of the city and since no areas within the means of the various social classes have been reserved for its expansion, the great numbers who arrive in the city, for various reasons, have been compelled to help themselves by organizing on an ad hoc basis and taking advantage of the prevailing political situation to establish this form of community. Some of these invasions took place gradually and almost unnoticed. Others, however, were large-scale and much publicized events. For example, on a single night in December 1954, 5 000 people set up a colony on a tract of land on the edge of the Rimac valley. Earlier, in 1945, a group took forcible possession of a hill in the eastern part of the city and established the barriada of San Cosme, one of the most typical communities of this kind. In many cases the barriadas were established without objection from the authorities, and the national Press has acted as a stimulus by reporting, sometimes in detail, on the existence and organization of these communities.

The type of dwelling constructed in the different barriadas varies according to the nature of the terrain. The first construction generally consists of a number of dwellings of thatch which give the area a characteristic appearance. These are later replaced by buildings of mud or brick. In some barriadas, only buildings of brick are allowed while in others a wide range of materials are employed, from laths, planks, sheets of paper-board, canvas, and thatch to mud, brick and reinforced concrete.

4. Number of barriadas and their population

In December 1956, we conducted a general census of the barriadas, which consist of fifty-six communities distributed geographically in the following manner:

Group 1: Barriadas situated in the folds of the hills surrounding the city.

Group 2: Barriadas situated on both banks of the Rimac river.

/Group 3:

Group 3: Barriadas situated on the edge of the Rimac valley.

Group 4: Barriadas situated within the urban area (outlying areas which have been included in the urban area as a result of the extremely rapid growth of the city).

These fifty-six barriadas had a population of 108 988, composed of 21 003 families, and occupied an area of 300 hectares.

The population of the individual barriadas ranged from fifty-one to 8 595.

It is estimated that approximately 10 per cent of the population of the barriadas, or 10 898 persons, were omitted in the census, so that the most likely total is 119 886 inhabitants.

In 1957, the population of greater Lima (including Callao), on the basis of the 1940 census, was 1 260 729.^{2/} The total population of the country in that year was estimated at 9 923 000.^{3/} In 1957, therefore, 9.5 per cent of the total population of Lima lived in the peripheral barriadas. In round figures, it has been assumed for the purposes of this study that 10 per cent of the population of the city of Lima lives in these communities. This percentage continues to be valid as there have been no appreciable changes in the situation since that time.

At Arequipa, the second city of Peru, where we likewise took a general census of the barriadas, the proportion of the population living in these communities is 9 per cent (population of Arequipa in 1957: 117 208).

At Chimbote, the proportion is even higher, as 20 per cent of that city's population of 33 000 in 1957 lived in barriadas.

The above figures throw a clearer light on the problem created by these communities which are springing up on the perimeter of the towns and now constitute the most important factor in their rapid growth. Let us now consider the origins of the inhabitants of these communities.

^{2/} See Ministry of Finance and Commerce, Boletín de Estadística Peruana, First year, N° 1, Lima, 1958, page 33.

^{3/} Op. cit., p.23.

5. Origins

According to the above-mentioned 1956 census, the total population of the barriadas of Lima was distributed, according to origin, as follows: 47 per cent from the provinces, 51.68 per cent from Lima and 0.15 per cent from abroad. The origin of 1.55 per cent is not known.

On first analysis, this indicates that the population of the barriadas includes a greater number of persons from Lima (56 338) than from the provinces (49 780). However, account must be taken of the large number of children up to the age of ten years who were born at Lima to parents from the provinces and constitute 35 per cent of the total population of the barriadas. This is of considerable sociological and cultural importance, because for children of this age the influence of the home in the first years of life is stronger than the influence of the outside world. This impression is confirmed by an analysis of the origins of heads of families, of whom only 11 per cent were born at Lima as against 89 per cent born in the provinces. A tabulation by regions showed that 36 per cent of the heads of families came from the coastal region, 61 per cent from the mountain region, 1.46 per cent from the jungle region and 0.34 per cent from abroad, while the origin of 0.92 per cent was unknown.

In the case of individuals born outside the city, the majority, as shown by the following percentages, came from the mountain region:

mountain region:	80 per cent
coastal region:	19 per cent
jungle region:	1 per cent

The larger part of the population of the barriadas therefore comes from the mountain region and consists of people with a rural culture. This is an important factor that must be borne in mind in studying the barriadas and in analysing the manner in which the rural population becomes integrated into urban life.

Every province of the country is represented in each of the barriadas, the inhabitants of which thus constitute a patchwork of all the peoples of Peru. Ancash and Ayacucho, two departments each having a dense and essentially peasant population, contribute the greatest number of residents

/to the

to the barriadas. These two departments are also among the most backward and under-developed and have acute problems of land tenure. The available information shows that since 1940 the flow of people going from the provinces to the cities to live permanently in the barriadas has gradually increased.

6. Education

As regards level of education, the census gave the following results: 86 per cent of the population above the age of five years had received or were receiving an education and only 10 per cent were illiterate. The remaining 4 per cent did not give any information on their education. On the basis of these figures, the barriadas are literate communities.

Of the total number of inhabitants who have had some education, 55 per cent are males and 45 per cent are females. Of the illiterates, 25 per cent are males and 75 per cent are females. The level of education of the literate population is as follows: 90 per cent have received primary education (52 per cent elementary and 38 per cent intermediate); 9 per cent have received secondary education; and 0.63 per cent have received higher education.

7. Occupations and income

The economically active population of the barriadas consists of 28 764 persons, distributed as follows: males: 23 536; females: 5 228. Fifty-eight per cent are artisans or labourers (52 per cent males, 6 per cent females); 16 per cent are domestics (11 per cent males, 5 per cent females) janitors, caretakers or assistants; 14 per cent (8 per cent males, 6 per cent females) are street pedlars, shopkeepers or stall-holders; 5 per cent are drivers, conductors or transport workers; 3 per cent (2.8 per cent males, and 0.20 per cent females) are agricultural workers, labourers on neighbouring estates or fishermen; 2 per cent (1.66 per cent males and 0.34 per cent females) are office employees; 0.77 per cent (0.46 per cent males and 0.31 per cent females) are professional workers, nurses, midwives, teachers, accountants or musicians; 0.22 per cent are brick-makers or stone-cutters; and 0.07 per cent are soldiers or sailors. Only 8 per cent of the economically active population is illiterate.

Seventy-one per cent of the economically active population has stable employment, 27 per cent has casual employment, and the position of the remaining 2 per cent is unknown.

The income situation of the economically active population is as follows:

Average wage of those paid daily:	Peruvian Soles 30.50
Average wage of those paid weekly:	Peruvian soles 151.50
Average wage of those paid fortnightly:	Peruvian soles 388.00
Average wage of those paid monthly:	Peruvian soles 617.00

Only 1 per cent of the population declared themselves unemployed.

The great majority of the population (91.08 per cent) works outside the barriadas, but a small proportion (7.18 per cent) work in these areas, principally those who have shops and, in some cases, workshops. It is interesting to note the number of shops and small businesses which exist in all the barriadas. These are generally run by women, who thus obtain a small additional income.

8. Services provided

In the fifty-six barriadas, there are thirty residents' associations which are officially recognized and twenty-six more that are being formed. The number of barriadas provided with various services is as follows:

- 32 have a supply of drinking water;
- 4 have sewers;
- 15 have clinics and various medical services;
- 20 have primary schools;
- 20 have communal halls;
- 15 have churches or places of worship;
- 10 have sport and social clubs;
- 3 have cinemas;
- 30 have an electric power supply.

All the barriadas together have a total of about 2 000 shops and work-shops.

/9. Structure

9. Structure of domestic groups

The 21 004 families living in the barriadas may be classified as follows on the basis of their structure:

(a) Families in the narrow sense (parents and children)	62 per cent
(b) Families in the broad sense (families in the narrow sense plus other relatives)	26 per cent
(c) Mixed families (father or mother and children, plus other relatives)	5 per cent
(d) Couples	3 per cent
(e) Single persons	2 per cent
	<hr/> 100 per cent

This indicates the preponderance of the family in the narrow sense as the basic social unit providing security for the inhabitants of the barriadas. The families in the broad sense, as well as the mixed families, include persons who are endeavouring to settle in the city with the help of families already established there.

The above information describes the characteristics of the barriadas of Lima in general terms.

As a final note, it is important to mention the innumerable difficulties which the barriadas have had to overcome in securing the services which they now enjoy, in obtaining recognition of their associations and, above all, in acquiring legal titles of ownership. The residents are aware of the precarious situation and the instability that are their lot because of the fact that they are "invaders" of land which does not belong to them and for which they pay no rent. This tends to create an atmosphere of constant anxiety through fear of being dispossessed, and they are therefore subject to all sorts of pressure from politicians and are always striving to obtain favours from the authorities, a fact of which the latter have frequently taken advantage. This insecurity of tenure and the heterogeneous character of these groups resulting from the fact that they are made up of persons of different origins are both factors which tend to militate against effective integration. The residents' associations are unable to overcome these

/negative factors

negative factors, partly because many of them have lost prestige as a result of bad management by their leaders, particularly in financial matters. Consequently, the family remains the sole effective compensating unit. This reveals a difference between the urban and rural patterns, for in the rural areas the family, the community in its widest sense (local government, relations, friends) and tradition, are the main cohesive forces, whereas in the city there is nothing left but the family.

The residents of the barriadas do not expect that title to the land which they occupy will be given to them, but they do hope that the State will sell them the land. They want to pay for it in instalments proportionate to their income, spread over a period of ten to fifteen years, and they also want to work and are working on community projects. An important element is the marked co-operative spirit which prevails in these communities and which is constantly manifested in the actions and efforts of their residents.

Part Two

REASONS FOR MIGRATION FROM THE PROVINCES TO THE CITY OF LIMA

In the census carried out in 1956 (November-December), an attempt was made to ascertain the reasons why 17 426 persons who are heads of families and were born in the provinces decided to come to Lima to live there on a permanent basis. Part Two of this study is an analysis of the replies received. The final tabulation of the various reasons was as follows:

Economic	13 713	61.05 per cent
Social	5 133	22.85 per cent
Educational	1 936	8.62 per cent
Military (compulsory military service)	766	3.41 per cent
Health	595	2.65 per cent
Housing	179	0.80 per cent
Miscellaneous	139	0.62 per cent
	<hr/>	
	22 461 ^{a/}	100.00 per cent

a/ This figure is greater than the number of heads of families replying (17 426), as some of those questioned gave more than one reason.

/Although owing

Although owing to the unreliability of some replies and the possible incorrect recording of others this tabulation may have some defects, its value lies in the size of the sample, which produced a sufficient number of replies to confirm quantitatively what had been suggested by earlier inquiries.

The purpose of the following analysis is to determine the significance of these replies.

1. Economic reasons

These are the most important. The variants recorded were as follows:

(a) To obtain work	9 644	
Because of lack of work in village	314	
Employment transferred	207	
Occupational reasons	39	
Because of labour disputes in village	5	
Hired	<u>5</u>	
		10 214
(b) To improve financial situation	2 148	
Financial reasons	557	
Reasons of necessity	12	
Financial needs of relatives	<u>5</u>	
		2 722
(c) Poverty	334	
Poverty in village	<u>56</u>	
		390
(d) Had no property		153
(e) Low wages in village		109
(f) Business reasons		82
(f) Supporting relative died		<u>19</u>
		13 689
		/(h) Land

(h) Land unproductive	8
(i) Had interests at Lima	8
(j) Evicted	5
(k) Lacked farming equipment	1
(l) High cost of living in village	1
(m) Wished to own property	1
	<hr/>
	13 713
	(61.05 per cent of those who replied)

On the basis of these statements and the results of the surveys which were carried out, it is clear that the lack of balance between the conditions of employment in the provinces and rural areas and those in the city of Lima is one of the fundamental causes of the large-scale migration.

The three regions of Peru differ from each other in degree of economic development, the coastal region being certainly the most highly developed. The coastal region has the better towns, a high degree of mechanization in agriculture and extensive areas of industrially-valuable crops such as cotton and sugar in addition to large areas given over to the growing of rice. This region also contains the largest oil fields and industrial centres. In addition to its industrial and agricultural prominence, the coastal region also has the greatest amount of commercial activity and the largest concentration of government administrative centres. It therefore provides greater possibilities and better employment opportunities. Peasants from the mountain regions also come down to the coast for temporary work on the farms and thus add to their revenue, working part of the year on their mountain land and the remainder of the year as labourers on the farms of the coastal region. This traditional migration, which persists and has even increased in recent years, provides a great stimulus for large-scale migration.

Although the coastal region exercises the greatest attraction, its favourable features are offset by certain basic conditions which tend to

/limit any

limit any improvement in the level of living which it might appear initially to offer to the migrants. As the few industries which the country possesses are for the most part at Lima, the work opportunities which they offer tend to cause overcrowding in that city. The large estates, which are highly-developed and mechanized, are either in the hands of individuals or are owned by companies. This means that all the good land of the coastal region is held by a very few persons who have thus become a financially powerful class which controls the destiny of this country, which, having an economy based on raw materials, is dependent on foreign and not on domestic markets. As there is extremely little processing of the products of the soil, the peasants derive their only income from the low wages they receive for their work on the farms. Wages are low because of the large supply of cheap labour; the benefit derived from the export of raw materials accrues exclusively to the large landowners. The manufactured goods that must be imported to meet the needs of the general population are produced by high-paid foreign labour. This means that the high cost of the imported goods must be paid for by the domestic consumer out of his low wages. There is therefore little possibility of improving the level of living, and this in turn, owing to the low purchasing power of the people, militates against expansion of the domestic market. Furthermore, the new irrigation projects which are being carried out do not benefit the peasants but tend mostly to increase the holdings of those who own the most property.

These factors in the economic structure of the coastal region, and in particular the fact that plantations have only a limited demand for labour which is met by the Andean peasants who work on a seasonal basis, tend to promote migration towards Lima. Since no new land is being opened up to provide employment opportunities, the only solution is to leave the rural areas and migrate to Lima, mainly to seek employment in domestic service or as labourers in construction or in factories. The migrants are not deterred by the difficulties as regards food and housing, and although many of them are aware of the risks, they prefer to live in the city with all its inconveniences, because the city also offers better opportunities. Because of the prevailing conditions, the peasants and villagers of the coastal

/region itself

region itself are also attracted towards the capital and thus increase the number of migrants.

This lack of economic balance resulting from the lack of development plans and the lack of opportunities in areas outside the towns is one of the underlying causes of the present economic structure of Peru and has the effect of placing the country in the category of under-developed nations. The data obtained in the census fully confirm this fact.

The mountain region is the predominant rural area and also the most populated part of Peru. It contains six wide valleys which have great potentialities and two plateaux that offer favourable conditions for livestock breeding. The Indian peasants who inhabit this region are, owing to their type of culture and very low level of living, for the most part illiterate. They speak aboriginal languages, have a subsistence economy and engage in agriculture or livestock raising on a small scale, using very primitive methods. Practically all the cultivable land has been taken, and since there is no possibility of increasing the amount of this land in order to meet the rapid growth in the population (which is due to the factors mentioned in Part One of this study), there has for some time been a lack of balance between the amount of land and the number of people dwelling on it. Some of the people have tried to find new areas higher up in the mountains or in the Amazon region, but the very difficult living conditions there, the problems of adaptation and the strain of work in isolation are such that this movement will not assume any considerable proportions. The trend is therefore towards the coast, and particularly towards Lima. Schools, roads, contacts, actual experience and so on, all tend to increase the attraction of that region.

There also exist in the mountain region large agricultural estates and livestock farms which are owned by a few families under a feudal system. Many of them are quite productive and employ modern methods, particularly the livestock farms. There are also some abandoned or badly managed estates which are simply vegetating. This concentration of ownership is a factor which tends to reduce the possibilities of work for the peasants.

The livestock farms in the south of Peru, which are owned by foreigners and
/by Peruvian

by Peruvian nationals, are quite prosperous but give employment to very few of the indigenous families.

The most important and productive mines are in the mountain region, and, for a while, these made up for the lack of other employment opportunities. Owing, however, to the considerable increase in the population, they no longer serve this purpose to the same extent.

The new industries, particularly the textile industry, employ only a limited number of Indians and mestizos.

The antiquated agricultural methods employed by the mountain population and the resulting low productivity prevent any expansion of the domestic market. The peasants do not have the capacity to absorb the output of the Peruvian industries. They purchase practically no footwear or clothing or any of the thousands of minor items whose sale would tend to expand these industries. The subsistence economy of the mountain population barely provides them with sufficient income to buy their few essential requirements. The towns of the mountain region have lost their prestige of former centuries, and some areas are now undergoing a process of ruralization rather than urbanization.

The feudal structure, which exists to a greater degree in the mountain region, also encourages migration. Because of the various factors just referred to, the mountain region is the most prolific source of the migration towards the coastal region and particularly to Lima. What is needed therefore, in addition to preliminary and special surveys, is the preparation of regional development plans. Anthropological surveys are at present being made among representative groups of the Huaylas pass area in the department of Ancash in order to learn how the indigenous inhabitants migrate to the city and settle down to urban life. These surveys reveal that economic difficulties constitute the principal motive for migration. For many of the peasants, contact with the outside world provides them with employment opportunities and also with wages which, never having had any before, they generally consider adequate. However, away from their native areas, they encounter a seemingly hostile world where bureaucratic procedures, the confusion of the city, the mestizos, the authorities and

/so on

so on affect them profoundly. The family, the community, the land and their animals form the basis of their life in the country, whereas in the city everything is different and more complicated. Life there appears difficult, and the migrant feels alone, facing the unknown.

Many of the migrants work as domestics for families they do not understand and who do not understand them. On their day off they seek out compatriots and talk of their home village. There is much personal contact of this type. Many survive this first impact only if they have a house and their own family and can avoid domestic service. For others, the only solution is to become adapted to the employer's way of life.

In the initial stages, the migrants keep in touch with their native community and visit it whenever they can. Gradually, however, this link weakens, and the festival of their local patron saint becomes the only occasion for contact. In many instances, even this final bond disappears. The provincial associations, which are becoming increasingly numerous at Lima, serve as meeting places for the migrants, where they exchange experiences and find opportunities for better work or new homes or the possibility of joining a barriada. In this manner they come to live in the barriadas, to which they in turn attract other country people or relatives, who thus constitute small nuclei which, owing to their great numbers, represent one of the major problems of Lima.

This large-scale migration hampers the existing services in the city by the overcrowding which it causes. Since the impact of the migrants is most strongly felt in the field of housing, the barriada is the only apparent solution.

However, the migrants from the mountain region include not only Indians and mestizos of a low cultural level, but also mestizos of the middle and upper class, who, for reasons of health or because they have sold their land or for other reasons, decide to leave the mountains and settle in the city. The latter adapt themselves more readily because their economic problem is not so vital. Nevertheless, they impose a

a further burden on the city's public services and administration. Owing to their influence, they obtain public offices and other types of urban employment. As these people do not, however, go to the barriadas, their adaptation to urban life has not been considered here.

The system of Indian communities maintaining traditional co-operative ways of life, particularly in regard to methods of work, is passing through a crisis which is impairing its effectiveness. Because these communities are taking up forms of individual ownership, the number of smallholders has increased, and this trend has been prejudicial to integration and increased productivity.

The third major division of the country is the Amazon region, which shares in a smaller but increasing degree the general problems of the nation. The only people who emigrate from this region are mestizos from the towns and villages, but because of the small size of the local population, which is estimated to be about a quarter of a million, these migrants are few in number.

This description of the regions of Peru has been included here in order to place the problem in a clearer light and give a better idea of its magnitude.

There now follows an analysis of the replies giving the economic reasons for migration. In group 1, the majority of heads of families gave reasons of employment as the main factor in their migration to the city - "to obtain work, lack of work in village, employment transferred, occupational reasons, labour disputes in village or hired (obliged to go)". Out of the 10 214 replies, 256 gave related reasons such as "transferred, labour disputes and occupational reasons". The "transfers" involved persons working for construction or business firms which moved to the city, with the result that their workers or employees moved there also. The "hired" persons were those who came under contract to work in various occupations, generally in agriculture,

/in areas

in areas near the city. This hiring system is used by the large estates of the coastal region; the hiring is temporary and is arranged by special agents who act as intermediaries for the estate owners.

The reasons listed in group 2 are, to a great extent, complementary to those in group 1 - "to improve financial situation, financial reasons, reasons of necessity and financial needs of relatives". These can all be interpreted as "looking for work" or "improving levels of living", so that, to sum up, it appears that 95 per cent of those replying came to the city mainly in search of work.

The type of employment at present held by the migrants was indicated in Part One. The preferred occupations are the following: construction and factory work, small handicrafts, domestic work and work as janitors, caretakers, shop assistants and drivers. Women, who make up 17 per cent of the economically active population, are employed as factory hands, domestic servants and street pedlars.

The next replies, which have been grouped under the numbers 3 and 4, constitute 5 per cent of those in the economic category and represent variants of the same problem. They are important because they reveal peculiarities of the migration process and explain some of the migrants' problems. They report poverty, lack of land, low wages, loss of supporting relatives, unproductive land and eviction and other abuses. Among the unusual reasons was one given by the head of a family who said that he lacked farming equipment and another who said that he wanted to own property.

2. Social reasons

The replies which have been grouped under the heading "social reasons" throw further light on the causes of the migration problem. Although many of these reasons are related to the economic reasons, it was considered preferable to include them in a separate category in order to give greater scope to this study.

Twenty-two per cent of the replies came under this heading:

(a) Family reasons	1 238
Brought by relatives	859
To live with relatives	376
Orphaned	268
Brought while still a child	251
Death of relatives	245
Marriage	111
Separation (husband and wife)	48
Family disputes	45
To visit relatives	34
No relatives in native village	33
Abandoned by parents	19
To improve life of children	15
Widowed	14
Sent by parents	11
Ran away from home	10
Advice of relatives	1
(b) Attraction of Lima	1 042
(c) To improve living conditions	143
(d) To change surroundings	117
(e) For adventure	108
(f) For the trip	45
(g) Discontented with native village	30
(h) Brought by friends	19
(i) Lack of facilities in village	9
(j) Sentimental reasons	8

/(k) In order

(k) In order to change social level	7
(l) Desire to travel	5
(m) To "immigrate"	5
(n) To achieve independence	5
(o) Because of low social level	4
(p) For peace and quiet	3
(q) Received an inheritance	2
(r) In order to beg	1
(s) Imprisonment of child	1
(t) Old age	1

5 133 statements
(22.85 per cent)

As is apparent from these replies, family reasons are the most important. Family problems are thus found to be affected by one more of the factors that favour migration. When to this are added the economic and educational factors, the problem appears in a clearer light. It is that basic social institution, the family, which bears the brunt of the troubles of this under-developed country with its heterogeneous culture. Frequently, and particularly in the case of Andean peasants who come to the city, the impact of urban life is very strong, for the family changes from a subsistence economy in which money is of no importance, because often it is unknown or its value is not realized, to an economy in which money plays a vital role. As stated earlier in Part One, this situation is prejudicial to family cohesion. At the same time, however, it provides a stimulus because, through handling money, many of the migrants feel that they have enhanced their status and achieved a higher level of living.

Whether or not serious family conflicts arise depends on the manner in which the family adapts itself to its new surroundings. In the cases studied, integration into urban life may be said to be taking place gradually. Unemployment at Lima is not acute, and there is still work for the new arrivals. The migrants consider it a great sacrifice to accept living conditions which are so deplorable as regards housing and diet, for example, and display considerable courage in supporting this

/situation during

situation during the first few years. The great majority succeed in adapting themselves to urban life. Some, however, when confronted with insoluble family, social or economic problems, either return home, although such cases are rare or go to form the lowest elements of society.

The novel monetary system promotes independence in the economically active members of the migrant groups and tends to undermine the authority of parents. However, this individual economic capacity reflects the first stage in the process of integration of the family into the new surroundings. In a few cases it destroys the family but most often strengthens it because of the opportunities for further progress that are provided. The strange surroundings, the struggle to obtain accommodation and to provide an education for the children, as well as the desire to show those at home that one has succeeded in the city, all serve to bind the family together. The additional income is immediately used to buy a new house or to pay rent, and it is in this connexion that the initial problem of overcrowding arises. In order to reduce high rental or construction costs, many people live in a single room or apartment and support crowded living conditions. This enables them to save money so that later on they can become independent.

Owing to the fact that they have to face many difficulties, the great majority of families do not break up. Moreover, many of the obligations of the head of the family are met by the services provided by the city. As regards education, for instance, the migrants find more and better kindergartens and schools in the city than they did in their home villages or communities. Parishes and religious institutions assist in many ways. Generally speaking, there is greater security against any risk. The city's social services operate with relative efficiency, the religious missions provide constant encouragement, and social workers visit the migrants. All these factors assist in the process of adaptation to urban life. If a major misfortune occurs, assistance can be obtained immediately through the newspapers or through the residents' association, the school or the parish or in some other way that would not be possible in the home village. Therefore, in the midst of poverty there are compensations.

/Another fact

Another fact worth mentioning is the high percentage of basic families, i.e., families in the narrow sense. Although most of the marriages have not received either religious or civil sanction, these families function in a relatively stable manner and are thus able to adapt more readily to urban conditions. The process of adaptation is thus facilitated by the further fact that the matrimonial patterns of both the rural and the urban families are the same.

The indifference, or rather the ignorance, of many parents who do not take advantage of the opportunities and possibilities offered by the city contributes to juvenile delinquency, which is one of the unfavourable consequences of adaptation to the new surroundings. Family conflict, family maladjustment or parental neglect suffices for the children to become involved in gangs led by indigenous youths, which lead them along dangerous paths. This applies particularly in the case of girls, who are ensnared by traffickers and who, while still in their early teens, find in prostitution an easy way of escaping poverty. This happens in the barriadas, but to what extent is not known.

As may be observed, particularly at weekends, on visiting the taverns and bars of the barriadas, many heads of families find in alcohol a relief from their crushing problems. Information on the magnitude of this problem is lacking.

The new forms of entertainment offered by the city, the sports clubs and the opportunities to meet many different types of persons whereby young people are able to choose a mate from a wider range of acquaintances are all factors which serve, on the whole, to improve the social and legal status of women. The fact that women can earn wages, in many cases equal to those earned by men, also raises their status. These are all important factors in the process of adaptation. According to the surveys, this transitional phase in the life of the migrants lasts two to five years and is the period in which the future course of their life is determined.

Simply by living in the city, migrants from the rural communities achieve a higher social status. Even a mestizo settling in the city will

/achieve a

achieve a higher social level than an Indian or a mestizo of the rural area. New habits will contribute to this phenomenon even when the migrants remain illiterate.

3. Educational reasons

The desire to educate children is another of the causes which induce people to leave the villages and go to Lima. The replies received in this connexion, were as follows:

(a) To study	1 083
(b) To provide education for children	712
(c) To learn a trade	75
(d) To become more cultured	48
(e) For education of brothers or sisters	10
(f) To increase knowledge	4
(g) To learn Spanish	2
(h) No schools in native village	1
(i) For education of grandchild	1
	<hr/>
	1 936
	(8.62 per cent of replies)

It will be noted that the percentage of families who go to the city for educational reasons alone is small when compared with the number who go there for social and economic reasons. Certain points, however, are worthy of comment. A considerable number of families come to the city for the particular purpose of educating their children, frequently making sacrifices involving loss of their farms or of employment possibilities and stoically accepting the vicissitudes of urban life in order to attain their objective. In many instances, adolescents come to the city to live with relatives or with brothers and sisters, or else to live alone, in order to complete their education. The city has a drawing power because it provides secondary education followed by the university, a professional school or a military academy.

One of the immediate consequences of the increase in the school-age population in the city of Lima is the present situation in the schools,

/almost all

almost all of which, to the detriment of effective instruction, operate on a two-shift basis, or else, since there are not sufficient school buildings, with classes that have had to be doubled in size in order to cope with the vastly increased school-age population. Many children educate themselves by working as domestics in family homes. Hundreds of students in the universities are the children of poor Indian parents who support them at the cost of great efforts. Some of the indigenous communities supply funds to enable their most outstanding students to be educated at Lima.

Those young people who obtain a satisfactory education or achieve professional status remain in the city, and only rarely do they return to their places of origin where they normally find no opportunity for employment. The city is therefore overcrowded with professional workers. Technical work is considered to be suitable only for those of a lower social level, because the national educational system tends towards professionalism. School-teachers are the only kind of professional people who return to their own or to some other village. As yet there is no training of skilled workers at Lima. As a result, however, of the continuing migration, there is every reason to believe that young people will begin to follow this path, especially as employment for professional people is becoming increasingly hard to find. The same difficulties are encountered by young people who have completed their secondary education and are seeking office employment.

On the other hand, the city offers new opportunities for the education of women, who are attending schools in increasing numbers. This represents a considerable step forward by contrast with conditions in the villages and rural areas and is helping to raise the social and economic level of the family.

One of the first efforts made in every barriada is to have the State provide a school, and almost all the barriadas have been successful in this regard. The people of the barriada assist, through community work, in the construction and even in the furnishing of the school. The greatest ambition, after achievement of title to property, is the establishment of /schools. There

schools. There is a great desire to secure an education for the children, as this is regarded as progress and as an improvement in the level of living for the new generation. One of the city's major problems at present is to meet the great demand for schooling.

4. Military reasons

These reasons are also a factor contributing to migration. The military barracks attract the inhabitants of the rural areas who have to perform their compulsory military service. The majority of those reporting are illiterate, and the army not only teaches them to read and write but also provides them with a stimulus for remaining in the city on completion of their period of service. The replies received under this heading were as follows:

(a) Compulsory military service	74
(b) Military reasons	2
(c) To serve the Fatherland	9
(d) To avoid military service in native village	5
(e) Because son joined the army	1
(f) To rejoin the army	1
	<hr/>
	766

(3.41 per cent of replies)

5. Health reasons

Because the city possesses the best treatment centres in Peru, as well as the greatest opportunities for treatment at low cost, many families come to Lima from the country for this reason. The reasons under this heading were as follows:

(a) Illness	308
(b) Health reasons	211
	<hr/>
	519
(c) For change of climate	63
(d) Because of accident	9
(e) Ill health	4
	<hr/>
	595

(2.95 per cent)

Invalids who move to the city do so in the hope of living on public charity, and many of those who come for hospital treatment remain in the city after they are discharged. There is a very great disproportion between the extent of medical care obtainable in the villages and that available at Lima, and this is a further reason why the rural people are attracted to the city.

6. Housing reasons

Only 0.8 per cent (179) of the replies mention housing reasons. Housing problems in the rural areas are different from those in the city. In the first case the problem is essentially one of poor utilization of housing through lack of knowledge. Housing in the provinces and in the country villages is within the reach of all social classes, and there are traditional systems of community assistance in the construction of dwellings (e.g., the "wash-basin" house). This reason for migration is consequently mentioned by only a few of the migrants who come directly to the barriadas.

7. Miscellaneous reasons

These reasons were as follows:

- (a) Earthquake in village
- (b) Drought in village
- (c) Flood in village
- (d) Conflict with neighbouring countries
- (e) Official business at Lima
- (f) Political reasons
- (g) Because of foreign nationality
- (h) To return home
- (i) Fate
- (j) Because of interest in sports
- (k) Legal reasons
- (l) To see the monuments
- (m) Desire to see the city
- (n) Loss of identity documents

/(o) Brought to

- (o) Brought to the city by force
- (p) For the elections
- (q) Because of revolution in village
- (r) To enter convent

These replies, 139 in number, represent 0.62 per cent of the total received. As will be noted, many of them could have been listed under previous headings, but it was thought preferable to present them separately since they did not fall within the main classifications. These replies point to other motivations indicative of administrative difficulties and unforeseen events.

The various replies indicate that the large-scale migration from the provinces to the capital is due to various causes. It should be added, however, that there is generally no single reason which induces the migrants to leave their place of origin; there are usually several, and the economic and social ones are the most important.

Of the heads of families who moved to a barriada from another part of the city, almost all (90 per cent) said that they were forced to do so by the housing problem, which in turn is a consequence of high rents, of the 1940 earthquake which damaged many working class dwellings and of demolition in the urban area. The scarcity of low-cost housing and the strong desire to own one's home therefore appear to constitute a new variant of the problem. The housing factor consequently appears to be the main cause for the growth, in the city, of the barriadas, this phenomenon being attributable to the economic and social unbalance in a country with a low level of living.

