

URBAN ANTHROPOLOGY IN LIMA : An Overview*

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Lima is one of several cities in Latin America that have been the subject of a relatively large number of studies by anthropologists.¹ About thirty years' worth of anthropological research in Lima has accrued, yet little has been done in the way of synthesis, although Millones (1978), Osterling (1980), and Lloyd (1980) have made summary comments toward this end in introductions to their recent books. No ethnography of the entire city has been attempted, and in many ways, the research has been concerned only with relatively smaller units and bounded groups, particularly squatter settlements and highland migrants. Nor have the linkages between studies and groups often been made. I will briefly discuss here, within a typological framework, the ethnographic studies carried out in Lima with an eye to describing and integrating the nature, focus, and methods of these studies.

Most of the fieldwork in Lima can be categorized under the anthropological subfield known as urban anthropology because it either occurs in an urban context or fits into the parameters of topics generally included in this subfield² or both. Most urban anthropology in Lima has been carried out by American or British anthropologists, or by Peruvian anthropologists who have been heavily influenced by American or British anthropology.³ For this essay, I have developed a typological framework based on the work of urban anthropologists who have attempted to summarize this subfield (for example, Eames and Goode 1977; Hannerz 1980). Some overlap inevitably occurs, but the typology should serve as a guide to the research. I must add at the outset that this essay is concerned primarily with work done by anthropologists, and although the topic of urbanization is a common one for them, this essay is concerned with urban research in and of Lima, not necessarily with the urbanization of Lima.

In the next section I will review the urban anthropological studies

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of Lima and in Lima using a typology consisting of four categories: migration and urban-adaptation studies, problem- and issue-oriented studies, urban social-structure studies, and economic studies. I chose these types partly because they reflect the thrust of the research done so far and partly because they represent categories used in review pieces and in textbooks dealing with the field of urban anthropology (compare Eames and Goode 1977; Uzzell and Provencher 1976; Bascham and De-Groot 1977; Hannerz 1980; Press and Smith 1980; and Gmelch and Zenner 1980). I found that among the works I reviewed, about 50 percent dealt with migration and urban-adaptation topics, 15 percent with problem-oriented or issue-oriented topics, 25 percent with urban social-structure topics, and 10 percent with economic topics.

MIGRATION AND URBAN-ADAPTATION STUDIES

The most frequent type of study carried out by anthropologists in Latin America has been that dealing with migration and urban adaptation.⁴ For example, in a recent book-length survey of Latin American urbanization by Butterworth and Chance (1981), six out of nine chapters deal with migration, migrant adaptation, and voluntary associations, while only three treat the many aspects of housing, class structure, poverty, and the history of Latin American cities. Urban anthropology in Lima has also been primarily concerned with urbanization issues rather than with urbanism issues. Many of the earliest studies focused on psychological problems of adjustment for migrants. Fried (1959) describes the personality values of Lima residents and provides glimpses of how migrants make their psychological adjustment to Lima; Mangin (1959) suggests that the pathologies associated with slum dwellers, many of whom are migrants, are characteristic of poor people everywhere, not just of those in Lima. He also notes, as does Dietz (1980, 91), that migrants perceive squatter settlements as a definite improvement over the rural communities from which they have come. Patch's (1967) study of La Parada, Lima's central marketplace, paints a gloomy picture of the problems that migrants face initially, although it appears that succeeding generations often fare better.

Language is another problem that many migrants face. Studies by Myers (1973), Lobo (1982), and Mangin (1973) among others show that many migrants from the highlands cannot speak Spanish or are incipient bilinguals at best. Many others who can speak Spanish either have only a limited command of the language or speak a dialect of Spanish that differs enough from the Lima Spanish dialect to make them easily identifiable as migrants (Escobar 1978). Nonnative ability in Spanish or the use of what Peruvian sociolinguist Alberto Escobar calls a *castellano andino* dialect stigmatizes the migrant, and native Limeños, whether lower-class

criollos, middle-class bureaucrats, or upper-class elites, view the highlands and almost all of Peru outside of Lima as a socially and economically deprived hinterland. For a mid-career Limeño, assignment to a bureaucratic post outside of Lima often is considered to be punishment.

The use of languages not spoken in Lima, like Quechua and Aymara, as well as dialects like castellano andino that are spoken extensively in the highlands (Escobar 1978, 48), may slow the migrants' ability to adjust and be assimilated into the urban environment of Lima. According to Myers (1973), although the language used by Quechua-speaking migrants undergoes a marked change during the years following a permanent move to Lima, their Spanish is still influenced by Quechua speech traits long after they arrive. At the same time, as Escobar suggests, language serves as a continuing tie to the migrants' communities and regions of origin. The migrants' obvious enjoyment of *huaynos* (highland-style songs) in Quechua reflects this bond (Lobo 1982, 28; Doughty 1970, 41). Furthermore, Doughty (1972) asserts that despite linguistic difficulties, many cultural forms found in the city that were brought from the highlands (such as *huaynos*, fiesta rituals, and reciprocal labor parties) do help migrants adjust to the urban environment even though they may also foster increased ethnic consciousness (1972, 49). Many researchers have found that adjustment to the city, although sometimes traumatic, is successfully accomplished by large numbers of migrants to such an extent that readjustment to social patterns in their native community often becomes difficult (Isbell 1978, 238; Wallace 1975, 244).

Another Lima phenomenon related to adjustment is the much-studied regional association. Both Mangin (1959, 1960, 1973) and Doughty (1969, 1970, 1972) pioneered in this area of research. Long (1973), Roberts (1974), and Altamirano (1977) have also studied the positive functions of regional associations in aiding migrants' adaptation to the city. Regional associations in Lima are seen by most ethnographic researchers as having at least two main functions: the acculturative and the integrative. They assist the migrant in learning the social ways of the urban society by association with a group of familiar people. Club events also alleviate the impact of the strangeness of the urban environment and simultaneously provide an informal network of people who can assist in gaining access to jobs and services in the city.

Skeldon (1976, 1980), in rethinking Doughty's work in the light of Jongkind's criticism (1971, 1974), has suggested that regional associations can be better understood within a historical and evolutionary framework. He believes that such a framework would facilitate drawing upon cross-cultural evidence in order to understand the process of urbanization. He suggests that regional associations gradually lose their adaptive functions over time. The viability of regional associations as an adaptive buffer varies widely, however, because of the considerable dif-

ferences in the rate of migration from various highland areas. Regional clubs, Skeldon says, become primarily recreational and social in nature. Doughty disagrees with this view (personal communication, 1980), and my own research in Lima conflicts with Skeldon's findings. Skeldon also ignores the Roberts (1974) paper, which in my view adds greater clarity to the nature of Peruvian regional associations. Roberts focuses on rural-urban interrelationships. Agreeing with Long (1973), he sees the regional clubs as "part of an elaborate institutional network in both city and provinces" (1974, 223). He goes on to state that "the distinct contribution that migrant clubs have made to the emerging urban organization of Peru is that they have provided one of the means by which a metropolitan society became sensitive to local-level provincial politics" (Roberts 1974, 225). From this perspective, regional associations have a third function, that of serving as one channel through which important ties between migrants and hometown socioeconomic resources can be maintained. Isbell's (1974) structuralist study of the transformations in the worldviews of Ayacucho migrants tends to corroborate Roberts's claim.

Studies of peasant migration and subsequent adaptation manifest the success with which network analysis has been applied to the Peruvian urban context. Some researchers have followed the people they met in the highland community to the urban environment and thus have been in a position to see the linkages between city and province. Others such as Lobo (1977, 1982), Lloyd (1980), Uzzell (1972), and Dietz (1980) have studied urban networks without having first studied a peasant community.

Certain drawbacks exist to following migrants from the rural community that the researcher has studied. A tendency may occur to narrow the focus of the research to studying peasants *in* cities; it also may lead the researcher to examine how the peasant adapts instead of focusing on the urbanism of a city that has large numbers of both migrants and natives. Finally the great concern with migration may lead one to forget that peasants in Peru have often traveled all over the country and had experiences working elsewhere. Migration does not end the peasants' contact with their home communities, but the nature of that contact does evolve. This point is precisely the one that Skeldon (1980) makes in attempting to resolve the opposing views of Doughty and Jongkind on regional associations. Migration and urban-adaptation studies give only a very partial view of the actual sociopolitical, cultural, and economic structure of Lima.

PROBLEM-ORIENTED AND ISSUE-ORIENTED STUDIES

*Pueblos jóvenes*⁵ (squatter settlements) have been the focus of about 60 percent of the urban anthropological studies in Lima, and so it comes as

no surprise that they have also been the principal locale of both problem-oriented and urban social-structure studies.⁶ The “discovery” of organization and adaptive institutions in Lima’s squatter settlements by Mangin (1960, 1967a, 1967b) and Mangin and Turner (1968) was viewed as a refutation of Lewis’s theory of the culture of poverty (1965, 1966) attributed to slum dwellers (Leeds 1971). Although Lewis (1952) was among the first to show that Latin American migrants can adapt successfully “without breakdown” to an urban environment, his study of the urban poor in Mexico (1961) as well as in New York and Puerto Rico (1965) fostered the generalized impression that all urban poor—slum and squatter-settlement dwellers alike—are overwhelmed by social and psychological pathologies (Lewis 1966).

Mangin and Turner reacted quickly to Lewis’s concept of the culture of poverty by explaining that the growth of *barriadas* in Lima may be a solution to some of the problems of urbanization. Leeds, who has done much fieldwork in Rio de Janeiro’s *favelas*, singled out Lima’s *barriadas* as an example of lower-class urban communities that are organized and otherwise lack characteristics of the culture of poverty (Leeds 1971). Mangin, in turn, used his edited work *Peasant in Cities* (1970a) as a vehicle to criticize Lewis’s concept of the culture of poverty. As Eames and Goode (1977, 317) point out, however, neither Mangin nor Leeds uses equivalent social units to refute Lewis’s concept because *barriadas* and *favelas* contain “people of different occupational levels, career directions and income” (see also Uzzell 1974a). One must also keep in mind that today’s “solution-providing” *pueblos jóvenes* may become tomorrow’s problem-causing slums as new *pueblos jóvenes* are formed farther and farther away from the decaying center of Lima.

In any event, understanding of Lima’s contemporary *pueblos jóvenes* has grown in part out of the concern with refuting the Lewis view of disorganization in Lima, especially by means of differentiating inner-city slums (*tugurios*) from squatter settlements. Mangin (1967a) argues convincingly that the levels of anomie and pessimism found in *tugurios* (Rotondo et al. 1961; Caravedo, Rotondo, and Mariátegui 1963) are generally not equaled in squatter settlements.

Carlos Delgado (1969) and Diego Robles (1972) clarified the importance of *pueblo joven* development by working within Peru’s government (the Velasco regime, 1968–75) to encourage faster issuance of legal and material aid from the government to settlers in *pueblos jóvenes*. But as political scientist David Collier demonstrated, the Peruvian government following World War II, under the military dictatorship of Manuel Odría (1948–56), had already begun to encourage formation of some squatter settlements as a means of politically controlling the poor (1974, 193). During the Velasco regime, however, a more organized approach to low-income housing development was attempted, principally through the

Organismo Nacional de Desarrollo de Pueblos Jóvenes (ONDEPJOV) and later the Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social (SINAMOS). Both agencies were organized by the government to stimulate and facilitate self-help efforts at improving the services and organization in the pueblos jóvenes, although new invasions of land were to be discouraged. SINAMOS was disbanded about 1975 after very mixed results. Its attempt to mobilize popular support for the left-of-center military government was not successful, and the functions of SINAMOS regarding pueblos jóvenes were absorbed by the Ministry of Housing.

Largely untouched by governmental political efforts are the inner-city slums. This situation is paralleled by the small number of anthropological studies of poor neighborhoods outside the squatter settlements, which are generally referred to as *tugurios* in the literature (Millones 1978, 15). Tugurio dwellers include both longtime residents and recent highland migrants (Turner 1965; Delgado 1969; Mangin 1967a, 1967b; see also Dietz 1980, 37). Although Lloyd wants to subdivide tugurios into two types that he calls *corralones* and *callejones* (1980, 39), other terms and types also exist (such as *quintas* and *barriadas aéreas*), so that the circumstances are more easily summarized by characterizing tugurios as places where residents are either renters or inhabitants who are subject at least to threats of eviction by landlords. In contrast, residents of squatter settlements own their lots, even though they may not hold legal title.

Few descriptions exist of *tugurio* settlements and the social interaction that takes place within them. Patch (1961) briefly describes the social disorganization in a *callejón*. Dietz (1980) provides more information about another, Sendas Frutales, a *tugurio* southwest of Lima's center, where he visited and interviewed about one hundred households. His data illustrate behavioral and attitudinal differences between slum and squatter-settlement dwellers regarding political activity and involvement in community development, with the *tugurio* dwellers being significantly less active. Uzzell (1972, 1974a), who worked in four unnamed pueblos jóvenes, indicates that *callejones* can vary greatly with regard to composition, origin of dwellers, and attitudes about community improvement, a finding that somewhat calls into question the Turner-Mangin view that *tugurios* lead to squatter settlements.

Millones (1978) and Fukumoto (1976) studied another *tugurio* named Huerta Perdida in the central district of El Cercado. Although Millones might well have described more of the lifeways of the inhabitants of Huerta Perdida, he focuses more closely than other writers on certain aspects of racial and ethnic relations, showing that national patterns of racial-ethnic stratification are replicated in the *tugurio*.

Millones's historical research interests also led him to study black and Chinese ethnicity in Peru (1973), where Lima has the largest Peruvian populations of both groups. Wong (1978) made a comparative study

of Chinese populations in Lima and New York City and found that the Peruvian Chinese had been more assimilated than the Chinese in New York City. Ethnic stereotypes about Chinese and a *barrio chino* in central Lima nevertheless continue to exist (Millones 1973, 86).

URBAN SOCIAL-STRUCTURE STUDIES

The Lima studies in this category also have been usually undertaken in the pueblos jóvenes.⁷ Many of these studies focus on how peasant migrants use networks of kinship to aid their adjustment to the urban environment. Mangin's (1965) brief article compares selected socio-cultural characteristics of Vicosino peasants with Vicosino residents of Lima. Later, Mangin (1973) provides a closer look at squatters living in a pueblo joven that he calls Benavides, which also contains a number of former Vicosinos. He shows that peasant migrants usually had lived in an inner-city tugurio for some time before they moved to a pueblo joven. This pattern of migrants moving from tugurio to pueblo joven is confirmed by Dietz in his studies (1977, 1980, 36). Lobo, however, notes that pueblos jóvenes contain so many rural migrants that most new arrivals have relatives already living in them and so do not need to settle first in a tugurio (1982, 93). For highland migrants, although kinship and *compadrazgo* ties are still important principles of pueblo joven social organization, contact with a variety of Peruvians in various occupations provides more role models for behavior. Migrants may also be more disposed toward change than peasants who stayed behind (Dietz 1977, 78). Lobo (1976) suggests that migrant selectivity is based to a large extent on the contacts that potential migrants have in the city (see also Bradfield 1973).

Osterling's (1980) study of peasant migrants includes a case study rich in details about the structure of relationships among migrants in Lima as well as among migrants and others who stay in the peasant community. Osterling studied Huayopampa in the Department of Lima (Chancay Valley) and documented a dynamic interaction between city and rural residents, a finding that adds further weight to Roberts's (1974) study of urban and periphery interrelationships in the Mantaro Valley region. Before World War II, Huayopampinos began sending their sons to Lima for a better education. By 1938 most of these students were able to lodge with relatives who had already migrated. Simultaneously, a few wealthier Huayopampinos began to experiment with producing and marketing different fruit crops, and they oriented their production toward the Lima marketplace. This process was facilitated by the channels of communication opened up by the first migrants. Agricultural innovations filtered back to the community from Lima, and families were able to live in Lima and work their lands in Huayopampa. Also, the Lima residents of Huayopampa produced an unusually large number of profes-

sionally trained people, particularly teachers, pharmacists, priests, doctors, and agronomists. The Lima residents continue to maintain close contact with kinsmen, marry persons from the Huayopampino community, and live in dwellings typically located in one area of the city. Although migrants learn to live successfully in Lima and establish contacts with people outside their kinship network, kin continue to be very important sources of support and assistance.

As in Osterling's work, the studies of urban social structure reflect the usual anthropological concern with kinship networks. Lloyd (1980) finds them to be important in the *pueblo joven* he calls Medalla Milagrosa. Lobo's studies of the *pueblos jóvenes* of Ciudadela Chalaca and Dulanto (1977, 1982) and Mangin's study of the one he calls Benavides (1973) concur that kinship networks are important, especially in the formation of a squatter invasion. This phenomenon is also noted by Osterling (1980), Isbell (1978), and many others, but it is described best by Mangin (1967b, 1970b) as one in which typically the word passes among relatives as to when and where the invasion is to take place. Thus, at the beginning of the settlement of a *pueblo joven*, there is often a concentration of people from the same highland community. Later on kinsmen assist subsequent arrivals in locating and obtaining housing in the settlement. This pattern has been repeated in a large number of reported cases. But as Uzzell (1974a) points out, there is more than one pattern of squatter settlement formation because each squatter settlement has its own historical pattern of development.

One of the best ethnographies on Lima's squatter settlements is Lobo's study of Ciudadela Chalaca and Dulanto. Beyond showing that kinship, *compadrazgo* and *paisano* ties, and marriage alliances are important to the highland migrant, she finds an "ego-based kindred with a strong sibling tie the fundamental organization which is found among the migrant residents" (Lobo 1982, 83). Married kinsmen, especially siblings, tend to live near each other. A major criterion for spouse selection is congeniality or fit within one's family network. Another preference is for marrying a *paisana*, a person "who is from the same highland district or whose parents have come from the same district" (Lobo 1982, 136). *Paisanos* and groupings of overlapping kindreds provide important identity networks, and the tendency of *paisanos* to locate in adjacent areas helps maintain these identity networks. With the exception of respect for the elderly, many highland values such as belief in reciprocal labor institutions, industriousness, and progressiveness have been transferred to Lima's *pueblo jóvenes* (Mayer 1977, Wallace 1976). Like Huerta Perdida—the *tugurio* studies by Millones (1978) and Fukumoto (1976)—Ciudadela Chalaca is stratified into three racial (or ethnic) groups: *criollos*, *cholos*, and *zambos*. *Cholos* are the migrants from the highlands, and *criollos* are generally native-born Limeños. Many *criollos*

are also zambos, persons of predominantly black ancestry. The majority of pueblo joven residents, however, are usually from the highlands. Millones estimates that 71 percent of the Huerta Perdida inhabitants were born outside of Lima, while Lobo reports that 66 percent of those in the Ciudadela Chalaca were born in the highlands.⁸ Dietz cites an 80 percent figure in his sample (1980, 70).

Lloyd (1980) also noted ethnic differences in Medalla Milagrosa, but "in everyday activities none of these distinctions seem pronounced" (1980, 90). In Ciudadela Chalaca, criollos are considered to be witty, fierce, and fun-loving, according to Lobo's (1982) account of the highlander's view of the native Limeño; Doughty (1972) suggests that many migrants try to pick up criollo mannerisms as an adaptive technique. Medalla Milagrosa, like the others, consists of many people who have migrated from the same highland community. Lloyd also finds that inter-family ties are generally stronger than local community ties. Social and economic pressures to conform to urban standards of success seem to contribute to the difficulty in obtaining community cooperation for local projects or improvements. The organizational efforts for either the initial invasion or obtaining lot titles does not seem to extend into other areas. Lloyd takes issue with the view of the pueblo joven inhabitants as marginal to the social structure (Cotler 1974). Lloyd agrees with Uzzell (1974a) in finding that these people vary greatly as to wealth, occupation, and integration into the city's socioeconomic structure. Most residents of Medalla Milagrosa are achievement-oriented with high aspirations (although not always realistic ones); but the lower classes and the poor generally do not receive many services from the government and do not benefit as rapidly or fully from wage increases and benefits as do the middle and upper-middle classes residing elsewhere in Lima (Roberts 1978). In this sense, they are marginal. The degree to which the poor are excluded from urban and national resources is even more marked in the tugurios. Both Patch (1967) and Millones (1978) note the shrewdness (*viveza*) that the poor must possess to survive in this environment.

In an interesting theoretical paper, Uzzell suggests that Limeño and Peruvian society can better be envisioned as characterized by two broad poles: one pole consists of cholos, who are mostly migrants with peasant backgrounds, and the other consists of creoles, "that set of the population who consider it possible (whether or not it actually is possible) for themselves to participate in the activities controlled by those institutions on terms favorable to themselves" (1974b, 37). Uzzell believes that this differentiation is less likely to create the misunderstandings that terms such as "class," "marginal masses," and "culture of poverty" may produce. "The existence of *cholo* institutions (e.g., *pueblos jóvenes*) not only has allowed *cholos* to avoid dealings with creole institutions (e.g., banks, commercial housing), but also to deal with *cholos* at the

institutional level—as when a bank deals with a savings cooperative or a government seeks to ‘regularize’ (and thus, to redefine and control) irregular settlements” (1973, 1).⁹

Uzzell and most anthropological researchers have primarily focused on cholos, criollos, and migrants, a focus that has yielded little ethnographic data on the middle- and upper-class groups in Lima. Beals observes that Peru is the Latin American country where individuals of the middle class have found it most difficult to move to the upper class (1965, 351). Yet only about 4 percent of the national population could be said to comprise the middle class in 1973, according to Anderson (1978, 187). Because the upper class controls the flow of information, an aura of secrecy about the elites’ cultural patterns and systems of oligarchic control can be maintained around what Uzzell might call the creole institutions (see Gilbert 1977, 352–58 on the upper class’s control of newspapers). The middle class’s economic standards are apparently far below those of the upper class, yet according to Webb (1975, 9), the middle class is far better off than the lower class, where the poorest 60 percent of the work force receive no more than 18.2 percent of the national income (1975, 29).¹⁰

Anderson (1978) studied a nonrandom sample of middle-class women living in the Conjunto Residencial of San Felipe. San Felipe, a model project initiated during the first presidency of Fernando Belaúnde (“El Arquitecto”), was designed to provide high-density condominium-type housing for white-collar workers. Today San Felipe residents are a mix of middle-class renters and owners distributed throughout sixteen hundred apartments, which are located on the site of a former racetrack in the San Isidro district of Lima. Interestingly, about two-thirds of the San Felipe residents are themselves migrants to Lima. They come from provincial middle-class origins, accept their middle status in society without much question, and subscribe to the values of the urban, Lima-born middle class. San Felipe’s middle-class families are usually small, with few relatives boarding. Although as many as one-fourth of the San Felipe residents had relatives living in other apartments, women (and men) were found to be as likely to keep their ties with whichever relatives they considered important, no matter where they lived in Peru. Relatives also gave each other aid in goods and services in a kind of generalized reciprocity system. It seems that despite the difference in standard of living, middle-class residents in government-developed housing like San Felipe differed little in kinship structure and urban values from their counterparts in autonomously developed squatter settlements.

Both the San Felipe and squatter-settlement developments represent cholo institutions, to use Uzzell’s term, in contrast to the upper-class, creole institutions that control Lima. Unfortunately, it is difficult to

determine to what extent the residents of San Felipe and the residents of the squatter settlements share the same kinship structure and values because there are no ethnographic studies of upper-class families, except for the study done by sociologist Dennis Gilbert (1977, 1981). A student of William F. Whyte, Gilbert studied the historical role of the oligarchy in Peru from 1850 to 1968. He concentrated on three upper-class families, interviewing various informants who included some family members, and he compiled a history of the families by studying various public and private documents. He relates little about their day-to-day cultural and social activities but does provide a view of their kinship structure: "An elite group of families at the apex of Peru's propertied class is extensively linked by ties of kinship and affinity both internally and with the most prestigious stratum of upper-class Lima society with which it overlaps considerably. The overlap of economic and political links with social ties made possible a kind of social control generally associated with 'traditional' communities" (Gilbert 1977, 372-74). Gilbert's (1981) "discovery" that bilateral descent can be an organizing principle in modern societies is neither new or startling; this study nevertheless provides well-researched evidence about kin structure in the upper-class families of Lima and the effectiveness of their descent system in perpetuating their control over Peru's creole institutions.

Much work remains to be done on the middle- and upper-class segments of Lima society. Also, except for data on the inhabitants of one or two tugurios and a few squatter settlements, very little is known about the lower classes in Lima.

ECONOMIC STUDIES

Studies in this category have been few.¹¹ Smith's excellent study of female domestics in Lima (1971, 1973, 1975) is one of the most significant in offering some idea of how the other half (the middle and upper classes) live. Following Smith's work, Rutte García (1973) has also published on this theme. Girls from the highlands learn many values from their employers during their brief careers. The conditions of their work vary greatly from near-bondage to unusual displays of generosity. Marriage or childbirth usually terminates their employment, but many do attend school and save small amounts of their salary. Additional, largely corroborating information on domestics is found in Osterling (1980), Anderson (1978), Lloyd (1980), and Lobo (1982).

Another pioneering economic study is one on street vendors (Osterling, Althaus, and Morelli 1979). Street vending is one of the commonest means by which migrants can begin to establish themselves in the economic sector. While many may engage in vending part-time or temporarily, some, often aided by kin, invest in stalls and carts. This kind of

business often employs whole families, and although vendors may be underemployed, they nonetheless may produce enough income to provide basic necessities.

Riofrío (1978), in an extensive inventory of areas and possibilities for future *barriada* growth, is pessimistic about Lima being spatially and economically able to absorb many more migrants. Rodríguez, Riofrío, and Welsh (1973) claim that squatter settlements and *tugurios* are located largely outside of middle- and upper-class residential areas so that squatter inhabitants will neither be noticeable nor “contaminate” such areas. Street vendors, however, can be observed nearly everywhere in Lima. Rodríguez et al. find the invasion of the *barriadas* by the various national and international welfare agencies to be an ironic turnabout that is largely designed to keep the poor in their place.

Roberts’s (1975) study of local Huancayo family entrepreneurs in the lower-class service sector illustrates the many ways in which migrants manage to adapt in the absence of industrial or government employment. Street vending is only one example. Uzzell (1980) also touches on Lima in his brief study of reserve labor and the informal sector, but many more studies of this type need to be undertaken.

Another dimension of the category of economic studies is exemplified in Roberts’s (1978) work. While including all of Latin America in his purview, Roberts focuses much of his attention directly on Peru and indirectly on Lima. Roberts codirected with Norman Long a research project in the Huancayo Valley region (Long and Roberts 1978). Both British social anthropologists, Roberts and Long contend that earlier studies of peasants and urbanites have not paid sufficient attention to manifestations of small-scale or family-run entrepreneurial strategies for economic survival and progress. In their various studies, the two have stressed the need for understanding the modes of production in which peasants and migrants engage, within the macrohistorical perspective of Peru’s society and economy (Long 1973; Roberts 1974, 1975, 1978; Long and Roberts 1978). In their view, researchers should focus on class conflicts because these “comprise the dialectic process by which change takes place; the emergence of new forms of production creates new class interests and threatens those interests tied to an established and perhaps superseded form of production” (Roberts 1978, 8).

Recent Peruvian reforms in industrialization and agrarian structure have weakened the agricultural sector, and populist regimes have unwittingly encouraged the migration of peasants seeking employment in the higher-paying industrial centers (Weisslitz 1973). At the same time, the industrial sector has not provided sufficiently high levels of employment. Peasants have relied on traditional entrepreneurial family ventures, especially in the service sector, for survival. Street vending, domestic servitude, taxi and truck driving, and handicraft production

are only a few of the strategies to which individuals turn and return to supplement their income. Most lower-class working families receive few benefits from the dominant forms of Peruvian economic organization. Although they have comparatively little economic wherewithal, when organized they can become vocal protestors. Roberts outlines the situation in a way that illuminates the myriad constraints affecting urban working families in Lima and underlying the economic structure, which in turn affects the social and political structure of the city. Gilbert (1977) provides historical data and Webb (1975) statistical data on the degree to which the elites, most of whose members live in Lima, control Peru. Understanding the sociopolitical and economic structure of Lima provides the key to understanding fully the complexities of Peru as a whole.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH METHODS AND PROBLEMS

Traditional ethnographic fieldwork techniques of participant observation are well known to social scientists. Fieldwork in anthropology is usually an intense personal experience that often enables the researcher to gain insight into the "native's point of view." A continuing worry for all ethnographers studying urban environments has been the question of holism (Weaver and White 1972; Press and Smith 1980). As long as the group under study is small enough and sufficiently isolated from other, distinctly different communities or cultures, the data gathering is relatively manageable. But in studying an urbanized, complex society, the parameters are drastically altered, and it becomes very difficult to control all the contextual factors that influence local events and patterns of interaction. The problems of scale are so imposing that many anthropologists who work in an urban setting like Lima focus on single groups. The groups may be bounded, as in pueblos jóvenes like the two studied by Lobo (1977, 1982), or they may be unbounded, as in the study by Osterling (1980) of Huayopampa migrants residing in Lima. Sometimes the urban study is a situational analysis; the studies of domestics in Limeño middle-class homes by Smith (1971, 1973) and Rutte García (1973) are good examples.

The problems of scale, the question of holism, and the nature of the participant-observation method make studies of entire cities especially difficult for anthropologists. Yet, the study of single groups is not complete without placing each group being studied into the context of the whole city, or even the entire nation. Conversely, it is important to comprehend the influence of the entire urban context on each single group. Although most anthropologists would agree that it is desirable to perceive both the group in the city and the city in the group, not everyone agrees as to which approach is the best in urban ethnography.

The tactic most often used in urban anthropological studies has

been to work from the ground up—the microscopic view. But a few researchers have employed the overview of the entire city—the macroscopic view. While these two views are not in conflict as to research focus, researchers have been at odds as to which should take priority. Walter Zenner, for example, prefers the microscopic approach: “the main task [for urban anthropology] is to describe and analyze the lives of people who live in cities. The macroscopic perspectives of holists, cultural configurationists and Marxists are needed to sharpen our analyses, but it has been our singular function to provide the ‘worm’s-eye view’ ” (Zenner 1980, 7).

Yet urban anthropology is not merely anthropology done *in* a city nor merely the study of urbanization but rather anthropology *of* the city and of urbanism. Thus, it is essential to focus on the aspects of urban life that are part of a society because the city is as much a part of a complex society as are its rural areas and the institutions that link them together. In a primate city like Lima, the importance of an ethnographic understanding of the urban character and structure is crucial in obtaining a full picture of the national society and culture of Peru. As R. G. Fox suggests in *Urban Anthropology*, “the anthropology of urbanism continues the holistic scholarly traditions of anthropology in its approach to the city. It emphasizes the interactional and ideological roles played by cities in their societies.” Much of the urban ethnography in Lima has been from the “worm’s-eye view,” however, and “urban research in places such as Lima has tended to focus upon the famous *barriadas* (squatter settlements) *per se* and not on the larger city with the result that phenomena which are not necessarily specific to the *barriadas* escape notice” (Doughty 1970, 46, emphasis in original). But what is true for Lima is generally true for Latin America as a whole. Schaedel has noted that “the majority of anthropological studies of cities in Latin America have largely been limited to two major and disparate areas: the *barriadas* and the manifold consequences of rural living patterns on the urban ambience (urbanism), at the community (neighborhood level); and the aboriginal dynamics of city growth, more or less on a societal level” (1974, 143–44).

To a large extent, cultural anthropologists in Peru and elsewhere traditionally were interested in rural, isolated communities; and the method of participant observation was well suited to peasant communities, bounded as they first appeared to be. Gradually, however, anthropologists realized that a holistic study of a community is not possible without understanding the community’s pattern of interaction with urban-based, sociopolitical structural units because the city plays a significant role in shaping peasant intracommunity patterns of interaction (Whyte and Alberti 1976, 4–5, 19–20; Leeds 1973b, 19–20; Cotler 1974, 58–63). Possibly for this reason, the study of peasant migration and migrants’ subsequent adjustment to cities, especially in the squatter set-

lements, has become the focus of a majority of the urban anthropological studies of Lima. Nevertheless, as both Lloyd (1980, 9) and Lobo (1982, xvi) note, the number of in-depth, ethnographic studies in Lima using traditional participant-observation techniques have been relatively few, even in the squatter settlements.

One of the basic tenets of participant-observation research is the necessity of living in the community that one is studying. But this approach has seldom been employed. The major exceptions include Lobo (1977, 1982), who spent about eighteen months in two squatter settlements near Lima's airport; Lloyd (1980), who studied a small *pueblo joven* two blocks from his house in the district of Magdalena del Mar for about six months; Uzzell (1972, 1974a), who lived in one Lima *pueblo joven* for a year and visited three others regularly; and Anderson (1978), who lived in an apartment in the middle-class housing project of San Felipe. Smith (1971, 1973) lived in two middle-class households when she studied female domestics, but Patch (1967) performed no participant observation when he gathered his data on La Parada, Lima's central market area, using instead a hired informant whom he trained to observe and conduct interviews. When Osterling (1980) set out to study what had happened to Huayopampa migrants, he lived in Huayopampa for two months and then spent ten months locating and interviewing the Lima residents scattered over twenty-one districts. Osterling studied migrants from a community already well studied by others (Fuenzalida et al. 1968; Soberón 1973), but Doughty (1970, 1972) studied residents of a community (Huaylas) that he had previously studied in the Department of Ancash (Doughty 1968). Doughty developed an easygoing rapport with his highland informants, and while living in Lima and engaging in other activities, he kept in contact with Huaylas residents in Lima and even served as Secretary of Culture of the Huaylas District Association in Lima. His articles on provincial clubs are based on materials collected from newspapers, radios, and clubs themselves, in addition to his interviews. Mangin, who was among the first to study squatter settlements and regional associations (1959, 1960, 1965, 1967a, 1967b), used his informants from Callejón de Huaylas then living in Lima as the subjects of interviews and, according to Lloyd (1980, 12), lived in the *pueblo joven* of Comas (Mangin 1960). Isbell (1974, 1978) also lived in a *pueblo joven*, Siete de Octubre, with migrants of the Ayacucho highland community (Chuschi) that she had studied earlier.

Millones (1978) employed students from an urban anthropology class at Lima's Catholic University to interview 341 families in the *tugurio* called Huerta Perdida. Later he and his assistant Mary Fukumoto (1976) revisited some of the families. Collier (1976), a political scientist, relied on extensive questionnaire and interview techniques for his study of squatter settlements. Dietz (1980), another political scientist, employed

questionnaires (applied to a random sample, with 550 being usable) as well as some participant observation in five pueblos jóvenes and one central-city tugurio. Other techniques employed in Lima include those used by Riofrío (1978) and Gilbert (1977, 1981). Riofrío obtained his data on land, the availability of land for housing, and housing prices by visiting landowners in Lima who offered land for sale in the Sunday newspapers. When Gilbert studied the Peruvian oligarchy, he interviewed various members of three upper-class families, consulted published documents, and obtained access to various documents held by government officials. Some studies, such as those in the edited volume of Dobyns and Vázquez (1963) on internal migration, have relied heavily on censal data in addition to other quantitative and qualitative techniques. The Alers and Appelbaum (1968) study relies only on the analysis of other published sources, many of which are based solely on quantitative data.

Among all of the studies, only three come close to being holistic anthropological ethnographies—those by Uzzell (1972), Lloyd (1980), and Lobo (1982); of these three, only Uzzell combined quantitative techniques with participant observation. The Dietz (1980) study, which is somewhat similar to Uzzell's in that quantitative and qualitative techniques were used, is far from being a holistic community study of pueblos jóvenes. In sum, the track record for ethnographic studies of Lima is spotty and skewed toward the study of pueblos jóvenes and the adaptation of migrants to the city.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

The published ethnographic works on Lima that I reviewed deal primarily with cultural anthropologists' concern with the extension of the rural community into the city. The reason for this bias stems partly from the anthropological concern with traditional rural societies and partly from the rural, *indigenista* emphasis in Peruvian anthropology. Osterling and Martínez (1983) document this development of Peruvian social anthropology in their recent article, noting the especially strong role of Luis E. Valcarcel. They also mention others whose work influenced the direction and orientation of research in Peru, such as José Matos Mar, Jorge Muelle, and many other Peruvian and foreign anthropologists. One other person who was influential in anthropological research in Peru and whom I consider to have been indirectly responsible for setting the tone of much of the early urban research was Allan Holmberg.

Holmberg was the progenitor of the Peru-Cornell Vicos Project that engendered a new approach to applied anthropology and a large number of baseline community studies. According to Doughty (1977) and Greaves (1977), few ethnological studies had been made prior to the beginning of the Viru Valley Project in 1947, as evidenced by the bibliog-

raphy of Volume II (*The Andean Civilizations*) of the *Handbook of South American Indians* (1946). After 1950 the number of both ethnographers and ethnographies in Peru expanded considerably, and Holmberg was directly or indirectly connected with a large number of them. Doughty remarks that by 1966, Holmberg, who also participated in the Viru Valley Project, had "taught and directed 30 percent of all cultural anthropologists from the U.S. working in the Andean area" (1977, 4). Both Doughty (from Cornell) and Mangin (from Yale) worked in Vicos for extended periods of time.

For Holmberg, the Redfieldian view of peasant communities as being homogeneous, stable, and harmonious¹² was more dominant than the view of peasants as fearful, anxious, and distrustful typified by Oscar Lewis's restudy of Tepoztlan (1951) and George Foster's "image of limited good" (1965). For example, Holmberg wrote in 1958 that "the best kind of community in which to live is one that is, to quote Aldous Huxley, 'just, peaceable and morally and intellectually progressive' and made up of 'responsible men and women' . . ." (1958, 19). Holmberg agreed with Redfield's view that the world is moving to a wider, rather than a narrower, sharing of positive human values, toward a world where everyone would have the right to participate in the decision-making process and an equal opportunity to pursue health and happiness. It was this philosophy that underlay Holmberg's "participant intervention" approach in Vicos, and it certainly must have influenced the students he directed. Through the Viru Valley and Vicos projects, Holmberg was involved in the training of many American and Peruvian anthropologists who are still active in teaching, research, and government work. Among the Peruvians are José Matos Mar, Oscar Núñez del Prado, Alejandro Ortíz, Humberto Ghersi, Mario Vázquez, Hector Martínez, and Rodrigo Montoya (Holmberg 1966); among the Americans are David Andrews, William Mangin, Paul Doughty, William Stein, Stillman Bradfield, Thomas Greaves, and Richard Patch (Osterling and Martínez 1983, 345; Greaves 1977, 4). As has been noted, many of them went on to study migration and the urban adaptation of peasants in Lima. Of course, some reflect more than others the influence of Holmberg in their Lima research. For example, Doughty in his community study of Huaylas (1968, 236–45) found the peasants to be united, cooperative, progressive, and optimistic about the future. Mangin, in the introduction to his edited work *Peasants in Cities*, criticized George Foster (1965) for overemphasizing peasants' fear and jealousy and suggested that peasants are as cooperative and progressive as they are worried about their economic circumstances (1970a, xxv). By the early sixties, many researchers, including several of those who had been associated with Holmberg, began to focus on the plight of the peasants who were migrating to Lima. The massive tide of rural-to-urban migration in Peru (and Latin America in general)

after World War II had earlier forced researchers to begin to focus their attention on migration and its consequences, especially in light of Lewis's (1952) seminal research on Tepotzlan migrants to Mexico City successfully adapting to their urban environment without "breakdown." Anthropologists then began to integrate studies of peasants with studies of peasant adaptation to urban life (urbanization). In Lima these concerns were reflected in the early publications of Simmons (1955), Mangin (1959), Matos Mar (1961), Rotondo et al. (1961), and Caravedo, Rotondo, and Mariátegui (1959). Simmons's work on criollism outlined the value orientation of coastal and especially Limeño residents, and Mangin's explained the nature of the problems facing peasants on arriving in the city and how regional associations in some cases may help them adjust. In 1956 Matos Mar (1961) also carried out research on the *barriadas* of Lima. His study focused on the problems resulting from rapid urbanization for the city and for the migrants themselves.

Rotondo et al. (1961) and his associates (Caravedo, Rotondo, and Mariátegui 1959) made the Redfieldian folk-urban continuum the dominant categorical paradigm for their investigation into psychological disorders among dwellers of squatter settlements. Squatter settlements, and especially *tugurios*, were viewed as places where every form of psychotic and neurotic disorder could be observed frequently, while the countryside was viewed as a place where peasants worked cooperatively, had supportive, close-knit families, and generally exhibited positive psychological values and traits. This view of low-income city dwellers fit the stereotyped image of middle- and upper-class Limeños, who feared that the migrants would take over their neighborhoods. But Mangin's later work and that of other researchers who were influenced by Holmberg's positive orientation toward human worth and potential would eventually show that squatter settlements were places of hope, where people nurtured aspirations for a better life. For example, Mangin (1959, 1960, 1963, 1967a, 1967b, 1970a, 1970b, 1973), along with architect John Turner (1965, 1967, Mangin and Turner 1968) succeeded in demonstrating that squatter settlements were far from being pathological displays of urbanization, that they were instead viable housing alternatives—highly structured and beneficial developments in Lima's urban growth. Doughty (1974, 103–4), Michl (1973, 173), and Collier (1974, 190) subsequently established that this more positive view has prevailed, even in Peru's government. Although squatter settlements may become *tugurios* in the long run, they have at least proved to be viable housing strategies in the short run.

Thus, Holmberg's pervasive influence on the study of peasant communities has carried over into urban studies in Lima. Both Mangin and Doughty brought this view with them as they moved their areas of

study from rural to urban areas of Peru. The pathologies found in the city by Lewis in his studies in Mexico City (1959, 1961, 1965), Puerto Rico and New York (1966) were not to be found among peasant migrants in Lima.

Although many of Holmberg's colleagues and students may have often disagreed with him or his values approach, his role in Peruvian anthropology was a major one. For example, Mario Vázquez and José Matos Mar were students together, but Matos distanced himself from Holmberg after the Viru Project due to personal conflicts. Vázquez, on the other hand, became Holmberg's principal Peruvian protégé. Another American sociologist-anthropologist, William F. Whyte, was introduced to Peru by Holmberg, but Whyte subsequently linked his longitudinal research effort on social change in peasant communities to Matos's Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (Doughty 1977, 8; Whyte and Williams 1968, 57–59). The legacies of Holmberg can be found in the urban studies of Lima in the continuing concern with research on regional associations and the adaptive strategies that highland peasants have adopted in adjusting to Lima. Holmberg's positive view of the vitality of peasant culture was also influential in setting the tone for the early research in Lima and in viewing squatter settlements as a solution to urbanization rather than a symptom of urban disorganization.

One consequence of this influence has been the predominance of the worm's-eye view that focuses primarily on lower-class segments of the society, with the result that only a few institutions have been examined closely (for example, voluntary associations, market places, and domestic servitude). Meanwhile, studies of major economic and political institutions have been neglected, and studies of elites are almost nonexistent. Indeed, as Uzzell suggests, the research emphasis on squatter settlements as a positive adaptation (Lobo 1982, xvi) in the urbanization process may simply "serve to perpetuate the existing socioeconomic structure" (Uzzell 1972, 1974a, 130n). As Bryan Roberts says, "Although squatter settlements are not social problems, neither are they a solution to resource-scarcity in cities of the underdeveloped world" (1978, 157). Yet, anthropological studies of squatter settlements have thoroughly dominated urban anthropology in Lima. Rather than conclude that this overemphasis is unique to research in Lima, one would probably be more correct to conclude that the problem of joining the worm's-eye view to the broad context of the city and the nation is characteristic of the subfield of urban anthropology as a whole (for examples, see Eames and Goode 1977; Fox 1977).

In any event, anthropologists working in Lima have made significant contributions in several areas. Peasant migration and the adaptation of migrants to the urban environment have been as well studied here as anywhere. For example, the combined work of Mangin, Doughty, Matos

Mar, Turner, and many others reviewed here has been instrumental in revealing the beneficial aspects of squatter settlements as housing alternatives, in clarifying the social, cultural, and personality characteristics of squatter-settlement inhabitants, and in improving understanding of the role of the regional associations that are often found in developing and urbanizing countries. The anthropological data from Lima were also critical in deflating the issue of the "culture of poverty" raised by Lewis in the sixties, although the issue of consequences of poverty on the culture of the urban residents remains an area needing more work in Lima and elsewhere. The idea of the folk-urban continuum raised by Redfield in the thirties and forties and revised in the fifties and sixties was a dead issue by the seventies, partly as a result of the work accomplished in Lima and in Peru in general. Finally, the work of many of the researchers cited in this review has also greatly enhanced understanding of the interrelationships that peasants maintain between the home communities and their urban residences, at least as they exist in countries with a primate city like Lima. For example, the research by Roberts and Long has shown that migrants (and peasants in general) are more mobile than a model based on the folk-urban dichotomy would have indicated. Furthermore, migrants are quite aware of the importance of their rural connection as an integral part of their strategies in successfully adapting to the urban environment.

While knowledge of these aspects of Lima's urbanization is substantial, a dearth of ethnographic data about many other aspects of Lima's urbanism remains. Most of the fieldwork in Lima can be classified within urban anthropology primarily on the basis of its occurring in an urban context. The research in Lima has been concerned with relatively smaller units and bounded groups; linkages between studies and groups have not often been made. Very little is known about many other groups in Lima, such as the bureaucrats and their families. We know a good deal about the adjustment problems and strategies that migrants have, but we know relatively little about the many other social and economic groups of the city. There are no studies of factories, universities, or the large, private service sector. Studies like those by Osterling, Smith, and Lobo have provided important insights, but these only scratch the surface. Whether anthropologists can successfully bring participant-observation techniques and the holistic perspective to the citywide level remains to be seen. At the very least, we should begin to focus more attention not only on the elite groups, the middle class, and the creole and cholo institutions, but also on the nature of the urban characteristics of Lima that give it its unique role in Peru.

NOTES

1. Lima is a typical primate city. It totally overwhelms all the other urban areas of Peru in terms of relative size, institutional centralization, and industrial concentration. Over 20 percent of Peru's total population lives in Lima, and almost 27 percent of the nation's employed work force is concentrated there as well (ONEC 1975, 309). By 1979, "Lima's squatter areas contained well over one and a half million people, occupied as much territory as did all of Lima in the mid 1950's" (Dietz 1980, 36). See Morse and Capelo (1973) for Capelo's early sociological view of Lima as it was in 1900.
2. Although urban anthropology did not formally emerge as a separate subfield of cultural and social anthropology until after the mid-sixties, much work had been done in cities since at least W. Lloyd Warner's *Yankee City* series in the thirties.
3. Osterling and Martínez (1983) have undertaken the beginning of a history of Peruvian social anthropology, but much remains to be done. Works by Aramburú (1978) and Montoya (1973, 1978) critique American culturalist anthropology and present some views about the origin of a native Peruvian Marxist anthropology.
4. The following twenty-eight works were reviewed as representative of studies of migration and urban adaptation being done in the context of Lima. The list does not contain all the works included in the overview. The works are listed chronologically; their full citations can be found in the list of references cited: Fried 1959; Mangin 1959; Mangin 1960; Matos Mar 1961; Rotondo et al. 1961; Mangin 1963; Mangin 1965; Montoya 1967; Patch 1967; Alers and Appelbaum 1968; Doughty 1969; Martínez 1969; Mangin 1970a; Mangin 1970b; Valdivia P. 1970; Jongkind 1971; Doughty 1972; Mangin 1973; Long 1973; Myers 1973; Isbell 1974; Roberts 1974; Lobo 1976; Skeldon 1976; Lobo 1977; Altamirano 1977; Dietz 1977; Osterling 1980.
5. Pueblo joven or "young town" is the term now used to refer to squatter settlements instead of *barriada* or *barrio marginal*. The name was changed officially in 1968 during the Velasco regime.
6. The following nine works were reviewed as representative of problem-oriented and issue-oriented studies being done in the context of Lima. The list does not contain all the works included in the overview. The works are listed chronologically; their full citations can be found in the list of references cited: Turner 1965; Turner 1967; Mangin 1970b; Andrews and Phillips 1970; Gianella 1970; Leeds 1971; Robles R. 1972; Fukumoto 1976; Riofrío 1978.
7. The following thirteen works were reviewed as representative of urban social-structure studies being done in the context of Lima. The list does not contain all the works included in the overview. The works are listed chronologically; their full citations can be found in the list of references cited: Mangin 1965; Matos Mar 1966; Delgado 1969; Robles R. 1969; Uzzell 1972; Leeds 1973b; Michl 1973; Rodríguez, Riofrío, and Welsh 1973; Doughty 1974; Uzzell 1974a; Uzzell 1974b; Millones 1978; Lloyd 1980.
8. Lobo's squatter settlements are actually located in the port city of Callao, although Lima-Callao make up "greater metropolitan Lima." Callao is noted for its high percentage of Peruvians with black ancestry.
9. "Irregular settlements" rather than "squatter settlements" is a term preferred by Uzzell because "not all residents of pueblos jóvenes are 'squating' in the sense of occupying land illegally" (1974a, 130n).
10. The top 10 percent receive about 49 percent of the national income, according to Webb (1975).
11. The following six works were reviewed as representative of economic studies being done in the context of Lima. The list does not contain all the works included in the overview. The works are listed chronologically; their full citations can be found in the list of references cited: Smith 1971; Rutte García 1973; Smith 1973; Roberts 1978; Osterling, Althaus, and Morelli 1979; Uzzell 1980.
12. Robert Redfield was an influential anthropologist closely associated with the Chicago School of Sociology. The individuals in the Chicago School who exerted the most influence in the area of urban research were Louis Wirth, Ernest Burgess, Roderick D. McKenzie, and Robert R. Park. Redfield was a professor and dean at the University of Chicago and also the son-in-law of Robert Park. He developed the concept of the folk-

urban continuum, in which the folk end was contrasted in idyllic terms with the urban end, which was characterized as heterogeneous, rapidly changing, and often pathological. Although the concept of the folk-urban continuum did not stand up well in ethnographic research, it sparked much useful research into the nature and structure of relationships within and without peasant communities.

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