THE SIGNIFICANCE OF KINSHIP
IN RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

by

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ABSTRACT

Throughout the world a greater proportion of the popu-
lation are living in cities which are growing because of
in-migration. Many accounts of the migrations and of migrants
in cities have been written. While most accounts emphasize
the alienation and disorganization of the migrant, there are
a growing number of accounts which indicate that the migrant
helps and is helped by his kin group. These latter accounts
have been analyzed in an attempt to discover the significance
of kinship in rural-urban migration.

The literature relating to migration theory has been
briefly reviewed. The theory of William Petersen was found
most useful but the typology he proposed is too general to
contribute much understanding to the problem of rural-urban
migration. The two types of Petersen's theory into which
the rural-urban migration fit have been expanded into four
types or levels of rural-urban migration. Each of the four
types is characterized by different control of land resources,
participation in ceremonial life and recognition of kinship
rights and obligations. These are assumed to be interdepen-
dent. Case studies are used to illustrate types. These cases
confirm that while there is a considerable lessening in the
range of economic obligations to kin, the size of the potential

kin group does not shrink. While the potential kin circle

is large, the member of the kin group in the city selects,

on the basis of personal preference, those whom he considers

effective kin.

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INTRODUCTION

Migration is a process which has been the raw material of much of the world's history oral or written, factual or mythical. Over the centuries it has taken many forms. In the twentieth century one of the most common forms is rural-urban migration. This rural-urban migration has been the subject of much study in the United States and an increasing amount of study in other parts of the world. In the predominantly agricultural countries this movement brings to the urban centres peoples whose way of life, attitudes and values are markedly different from those of the urban population. Accounts of these migrations are usually based on historical sources and frequently use theories arising from Redfield's field work in Yucatan. Both emphasize the disorganization in the lives of migrants and the loss of their culture which accompanies the disorganization. One of the casualties frequently singled out is the kinship system which had supported, practically or emotionally, the rural group from which the migrant came. The purpose of this paper is to examine accounts of migrations in which this loss of kinship did not occur, determine the role of kinship in the process of migration from the decision to move to the adaptation, accommodation or assimilation to an urban community.

Most accounts of migrations are descriptive rather than analytical with the result that, to quote Petersen, "the theoretical framework into which these limited data are fitted is ordinarily rather primitive".[1] Nevertheless the theories and typologies of migration devised by Fairchild, Becker and Petersen are pertinent

to this study, as are several current definitions of urbanization.
Because kinship receives no attention in these theories a typology
based on Petersen's but including kinship will be proposed. The
method of construction of the types is that followed by Redfield.
Each type is a mental construction in that "no known society pre-
cisely corresponds with it, but the societies ... (chosen) most
closely approximate it. ... The complete procedure requires us to
gain acquaintance with many ... societies in many parts of the world
and to set down in words general enough to describe most of them
those characteristics which they have in common".[2]

Four types of migrant groups are proposed and the characteris-
tics of each outlined. The characteristics selected were those which
appeared significant in an examination of one hundred and twenty
accounts of migrations. Brief summaries of from three to five
migrations assigned to each type will be given with sources of
information and method followed by the author. Each case study has
been selected because it described groups of migrants, provided
implicit or explicit data on kinship, and when viewed with the others
in the sample meet the criteria proposed for the type.

NOTES

[1]William Petersen, "A general typology of migration," American
     Sociological Review 23: 1958, p. 256.

[2]Robert Redfield, "The folk society," American Journal of Sociology
     52: 1947, p. 294.

CHAPTER I

Since migration has been a recurrent theme in the oral and written history of the world, the literature relating to it is indeed voluminous. In 1915 Fairchild[1] proposed a typology of migrations which is weakened by his rather obvious belief that the settlement of the western United States in the nineteenth century marked the end of significant human migrations. In spite of this weakness he has provided the best known model to the present time. The four types of migration Fairchild proposed are:

1. Invasion   which is a mass movement, involving whole or large portions of tribes of low culture which overcome a more highly developed culture.

2. Conquest   which is the invasion of a low culture by members of a more complex culture. Few of the conquerors live in the region but gradually elements of their culture are adopted by the conquered peoples.

3. Colonization   which is the peaceful invasion of settlers in an area under the political control of a foreign power. The purpose is to achieve the commercial exploitation of the area rather than the subjugation of the original inhabitants.

4. Immigration   which is the movement of people, individually or in families, undertaken of their own free will between two countries which are similar in stage of culture, climate and conditions of life. The receiving country is newer and much less thickly settled than the country of origin.

The criteria for the assignment of cases to the different types appear simple but often are not easy or particularly satisfactory to apply. Essentially the criteria are the presence or absence of coercion and the level of culture of the societies involved. The problems raised are: Is colonization ever a peaceful movement? Can the colonization of North America be considered a good example of this? Is military and/or technical superiority an indication of higher culture?

In spite of these drawbacks the same typology has been used by many authors including Taft and Robbins[2] who in 1955 viewed the developments since 1915 and added a fifth type which had been mentioned by Fairchild but not defined.

5. Compulsory migration and exchange of population which includes slave traffic, indenture, and the movement of refugees associated with the recent wars.

While the authors are concerned with the people and processes involved in migration, the classification is essentially a tool for political rather than sociological analysis of population movement.

Looking at the problem from a totally different point of view Becker[3] decided to isolate all the factors which are significant to an understanding of population movements. From case studies of migrations he worked out a classification scheme against which the details of a migration could be checked. The classification consists of thirteen main categories each with three to six sub-categories. Categories one to three deal with the people who migrate: do they travel alone, or in groups, do the groups share similar goals or not, are they in limited age groups or varied, equal or limited sex proportions. Categories four

and five deal with the rate of migration and the type of settlement which follow it, while categories six to nine deal with the migration in politicogeographic terms. The last four categories deal with the levels of culture of the migrating groups and their destination, the presence or absence of volition, the possibility or probability that the migration will be reversed. While not every rubric would be applicable in the analysis of a given migration, use of the scheme might result in fewer uninformative statements such as: the migration is clearly caused by both "push and pull factors".

In proposing a new typology of migration Petersen noted the dearth of migration theory. He felt that to some extent this resulted from the statistics on which so many analyses of population movement are based. The statistics of international and internal migrations are compiled and published by different organizations. Statistics of immigration and emigration are the most readily available with the result that the fact that the population movement has been across national borders has assumed undue importance. The census provides information on the numbers of people living in locations other than their place of birth. This statistical information is of far less significance than details about the social conditions which prevail in the area which is losing population. These details cannot be deduced from the statistics; nor can the motives of the migrants.

Petersen also attempts to distinguish between the social causes of migration and the motives of the individual. Causes as varied as religious persecution, economic or agricultural crisis, development of shipping and over-population have been mentioned for migrations. But not all people living under these conditions migrate. The personal

aspirations of the migrant are usually different from those of the person

who stays. Differences in motives among those who migrate account for

two types of migration - innovative and conservative.

> "Some persons migrate as a means of achieving the new.
> Let us term such migration innovating. Others migrate
> in response to a change in conditions, in order to re-
> tain what they have had; they move geographically in
> order to remain where they are in all other respects.
> Let us term such migration conservative."[4]

A person may migrate to satisfy personal aspirations but his action

often leads to a chain of migration as he sends for members of his family

who may not share his aspirations. This in turn may develop into an

established pattern in a society and personal aspirations then become

insignificant. The features of Petersen's typology show in the paradigm:-[5]

Relation	Migratory force	Class of migration	Type of migration	
			Conservative	Innovating
Nature and man	Ecological push	Primitive	Wandering	Flight from the land
			Ranging	
State (or equi-valent) and man	Migration policy	Forced	Displacement	Slave trade
		Impelled	Flight	Coolie trade
Man and his norms	Higher aspirations	Free	Group	Pioneer
Collective behavior	Social momentum	Mass	Settlement	Urbanization

Primitive migration when conservative involves the movement of

whole groups rather than a selected few. It occurs when the group is

unable to cope with the physical environment. If these peoples were

food gatherers, hunters or cattle owners moving about a traditional

territory Petersen termed then 'Wandering'. The innovative primitive

migration is the desertion of the land for a completely different way of life, as in the case of the rural Irish immigrants who settled in cities of the United States.

Forced or impelled migrations have been the result of state action. In 'impelled' migration, the migrant retains some power to choose to go or to stay, as in the case of the Jews in pre-1939 Germany; in post-1939 years their migration was forced. Included in this type are the migrations of labourers induced to move to new locations and the transferring of population to eliminate national minorities as occurred with the separation of India and Pakistan.

Free migration of Petersen's typology differs greatly from free immigration of Fairchild. It is the movement of a few individuals, often alienated from society, strongly motivated to improvement or at least change, who risked the unknown. These adventurers provided the example for others to follow until the movement became an accepted pattern of the society and thus mass migration in Petersen's typology. He uses the example of the few migrants from Uppsala who journeyed to the United States in the 1830's, wrote home about the new land, and their example led to the settling of Minnesota by large numbers of Swedish people.

Mass migration does not refer to the movement of large numbers of people or entire societies. It indicates that a pattern of migration has been accepted by the society so that an individual is now breaking with the expected pattern if he does not migrate. Ireland has this pattern of migration; migration now occurs because it has in the past.

Over a period of time migrations of members of a society will change in type. Fifty years ago many men of Central Africa were forcibly moved to the mines of Rhodesia - impelled migration. Today

men of the same societies migrate to the areas but this is mass migra-
tion. The immigration from Ireland has changed from primitive migration
to mass migration. The outcome of both primitive and mass migration
when innovative is urbanization.

Petersen's typology is concerned with the out-migrant, his motiva-
tions and the conditions in the society which made his move desirable
and possible. Unlike earlier theorists such as Tönnies and Becker, his
scheme does not consider the possibility of return of the migrant nor
the social conditions in the community which receives migrants. In the
extension of Petersen's typology which is outlined below the concern is
with the in-migrant and the extent to which he becomes urbanized. The
typology is applicable only to migrations in which loss of kinship did
not occur. While the aspirations of the migrant and social momentum
were selected as the significant factors in Petersen's typology of out-
migration, aspirations and land tenure are proposed as the critical
factors in in-migration. On these, together with the kinship system,
will depend the adjustment the migrant will make to the urban setting.

In the extended typology four types of in-migrants will be con-
sidered. They are:

1. Rural migrants in the city. In Petersen's terms these migrants
   are "in flight from the land". The land they cultivated
   formerly was not owned by them individually or as members of
   a corporate group. With severely limited resources and
   aspirations, they migrate and settle in denuded kin groups,
   living what is essentially village life in the midst of the
   city. This settlement pattern frequently found in Asia and
   Latin America, is also referred to as the ruralization of
   the city.[6]

2. <u>Peasant raiders of the urban economy.</u> These are sojourners in
    the city. They are agriculturalists, and most would choose
    to be so even if it were possible to sell their land. While
    they are in the city earning, kinsmen protect their interests
    in the corporately-owned land. Their degree of urbanization
    is limited by the relative shortness of their stay in the city
    and their desire to save money which will be invested in the
    rural home, against the day when they are no longer absent
    members of the kin group.

3. <u>Migrants with two worlds.</u> Unlike the "Raiders" these migrants
    are able to forsake the life of an agriculturalist yet remain
    members in good standing of a kin group centered in a rural
    community. Their tie to the land exists but is often senti-
    mental rather than economic. The kinship structure of this
    society is flexible enough to include both rural and urban
    members and each member has obligations to kinsmen regardless
    of place of residence. Sharing ceremonial occasions is one
    of the important features of his co-operation with kin.

4. <u>Re-Established kin group in the city.</u> This category consists
    of members who no longer have connections with the land or
    rural community from which they came. Although they recog-
    nize the existence of kin in the country, their obligations
    are limited to those members of the re-structured kin group
    in the city. They show a preference for association with
    kin both in social affairs and in business.

These four types can be explained very succintly in an extension
to the paradigm used by Petersen:

Class of migration	Type Innovating ‹Out-migrants›	Type In-migrants	Kin group	Land tenure
Primitive	Flight from the land	Rural migrants in city	Denuded kin group in city	No control over land
Forced	Slave trade	not applicable		
Impelled	Coolie trade	not applicable		
Free	Pioneer	Peasant raiders	Absentee member of rural group	Corporate ownership non-alienable land
		Migrants with two worlds	Flexible kin structure	Individually owned, alienation possible
		Re-established kin group	Re-structured kin group	No connection with land

Although urbanization is the final outcome of innovative migration, Petersen does not give a definition of the term. Four definitions which are frequently encountered in the current literature are:

1. "From a demographic point of view, urbanization occurs when the proportion of the population living in 'urban' agglomerations increases."[7] In its report of Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, Unesco used as an index of urbanization the percentage of people living in cities of 20,000 or more inhabitants.

2. For Beals[8] urbanization was the process of adaptation or modification of behaviour to fit in an urban society.

3. For Wirth and Redfield, "Urbanization no longer denotes merely the process by which persons are attracted to a place called the city and incorporated into its system of life. It refers also to that cumulative accentuation of the characteristics distinctive of the mode of life which is associated with the growth of cities, and finally to the changes in the direction of modes of life recognized as urban".[9]

4. Mayer distinguished between two modes of urbanization. One is structural: a person is urbanized when he ceases to play a role in his home community but has all his social ties in the city. The second mode is cultural: a person is urbanized when he is "fully confirmed in 'urban' modes of behaviour -- private life included -- and (above all) in valuing these positively".[10]

These four types can be viewed as representing a scale of urbanization against which various migrating groups may be measured. While the "Rural migrants in the city" are urbanized in the sense that they reside in an urban area, the "Re-established kin group" would meet or nearly meet the criteria of Mayer's definition.

NOTES

[1] Henry P. Fairchild, Immigration, New York, Macmillan, 1914, pp. 10-22.

[2] Donald R. Taft and Richard Robbins, International Migrations, New York, Ronald Press, c1955, p. 20.

[3] Howard Becker, "Forms of population movement," Social Forces 9: 1931, pp. 357-358.

[4] William Petersen, "A general typology of migrations," American Sociological Review 23: 1958, p. 258.

[5] Ibid., p. 266.

[6] T. G. McGee, "The rural-urban continuum debate," Pacific Viewpoint 5: 1964, p. 176-177. "If the purely physical definition of urbanisation as the process of physical growth of cities is accepted, then ruralisation is part of urbanisation because it does involve the movement of people from rural to urban areas. If, however, the wider definition of urbanisation as a process which sees the urban area as providing an environment in which social, economic and psychological changes inevitably occur, if accepted, it may be then argued that the swamping of cities by large numbers of rural migrants produces a situation in which they are too numerous for the supposedly deterministic qualities of the urban area to operate."

[7] Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, Calcutta, Unesco, 1957, p. 96.

[8] Ralph Beals, "Urbanism, urbanization and acculturation," American Anthropologist 53: 1951, p. 5.

[9] Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a way of life," American Journal of Sociology 44: 1938, p. 5.

[10] Philip Mayer, Townsmen or Tribesmen, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 6.

CHAPTER II

PRIMITIVE MIGRANTS IN THE CITY

Much of the migration which takes place today fits into Petersen's type "primitive innovative". The people involved are agriculturalists who are deserting the land to settle in cities. While they have lived in what were self-sufficient communities, they have not been unaffected by the rest of the world.

Most will migrate because there is an obvious imbalance of wants and resources in their community. The imbalance may have been the result of an increase in population in turn resulting from such disparate causes as the introduction of new medical and public health services and the banning of inter-tribal warfare by colonial or national governments.

A shortage of food supply may have developed gradually with the increase of population or the slow loss of fertility of the soil and lack of alternative lands. Some lands may have been lost to production as they became battlegrounds, or the sites of new airports, dams, roads or factories. A characteristic of many of the migrants is that they have not had control of the land owner who demanded more in rent than the cultivator could pay, or it may have been owned by the cultivator who lost it because of mounting debts.

Given these problems which they are unable to solve, some members of the community will stay on the land; others will attempt to join kin in other communities where they can carry on much the same life. Some will migrate.

In the small self-sufficient community the kinship system provided each person with his social position. It also functioned as the economic

system, controlled many jointly-owned resources, assigned labour and allocated the production. It was responsible for the traditional education of the young, as well as the care of the children, aged and infirm. Much of the ceremonial life of the community centered around life crises of members, respect paid to ancestors, and their principal occupation, agriculture. The political power may also have been wielded by the same organization. With the migration of a substantial portion of the population, the community breaks up.

Since not all the members of the community are migrating, the initial break will be made by young males who will journey to the city. If they can establish themselves they will send word or go back to get other members of the group. The rest will tend to move in small family groups but the elderly are likely to remain behind.

Once they have reached the city they will probably congregate either in the decaying center in crowded tenements which have been left by the more successful city inhabitants or, if they have walked or come by truck, they are likely to be found in tents or shacks on the outskirts of the town. They will settle with or close to other people from the same village or area. In this way they will avoid some of the problems caused by their lack of knowledge of the language used in the city and may be initiated into the few urban ways which impinge on life in the slum area.

Having lived in a community where a relationship to every other inhabitant could be traced and the web of relationship spread over many communities, they will find in the slum areas relatives to substitute for those whom they have left. Marriage will link families in the urban area rather than descent groups. Descent groups and ancestor worship
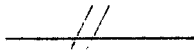
will lose their importance.

The kinship system will no longer be associated with the economic system. The wage earner will control his own resources and provide for his own family. Women will not make the same contribution in labour but will be dependent on a man's earnings. The education of the young may be left to parents, rarely to schools, and lack of elders in the group will limit the amount of traditional knowledge passed on to the young.

What remains of the kinship and of the culture are:

1) a preference for dealings and association with kin and suspicion of non-kin.

2) a habit of co-operation with kin-members.

Primitive migrations may be innovative from the point of view of Petersen but the migrants undergo deculturization while lacking the resources to make much progress in the direction of urbanization.

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The societies whose migration fits into the type are:

Iraq

The rural-urban migration in Iraq has been to the cities of Baghdad which grew from 600,000 to 800,000 and to Basra which grew from 120,000 to 175,000 between 1947 and 1956. During this time the sourthern liwas (administrative areas) showed a reduction in population. The migrants settle in semi-rural villages on the fringes of Baghdad, although certain slum areas in the center of the city are occupied by Kurds. Phillips[1] did household surveys in four of these suburbs. In one, Asima, 88.5% had been landless peasants (fallah), 2.4% had been agricultural foremen, but none had been land owners before migrating.

Egypt

The migration to the cities of Egypt has been to the large cities while smaller cities (20,000 to 30,000) have experienced loss of population. The migration began during the 1940's and has gained momentum. Cairo, the destination of many of the migrants, has grown from 2,724,290 in 1957 to 3,348,000 in 1960.[2] In the 1947 census more than a third of the Cairo population had not been born in the city; it is probably even higher today.

The census material for Cairo does not correlate place of birth with current residence. Abu-Lughod[3] plotted the ecological distribution of the population by assuming that people settle in aggregates in proximity to the office of their village benevolent associations, more than a hundred of which are listed in a Directory of Social Agencies. Offices of associations of villages of Lower Egypt are in the areas close to transportation to the city in the old densely built section. Offices of associations of villages of Upper Egypt are close to the central business section.

Brazil

It has been estimated by the United Nations that during the decade 1940-1950, 49% of the urban growth in Brazil resulted from internal migration.[4] The numbers of residents living in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro grew from 400,000 in 1949 to 650,000 in 1957.[5] The favelas, groups of fifty or more huts or rustic barracks lacking all urban amenities and built on hills considered too steep for settlement, are usually close to factories which employ untrained rural migrants. Pearse collected data from interviews of 279 families in the favela of Esqueleto, as well as a random sample of the entire favela population

of the city. None of the migrants interviewed had owned land. Some had been labourers, others sharecroppers, but all had been dependent on a land owner.

While the information given in the studies is inadequate to support all of the criteria mentioned in the description of the type, the following features are pertinent.

Of the migrants in the sample at Asima, 92% were from two south central liwas where irrigation was practised. Warriner, as quoted by Phillips, "estimated that the southern landlord takes between three-fifths and two-thirds of the crops if it is pump-irrigated".[6] The household survey showed that most migrated in family groups consisting of husband, wife and three to four children. The population sample showed 46.5% males and 53.5% females. More striking was the fact that 43.6% were under age 13.

The 1947 census of Cairo indicated that there were 400,000 migrants from Lower Egypt with approximately equal numbers of males and females, while the proportions from Upper Egypt were 80% male to 20% female.

Nearly a third of the villagers coming to Cairo from Lower Egypt settle in an area very close to the terminus of the bus line connecting the Delta with Cairo. The area contains narrow unpaved streets and alleys, deteriorating two and three storey buildings. Another large group is located near the rail terminal in the most densely populated slums in the city. Their village associations are in these neighborhoods. In contrast, the offices of associations of Upper Egypt villages are located in the commercial district. This district has accommodation for single men and is close to entertainment which is of more interest to the men whose families are not with them in the city.

The migrants at Rio come to the city from depressed rural areas where there was little hope for a better future. The government has promoted new industries for which the migrants provide a pool of cheap labour. In these jobs, however, they are protected by minimum wage laws. The migrants build their huts in _favelas_ close to the factories because their earnings are so low they cannot afford to pay rent or transportation. The average hut costs about two to three months' wages. The usual household consisted of parents and children: a few contained the parent of either spouse and a few the sibling of either spouse who might reside there temporarily having just migrated from the country.

The suburb of Asima is on the outskirts of Baghdad adjacent to the dyke protecting the city from the waters of the river. The dyke makes the unhealthful conditions which prevail in the settlement less obvious to the inhabitants of the city. The migrants live in mud and reed huts built on empty lots where they now have established a village complete with its own bazaar. Phillips mentions that in making the move to the city their way of life has been altered somewhat because of the breaking of family and tribal ties. In Cairo, in contrast, new immigrants seek out people from their own village and depend on them for accommodation and help. Of the families surveyed in Rio those which had been formed before migration reported they had been helped by members of their kin group both in their place of origin and in the city. They were links in a chain of migration moving toward the city, with the result that _favelas_ tended to contain numerous kin groups.

Migrants from the country have few skills to offer, and the most usual occupations for the Delta migrants are as government and manual workers while those from Upper Egypt are most frequently working as

servants, porters and messengers. Of the Asima sample 55% were unskilled
labour, 10% skilled labour and 20% were engaged in commerce. The men
tend to look for others from their own village to help find jobs. Most
of the commercial and industrial firms which employ them in Cairo are
small, often employing only a few people from the same family or the same
village. The migrants in Rio were unskilled labourers in manufacturing.

In the country villages the women and frequently the children of
these societies had helped in the agricultural work. A few families in
Asima had cows or water buffalo which were tended by women who also sold
the milk products. But for most there was a great deal more leisure in
the city than in the country. There was also a loss in the social life
which accompanied many of the labours for which women were responsible
in the village. Of the ninety-five young boys in Asima only fourteen
boys were attending state schools, while three boys and three girls were
being taught by a mulla. The village areas of Cairo had about the same
literacy rate as the truly rural villages, 5-7%, but there was no fur-
ther information as to school attendance. There were few elderly people
who could teach the young their traditional lore but this might be
possible in Cairo where the village associations might provide an impetus
to this.

The village benevolent associations of Cairo provide a means of
giving moral support to new-comers as well as help in time of distress.
Asima lacked this degree of organization. In Rio only members of the
small kin group provide this. Women do not associate with non-kin;
men who do have social activities with fellow workers and in bars tend
to belittle these. In Cairo and Asima the leisure activities of the men
focus on coffee houses which are run by a villager and where much news

is exchanged and business conducted. "For the women no such informal
association is available. While within the village there are also no
purely female informal associations, religious festivals, births,
deaths, marriages, circumcisions, etc., are all village-wide events
in which women have important roles to play. Within the city, however,
these events become more private, and the role of women as full parti-
cipants is probably reduced."[7]

These three societies in widely separated areas of the world
illustrate the type "Rural migrants in the city". Originating in areas
where they did not own land, they have escaped from dire poverty in the
country to poverty in the city. Here their living quarters and style
are viewed as a blight on the city, but the migrants consider it an
improvement on life in the rural areas. The wages they earn are not
sufficient to allow them a higher standard of living. Although most
have left many kin in the country, they associate almost exclusively
with kin in the city, and often view non-kin with suspicion. While
the wage earner must adapt somewhat to the new working situation, the
rest of his family adapt even less to the city. While they extend
help to kin who are migrating to the city they are not attached to or
contributing to a rural community as the next type of migrants, the
Peasant Raiders.

NOTES

[1]Doris G. Phillips, "Rural-to-urban migration in Iraq," _Economic Development and Cultural Change_ 7: 1959, p. 410.

[2]_Demographic Yearbook 1963_, New York, United Nations, 1964, p. 23.

[3]Janet Abu-Lughod, "Migrant adjustment to city life: the Egyptian case," _American Journal of Sociology_ 67: 1961, p. 25.

[4]Economic Commission for Latin America, "Demographic aspects of urbanization in Latin America," E/CN12/URB/18, p. 45.

[5]Andrew Pearse, "Some characteristics of urbanization in the city of Rio de Janeiro," E/CN12/URB/17, p. 17.

[6]Phillips, _op. cit._, p. 406.

[7]Abu-Lughod, _op. cit._, p. 32.

CHAPTER III

PEASANT RAIDERS OF THE URBAN ECONOMY[1]

The movement of "peasant raiders of the urban economy" fits into mass migrations of Petersen's typology. The process of acculturation has been going on for more than fifty years and members of the society have acquired wants which cannot be met without money. Their lands do not produce a surplus for which there is a market.

The land is held by the lineages or village groups and allotted to members for their use. A man does not own a share he can freely sell. He therefore leaves temporarily to earn money. The kinship system is flexible enough to allow him to leave without severing his connection with the group.

As an absent member of a kinship system he has both rights and obligations. His rights include his retention of a claim to lineage land when he returns. His obligations include the support with money of his kin group, helping of members either in the city or country, participation in the ritual of life crises.

He will tend to associate with members of his own society when he is away both during working and leisure hours. In many cases he will succeed to a job held by a kinsman and in turn will be replaced by a kinsman.

He will attempt to adjust to conditions in urban centers in as much as this makes it easier to earn money. To many he will appear to be not adjusting because he does not aspire to the standards of living to which an urban dweller does. This would interfere with his main purpose in being in town - to earn money.

He will remain adept in his own culture and find his security only in the country.

The societies chosen to illustrate this typology are:

Mambwe

The Mambwe people who number nearly 23,000 reside on the plateau of Northern Rhodesia south of Lake Tanganyika. The fieldwork on which this study was based was carried out by William Watson[2] between 1952 and 1955. The Mambwe had been active traders before the arrival of the British in 1880 and were anxious to work for them and for the missionaries who followed. When the mines began to operate in the Rhodesias and the Congo the men, particularly those who had no skills to offer, were quick to take advantage of a chance to earn. While migrations of a few months were common before the war, now the average migrant is away for two years and repeats the migration several times. Most men have ceased working away from the reservation by the time they are forty.

Their territories are divided among sixteen traditional chieftaincies with each chief nominally owning all the land in his chieftaincy. He grants the land to the village headman who in turn grants it to villagers to cultivate. The core of each village is a segment of an agnatic lineage but other men who are connected to lineage members may be attached to the village and also receive land. A man's obligations are to others in his village.

Bechuanaland

The study of Bechuanaland[3] differs from most others included in this survey in that it deals with the problem of labour migration in one territory which has many tribal groups. Before the European traders and missionaries came some groups were "wanderers" while others raised cattle and crops. The country is arid and at the time of the survey, 1942, the population could not support itself by agriculture. Men have

been migrating since the opening of the Kimberley diamond mines in 1870.

Close to 40% of males under forty-four years of age were away.[4] Of these

about 90% were in the Union of South Africa.

The societies are patrilineal in organization with land granted by

the chief or headman to each married man in the village (ideally). How-

ever, in some of the smaller reserves there is a shortage of land and

people are forced to migrate.[5]

Xhosa

East London, the city where fieldwork was conducted by Dr. Mayer[6]

during the years 1956-1960, has been the goal of migrating peoples for

more than a century. Its population in 1960 was over 115,000, of whom

approximately three-fifths are Bantu. A survey of the locations indi-

cated that 90% of those living there were Xhosa-speaking. Most have

migrated from reservations in Ciskei and Transkei, usually with the

intention of staying only a few years. The permit laws make it almost

impossible for a Bantu to migrate permanently.

The usual migrant leaves his wife on the homestead in the reser-

vation where she works for his father. The society is patrilineal, but

only one son inherits the father's land; others have to buy and stock

their own farms.

Fieldwork for this study was carried on both in the country and the

city. Its purpose was to discover whether the two groups of Xhosa - Red

and School - adjusted to town life differently. In this survey I have

used the information relating only to the Xhosa Red, the conservative

group.

Tonga

The Tonga were studied by J. Van Velsen[7] who lived among them from 1952 to 1955 in their tribal reservations in northern Nyasaland. There is no shortage of productive land but there are no markets for surplus production. Men migrating to earn money have to travel one to two thousand miles to employment centres in Rhodesia and South Africa. At the time of Van Velsen's study the figure for absent labour was 60-75% of the adult male population. During the absence of the men their wives are able to support themselves by cultivation of cassava.

While lineage membership and office are inherited matrilineally, wives live virilocally. As in many African societies, the actions of the administration have tended to undermine the matrilineal structure which is now in state of flux.

Ammeln

The Ammeln[8] are a North African Islamic Berber society of twenty to twenty-two thousand living in a valley of the Anti-Atlas mountains of southern Morocco. The slopes of the mountains are bare, the valleys stoney and arid. There is little rainfall, so that the successful raising of crops and livestock require skilled and devoted attention. Small numbers of the Ammeln have been migrating for close to a century. After the Protectorate was established in 1912 the rate of migration increased. Most migrants are established in small businesses, their specialty being the grocery trade.

The political power is in the hands of six maximal lineages but the largest group in the kinship structure is afus, a descent group whose ancestor is known and whose members stand in a relationship of

mutual obligation to one another. The economic unit is the _tigemmi_
which contains the joint agnatic family, all of whom have a claim to
be supported by the patrimony.

The pattern of migration is found in accounts of a great many
societies. Those following have been chosen to show some factors
which are common to most socieites having the pattern and a few unique
features which only one society has.

Migration as a pattern - the tie to the society is not severed:

"Temporary migration of tribesmen, unless it is for adventure or
pilgrimage, is conditioned by economic necessity."[9] The migration for
adventure is found in many societies and often serves as an introduc-
tion to the non-tribal world. If the society has a large proportion
of adults away working, the rite of initiation into the adult society
has become attenuated and may be supplemented or replaced by a migra-
tion of short duration.

Migration has become a tradition with many groups and takes several
forms. Schapera[10] speaks of the attractions of the big city for young
men. Since the boys spend much of their time herding at cattle posts
from which they are rarely relieved due to the absence of many of the
men, the thought of a break from the humdrum becomes most desirable.
Among most of the tribes in the area (Bechuanaland) the rite of initia-
tion has been abandoned, but a youth who is recruited for labour away
from the society is regarded as an adult - and as a taxpayer. The
first migration is usually for a short period of time, less than a year.
Among the Kgatla "a young man, it was said, goes out to work for the
first time in order to acquire a suit and other clothes; his next trip

is usually made for the trousseau he must give to his bride; and after marriage he goes again to work for such things as a plough, a bedstead, and a 'tank'".[11]

Among the Mambwe, Watson reports that the initial working experience was organized and simple. Most youths went in small groups from the same village under the guidance of a leader who had been there before. They travelled a short distance from the reserve to a labour bureau of the Tanganyika Sisal Growers Association where they had signed on, were given free rations and transportation to the sisal fields. "It is in fact a kind of apprenticeship to labour conditions made in the helpful company of kin and friends."[12] The usual duration is a year or less and it gives the young man useful experience and some capital. The Xhosa older boys also go away to work for a short period of time to show their manliness and earn money for their personal use. In all three societies, the first migration is for personal benefit of the migrant while later migrations are related to kin obligations.

The first migration of the Ammeln display a very different purpose. The young boy leaves his home and goes to the city at about age twelve, usually in the care of his father's brother. Here he learns to trade in a shop owned by a kinsman and also completes his education in French and Arabic.

Among the four societies there are economic reasons for seeking employment. These include taxes, increase of population putting greater pressure on the land, limited production of foodstuffs from over-used land, acquired needs for materials which cannot be produced but must be purchased. In each case the society is able to function, if not efficiently at least passably, without the men who are away. The

percentage of young men away at a given time is high. Watson in his

census of eight villages found that 54% of the men from age twenty to

twenty-four years were absent and about 37.5% of the total number of

adult males.[13] In a study of the Ammeln, Marquez found that there

were two thousand tigemmi (joint agnatic household) from which there

were two thousand men absent.[14] In their valley of the Atlas mountains

the slopes are almost denuded of growth and there is an extreme shortage

of rain and soil "so the ecological basis for human settlement is very

slender".[15]

Similarly the Xhosa come from reserves which tend to be overcrowded

by people and stock and the fertility of the soil is gradually dimini-

shing. Almost all the groups see their migrations to the city as being

limited in duration though the reasons for this varies. Since the war

and the development of the Copperbelt, the length of time that Mambwe

were away has tended to increase. While two years used to be the maxi-

mum time, Watson found that for his sample of eight villages 25% had

been away more than three to four years. Most of them were young men

who could offer only unskilled labour which put a premium on youth.

The Tongans tend to go further to labour - usually to the Union

of South Africa more than 1500 miles away from their reserve and which

they frequently enter illegally in order to avoid signing a contract for

work in the mines. At any one time between 60 and 75% of the male adult

population will be absent from the reserve. Van Velsen indicates that

the migrants are absent from their tribal territory for long periods of

time and seldom visit home as a long absence from the city would endan-

ger a well-paid job which many Tongans have, to say nothing of the

dangers inherent in trying to enter the Union illegally.[16]

The Xhosa working in East London are often close enough to home to be able to visit frequently. Although the ideal is usually to return to the country after a year or two, some men have stayed in East London as long as thirty years. Unlike most other Africans working in the cities, at least some Xhosas are able to stay at a job long enough to earn a pension but ultimately most return to the homestead.

Schapera too noted the tendency of migrants to be away for longer periods of time. While in the early days, circa 1905, the period of absence was four months, now it is usually close to a year. However, while only 3.2% of those who were miners had been away for more than two years, more engaged in other occupations (approximately 15% of all migrants) 40% had been away two years or more.[17]

The Ammeln, like the Xhosa, tend to spend a great portion of their lives as migrants but unlike them intersperse years spent in the country. Each man retains his claim to a share of his lineage patrimony. When he is in the city he is contributing something to this home and when he is in the country for a year he works and receives his share of the produce of the property.

The migrant's obligations: How he maintains his connection with the country:

Since most men leave the reserve because they need money for themselves and families the connection is kept intact by the sending or bringing of money home.

Young men of the Mambwe need to earn money for marriage payments or to repay debts already incurred for these. Since the best paid jobs go to men who can offer a skill and the most useful skill is the ability to read and write English well, many Mambwe youngsters are sent to a

school some distance from their villages. Older brothers often give the fees to boys to keep them at school for three years or more and this debt is one which a migrant must repay. Occasionally a man has to borrow from relatives for suitable clothes and bus fare to get him to a job in the Copperbelt. Watson found that in the pre-war years (1914-1918) a large assortment of goods were used as marriage payments but since then cattle and money have replaced them. In a survey of twenty-seven primary marriages in 1950-1953 he found the payments ranging from £1-0-0- and three head of cattle to £17-2-6.[18] As the average unskilled worker earns between 30s and £5 a month, he must labour for a considerable length of time to clear this debt. Money is also needed to pay for taxes, bicycles, household goods, clothes for himself, wife and family, and even in many villages for houses of brick instead of the wattle and thatch which had been the standard home. By the time a man is forty he has achieved this and retires from the labour market.

The money that the Tongans send back is largely available for the purchase of goods rather than basic subsistence. A husband must, however, send money to his wife to buy salt, cloth and the basic necessities which are a husband's responsibility. But Van Velsen reports that money is sent home to help relatives pay fines, buy clothes, bridewealth or to help kinsmen to go abroad. His wife largely maintains herself during his absence.

The Red migrant puts up with the city only to support his wife or his parents in the country so he sends money home regularly. Mayer tells of men sending £4 or £5 each month although earning little over £10 per month. Those who visit home, and these are numerous, also take packets of food with them.

In the Bechuanaland survey Schapera was not able to get much
detailed information on the support; in fact his concern is the pro-
portion of money earned abroad which reaches the territory. Taxes were
collected from the men working in the mines by a government represen-
tative who visited the mines. Mine operators also had a system of
deferred pay. This was paid to the employee when he completed his
contract which gave him a sum of money to bring home with him. Most
migrants returning home brought both cash and store goods purchased
for themselves and families. The regular sending of money home is
harder to ascertain and Schapera seems to think it is infrequent enough
to be of minor importance.

Families in the country:

The local unit of the Mambwe society is a village, the core of
which is a segment of an agnatic lineage with the headman usually the
senior member. Other kin who are members of other lineages may join
the village with the permission of the headman and be given rights to
the land. When the migrant has retired to the village, or is home
temporarily, he will perform services for families of kin. While the
man is away his wife carries on the gardening and all the men in the
village co-operate on men's tasks which are mainly the heavy jobs of
clearing new land for cultivation. If there are more than two women
to every man in the village the system will not work well. In 1953
Watson found that of thirty-eight married men absent, twenty-nine had
taken their wives with them. This seems to be more common than in the
past and much preferred by the women. If a woman does accompany her
husband to town he has no objection to her working there. Watson
makes no mention of children in town.

Tonga men going abroad usually do not take their wives with them.
Although descent is reckoned patrilineally, residence is virilocal. The
man going abroad may leave his wife in the care of his own kin or she
may return to her family. But both groups of kin have responsibility
for her. In some cases the migrant may send for his wife, although the
difficulty of housing and low salary discourages this. Children are not
kept in town but raised by the mother or kin in Tongaland.

The Xhosa Red marriage is arranged by the two families and in
extreme cases the migrant may discover he has been married in absentia.
The duties of the wife are seen as duties owed to the homestead she has
joined and to her parents-in-law rather than to her husband. She may
visit her husband in the city but not for long as her services are
needed in the country. She and her children would be an economic bur-
den in the city while they are useful workers in the country.

Most men leaving Bechuanaland leave their wives nominally under
the control of his senior relatives. However a wife usually enjoys
more freedom than she would if her husband were home; she may also
experience hardship as many men do not send money to their wives.
Most husbands keep in touch by writing or sending messages back with
returning migrants, but the problems resulting from the neglect of
wives seemed to be growing.

Alport mentions that the wives remain in the village with other
members of his patrimony; very few come in to the city as predicted
in earlier studies.

Visiting:

Visiting is a method of reinforcing attachment to the home com-
munity but it is not practical in all of the societies being compared.

Most of the Mambwe labourers are too far away to visit home but return only at the end of a contract. One village near the administrative center had eleven of twenty-two adult males earning wages but just three were so far away that they could visit on weekends only. This village, however, was an unusual one; most Mambwe are some distance from centers where jobs are available.

Van Velsen felt that the Tonga men tend to have better paid jobs (not specified) which were in cities a long distance from the reservation so that visiting was not usual. They feel that to take too much holiday time is to risk their jobs.

In a survey of 207 Xhosa, Reader found that ninety, or more than a third, went home weekly or oftener.[19] Those whose homesteads were a distance visited less frequently because of the time and expense involved.

As many of the Bechuanaland men were working on contracts, the holiday or home visit comes only at the conclusion of the contract. However the duration of visits has been shortening over the period for which Schapera[20] has statistics (1931-1943).

One of the characteristics of the baqqala noted by Alport was that it never seemed to close but it did appear to change hands frequently. The proprietor gets the profits of the business. He does not plow these back into the business but when he has accumulated enough he takes a year off and goes back to the country. He returns for a full year because this fits into the cycle of activities in the country.

Keeping with kinsmen when away:

The initial working experience of the Mambwe is in Tanganyika in
a group of young men from the same village (i.e. agnatic kin) with a
guide who has been there previously. They live and work together.
When they go to the Copperbelt a considerable proportion go to the
town of Mufulira. "The Mambwe attempt to overcome the isolation and
difficulties of town life by supporting one another in the industrial
situation, and by operating kinship ties."[21] This support is parti-
cularly necessary in time of sickness when relatives care for the sick.
When a person is unemployed or unemployable they provide him with trans-
portation to the home village.

The Tonga are less likely to stay in obvious kin groups parti-
cularly if they have entered the Union illegally. Their longer periods
of migration and their more responsible jobs make them less dependent
on relatives. Van Velsen mentions several who had worked in fairly
responsible jobs and spoke several European languages.

Mayer found that one of the characteristics of the Xhosa Red in
town was his incapsulation. By this he meant that the migrant attempted
to use the same network of kin in the city as in the country. He fre-
quently shared accommodation with close kin and his friends with whom
he spent his leisure time were his amakhaya - men who came from the
same rural location. But more important was their conviction that
association with non-Red people was morally wrong.[22]

Schapera, in dealing with the natives of Bechuanaland, was con-
cerned with men from many tribal groupings who entered a variety of
occupations at a time when the war altered the employment situation
markedly. The 53.8% who were living in compounds were working in the

gold mines of the Union of South Africa. But the more than 40% who were in other occupations he could not check.

Alport reports that the Ammeln is usually an independent operator. He is not a member of a large or visible community. He usually had a younger kinsman working with him in the baqqala or finishing his education in the city.

Keeping himself adept in his own culture:

Mambwe men in earlier days were absent for shorter periods of time, often just a matter of six to seven months as contrasted with the usual term of two years today. The highest percentage absent from the village is in the twenty to twenty-nine age group and most men have finished their wage labour by age forty. The relatively short working period combined with the certainty that he will be going back to his own village make it highly unlikely that a man will forget his language or cultural mores. Watson found that the Mambwe were frequently members of labour unions and political parties during their working days. Rather than alienating them from their tribe or encouraging them to be troublemakers when they returned, he found that their political interests seemed to bolster their regard for and support of the chiefs.

The Tongan who is abroad expects his kin to look after his interests, especially with regard to land. When home on holidays he is apt to become involved in political affairs and keep up-to-date on local events when away. Tongans frequently write to members of the administration protesting political events in Tongaland. "When they return from an urban life abroad they settle again in the pattern of Tonga life which is still dominated by traditional values."[23]

For most Xhosa Red there is no problem keeping adept in the culture.
The eschewing of contact with non-Red people in the city, frequent home
visiting and the sanctions of his amakhaya guarantee his faithfulness to
his own group.

Schapera's impression of the returning migrant was that he might be
critical of the authority of the chief and not too anxious to work but
reverted very easily to tribal life. The exceptions were those who had
had a superior education before leaving or while away. These migrants,
if they came back, formed a small elite maintaining their interest in
European institutions and ideas. These generally upheld tribal institu-
tions but supported change, particularly educational and economic
development.

These few samples illustrate the type Peasant Raiders of the Urban
Economy. They are raiders in the sense that they enter the city for limi-
ted periods of time and the money they can manage to save is taken back
and invested in the rural area. Most migrants leave their families in
the country but work and live with other kin in the city. Most have no
skills to offer an employer (the Ammeln differ in this respect) and per-
form heavy labouring jobs which put a premium on youth. During their ab-
sence their land is cultivated by kin who keep alive the migrant's right
to the land. When he has earned enough or has kin to replace him in the
city he willingly returns to the country. Most are agriculturalists not
only because the land provides them with their basic security but also
because they prefer the life. If the land tenure system permitted them
to realize something from their interest in the land and the kinship sys-
tem flexible enough to afford them full membership while resident in the
city, there would probably be very few ready to become urban residents.

Very few have the educational qualifications which migrants in the
next group of societies possess.

NOTES

[1] Watson applied the phrase "Peasant raiders of the economy" to the
Mambwe. With the addition of the word "urban" it more aptly
describes the activities of this type who earn in the urban
economy but spend in the rural. William Watson, Tribal Cohesion
in a Money Economy, Manchester University Press, 1958.

[2] Ibid., p. xxii.

[3] Isaac Schapera, Migrant Labour and Tribal Life, London, Oxford
University Press, 1947, p. 1.

[4] L. P. Mair, "African marriage and social change," in Arthur W.
Phillips, ed., Survey of African Marriage and Family Life,
London, Oxford University Press, 1953, p. 21.

[5] Schapera, op. cit., p. 35.

[6] Philip Mayer, Townsmen or Tribesmen, Cape Town, Oxford University
Press, 1961, p. xiii.

[7] J. Van Velsen, "Labor migration as a positive factor in the con-
tinuity of Tonga tribal society," Economic Development and
Cultural Change 8: 1960, p. 265.
Also printed in Aidan Southall, Social Change in Modern Africa,
Oxford University Press, 1961.

[8] E. A. Alport, "The Ammeln," Royal Anthropological Institute Journal
94: 1964, p. 162.

[9] Ibid., p. 168.

[10] Schapera, op. cit., p. 116.

[11] Ibid., p. 142.

[12] Watson, op. cit., p. 52.

[13] Ibid., p. 60.

[14] Alport, op. cit., p. 162.

[15] Ibid., p. 163.

[16]Van Velsen, 1961, op. cit., p. 230.

[17]Schapera, op. cit., p. 58.

[18]Watson, op. cit., p. 41.

[19]Mayer, op. cit., p. 95.

[20]Schapera, op. cit., p. 56.

[21]Watson, op. cit., p. 195.

[22]A similar incapsulation though lacking the moral sanction is noted among the Pedicab drivers in Bangkok. The drivers from Northeastern Thailand do not associate with Bangkokians but share accommodation and leisure activities with Northeasterners who are usually kin. Robert B. Textor, From Peasant to Pedicab Driver, New Haven, Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1961, p. 21-28.

[23]Van Velsen, 1960, op. cit., p. 277.

CHAPTER IV

THE MIGRANT WITH TWO WORLDS

The migrant in this category has a choice of residing in the city or the country, but is a full member rather than an absent member when he chooses the former. He is tied to a rural community but the tie is more sentimental than economic. He often owns land in the country – corporate ownership is not usual to this group of societies – but he prefers to rent rather than sell it.

He had some education or training which may not be highly rated by others in the city but does enable him to obtain work and be self-supporting. His departure from the country relieves pressure on the land and results in better economic conditions for his kin group who do not migrate. But social distinctions based on wealth and non-farm occupations have not developed.

His kin group remains important to him although he recognizes a narrower range of obligations. Improved economic conditions permit the kin group to continue and often to increase ceremonial activity. Literacy and modern communications facilities make participation in this activity possible.

A kinsman in the city is both a model of change for his rural relative and a source of help when he migrates. The attitudes and ideas flow from the city to the country so the kin group as much as commerce is contributing to the urbanization of rural areas.

Maori

The fieldwork on which the relevant study of the Maori people is based was carried out during the years 1952-1955 and briefly again in

1958. It included work in a remote rural community as well as in
Auckland. The Maori formed 5.9% of the total New Zealand population
in 1951. In 1936 approximately 13% lived in urban areas; in 1958 23%
were living in urban and semi-urban areas.

The average migrant is a young adult with the result that 45% of
the Auckland Maoris are between fifteen and thirty-five years of age.
While some migrants stay in the city only a short time many others
have been residents for years.

Maoris are members by birth and descent to one or more iwi (tribe)
and hapu (sub-tribe) connected with a definite territory and having a
dialect and customs which distinguish it from others. A person could
claim membership in any descent group to which an ancestor belonged.
"The transmission of Maori land was governed by special legislation ...
which provided for individualisation at the request of the owners and
established the principle of bilateral succession."[1]

Toba Batak

The Toba Batak[2] live in the highland districts of northern Sumatra.
Their resources are limited to the land which is divided in small plots
on which rice is the principal crop. In the village studied by Bruner,
no farmer could support himself by agriculture alone. People from Toba
have been migrating to the capital city Medan for more than fifty years.[3]
The earlier migrants were young men who had been educated in the mission-
ary schools and were able to qualify for lower level administrative
posts. They settled in the city permanently. Now young people go to
Medan to live with relatives in order to take advantage of the educational
facilities in the city.

The basic economic unit in Toba is the hamlet, which consists of an average of six households, the core of this being a patrilineage based on descent from one male ancestor.[4] Members of the lineage remain active participants in lineage activities whether they are living in the city or the country. Although land is individually owned, a city Batak is not willing to sell his land. Instead he rents it to a lineage mate and receives a share of the crop.

Greek

The drift of population of Greece from villages to the larger cities (20,000 or greater in population) has been gaining momentum since 1940. In the decade 1951-1961 the proportion of the nation's population residing in Athens grew from 18% to 22%.[5] Almost half the population live in small villages one of which, Vasilika, in Boeotia was studied by Friedl in 1955-1956.[6] The village is located on the plains with good soil and water supply. The main cash crops are wheat, cotton and tobacco.

Land is individually owned but the holdings of one farmer are small and often widely scattered. The land holdings of a father are rarely passed intact to a son, for the Greek laws of inheritance require that the property of parents be divided equally among the sons and daughters. Aware of the dangers of further fragmentation of land holdings, farmers try to give their children an education which will permit them to earn a living in the city. By law, the expenses of education beyond the elementary school level may be counted as part of the inheritance. With the advantage of training the young man or woman then migrates to the city.

This group of societies is characterized by having a more flexible system of kinship which allows for members both in the city and the country.

The communications between the two strengthen the feeling of identification which is particularly important for the small group who live in daily contact with other often more numerous and alien ethnic groups. Good communications also enable the knowledge of the urban world to reach the country kin.

Attachment to a rural community:

The pressure on the land is a factor in each of these societies: Maori, Batak and Greek. All three societies have individual ownership of land. In the case of the Maori the land has been divided and re-divided as generations passed, so that many holdings are too small to provide the owner with a living. But because land rights were closely related to birth into the tangata whenua (the people to whom this land belongs), the urban Maori kept his claim to hospitality and particularly to the marae.

In the Toba Batak society the major social group is the localized lineage based on patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent and in-heritance. Since membership is determined by descent, the Batak living in the city does not lose his affiliation and does not relinquish pro-perty rights. In his absence the land is rented to a lineagemate but the owner returns to the village to collect a share of the harvest.

If a Greek father owns land all his adult sons and daughters and, through the dowry, his sons-in-law have some rights over it. Therefore if there are any decisions to be made regarding it, all are consulted and Friedl says that discussion may go on for years.[7]

The opportunity to migrate to other parts of the country, rural or small centers is and has been available to both the Greek and Maori

people. The system of reckoning descent among the Maori is bilateral
or, as Metge following Firth calls it, ambilateral. Anyone desiring
a change usually had relatives in other areas who would receive him
and help him. The Greek have been an upwardly mobile society so the
movement of individuals from the small village to the small cities has
been going on for a long period. Only the Batak of the three was limi-
ted, for his rights to land were localized and the rural society sur-
rounded by unfriendly societies.

In the pre-war years most of the Maori migration was to other rural
areas. During the war many went to the city to engage in war work and
many were able to enter types of jobs which had never before been open
to them, and in the process acquire new skills. Most of these jobs
were in Auckland and it was expected that after the war large numbers
would leave the city for the rural areas. However the influx has con-
tinued and the greater number of Maoris who migrate now are to be found
in Auckland. Metge reports that this decision to migrate to the city
does not usually come after long deliberation and preparation; it is
very much a spur of the moment decision which often leaves no time at
all to warn the kin in Auckland that they are coming. But they do
expect the kin to receive them, supply them with accommodation often
for lengthy periods of time and to help them find jobs. Some have few
kin, may feel isolated in the city or dislike the life so that the
moving goes both ways. But because the individual Maori feels an
attachment for some rural community, he feels he will go home eventually.
As there is no _marae_ in the city, there were in the time Metge studied
the community no Maori buried in the city. Instead the deceased is

taken back to the community in whose _marae_ he has rights where the funeral is held.

The Greek farmer who wants his children to have an education beyond the sixth grade must send them to the high schools in the towns. This means a considerable outlay, less of course if the farmer has relatives with whom the children can live while attending school. If a farmer is land-poor it is even more important for his son to receive an education or training although it involves great sacrifice for the family. Depending on the training he has received, the child will return to the village or go on to the city. But the scarcity of land and the fact that the farm will be inherited by only one member of the family means that it is necessary for the migrants to plan a lifetime away. Daughters as well as sons are educated, for an educated daughter usually requires less of a dowry to be married.

The Toba Batak came into contact with Europeans in the latter half of the last century. German missionaries converted them from ancestor worship to the Christina religion but did not attempt to disrupt other aspects of their culture. Under Dutch administration the village head-men were used as representatives of the colonial government and western business firms.

When they first migrated to Medan, the Batak were regarded as less than human by the preponderantly Islamic population and had to practise their religion in secret and to live in enclaves. The situation has improved so that they are able to practise their religion freely and do not meet discrimination in the working world. As opportunities are in the city and prospects in the country poor, the traffic is one-way except in times of crisis such as the invasion of Indonesia by the

Japanese. The Batak do not mix socially with the Medan population
but depend on people from their own villages and frequent visits to
supply their social life.

Visiting:

Visiting is one of the main ways that migrants reinforce their
sense of belonging to the same society. Maori adults usually tried
to go home at least once a year for holidays but often they were not
able to do so. The longer they were in the city the less likely they
were to keep up the yearly visits. But this was often the result of
the added responsibilities of young families and other kin than the
lessening of interest. Since most of the people studied by Metge
came from areas several hundred miles from the city, time and expense
were involved in a trip home.

The Batak community in Medan was connected by road to the high-
lands. The journey which took several hours was made frequently by
the citizens of Medan, less frequently by the villager. Whenever an
urban Batak performs an important life ceremony he either returns to
his village or the rural members of his lineage and a few affinal
relations come to attend the ceremony.

The visiting of relatives is a favourite recreation in Greece.
Town dwellers are apt to visit home villages at Easter and at the time
of celebrations of the patron saint's day, in addition to personal life
crisis ceremonies.

Kinship obligations:

Paradoxically the visiting of the home community for pleasure may
be curtailed by the greater obligations to the kin group. Among the

Maori the obligation of attendance at the _tangi_ (funeral) is still felt
and because of the time and distance involved attendance may be costly.
Many of the Auckland Maori report that they attend _tangi_ of a narrower
range of relatives than when they were living in the country as jobs
have been lost if too much time is taken for attendance at these cere-
monies. Since the city people usually arrive last and are unable to
contribute their services tothe preparation of the ceremonies and the
meal which follows they make contributions in cash to cover the expenses
of the ceremonies. Next in importance to the _tangi_ is the attendance at
the unveiling of gravestones of deceased relatives. Since these occa-
sions can be planned in advance and a convenient date selected, it is
often possible to combine several days visiting with the ceremony which
brings more migrants home than does the sudden call to a _tangi_. The
other occasion for a visit is a wedding. Although most of the migrants
are now married in the city and the country relatives attend them, there
are still the weddings of rural kin to be attended. So while limited
financial resources and possibly lessening of interest result in a
decrease in the holiday visiting over the years, most of the Maori
studied by Metge in Auckland recognized their obligations to their kin
group at the time of crisis and made great personal sacrifices to sup-
port them. The ceremonies demonstrated the oneness of the group and
their ideal of co-operation. To do less than this would be to risk the
possibility that a _tangi_ of their own close kin would not be supported or
that they might be accused of having "lost their Maori _aroha_ (love)".[8]

A similar but more drastic pressure is on the Batak who might be
tempted to be less than punctilious with regard to his duties. It is
the _adat_, "a term used by the people to refer to ceremonial procedures,

customary civil law, the kinship and value systems, and the norms of behavior toward relatives".[9] While the city people have criticized the burden that adat places on them, most of them fulfill the kinship obligations and perform the ceremonials in the same manner as is the custom in the country. While their conversion to Christianity presumably ended ancestor worship, the result of failure to meet adat obligations is to invite the wrath of the spirits of deceased ancestors. But whether or not the ancestors punish, the other members of the community will not hesitate to criticize the person who does not support the adat. They may refuse to eat at ceremonies (a great insult) or even refuse their support in time of crisis. In extreme cases the name of the person who does not fulfill his obligations will be erased from the genealogies and he is no longer a member of the society. In contrast to the Maori whose ceremonies most frequently take place in the country, Batak take place in either city or village so long as the members of a lineage are gathered. Before the ceremony the men of the lineage decide on the details. The sticklers for the adat, usually the villagers, insist on the proper performance.

In the Greek village, the kin group is often no larger than an elementary family. The potential kin group of the villager is large and widely dispersed in other villages, the towns and cities. From this larger group, the villager selects certain kin who can be helpful to him. He may send his son to board with a cousin while he attends the gymnasium, or ask a son-in-law to help with his tax problems. He reciprocates favours received from his kin. "A Vasilika farmer expects to establish voluntary relationships with a number of different individuals from each of whom he expects the fulfillment of a limited set of

obligations to himself, and toward each of whom he will fulfill an equivalent but usually not identical set of obligations."[10] The relationship once established may continue but it may cease after the favour is received and reciprocated.

An obligation which is common to all three societies and which is important for the continual linkage of the city and the country is the extension of help and hospitality to relatives. Most frequently this means being ready to receive and care for any relative, or indeed anyone from the same village, who happens to come along. In the case of the Maori, whose wages in the city are usually not large and who often is living in very cramped quarters, to maintain his ideal of Maori hospitality may work considerable hardship. New migrants come to the city without arranging accommodation or learning about jobs in advance and stay with kin until they are able to establish themselves. The Batak highland is constantly providing new migrants to Medan, most of whom depend on relatives for support and accommodation. Frequently the city Batak take young relatives to live with them in the city where they assist in the home and have the advantage of education in the city schools. Very similar to this is the Greek pattern of sending young children who have completed the six years of schooling offered in the village to live with relatives while they attend secondary school. The ideal of hospitality is one to which the Greeks live up and Friedl remarks on the absence of the word "privacy" in the modern Greek language.

Adaptation to urban life:

By migrating to the city from a rural area the migrant theoretically

has the opportunity to become acquainted with and assimilate to another culture. But does this happen?

The Maori in Auckland knew many Pakehas (whites) usually because they were members of the same sports clubs or because they worked with them. They often had cordial relations with them, were invited to weddings, etc., but they did not become close friends with them or mix with them in groups. Most of the youngest (i.e. under twenty-five years) Maori chose their friends from among the Maori community of their own age groups with similar interests. Many of these friendships were across tribal lines. These young people formed gangs for activities such as going to a movie or attending a hui (gathering) at the home community of one of the gang. After marriage the circle of friends narrowed and the kin group became more important. Many belonged to family clubs which were of two types. One Metge called the bilateral extended family whose members descended from, or were married to persons descended from, a living person or persons active in the club. The other type she called the kin-cluster - people who could trace relationships to one another but were not descent groups. The members paid fees and were organized to be able to meet any life crisis with sufficient financial resources and a co-operative group. But many of the clubs did more than this. Among their activities were the organization of trips back to visit the home town, social events in town, so that for many of the older people the family clubs furnished them with their social life.[11]

Not very many Maori belonged to clubs or formal associations which were not exclusively Maori in membership. About 10-15% of the younger age group belonged to sports clubs - basketball, baseball or rugby - which, if they were not mixed in membership, at least played against

teams of non-Maori players. Very small numbers belonged to Maori organizations such as Haka clubs or the Maori Women's Welfare League. Few attended church regularly and when they did usually chose Maori language services.

The Batak also interact with non-Batak at work, in recreation and in political activities. Instead of the family clubs, urban Batak form a neighbourhood club, the dongan sahuta, which is a mutual aid group. In some areas of the city there are also street clubs organized in the same way - dongan sastraat. These societies based on residence cut across descent groupings but the urban Batak belongs to yet another association - the dongan samarga or clan association. This group serves as a mutual assistance group, but more importantly assists in the organization and performance of ceremonies.[12] But the help and the attendance of the dongan samarga does not supplant the traditional rights and obligations of the lineage and allied lineages from the village.

Although the Maori both in the city and country express a preference for marriage within the tribe, most of the marriages in the cities involve members of different tribes. Of the thirty-three marriages of members of Metge's sets, six were contracted between members of the same tribe, another four members of the same tribal group, and eighteen with members of other tribal groups. There were only four marriages with non-Maori. The choice was made by the young people not parents and little attention was paid to the economic prospects of the husband-to-be nor to rank or social status.

The tomo (the formal call of a young man and his kin to ask for the girl) was made in most city weddings. However it was usually a small affair attended by close kin and often a spokesman for the prospective

bridegroom. If the girl's parents lived in the country and were of another tribe the visiting party was usually larger. The purpose of the tomo, though, has changed from seeking approval of him to make a marriage valid to making plans for the wedding.

The localized lineage of the Batak village society was an exogamous group. The man's lineage, that lineage from which he has taken a wife and that to which his lineage has given wives, form an alliance group exchanging goods and services. All three are represented at ceremonies for life crises. Although there was a stated preference for matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, Bruner found this ideal was seldom met. However marriage did link many lineages and provide a network of relationships through the society. In the city the preference for matrilateral cross-cousin marriage was prohibited. Lineages with affinal ties continue to exchange goods and services, the most important of which is support in the ritual ceremonies. Unlike the villager whose choice is motivated by a desire to continue affiliation with the lineage in strategic villages, city Batak attempt to choose wives in lineages controlling either wealth or political power. The bride-price negotiations are carried on by representatives of the lineage and intermarriage between village and city is frequent. The Batak apply strong pressure to prevent marriages between Batak and members of other ethnic groups. Children of Batak women marrying out will have no clan affiliation so this type of marriage is particularly condemned. Since most of the people of Medan have been converted to Islam, the Batak form a religious as well as an ethnic minority.

The villagers of Vasilika respect an educated person and believe that the urban occupations open to an educated man have greater prestige

than farming has. Life in town is usually easier and therefore desirable for their daughters. Since marriage in Greece is exogamous, the woman usually leaves her village to live in the village of her husband or in town. If a father can provide a substantial dowry, his daughter is more likely to marry a man who has a position in town. One effect of the town marriages of the village girls is that rural wealth is supporting life in urban centres.

Most Maori migrating to Auckland had no problem in finding kinsmen from their own community as well as others. The range of effective kin in the city was from five to fifty but the number of intimate kin was more restricted than in the rural areas. The knowledge of genealogies, rank and hapu are common in the country but are not characteristic of the Maori found in the city. Most Maori when asked to insert their hapu on registration forms are unaware of it or confuse hapu with tribe. Most do know their iwi and notice the differences between the tribes in dialects, customs. But the differences were less important than the fact that they were Maori. The fact too that many of the marriages were across tribal lines might give a much wider kinship network but the difference in custom and language and the shyness of the individual make him select few of the possible kin to establish effective relations.

The Batak in the city also has a small number of his lineage but by means of his neighbourhood and clan groups established in the city he is linked to a much larger number of people. He may also belong to his wife's clan association in the city so the number of his potential kin is greater than if he remained in the village.

Friedl's study written more from the point of view of the villager than the urban dweller does not explore the size of the effective kin

group. However she does point out that the network of relations and
their associations in town and city make it possible for the villager
to conduct business with kin or near-kin on a personal basis. This
the villager considers much more desirable than conducting business
on an impersonal basis.

How adept are urban dwellers in their culture:

The Auckland Maori, although adjusted to living in an urban setting
with close contact with Pakehas, were very conscious of their identity.
They preferred the company of other Maori and few tried to pass as
Pakehas. However they were not anxiously preserving many features of
the Maori culture. Although the Maori language was still used on cere-
monial occasions, it was not used in much of the conduct of daily affairs
and few of the children were learning the language. The younger members
were inclined to be impatient with the traditional ceremonial while those
approaching middle age were becoming more interested. The lack of suit-
able quarters in the city in which to hold ceremonials such as hui meant
that many changes were made in the traditional forms - they were of
shorter duration and less open in hospitality. But they were adjusted
to fit the new conditions, not dropped. Traditional crafts were not
retained but there was some interest in the songs and dance.

The Batak language is used for the first years of school, village
and ceremonial life. Dutch was formerly the language of government and
commercial world and is still used by many of the Medan Batak in their
homes but is being replaced by Indonesian. Interest in the retention of
their own culture in Toba Batak revolves around the adat. Bruner found
that support of the adat was general in both the city and the village.
The city dwellers are critical of the ceremonials and would shorten them

as well as lighten the burden of kinship obligations. Rituals in the
city are attended by lineage members and affines from the village who
are the experts on adat and take part in the decisions as to the
details of the procedures. Since the adat applied only to the Batak
in his relations with other Batak, the city Batak depends on the Dutch
model and other Christian ceremonies which enrich rather than denigrate
Batak ceremonials.

The tie which links the urban Greek to the village is sentimental
but often reinforced by an economic interest in lands transferred as
dowry. Urban life has high status in the eyes of the villager and new
ways adopted by the city dweller are soon copied by his kin in the
village. The villager in Greece is not very like the reactionary
character associated with rural life in other societies.

The Batak, Maori and Greek societies illustrate many of the charac-
teristics of the type "Migrants with two worlds". The migrants who leave
the country have some qualifications which enable them to find positions
in the urban areas. They do not see their time in the city as limited
nor their final goal the saving of money to invest in agriculture.
While they are tied to a rural community, land represents an economic
asset rather than a most desirable way of life. Land may be rented to a
lineage mate (Batak), leased to kin (Maori) or even sold outright (Greek)
because it is the property of an individual rather than a corporate group.
The kin group includes both rural and urban members who extend help to
one another and share many rituals. The urban members provide a model of
change for the rural members in contrast to the French Canadian parish
described by Miner,[13] migrants from which belong to the fourth type,
"Re-established kin group in the city" to be described in the next chapter.

NOTES

[1] Joan Metge, A New Maori Migration, London, Athlone Press, 1964, p. 13.

[2] Edward Bruner, "Urbanization and ethnic identity in North Sumatra," American Anthropologist 63: 1961, p. 508.

[3] Edward Bruner, "Kinship organization among the urban Batak of Sumatra," New York Academy of Sciences Transactions 22: 1959/60, p. 121.

[4] Edward Bruner, "The Toba Batak village," in G. W. Skinner, ed., Local, Ethnic and National Loyalties in Village Indonesia, ⌐New Haven⌐, Yale University, 1959, p. 54.

[5] Irwin T. Sanders, Rainbow in the Rock, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1962, p. 9.

[6] Ernestine Friedl, Vasilika; A Village in Modern Greece, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, c1962, p. 7.

[7] Ernestine Friedl, "The role of kinship in the transmission of national culture to rural villages in mainland Greece," American Anthropologist 61: 1959, p. 30-38.

[8] Metge, op. cit., p. 50.

[9] Bruner, 1961, op. cit., p. 509.

[10] Friedl, 1962, op. cit., p. 7.

[11] Metge, op. cit., p. 179-180.

[12] Bruner, 1959/60, op. cit., p. 121-122.

[13] Horace Miner, St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish, University of Chicago Press, 2d imp. 1963, p. 250-252.

CHAPTER V

THE RE-ESTABLISHED KIN GROUP IN THE CITY

The member of this group may be of the generation born in the city or he may have migrated but his roots are firmly planted in the city.

He recognized the existence of kin in the country but not any obligation to them unless the kin are his parents. His children will probably be totally unfamiliar with his country home and relatives.

The member depends on his kin for a variety of minor services and help in the time of need. He patronizes his kin in business and expects their support. He prefers their company in social activities.

The societies[1] chosen to illustrate this type are:

French-Canadian

This study was based on interviews of more than fifty persons living in the city of Montreal in the mid nineteen-fifties.[2] To ascertain the extent of their kinship knowledge, thirty informants were asked to compile complete genealogies. All were earners of medium incomes in a highly industrialized city.

The French-Canadian kinship system is patronymic bilateral in structure with a formal pattern of expected obligations between generations. The French-Canadian father has the obligation to establish his children. Farms are inherited by one son, not usually the eldest.[4] With the shortage of new lands many gave their children training and sent them to the city.

Italianate

This study[4] was based on interviews and the collection of genealogical data from twenty-five informants living in London. Included

were newly arrived migrants who had no kin in England as well as some
Italians who had been born in England and consider English their mother
tongue.

The Italian kinship system is patrinominal with a stress on the
male line.

Unlike the previous migrants, members of the Re-established kin
group have only one world - that of the city. Although some members
have been born in the country, for many the ties to the rural community
are slight, while for others they do not exist. Exchange of services
between country and city kin are not important to them for the kin
group in the city is large enough to offer support and companionship.
While the Italianate community is growing by the addition of new migrants
who often are helped to settle in London, the French-Canadian group has
well-defined borders.

Range of kinship knowledge:

The figures given by Garigue in the tables of known kin for the
Italianate study were ordered by household rather than individual. The
total kin recognized ranged from 123 to 386; in ten of twelve cases, 50%
of the known kin were in Ego's and the first ascending generations. The
depth of the genealogy was never more than six generations. The largest
networks were those of persons who had relatives in the village of origin
in Italy; in many cases the kin mentioned were classificatory kin.

In the study of the Montreal group the number of kin known to the
informants ranged from 75 to 484. This number is not comparable to that
above because it represents the knowledge of an individual rather than a
household. Men had a greater knowledge of the father's line while women

knew more regarding their mother's line. Occasionally, however, a
woman would know more about her spouse's line than he did. On the
whole the women were more knowledgeable about kin than were the men.
While Garigue does not give a table indicating the depth of generations
and lateral distribution, he stressed the importance of the parent-
child, sibling and affines relations. These form the core of the sys-
tem. Recognition of other relatives as kin operates according to
descent lines.

In both studies it was found that there were certain pivotal kin
who were much better informed, or experts, in the kinship network and
had status because of this. In Montreal this person was likely to be
a woman, but in London it was often an older man who had conducted
business on behalf of other members of the community.

Kinship obligations:

The most crucial obligation among the Italian community is that
between parents and children for support of children while young and
parents when aged. Widows and orphans should be brought up by the
kin of the deceased parents. Siblings have a responsibility to pro-
vide a home for unmarried sisters. Children are expected to live with
parents until they marry and often after. The extended family house-
hold or business is frequent. Many members of the community help
relatives migrate to England whereupon the newcomers are often pro-
vided with both jobs and accommodation. They may also borrow money,
often without interest, to get started in business.

The core group consisting of Ego's parents, siblings and their
spouses and his affines in the same generation are those to whom Ego
has special obligations and for whom he will make great efforts or

sacrifices. Although all Montreal informants reported that they had received important services from relatives there is a definite preference for help from members of one's own line and also one's own sex. Nearly a quarter of the households either contained three generations or included kin who were not members of the conjugal unit. Many of the group worked for or knew of kin working for relatives.

Social relations:

In both societies there was frequent contact between members of the kin group. One Italianate household in London selected for detailed exposition was a self-contained unit and social contacts were almost entirely within the Italian community. No member had close English friends or belonged to English organizations. Those families who had been in England longer and were less firmly linked with Italy gradually became integrated into British life, but not by intermarriage. The only English-Italian marriages reported were wartime marriages in Italy between British army personnel and Italians. Church organizations and activities of the Italian community provided them with most of their social life and the opportunity to meet possible spouses. The obligations to visit relatives, provide hospitality and keep all members informed of family happenings reinforced the kin tie.

The informant in Montreal, chosen by Garigue as typical, was a young married man with living kin numbering over two hundred. In a month he met an average of forty to forty-five relatives, and many more during the holiday season. Family reunions provided an opportunity to meet more relations but they did not occur often. His pattern of frequent contact with male siblings and affines with less frequent visits to parents was quite different from a woman's pattern which would include

more contact with her own parents and female siblings but less with
female affines. The network lost active members through the upward
mobility of some as well as by the marriage "out" to someone who was not
French-Canadian or not Catholic. Because the sibling group was large,
there was a large group from which to select those kin with most con-
genial tastes and interests. But the group did not have replacements
in the wings as the London group did with its connections with villages
in Italy, nor did it include cousins unless there had been a cousin
marriage, which is not infrequent.

The economic ties among the Italianate group included in a few
cases the sending of money to support relatives or to purchase property
in Italy. Many helped relatives migrate to England and supported them
when they had difficulties. The members worked for one another and
brought relatives from Italy to help them in a business rather than hire
non-Italians. They patronized one another's business and co-operated to
the extent that it was noticed and in cases resented by non-Italians.

The economic ties in the French-Canadian group are very similar,
with the added feature that Ego would prefer to get help from the kin
group of birth rather than the kin group of marriage. The incidence of
working for relatives is well known. Persons in business can depend on
patronage from relatives. Professional services are sought from members
of the kin group.

Both the Italianate and the French-Canadian groups are members of
the Catholic church. Their life crises are marked by religious cere-
monies often celebrated by a kin member. Such occasions as a marriage
or a funeral are supported by a large number of the kin network. A
lesser occasion such as a baptism or first communion is attended by a

smaller group of closer kin. Repudiation of their religion would lead

in most cases to a reduction in the numbers of people who acknowledged

themselves as effective kin and would feel obliged to offer help in

time of need.

The feature which characterizes the French-Canadian and Italianate

groups and distinguishes them from the other migrant types is the self-

sufficiency of the group. The members are urbanized in the terms of

Mayer's definition which was that a person is urbanized when he ceases

to play a role in his home community but has all his social ties in the

city. With many of the problems of migration behind them, they still

depend on kin for both emotional and economic support but only on kin

who are also in the city.

NOTES

[1]While accounts by different authors would have been preferred, these have
been selected because the kinship data is comparable. The data in Firth's
study "Kinship in South Borough" in Two studies of kinship in London,
(London, Athlone Press, 1956) is comparable but the subjects haven't a
history of migration. For this same reason the studies by M. Young and
P. Willmott, Family and kinship in East London, and P. Townsend, The
family life of old people were not found useful. On the other hand the
articles by Eugene Litwok, "Occupational mobility and extended family co-
hesion," American Sociological Review 25:9-21 1960 and "Geographical
mobility and extended family cohesion," American Sociological Review 25:
385-394 1960 which deal with families who have or expect to migrate lacks
sufficient kinship data, particularly a definition of the term "extended
family". An indication of the work being done on this subject is pro-
vided in a review article by Marvin B. Sussman and Lee Burchinal "Kin
family network: unheralded structure in current conceptualization of
family functioning," Marriage and Family Living 24:231-240 August 1962.

[2]Philip Garigue, "French Canadian kinship and urban life," American
Anthropologist 58: 1956, p. 1090.

[3]H. M. Miner, St. Denis: a French Canadian Parish, University of Chicago
Press, 1963, pp. 79-80.

[4]Philip Garigue and Raymond Firth, "Kinship organization of Italianates
in London," in Raymond Firth, ed., Two Studies of Kinship in London,
London, Athlone Press, 1956, p. 67.

CHAPTER VI

The survey of rural-urban migration indicates that for many of the migrants the new life in the city is not characterized by anonymity, lack of intimate personal acquaintanceship, or the weakening of the bonds of kinship. Instead we found that many migrants are able to replace a relatively self-sufficient community in the country with one which is socially self-sufficient though not economically or physically self-sufficient. The migrant goes with groups he knows, settles with them, helps and receives help from them. The limited numbers from his own community who may be in the city make it necessary to him to replace close kin with more distant, to associate with people of the same society but different villages, or even in a few cases, people from other tribes. He widens the boundaries of his social group: the size of the group to which he has obligations of support cannot grow and probably will become narrower as more members of the society are integrated into a money economy.

The fact that a migrant sees himself as a member of a community (or of two communities) means he views some people with favour, others with suspicion. He tends to limit his association with the out-group if he does not ignore them altogether.

"A member of one community may pass daily through the physical site of communities other than his own, neither 'seeing' them nor admitting their relevance to his own life. But, within his own community, there is little if any anonymity."[1]

The basis of the group is kinship but it never includes all of the migrants from a given rural community to the city. Some never join the city group, others do but later break away or are expelled.

"One type, qualitatively the cream but numerically the less significant, consists of bright youths who migrate in search of education or wider opportunities. These have both the drive and the facility of rapid assimilation into the culture of the city."[2]

Those who enter the new community are cushioned from the potential harassments but must also accept the standards of the community.

The Xhosa have a term itshipha which they apply to the man who disappears in town, leaving his parents and family without any word. (The word is supposedly derived from the English for 'Cheap'). They have another, also derogatory, term irumsha which is applied to the man who speaks English rather than his own language.[3] Xhosa are more conservative than most other societies in the survey but failure to meet one's obligations to kinsmen is one way to cut the bond to the society.

Bruner has noted that the urban Batak are critical of some aspects of their adat, particularly when kinship obligations impose a heavy burden. But most prefer to meet the obligations rather than risk the loss of kin support. This loss could take the form of having kin refuse to eat when attending his ceremonies, or in extreme cases the striking of his name from the genealogies.[4] The French-Canadian lose contact with those who have "gone English" by marrying a non-French-Canadian or a non-Catholic.[5]

In writing of the migration of the Ammeln, Alport states that "migration of tribesmen, unless it is for adventure or pilgrimage, is conditioned by economic necessity".[6] This was found to be true in the survey of migrations and the typology reflects four stages of economic development. In the rural setting the major economic resource is land: the relationship of the migrant to the land is the main feature which

distinguishes one type of migration from another.

The "Rural migrants in the city" have lived in the country but at the time of their migration do not have control over land. Some had rented land which they cultivated, others were hired labourers. Their migration results from the poverty in the country rather than the attraction of the city. The migration does not solve the problem of poverty. Although all think they are better off in the city, their style of living is essentially rural. They associate almost exclusively with kin who are very restricted in number as compared with a rural community so that there is a diminution in social contacts and social life. These migrants have neither resources nor training so they tend to get the lowest paid jobs and to develop few skills. Among the sample groups, lack of land tends to be associated with poverty, few skills and little or no education, lack of interest in education or social services available in the city. The adjustment or adaptation of these migrants to urban living conditions is minimal.

The "Peasant raiders" are agriculturalists for whom the migration to the city provides an interesting interlude. Because of its limited duration, most migrations involve men but not their families. The peasant cannot sell his land, it is usually corporately owned. He depends on his close kin to farm it and thereby both support themselves and protect his rights. In return the kin expect to share in his earnings. To maintain his status as an absentee member of the kin group he sends money for current expenses, for ceremonial occasions, brings back store goods and money to be invested in the farm. In the city the migrant associates with kin and usually works at a poorly paid labouring job.

There is some indication of change in that education is beginning to be available and valued. Some investment in urban properties is replacing the exclusively rural pattern of the past. Restrictiveness of the land tenure system, together with rigidity of the kinship system distinguish this type from the next.

The "Migrants with two worlds" are those migrants who have an interest in land but are not agriculturalists. With the help of kin as well as some education, they are able to make their way in the city. The land tenure system permits them to sell but most are not so secure in the city that they are willing to take this step. By renting land to kinsmen they keep their place in the rural community. Renting of land tends to offset the difficulties caused by land fragmentation and too small holdings. It therefore improves the economic circumstances of both the agriculturalist and the migrant. Unlike the peasant he invests in the urban rather than the rural community, yet he still recognizes his obligations to rural kin. The improved economic circumstances of these migrants is reflected in visiting between groups of kin and increased support for ceremonial life.

The migrants who make up the "Re-established kin group in the city" have been absorbed into the city economy and no longer depend on rural land holdings or rural kin. The kin group includes several generations and the migrant's potential kin group is large because it includes affines. From this group of potential kin he chooses a circle of effective kin on the basis of congeniality of interests or usefulness. He usually associates with kin, extends help to them and expects them to reciprocate.

The main purpose of the thesis has been the preparation of the typology which sets out the role of kinship among migrating groups. This theoretical framework can be used for the comparison and classification of other rural-urban migrations. There may even be a need to employ this extended typology to analyse the one case. Thus it may be needed to compare the same migration at different points in time. As the social conditions in the community which permit or encourage migration change, the type of migration also changes. This can be illustrated by referring to the migrations of the Overseas Chinese to various parts of South Asia.

Migrations have been made from Southeastern China to various parts of South Asia for many centuries. The earliest migrants were merchants whose adventures, freely undertaken, would be considered innovative pioneer migrations in Petersen's typology. The great numbers of peoples, varying economic conditions in the home country and the variety in the countries and areas to which the Chinese migrated resulted in many different types of migration occurring contemporaneously. For example: in the nineteen thirties when some migrations of Chinese to cities in Indonesia would fit into the type "Migrants with two worlds", impelled migrations of Chinese indentured labourers were still a feature in the development of the rubber plantations of the outer islands.[7]

An example to illustrate "Rural migrants in the city" was not located in the literature dealing with the Overseas Chinese but it is most likely that migrations fitting this type would be found in Hong Kong. The other three types can be illustrated by referring to the migrations to the Philippines.

The earliest migrants to the Philippines were merchants. Coolie labour was ended by the application of the American "Exclusion Act" in 1899, which encouraged the entry of migrants who would not compete with local agricultural workers.[8] While most of the migrants originate in the Southeast coastal regions their choice of areas to which to migrate is not unrestricted. Communities in China are associated with specific migrant-receiving countries. "The Philippine Chinese Community is associated with two such centers, one in Kwangtung and one in Fukien."[9] Within this century the type of migration has been mass migration with people migrating because it is the established pattern in their community.

The Chinese population of the Philippines increased very slowly during the early years of the American administration. It grew from 41,005 in 1903 to 43,802 in 1918.[10] During these years the migrations fit the type "Peasant Raiders" as the migrant's purpose was to work hard, live frugally and retire to China as soon as possible. They were helped to migrate by their close kin (not lineage) and in turn helped others. Their sojourns in the Philippines were interspersed with visits to the home community in China, where they married, and where their families were raised. When the sons were ready to work they joined the father and often succeeded to his business when the father retired to China.

After 1918 this pattern began to change. Although the migrants continued to support the home community, their improved financial circumstances permitted them to invest in business in the city as well as agriculture in China. The business was often a joint venture with capital provided by a group of kin. The success of many of these concerns is attributed to the availability of credit from kin. The pattern of visiting China continued and most Chinese in Manila born before 1935

were born in China. Sons and other male kin were brought out to help
in the business. But gradually some migrants brought their wives and
children. "In 1918 the proportion of Chinese females to males in the
Philippines was one female to thirteen males. By 1939 the proportion
had become one female to six males."[11] While there was still an attach-
ment to the home community, the Chinese had become "Migrants with two
worlds". The lineage included members of both communities. In Manila
small groups of closely-related male kin and later families provided
emotional support and an effective cooperating group, while many of the
welfare duties of the lineage in China were taken over by district and
clan associations.

The war and subsequent change of government in China severed the
connections between the two communities. There is a sentimental attach-
ment, some support of kin in China, but the takeover of lineage property
as well as restrictions on travel and immigration have forced the Over-
seas Chinese in Manila to become "Re-established kin groups in the city".

The four types have been formulated in the hope that they would
overcome some of the drawbacks of the typologies of Petersen and Redfield
on which they are based. Petersen said of his own "The most useful dis-
tinction in the typology, perhaps, is that between mass migration and all
other types, for it emphasizes the fact that the movement of Europeans to
the New World during the 19th century, the migration with which we are
most familiar does not constitute the whole of the phenomenon."[12] Most
users of the typology will agree with the author that "Migration ... must
be differentiated with respect to relevant social conditions".[13] But a
typology which is sufficiently comprehensive to provide for every migration
cannot at the same time be specific enough to distinguish the social

conditions which enter into many migrations. Since rural-urban migra-
tions are always innovative in terms of Petersen's typology, fitting
into two types "Flight from the land" or "Urbanization", this classifi-
cation does not tell us much about the relevant social conditions. The
extension to the typology of Petersen used in this survey attempted to
shed more light on the process of change, which migration is, by limiting
its scope to those migrations in which kinship loss is not experienced,
and by linking kinship, land tenure and urbanization.

Although the method followed by Redfield was used in formulating
the types, the rural-urban dichotomy or continuum did not prove useful
in the analysis or rural-urban migration. In part this was because of
Redfield's types. He characterized folk societies as being small, iso-
lated, illiterate, homogeneous and possessing group solidarity, while
the city was the logical opposite.[14] None of the societies surveyed fit
either pole. The stages in between have not been characterized so that
the extent to which a group fits a type cannot be ascertained.

In his Yucatan study Redfield developed four types, tribal village,
peasant village, town and city. Each one is characterized by being "less
isolated; is more heterogeneous; is characterized by a more complex
division of labor; has a more completely developed economy; allows a
greater freedom of action and choice to the individual"[15] than the com-
munity which precedes it on the continuum. These types are used and
useful to show how communities change through time as a result of an
influx of population and increased contact with other communities. The
continuum implies a unilinear pattern of evolutionary change.

Although the four types of migrations used in this survey bear
some resemblance to the Yucatan model they are used to show how and why

migrants leave rural communities, move to urban centers and become
urbanized. The extent to which this change is possible is governed
by social conditions in both the losing and receiving communities and
does not follow a unilinear pattern.

The fact that the migrations used in the sample exist refutes
Redfield's assumption, and that of the majority of fieldworkers since
his time, that kinship as a self-perpetuating system inhibits change
and is destroyed by a major change such as migration. The survey
indicated that a society from which migrants derive is a changing
society, no longer isolated, whose members lack homogeniety of experi-
ence and have problems which cannot be solved by traditional means.
In the city the migrant adapts to very different conditions of life
and adopts cultural items which are unknown in the rural area. But he
is not an anonymous person in a heterogeneous mass. Instead, by
keeping with kin, he belongs to a group characterized by being small,
sharing conventional understandings, possessing group solidarity and
to some degree isolated from similar and dissimilar groups in the city.
A city which has many such groups, and this includes any city having or
receiving a large proportion of its population migrants, is very unlike
the model of Wirth and Redfield. It exhibits a cultural diversity which
makes the dichotomy between groups in the city greater than that between
the rural and urban branches of the same society. This is particularly
true in Asian cities where there is not a dominant urban majority which
acts as the model towards which other groups are changing.

In much of the literature relating to migration the stress is on
what appears to the observer to be disorganization if not disintegration.
It is expressed in statements such as: These people are accustomed to

living in small towns where their elders really control them; They
are used to having kin help them and can't stand up for themselves;
They have never worked for wages, just for kin. These statements are
often superficially and factually correct but cloud or ignore the many
ways in which kinship operates among these groups in the city. For
the Rural Migrants the principal use of the kin is as a reference group.
These people were economically disadvantaged in the country with no con-
trol over land and are often the disadvantaged in the city. Pearse
remarked on the constant visiting to the exclusion of all non-kin with
the result that the group was the dominant and almost exclusive sanction
group for the behaviour of its members.[16] What may be considered appro-
priate by the kin group might however be considered totally inappropriate
by other urban dwellers.

The sojourn of the "Peasant raider" in the city is in a very real
sense a cooperative investment on the part of his kin group. The migrants
are usually young men, often selected and financed by the kin group, tra-
velling with kin to join others in the city. While they are away, the
group compounds its investment by caring for the land rights and kin of
the absent member. The migrant is expected to earn and save and return
the investment with store goods, and money invested in the rural com-
munity. In recent years it is becoming less unusual for a wife to
accompany the migrant. But children are not usually kept in the city
but are sent back to the country to be raised by kin.

In the third type of migration where there is a relaxation of the
tie to the land, there is also less rigidity in rights and obligations
of kinship. The system is gradually changing in the direction of a
mutual assistance association. Friendship may replace association with

close kin. The cooperation pattern is still prevalent. Migrants now feel free to invest in something other than land. Often this is a business concern started with capital contributed by a number of kin. Economic cooperation in business is particularly important. Education becomes more important and children are now sent from the country to live with kin to be educated in the city. Chain migration, which does occur among the "Rural Migrants" and "Peasant Raiders" becomes most highly developed. The migrants send money to rural kin not to have it spent in the rural community but to bring kin to the city. It is now that the kin group and its wider kin network is recognized as a community or sub-community in the city.

The fourth type of kin group in the city is re-established in the sense that it is a complete system which functions without reference to rural kin or community. Economic cooperation in business and mutual help are important. Although many alternatives are open to these people in the urban community, a preference for kin is shown in their choice of personal associates, business concerns patronized and professional services consulted.

NOTES

[1] Janet Abu-Lughod, "Migrant adjustment to city life; the Egyptian case," _American Journal of Sociology_ 67: 1961, p. 31.

[2] _Ibid._, p. 23.

[3] Philip Mayer, _Townsmen or Tribesmen_, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 6.

[4] Edward Bruner, "Urbanization and ethnic identity in North Sumatra," _American Anthropologist_ 63:1961, p. 510.

[5] Philip Garigue, "French Canadian kinship and urban life," _American Anthropologist_ 58: 1956, p. 1098.

[6] E. A. Alport, "The Ammeln," Royal Anthropological Institute _Journal_ 94: 1964, p. 168.

[7] Victor Purcell, _The Chinese in Southeast Asia_, London, Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 541.

[8] Jacques Amyot, _The Chinese Community of Manila_, University of Chicago, Department of Anthropology, 1960, p. 17-18.

[9] _Ibid._, p. 38.

[10] _Ibid._, p. 18.

[11] _Ibid._, p. 58.

[12] William Petersen, "A general typology of migrations," _American Sociological Review_ 23: 1958, p. 265-266.

[13] _Ibid._, p. 265.

[14] Robert Redfield, "The folk society," _American Journal of Sociology_ 52: 1947, p. 293-294.

[15] Robert Redfield, _The Folk Culture of Yucatan_, University of Chicago Press, c1941, p. 338.

[16] Andrew Pearse, "Some characteristics of urbanization in the city of Rio de Janeiro," E/CN 12/URB/17, p. 18.

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