

UNITED NATIONS
ECONOMIC
AND
SOCIAL COUNCIL



GENERAL

E/CN.12/662
13 March 1963

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA

Tenth session

Mar del Plata, Argentina, May 1963

URBANIZATION IN LATIN AMERICA

Results of a field survey of living
conditions in an urban sector

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PRELIMINARY NOTE

For several years the main organs of the United Nations and of various specialized agencies have given special attention to the need for study of the problems and policy implications of urbanization.^{1/} It is in the framework of this preoccupation that in 1959 ECLA, together with the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs and UNESCO, sponsored a Seminar on Urbanization Problems in Latin America.^{2/} More recently, both the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly have adopted resolutions^{3/} in which they have made a variety of recommendations to governments and requests to international organs aiming at a further development of their activities in this field.

Against this background, the present report represents the results of a modest effort on the part of the ECLA secretariat, in spite of the burden of other pressing demands, to contribute somewhat to the classification of the issues which today confront the urban policy maker; an effort which might acquire further significance in view of the fact that the Commission is being asked to expand its activities in regard to housing and physical planning. The field study in the area of Greater Santiago, the results of which are presented below, together with some more general considerations on present-day urban policy in Latin America, has been carried out in collaboration with the Office of liaison with CEPAL of the International Labour Organization, which has co-sponsored the project. Its realization has been possible owing to the co-operation of the School of Social Service of the University of Chile and of the Regional Centre for Demographic Training and Research in Latin America (CELADE), while various services of the Corporación de Vivienda (CORVI), the Chilean national housing agency, have provided extensive background information.

^{1/} Economic and Social Council resolutions 585 H (XX), 663 H (XXIV), General Assembly resolution 1258 (XIII).

^{2/} See ECLA, Annual Report to the Economic and Social Council, covering the period 24 May 1959 - 29 March 1960 (E/3333, para. 119). The report of the Seminar, as well as the main papers presented to it, were published by UNESCO in 1961 in the form of a book entitled: Urbanization in Latin America.

^{3/} Economic and Social Council resolution 830 B (XXXII), General Assembly resolution 1676 (XVI).

INTRODUCTION

Latin America is about to become a region predominantly urban in population. The rapidity of its urbanization and the concentration of urban growth in very large cities are intimately involved - both as causes and effects - with its most formidable economic and social problems. A series of reports have described the main features of urbanization in the region and discussed its implications.^{4/} These reports have relied partly on census data - unfortunately several years out of date before they are completely tabulated - and on a variety of investigations of groups within the cities. A sizable list of such local investigations could by now be compiled for Latin America, but many more are needed. Progress in urban social research since the one major attempt at a synthesis of the situation as a guide to policy - the 1959 United Nations-UNESCO Seminar on Urbanization in Latin America - has been disappointing. The problems associated with city growth are changing in character as well as in dimensions, but information is too scanty for confident generalizations about these changes. In particular, the ways in which different elements within the huge lower classes of the cities are adjusting to their precarious situation remain very little known. The body of the present paper is a modest contribution to the needs for local information. Before this information is presented, however, it will be worth while to indicate some more general changes in the physical environment of the urban masses that promise to be of widening importance during the next few years.

The neighbourhoods of the poor in the larger Latin American cities can be described in terms of types found throughout the region.

The typical older working-class quarters consist of one-room rented dwellings facing passageways or courtyards, overcrowded and insanitary

^{4/} See, in particular, Chapter VII of the 1957 Report on the World Social Situation (United Nations publication, Sales No: 1957.IV.3) and Urbanization in Latin America (UNESCO, Paris, 1961). The most recent information is summarized in the document entitled Geographical Distribution of Population and Regional Development Priorities, which is being submitted to the Commission at its tenth session (E/CN.12/643).

/but solidly

but solidly constructed, with access to a minimum of urban facilities, and usually within easy reach of the central part of the city. In most of the cities dwellings of this type are no longer built for rental to low-income families but thousands of deteriorating houses formerly occupied by the upper and middle classes are being converted to single-room occupancy. These two types of slums may still be in the lead in numbers of occupants, but their relative importance is declining. Rent controls and building regulations deter their expansion, the number of older buildings that can be converted into slums is not unlimited, and many of them are eliminated by the expansion of commercial districts or by construction of apartment buildings. Even if their numbers remain constant they cannot accommodate the growth in the low-income population.

Improvised shantytowns built of scrap materials by squatters without tenure rights, on the fringes of the cities or on land unsuited for building, have become the most notorious type of slum. Such settlements grew rapidly during the 1940's and 1950's in almost every large city of Latin America and in many smaller places. Capital cities such as Buenos Aires and Montevideo, in which they were previously missing or of insignificant proportions, found them present in formidable numbers almost overnight. In their extreme form - defined by illegal occupation of land, lack of all urban services, and flimsy scrap construction - they may already have reached their limit of size, although they are sure to be an intractable problem for many years. Accessible waste lands on which they can form are growing scarce, and the public apathy that in earlier years permitted them to grow undisturbed and almost unnoticed has decreased. The forces that produced them are as strong as ever, but in general large new shantytowns can appear only through the organized occupation of land on a scale that inhibits official preventive measures, and when this happens the illicit shantytown is usually able within a short time to secure for itself the status of the settlements next to be described.

/These last

These last types seem destined to absorb the greater part of the population growth of the big cities for some years to come. They constitute huge peripheral areas of land covered by small one-family houses and, to a much smaller extent, by multifamily dwellings. Many of these settlements are built by public housing agencies in large numbers of nearly identical dwelling units. Others are built by families on small plots they have purchased, without public aid. Still others are direct descendants of the clandestine shantytowns. In some instances the occupants of these are granted security of tenure on their old sites, minimum urban services and help in constructing more substantial dwellings; in others they are resettled on new sites with similar kinds of aid.

The new settlements differ widely among themselves in their appearance and in the characteristics of the families that occupy them, but in general they represent concentrations of low-income families that are larger, more uniform, and more segregated physically from the rest of the city than were the older slums. The continued growth of the low-income sector of the city populations suggests that the peripheral settlements are likely to grow uncontrollably, both in population and in the area of land they cover, unless more effective means are found to counteract the urban concentration of the national population.

THE SITUATION IN CHILE

Urbanization has been an important phenomenon in Chile over a longer period than in the majority of Latin American countries, and the intolerable living conditions represented by rented slum dwellings (conventillos) and shantytowns (poblaciones callampas) have long been well known. Chile is also one of the first countries in Latin America to have put into effect a housing programme on a large enough scale and with modest enough standards to have reached a large proportion of the poorest urban families. Its experience should thus hold worth while lessons for other countries of the region.

/The following

The following table indicates the dimensions of the callampa problem.^{5/}

The table suggests that while in 1952 the callampa problem centered in Greater Santiago, by 1961 this was no longer the case. The Santiago callampa population had fallen slightly in spite of large increases in the population of the metropolitan area, while callampas had grown with startling rapidity in a number of smaller cities distributed from one end of the country to the other. In some of these cities, if the estimates are to be relied upon and the callampa families are of normal size, as much as a third of the population must be living in callampas. The increases are less marked in the earthquake-devastated zone, where they might have been expected, than in various towns, mainly ports, that have experienced considerable immigration attracted by new economic opportunities of escaping from unemployment in depressed mining and nitrate producing centres.

The impression given by the table that the Santiago callampa population remained nearly stationary is misleading. In fact, it seems to have increased rapidly up to 1959. The callampas then became the target of a determined campaign of eradication; many of the older nuclei disappeared, although some new ones sprang up; not only did the total number shrink but their distribution among the communes of Greater Santiago changes considerably. This process is continuing.^{6/} The newer

^{5/} This table is adapted from a table prepared by the Departamento de Planeamiento y Estudios Económicos de la Corporación de Vivienda in November 1961. The 1952 and 1961 figures are not fully comparable. The census data include single shacks of the callampa type while the 1961 estimates in general include only clusters of callampas, and were compiled from various sources that may have used differing criteria (reports of municipalities and Cuerpo de Carabineros, CORVI register, etc.). The increase between 1952 and 1961 may thus be underestimated. The table includes all communes for which 1961 estimates were available.

^{6/} The present paper does not discuss further the apparent rapid growth of callampas in cities other than Santiago. It appears, however, that their numbers and distribution are also changing rapidly under the impact of CORVI eradication programmes.

	Number of <u>callampa</u> family dwellings		Urban population in 1961 (based on 1960 census data)
	1952 census	1961 estimates	
Greater Santiago (12 communes) <u>a/</u>	16 502	16 042	1 950 470
Twelve other communes with more than 1 000 <u>callampa</u> dwellings in 1961			
Arica	170	3 725	39 879
Iquique	80	1 850	50 685
Calama	130	2 614	16 079
Quillota	196	1 543	30 840
Valparaiso	1 007	1 458	256 529
San Antonio	338	2 174	26 604
Talca	350	1 123	70 722
Talcahuano	357	4 074	92 795
Concepcion	1 807	2 833	152 137
Lota	409	2 642	46 684
Valdivia	414	1 030	48 841
Punta Arenas	91	1 670	49 525
Forty-six other communes	12 633	10 623	884 743
<u>Total</u>	<u>34 678</u>	<u>53 401</u>	<u>3 716 533</u>

a/ Commune of La Granja omitted for lack of information.

/callampas seem

callampas seem to be in smaller nuclei and even more provisional in character than the old; it is thus even harder than before to assemble accurate information on their numbers and location.

The conventillos and equivalent one-room slum dwellings have received less publicity than the callampas, partly, no doubt, because their deficiencies are hidden behind substantial building facades and they present no problem of illegal occupancy of land. According to the CORVI source from which the 1961 data on callampas are taken, however, the number of families living in them is four times the number living in callampas, and includes a third of the total number of families of urban employees and workers.

In 1959, the Corporación de Vivienda (CORVI) was entrusted with a greatly expanded public housing programme, a part of which envisaged the eradication of callampas.^{7/} CORVI was authorized to spend one-fifth of the annual fiscal contribution to its resources on moving expenses, building materials, and provisional dwellings, without having to seek reimbursement from the beneficiaries. Some of the callampa settlements were cleared all at once, the whole population being moved simultaneously to a new site and measures taken to prevent the appearance of new callampas on the old site. In other settlements families were selected by CORVI social workers following a point system based on size of family, savings in a special housing account, and date of application. Family stability and likelihood of a constructive adjustment to the new opportunity were also taken into account, leaving a residue of the most maladjusted families. In a few instances, organized occupation of land by large groups of families forced CORVI to regularize their situation

^{7/} The present paper does not discuss the Chilean housing programme as a whole; construction for the better-off workers and employees, carried out largely in co-operation with social insurance funds and savings and loan associations, no doubt has an indirect effect on the housing opportunities of the poorer groups by relieving the over-all urban housing shortage.

without any selectivity. The families which benefited by this part of the Chilean housing programme did not all come from the callampa settlements. Some of them had been living in conventillo quarters, or crowded in with relatives without any home of their own, or in isolated shacks as caretakers for the owners of suburban plots held vacant for future building. They had in common incomes too low to meet the amortization costs of even the most modest types of conventional public housing; the majority had previously paid nothing for their shelter, such as it was. In some of the new settlements, CORVI erected "minimum" or "basic" houses, often planned so that the families could later add new rooms. In others, aid was limited to building sites, materials, a minimum of urban services (water lines and electricity) and usually a latrine erected before the family moved in. The families were granted title to the housing sites, under agreements to pay for them over a period of thirty years.

Altogether, about 16,000 families were resettled on building sites or in "minimum" housing during the three years 1959-1961. The new settlements made up exclusively of families falling under this part of the housing programme were very large: the first of them, San Gregorio, now has more than 4,000 families with about 25,000 people; Santa Adriana and La Feria have more than 3,000 families apiece.

Meanwhile, thousands of "definitive" houses meeting somewhat higher standards and intended for workers and employees able to contribute more toward their housing costs were also being constructed, mainly in large settlements and in the same general area as the settlements described above, to the south of the city. Their occupants are selected by the same point system but with more points required.^{8/} Other settlements appeared

^{8/} In 1962, 13,000 families in Greater Santiago applied to CORVI for the cheaper "basic" houses and only 7,000 for "definitive" houses. CORVI attributes this ratio both to incomes too low to permit the families to accumulate savings quotas for definitive houses under the point system or to meet the later payments, and to a preference for simple dwellings with outdoor space for family activities and with possibilities for later expansion.

/spontaneously as

spontaneously as farm lands were divided into plots for sale, often without meeting the legal requirements for sub-division and without any guarantee that urban services would be provided.

The resulting agglomerations of low-income families on the outskirts of Greater Santiago have reached enormous size and are still spreading. One of them, Población José María Caro, has more than 100,000 people, making it equivalent to the fourth city of Chile. The type of urban growth that has taken place and the policies that have influenced it are now undergoing study and review within CORVI itself and from other public and private institutions. Evidence is not yet sufficient for a thorough evaluation, and it is to be expected that the situation will be kept under continuing scrutiny, at the level of social research and also at the level of public opinion. A housing programme with limited resources that directs itself toward large masses with very low incomes and equally low standards of housing and sanitation cannot be expected to produce ideal solutions, least of all in the earlier stages of emergency action. The generally admitted difficulties that the policy-makers are now trying to remedy include the following:

1. The large size and peripheral location of the settlements mean that the inhabitants are even more segregated from the city proper than they were in the older slums, so that their relationships to the national society are likely to remain limited and distorted. While the men at least go outside the settlements to work, most of the women and children are confined to a drab, monotonous environment that offers no stimulus or models for improvement. CORVI policy now envisages future low-income dwelling units in smaller nuclei, mingled with housing for other income groups, and more evenly distributed among the different zones of Greater Santiago.

2. The resettlement of families did not take into account the location of their sources of livelihood, and studies have indicated that most of the workers in them must spend much more time getting to work and have higher transportation costs than before moving; this difficulty is aggravated by the inadequacies of the bus lines serving most of the

/settlements. There

settlements. There was no effective planning for the location of new industries at convenient distances from the settlements, and the low incomes of their occupants mean that there are few ways of earning money within them, except by petty shop-keeping and artisan activities.

3. While the plans envisaged the extension of urban services and the building of schools, hospitals, shopping centres, etc., these lagged behind housing construction, partly because they were the responsibilities of other public agencies or of the communes, whose resources were overwhelmed by the sudden expansion of a population unable to contribute toward the costs of such services. Consequently most of the streets in the settlements have remained unpaved, muddy or dusty according to the season; water supplies, sewerage and garbage collection are inadequate; and areas set aside for parks and playgrounds have remained barren. Many of the children have to go long distances to over-crowded schools. The shortage of hospitals and clinics has been particularly serious in view of the large numbers of pregnant women and young children. While free medical services are available, the long distances that must be travelled and the long waits for attention limit their usefulness. The construction of shops and markets has also lagged, partly because the low purchasing power of the settlers has not attracted commercial investors. This deficiency has been met in a rather unsatisfactory way by the appearance of tiny shops in the houses themselves.

4. Most of the houses constructed have been quite small, with only one or two bedrooms, while under the point system only families with several children have had any chance of selection. In 1960 and 1961 the average number of children in families applying for "definitive" housing was between five and six; in 1962 the average fell to 4.2, presumably because the largest families on the waiting list had already received houses. Families applying for "basic" houses in 1962 also averaged more than four children. The houses have thus been overcrowded from the beginning, and as the families grow are becoming more so. Some of the "basic" dwelling types permit the occupants to add rooms on their own initiative, but the "definitive" types do not. For the future much higher proportions of houses with three or more bedrooms and of extensible houses are needed.

1. The field inquiry

The inquiry now to be described concerns the population still living in callampa settlements in Greater Santiago in October 1962. The callampa families are now a small fraction of the urban families in urgent need of better housing, but they are generally considered the most intractable part of the problem because of their assumed "marginal" characteristics. How sharply do these families differ from the rest of the urban low-income population in their origins, their levels of living, their occupations, their capacities for organization and self-help, their degree of integration with the national society? How do they see their own situation and what are their felt needs in the way of housing and environment?

The inquiry seeks answers to these questions that may serve to orient future resettlement policies, and that may have some relevance not only to the problems of Greater Santiago but also to those of other cities of Latin America. It is, however, no more than an exploratory study. Time and resources have been insufficient for an investigation that would justify detailed presentation of statistical findings.

(a) The group investigated

The obtaining of a representative sample of families living in the callampa type of settlement in a large metropolitan area such as Santiago presents serious difficulties. The settlements do not appear in official city plans, and information on them obtained through censuses becomes very soon out of date, as some of them are displaced and new ones appear almost daily, as their name (meaning "unknown") suggests. Some of the smaller nuclei are not visible from the streets and even the police may not find out immediately that they have sprung up. Within the settlements there are usually no true streets and the spacing and numbering of dwellings is anarchic enough to hinder any attempt at an area random sampling.

/The present

The present inquiry made use of a survey conducted in 1959 supplemented by more recent information from various sources to obtain an estimate of 17,500 callampa dwellings distributed in 122 settlements in Greater Santiago.^{9/} The findings of the survey made a rough classification of the settlements into six strata according to presence or absence of drinking water, latrines, and regular streets. An attempt was made to use this classification to distribute the numbers of households to be studied in accordance with the numbers found by the 1959 survey to be living in settlements of different "strata". When field work began, however, it became apparent that the stratification did not correspond to any consistent differences between settlements and also that the list of settlements no longer corresponded to realities: six out of the eighteen settlements first selected for study had already been eradicated, or were not true callampas, or simply could not be found, and other settlements had to be substituted for them.

Within the settlements, owing to the difficulties in the way of a random sample of households, the subjects were selected by a form of "quota sampling"; that is, the interviewers were instructed to obtain sixteen interviews in each settlement but were given complete freedom as to the households to be selected.

The 276 interviews obtained in this way cannot, of course, be called a representative sample of the callampa households, and certainly cannot be used to support any elaborate comparisons between the callampa

^{9/} Survey carried out by the Servicio Social de la Oficina de Autoconstrucción de la Corporación de la Vivienda (CORVI), with the collaboration of the Servicio Nacional de Salud and the Intendencia de Santiago. For the purposes of the present study, "Greater Santiago" comprises thirteen communes (Santiago, Conchali, Providencia, Ñuñoa, San Miguel, Quinta Normal, Renca, Las Barrancas, La Cisterna, Las Condes, La Granja, La Florida and Puente Alto) although stricter definitions exclude the last two of these communes and parts not yet urbanized of some of the others. See Universidad de Chile, Instituto de Economía, La Población del Gran Santiago, Santiago, 1959.

population and other groups. In the opinion of the organizers of the inquiry, however, the findings are sufficiently typical of a population that is in many ways homogeneous to make the findings informative.

(b) The questionnaire

The questionnaire used, which was revised after testing in two small-scale pre-inquiries, was to be answered by the head of the household or, in his absence, by his wife. Some questions sought information relating specifically to the respondent, and others information relating to all members of the household. Each type of information, obtained in this way, has its own weaknesses that should be taken into account in assessing the findings. Since the inquiry was conducted during the daytime on weekdays, when most of the male heads of households were away at work, the majority of respondents were women; their opinions concerning the settlement, household needs, etc., may have varied appreciably from those of their husbands, and their organizational ties would naturally differ. At the same time, the respondents' knowledge of the work, experience, income, etc. of other members of the household was presumably not always complete or accurate.

(c) The field work

The inquiry was carried out during the second half of October and the first half of November 1962 by first-year students of the School of Social Service of the University of Chile under the joint supervision of the Director and the supervisors of practical training of the School of Social Service, and of members of the Social Affairs Division of the Economic Commission for Latin America. These interviewers showed remarkable dedication and efficiency, considering their lack of previous experience in this kind of inquiry and the forbidding character of the environment in which they were operating. The people of the settlements, however, made their task easier by the friendliness and openness of their reception. They did not always understand the purpose of the inquiry, but very few of them showed suspicion or hostility. Many, on the contrary, appeared proud that someone had taken an interest in them and asked their opinion.

/Most of

Most of the respondents were ready to discuss at length and with the greatest frankness not only the subjects dealt with in the inquiry but others of a more delicate and personal character. The readiness of the callampa people to open their own lives to unknown interviewers deserves emphasis.

2. Origins of the callampa population

Only 25 per cent of the members of the 276 households were born outside Greater Santiago, but this percentage is weighted by the large numbers of young children; 75 per cent of the households are wholly or partly of migrant origin. In 36 per cent, both the male head of the household and his wife came from outside the metropolitan area, and in 39 per cent one adult did so. In more than a quarter of the households, a migrant is married to a partner born within Greater Santiago; the remainder of the 39 per cent consists of households headed by single parents (widowed or deserted) and of a few persons living alone. The numbers of male and female migrants are almost exactly even; 152 males to 153 females. Among the adult respondents who were of migrant origin two-thirds had lived elsewhere in Santiago before coming to the settlement in which they lived at the time of the inquiry. Many of these had migrated singly, lived for a while with relatives or friends, and moved to a callampa after bringing their families or forming a family in the city. More than 60 per cent of the migrant respondents moved directly from their places of origin to Santiago, while nearly 30 per cent made at least one stop along the way and 10 per cent failed to answer this question. More than half of the migrants seem to have been of rural origin, although the large number who did not answer the question throw some doubt on the finding.

Most of the provinces of Chile are represented in the migrant part of the callampa population, but more than 80 per cent came from the central group of provinces limited by Coquimbo to the north and Concepcion to the south. Eleven per cent came from Santiago Province outside Greater Santiago;

10 per cent came from Ñuble; 9 per cent each from Colchagua, Cautín and O'Higgins; no other province contributed more than 6 per cent. The percentages for the provinces other than Santiago are quite similar to the percentages for immigrants living in Santiago Province (including the metropolitan area) recorded by the 1952 census.

While the above figures indicate the importance of the migrant contribution to the callampa population they do not support the view that callampas are formed directly by rural migrants. They suggest rather that the callampas represent a rejection by the city of elements already living in it, whether born there or not, and differing from the rest of the urban population more in degree of poverty than in origin.^{10/}

The answers to a question on previous residences indicate a good deal of mobility from one settlement to another and between the callampas and other localities of Greater Santiago for non-migrants as well as migrants. Sixteen per cent of the respondents had lived for at least a month in four or more other places in the metropolitan area before moving to their present location; 41 per cent could name two or three previous addresses; 33 per cent one; only 10 per cent stated that they were then living at

^{10/} Since census data on internal migration relate to the province of Santiago and not to the smaller metropolitan area, they do not indicate whether the callampas have a higher proportion of immigrants than Greater Santiago as a whole. A 1957 survey using a sample representing the population 18 years of age and over of Greater Santiago found that 55 per cent of this group were of migrant origin. (Alain Girard and Raul Samuel, Situación y Perspectivas de Chile en Septiembre de 1957, Universidad de Chile, Instituto de Sociología, Santiago de Chile, 1958.) Another 1957 survey of a sample of families covering Greater Santiago found that 36 per cent of the total group had been born outside the metropolitan area. Since the callampas have a higher proportion of young children, more likely to have been born in their present location, than the rest of Greater Santiago, the 25 per cent of the callampa group who were born elsewhere may indicate a quite similar proportion of adult immigrants. The 1957 family survey, however, found that 63 per cent of the immigrants for Greater Santiago as a whole came from other urban areas, while the callampa immigrants seem to have been predominantly rural. (Universidad de Chile, Instituto de Economía, op. cit.)

/their first

their first or only place of residence in Greater Santiago. Many of them had moved when they married or when they changed jobs. Others had been evicted (sometimes repeatedly) from callampas on land about to be developed or from conventillos and rooms in old buildings about to be demolished. Many of the women had been servants living in the employer's house. Smaller numbers had to move because their quarters were too small, or because rents were raised above their means.

The data also indicate that the migrants in the callampa population are not predominantly of recent vintage; 12 per cent of them came to Santiago before 1930, 13 per cent between 1930 and 1939, 25 per cent between 1940 and 1949, 29 per cent between 1950 and 1959, and 6 per cent since 1960, while 15 per cent did not answer this question. These percentages cannot be used to compare the rates of migration at different periods, since mortality would reduce the percentages in the earlier decades to an unknown extent, and since there is no likelihood that similar proportions of migrants from different decades remained in the callampas, but they do indicate that for many migrants callampa residence is more than a temporary stage in adjustment to the city.

3. Experience of the migrants

The migrants respondents were asked why they came to Santiago. Many of them gave several reasons, others none, but nearly two-thirds of the reasons can be roughly classified as "economic"; they hoped for better opportunities of making a living. A little more than half of them felt, for a wide variety of reasons, that they would have been worse off if they had not come to Santiago; less than a quarter felt that they would have been better off; most of the others gave some variant of the reply "cualquier parte es igual" ("it's the same wherever you are"). Three-quarters stated that they had found the job opportunities they had hoped for. Forty-seven per cent of them stated that they had found work immediately; 44 per cent within three months after arrival; 9 per cent within eight months. Forty-five per cent had received help from their family in coming to Santiago, while 38 per cent were helped by employers, friends, and others; the most common form of help was lodging, followed by food and jobs; only a small number mentioned aid in money. It is particularly striking that 62 per

/cent of

cent of the respondents, when asked to name their main problems on arrival in Santiago, stated that they had none; 17 per cent mentioned problems of adaptation (personal and job relationships, etc.), 13 per cent economic problems, and only 8 per cent problems of housing.

These replies give an impression that is supported by other findings relating to the group as a whole, of families so accustomed to extreme poverty and limited opportunities that they find callampa life and incomes at a bare subsistence level pretty much what they expected and no reason to regret coming to Santiago. They also suggest that future migrants would not be dissuaded by knowledge of callampa living conditions. About half of the migrants keep in touch with relatives in their place of origin through letters or visits, and the process of informal consultation and aid through which individuals decide to come to the city is continuing.

4. The callampa family and population

Couples with children predominate heavily in the callampa population. Many of these nuclear families have one or two relatives or lodgers living with them, but more complex extended families are few. Single parents with children (in two-thirds of the cases the mother) are fairly common, and these are more likely to have relatives or lodgers living with them than are the couples. Childless couples and adults living alone are strikingly few:

<u>Type of household</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Simple nuclear family (parents and children)	58
Nuclear family plus relatives or lodgers	19
One parent with children	5
One parent with children plus relatives or lodgers	11
Couple without children	5
Person living alone	2
	<hr/>
	100

The average household in the group studied comprised six persons.

The proportion of the adult callampa population living as man and wife (not necessarily in legally sanctioned unions) is much higher than the corresponding proportion of the population of Greater Santiago:

/Civil state

Civil state of the population 15 years of age and over

	<u>Callampas</u>	<u>Greater Santiago</u> ^{11/}
Single	24	36
Married	52	51
<u>Convivientes</u>	16	3
Widowed	5	7
Divorced	3	3
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Sixty-eight per cent of the population 15 years of age and over in the callampa group were thus living in some kind of marital relationship compared to 54 per cent in Greater Santiago.^{12/} This suggests that the callampa people enter into such relationships at earlier ages than the rest of the urban population and form new unions more quickly if bereaved or deserted. They also have more children. The callampa population is remarkably young. Persons under 15 years of age constituted 51 per cent of the group studied, against 37 per cent in Greater Santiago. Persons 65 and over make up only 2 per cent of the total, against 4 per cent in Greater Santiago. The "dependent" population, according to the conventional definition, thus outnumbers the "active" population in the callampas, while in Greater Santiago the dependent group is only two-thirds the size of the active group.

^{11/} Dirección de Estadística y Censos: "Resultados del XIII Censo de Población y II de Vivienda, Obtenidos por Muestreo" (unpublished figures), Chile, 1962.

^{12/} It is uncertain whether the separate percentages for "married" and "persons living in consensual union" represent the real ratio of legalized to irregular unions. In the callampas there is no prejudice against consensual unions; in fact, many women are believed to avoid the legal tie in order to limit their dependence on a man; they would not normally hesitate to admit that they were living in consensual union. On the other hand, legal marriage has important practical advantages in relation to family allowances, applications for CORVI houses, etc. Some of the respondents may have assumed that there was some connexion between the student social workers who questioned them and the public agencies, and have given the answers they thought would be preferred by the latter.

The fertility rate for women of child-bearing age in the callampa group was double the rate for Greater Santiago. The number of children 0 - 4 years of age in the callampas was slightly higher than the number of women between 15 and 49, meaning an average of one live birth for every woman capable of bearing children during the five years prior to the inquiry. In Greater Santiago, the women of child-bearing age outnumber children 0 - 4 years of age by two to one.^{13/} The callampa families averaged 4.5 children per mother while the average for Greater Santiago found by an inquiry into fertility was 2.4.^{14/} In Greater Santiago, 44 per cent of the mothers have one or two children born alive; in the callampas 28 per cent. In Greater Santiago, only 9.5 per cent of the mothers have seven or more children; in the callampas 27 per cent. The implications of these figures in relation to family incomes, degree of overcrowding, and problems of resettlement hardly need to be spelled out.

5. Educational levels

The respondents were asked to indicate the highest grade in school completed by each member of the household, with the following results for persons 15 years of age and over:^{15/}

<u>Grade completed</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
None	29
First primary	5
Second "	11
Third "	14
Fourth "	14
Fifth "	6
Sixth "	14
Secondary (one or more grades)	5
Technical (" " " ")	2
	100

^{13/} There may, however, have been some degree of under-enumeration of children 0 - 4 in Greater Santiago.

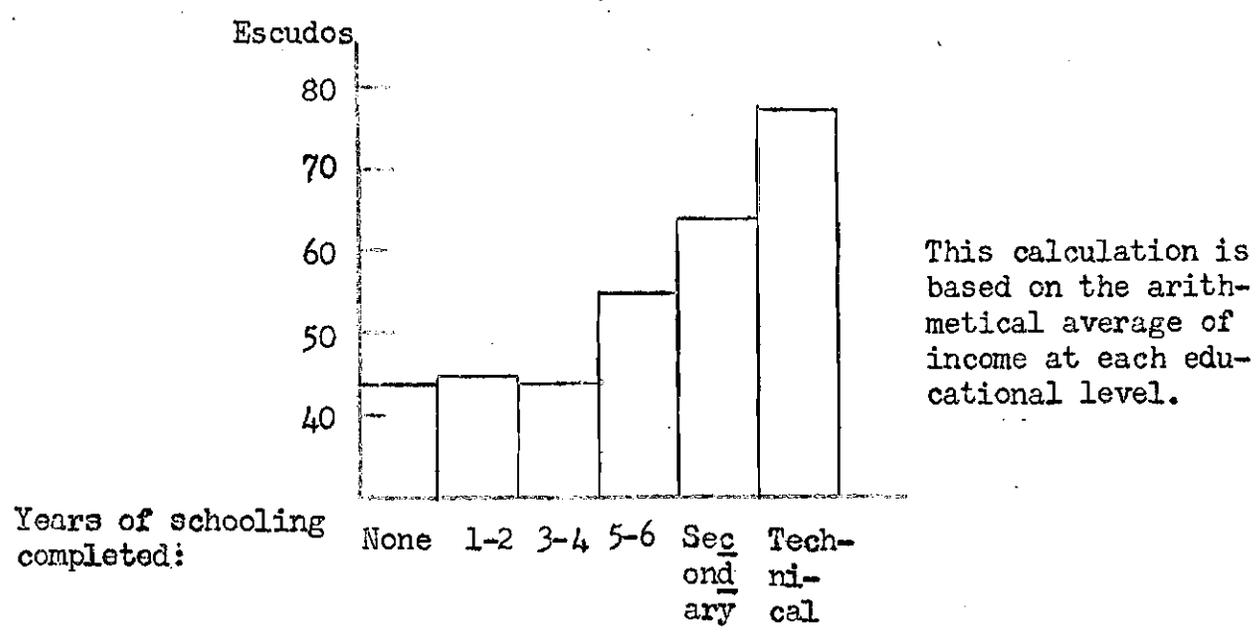
^{14/} Tabah and Samuel, Resultados Preliminares de una Encuesta de Fecundidad y Actitudes Relativas a la Formación de la Familia en Santiago de Chile Santiago, 1960.

^{15/} Thirteen per cent of the age group 15-19 were still in school.

/The proportion

The proportion of adults who are functionally illiterate is certainly much higher than the 29 per cent with no schooling at all. It is probable that a majority among the 44 per cent who completed four grades or less did not receive enough education to bring them any practical advantage. This impression is confirmed by a comparison of the educational and income levels of the economically active persons in the sample. Monthly incomes of persons with four grades or less are no higher than those of persons with no schooling at all; with the last two primary grades a significant advance appears:

Average monthly income of economically active persons
according to educational level



As might be expected, educational levels in the settlements are much lower than in Santiago as a whole; a 1957 sample survey found only a little more than a fourth of the city population with four years or less of schooling, compared to 73 per cent in the callampa sample.^{16/} Callampa educational levels seem to be even lower than those of the rural areas of Chile, where the 1962 census found 22 per cent of adults to be illiterate.

^{16/} Girard and Samuel, op. cit.

/The younger

The younger adults in the callampa population are somewhat better educated than the older. Thirty-seven per cent of the persons thirty years of age and over have no schooling at all; the percentage falls to 22 in the group between twenty and twenty-nine years and to 13 in the group between fifteen and nineteen. Data on the group now of legal primary school age (7 - 14) indicate that the educational situation remains extremely unsatisfactory, whether or not there has been an improvement over the past. By law, all children should be enrolled at the age of seven and should attend school until they have completed the six-grade primary course or until they have passed the age of 14. In Chile as a whole, while most children now receive some primary schooling, premature desertion of the school remains a serious problem.^{17/} In the callampa settlements it appears that the majority of children are still limited to the schooling of four grades or less which, as was indicated above, is not enough to make any appreciable difference in their situation as adults. At the time of the inquiry the group between 7 and 14 years was distributed as follows:

<u>Grade attended at time of inquiry</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
First primary	22
Second "	16
Third "	11
Fourth "	6
Fifth "	5.5
Sixth " or secondary	1.5
Not in school	38
	<hr/>
	100.0

The 38 per cent who were not in school presumably included many young children who would eventually enter, as well as children who had already dropped out. The proportion who will never go to school at all can hardly be higher than the 13 per cent of the 15-19 age group with no education. Most of the callampa families allow their children to drop out of school long before they have completed six grades. The uneven distribution by grades is also influenced by the fact that many of the children fail to

^{17/} See Eduardo Hamuy, El Problema Educacional del Pueblo de Chile, Editorial del Pacífico, Santiago de Chile, 1961.

pass and must spend more than one year in the same grade. The callampa child is under handicaps that make him unlikely to benefit as much from a year in school as would a child in a better-off family. Most of the primary schools open to him have double shifts, short school days, and large classes. It is almost impossible for him to study at home, in an overcrowded and noisy shack, often without electric lighting or even a table and chair he can use, with little encouragement from the rest of the family; his nutritional and health situation are likely to handicap him still further. Some of the families showed a desperate anxiety to keep their children in school, and a very few had managed to do so above the primary level, but many others seemed indifferent to the subject.

The respondents in families in which a school-age child was not in school were asked the reasons. Their replies were extremely varied but may be classified as follows:

Need for the child to work	10
Sickness	13
Economic problems	17
Too young	18
Child does not want to	5
Problems with the school (distance, lack of vacancy, child does not like teacher, etc.)	7
Other	10
No answer	20

The replies give the impression that a number of the respondents felt that they had been caught in a neglect of their duty; that they had not previously thought of the child's absence from school as an important problem, and that to a large extent they were giving excuses rather than thought-out reasons.

6. The callampa physical environment and what the occupants think of it

The main features of the callampa that distinguish it from other settlements of low-income families are the illegal (or at least precarious) occupancy of the land and the improvised character of the dwellings. No callampa family owns the land on which its dwelling stands.^{18/} Although

^{18/} Four per cent of the families were recorded as "owners", but this seems to have resulted from a misunderstanding; the respondents probably meant that they owned the huts (mejoras) that they had erected.

23 per cent of the respondents stated that they pay rent, such rent does not ensure any security of tenure; the owner (at times the State) simply receives a sum (usually collected through a committee of settlers and with endless quarrels over the failure of some families to pay their share) for permission to use the land. At any moment he may decide to make use of the site and evict the occupants. When the respondents were asked what they liked least about the settlements or why they wanted to move elsewhere, many of their answers stressed the precariousness of tenure: "Porque aquí vivimos de limosna y en cualquier instante deberemos cambiarnos por orden de la Municipalidad" ("Because we are living on charity and may at any moment be forced to move by order of the Municipality"), or "porque acá no estamos seguros, de la noche a la mañana nos pueden sacar" ("because we have no security and may be evicted overnight"). On the other hand, a number of respondents valued not only the fact that they paid no rent, but also the absence of regulation: "Vivimos en forma independiente, por eso nos gusta" (We live an independent life and that's why we like it here").

The callampa settlement is thus a cluster of shacks intended to shelter the families with minimum labour and expense until the unforeseeable time of eviction. The floor is simply the earth; the walls and roof are made of whatever scrap materials happen to be at hand. If the place is stony the walls are likely to be made of stones piled one on another in the manner of rural stone fences. Everything is held together by wires, cords and nails. At times holes are left as windows but one never finds glass in them. A few of the huts have tiny gardens, but in most cases the ground around them is bare of everything except refuse.

This improvised quality of the callampas is paradoxically capable of hardening into permanence. Some of the settlements that have existed for decades still present the same wretched appearance. The settlements located on public lands unsuitable for urban development (hillsides and land adjoining the Rio Mapocho) are less threatened by eviction, although some of them are in yearly danger of floods, and more signs of improvement are visible. In one of these the families questioned had lived for an average of seventeen years, the improvised shacks had been replaced by well-painted adobe houses, and fruit trees had been planted, but such progress is most untypical.

/From simple

From simple observation, the dwellings of most of the 276 households seemed to range in roofed area from about 15 m² to about 50 m². Thirty-three per cent of them had one room, 46 per cent two rooms, 15 per cent three rooms, 6 per cent four or more rooms. The dwellings averaged three occupants per room, compared to 1.5 occupants per room in private houses and apartments in Santiago.^{19/} There were 2.3 persons per bed, but this ratio was not evenly distributed; many households living in one room had only one bed. In one of the more extreme cases a family of twelve (parents and ten children ranging from fourteen years to three months in age) "viven hacinados en una sola pieza dormitorio de aproximadamente 5 m² y duermen en 3 camas. El comedor y la cocina son tan sólo una especie de galpón en que transcurre durante el día la vida de la familia" ("are living together in a single bedroom approximately 5 m² with three beds. The dining-room and kitchen are merely a cell in which the family spends its whole day"). The social consequences of the promiscuity associated with such a high degree of overcrowding can be imagined.

Public utility services in these settlements are almost non-existent. The dwellings are huddled together without any regular streets. There is no public lighting. Sixty-three per cent of the respondents stated that they had electric lighting in the dwelling, but in most instances this was probably maintained only irregularly or through illicit tapping of power lines. Drinking water is obtainable from a limited number of taps connected to the public water system - sometimes only one to the settlement and sometimes outside the settlement itself. The lines of women and children waiting with water-tins for their turn at the tap are thus characteristic sights of the settlements. Sewerage is non-existent and is replaced by outdoor latrines, but 34 per cent of the dwellings investigated did not even have these hygienically unsatisfactory substitutes. Flies swarm everywhere, and a number of respondents singled them out as the most unpleasant feature of the settlement.

^{19/} Dirección de Estadística y Censos, Algunos Resultados del XIII Censo de Población y II de Vivienda, Santiago de Chile, 1962.

To the outside observer, callampa housing is intolerably bad; hardly a single dwelling in the sample would meet any minimum standards for occupancy, although the interviewers found that an occasional dwelling stood out as clean and well-kept in spite of the obstacles to cleanliness. When the families were asked, however, whether they considered their dwellings good, fair or bad in relation to their needs, 21 per cent answered "good", 43 per cent "fair", and only 36 per cent "bad". These answers suggest not only very low standards or expectations for housing but also a prior concern with needs other than the dwelling proper. When the respondents were asked to indicate objects or improvements needed in their dwelling, many naturally thought first of movable possessions that would not be jeopardized by their precariousness of tenure. Forty-seven per cent of the needs that were specified concerned furniture or equipment (kitchen equipment, beds, etc.); 22 per cent concerned services (water, light, sewerage), while 23.5 per cent concerned improvements in the structure of the dwelling (more rooms, new roof, etc.).^{20/}

The replies to another question on the needs of the settlement in general placed water supply in the lead (32 per cent of the needs stated) followed by lighting (22 per cent).

When the families were asked whether they wished to move, their replies indicated a higher degree of dissatisfaction than did their evaluations of their houses. Nearly 84 per cent wanted to move while only 16 per cent did not; it is significant that only one half of one per cent of the respondents failed to answer this question. The reasons they gave are too varied and in part too vague to permit any clear conclusions but it does not appear that bad housing was foremost in the minds of the majority. In addition to insecurity of tenure, lack of services such as water and light, and insanitary physical environment, the human environment was objectionable to many: noisy, quarrelsome, drunken or criminal neighbours were often mentioned.

^{20/} Some of the families stated more than one need, and the percentages here refer to the number of times needs were mentioned rather than to the number of families. The remaining replies were divided between respondents who needed "everything" and others who felt no needs whatever.

Their desire to move was more than a vague aspiration. Seventy-four per cent considered it possible to obtain a better dwelling through an institution such as CORVI and 57 per cent stated that they had taken steps to apply for a house.

7. The working population and its earnings

It has already been pointed out that the callampa population has a remarkably high proportion of children, although few old people. Only 47 per cent are between the ages of 15 and 64, usually defined as the productive period of life, compared to 59 per cent in Greater Santiago, 58 per cent in the predominantly working-class commune of San Miguel, and 56 per cent in Chile as a whole.^{21/} It is not surprising that an unusually high proportion of the adult population is working or looking for work. In the households investigated, 473 persons were stated to be usually gainfully employed, an average of 1.7 earners per household, and equal to 61 per cent of the group between 15 and 64 years of age. According to the respondents, 14 per cent of the employed persons worked 35 hours or less in the week, 53 per cent worked from 35 to 49 hours, while 15 per cent worked 50 hours or more; the working hours of 18 per cent were not specified. A considerable number in the employed group were stated to have been unemployed during part of the preceding year, but this question was not answered for about 40 per cent of the employed group, and the inquiry did not produce clear evidence on the numbers within the households who were totally unemployed and seeking work. The self-employed part of the callampa working population is significantly higher than elsewhere:

^{21/} The comparative percentages used in this section come from the following sources: San Miguel: Irma Salas and Enrique Saavedra, La Educación en una Comuna de Santiago, Universidad de Chile, Instituto de Educación, Santiago, 1962 (1958 sample survey); Greater Santiago and Chile: data from a sample of 1960 population census returns made by the Dirección de Estadística y Censos.

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES
(Percentages of population usually
gainfully employed)

Callampa families San Miguel Greater Santiago Chile

Salaried employees	4	16	30	21
Wage-workers	52	57	48	54
Self-employed	33	24	17	20
No information	11	3	5	5

The ratio of self-employed to wage-workers varied considerably in the different settlements; in three settlements the self-employed outnumbered the wage-workers.

Most of the self-employed workers (street vendors, etc.) were presumably not confined to a fixed number of hours, while others depended on part-time jobs for a number of employers (laundresses, gardeners, etc.). In such a group the dividing line between full-time and part-time employment and even between employment and unemployment cannot be very clear-cut; the wage earner who loses his job will normally find some makeshift occupation to bring in a little money. The callampa worker rarely has any security of continued employment; he faces the prospect of a succession of poorly paid jobs of uncertain duration.

A distribution of the working population among the three main sectors of economic activity shows that the proportion in the tertiary sector (services and commerce), which various studies have singled out as a refuge for underemployed marginal labour in the Latin American

/cities in

cities in general, is not very high. Three per cent of the jobs of the callampa workers can be classified as "primary", 45 per cent as "secondary", and 45 per cent as "tertiary",^{22/} compared to 1, 38, and 62 per cent in Great Santiago as a whole, and 0.4, 47.6 and 52 per cent in the commune of San Miguel. Within the secondary sector, however, the distribution of callampa workers is quite different from that in the rest of the city. Twenty-three per cent were employed in the construction industry and only 19 per cent in manufacturing industry, while the corresponding percentages were 6 and 32 for Greater Santiago and 8.6 and 39 for San Miguel. In fact, construction work in Santiago is in the main an unskilled low-wage occupation showing high rates of unemployment.

The callampa labour force is probably less committed to specific occupations than the above statistics would indicate, with many persons shifting between unskilled wage labour and self-employment with earnings irregular as well as low. This circumstance, together with the fact that in a majority of the families the respondent was not the main breadwinner, means that the information on incomes that was obtained through the inquiry cannot be considered entirely reliable. Many of the informants did not have a very clear idea of their weekly or monthly earnings.

The 384 persons (81 per cent of the 473 who said they were normally gainfully employed) for whom earnings were specified indicated an average monthly income of E° 42. At the time of the inquiry the legal minimum wage for workers (sueldo vital obrero) in Greater Santiago was fixed at E° 1.39 daily. Since a person who works a full six-day week is, under the law, paid for seven days, the sueldo vital for a worker fully employed for a month would also come to about E° 42. The incomes of more than 45 per cent of the earners for whom data were provided fell below the sueldo vital, but an undetermined proportion of these were part-time workers and not the main breadwinner of a household. The data are not complete or reliable enough to permit more than a guess at the average household

^{22/} Occupations of 7 per cent of the working population were not specified.

/income. If

income. If the gainfully employed persons whose earnings were not stated were at the same level as the others the average household income would amount to about E° 71, or the equivalent of about 1.7 sueldos vitales.

The inquiry did not obtain data on family expenditures or consumption levels, but the meaning of the incomes in terms of levels of living can be roughly suggested as follows: the cost of an adequate diet for one adult, calculated by the Departamento de Alimentación y Nutrición of the Servicio Nacional de Salud in June 1961 and adjusted to compensate for a 34 per cent increase in the cost of living between that date and the date of the inquiry, is about E° 0.45. The average daily income of a callampa household under the rough estimates made above - about E° 2.6 - is thus barely adequate to buy food for the average household of six, even if no other needs are met and even if all earnings of household members are devoted to common needs, which is unlikely. Many of the households, however, particularly those with only one breadwinner, must have fallen far below the average figure. The limited capacity of these households to meet even the smallest expenses for housing is obvious.

Thirty-nine per cent of the persons normally employed were stated to belong to a social insurance fund; 31 per cent did not; the question was not answered for the remainder, but it is probable that most of these were not covered by social insurance. Ninety-two per cent of the insured persons belonged to the Servicio de Seguro Social, 3 per cent to the Caja de Empleados Particulares, 5 per cent to other funds. The benefits received from social insurance, were limited; 20 per cent of the total number of persons in the households were stated to have received medical attention, but only 10 per cent of the employed population had received sickness subsidy payments, 2 per cent had received loans through a social security fund, and another 2 per cent had received unemployment compensation.

8. Social integration and organization at the neighbourhood level

As one might expect, the majority of callampa families maintain informal co-operative relationships with their neighbours and help them in time of need. About two-thirds of the respondents indicated, in replies to separate questions, that they participated with their neighbours in some activities and that they maintained friendships or contacts with them; 57 per cent stated that neighbours helped them in their difficulties. Very few of the respondents failed to answer these questions, and most of the negative replies were quite definite; a sizable minority rejected local contacts altogether; they had nothing to do with the neighbours and expected nothing from them. About one-third of the respondents also specified the neighbourhood itself or bad neighbours as the things they liked least about the settlement. It may be, however, that the negative answers derive more from the inevitable quarrels over reciprocity arising in the kind of mutual aid carried on among families living hand-to-mouth than from a real distinction between a co-operating majority and a rejecting minority.

The answers to other questions indicate that membership in formal organizations is weak and interest in them limited; only a few callampa people understand the purposes of such organizations or feel any confidence in their own ability to make use of them. This conclusion is undoubtedly valid on the whole, but the results of this part of the inquiry were biased by the fact that most of the respondents were women, whose organizational interests were no doubt fewer than those of the men and different in character.

The organizational form most characteristic of the settlement is the Comité de Vecinos (Neighbourhood Committee), found in almost all of them. These Committees are usually elected by Juntas de Vecinos (Neighbourhood Councils) open to all of the people, although some of them may in practice be self-appointed. Their main function is to represent the settlement in its relations with the outside world. They appeal to municipal agencies for water lines and other services; fight eviction threats and sometimes collect money from the families for rental payments

/to landowners;

to landowners; and, increasingly, help to organize resettlement of the whole population. In general, they have done little to organize mutual aid activities for improvement of the settlements themselves.

Only 13 per cent of the respondents stated that they belonged to a Junta de Vecinos; 64 per cent denied membership; 23 per cent had never heard of such an organization. About 40 per cent had attended neighbourhood meetings, at least occasionally. Twenty-seven per cent of the respondents could name activities carried out by the Comité de Vecinos to solve community problems; 23 per cent complained about the way it functioned; the other 50 per cent could not name any activities of the Comité, knew nothing about it, or thought it did not exist.

The only other organizations with an appreciable membership were Centros de Madres (Mothers' Clubs) and sports clubs; 18 per cent of the respondents belonged to the former and nearly 7 per cent to the latter. The Centros de Madres, organized by social workers, have gained increasing importance in the callampa settlements, and are undertaking activities rather broader than their name indicates. While most of the men work outside the settlement, the majority of women do not, and the Centros de Madres represent their only opportunity to grasp even the possibility of better living conditions.

Membership in other organizations was incredibly limited, even if one takes into account the influence of the high proportion of female respondents. The total number of memberships was only 13; the extent of overlapping has not been determined. Only two persons belonged to co-operatives; one to a political party, one to a trade union, and one to a religious association.

9. Integration with the national society

The callampa population seems to have little interest in or consciousness of national affairs. Only 17 per cent of the respondents stated that they had attended a political meeting within the past three years. Only 48 per cent of the respondents of voting age were entered in the electoral registers; about half of the non-registered group were disqualified by illiteracy; most of the others gave no reason other than

/"lack of

"lack of interest". Only 15 per cent even thought they knew the name of one of the congressional deputies for their districts and the majority of these named a minister, senator, or other political figure not elected from the district.

At the time of the inquiry the Rio Lauca controversy was at its height and was constantly referred to by press and radio. A question on this was included in order to test awareness of national issues in the callampa settlements. More than 60 per cent of the respondents denied any knowledge of it.

Fifty-four per cent of the callampa families owned radios, and it can be assumed that practically all of the people could listen to programmes if interested. Twenty-five per cent of the respondents stated that they read newspapers daily, and 44 per cent at less frequent intervals. It appears, however, that neither the radio nor the press is used to any great extent as a source of information on national politics and problems.

If a higher percentage of the respondents had been male the impression of detachment from national life might have been modified to some extent, but it is safe to say that most callampa families do not relate their needs to national political programmes. Their interests are limited to the life of the settlement or, even more narrowly, to the family group.

10. Some conclusions and questions

What does the inquiry teach us, beyond the fact (only too well-known beforehand) that the people who live in callampas are very poor, badly housed, and occupationally marginal? The following conclusions can be offered only tentatively, as hypotheses to be tested by more thorough studies, and must rely as much on the combined impression produced by the replies to questions as on the statistical findings:

1. The so-called "revolution of rising expectations" has penetrated the callampa settlements only in a very limited way. The majority of the respondents show no generalized or aggressive discontent with their lives and prospects; they do not seem to compare their lot with that of the better-off urban population either to resent or to emulate it. This impression is borne out by their remarkably friendly and open reception of the interviewers as much as by their answers to specific questions.

/Some of

Some of the respondents rejected their environment altogether, and another minority was too contented or too apathetic to express any needs, but the majority were preoccupied with specific immediate wants that seem modest indeed; they wanted more security in their dwelling places and their jobs, a little more room, a cleaner and safer neighbourhood, some basic furniture and household equipment, electric lighting, a convenient source of water.

2. The callampa people depend on primary contacts with family members, neighbours and employers to lessen their insecurity, and for many of them reliable contacts hardly extend beyond the immediate family. Mutual aid outside the family is limited in scope and extremely informal. Participation in formal organizations, even the ones that have sprung up within the settlements to deal with their immediate problems is weak. This low degree of organization can be attributed partly to the lack of any tradition of local community organization in the backgrounds from which most of the callampa people come, partly to their low educational levels, and partly to the shifting, provisional character of residence in most of the settlements. The callampa families have little interest in national issues or political forces, but at the same time one finds among them a widely diffused, rather passive expectation of some forms of aid from the State. This expectation was no doubt another reason for their friendly reception of persons coming from the outside world to question them about their needs. In particular, the majority of families see in present public programmes a real hope of improvement in their housing and environment.

3. The public policy of providing building sites or basic dwellings that can be expanded by their occupants is suited to the most articulate wants of the callampa families for security of tenure and minimum urban services, and also to their very low capacity to pay for better housing. The combination of low and insecure incomes, low standards of living, and very limited aspirations among these families, however, introduces a danger that the new settlements will remain only marginally superior to the callampas, while the secure occupancy of the land and higher degree of segregation from the rest of the city will make them more resistant to change. The extremely high fertility of the callampa families complicates

/the problem

the problem in two ways: first, by producing a dependency burden that leaves the families no margin of income for improving their living conditions; second, by forcing them to continue in their new dwellings the overcrowding and promiscuity typical of the callampas.

4. The desire for resettlement revealed by most of the families questioned suggests that if building sites and basic dwellings continue to be provided at low cost, most of the families now in the callampa settlements will readily take advantage of them, leaving in the older settlements (if these are not eradicated altogether) a hard core of families too disorganized, apathetic or anti-social to qualify for resettlement. At the same time, new callampas are likely to continue to spring up, probably in smaller nuclei, wherever job opportunities appear and official vigilance is lax. Families with very low incomes and equally low standards of comfort and hygiene, geographically mobile and unattached to any specific occupation, find the callampa a natural and convenient way of meeting their need for temporary shelter at minimum expense. This is a national rather than a metropolitan problem; whether future pressures for callampa construction are stronger in Greater Santiago than elsewhere will depend on the relative attraction of the capital and other urban centres for low-income migrants.

5. The newer settlements with populations recruited from the callampas and the older slum neighbourhoods can be expected to reproduce some of the social characteristics of the latter, but with important differences arising from the organized and selective nature of the resettlement, from the promise of permanence and security, and from their large size and high degree of spacial segregation. The new forms of social organization and adaptation to the urban setting that emerge within them will be among the most important determinants of the future of Santiago as well as the other large cities of Latin America. If the dangers indicated above are to be overcome, the needs of the new settlements for employment, education, social services, and integration into national life must be met in comprehensive way, and this can hardly be done without better information on needs and trends during the formative period of these settlements.

/The present

The present inquiry has tried to throw light on the situation of a group typical of much of the population now flowing into the new settlements; more information of this kind is needed, but it is even more urgent to find out what happens to such a group in its new environment. Future inquiries in all of the great cities of Latin America should seek answers to the following questions, among others:

- (a) What changes, if any, in family structure, functions, methods of child-rearing, and attitudes toward fertility are appearing in the settlements?
- (b) What are the consequences of the physical segregation of the low-income settlements from the rest of the city?
In what ways are the occupants conscious of this segregation and what are their attitudes toward national and urban institutions?
- (c) What forms of social organization, participation, control, and leadership are appearing within the settlements and what are their functions? What are the relationships between organizational forms appearing within the settlements and national or municipal authorities and political movements?
- (d) How do present social programmes aimed at improvement of living conditions function in the settlements? How extensive and effective are educational, health and other social services? How does the population view these programmes and services?
- (e) What are the occupations, sources of income and levels of income of the settlement families? What changes in occupations can be attributed to the new forms of settlement? To what extent is employment of a marginal nature? What is the extent of under-employment and unemployment? What are the occupational preferences and motivations of the population?
- (f) What are the implications of the new settlements for urban land use and city planning?

