In Latin America there never has been a real, total cultural fusion such as occurred in Europe where the Mediterranean basin with its firmly structured culture and demographic conditions has, for millennia, received waves of Asiatic migrants.

On the contrary, in the New World Iberian culture was superimposed by aggression on the pre-Columbian cultures. Traditional societies of Latin America which for the most part had remarkable structured cultures of their own, suffered a cultural shock so great and so profound that it could almost be called a metaphysical trauma, even though on the surface there appeared signs of acculturation. One can see that a true spiritual fusion, a real integration capable of forming a "community of destinies and ideals" never occurred. Rather, we now see a marginalization relentlessly growing, deriving from the cultural and economic duality of those two antagonists who were first joined together in the sixteenth century and whose mutual differences have not yet been overcome.

Peru, a nation in the process of acculturation since the Spanish conquest, in no way escapes this fundamental duality which lies at the root of the internal colonialism existing there today. During the past twenty years this Andean country has witnessed extraordinary urbanization—
The overburdened urban structures, unable to take in these invasions of peasants, allow them to accumulate on the fringe of stable economic, political or social areas. This process of "hyper-urbanization" is obviously not limited to Peru. It is found in all countries of Latin America under different names: "favelas" in Brazil, "call mapas" in Chile, "ranchos" in Caracas, "canonjipios" in Montevideo, "villas miserias" in Buenos Aires, etc. As a matter of fact, these squatters' villages are merely the most acute symptoms of an economic structure which excludes the great part of its population from any authentic, active participation at its center, and in so doing deprives them of the opportunity to make a decent living. Today it is estimated that internal migration in Peru has reached the proportion of a chronic national catastrophe. It brings rural marginality into the urban context where it is intensified, straining the urban situation to the limit while agrarian problems continue to get worse despite the "revolutionary" agrarian reform of June, 1969. Therefore we no longer merely see an opposition between the past and the present expressed with so much realism in the large cities of Peru. We are dealing with a real economic confrontation between those on the bottom and those on top, between those who waste and those who are totally deprived, between those who strain to climb out of their misery and those who effortlessly live in ease and abundance.

In this dramatic and unequal confrontation we find, on the ecological level, housing situations where an elegant, solitary building stands next to vast stretches of crowded squatters' villages called barriadas. By 1960 one could see that the first phase of growth was being followed by a second phase of organization. That is to say, the barriada was institutionalized little by little, being forced to promote its internal organization and oblige by law to save it from extinction.

Numerous studies have treated the dysfunctional aspects of internal migration in Peru, but this is generally done with a technological concern. As Velzmann says, "One views the social with the vision of an economist elaborated in a world foreign to ours, the Anglo-Saxon, with complete disdain for the individuals who form the core of such a social phenomenon and act within it." In a brief glimpse at this vast topic we present here two aspects of the problem: first, a descriptive study of the barriada in Peru; second, an analysis of the consequences of the rural exodus on the personality of the Peruvian migrant and its hidden effects.

According to Matos Mar, the barriada is "a social agglomeration formed by a population coming together and which occupies empty lands, generally belonging to the State, social service administrations, the city, or individual owners who are not using them." Now in the absence of a real policy of use (from which follow the fierce speculation on building sites, corruption, etc.) and given the total lack of public authority in the matter of housing, we can assert that "with the influx of migrants, the creation of the barriada seems to be the only solution." It must be acknowledged that the barriada is part of the city—even if it is found at its periphery. It remains nonetheless at the fringe of the urban center since the members who form the barriada are not integrated in the development of the city, in its progress, prospects, fears and decisions. The barriada is the city but it is also the final stage of the rural-urban continuum of marginality whose most characteristic trait is non-participation in national life.

These colonies, created outside the law on lands generally unsuitable for construction, are different enough despite their similarities to allow us to make a classification. We can distinguish three general types of squatters' villages according to their degree of isolation and their relations with the city and among themselves. The first type includes those barriadas which are totally autonomous from the first day of their existence, situated at the periphery or even at a distance from the city. They form satellite urban embryos well on the way to becoming independent centers with their own services. This is the case of Ciudad de Dios established in the desert of Atocoto, twenty-two kilometers south of Lima along the Pan American Highway.

A second type results from a geographic re-grouping of several old barriadas. Thus the services existing in one can be used by those unprovided for in the other, and vice versa. Only some geographical feature prevents their total fusion (e.g. they are separated by a road or by the River Rimac which runs through Lima). This type
The barrida, then, is not to be explained merely as a particular kind of ghetto but as one that plays an important social role. It allows the recently arrived migrant to become gradually accustomed to the statuses and roles demanded by the modern urban center. His new relationships with others in the industrial community will no longer be based on personality but rather on efficiency. That is why the role and the mere presence of the barrida is positive. It is situated halfway between the industrialized city and the traditional countryside. It makes it possible for the migrant to have a period of accommodation and adaptation, thanks to its transition structure which can offer a new group solidarity.

In the initial moments of taking over some parcel of land, the settlers organize themselves into a defense committee against the latent hostility of the society which is taking them in. Later they form different associations which promulgate rules and regulations, assure the stability of the barrida and after innumerable proceedings obtain the property titles necessary for their security. Also, the barrida is the place where provincial clubs, musical get-togethers and feast day celebrations for those who originally came from the same village take place.

In the initial period of settling, migrants do not show any disappointment. As yet, living in squatters’ villages presents nothing of a come-down—on the contrary it is a sign of a certain amount of progress. For the peasant is living in the city. In comparison with his Andean brothers who have stayed in their village in the cold and thankless Puna, the migrant has acquired a certain moral prestige. Later he wavers as he becomes more aware and realizes that his situation still lies far from any real participation in the urban economy; and as he finds himself a victim of the active non-participation which characterizes these problem areas.
This duality arises because the individual, even one most capable of adapting his actions, thoughts and behavior to the modern world, cannot learn to feel the same reflexes as the urbanites. Each time he finds himself in a situation which demands a quick reaction or an immediate choice, his inability to find fixed points of reference discourages him. Like a magnet gone haywire, he is no longer able to direct himself. Later, this conflict, born of migration but manifested in the mind of the migrant, produces a state of alienation. Often, we cannot find a balance between his former personality and his demands of the city. Consequently, he feels his marginality in a more acute way and slides quietly into despair.

Now, to the material poverty which he knew already on the high plateau is added a new poverty which comes from loneliness. The city hinders traditional solidarity, particularly in the beginnings of a barriada where only a defensive and temporary solidarity is established. The migrant is only a stranger who comes to settle down. And as Roger Ibor has written, "to be a stranger is to be alone, alone in the middle of a world which cannot be understood and in turn looks understanding, where the guidelines must necessarily for the migrant to orient itself, waver or deceive, where the simplest gesture presents a problem and can give scandal, where the surest teaching of experience is struck down, where everything has to be relearned, where one feels naked, defenseless, exposed, ridiculous and a bit mad..."

The settler generally has no occasion to participate passively (consumption) or even actively in the manner of decision of the city which, literally as well as figuratively, push him toward its fringes. So, slowly he gives way, conquered by the surrounding hostility and by his personal inability to penetrate the values of the modern world and make them his own. His previous attitude of "living ready" for the city has slowly been changing to "acceptance of being set aside." And this exclusion will produce grave social and psychological disorders. Each day, individuals oscillate between the man who is disappearing and the man who has yet to be born, without really succeeding in being totally one or the other. When the Peruvian peasant arrives in the city he is condemned to live alone in two antagonistic societies and forced to become a marginal man in a marginal zone.

But the personality of the migrant in the barriada does not derive from an individual failure of adaptation or innate predisposition. His conflicting personality is a social product. Marginal man in the city becomes such through a process of acculturation which affects him. It is the historical nature of the relationship between the city (modern) and the country (colonial hinterland) which is responsible for the appearance of these disintegrated personalities—atomized as subjects and transformed into units of consumption or study, the men of the squatters' villages...