

# BOUNDARIES, PACKING & DIVERSITY <sup>1</sup>

## SPATIAL SCALING LAWS IN SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS

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*ABSTRACT. The geometry of squatter settlements on the northeastern coast of Brazil is examined and compared to settlements in the central region of Kenya. In particular, the fragmented structures of the islands of habitations in these settlements, and the void area (regions unoccupied by houses) are studied. We find that such settlements, when constrained by urban and natural boundaries, present robust configurational patterns, expressed by statistical distributions with scaling properties. Such scaling properties, when considered in planning purposes, can be useful on describing and predicting the spatial and social parameters of such squatter settlements. Several scaling functions and other mathematical expressions, which are of interest in urban studies, are also derived and discussed.*

*KEY WORDS: squatter settlements, scaling laws, fragmentation, diversity, packing.*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

There are two major issues that have ever been present on discussions about urban planning: scale and regularity. Along history, the whole city has usually been modeled as the result of a linear aggregation of islands (groups of connected buildings) that are regular and have the same pattern (Barcelona, Manhattan, Brasilia...). However, the history of urbanization has shown that the control of the city evolution is not a simple task. Consequently, several parts of the cities escape from the patterns and rules desired by the planners of the formal city, and evolve in a decentralized dynamic. Some examples of such kinds of structures are the squatter settlements (urban structures evolved without neither general urban restrictions nor public urban intervention). Differently to the planned ones, these structures are the result of an irregular distribution of different islands. Because this, they have usually been considered disordered and non-logical structures.

In this work it is shown that such settlements are not merely disordered. Actually, they can be defined as complex structures, and such complexity can be quantified considering patterns of irregularity on the configuration. Particularly, it is made by analyzing the frequency of units (built and voids spaces) according to their sizes, i.e., by using scaling-laws.

In recent years a great deal of effort in pure and applied science has been devoted to the study of nontrivial spatial and temporal scaling laws which are robust, i.e. independent of the details of particular systems [1]. These studies at present involve a multitude of complex systems formed by a large number of small units communicating via short-range interactions and submitted to both deterministic rules and random influences. As examples of particular interest we can cite the study of the geometry of railway networks [2], as well as the study of the dynamics of traffic jams [3], and the modeling of urban growth patterns [4], among many others, all them exhibiting several types of scaling laws or power-law behavior. On the other hand, in the last few decades, the idea of disorder associated to the spatiotemporal configurations of cities has been replaced by the concept of complexity [5].

In the next section we report some results of this study on the geometry of squatter settlements. Our analysis focuses and quantifies in particular the fragmentation occurring in both the void and the built space of these urban structures. The data used in the first part of this present work came from an ensemble of nine squatter settlements or "*favelas*" distributed in different areas of the metropolitan region of Recife, on the northeastern coast of Brazil<sup>3</sup>. On the last section we present a brief comparison between these data and those from the configurational analysis on two squatter settlements situated along the Mathare Valley in Nairobi, central region of Kenya<sup>4</sup>.

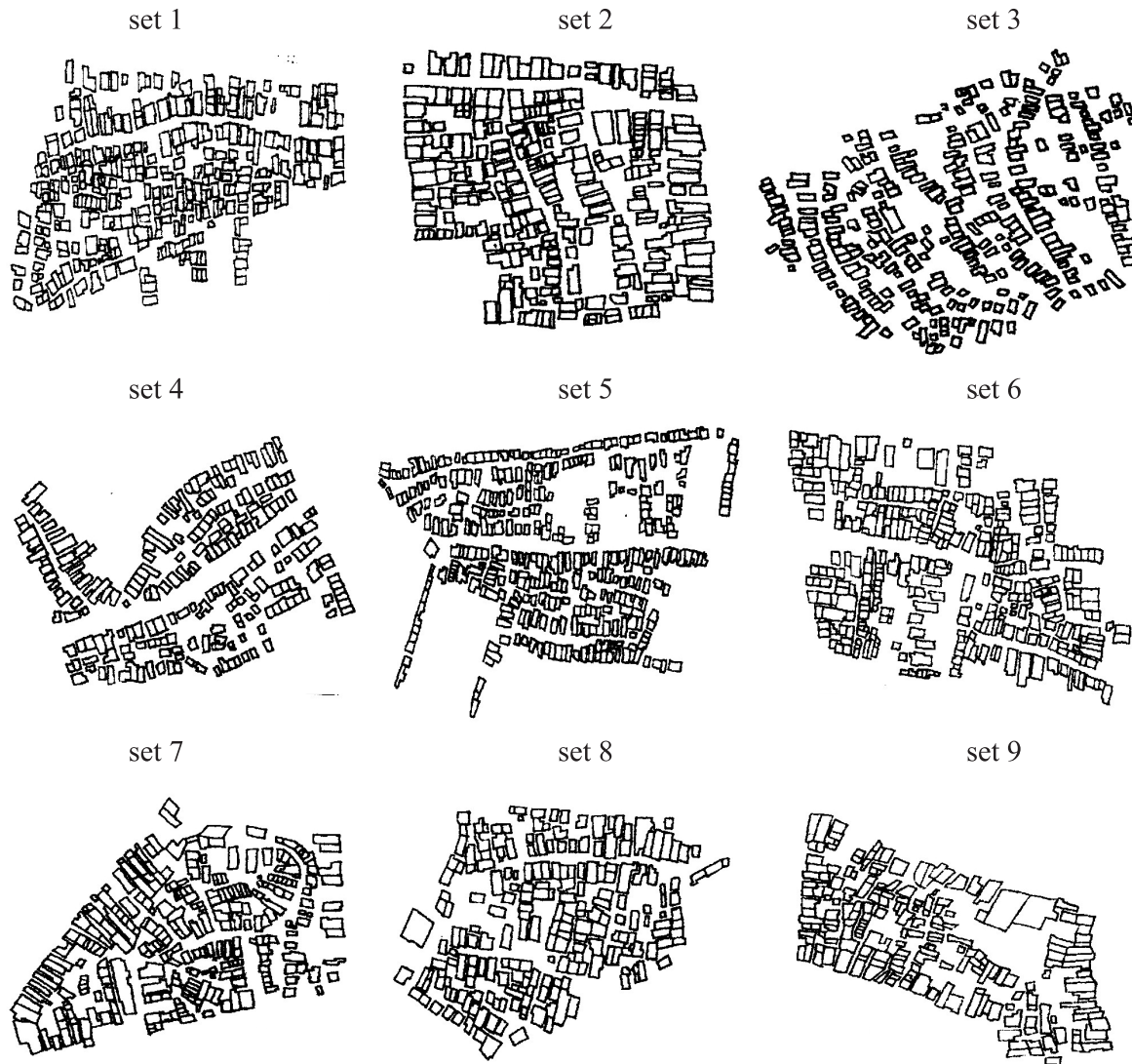
## 2. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In order to give a general view of the kind of urban structure we are dealing, we show in Figure 1 an image of the nine settlements examined in this first part of the present study. Each small cell of irregular shape in this figure represents an actual single habitation, and more precisely the space limited by roofs. As can be seen from these images, the settlements exhibit a seemingly disordered or spontaneous fragmented structure, characterized by the diversity of size of islands and the irregularity of their distribution and shape. These islands present a variable number  $s$  of habitations ( $s=1$  means an isolated habitation,  $s=2$  means a pair of contiguous habitations, and so on). A careful examination of the Figure 1 reveals that  $s$  varies in the interval from 1 to 19. We can observe that there is a great number of small islands in each settlement, and as well a small number of big ones, a typical feature of complex systems. Another important characteristic of the settlements studied is that all them are embedded in urban networks and most of them submitted to very rigid boundary conditions. The development of these settlements occurs not as a spreading, but as a kind of packing process. Consequently, as the spatial limit of the settlement is previously defined, the diversity of size of its islands seems to be the response of the system to optimize the occupation.

<sup>3</sup> Source of data: URB–Recife (Recife Urbanization Enterprise).

<sup>4</sup> Source of data: Housing Research and Development Unit - University of Nairobi – MATHARE VALLEY: A case study of Uncontrolled Settlement – 1971 – Nairobi.

Figure 1



### A. Geometry and Functions

To make clear to the general reader non-familiarized with the mathematical language, we in the following present a geometrical example for the statistical method suggested in this work. As example, it is shown a comparison between two hypothetical geometrical structures representing, respectively, the regular and irregular settlements (see figure 2).

Figure 2a

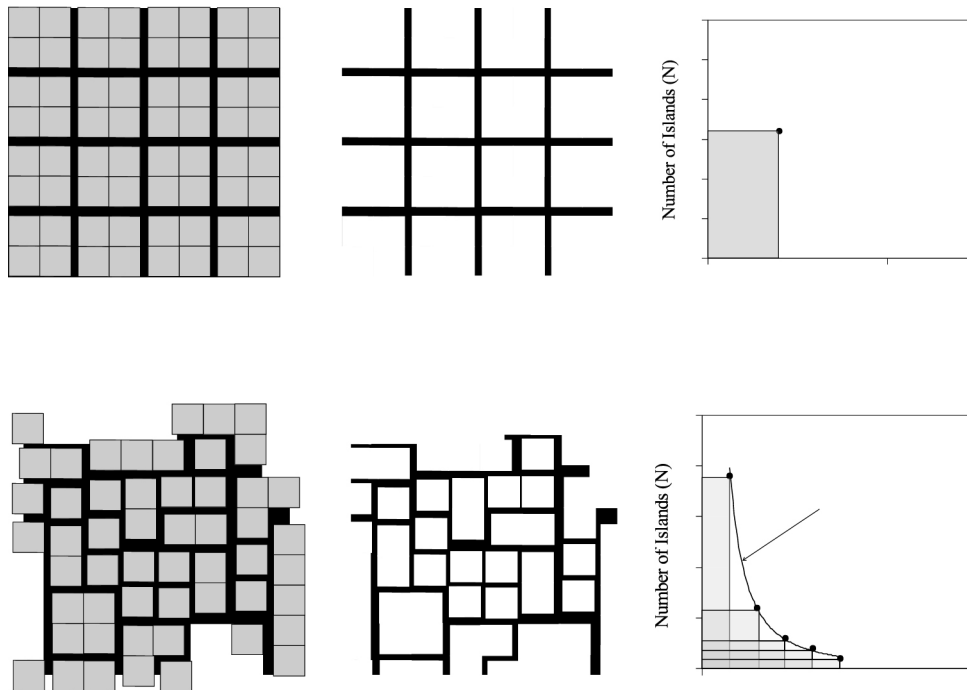


Figure 2b

Figure 2a shows a regular grid, composed by a group of identical islands, distributed in a square area. It is really very simple to obtain global parameters from the local units of this regular structure. For example: As we can observe, each island contains four cells (habitation) and all the islands are identical to each other. Each cell of habitation has area ( $a_h$ ) of  $10\text{m}^2$ . We can easily conclude that the area of each island ( $A_i$ ) is  $40\text{m}^2$  ( $A_i = 4 \cdot a_h$ ), and the total built area ( $A$ ) is  $640\text{m}^2$  ( $A = 16 \cdot 4 \cdot a_h$ ). Dividing the total area by the area of each habitation ( $A/a_h$ ), we get the number of habitations (64 units). If the average population per habitation is 3, one can easily calculate the total population of the settlement ( $P = 3 \cdot 4 \cdot 16 = 192$ ). Another way to calculate general parameters is via graphs, as the one inserted on figure 2a. The graph in figure 2a plots the number of islands ( $N_i$ ) according their sizes ( $s$ ), and the shaded area represent the total number of habitations ( $N_h = N_i \cdot s = 16 \cdot 4 = 64$ ). It is a simple procedure, as the linear function generates a regular shape. So, it is not a hard task to understand why planners have preferred the regular shape when designing urban structures. This kind of geometrical scheme, despite the great range of social constraints that it cause, has been very common through the history of urban planning not just due to the esthetical approach, but mainly because it can be easily reproduced, controlled, analyzed, measured and planned.

When analyzing figure 2b, which refers to the irregular settlement, one can note that the overall structure is not limited by a regular square and the local units (islands) are different in size to each other. So, it seems impossible to obtain global parameters from just knowing information about a simple local unit, as it was showed in the first example. Apparently, the only way to obtain global properties is by describing each one of the units on the system. For example: to calculate the total built area ( $A$ ) for the irregular settlement in figure 2b, we have to multiply the size ( $s$ ) of each class of fragment (island) by the total number of fragments in that class,  $n(s)$ , and by the average area ( $a_h$ ) of an habitation and sum over all classes of size.

But, as we have argued, there is a difference between disordered systems and complex ones. When they are complex, they follow rules that can be measured by non-linear functions, and we suggest that such irregular structures (as the one presented on figure 2b, representing the squatter settlements of figure 1) have statistical properties of complex systems. For example: we can see in the graph of figure 2b - number of islands ( $N_i$ ) according to their sizes ( $s$ ) – that the sum of area of rectangles (shaded areas) defined by the coordinates ( $x, y$ ) on

the graph (groups of islands according to their sizes) represents the total number of habitations ( $N_h$ ). But the peculiarity of this new graph is that the coordinates (x,y) follow a curve that defines the power law (because there is a logical distribution between the great number of small islands and the small number of big ones). So, to calculate the total hatched area (equivalent to the total number of habitations of the respective structure) we just need to know the shape of the function, i.e., the exponent T (shown in figure 2b, and related to the exponent  $\tau$ , explained in the section 2-C). And in this work we have found that all the settlement studied present a similar distribution of sizes, i.e., they follow non-linear functions with very similar exponent, whether to built ( $\tau$ ) or to void spaces ( $\beta$ ).

### ***B. Statistical analysis of the convex spaces.***

It is important to verify that the fragmentation observed on the maps of squatter settlements is not only characterized by the different sizes of islands, but also by the irregularity on shape of those islands and their informal distribution on space. Such irregularity is clearly observed when the void space is analyzed. The linear distribution of regular islands usually generate grids that can be easily modeled geometrically, while the irregular ones form a kind of deformed structure that seems to be quite disordered (see figure 2). But, as it will be shown in this first part of the analysis, such structure of void spaces can be described by non-linear geometrical patterns, directly related to the informality of the respective built structure.

So, to quantify the geometry of the settlements we investigated initially their void spaces, formed by alleys, courts and other interstitial regions surrounding the islands of habitations. To do this we performed a covering of this void space by a set of contiguous convex (polygonal) spaces as suggested by Hillier & Hanson [6]. According to these authors, a convex map for a structure defined on the plane is the least set of fattest spaces that covers the system. To adapt the convex space concept to the fragmentation approach applied here, we considered as void areas all the spaces without roofs. Thus, convex spaces, in our approach, are not only the common area, but also the areas behind fences (gardens, courts, etc). Figure 3 shows the convex maps of the nine settlement studied.

Each covering in the present work is a family of fragments with a wide diversity of sizes, defined on this analysis by the variable area  $a_c$ . It is observed that such fragmentation, in a particular settlement, is characterized by a statistical distribution  $f(a_c)$  which gives the ‘relative frequency’<sup>5</sup> of convex spaces within each interval of area  $a_c$ . In spite of the nonuniqueness property of these coverings, we have observed that the distribution  $f(a_c)$  is robust. Moreover,  $f(a_c)$  has the scaling property and satisfies

$$f(a_c) \sim a_c^{-\beta}, \quad \beta = 1.6 \pm 0.2, \quad (1)$$

with the exponent beta independent of the settlement within the indicated statistical fluctuations. This scaling property suggest that the diversity of sizes of the resulting convex spaces follow a robust distribution of areas and indicates a great number of small convex spaces, and a small number of big ones. Since the variable  $a_c$  is in principle continuous, to arrive in equation 1 some sort of discretisation is needed as usual. The variable  $a_c$  is obtained by dividing these spaces in classes of areas or discrete bins. Then, the exponent  $\beta$  is found using linear regression, from the respective power-law. We have verified that changes in the discretisation criteria do not interfere in the exponent robustness.

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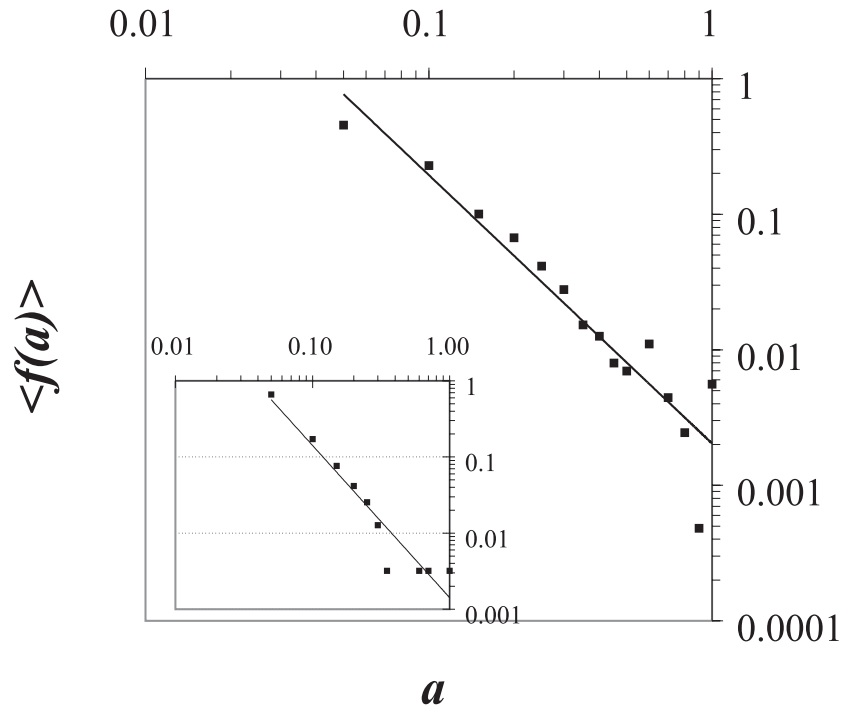
<sup>5</sup> Number of convex spaces divided by the total number of convex spaces to cover the entire void space.

Figure 3



Scaling or power-law behavior with nontrivial exponents is a characteristic of complex systems and means that the systems exhibiting such distributions have no characteristic scale or size [7]. The explanation of these scaling laws with nontrivial exponents is one of the great challenges in the study of complex systems. Figure 4 shows a log-log plot of the measured distribution  $\langle f(a_c) \rangle$  of areas of convex spaces after dividing these spaces by classes of areas or bins and averaging over the entire ensemble of settlements given in Figure 3. In the horizontal axis of figure 4 the values  $a_c$  for areas were normalized with respect to the area of the largest convex space for each settlement. To help the reader in developing insight on the distribution of areas of convex spaces we exhibit in the inset of Figure 4 a nonaveraged  $f(a_c)$  – in this case for the settlement 1 shown in Figure 3. As can be seen from these figures, both  $\langle f(a_c) \rangle$  and  $f(a_c)$  are essentially equal and have the same scaling exponent  $\beta$ , within the statistical fluctuations.

Figure 4



### C. Statistical analysis for the islands of habitations.

Inspired in statistical studies of fragmentation dynamics in physical systems and in order to obtain a more complete description of the geometrical properties of the urban structures studied here, we measured another distribution function, namely  $f(s)$ , the frequency of islands with  $s$  contiguous habitations for each settlement. The discrete variable  $s$  gives a measure of the size or area of an island. This distribution is consequently defined for a region that is complementary to the void space defined in the previous paragraph.

We have found that the distribution  $f(s)$  also obeys a scaling relation; it is given by  $f(s) \sim s^{-\tau}$ , with  $\tau = 1.6 \pm 0.2$  independently of the settlement. Thus, the value of the exponent  $\tau$  is close to the value of  $\beta$  appearing in equation 1 within the statistical fluctuations. This means that, as the open structure, all the settlements analyzed present a similar distribution pattern for built elements, what suggests that the diversity of built spaces generate an equally diverse structure of void spaces. It is interesting to observe that such similarity of distributions between the convex spaces and the islands (defined by the similarity of exponents) suggests a strong relation between the built and void structures. Such correlation can also be supported by the similar degree of break-up verified on the settlements, that can be measured by the relation between the number of convex spaces and the number of buildings [6] in each settlement. We noted that practically all settlement studied present a high and similar level of breakup, i.e., the number of cells (houses) is close to the number of convex spaces. In a regular grid, the number of convex spaces is considerably reduced when compared to the number of cells of the system.

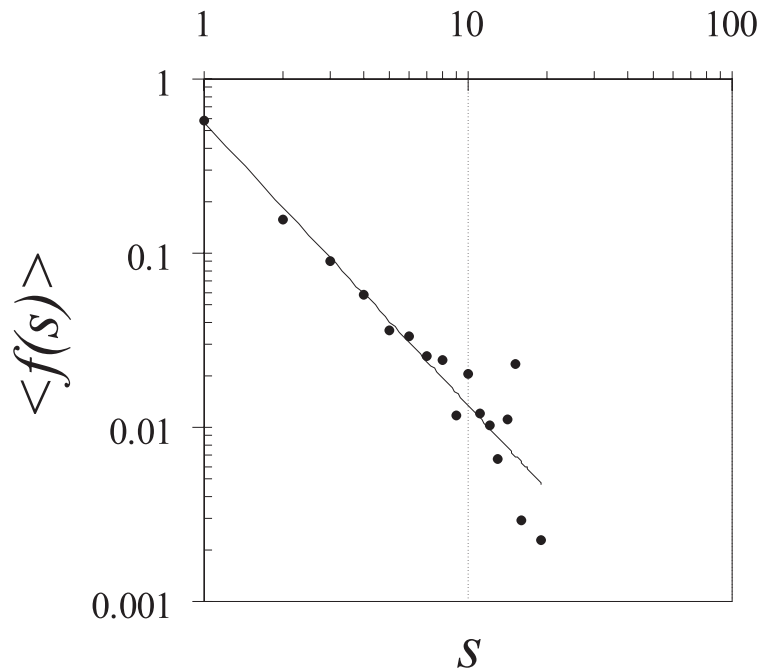
Scaling distributions of fragments with an exponent similar to this are commonly found in statistical models and in experiments of fragmentation dynamics of physical, chemical and ecological interest [8]. As an illustration we can cite that the distribution of size of fragments for different types of collapse of two-dimensional brittle solids as cement plates also presents a hyperbolic dependence with the size or area of the fragments with an exponent  $\tau$  varying in the interval 1.5 to 1.8 [9]. The origin of this numerical value however is not yet clear. Another important illustration is the distribution of areas of the urban settlements around Berlin and London recently discussed by Makse et alii, when it is presented an exponent near to 1.9 [4]. However, reference 4 deals with a scaling distribution in a very large scale, when compared with the "microscopic" scale of lengths within the settlements examined in the present work, whose peculiarities are commented ahead.

The distribution of islands of habitations averaged on the ensemble of settlements shown in Figure 1 and normalized to the total number  $N$  of islands in each settlement,  $\langle f(s) \rangle$ , is depicted in Figure 5. The continuous line in figure 5 represents the best fit

$$\langle f(s) \rangle = \langle f(1) \rangle \cdot s^{-\tau}, \quad \langle f(1) \rangle = 0.49 \pm 0.08, \quad \tau = 1.6 \pm 0.2 ; 1 < s < s_{max} \quad (2)$$

where  $\langle f(1) \rangle$  is the average number of islands with a single habitation, divided by the total number  $N$  of islands ( $\langle n(1)/N \rangle$ ). The largest size of islands ( $s_{max}$ ) present in the settlement studied is 19. The largest size,  $s_{max}$ , can be a measure of the diversity of size of the islands,  $D$  (i.e.  $D$  can represent the number of different classes of size for the islands). In particular,  $s_{max}$  converges to  $D$  when the level of complexity increases. From now on we will identify  $s_{max}$  with  $D$  in all equations.

Figure 5



The non-normalized distribution,  $\langle n(s) \rangle$ , satisfies in general the constraint  $\langle n(s=D) \rangle = 1$ , that is, there is on the average a single island with the maximum size  $s=D$  in the scaling. This result leads to  $1 = \langle n(1) \rangle \cdot D^{-\tau}$ , or

$$\langle n(1) \rangle = D^{\tau}, \quad (3)$$

i.e., there is a simple relationship connecting the number of smallest islands ( $s=1$ ),  $n(1)$ , with the observed diversity of size of islands,  $D$ . When the first quantity increases (decreases), the second also increases (decreases), and the degree of coupling between  $n(1)$  and  $D$  is controlled by the nontrivial exponent  $\tau$  of the distribution. We can say, as a consequence, that  $n(1)$  and  $D$  are two sides of a same coin. To increase the diversity of size of islands in a spontaneous settlement we need to increase the total number of islands, and this last quantity is mainly controlled by the number of isolated habitations  $n(1)$ . The dependence of  $n(1)$  with  $D$  given in (3) allows equation 2 to be written as

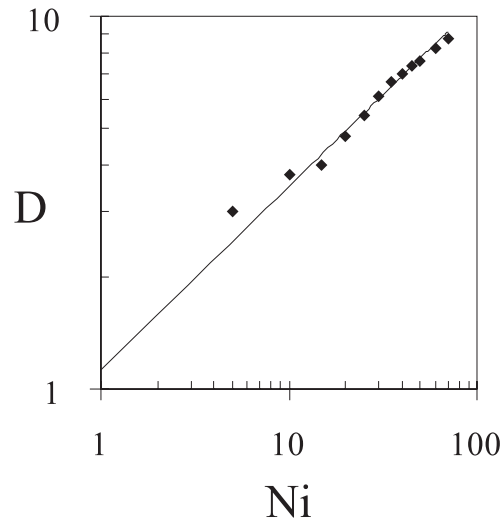


$$\langle n(s) \rangle = \langle n(1) \rangle s^{-\tau} = (s/D)^{-\tau}, \quad \tau = 1.6 \pm 0.2, \quad (4)$$

what means that if one knows the diversity (generally equivalent to the size of its biggest island) of a squatter settlement, it is possible to estimate the number of islands with any size  $s$ , and vice versa.

The diversity of sizes as represented by the variable  $D$  here (see definition in the second paragraph of section 2-B) has been identified in studies of fragmentation dynamics with the overall complexity of the process or structure [7]. It is of interest to study how this diversity of size increases with the total number of islands,  $N_i$ . To examine this relationship we define for each settlement represented in Figure 1 a family of arbitrary balls with irregular contours in a such way that the family of balls contains successively  $N_i = 1, 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, \dots, 100$  islands. The dependence of  $D$  with  $N_i$  is shown in Figure 6 in a log-log plot for all settlements; the diamond marks in this figure refer to the ensemble averages. The continuous line in Figure 6 represents the best fit  $D = 1.1N_i^{0.49}$ , for  $1 < N_i < 80$ . This relation says that the diversity of size of islands in a spontaneous settlement increase as the square root of the total number of islands. This last scaling law is in agreement with several recent experiments [9] and computer simulations [8] that have studied the evolution of the diversity in a fragmented system when its global size (e.g. the number of fragments) increases.

Figure 6



### 3. OBTAINING PARAMETERS OF INTEREST

We have suggested that irregular settlements within the spatial constraints and statistical fluctuations described here, present the same pattern of fragmentation. These patterns occur on both the built and void spaces, and define their size distribution. We argue, as well, that it is possible to estimate global properties from general or local information of these settlements. Consequently, we can estimate global parameters as total area, number of houses and population. Obviously, the more developed the settlement (high level of diversity, great number of habitations, and consequently more data), the more precise will be the simulation.

The reader can observe that the distribution (4) is extremely economical: it depends only on a single parameter, namely  $D$  (the diversity of size of the settlement), or  $\langle n(1) \rangle$  (the number of islands with just one habitation), since all settlements have a common exponent  $\tau$ . With equation 4 valid on the average for all settlements studied, we can calculate several statistical parameters of interest after a simple integration, as we will show in the following.

The total area  $A$  occupied by the islands in a certain settlement is given by

$$A = \int_{s=1}^{s=D} \langle n(s) \rangle \cdot s \cdot a_h \cdot ds = \int_{s=1}^{s=D} (s/D)^{-\tau} \cdot s \cdot a_h \cdot ds = a_h \cdot \frac{[D^2 - D^\tau]}{2 - \tau} \quad (5)$$

$$= a_h \cdot \frac{\langle n(1) \rangle^{2/\tau} - \langle n(1) \rangle}{2 - \tau} \quad (6),$$

where  $a_h$  is the average area per habitation. Since  $a_h$  can be easily guessed, equations 5 and 6 show that the total built area of a settlement is controlled by a single parameter, the diversity of size of island,  $D$ , or  $n(1)$ . Moreover, the total number of habitations in a settlement,  $N_h = A/a_h$ , takes the simple forms

$$N_h = \frac{[D^2 - D^\tau]}{2 - \tau}, \text{ or} \quad (7)$$

$$N_h = \frac{\langle n(1) \rangle^{2/\tau} - \langle n(1) \rangle}{2 - \tau} \quad (8)$$

If the average population per habitation,  $p$ , is estimated by any mean, the total population,  $P$ , can be expressed in terms of the diversity  $D$  (or, equivalently,  $\langle n(1) \rangle$ ):

$$P = p \cdot N_h = p \cdot \frac{[D^2 - D^\tau]}{2 - \tau}, \text{ or} \quad (9)$$

$$P = p \cdot N_h = p \cdot \frac{\langle n(1) \rangle^{2/\tau} - \langle n(1) \rangle}{2 - \tau} \quad (10)$$

Thus, the total population  $P$  is known if  $D$  (or  $\langle n(1) \rangle$ ) is given and vice-versa. Another quantity of interest is the total number of islands in a given settlement,  $N_i$ , which is expressed as

$$N_i = \int_{s=1}^{s=D} n(s) \cdot ds = \frac{[D^\tau - D]}{\tau - 1}, \text{ or} \quad (11)$$

$$N_i = \int_{s=1}^{s=D} n(s) \cdot ds = \frac{\langle n(1) \rangle - \langle n(1) \rangle^{1/\tau}}{\tau - 1} \quad (12)$$

An interesting result concerning the density of islands of size  $s=1$  comes from equation 12: in leading order, this equation reads  $N_i = \langle n(1) \rangle / \tau - 1$  (since  $1/\tau = 0.625$ , and the term  $\langle n(1) \rangle^{1/\tau}$  can be neglected in respect to the linear term  $\langle n(1) \rangle$ ), that is

$$\frac{\langle n(1) \rangle}{N_i} = \tau - 1 = 0.6 \quad (13)$$

The density  $n(1)/N_i$  varies in the nine settlements studied from 0.46 to 0.66 with an average of 0.57 in agreement with equation 13. Furthermore, if we substitute (13) in (8), we obtain the total number of habitations,  $N_h$ , as a function of the total number of islands  $N_i$ :

$$N_h = \frac{(N_i(\tau - 1))^{2/\tau} - (N_i(\tau - 1))}{2 - \tau} \quad (14)$$

From equation 14, with  $\tau = 1.6$ , we get e.g.  $N_h = 305$  for settlement 6 ( $N = 110$ ), and  $N_h = 245$  for settlement 8 ( $N = 94$ ). The actual values of  $N_h$  for settlements 6 and 8 are respectively 323 and 215, i.e. equation 14 gives  $N_h$ -values with a typical uncertainty of 6-10%.

In summary, if the distribution of islands or fragments for a particular fragmented system is known, all the statistical quantities of interest can be obtained. Hyperbolic distributions of the type given in (2) or (4) are specially robust and universal when they appear in a certain class of problems [1]. We conjecture that all spontaneous settlements that present the same kind of spatial constraints, are described by a single hyperbolic distribution of the type given in equation 4 with the scaling exponent  $\tau$  assuming the robust value  $\tau = 1.6 \pm 0.2$ .

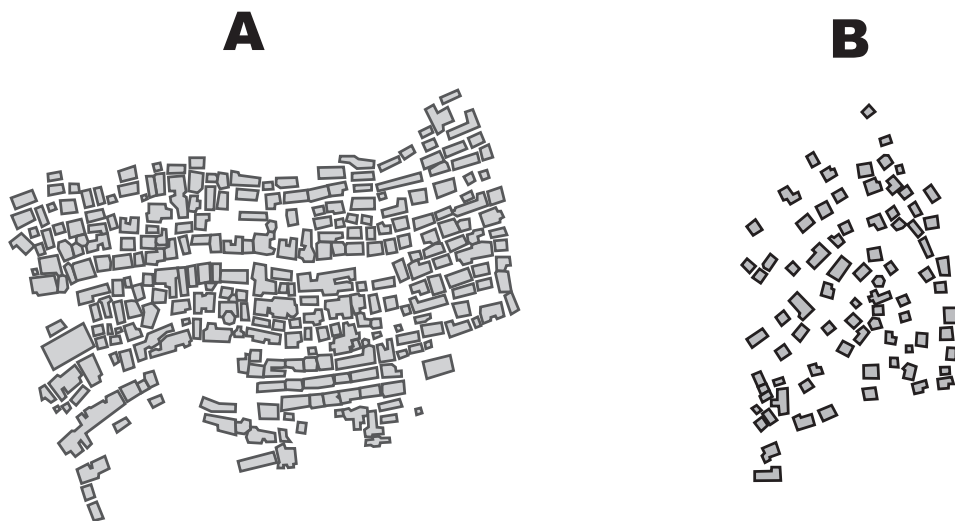
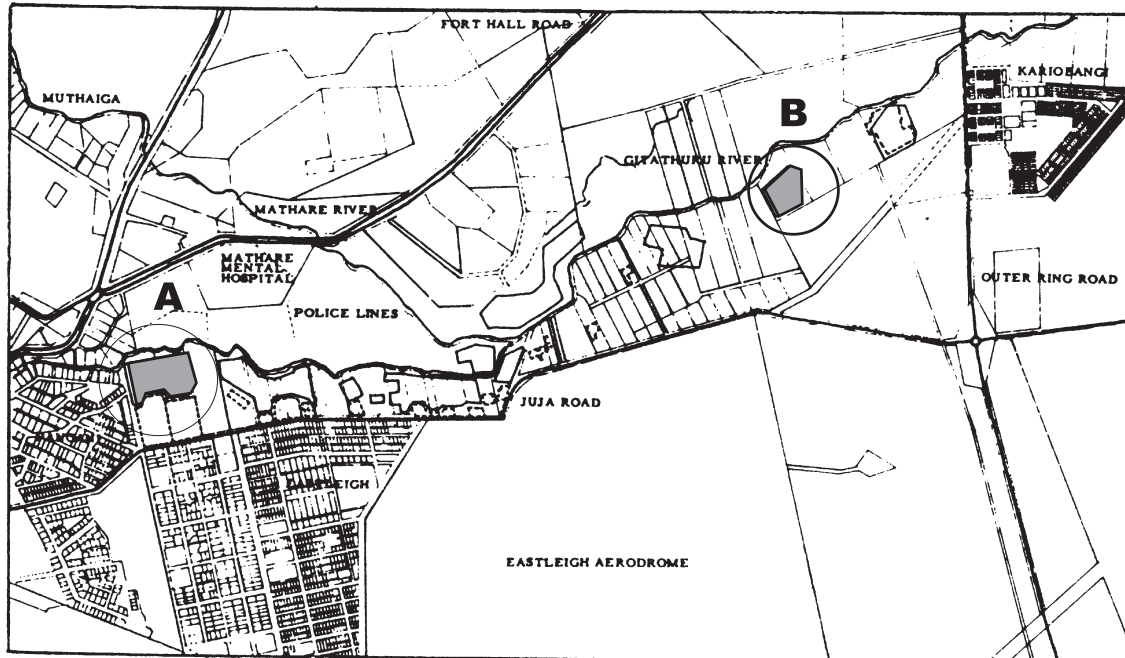
#### 4. BOUNDARIES, PACKING & DIVERSITY

It is important to remember that the evolution process of the settlements analyzed in this work is not related to spreading, as the boundaries around the settlements limit the growth. Actually, it is a process of packing within a limited space for development. So, when the number of islands increase, the general size of the settlement remains the same and the density of the system raises, as each new building added to the system is submitted to the constraints of spatial availability.

If a settlement were composed only by islands of size 1 (isolated habitations), the resulting density would be considerably low, due to the large amount of void spaces, and we could conclude that in this case the occupation would be not optimized. On the other hand, if a structure were composed by a few amounts of really big islands, the rate of density would be really high. However, the resulting occupation would not be appropriate, due to some problems of access, privacy and salubrity caused by the lack of void spaces connecting houses. This would be, as well, a kind of non-optimized occupation. So, we can conclude that the best response to optimize the occupation of a decentralized system is through the diversity of size of its islands.

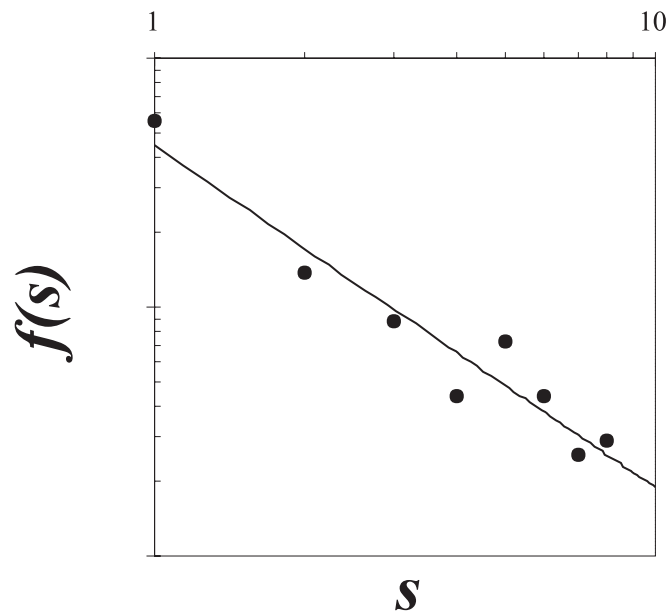
We can verify this relation about boundaries, packing and diversity by analyzing an actual example: the squatter settlements along the Mathare Valley in Nairobi, Kenia. In this case, we have compared the structure of two settlements (A and B), with the same age, but with distinct configurational patterns. In figure 7 it is shown a general view of the valley and the area around it. The settlements A and B are highlighted (the shaded and circled areas) in the general map and have their built structure detailed in specific plans, in which the shaded objects represent the islands of habitations. The settlement A is completely constrained by rigid boundaries: it is surrounded on the left and bellow by high-density urban structures; above by the Gitathuru river; bellow by the Juja road and on the right by property limits. On the other hand, the settlement B is completely free of boundaries, whether natural, urban or property related.

Figure 7



By analyzing the detailed maps of built structures, we clearly observe a great difference on the configurational structure of these settlements: the settlement B is practically composed by islands of isolated habitation [ $s=1$ ], spread in a low-density structure; and the settlement A is highly packed (dense) and present islands with size from 1 to 8 (high level of diversity comparing to B). And what is more important: the frequency of islands [ $f(s)$ ] according to the sizes follow a power law (see figure 8) defined by an exponent (1.4) similar to the exponent found for the settlements in Brazil. These results seem to indicate a deterministic order, where boundary is the cause, packing is the effect and diversity is the route.

Figure 8



## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The fragmentation in squatter settlements in northeastern Brazil is investigated and compared to settlements in the central region of Kenya, and several nontrivial scaling functions describing these urban structures are found. The statistical analysis used here for these settlements is inspired on recent studies of fragmentation dynamics mainly in physical systems.

We have shown that there are robust (possibly universal) distribution functions associated to the fragmented structures of these spontaneous settlements. Using these distribution functions, many statistical quantities of interest can be obtained. In particular, we have stressed the importance of the variable diversity of size in obtaining these quantities of interest. We conjecture that the hyperbolic distribution functions given in equations 1 and 4 are robust and universal, that is, they control the statistical aspects discussed here in all squatter settlements irrespective cultural particularities.

An important characteristic of the settlement studied is that all them are embedded in urban networks and most of them submitted to very rigid boundary conditions. The development of these settlements occurs not as a spreading, but as a kind of packing process. Consequently, as the spatial limit of the settlement is previously defined, the diversity of size is the response of the system to optimize the occupation. If there is not rigid boundaries, the response is trivial: houses distributed by a disordered way, isolated in islands of size 1. Anyway, a detailed analysis of other spontaneous settlements in different regions is needed to test the robustness of the present conjecture.

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