

INTRAURBAN RELOCATION AND STRUCTURE:

Low-Income Migrants in Latin America and the Caribbean

Dennis Conway, Indiana University

Juanita Brown, NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Sciences, California

INTRODUCTION

Urbanization and the increasing concentration of population in the major urban centers in Latin America is often conceived as the manifestation of a convergent economic process, that of industrialization (Roberts 1978). Internal cityward migration and natural increase are two dominant contributors to the increase in urbanized population throughout most of Latin America and the Caribbean in the last four decades (Elizaga 1965, Clarke 1974, Davis 1972). In Latin American research, studies of internal migration and urbanization have proliferated, investigating regional origins, migration networks, migrant selectivity, aspects of migrant assimilation in the urban social, economic and political realms, and the character and nature of initial settlement (cf. Morse 1971 for a summary of studies written between 1965–70). By and large, previous research has not fully explored the social and spatial dimensions of the process whereby migrants select initial residential sites and subsequently relocate (exceptions include studies by Brown 1972, Cornelius 1975, Davies and Blood 1974, Vaughn and Feindt 1973, Ward 1976). In short, we know very little about the paths a migrant follows between the time he reaches the city and the time he settles into a secure and stable dwelling environment.

One thesis on the urban settlement patterns of low-income migrants that has gained general acceptance among Latin American urbanists is that proposed by Turner (Morse 1971). Based on work in Peru, Turner suggests that there is a two-stage process of initial settlement and subsequent intraurban relocation of low-income in-migrants in which the central core is the initial “port of entry” and ensuing relocation is outwards to a peripheral residential environment. As a consequence of this process, it is argued that peripheral settlements are not receptor areas for rural in-migrants but rather they are suburban settle-

ments of low-income urbanites (Eyre 1972; Johnston 1972; Mangin and Turner 1968; Turner 1968, 1969).

However, recent analyses of initial settlement patterns of in-migrants in the Mexican cities of Monterrey and Guadalajara found considerable spatial dispersion among the choices of initial residences (Davies and Blood, 1974; Vaughn and Feindt, 1973). One of the authors, in her work on Mexico City, found the Turner thesis of initial settlement inappropriate (Brown 1972) and follow-up studies of migrant experiences in several Mexico City *colonias* appeared to confirm this (Cornelius 1975, Ward 1976). Work on intraurban migrant paths in the low-income sectors of Port of Spain, Trinidad revealed a similar divergence from the Turner thesis of settlement pattern evolution (Conway 1976). Finding support in these critical appraisals of the Turner thesis, we feel there is sufficient evidence to propose an alternative model of the low-income migrant's intraurban itinerary.

In our alternative model, while both the processes and patterns of intraurban relocation are considered, stress is on the relations of this migrant behavior and the intraurban structure as it evolves through phases of sustained urbanization. The construct is based on the character of the migrant's decision-making process and takes into account his attitudes toward relocation, his aspirations, and his group identity and affiliations. Furthermore, the construct accommodates for the societal, economic, and institutional constraints that influence the migrant's geographical routes through the urban system. While acknowledging that "institutional" forces, such as the organization of economic production, the circulation of capital in the formal and informal sectors, and the pervading interests of capitalism that interpenetrate public policy may be important structural determinants in the evolution of the urban system, we feel it is appropriate here to model the relocation decision-making behavior as it relates to a generalized evolutionary pattern of urban areal expansion and provide an alternative model to that proposed by Turner. Since our proposed model considers the evolution of low-income settlement patterns as an integral element in the alteration of the geographical routes migrants take into and through their urban environment, it is believed to have utility for developing countries in Latin America and the Caribbean with longer histories of sustained urbanization than Peru, the country whose experience underwrote the Turner thesis.

This treatise is in two parts. First, the evolutionary model is presented and depicted as a set of changing relations between the intraurban relocation of low-income migrants and intraurban structure during three phases of sustained urbanization—early, continuing, and later phases.

Then, utilizing analyses in Mexico City and Port of Spain, Trinidad, empirical evidence is presented to support two of the major themes of the model; one concerned with the evolution of the intraurban structure and its impact on redirecting initial settlement, the other concerned with the continuing role of group and kinship ties in shaping the process of relocation.

A MODEL OF THE LOW-INCOME MIGRANT'S INTRAURBAN ITINERARY

Our model builds on Turner's ideas concerning the way the low-income in-migrant at differing stages of economic advancement holds to certain basic priorities of the dwelling environment. Thus, at the individual level, the changing emphasis on three basic priorities of the dwelling environment—accessibility, security of tenure, and amenity considerations—conditions the low-income migrant's intraurban itinerary. Accessibility refers to the changing relative locations of workplace and residence, a priority of lasting importance since economic viability in the urban system is a primary objective of the low-income in-migrant and access to the job market is a continuing concern. Security of tenure refers to the individual's concern with consolidating his position in the urban environment and converting what may be still a fragile economic security into a more resistant and flexible mode of living, i.e., by investing in home-ownership. Amenity considerations can be the bare essentials necessary to provide shelter, warm food, and storage, but can surface, once economic security is obtained, to become a priority for dwelling improvements and improvements in the residential environment.

However, the way in which these basic priorities are translated into the intraurban itinerary of the low-income migrant through successive phases of residential development that accompany continuing urbanization do not continue to conform to the expectations of the Turner thesis. Turner's two-stage process is considered as merely the early phase in the relationship between intraurban relocation behavior and intraurban structure. Two later phases can be typecast in which the basic priorities are addressed by an alteration in the initial settlement and subsequent relocation behavior of low-income migrants as the intraurban structure evolves. Furthermore, the impact of group affiliations, with or without the reinforcement of kinship ties, on the individual's assumption of priorities of the dwelling environment, has a continuing effect on relocation decision-making. The low-income in-migrant as a member of the marginal sector responds collectively to protect himself and his fellows and views his goals and aspirations almost entirely in the context of that class division (Buchanan 1967, McTaggard 1971).

Thus, even though institutional constraints may continue to impress their formal directives on the low-income individuals decision-making, and perhaps more importantly, indirectly constrain choice through institutionally directed policies concerning alterations of the intraurban structure, we can argue that there will be collective behaviors of in-migrants that relate to a generalized pattern of urban structural change. And, as an alternative to the Turner thesis, our model of the changing intraurban itineraries of low-income in-migrants as the urban system continues to receive in-migrants would appear to be a necessary expansion of Turner's pioneering work.

We suggest that the evolution of the intraurban structure of the major cities in Latin America and the Caribbean, and particularly of the low-income residential settlement areas, will follow the general pattern proposed in the three-phase model. The result is a modelling of an evolving intraurban structure through three phases of sustained urbanization—early, continuing, and later phases—which is sufficiently general to highlight behavioral aspects of the alterations in the initial location and subsequent relocation strategies of successive waves of low-income in-migrants.

EARLY PHASE OF URBANIZATION

During the early phase of urbanization there emerge two distinct low-income zones in the city: Zone 1, the inner city slums and centrally located provisional squatter areas, and Zone 2, the peripheral squatter settlements. The inner city is the major reception area for low-income in-migrants who view accessibility to employment opportunities as the highest priority. With few relatives or acquaintances in the city to provide an economic or sociocultural cushion, an initial location that is within walking distance of both jobs and food markets is essential. The only "security" that is important to the migrant at this juncture is that provided by employment and the opportunity to acquire a steady income to improve the migrant's initial precarious economic situation. Amenity considerations constitute the bare essentials of shelter. Hence this "bridgeheader" is housed either in self-constructed provisional shelters or as a renter in the inner-city tenement or barrack areas.

If (or when) the income of the bridgeheader becomes fairly steady and there is some accumulation of savings (perhaps aided by marriage to another wage-earner), the now regularly employed worker may become concerned with consolidating what he (or the family) has achieved. Dwelling priorities change. Concerned with the effects that eviction from rented housing, disease or illness, or the loss of employment

through economic fluctuations may have on the acquired but fragile economic security and status, the migrant and his family trade off the convenience of a central location for the security of residential stability that homeownership affords in a peripheral squatter settlement. Freed from rent payments, or the threat of disruption that is ever present with the illegal siting of provisional shelters in the inner city, these "consolidators" choose to move to the periphery to establish a permanent residence, thus gaining the flexibility that homeownership possesses and the ability to vary living expenditures in times of financial hardship (Turner 1966).

Such home building can take fifteen to twenty years (Andrews and Phillips 1970, Mangin and Turner 1968). As individuals, the consolidators may live most of these years in partially built houses, they may be involved in a fight for land titles, but collectively, their existence in peripheral settlements in ever-increasing numbers guarantees a future that promises acquisition of permanent title to the land and security. At these latter stages of consolidation, amenity priorities may surface. With a continued increase in economic security and perhaps with an increase in household income as offspring enter the work force, the consolidating family can move to improve their dwelling environment, substituting more permanent materials for temporary ones, building more rooms, completing the interior decoration or installing plumbing, and generally improving their housing condition (Turner 1968).

As bridgeheaders become consolidators and move to the periphery, the inner-city tenement areas experience high turnover rates, thus providing an available supply of vacancies for new waves of in-migrants. However, this two-stage process, which is, in effect, the intra-urban relocation itinerary that Turner proposed, does not continue ad infinitum. With continuing urbanization and accompanying changes in commercial core development and governmental development policies, there is an evolution of the low-income settlement pattern and alterations in the relocation patterns of the in-migrants.

CONTINUING URBANIZATION PHASE

With continuing urbanization, the inner-city area, Zone 1, is no longer the major reception area for low-income in-migrants. At a time when, in absolute terms, the number of migrants continues to increase, the inner-city low-income housing supply shrinks. Often encouraged by public and private interests, the commercial core expands its functional area at the expense of the inner-city tenement slums. Police control over vacant land in the central city makes sites for provisional shelters harder to find

and keep. With or without rent-freezing,¹ occupancy in the remaining rent-controlled tenements may become a valuable economic asset, discouraging rapid turnover and limiting the supply of vacancies for newer in-migrants. In addition, some bridgeheaders may have consolidated without relocating to the periphery, adding to the reduction of the low-cost housing supply in the inner city.

At the same time, the earlier peripheral squatter settlements gradually become incorporated into the city, not necessarily as integrated subcenters, socially, economically, and politically integrated into the host system (Leeds 1969, Mangin 1967), but rather existing in uneasy accord with its universe. The contention is that, within this low-income antisystem (McTaggard 1971), group identity and collective decision-making become equally important factors in the assessment of the dwelling environment as the changing priorities of the individual. Legitimization is achieved through a compromise of interests between the institutional sector and the low-income communities. Conflict over land tenure rights and legal titles is ameliorated. Where legal title to invaded land is refused or delayed, continued occupancy by an effective mass of homebuilders makes their removal politically unfeasible. The squatters become, in effect, home and landowners and are increasingly considered so by institutional authority. Similarly, after a period of effective occupancy, the authorities are likely to accede to community pressure and provide the settlements with essential services. Transportation facilities, schools, and social services may gradually be established; markets, small shops, food stands, and a myriad of small-scale industrial and commercial enterprises reflect the response of local initiative; and, in addition to this growth of the petty commodity sector, commercial or industrial enterprises from the host system may locate in or near the settlements to take advantage of the available labor supply.

With sources of both stable and casual employment expanding in these "legitimized" settlements, an economic cushion is present for newly arrived migrants. With the strengthening of community bonds that have accompanied the legitimization of their existence and the continuation of close kinship relations between the new urbanites and their rural kin, a sociocultural cushion is also present. Thus, Zone 2 supercedes the inner-city slum or provisional shelters as the primary reception area for in-migrants. Migrants who have no kin or acquaintances may still gravitate to the inner city, but, with the dwindling supply of low-cost housing there, they may be forced to look elsewhere, i.e., to Zone 2. In response to the demand for housing in Zone 2, a mix of settlement arrangements develops. Recognizing the opportunities for supplementing their income, the now-established owner-occupiers may

build additional rooms as rental units, they may subdivide their plots and sublet spaces for new migrants to construct their own bridgehead shelters. Multifamily units with one or more sections used for rental can be expected to occur, often as not to house newly arrived kin or friends and acquaintances at the first instance (Ward 1976), but later, they too may be converted to rental accommodation.

All the while, new low-income settlements continue to mushroom at the periphery of the expanding city. Organized squatter invasions, a hallmark of the early phase, decrease in importance as speculator entrepreneurs dealing in land subdivision play a growing role in the land market. Although often of dubious legality, these low-income suburban subdivisions generally exhibit the same social and economic characteristics as the earlier squatter invasions.² In addition, squatter settlements develop on land recently cleared and vacated. It may be that these new peripheral settlements in Zone 3 are replenished by successful or not-so-successful inner-city consolidators and by younger consolidators (perhaps newly forming families) from Zone 2, who seek security in a place of their own, however meager and tenuous the situation at the periphery may be. A specific flow to the new squatter settlements may be inner-city tenement occupants who are being forced to relocate under the threat of urban renewal, block clearance, or eviction. However, there will also be a continuation of the bridgeheader-to-consolidator process with renters moving to the periphery as accessibility to economic opportunities afforded in Zone 2 is relinquished for the security considerations of home ownership in Zone 3.

There is likely to be less of a distinction between these new peripheral low-income settlements and the legitimized Zone 2 settlements, than there was between the inner-city tenement areas and the early squatter settlements. Since the growing size of the low-income sector or sectors can be expected to realize a greater degree of respect from institutional authority, essential services such as water, paved roads, and transportation facilities may be provided more readily to the new subdivisions. Therefore, accessibility from the periphery to other parts of the city is easier for residents of these later settlements, a condition which was not the case during the early phase of urbanization.

LATER PHASES OF CONTINUING URBANIZATION

At later phases of continuing urbanization, the evolution of the residential structure will be distinctly sectoral in character (Hoyt 1963). The low-income population both in terms of absolute numbers and areal extent has expanded to a point where it will be considered a potential political

power with definite group identities and character. As the sector or sectors extend outward from the earlier legitimized settlements, "they" pre-empt peripheral space for further low-income settlement and development in an expansion progression with which the host society and its institutions are unwilling or unlikely to interfere.

Zone 1, the inner city, no longer acts as a reception area and in-migrants move directly to Zones 2 and 3 with ever increasing proportions moving to the lower density peripheral subdivisions (fig. 1). In this later phase, it can be assumed that very few migrants who are city-bound know absolutely no one (Balan et al. 1973, Brown 1972, Vaughn and Feindt 1973, Ward 1976). As consolidators move to Zone 3, their newly arrived migrant kin will initially locate with them (Cornelius 1975). Meanwhile, the legitimized settlements in Zone 2 may be experiencing the diminution of housing supply that the inner city experienced at an earlier phase of urbanization. If rent control extends to housing in these areas, bridgeheaders in Zone 2, realizing the economic asset of the available rental accommodation there, may consolidate without relocating. Thus, Zone 2 experiences a reduction in residential turnover and since density increase cannot be sustained forever, the latest waves of in-migrants must look elsewhere. Zone 3, the periphery, becomes more diversified in its housing arrangements to accommodate for this increase in potential demand. Owner-occupiers rent rooms or subdivide their lots and the periphery may eventually become the major reception area. This choice of the newcomer for an initial foothold in the periphery may accommodate for accessibility priorities as well as security considerations. Industrial and commercial activity that developed to tap the labor supply in the older settlements will have become sufficiently decentralized to provide employment opportunities even for newcomers at the periphery. Kinship ties and group affiliations continue to operate as essential cushions to ease entry into the urban milieu (Lomnitz 1976).

The existence and economic success of the consolidators, now liberally dispersed in Zones 2 and 3, provide access to employment opportunities for the new arrivals through knowledge rather than proximity. From their positions in blue-collar occupations, or as petty commodity producers, consolidators may find job openings for their kin. In addition, the peripheral settlements may be the foci of a growing number of in-migrants who immediately choose the lower density "suburban" environment in which to embark on the self-building process (Conway 1976). The rationale for this expectation is as follows. First, the dichotomy between rural living and big-city living is now no longer the wide cultural gap it was during the early phases of urbanization. Second, a growing proportion of these in-migrants will be coming not from

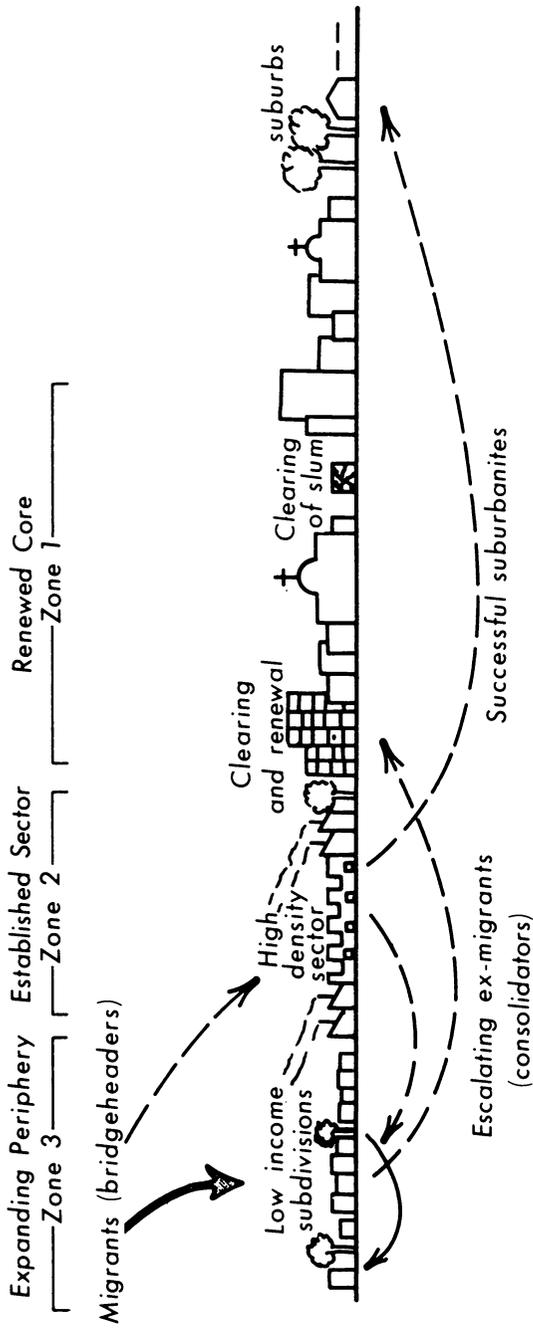


FIGURE 1 A Later Phase of Continuing Urbanization: Zones of Low Income Settlement & Directions of Intraurban Movement

remote rural or farm backgrounds, but from smaller urban centers (Thomas 1972). Third, more knowledgeable of "urban ways" with the informal kinship communication networks between city and region improving the information on available resources and vacant lots at the periphery, the low-income migrant can forego the need to experience the marginal existence of the inner city. A receptive community at the periphery is a sufficient cushion for his entry into metropolitan life.

In sum, the evolution of the residential system influences, and in turn is influenced by, the changing geographical routes of the in-migrant. Viewed in its historical perspective, the inner-city reception area outlives its utility and eventually the periphery becomes the area to which later waves of low-income migrants move directly. However, this will not be the "rural village" envisaged by early commentators as a "refuge" and a "marginal settlement" in which the culture of poverty acts to isolate newcomers from the mainstream of an urban existence (Breese 1966, Dwyer 1974, Fryer 1970, Germani 1961, Matos Mar 1961, Smith 1970). Occupied by a mix of urbanites, ex-migrants, and newcomers, the periphery is linked by subcultural and community ties to other low-income sectors of the city. A variety of common experience, the exchange of information, and even the emerging group solidarity of the new communities allow these peripheral settlements to be acceptable environments in which security of tenure and amenity priorities of the mass of urbanizing population can be satisfied (Eyre 1972, Conway 1978, Turner 1972).

EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE IN PORT OF SPAIN, TRINIDAD AND MEXICO CITY

Previous work has supported the ideas of Turner and the existence of a two-stage process of initial settlement in the inner city and subsequent relocation in the periphery during early phases of rapid urbanization (Flinn and Converse 1970; Mangin 1967; Mangin and Turner 1968; Turner 1968, 1969). Hence, the stress in this empirical analysis is on the intra-urban relocation process during later phases of urbanization. Concern here is (1) with the identification of the evolution of the intraurban structure and its impact on redirecting initial settlement, and (2) on the continuing role of group and kinship ties in aiding the process of relocation and in superseding location as a primary bridgeheader intention.

Extracting the major themes from the proposed three-phase model, the following hypotheses can be forwarded concerning the expected pattern of the evolving intraurban structure and its impact on the geographical routes of in-migrants in urban systems with long histories of urbanization.

Hypothesis 1

As urbanization progresses, three distinct low-income residential areas develop: (a) central-city slums, (b) inner low-income settlements—the earliest squatterments and low-income subdivisions, and (c) peripheral low-income settlements—primarily newly developing subdivisions with a diminishing number of squatter settlements.

Hypothesis 2

With continuing urbanization, inner, low-income “legitimized” settlements at first become the primary reception area for newcomers, while peripheral settlements eventually develop a mix of settlement patterns with an appreciable number of cityward migrants moving directly to the low-density periphery, omitting the inner city, initial step.

Hypothesis 3

Family and kinship ties persist as important “pull” factors influencing initial settlement and subsequent relocation decision-making of cityward migrants throughout the rapid urbanization phases.

To test these hypotheses, use is made of studies conducted by the authors in Port of Spain, Trinidad and Mexico City. Both cities, although differing in size, cultural background, and geographical situation, have long histories of urbanization, and in both, cityward migration has been an important element in the evolution of urban residential structure (Brown 1972, Conway 1976).³

Analysis of Mexico City is based on a comprehensive housing study conducted by the Mexican Institute of Social Security (Instituto Mexicano de Segura Social, hereafter IMSS). The district-by-district comparative data compiled by the IMSS allow strong inferences to be drawn regarding directions of migration within the city as well as providing evidence of the evolution of the intraurban structure (IMSS 1967). Complementing the Mexico City evidence is an analysis of the movement patterns and behavior of “small island” immigrants⁴ who moved to Port of Spain, Trinidad during the period 1920–71 and who now reside in inner settlement areas and peripheral subdivisions and squatter settlements in east Port of Spain. The data base for the assessment of migration histories of these low-income in-migrants is a random sample survey of 20 percent of the households in the eastern sector of Port of Spain conducted on the basis of house-to-house interviews of 2,445 household heads.

Analysis of the residential mobility patterns of this sample of in-migrants, allied to accompanying documentation of the evolution of the residential structure in east Port of Spain, provides valuable support for the inferences derived from the Mexico City data concerning intraurban relocation. These two complementary analyses, together with supporting

reports and documents on housing conditions and mobility characteristics of specific low-income settlements in Mexico City, provide empirical evidence to test the hypotheses and support the major premises of the proposed model of the low-income migrant's intraurban itinerary.

THE EVOLUTION OF RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURE WITH CONTINUING URBANIZATION

The first hypothesis proposed that in urban systems that have experienced a protracted history of urbanization and accompanying in-migration, three distinct low-income residential areas develop: (a) central city slums, (b) inner low-income settlements—the earliest squatterments and low-income subdivisions, and (c) peripheral low-income settlements—primarily newly developing subdivisions with a diminishing number of squatter settlements.

Mexico City

An analysis of the growth rates and patterns of settlement in low-income areas of Mexico City, compiled from a variety of secondary sources and supported by the IMSS survey data, clearly shows the evolution of three distinct settlement areas. A brief chronological account can best summarize this evolution.⁵

Through the 1940s, many low-income families and most new arrivals to the city found accommodation in old buildings forming a horseshoe around the main plaza, the *zócalo*, in the center of the city. In 1935, the *tugurios*, or neighborhoods accommodating the *vecindad* courtyard slums,⁶ were estimated to house approximately five hundred thousand persons (one-third of the total urban population). By 1952, 60 percent of all the blocks in the city had some percentage of *vecindad* housing (Banco Nacional Hipotecario 1952). However, since 1952, the population of most *tugurios* has remained stable or is decreasing (Frieden 1965, Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda 1958a, Valencia 1965). In addition to crowded tenement living, the rapid in-migration coupled with the inability to meet the rising housing demand resulted in a substantial increase in the construction of provisional shelters or *jacales*. In 1952, *jacales* housed an estimated 315,000 persons (Banco Nacional Hipotecario 1952). Since that time, they have decreased in number and importance.

In contrast, the *colonias proletarias*, low-income squatter settlements or subdivisions, gained in importance. Delineation of the low-income zones by the relative age of the dwellings and by the proportion of land use in low-income settlement provides an initial classification

differentiating the inner settlements from the newly forming peripheral settlements (table 1). Matching Mexico City census districts and the colonias proletarias for the decades 1930–70 provides a general picture of changes in growth rates of the three zones (table 2). It can be seen that the colonias proletarias districts have grown much more rapidly than have the core areas. Within the Federal District alone the colonias have increased explosively. In 1952, the colonias housed an approximate 420,000 people (Banco Nacional Hipotecario 1952). By 1964, their population had tripled and one and a half million people inhabited colonias (Frieden 1965). It is estimated that in 1970, there were over five hundred officially recognized colonias accounting for 50 percent of the Federal District population, with a total of three million inhabitants (fig. 2).⁷

The most explosive expansion occurred in the newer colonias. The urban population of the periphery, i.e., the areas of the State of Mexico contiguous to the Federal District, jumped from 294,000 in 1960 to 1.5 million in 1970 (Unikel 1972). The territorial growth of colonias was just as impressive as the population explosion. In 1940, colonias occupied about 21 percent of the contiguous periphery of Mexico City. By 1960, these marginal settlements occupied approximately 35 percent of the urban land areas, and it has been predicted that during 1960 and 1970, three-quarters of the total peripheral expansion took place in the form of colonias proletarias (Harth-Denke 1966).

In sum, the history of population and territorial growth in Mexico City evidences an evolving pattern of the proposed three distinct low-income settlement areas. Differential growth rates of *vecindades* (central city slums), *inner* colonias (legitimized earlier squattments and subdivisions) and *outer* colonias (newly developing peripheral settlements) highlight their changing importance through the 1930–70 period. In the 1940–50 decade, the highest rates of population growth were in the inner colonias, but in the 1960–70 decade, the periphery was experiencing the most rapid expansion (table 2). *Jacales* declined in importance through the period, perhaps a testament to the expanding opportunities for initial settlement in the colonias. The outcome of this evolution of the intraurban structure accompanying continuing urbanization in Mexico City is the existence of three distinct low-income settlement areas, a pattern that supports Hypothesis 1. Can the same general pattern be observed in Port of Spain?

Port of Spain

A more complete history of the evolution of the residential structure of Port of Spain has been documented elsewhere (Conway 1976). Primarily

TABLE 1 Mexico City Low-Income Settlement Zones Matched to Census Districts

	Zone 1 Core	Zone 2 Inner Colonias	Zone 3 Outer Colonias
<i>Criteria</i>	60% or more of the dwellings (building) initiated before 1934	60% or more of the dwellings (building) initiated after 1935	60% or more of the dwellings (building) initiated after 1952
	All sectors have 70% or more of their land area in low-income settlements.		
<i>Census Districts</i>	All districts within boundaries of Mexico City proper except I and XII Tugurios are concentrated in II, III, and V.	Districts I and XII in the City, plus the eastern delegation of Ixtacalco, and the two northern Federal District delegations of Atzacapotzalco and Gustavo A. Madero.	Some districts are only partly urban. Districts include municipalities of Zaragoza, Tlalnepantla, Ecatepec and Netzahualcoyotl in the state of Mexico and Ixtapalapa in the Federal District.

Source: Brown 1972, pp. 34–38, 66–67.

a history of sectoral expansion (Hoyt 1963), from early times (nineteenth century) a separate low-income area developed radiating from the central city into the eastern periphery. Within this east Port of Spain low-income sector, a distinction can be made between the central-city tenement area and the early established low-income subdivisions, now the inner ring, and newer peripheral settlements contiguous to the inner ring but extending eastward into Laventille Hills (fig. 3).⁸ Since the middle of the nineteenth century, an area of high density, tenements, and barracks has adjoined the commercial core on its east and northeast sides. Known as Corbeaux Town, this eastern central-city tenement area, interpenetrated with the old commercial and market area, was a haven for waves of in-migrants coming from neighboring Caribbean Islands, overseas (e.g., China), and rural Trinidad and Tobago (Conway 1976, Ottley 1970). Although undergoing spot urban renewal in the 1960s, vestiges of this central city slum area still existed in 1971. Utilizing the field survey conducted in 1971 by the Urban Redevelopment Council of the Town and Country Planning Department of Trinidad, three urban environmental areas (hereafter referred to as EAs) are considered representative of the inner ring. Five newer suburban EAs, as low-density

TABLE 2 *Percent Annual Population Growth by Census Districts:
Mexico City Urban Area, 1930–1970*

	1930–40	1940–50	1950–60	1960–70
<i>Zone 1: Core</i>				
Mexico City Core Districts	3.5	4.5	2.0	no data
<i>Zone 2: Inner Colonias</i>				
District I, Mexico City	4.0	7.5	4.1	no data
District XII, Mexico City	— ^a	13.5	6.2	no data
Atzacapotzalco	4.6	11.6	7.0	4.0
Gustavo A. Madero	*** ^b	17.3	11.0	7.6
Ixtacalco	1.0	11.7	19.3	9.4
<i>Zone 3: Outer Colonias</i>				
Zaragosa	1.5	2.2	5.3	18.8
Tlalnepantla	3.7	7.1	13.8	13.6
Ecatepec	1.8	3.8	10.4	18.4
Netzahualcoyotl	—	—	—	26.0
Ixtapalapa	1.5	11.7	12.8	7.8
Mexico City Urban Area	4.1	6.3	5.5	5.7

Source: Brown 1972, Table 8, pp. 70–71.

^a— Indicates no urban population reported for that period.

^bGustavo A. Madero was considered part of Mexico City proper until 1940.

unplanned settlement areas, constitute the outer periphery (fig. 3). The three urban communities, Belmont (EA9), Gonzales Place (EA7), East Dry River and Lower Belmont (EA8) are all incorporated within the municipal limits, and all have remained areas of low-income settlement (Conway 1976, Ottley 1970). Examination of a sequence of aerial photographs taken in 1947, 1958, and 1969 illuminates the nature and patterns of uncontrolled settlement in the peripheral EAs (Conway 1975a). In 1947, while there is evidence of some pioneer settlement in Upper Belmont (EA6) and Success Village (EA2), the interior of the Laventille Hills areas, now delimited as Eastern Quarry and Prizgar lands (EA1), Trou Macaque (EA4), and Chinapoo (EA5), were virtually devoid of habitation at that time. By 1969, all areas had undergone increases in residential density. Upper Belmont and Success Village were heavily settled, and low-density uncontrolled settlement had spread throughout the interior area (fig. 3). Although this identification of the inner ring and outer periphery is not as rigorous as the illumination of Mexico City's evolving intraurban structure, it would appear that Port of Spain, like Mexico City, has developed three distinct low-income settlement areas; a central-city tenement area, an inner ring of early established settle-

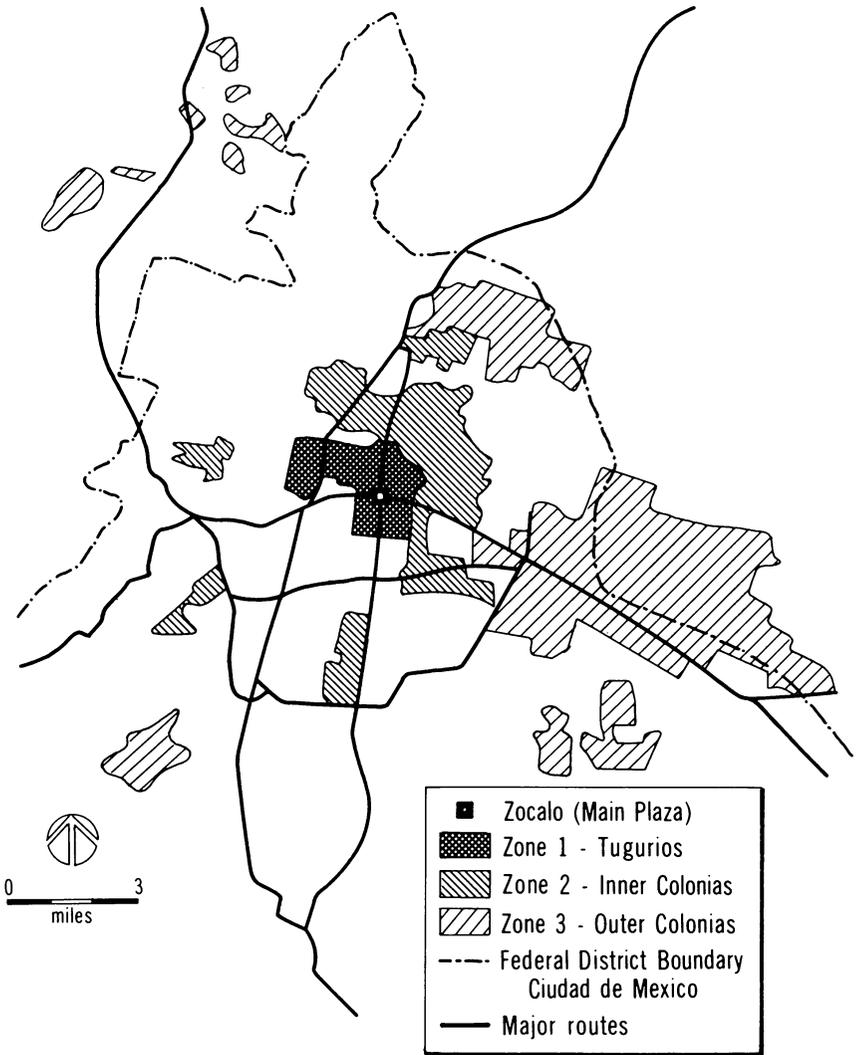


FIGURE 2 Zones of Low-Income Settlement in Mexico City: Final Study Sample

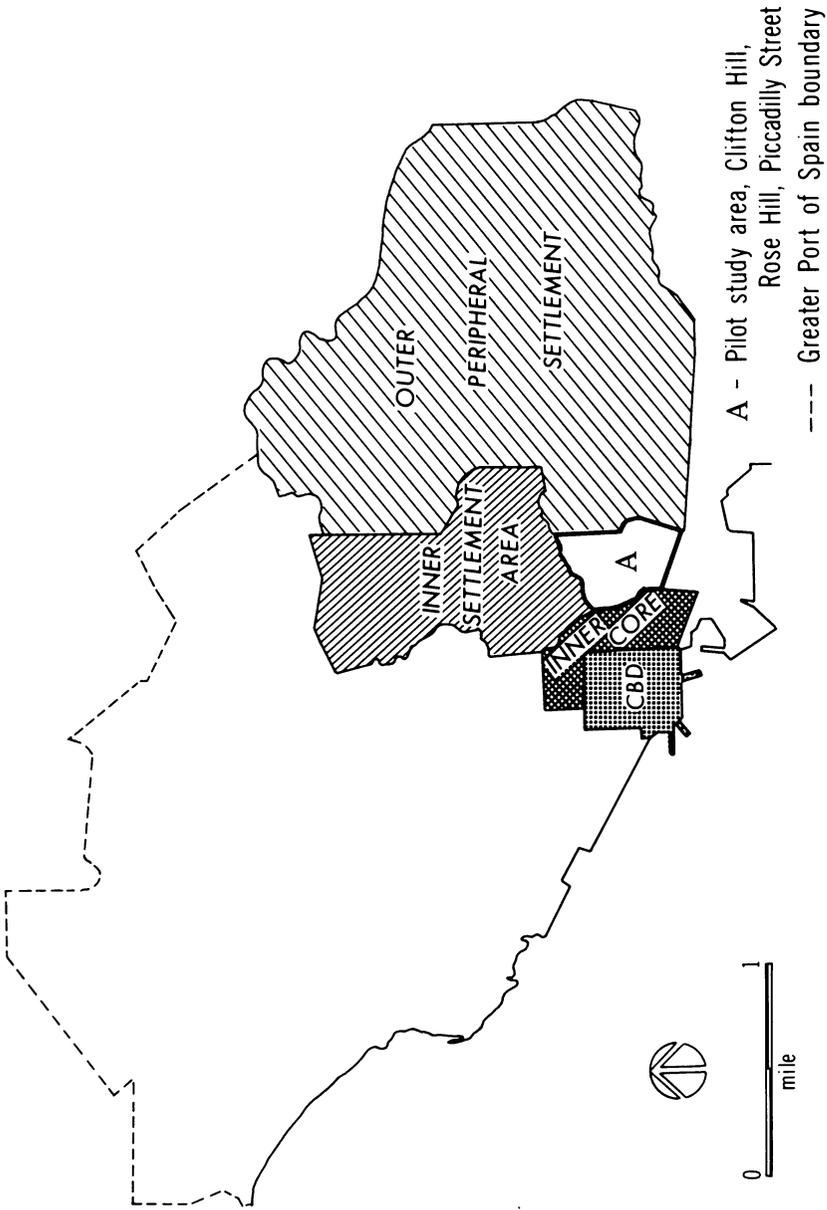


FIGURE 3 Low-Income Settlement Zones In East Port of Spain

ments, and newer peripheral uncontrolled settlement (fig. 3). Thus, the Port of Spain evidence also supports Hypothesis 1.

THE INNER CITY AS RECEPTION AREA; ITS CHANGING IMPORTANCE

The second hypothesis stated that, with continuing urbanization, inner, low-income "legitimized" settlements become the primary reception areas for new arrivals. It further proposed that peripheral settlements eventually develop a mix of settlement patterns with an appreciable number of cityward migrants moving directly to the low-density periphery, omitting the inner city initial step.⁹

Analyses of the residential histories and changing character of the housing markets of central city tugurios and vecindades (Zone 1), inner and outer colonias (Zones 2 and 3 respectively) in Mexico City, and of the initial settlement and subsequent relocation patterns of East Port of Spain residents in the inner ring and newer peripheral settlements support this second hypothesis. While the Mexico City evidence highlights the changing importance of the central city tugurios as the most important reception area, the residential history evidence of east Port of Spain residents directly documents the change in geographical routes of cityward migrants. Supported by recent work on cityward migrant mobility in selected inner and outer colonias in Mexico City (Ward 1976), this evidence constitutes firm support for an important argument that is basic to the proposed model.

Mexico City Experience

A review of available data on the residential experience of Mexico City's central city tugurios reveals that while they were the major reception area prior to 1950, since that time, direct migration to tugurios has decreased markedly. La Merced, a major tugurio district, is a case in point (Valencia 1965). Here, there was a history of substantial direct migration, but, by the 1960s, extremely high rates of residential stability were found among a significant proportion of the slum population. Of the migrants who settled in La Merced directly upon arrival in the city, a total of 79 percent had lived in the area for eleven years or more. In contrast, only 5 percent were recent arrivals (two years or less). Other surveys of tugurio living supported this finding of high residential stability in the central-city slums (*Correo Económico* 1965; Eckstein 1971; Lewis 1959). This suggests that a process of "consolidation without relocation" may be occurring, an outcome Turner expected to be characteristic of city born and bred families, but not a characteristic of in-migrants (Turner 1966). And,

if "consolidation without relocation" is occurring, then this would contribute to the decline in importance of the tugurios in Zone 1 as reception areas, since it would reduce the potential available housing for newer arrivals. In addition, a contributing factor to this decline in residential turnover in central city slums is rent freezing. Rent control introduced in 1942 and 1948 froze rents at the 1942 level and this underpricing of housing has encouraged many low-income residents to stay where they are, even if it is in less-than-satisfactory (by amenity criteria) habitation. Evidence on occupancy rates of the three zones in Mexico City derived from IMSS data throws further light on this question and, in addition, supports the proposition in Hypothesis 2, that the inner settlement areas (Zone 2) have high proportions of rental occupancy. We find the expected high percentage of renters in Zone 1, the central core, but Zone 2, the inner colonias, contains the high total renter population of 60 percent. Whether this rental population are bridgeheaders who subsequently will relocate cannot be determined from this evidence, but certainly the inner legitimized colonias are no longer occupied solely by possessor-builders. It can be suggested that demand for rental accommodation in the inner colonias is the operative force, and it is the dwindling supply of accommodation in the central city core that has contributed to this diversion.

Overall, the sum of evidence indirectly supports the first proposition of the second hypothesis. Observed is a stabilizing of the turnover rates in the central city slums (Zone 1), accompanied by "consolidation without relocation" in these areas by ex-migrants. Inner settlement areas (Zone 2) have high proportions of low-income renters. Yet, there is little direct evidence in this analysis of the migrant paths into and through these alternative reception areas. Fortunately, an analysis of recent intraurban migrant movements in Mexico City addresses this deficiency and largely supports the inferences drawn here. Analyzing the residential histories of residents in three settlement areas, one legitimized inner colonia, and two peripheral colonias, Ward (1976) found that the central city *vecindades* had declined in importance as footholds, and the colonias proletarias were the principal areas from which newer squatter invasions were deriving their population during this later phase of sustained urbanization.

Not only does Ward's analysis of migration trajectories and patterns of movement between housing subsystems corroborate the inferences of our Mexico City evidence, but it appears strongly supportive of our proposed model. While arguing that the center-periphery, *vecindad-to-squatter* settlement, renter-to-owner trajectory was preponderant in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Ward suggests an alternative process is

now operating in Mexico City in which the colonias proletarias are important both as migrant reception areas and as suppliers of population to newer peripheral squattments and low-income subdivisions. However, it is part of our argument that such changes are not merely specific to Mexico City (Sudra and Turner 1973), but are the logical consequences of the effects of urban growth and continuing urbanization on initial location and subsequent relocation of low-income migrants in general. Evidence from Port of Spain supports this appeal for a more general formulation of this changing relocation pattern.

Port of Spain Experience

When a chronology of the latest change of residence of the total sample of east Port of Spain respondents is compiled, the temporal trends in direct moves and intraurban relocations evidence a process similar to that hypothesized in the proposed model (table 3). Noticeable is the changing role of the central city as a reception area. During the 1935 to 1955 period, the central city is the primary supplier of consolidators to the inner settlement ring (EAs 7, 8, and 9). However, its relative importance declines as intra-zone movement and direct rural-to-urban movement dominate the post-1955 period. And, perhaps of equal significance, the central city is only a minor source for intraurban relocation to the peripheral settlement areas (Zone 3) (table 3). It would appear that, like Mexico City, the central city of Port of Spain has declined in importance as an initial reception area.

However, further investigation of direct movement to the respective zones reveals a historical pattern which suggests that the evolution of the Port of Spain system may have advanced beyond the Mexico City situation. When compared to other in-migration streams to the inner settlement areas, direct rural-to-urban moves are in the majority. But, by 1971, larger volumes are relocating directly to the newer peripheral settlements. Therefore, although the inner settlements are still important reception areas, in the post-1955 period the major flow is to the periphery.¹⁰ Isolating one subgroup of in-migrants, "small islander" immigrants, and tracing their residential histories on their arrival in Port of Spain to the subsequent geographical routes taken through the intra-urban fabric, further clarifies the issue. These "small islanders," the majority of whom came from the nearby islands of St. Vincent and Grenada, outnumber native Trinidad and Tobago cityward migrants in the 20 percent sample survey, 699–508.¹¹ They constitute a major element of the cityward movement of low-income migrants.

Areas of the city of Port of Spain were the initial place of residence

INTRAURBAN RELOCATION AND STRUCTURE

TABLE 3 *Direct and Intraurban Moves into Zones 2 (Inner Settlements) and Zone 3 (Periphery): Latest Change of Residence of Sampled Population in East Port of Spain*

<i>Destination: Environmental Areas 7, 8, and 9 (Zone 2)</i>							
<i>Direct Intraurban Moves</i>							
<i>Date of Arrival</i>	1965–71	1955–64	1945–54	1935–44	<i>Before 1935</i>	<i>No Response</i>	<i>Total</i>
From Overseas Rural and Urban	3	8	7	11	19	0	48
Trinidad Central City (CBD)	53	33	26	18	18	3	151
Within Zone 2	39	22	32	20	9	3	125
From Suburbs (Zone 3)*	52	28	13	15	9	7	124
	55	36	19	10	9	4	133
<i>Destination: Environmental Areas 1, 4, and 5 (Zone 3)</i>							
<i>Direct Intraurban Moves</i>							
From Overseas Rural and Urban	2	41	17	17	10	4	91
Trinidad Central City (CBD)	86	66	25	21	6	14	218
From Zone 2	17	18	10	4	3	0	52
Within Suburbs (Zone 3)	53	48	19	9	4	3	136
	89	99	37	9	4	6	244

*Some respondents referred to "Laventille" as their place of previous residence. Although referring to the peripheral hills, it could refer to a zone of uncontrolled settlement including the Piccadilly Street, Rose Hill and Clifton Hill areas, which are perhaps better classified as Inner Settlement areas (Conway 1975b).

for 45 percent of this group of in-migrants. While 30 percent moved directly to the eastern suburbs of Laventille, 25 percent moved to other areas of Trinidad and Tobago. This indicates that Port of Spain was a major attraction, but detail of the flow to reception areas shows that the central city was not the dominant "port of entry." While 7 percent of the immigrants first settled in the central city, 29 percent moved into the eastern inner settlement zone, and nearly 9 percent moved into the western area of the city. Approximately equal volumes were arriving in the inner zones and peripheral zone, and both appear important reception areas for this subgroup of in-migrants. Perhaps of equal significance to this finding concerning the initial location patterns is the relative importance of this in-movement in comparison to suburban out-move-

ment. When patterns of subsequent movement are classified in terms of a directional bias relative to the commercial core (CBD), both in-movement (28 percent) and within-zone movement (38 percent) is larger than suburban movement (25 percent). This would suggest a decline in importance of the two-stage process from inner city to periphery for immigrants and an ensuing redirection of in-migrant initial location to the inner settlement zone and periphery. Since the direct flow to the periphery is as substantial as the flow to the inner settlement zone, this would support the earlier contention that the Port of Spain experience is one that has developed over a long period, and that in 1971, the periphery is now an all-important reception area.

There was, however, an additional proposition in Hypothesis 2. This suggested that peripheral settlements in the continuing phase of urbanization develop a mix of settlement patterns. No longer is the housing mix of the peripheral settlements expected to be dominated by possessor-builder units. It is proposed that the peripheral settlements will be the place for bridgeheaders and consolidators, owner-occupiers, and renters. In support of this proposition, the latest occupancy status of the sample "small islanders" low-income immigrants in Zones 2 and 3 in east Port of Spain (in 1971) show a mix of housing tenure status (table 4). In Zone 2, renters are in the majority (43 percent); there is an appreciable proportion of owner-occupiers who bought homes (32 percent); yet, still apparently residentially immobile are a significant proportion of possessor-builders (18 percent). No squatting is evident in this zone. However, in Zone 3, the newer peripheral settlements, there is the expected pattern of housing occupancy variation. Squatters (14 percent), possessor-builders (25 percent), renters (24 percent) and owner-buyers (32 percent), all intermingle. Perhaps unexpected is that a majority of small-islander immigrants have bought properties in these peripheral settlements with equal proportions moving directly to the periphery from overseas and from the inner settlement areas of Zone 2 (9 percent), (table 4). Here is firm evidence that a proportion of immigrants are omitting the initial steps of bridgeheading in either the central city or the inner zones and moving directly to owner-occupancy in the new peripheral settlements. Further, it may be noticed that this type of movement is as prevalent as an outward suburban relocation thrust from the inner legitimized settlements (Zone 2).

In conclusion, the sum of evidence supports all the propositions in Hypothesis 2. Not only has the evolution of the residential structure been seen to influence the initial location and subsequent relocation patterns in both cities, but the two could also be viewed as representative of two evolutionary stages. The Port of Spain situation is perhaps

further advanced than Mexico City, but both appear to represent stages in which the intraurban relocation process is in advance of the Peru experience on which Turner based his two-stage model.

GROUP AND KINSHIP AFFINITIES: A CONTINUING INFLUENCE IN THE RELOCATION PROCESS

The third hypothesis proposed that family and kinship ties persist as important "pull" factors influencing both initial settlement decisions

TABLE 4 *Small Islander: 1971 Occupancy Status x Previous Movement Pattern in Zones 2 and 3 (in Percent)*

Zone 2: Destinations (Environmental Areas 7, 8, and 9)
Movement Patterns

Present (1971) Occupancy Status	Squatter	Possessor- Builder	Owner (family) /Buyer	Home Renter	Tenant at will or Lessee	Percent	(Total)
Direct from Overseas	—	4	10	10.5	1.0	25.5	(42)
Step-wise Movement Via							
Trinidad	—	1	1	6.0	0.5	8.5	(15)
Via Zone 3	—	2	2	5.5	1.0	10.5	(17)
Via Zone 2	—	7	11	9.5	0.5	28.0	(46)
Via Rest of City	—	2	2.5	5.5	3.0	14.0	(18)
Via Central City	—	1	5.5	6	1.0	13.5	(23)
Percent (Total)	0 (0)	18 (29)	32.0 (52)	43.0 (69)	7.0 (11)	100.0 (161)	

Zone 3: Destinations (Environmental Areas 1, 4 and 5)
Movement Patterns

Direct from Overseas	3	5	9	6.0	3.0	26.0	(89)
Step-wise Movement From							
Trinidad	6.5	7	5	6.0	1.0	25.5	(87)
Via Zone 3	1.5	5	6	3.0	—	15.5	(52)
Via Zone 2	2.0	7	9	6.0	1.0	25.0	(82)
Via Rest of City	0.5	0.5	1.5	1.5	—	4.0	(16)
Via Central City	0.5	0.5	1.5	1.5	—	4.0	(15)
Percent (Total)	14.0 (49)	25.0 (85)	32.0 (108)	24.0 (83)	5.0 (16)	100.0 (341)	

and subsequent relocation decisions of cityward migrants throughout the urbanization phases. Evidence from the responses of "small islander" in-migrants to Port of Spain to a series of open-ended questions concerning their motives for moving to the city and their reasons for subsequent relocation in the eastern sector largely supports this third hypothesis.¹²

Collapsing the variety of responses of small islanders into meaningful categories results in the establishment of six general categories of reasons for movement to Port of Spain, and seven categories of reasons for movement to eastern districts. In both movement streams, family and kinships ties emerge as important influential factors. Half of the respondents stated they moved to Port of Spain either voluntarily to join relatives (37 percent) or as dependents moving with their families (13 percent). The "pull" of the city and employment-related reasons were offered as motives of 36 percent of the respondents, while 11 percent stated house-acquisition considerations as their primary motive for moving to Port of Spain. Analysis of the reasons for moving either to the inner settlement areas (Zone 2) or peripheral areas (Zone 3) indicates an increase in the importance of house acquisition considerations in the peripheral areas (Zone 3); 9.5 percent moved because they wanted a place of their own; 21.5 percent moved to build or buy a house; 11 percent moved to a better or bigger place; and 28 percent moved because they perceived the periphery as an area in which accommodation was available (for rent or purchase). In contrast, family and kinship ties are more important in the relocation movement stream to the inner settlement areas, Zone 2. While house acquisition considerations constitute 53 percent of the offered motives, 32 percent of the respondents declared family ties as the important consideration.

In addition to this evidence of offered motives, further support for Hypothesis 3 can be elicited from details of the small islanders' first "foothold" in Port of Spain, however temporary it may have been. For all the in-migrants, regardless of their destination, 66 percent indicated their initial place of residence was in the homes of friends or relatives. The rest moved into their own residence (33 percent), and very few stayed either in a hotel or boarding house (1 percent). Rather conclusively, the role of kin, providing an immediate "social cushion" for entry into the urban milieu, is clearly documented here. But, the question still to be addressed is whether these kinship affiliations persist in the subsequent relocation process. There is some evidence that may throw light on this notion.

When the motives of the small islanders who moved directly to peripheral areas in Zone 3 are compared with the motives of their compatriots who moved from city areas to the periphery, some confirmation of the continuing role of family ties in the relocation process can be ob-

tained (table 5). Of the immigrants who moved directly to Zone 3, 35 percent gave family-related reasons, and 12 percent came with relatives. Clearly, the presence of kin and family already residing in Zone 3 was a major influence in directing these respondents' initial entry to the periphery. In comparison, small islanders who initially settled in the city and then moved out to consolidate overwhelming cited house acquisition considerations as their main motive (75 percent). For these aspiring suburbanites, family ties were less important, yet 11 percent did give family-related reasons for their subsequent relocation (table 5). From this evidence, it can be maintained that family ties are not severed between urbanite and his/her rural kin. And, although house acquisition considerations are perhaps the dominant aspects in the consolidation process, family ties do appear to play a role in subsequent relocation decision-making.

As a body of evidence on the role of family ties as an influential factor both in initial location and in subsequent relocation processes of low-income cityward migrants in Port of Spain, the weight of support is for acceptance of Hypothesis 3. Kinship ties continue to be important

TABLE 5 *Small Islander: Motives for Moving Direct to Zone 3, and Indirectly to Zone 3 Via the City*

Zone 3 Destination Areas Motives*	Direct Movement					Indirect Movement (Suburban)				
	EA1	EA4	EA5	Total	Percent	EA1	EA4	EA5	Total	Percent
Family Ties										
Marriage	7	13	9	(29)	35	1	4	4	(9)	11
Came with parents	1	4	5	(10)	12	—	2	—	(2)	2
Wanted Own Place	—	2	—	(2)	2	5	5	3	(13)	15
Built or Bought Place	1	5	3	(9)	11	4	2	9	(15)	18
Cheap Rent Available Place	5	10	5	(20)	24	6	8	13	(29)	34
Better or Bigger Place	3	2	2	(7)	8	5	2	—	(7)	8
City Access Employment Access	2	4	—	(6)	7	2	1	—	(3)	4
Forced Move	—	—	—	0	0	3	—	4	(7)	8
Total	19	40	24	(83)	100	28	24	33	(85)	100
Percent	23	48	29			33	28	39		

*In an open-ended question, respondents were asked to indicate the main reason why they moved to their present place of residence (U.R.C. Social Survey Questionnaire 1971).

links influencing the moves of the later waves of in-migrants. Later migrants thus view the social cushion of the family or kinship group as an important foothold for their entry into city life. Although family-related reasons are important for some aspiring suburbanites, the dominance of house acquisition considerations for the majority suggest that consolidation may be a higher priority than maintaining a proximity to kin in peripheral communities. In this respect, while Hypothesis 3 can be supported, further evidence would be required to fully accept the notion that kinship ties will be of continuing relevance in subsequent relocation decision-making.

CONCLUSIONS

Evidence from the analyses of low-income settlement dynamics in Mexico City and Port of Spain is conclusive in its support of the three hypotheses. In both cities, three distinctive low-income residential areas have developed and the evolution of the intraurban structure has influenced the geographical routes of cityward migrants in a regular and consistent manner. Both cities, although differing in size, cultural background, and geographical situation, have experienced a protracted period of rapid urbanization in which large-scale in-migration has been an everpresent element. In Mexico City, the inner, older, "legitimized" colonias emerge as the primary reception area, superceding the central city tugurios and vecindades in that role. As if representative of a later phase in the evolution of intraurban structure and subsequent relocation process, Port of Spain's experience is one in which the periphery is gaining importance as a reception area. Further analysis in Port of Spain, identifying the role of family and kinship ties as influential factors in the relocation process, partially supports an argument in our proposed model; it suggests that interactions at the informal level and communication linkages between inner settlement areas and newer peripheral areas, and between urban communities and rural or urban source communities, may act as social cushions to ease migrant entry into the urban system. Since family ties are important pull factors in the initial settlement phase, and although of less importance are still relevant to some cityward migrants in the subsequent relocation phase, it may be concluded that not only do family ties persist during the urban experience, but they could therefore be of continuing importance as sources of information on housing vacancies, on employment opportunities, and possibly on the provision of necessary goods and services. Admittedly, this last point is more speculative than proven. Yet, to argue that family ties will only be instrumental in influencing the locational choice decisions

and not influential in other matters, because the questionnaire survey merely asked for responses pertinent to residential-choice decisions, is perhaps a more illogical speculation.

Irrespective of the intuitive reasoning in the last argument, it can be stated confidently that the main tenets of the proposed model of initial location and subsequent relocation processes of low-income cityward migrants during later phases of continuing urbanization have been substantiated by the evidence provided in the analysis of Port of Spain and Mexico City. It is anticipated that further study of the relocation processes of low-income migrants in other cities experiencing protracted periods of urbanization will be equally supportive of the proposed three-phase evolutionary model.

NOTES

1. Apparently, rent control is widespread in Latin America and the Caribbean. The United Nations reports rent control in Peru and Argentina (U.N. 1957). Oldman reports of rent control in Mexico (Oldman 1967). Rent control is also in effect in Trinidad. In addition to these cases, Turner has pointed out that, "in many cities in rapidly urbanizing countries, governments have passed rent-freezing regulations" (Turner 1968, note 26, p. 363).
2. A distinction can be made between *invasiones* as illegal squatter settlements, *clandestinas* as illegal subdivisions in which land is leased or sold without the real owners' permission, and *urbanizaciones*, which are legally subdivided areas (Flinn and Converse 1970).
3. Clearly, the differing colonial histories, the ensuing institutional structures, not to mention the effects of topography and the physical character of the urban site differentiate these two cities and greatly influence their evolving structure. However, since we can observe in each city the general relationships between low-income migrant relocation decision-making and the evolving intraurban structure, such particulars can be satisfactorily set aside.
4. The islands of the Lesser Antilles to the north of Trinidad and Tobago have been a regular source of foreign-born in-migrants seeking employment and an opportunity for advancement. In Trinidad, these predominantly rural in-migrants have been considered poor and uneducated, swelling the already burgeoning ranks of the low-income mass of urbanizing population (East Port of Spain Social Survey Report 1973).
5. An in-depth discussion of the evolution of low-income settlement areas in Mexico City is provided in Brown's original treatise (Brown 1972).
6. "*Vecindades* are tiny tenement units in low, one-story buildings divided into rows which give access to dwellings made up of single rooms without individual toilets . . . are communal and are located in the central patio, where clothing is hung when the dwelling does not have a porch and where the children play" (Banco Nacional Hipotecario 1952, pp. 141-44).
7. Estimates for 1970 given in personal interviews with Lic. Carlos Torres, Director, Department of Data Processing, Federal District Office of Colonias Proletarias, January 1971.
8. This predominantly low-income eastern sector of Port of Spain is not the only area in which peripheral expansion has occurred. In the west, contiguous to the East Indian Community of St. James, other peripheral low-income subdivisions squatterments have developed. A preliminary assessment of the character of development of these western settlements suggests that their growth parallels that of low-income suburban de-

- velopments in the Laventille Hills (Conway 1978). For the purposes of this study, it is felt that the dynamics of development and the characteristics of low-income mobility in the eastern sector are representative of both low-income residential sectors.
9. This proposed alteration of the pattern of initial settlement and subsequent relocation is a major point of departure from previous conceptualizations that have advocated the two-stage process from central city-to-periphery (Mangin and Turner 1968). As such, proof of its occurrence is crucial to our argument.
 10. It is not possible to account for the initial residents who have since moved on. However, given that the periphery is the preferred suburban environment for these low-income residents, the nature of the change in dominance of zones as reception areas is as expected.
 11. All tabulations, totals and percentages are of the 20% sample comprising a total of 2,445 households.
 12. Responses were voluntary, offered to the open-ended questions, "Why did you choose to come and live in Port of Spain?" and "Where or with whom did you stay when you first moved to Port of Spain?" (U.R.C. Social Survey Questionnaire 1971).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABRAMS, C.
1964 *Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- ANDREWS, G. M. AND PHILLIPS, G. W.
1970 "The Squatters of Lima: Who They Are and What They Want." *Journal of Developing Areas* 4:211-24.
- BALAN, J., BROWNING, H. L., AND JELIN, E.
1973 *Men in a Developing Society: Geographic and Social Mobility in Monterrey, Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- BANCO NACIONAL HIPOTECARIO URBANO Y DE OBRAS PUBLICAS, S.A.
1952 *Estudios, No. 6, El Problema de la Habitación en la Ciudad de México*. México, D.F.
- BREESE, G.
1966 *Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.
- BROWN, J. C.
1972 *Patterns of Intraurban Settlement in Mexico City: An Examination of the Turner Theory*. Cornell: Latin American Studies Program Dissertation Series.
- BUCHANAN, I. D.
1967 "Economic Underdevelopment and the Problem of the Squatter Slum." *Geographica* 3:211-24.
- CASASCO, J. A.
1969 "The Social Function of the Slum in Latin America: Some Positive Aspects." *América Latina* 12:87-111.
- CLARKE, C.
1974 "Urbanization in the Caribbean." *Geography* 59:223-32.
- CONWAY, D.
1975a "The Use of Remote Sensing to Investigate Structural Change in Social Area Differentiation in Port of Spain, Trinidad." In R. P. Momsen, Jr. (ed.), *Geographical Analysis for Development in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: CLAG Publications.
1975b "International, Internal and Intra-Urban Migration in Port of Spain,

- Trinidad." Research Report. Town and Country Planning Division of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Port of Spain, Trinidad.
- 1976 "Residential Area Change and Residential Relocation in Port of Spain, Trinidad." Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Texas at Austin.
- 1978 "Uncontrolled Peripheral Settlement, Residential Satisfaction and the Self-Built House as an Unalienated but Potential Commodity." Paper presented to Mid-Continent Section, Regional Science Association meeting, Lexington, Kentucky.
- CORNELIUS, W. A.
 1975 "The Impact of Cityward Migration on Urban Land and Housing Markets: Problems and Policy Alternatives in Mexico City." Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Center for International Studies.
- CORREO ECONÓMICO
 1965 "El problema de la vivienda en México." *Correo Económico*, Suplemento 8, nos. 28–29, México, D.F.
- DAVIES, C. S. AND BLOOD, R. W.
 1974 "Residential Site Selections of Urban Migrants in Latin America." *Antipode* 6:74–80.
- DAVIS, K.
 1972 *World Urbanization, 1950–70, Volume II. Analysis of Trends, Relationships and Development*. Berkeley: University of California Institute of International Studies.
- DWYER, D. J.
 1974 "Attitudes toward Spontaneous Settlement in Third World Cities." In D. J. Dwyer (ed.), *The City in the Third World*. London: MacMillan, pp. 204–18.
- EAST PORT OF SPAIN SOCIAL SURVEY REPORT, SECOND EDITION
 1973 Port of Spain, Trinidad. Town and Country Planning Division.
- ECKSTEIN, S. E.
 1971 "The Poverty of Revolution: Life in a Center City Area, A Squatter Settlement and a Low Cost Housing Project in Mexico City." Ph.D. dissertation. Columbia University.
- ELIZAGA, J. C.
 1965 "Internal Migrations in Latin America." *Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 43:145.
- EYRE, L. A.
 1972 "The Shantytowns of Montego Bay, Jamaica." *Geographical Review* 62:394–412.
- FLINN, W. L. AND CONVERSE, J. W.
 1970 "Eight Assumptions concerning Rural-Urban Migration in Colombia: A Three Shantytown Test." *Land Economics* 46:456–66.
- FRIEDEN, B. J.
 1965 "The Search for a Housing Policy in Mexico City." *Town Planning Review* 36:2:75–94.
- FRYER, D. W.
 1970 *Emerging Southeast Asia: A Study in Growth and Stagnation*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- GERMANI, G.
 1961 "Inquiry into the Social Effects of Urbanization in Working Class Sector

- of Greater Buenos Aires." In P. M. Hauser (ed.), *Urbanization in Latin America*. Paris: UNESCO, pp. 206–33.
- HARTHE-DENEKE, J. A.
1966 "The Colonias Proletarias of Mexico City: Low-Income Settlements on the Urban Fringe." Master's thesis, MIT.
- HOYT, H.
1963 "The Residential and Retail Patterns of Leading Latin American Cities." *Land Economics* 39:449–54.
- INSTITUTO MEXICANO DE SEGURO SOCIAL
1967 *Investigación de vivienda en 11 ciudades del país*, 3 vols. Mexico City: Editorial Rabasa, S.A.
- INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE LA VIVIENDA
1958a *Colonias proletarias: problemas y soluciones*. México, D.F.
1958b *La vivienda popular: problemas y soluciones*. México, D.F.
- JOHNSTON, R. J.
1972 "Toward a General Model of Intra-Urban Residential Patterns." In C. Board et al. (eds.), *Progress in Geography*. London: Methuen, 4:84–120.
- KOSINSKI, L. A.
1976 "Demographic Aspects of Urbanization." *Geoforum* 7:313–25.
- LEEDS, A.
1969 "The Significant Variables Determining the Character of Squatter Settlements." *América Latina* 12:44–84.
- LEWIS, O.
1959 *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty*. New York: John Wiley.
- LOMNITZ, L.
1976 "Migration and Network in Latin America." In A. Portes and H. L. Browning (eds.), *Current Perspectives in Latin American Urban Research*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- MCTAGGARD, W. A.
1971 "Squatters' Rights, or the Context of a Problem." *Professional Geographer* 23:355–59.
- MANGIN, W.
1967 "Latin American Squatter Settlements: A Problem and a Solution." *LARR* 2:3:65–99.
- MANGIN, W. AND TURNER, J. F. C.
1968 "The Barriada Movement." *Progressive Architecture* 49:154–62.
- MARCHAND, B.
1966 "Los Ranchos de Caracas." *Les Cahiers d'Outre Mer* 19:105–43.
- MATOS MAR, J.
1961 "Migration and Urbanization." In P. M. Hauser (ed.), *Urbanization in Latin America*. Paris: UNESCO, pp. 170–90.
- MORSE, R. M.
1965 "Recent Research on Latin American Urbanization." *LARR* 1:1:35–74.
1971 "Trends and Issues in Latin American Urban Research." *LARR* 6:1:3–52.
- OLDMAN, O.
1967 *Financing Urban Development in Mexico City*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- OTTLEY, C. R.
1970 *The Story of Port of Spain*. Trinidad: Longman Caribbean.

PEATTIE, L. R.

1974 *The View from the Barrio*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

ROBERTS, B.

1978 *Cities of Peasants*. London: Edward Arnold.

SMITH, T. C.

1970 *Studies of Latin American Societies*. New York: Doubleday Anchor.

SUDRA, J. L. AND TURNER, J. F. C.

1973 "Housing Conditions and Priorities of the Lower Income Sectors of the Population: Case Studies of Families in Metropolitan Mexico City." Manuscript.

THOMAS, R. N.

1972 "The Migration System of Guatemala City: Spatial Inputs." *Professional Geographer* 24:105-12.

TURNER, J. F. C.

1965 "Lima's Barriadas and Corralones: Suburbs versus Slums." *Ekistics* 19:152-55.

1966 "A New View of the Housing Deficit." Manuscript.

1967 "Barriers and Channels for Housing Development in Modernizing Countries." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 23:167-81.

1968 "Housing Priorities, Settlement Patterns and Urban Development in Modernizing Countries." *Journal of American Institute of Planners* 24:354-63.

1969 "Uncontrolled Urban Settlement: Problems and Policies." In G. Breese (ed.), *The City in Newly Developing Countries*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

1972 "Architecture that Works." In G. Bell and J. Tyrwhitt (eds.), *Human Identity in the Urban Environment*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, pp. 507-34.

1976 *Housing by People: Toward Autonomy in Building Environments*. New York: Pantheon Books.

UNIKEL, L.

1972 "La dinámica del crecimiento de la ciudad de México." *Fundación para Estudios de la Población, A.C.*, pp. 221-52.

UNITED NATIONS

1957 *Report on the World Social Situation*. New York: U.N.

URBAN REDEVELOPMENT COUNCIL

1971 "U.R.C. Social Survey Questionnaire." Port of Spain, Trinidad.

VALENCIA, E.

1965 *La Merced, estudio ecológico y social de una zona de la ciudad de México*. México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

VAUGHN, D. R. AND FEINDT, W.

1973 "Initial Settlement and Intra-Urban Movement of Migrants in Monterrey." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 39:388-401.

WARD, P. M.

1976 "Intra-City Migration to Squatter Settlements in Mexico City." *Georum* 7:369-82.