

SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA
Santiago, Chile, 6 - 18 July 1959

Conference room paper N° 5

IMMIGRATION AND URBANIZATION IN BOGOTA, COLOMBIA

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Introduction

Colombia has been defined as a land of cities. Since international immigration has not assumed striking proportions in this country, the growth of the towns is mainly attributable to rural population shifts towards urban centres exercising a remarkably strong attraction throughout the surrounding areas. Sufficient evidence of this is afforded by a reminder that, in 1938, 71.9 per cent of the population of Colombia belonged to the rural sector, while thirteen years later, in 1951, the corresponding proportion was only 61.3 per cent.

In the case of the city of Bogotá, the population grew slowly until the end of the third decade of the current century, but in the last thirty years it has increased with dizzy speed. In 1905, the city had 100,000 inhabitants, and by 1951 its population was six-and-a-half times larger. The population increment between 1905 and 1918 was only 43,000 persons; in the twenty years that followed it was 286,318, and from 1938 to 1951 it was higher still, amounting to 318,012 inhabitants. The District Planning Office has estimated that by 1965 the population of Bogotá will number 1,358,000, or twice the 1951 census figure.

Immigration is undoubtedly one of the fundamental causes of this increase in the population. The 1951 census showed that only 43.2 per cent of the inhabitants of Bogotá were born there, while 58 per cent came from all parts of the country, with the exclusion of the 1.7 per cent of foreign birth.

One of the consequences of this inflow of new residents has been an exceptional expansion of the south-western, north-western and western suburbs. During the last interval between censuses, the south-western zone expanded by 403.8 per cent, the north-western by 291.8 per cent and the western by 260.2 per cent. The old city of Santafé de Bogotá, compact and radial, has been elongated into the crescent-shaped urban area of to-day.

As the population increased, speculators in real estate multiplied. These "urbanizers" - such is the local term - chiefly exploited land outside the jurisdiction of the old municipality of Bogotá. They broke up estates into lots, gave these "built-up areas" striking names, and, by promising public utilities, quickly sold the sites. Thus came into being those parts of Bogotá which are commonly known as "clandestine settlements". With the creation, four years ago, of the Special District of Bogotá, these settlements became an integral part of the city, and nowadays constitute the capital's many problem areas.

A number of these settlements are formed by immigrants from the rural areas and from small urban nuclei in various parts of the country. The purpose of this study is to describe in brief outline the socio-cultural characteristics of four districts of this type, in the conviction that the cultural patterns they display are a reflection of the environment from which they spring, and to call attention, as appropriate, to the influences connected with urbanization.

Characteristics of districts inhabited by immigrants

Towards the south-east extremity of the city, on the slopes of the Cordillera of the Andes, lie the districts known as Córdoba, Bello Horizonte, Santa Inés and San Vicente Suroriental. The first two are adjacent to the part of the city built on level ground, and are therefore closer to the urban services; the other two are higher up, and, consequently more remote from the city proper.

These four districts are contiguous; they share a steep and broken topography; almost all are above the level reached by the drinking-water supply; broadly speaking, they are recently developed; and they form one of the many clandestine settlements.

A study of Bello Horizonte was carried out in 1958 by the Inter American Housing Centre, for research purposes and at the request of the Planning Office. The other three were recently studied by the latter institution with a view to acquiring background information both on their physical characteristics and on the socio-demographic aspects essential for urbanization programmes, as well as to establishing bases on which to develop community action programmes.

Roughly speaking, this research represents a sample of 25 per cent of the buildings erected, which was determined with the help of the land use census. The survey was carried out by the interview method, on the first Sunday in April, because on that date all the members of a household were likely to be at home. Previously-trained fourth-year students of architecture from the Universidad Fundación de América collaborated in the study as well as a group of professionals from the Planning Office.

The survey included a housing and population census, specifying biological families and households, mortality, sex, civil status, level of education, occupations and crafts, present employment, income, place of work and travel time, and immigration and its causes, as well as a discretionary questionnaire, applicable only to heads of households, and designed to reveal basic institutions shaping a neighbourhood and a community.

The findings suggest that the four settlements are mainly made up of recent immigrants, and that their socio-cultural characteristics are primarily the inheritance of this group.

Population and immigration

The four districts have approximately 15,000 inhabitants; in other words, they account for 1.5 per cent of the city's present total population. Densities are higher in the settlements nearer the urban centres and lower in those situated on the upper slopes. In Córdoba, in fact, a density of 269 inhabitants per hectare is registered, whereas in San Vicente the corresponding figure is barely 63.7 (see table 1).

Table 1

District	Population	Built-up area (Hectares)	Density (Inhabitants per hectare)
Córdoba	4 734	17.6	269.0
Santa Ines	2 376	18.7	127.0
San Vicente	1 715	26.9	63.7
Bello Horizonte	5 500	35.0	157.0

Table 2

	Cordoba				Santa Ines				San Vicente			
	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent- age	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent- age	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent- age
Bogota	218	183	401	38.26	118	106	224	51.9	117	102	219	48.13
Cundinamarca	176	159	335	31.96	30	31	61	14.2	48	59	107	23.51
Boyaca	71	73	144	13.74	23	23	46	10.6	35	36	71	15.60
Tolima	34	37	71	6.77	4	-	4	0.8	4	6	10	2.18
Caldas	6	11	17	1.62	7	8	15	3.5	2	1	3	0.65
Santander	4	3	7	0.67	5	11	16	3.7	10	5	15	3.29
Other depart- ments	30	29	59	6.98	31	35	66	15.2	13	17	30	6.64
<u>Total</u>	<u>539</u>	<u>495</u>	<u>1 034</u>	-	<u>218</u>	<u>214</u>	<u>432</u>	-	<u>229</u>	<u>226</u>	<u>455</u>	-

Two-thirds of the inhabitants of Córdoba and Bello Horizonte are immigrants, while in Santa Inés and San Vicente these represent over half of the population. The largest streams of immigrants come, in order of importance, from the departments of Cundinamarca and Boyacá, which are adjacent to the capital of the Republic and possess a large rural population as well as numerous, although small, urban nuclei (see table 2). There are rather more male than female immigrants.

Slightly over 60 per cent of the immigrants to Córdoba and Bello Horizonte came to the capital in the course of the present decade, and more than 50 per cent in the case of the other two districts, the inflow having been largest in the last four years (see table 3).

The percentage of immigrants in the four districts differs according to the length of time the settlements have been established, which is also reflected in the inhabitants' number of years of residence. Residents in the 4-years-and-under group constitute three-fourths of the population in Bello Horizonte, two-thirds in Córdoba, half in San Vicente and less than half in Santa Inés. Thus the last settlement is the oldest (see table 4).

The principal motives inducing immigrants to leave their places of origin have been the search for work, the desire to improve their living conditions and the political unrest which has been troubling the country during the last ten years. Another important factor was that a considerable percentage of the immigrants, especially in Santa Inés and San Vicente, had relatives already settled in the capital.

The causes of immigration unquestionably reflect unsatisfactory living conditions in the places of origin concerned; and a considerable number of the members of households interviewed had been agricultural workers and smallholders. All the evidence suggests that the former settled in San Vicente and the latter in Córdoba and Bello Horizonte (see table 5).

Thus, the districts under consideration are inhabited chiefly by recent immigrants who left their place of origin either to escape from its poor living conditions or driven by local outbreaks of violence.

Table 3

	Cordoba				Santa Ines				San Vicente			
	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent- age	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent- age	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent- age
1955-1959	133	139	272	42.95	30	25	55	32.5	43	34	77	36.15
1950-1954	42	66	108	17.05	19	11	30	17.8	19	28	47	22.06
1945-1949	31	23	54	8.53	9	19	28	16.6	22	20	42	19.71
1940-1944	14	18	32	5.05	9	4	13	7.7	5	11	16	7.51
1935-1939	9	14	23	3.63	4	8	12	7.1	4	4	8	3.75
1930-1934	4	8	12	1.89	4	6	10	5.9	5	8	13	6.10
1920-1930	5	6	11	1.74	5	8	13	7.7	1	6	7	3.23
Before 1919	5	4	9	1.42	5	3	8	4.7	2	1	3	1.40
<u>Total</u>	<u>321</u>	<u>312</u>	<u>633</u>	-	<u>85</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>169</u>	-	<u>101</u>	<u>112</u>	<u>213</u>	-

Table 4

	Cordoba	Santa Ines	San Vicente	Bello Horizonte
	(Percentage)			
1 and under - 2	38.95	29.22	33.71	58.60
3 - 4	22.09	12.31	17.98	23.40
5 - 6	7.55	3.08	14.61	18.00
7 - 8	12.21	9.23	6.74	18.00
9 - 10	8.72	20.00	15.73	-
11 and over	10.46	26.36	11.23	-

/Broadly speaking,

Broadly speaking, all of them, as will later be seen, belong to a low cultural level, and possess limited economic resources or none at all, but are determined to survive in an urban environment with which they are unfamiliar. They are building settlements overnight, with little or no prospect of public utilities, with sketchy streets and wretched dwellings. They undoubtedly possess one great quality, namely, the capacity to save and build, since of the property-owners interviewed more than 75 per cent were immigrants. This quality, praiseworthy from every point of view, has unfortunately been given no technical guidance to channel it along lines beneficial both to the individual and to the community. On the contrary, it has been greedily and skilfully exploited by the speculators in real estate, who, with cheap land as their slogan, have added areas unfit for urbanization to the city's great urban problems. An enormous amount of energy has been poured into the building of these settlements. In the case of Bello Horizonte, the inhabitants, within a space of eight years, have invested a capital of 4 million pesos, which means an annual investment of 500,000 pesos in the construction of shanty towns.

What are the socio-cultural characteristics of the population of these districts, and how are they being affected by the phenomena of urbanization?

Demographic aspects

The population of the four settlements is young, since over 50 per cent is composed of persons under 14 years of age. The full significance of this fact becomes plain if it is borne in mind that, according to the 1951 census, the same type of population represented 34.2 per cent of the total population of Bogotá. In Córdoba and Bello Horizonte, women are more numerous than men, whereas in the other two districts the reverse is the case.

The proportion of the population in the group between 15 and 44 years of age fluctuates around 37 per cent - an undeniably low figure in comparison with that registered for the city as a whole, which was 53.0 per cent in 1951. The number of women slightly exceeds that of men. In

/the districts

the districts covered by the present year's survey half the individuals interviewed were above 15 years of age, and of these two-thirds were married. This shows that the adult population consists of young married couples, with a high birth rate, which is a characteristic feature of rural populations (see table 6).

If persons between 15 and 49 years of age are taken as the active population, it will be noted that this latter becomes more numerous as living conditions in the settlements deteriorate; that is, as per capita income decreases, the number of workers increases. In Córdoba the active population represents 60.1 per cent of the total, in San Inés 61.7 per cent and in San Vicente 63.0 per cent. Few women bring in income, as more than three-quarters of them work almost entirely at home (see table 7). This enables the mother to keep an eye on her children, although she has to work hard in the house.

A relatively small proportion of the population is over 45 years of age (see again table 6), especially in Córdoba and Bello Horizonte. The districts where living conditions are most unsatisfactory, show the highest frequency of paid workers among people of this age and above.

The population pyramids for both sexes in these four districts are characterized by broad bases and by irregular but not widely fluctuating outlines.

Average family size and type. The average family size in Córdoba, Santa Inés and San Vicente is 5.9, 5.6 and 5.3 respectively. These averages are high, and that of Santa Inés is exactly the same as the corresponding figure for the city. It is noteworthy that Córdoba, which is the most recent settlement with the largest number of immigrants, has the highest average family size. This phenomenon acquires increased significance if it is noted that Córdoba and San Vicente contain the biggest proportion of households (one-fourth of the total), while in Santa Inés 84 per cent consists of biological families. This shows that the older the district the more frequent the biological family becomes, while households multiply with recent immigration. Consequently, it seems safe to assert that urbanization influences are evidenced in the increase in the number of biological families and the decline in the average family size (see table 8).

Table 5

	Cordoba			Santa Ines			San Vicente			
	Male	Fe- male	Percent- age Total	Male	Fe- male	Percent age Total	Male	Fe- male	Percent age Total	
Work	74	63	21.63	23	14	37	29	28	57	26.76
Attraction of better living conditions in towns	49	64	17.84	12	11	23	14	12	26	12.20
Political unrest	38	35	11.53	10	4	14	11	12	23	10.80
Family reasons	29	52	12.79	16	27	43	36	44	80	37.55
Study or military service	13	5	2.84	2	-	2	2	2	4	1.87
Other reasons	60	28	13.89	15	12	27	8	6	14	6.57
No data available	58	65	19.42	17	16	33	3	6	9	4.22

Table 6

District	Juvenile population (0 - 14 years)			Adult population (15 - 44 years)			Older population			Proportion of each sex		
	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total			
Bello Horizonte	27.5	31.7	59.2	17.9	17.2	35.1	2.4	2.1	4.5	47.8	51.0	98.8
Cordoba	25.5	25.6	51.1	18.3	20.7	39.0	5.3	4.2	9.9	49.1	50.9	100.0
Santa Ines	28.0	24.1	52.1	16.6	19.4	36.0	6.0	5.3	11.3	50.6	48.8	99.4
San Vicente S.O.	26.5	23.7	50.2	18.0	21.3	39.3	5.0	5.5	10.5	49.5	50.5	100.0

Table 7

	Cordoba				Santa Ines				San Vicente			
	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent- age	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent- age	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent- age
Employed	192	72	264	57.5	73	27	100	57.1	79	33	112	59.3
Unemployed	9	3	12	2.6	7	1	8	4.6	6	1	7	3.7
Total active population	201	75	276	60.1	80	28	108	61.7	85	34	119	63.0
Non-workers	6	5	11	2.4	3	4	7	4.0	5	5	10	5.3
Students	8	6	14	3.1	2	7	9	5.1	2	2	4	2.1
Home workers	-	158	158	34.4	-	51	51	29.1	-	56	56	29.6
Total inactive population	14	169	180	39.9	5	62	67	38.3	7	63	70	37.0
Total 15-49 years	215	244	459	-	85	90	175	-	92	97	189	-

Table 8

District	Biological families		Households	
	Number	Percent- age	Number	Percent- age
Cordoba	134	75.7	43	24.3
Santa Ines	65	84.4	12	15.6
San Vicente	64	74.4	22	25.6

/Mortality.

Mortality. As the settlements are composed of young married couples with many children, the death rate relates essentially to infant mortality. Mortality is very high among children from birth until 4 years of age, and there is also a high percentage of still-born babies. Among children in their first twelve months of life, the death rate reaches 31.5 per cent in Córdoba, 40.6 per cent in Santa Inés and 46.3 per cent in San Vicente (see table 9). It is obvious that mortality increases as conditions in the settlements deteriorate. The chief causes of infant mortality are diseases of the respiratory and digestive systems. Deaths due to this last cause are most numerous in San Vicente, while in Santa Inés their number decreases and the lowest percentages are registered in Córdoba.

Marital status. In the recent settlements - Córdoba and Pello Horizonte - more than two-thirds of the population in the over-15 age group have gone through the ceremony of religious marriage, and rather more than half in the other two districts. In Santa Inés and San Vicente there is a marked increase in the number of free unions and of separated and widowed persons, while in the other two these phenomena are not much in evidence. Here, then, apparently, is another case of urban influence, since the situations in question are not common in the rural areas from which the immigrants come (see table 10).

Education. The predominance of primary education is almost absolute, reaching 100 per cent in San Vicente, while only 6.0 and 3.0 of the inhabitants of Córdoba and Santa Inés, respectively, have enjoyed the benefit of secondary education (see table 11). Women are the less well-off in this respect - a cultural pattern typical of rural areas and small urban nuclei. In Bogotá it survives among the manual worker and low-income employee groups in the type of secondary education received by the two sexes; boys are encouraged to pass their bachillerato and go on to the university, while girls take up professions for which the training required is short and easy. This is another instance of urban influence.

The following is the average number of years of attendance at primary schools: 3.3 in Córdoba, 2.8 in Santa Inés and 2.8 in San Vicente.

Table 9

Age	Cordoba	Santa Ines	San Vicente
	<u>(Percentage)</u>		
Still-born	16.3	6.25	7.41
Under 1 year	31.5	40.63	46.29
1 - 4 years	29.3	25.00	25.93
5 - 9 Years	11.9	3.13	1.85
9 years and over	11.0	6.24	18.52

Table 10

Civil status	Cordoba	Santa Ines	San Vicente	Bello Horizonte
	<u>(Percentage)</u>			
Married	61.0	56.3	54.26	73.8
Single	30.0	24.3	26.91	19.1
Free union	5.0	10.1	5.38	1.5
Widowed	3.0	5.4	8.97	4.2
Separated	1.0	3.9	4.48	1.4

/The level

The level of education is clearly higher in Córdoba than in the other two settlements, and this is of course reflected in higher income levels.

In Córdoba one-fifth of the inhabitants are illiterate, in Santa Inés more than one-fourth and in San Vicente one-third. It goes almost without saying that of these the major proportion is constituted by women (see table 12).

Of the school age population, 68.3 per cent attend school in the case of Córdoba, 52.0 per cent in that of Santa Inés and 60.0 per cent in that of San Vicente. Although absenteeism is high in all three districts, attendance is obviously most satisfactory in Córdoba and lower in San Vicente.

Place of work. The most frequent places of work are also illustrative of the type of workers living in each of the settlements. The active population of Córdoba includes the highest proportion of non-manual workers; 49.2 per cent work in the centre of the city and only 6 per cent in the industrial zone of Occidente. Only 34.9 per cent of the active population of Santa Inés works in the centre, but the proportion employed in the Occidente industrial area rises to 9.4 per cent. The percentage of workers in this area is higher still in the case of San Vicente, reaching 12.6 per cent. Hence it can be deduced that this last district is the home of the largest group of manual workers.

Original and current occupations or crafts. Differences between the workers' original occupations and those in which they are currently engaged naturally reveal a process of adjustment to urban life which will be the more significant, the greater the differences are seen to be (see table 13).

In Córdoba the original occupations and crafts which occur with the highest frequency are the following:

Masons	27.0 per cent
Agricultural workers	9.3 " "
Shopkeepers	14.9 " "
Self-employed	19.8 " "
Without occupation	17.6 " "

Table 11

District	Primary			Secondary			University		
	Male	Fe- male	Percent age	Male	Fe- male	Percent age	Male	Fe- male	Percent age
Cordoba	264	273	93.88	17	17	5.94	1	..	0.17
Santa Ines	114	95	96.76	3	4	3.24
San Vicente	112	83	99.99	2	5	0.01	-	-	-

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Table 12

District	Illiterate population				Literate population											
	7-14 years		15 years and over		Total illiterate population		Total literate population									
	Fe- male	To- tal	Fe- male	To- tal	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male								
Cordoba	17	34	51	31.6	41	69	110	68.4	58	103	161	21.9	282	290	572	78.1
Santa Ines	15	11	26	29.9	22	39	61	70.1	37	50	87	28.5	117	99	216	71.5
San Vicente	11	14	25	25.0	26	49	75	75.0	37	63	100	31.4	123	98	221	68.6

/Current employment

Current employment figures show the following changes:

Masons	19.8 per cent
Agricultural workers	1.1 " "
Shopkeepers	15.5 " "
Self-employed	27.0 " "
Without occupation	0.0 " "
Non-manual workers	22.7 " "

As can be seen, there has been a notable decrease in the number of masons and agricultural workers, while shopkeepers and the self-employed (sellers of lottery tickets, carters, locksmiths, etc.) have increased. A fact of unique importance is the emergence of a high percentage of non-manual workers and the complete disappearance of the "No occupation" group. The implication would seem to be that this was the district settled by the best qualified immigrants, who were easily able to make their way as employees, as development not observable in the other settlements.

In San Vicente the following are the original occupations occurring with the highest frequency:

Masons	27.0 per cent
Agricultural workers	17.3 " "
Shopkeepers	8.7 " "
Domestic servants	14.4 " "
Artisans	21.2 " "

Present employment figures show the following changes:

Masons	28.9 per cent
Agricultural workers	4.8 " "
Shopkeepers	14.4 " "
Domestic servants	10.6 " "
Artisans	17.3 " "

The process of adjustment to urban life is more obvious in this district. The agricultural-worker group has almost entirely disappeared, and the proportion of women in domestic service and of artisans has substantially decreased, but there are more masons and,

/in particular,

in particular, shopkeepers. Driver-mechanics also increased by 1 per cent. The inference is that immigrants settling in this district were not skilled workers, and that on their arrival in Bogotá the men managed to learn new skills (becoming masons, for instance, or driver-mechanics), while women who began by entering domestic service very possibly, as the years went by, left this occupation and engaged in a form of commercial activity, setting up small shops in their respective homes. The "little shop" is an urban phenomenon characteristic of all districts inhabited by manual workers and by employees in the lower-income groups, and even seems likely to spread to the older and more well-to-do residential suburbs.

Since Santa Inés is the longest-established of the settlements under consideration, the situation as regards original and present occupations has undergone no major changes. The only noteworthy modification lies in the decrease in the proportion of masons (5 per cent), but this is offset by a corresponding increase in the non-manual worker group (5.7 per cent).

From the foregoing analysis, the following conclusions can be drawn:

(a) The immigrants come from rural areas and small urban nuclei, where they were engaged in occupations characterized by little diversification and specialization.

(b) The greatest occupational changes are registered in the districts which include the largest number of immigrants and which are the most recently developed.

(c) The best-qualified immigrants settled in Córdoba, while those who came to live in San Vicente were agricultural labourers wishing to look for work and improve their living conditions.

(d) The form of commercial activity constituted by the "little shop" represents a patently urban influence.

Employment. Almost everybody between 15 and 49 years of age is at work, as in Córdoba the number of employed represents 97.1 per cent of the total active population and in Santa Inés 98.1 per cent, while in San Vicente the number of employed persons is actually higher than the active population figure, the excess being no doubt attributable to the work of old people. This confirms the previous statement that as income-levels decline the number of workers - especially women, old people and children - increases (see table 14).

Table 13
(Percentages)

	Cordoba		Santa Ines		San Vicente		Bello Horizonte
	Original occupation or craft	Present occupation	Original occupation or craft	Present occupation	Original occupation or craft	Present occupation	Occupation
Masons	27.01	19.78	30.20	25.50	27.00	28.90	30.00
Agricultural workers	9.33	1.10	1.88	1.88	17.30	4.80	-
Driver-mechanics	4.48	4.10	8.70	4.70	1.92	2.88	5.75
Shopkeepers	14.92	15.50	18.90	18.90	8.65	14.42	9.20
Domestic servants	8.21	8.21	5.70	5.70	14.42	10.58	10.40
Artisans	1.86	1.86	18.90	17.90	21.15	17.30	3.40
Self-employed	19.79	26.99	-	8.50	8.65	8.65	-
Non-manual workers	-	22.70	-	5.70	-	-	5.75
No occupation	17.60	-	16.90	-	-	-	-

Table 14

District	Employed				Total	Total active population
	Male		Female			
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage		
Cordoba	194	72.4	74	27.6	268	276
Santa Ines	80	75.5	26	24.5	106	108
San Vicente	99	71.7	39	28.3	138	119

/It is

It is also highly enlightening to note the relative importance of salaries and wages, as the former are received by people selling skills and the latter by those selling manpower. Salary-earners are more frequent among property-owners than among tenants, and the highest percentages are found in Córdoba, where the largest number of non-manual workers lives; next comes Santa Inés, and lastly San Vicente, whose population includes the biggest proportion of manual workers (see table 15).

Family income. Low income levels are the common denominator of all four settlements. Among property-owners in Córdoba, San Vicente and Bello Horizonte, the most frequent income levels fall between 151 and 200 pesos, and in Santa Inés between 201 and 250 pesos. Tenants in Córdoba, Santa Inés and Bello Horizonte earn incomes in the 101 - 150 pesos category. Only in San Vicente do they reach the same income level as the property-owners (see table 16). Family income in Córdoba is higher than in the other districts because of the larger percentages at income levels of above 200 pesos. In San Vicente, and Bello Horizonte, on the contrary, most incomes are below the 200-peso level.

Social-cultural characteristics

Sixty per cent of the population of the three districts purchases goods in the centre of the city, the explanation being that few general stores are to be found in the vicinity. Items for every day consumption, on the other hand, (groceries, etc.) are bought in the small local shops, but it is significant that 46.1 per cent of the inhabitants of San Vicente go to markets a long way off. Very possibly the purchases made have to last for a week - an essentially rural marketing pattern.

In the event of illness, people go to doctors. In Córdoba, 47.0 per cent visit a private doctor, while the remainder resort to the services of the hospitals, social security institutions and hygiene centres, in that order. Only 2.7 per cent ask for advice at chemists' shops. In Santa Inés, 24.2 per cent go to a private doctor and the remainder turn to the hospitals, hygiene centres and social security institutions, again in that order of importance. They do not ask advice from druggists. In San Vicente 32.6 per cent go to hospital, 29.2 per cent to doctors and the remainder to the hygiene centres, social security institutions and chemists' shops. The services of quacks or healers are not obtainable in the districts in question.

Table 15

District	O w n e r s				T e n a n t s			
	Salary earners		Wage earners		Salary earners		Wage earners	
	Num-ber	Percent-age	Num-ber	Percent-age	Num-ber	Percent-age	Num-ber	Percent-age
Cordoba	55	67.9	26	32.1	44	59.5	30	40.5
Santa Ines	19	55.9	15	44.1	10	26.3	28	73.7
San Vicente	16	30.8	36	69.2	5	15.2	28	84.8

/Table 16

Table 16
(Percentages)

Income levels	Cordoba		Santa Ines		San Vicente		Bello Horizonte	
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
10-100	3.22	9.19	17.1	4.8	16.36	10.52	5.00	7.4
101-150	9.67	20.68	17.1	21.4	14.50	15.78	15.00	33.3
151-200	21.50	16.08	11.4	9.5	21.80	23.68	25.00	22.2
201-250	13.97	16.08	20.0	9.5	9.10	21.05	21.70	11.1
251-300	15.05	11.49	11.4	17.0	12.72	18.42	16.60	-
301-350	4.30	3.45	-	7.1	5.45	5.26	5.00	3.7
351-400	9.67	6.89	2.9	-	5.45	-	3.30	7.4
401-450	2.15	1.14	5.7	11.9	7.27	2.63	↕	3.7
451-500	2.15	3.44	2.9	-	-	-		
501-600	4.30	2.30	5.7	7.1	1.81	-	↕	11.1
601-700	3.22	1.14	-	-	-	-		
701-800	3.22	1.14	-	-	-	-	↕	↕
801-900	2.15	-	-	-	-	-		
901-1000	-	1.14	-	-	-	-	↕	↕
Over 1000	-	-	-	2.4	-	-		

/Social intercourse

Social intercourse among the families living in these settlements is rare. They pay very few visits, and these, when they do occur, are usually to relatives living in the city, friendly calls being relegated to second place. To the institution known as the compadrazgo religioso,* which plays an important role in rural areas, due importance is not attached in these settlements.

No associations of any kind exist, and in Córdoba no recognition is accorded to local political leadership, as it is in the other three districts, which also have Improvements Boards, the most active being that of Bello Horizonte.

Almost everybody stays at home on Sundays and other holidays, rather than going to parks or cinemas. For this it would seem that the somewhat farouche and isolationist attitude typical of country-dwellers is mainly responsible, apart from the limitations imposed by economic circumstances.

Almost everybody attends Mass on Sundays, especially at the parish church in the neighbouring district of Veinte de Julio.

Those interviewed declared that their respective settlements differed from the neighbouring districts, adducing the existence of a superior class of workers (Córdoba and Santa Inés), lack of services (San Vicente), better housing (Córdoba). Nevertheless, a large majority acknowledged that they shared problems in common, especially in connexion with public utilities and transport, which together accounted for 80 per cent of the replies received. Consequently, the local residents approved of the idea of an association among these districts as a means of striving for the satisfaction of their common requirements.

Land tenure, land use and housing

The smallest number of property-owners (45.6 per cent) is found in the oldest district, Santa Inés, but it likewise has most tenants and, consequently, the biggest housing shortage. The highest proportion of property-owners (59.1 per cent) is registered in San Vicente, which consequently has the fewest tenants.

In Santa Inés, the land was originally divided up into small holdings ranging from 300 to 1,000 square metres in area. In the more

* Translator's note: Compadrazgo is the very close relationship existing between the parent(s) of a child and its godparent(s).

recently settled districts of Córdoba and San Vicente, on the other hand, the sites were of a smaller type, with an approximate area of 100 - 200 square metres. Nowadays, the original lots in all three districts have been subjected to such drastic subdivision that technical and economic constructions are virtually impracticable.

The land is mainly used for working-class housing, but since Santa Inés is the oldest of the settlements it contains a larger proportion of shops with living quarters.

Temporary shacks represents 26.2 per cent of total housing in San Vicente, but only 13.0 per cent in Santa Inés and Córdoba. Although it is feasible to assume that such accommodation is a little better than that occupied by the immigrants in their place of origin, the relative proportions noted serve to corroborate the statement that those who left their former homes in order to look for work settled in San Vicente. The type of housing in the settlements is of course bound to be conditioned by the cultural background of the immigrants and their economic possibilities. The poorest housing is to be found in San Vicente, as will be seen below.

The average space of ground on which a house is built in San Vicente is 34.8 square metres (the highest frequency lies between 15 and 19 square metres), while in Santa Inés it is 43.4 square metres (the highest frequency corresponding to 30 and 34 square metres).

Thirty-four per cent of the flooring in San Vicente, is made of durable materials, 44.0 per cent in Santa Inés and 60.0 per cent in Córdoba.

Roofs in all three districts are of Eternit tiles and zinc, but in Córdoba a larger proportion of roof terraces is observable, either for reasons of social prestige or because the owner was in a position to build a second storey.

Contact between one dwelling and another is slight in Santa Inés and San Vicente, since the lots are separated by barbed wire fences.

/The average

The average number of rooms in San Vicente is two and of bedrooms 1.5, which gives an overcrowding index of 3.88 persons per bedroom; in Santa Inés the corresponding figures are 3.07, 2.2 and 3.71 respectively; while, lastly in Córdoba they are 2.99, 2.32 and 3.47. The overcrowding indices in themselves bear eloquent witness to the living conditions in these settlements, but this deplorable situation is seen to be still worse if it is borne in mind that one or two rooms may be sublet or used for little shops.

In San Vicente, where there is no water laid on, no electricity, no sewage system, sanitary conditions are as bad as they can be. Eighty-five per cent of the houses have no sanitary facilities and only 40.0 per cent are equipped with proper kitchens. In the other two districts the situation is undoubtedly better, as water-pipes and drains have been partly laid.

An outline description of the subnormal districts shows that while there are marked differences between them, among the immigrants the family unit is firmly established - a level of integration which should be protected and turned to proper account in social welfare programmes. Again, it can be noted that the city of Bogotá is capable of absorbing the energies of the new residents, but this does not imply that there is no rational limit to its capacity in that respect. On the contrary, the aim of urban, regional and national programming should be to establish equilibrium between urban and rural activities.

