ASSIMILATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN URBAN AREAS

METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

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DOCUMENTO DE TRABAJO CORRESPONDIENTE AL PROGRAMA CONJUNTO DE INVESTIGACIONES SOBRE ESTRUCTURAS SOCIALES EN PROCESO DE CAMBIO EN AMÉRICA LATINA.
While urbanization is a complex process including many and different aspects, there is no doubt that internal and international migrations constitute the most important ones, not only because most of the urban demographic growth is caused by population movements, but also due to the fact that migration itself, as a social process, is an expression of those basic changes which are transforming the world, from a planet of villages and deserts into a planet of cities and metropolis.

We may distinguish in the analysis of migration, at least three main processes: the decision to emigrate, the actual transfer, and the acculturation into the urban society (1). While most studies are chiefly concerned with the latter, we will include in our discussion all the three stages.

In any case, the study of acculturation would require a knowledge and an understanding of the whole process of migration, including the process which occurs in the place of origin, the outcome of which is the decision to emigrate and the actual physical transfer to the city.

1. Three levels in the analysis of migration

It is usual to analyse rural-urban migration in terms of push-pull factors. Migration is then considered to be the outcome of the inter-play and balance of expulsive forces existing in the countryside and of attractive forces operating in the city. Different combinations of such forces may result sometimes in equivalent balances, i.e. in population movements having the same direction. Thus, it has been frequently observed that while rural-urban migration in developed countries is related mainly to increases in the labour demand created by urban industrial growth, in many developing nations mass movements toward the cities take place even when such new and better employment opportunities are extremely low or even completely lacking. In this case we have a different combination of forces in which the weight of the push factors in the countryside are much stronger than the pull factors in the urban areas (2). In other instances we may even find situations in which rural conditions, although actually improving, are still insufficient to counteract overwhelming incentives irradiating from the cities (3). Analogous mechanisms may be used of course to describe not only the existence and degree of rural-urban migration, but also the lack of it.

While this approach may be quite useful in certain respects, it must be recognized that it has the risk of oversimplifying the process, reducing it to a kind of mechanical balance of external impersonal forces. At the same time it seems to put an excessive emphasis on "rational" or instrumental motivations, not taking into account the possible complexity of the psychological process which result in a decision to move or to stay. Now, if for purposes of macroscopic analysis using
mainly aggregate data this model may be sufficient enough, where the research is aiming at a study of migration differentials, a description of the adjustment participation, and acculturation of migrants in urban areas, and a causal analysis of the major factors associated with these processes, the model to be used must take into account not only push and pull factors but also the other social, cultural and subjective conditions under which such factors operate both at the place of residence and at the place of destination.

In fact we suggest the convenience of distinguishing three levels of analysis: an objective level, a normative level and a psycho-social level. (4).

I. In the first one we will include two main categories: on one side, the push and pull factors, and on the other, the nature and conditions of communications, accessibility and contact between rural and urban areas, or, in more general terms, between place of origin and place of destination.

I.1. Push and pull factors are well known and there is no need to describe them here (5). It is necessary however to indicate that we should not limit ourselves to the contrasts between rural and urban conditions if we want to cover all kinds of urban migrations. In many countries (either developing or advanced ones) migration may and does occur between urban places, generally between cities of different size and characteristics, and in such urban centers attractive and repulsive forces operate and influence the flow of in-or-out migration.

I.2. Communications and accessibility between place of origin and place of destination are another set of objective factors which condition migration (formal and informal contacts, mass media, transportation system, distance, costs and so forth).

II. Objective conditions do not operate in a vacuum: they operate in a normative and a socio-psychological context. Not only criteria of what must be considered bad or good conditions, attractions or repulsions are to be found in the norms, beliefs and values of the society of origin, but also attitudes and behavior patterns which in this society regulate migration. That is: at the normative level (6) institutionalized roles, expectations and behavior patterns will provide the framework within which the persons will perceive and evaluate them. It is well known that one frequent trait of many rural areas, and in general of more traditional societies (with such exceptions as nomad peoples and the like) is the emphasis on stability, the isolation and fixation of the people to the native soil. In industrial and more fully modernized society, ecological mobility is just another possible answer (among many) to certain situations. While in the former it is not normally expected, and even, in some cases it is considered deviant behavior and negatively sanctioned, in the latter ecological mobility is at least permit-
ted, if not actually facilitated and emphasized.

The normative pattern may also facilitate the migration of certain categories of persons, while making difficult the migration of others, as for instance is the case in the migration of women which may depend on their status within the society. In any case, norms and values must be considered as intervening variables in the analysis of the impact of push and pull factors. What to an outside observer would appear as exceptionally bad economic conditions, will not operate as a push factor at all if they correspond to a traditional pattern which not only is institutionalized in the norms, values and beliefs of the society, but also continues to operate as an internalized expectation in the mind of the people. This last observation indicates however that the knowledge of ideal norms and values alone is not enough for the study of migration; here arises the need of a third level of analysis.

III. At the psychosocial level the attitudes and expectations of concrete individuals must be taken into account. In a perfectly integrated society with no deviants from the ideal pattern, the normative framework would be accurately reflected in the internalized attitudes and expectations of the people. Another basic condition for the maintenance of such integration would be that objective conditions do correspond to the expectations, attitudes and actual behavior. Such a situation of perfect or quasi perfect correspondence between the three levels (objective conditions, normative framework, and internalized attitudes) will be in fact extremely rare to find, and it must be remembered that a certain proportion of deviance must be considered normal in every society. In present developing nations, the opposite situation will be much more frequent, if not universal. Lack of correspondence may occur in a variety of manners: changes in the objective conditions such as overpopulation, low wages, war, etc.) may make it impossible to carry on the social actions as expected by the institutionalized framework and the internalized roles and attitudes; or change in the expectations may have been brought about by cultural contacts, mass communication, etc.; or perhaps, as it is more likely, different causes of change may operate simultaneously. In any case, either directly or indirectly the psychological level will be involved, and the way in which individual attitudes are affected conditions precisely, not only the decision to emigrate, but also the character of the migration, and the subsequent behavior of the migrant in the receiving society.

Let us emphasize that we are not reducing the causes of migration solely to a psychological process; what we are trying to point out is the need to use a psychological and a normative context in order to understand the working of the objective factors. Furthermore it must be remembered that this or an equivalent conceptual scheme must be used in analyzing all the stages of the migration process, that is, not only the decision to migrate, but also the acculturation and adjustment to the receiving society. In fact, the objective conditions existing there, such as job opportunities, housing, salaries, educational facilities and the like, as well as norms, beliefs and values which characterize the urban society and its
component social groups, will exercise a profound impact on the reception of the migrants and their integration.

Finally it must be stressed that the several elements so far indicated do not operate atomistically: on the contrary they are closely interdependent. The emphasis on analytical distinctions, should not lead us to forget the basic fact that, in the empirical process to be observed, those elements constitute a specific configuration rather than a more collection of isolated traits.

2. Nature and aspects of assimilation

This broad conceptual scheme must now be focussed on the specific problem of the assimilation of migrants in urban areas. It is well known that this concept is rather ambiguous. On the one side we have a series of terms which refer to the same or related phenomena (7); on the other, quite often, the same term has different meanings. This is not the place for a terminological and theoretical discussion on this topic; we will rather start by distinguishing a number of notions which will allow us to identify the most important phenomena and processes, relevant for the study of assimilation in urban areas; (i) adjustment; (ii) participation; (iii) acculturation (8).

(i) The notion of adjustment refers to the manner in which the migrant performs his roles in the various spheres of activity in which he participates. Here the interest of the observer is focussed on the migrant himself: it is his personal adjustment which is studied that is, his ability to perform the roles without excessive or unbearable psychological stress. There are of course a variety of ways of defining adjustment: what must be stressed here is the need to distinguish as clearly as possible this particular aspect from all the others.

(ii) With the concept of participation we assume the standpoint not of the individual migrant but that of the receiving society. Here we must distinguish again at least three different dimensions. In the first place we may ask about the extent and degree of his participation: how many and which roles is he performing within the institutions, social groups and various sectors of the urban society. This interest will include participation as well as non participation, and participation in non urban structures: for instance, how much is he still connected (that is, participates) with his original community? Or, very often and if he is participating in institutions, and social groups located ecologically within the boundaries of the urban area in which he is living to what extent do these belong to the urban society proper? (9) In the second place we may inquire about the efficiency with
which roles are performed, efficiency to be defined from the standpoint of the receiving institutions and groups, and the values of the receiving society. Thirdly we may be concerned about the reception given by the urban society: how its social groups and institutions react with regard to the migrants and their participation. Here we may be confronted with situations of accepted, non accepted and conflictual participation. Perhaps we could speak in this respect of integration, referring specifically to the degree of accepted and/or non conflictual participation. This distinction means that a group of migrants could be participant in a particular urban structure, without being integrated into it, if the group is performing roles within the said structure, but such activity is resisted or non accepted by other relevant groups in the same structure (the common cases of racial and political conflicts).

(iii) By acculturation we indicate the process (and the degree) of acquisition and learning by the migrant of urban ways of behaviour (including roles, habits, attitudes, values, knowledge). As noted by anthropologists, such process will not take place without having some influence on the receiving society. This aspect must be remembered, even if it is not always considered very important from the point of view of a study chiefly concerned with the assimilation of the urban migrants. Another observation is more in order. Acquisition of new cultural traits may occur in different ways: it may consist of relatively superficial learning, or it may penetrate deeply into the personality. It may be more or less internalized and the subject may feel more or less involved in the new behavior pattern. By "internalization" we mean the process by which the trait becomes part of the personality of the individual, in which case a completely internalized behavior pattern would be experienced as a spontaneous expression by the subject himself. Through the normal socialization and learning process within the family, during childhood, the migrant has "internalized" the culture of his society of origin: in the urban setting he is confronted with the need of acquiring new roles, new knowledge, and also new attitudes, and new values. But in such re-socialization, he may achieve sometimes a sufficient, but not deeply experienced knowledge of the new behavior patterns; and sometimes he may achieve a deeper level of internalization. In the field of attitudes and values the re-socialization may lead to a deep involvement and identification with the new urban pattern, to a very superficial acceptance, or to a more or less complete rejection (10). The recognition of such different forms and degrees of acculturation is sometimes of paramount importance. Intellectual learning is easier than the acquisition of traits where the emotional and affective components dominate, such as attitudes values, or behaviour patterns associated with given fields of interpersonal relations. It is well known that the rural migrants are able to acquire with relative speed new technical skills; at the same time, however, their acculturation to new types of modern industrial social relations in the factory or in the union will usually require much more time, and may not be achieved so completely (11).

There are some further observations to be formulated in connection to the three notions of adjustment, participation and acculturation. All of them refer both
to a certain state of affairs, in a given moment, and to a process in time: in this sense the interests of the research may be centered on one or the other, or both. One may want to assess which is the degree of adjustment, participation, etc., as it may be observed at a certain period, and/or one may want to study the process by which the migrants are adjusting to the urban conditions. This distinction seems obvious enough, and different techniques will be employed in each case.

Furthermore the three processes are not necessarily simultaneous and associated in the same group or in the same individual. This of course is the primary reason for introducing such distinctions. Also, a given degree of adjustment (or participation, or acculturation) may be achieved in one sphere of activity, and not in another. A person may be (or feel) quite adjusted with regard to the concrete technical tasks required in his job, and be unable to bear the psychological stresses introduced by the "impersonal" human relations. Acculturation to certain traits does not involve acculturation to others, participation in given urban groups may be performed with insufficient acculturation, etc. It is true that, at least with regard to certain spheres of activity, adjustment, participation and acculturation will usually go together, but incongruities between different spheres of activity may be quite frequent. Concerning this possibility it must be noted that while most migrants will be able at least to perform a number of roles, which are the minimum required to continue to live in the urban areas, they will remain nonetheless segregated or alien to a number of other activities, which on the contrary may be considered "normal" for the native urbanite of the same education and socio-economic status. For instance they are likely to have a job, to use public services, to buy goods, etc., and in this sense they must have acquired the knowledge needed to carry on this activities and perform the various roles involved in the corresponding social situations. At the same time, however, the same persons may well continue to live in an encapsulated neighbourhood formed by migrants of the same origin, maintaining or trying to maintain the same culture of their village or place of origin, and close interpersonal relations with friends and kin groups still residing there. While living physically in the city, and even participating in a number of urban activities, these migrants remain partially or totally alien to other important sectors of the urban life, such as certain forms of leisure, union participation, politics, voluntary association and the like.

3. The origins of the migrants and their motivation to emigrate: Data and analysis.

The preceding two sections will have suggested to the reader the complexity of situations characterizing migration and acculturation, and the variety of factors which may condition such processes. While it would be impossible to give a complete and coherent survey of them, not only because of the limited scope of the present chapter, but also on account of the still very imperfect state of our theoretical and empirical knowledge, we will
attempt to indicate the kind of data the researcher should look for in a study devoted to migration of emigrants in urban areas.

In the present section we will be concerned chiefly with what we have called the first two stages in the process: decision to migrate and actual transfer; we will thus examine the kind of data needed for such analysis and, in particular, data on: (a) characteristics of the place of origin; (b) characteristics of the migrants before migration; (c) motivation to emigrate, and (d) circumstances of the transfer.

(a) Place of origin.

While it is not very frequent to find studies on urban migration which include systematic surveys actually conducted in the place of origin, and on the migrant groups previous to migration, most of them gather information on both topics, either by analysis of secondary sources, or by direct inquiry on the migrants after migration. Knowledge about the place of origin is necessary not only because its characteristics will deeply influence the type of migration, but also because the degree of similarity or the difference between the place of origin and the place of destination (that is, the cultural distance), is an important factor in itself in conditioning the incorporation of the migrant to the urban way of life. On the other hand, for purposes of comparison with changes subsequent to migration, the information on the place of origin (and the characteristics of the migrant groups) should be fairly well detailed. For instance a general description of the main institutions - family, work and economy, religion, politics, education, etc. - and their functioning constitutes a very important background information against which the observations made on the migrants in the city could be compared. Of special importance will be the data related to degree of economic development and of cultural modernization and the particular aspects which may characterize the place of origin from the point of view of the transition from less modern (or more traditional) to more modern (or less traditional) structure: forms of land tenure, degree of concentration of land ownership, extent of monetary or subsistence economy, degree of the integration of the area into the national market, kind of social relations prevailing in the field of work and economy, as well as in other orders of life.

Unfortunately, the researcher seldom will find previous studies or even primary data on such essential topics. However, it would not be advisable to restrict oneself only to the material gathered through the migrants interviewed in the city, and efforts should be made to have at least an approximate picture through other sources or even personal acquaintance.

One conspicuous example of thorough analysis of the society of origin is the classical study on the Polish peasant by Thomas and Znaniecki (12). As it is well known these authors included in their book on the assimilation of the Polish immigrant in America a deep analysis of the Polish peasant society, its main institutions and the process of individual and social disorganization. Their study
was based on collections of letters, newspapers, biographic material complemented by ethnographic sources, other systematic studies and their own knowledge of the Polish society. In those developing countries in which an indigenous population still lives in folk or tribal societies, there may exist an important body of ethnographic and anthropological studies which may contribute a great deal to a complete picture of the nature of sending societies, of their present degree of integration, and of the characteristics of the groups from which the migrants are drawn. Such are for instance the cases of Africa and the indio-mestizo countries in Latin America. In most cases the authors do not perform specific analysis of the place of origin, but employ their knowledge of other information about it mostly for comparison with the receiving society and as a basis for inference as needed when studying problems of acculturation (13).

Sometimes, summary comparisons between place of origin and place of destination may be quite useful in giving the general context within which a more detailed analysis may be conducted (14).

Often, the most readily available information relevant to some of these general topics are found in census data and other analogous statistics. City size and non-agricultural employment are two of the best known indicators of modernization and economic development. However, even though both are often associated with such processes, it would be quite misleading to rely exclusively on them. Not only for theoretical, but also for empirical reasons, they must be considered as different processes. In fact, we have both modernized rural areas and traditional cities. In some of the more advanced countries, rural-urban differentials with regard to demographic, social, cultural and psycho-social characteristics, have diminished considerably. In such cases, the cultural distance between modernized rural areas, small and large cities, may be not very large or non-existent at all. An analogous situation of reduced cultural distance if often found in those underdeveloped countries where traditional patterns still prevail both in urban and rural areas. However, considerable internal discontinuities in degree of modernization will be quite normal in most developing countries and not uncommon in developed ones. According to the previous indications, city size and proportion employed in non agricultural activities should always be completed with other data regarding areas of emigration, such as fertility, general mortality and infant mortality rates, size of family, proportion employed in factory industry, size of plants per capita income, proportion of middle socio-occupational strata, literacy and other educational rates, proportion of voters proportion of union affiliation, newspaper circulation, radio and TV sets in operation, etc. (15).

In addition to indicators relevant to degree of modernization, what we could call "degree of disintegration" of the traditional order should be explored. Attitude change, new expectations, partial refusal of old values, beliefs and obligations, and other kind of innovating behavior could be inferred often from the degree of modernization assessed on the basis of demographic and other indicators suggested above. However, specially in the early transitional stages, psychosocial changes most relevant to migration -i.e., spread of attitudinal deviations from
predominant values and norms—may well precede the kind of changes likely to be detected by the said indicators.

Size and composition of in-and-out migration from the area of origin should be carefully analyzed if possible, not only to assess the demographic characteristics of the migrants, but also in relation to the nature of the migration and of the sending society as a whole. For instance a high rate of out migration from an otherwise traditional setting would suggest the hypothesis, worth to be explored, of the advanced desintegration of the old order, or perhaps of the existence of overwhelming push factors. In these cases the selectivity of the migration should be rather low. On the contrary, a low rate, in a society at an equivalent traditional stage, should be interpreted as highly selective, and probably not related to desintegrating processes.

(b) Characteristics of the migrants before migration (and of the categories, groups and strata out of which they were selected).

Information on the society in which the migrants were born and lived before migration is not sufficient to ascertain the various factors which may intervene in their decision to migrate, producing different propensities and various kind of motivations, and in their subsequent behavior in the city.

We may distinguish two types of characteristics: socio-cultural (including biosocial or demographic) aspects (i); and individual attributes (ii).

(i) Among the first, the most known and universal are age and sex: most migrations are characterized by such differentials, various kinds of societies and configurations of conditions will originate different propensities among the various groups of age and also will induce different proportions of family or individual migration. But nonetheless important than these are education and occupation which will be highly important in themselves and also for the fact of their close correlation with other variables, such as standard of living, income, housing or, in more general terms, Socio Economic Status which usually is taken to include all of them, together with occupation and education.

(ii) Intelligence and other psychosocial traits related to the propensity for innovating attitudes, high aspirations, leadership and the like, are among the most prominent individual characteristics.

It may be seen that the distinction among the two types of characteristics is not very clear: on one side all the socio-cultural characteristics are expressed—empirically—as individual attributes, no less than those labelled as individual and psychological; on the other side the latter are not (or not always) independent from the socio-cultural aspects (e.g., intelligence, etc.) and may be differentially distributed among the various socio-economic strata, etc). The reason for the
distinction will be made clear, once we analyse the role it has on the analysis of motivation, adjustment and acculturation. The socio-cultural characteristics affect individuals, not qua individuals, but by the fact of their belonging to a certain category, social group or social stratum. Females are not only a category defined by biological characteristics, but also by a specific status, defined by a set of norms and values: it is precisely this status which will forbid, difficult, or facilitate migration. And, of course, such status is part of the social structure of the society. The same can be said of the other categories and of those defined by the SES (that is the socio-economic strata), a category which may be thought of as combining occupation, education and the other variables indicated above. People belonging to the same socio-economic stratum are exposed to analogous conditions, which will facilitate or prevent emigration, determine the kind of migration, facilitate or difficult adjustment and acculturation. This can be seen quite easily with regard to economic conditions: unemployment or low wages affect some socio-economic strata, not others; forms of land tenure or land-population ratio impinge only on given categories of peasants, etc. But the same considerations may be made with regard to values, norms and attitudes; socio-economic strata may constitute to a certain extent specific sub-cultures characterized by different normative frameworks and, consequently, endowed with different propensities to migration and eventually to assimilation. More than that: in transitional societies, the different biosocial and socio-economic categories may be differentially exposed to the process of disintegration of the old order and to attitudinal changes. While the conditions which affect one given stratum may have left it unchanged, so that most of its individual members still feel and behave according to the traditional pattern, in another stratum this may be impossible because of modifications in the objective conditions, or because of changes in attitudes perhaps as a result of differential exposure to communication media. A given socio-economic group may feel so frustrated that even in a society which forbids or discourages migration, may resort to it.

"Individual traits" operate within the general framework set by the categories as defined by socio-cultural characteristics. Even if a considerable proportion of the younger people or the women, or the labourers, want to emigrate (or actually do emigrate) there will be others who prefer to stay. There is always a selection, and the factors which condition such selection, within the socio-cultural category, must be sought precisely in differences in intelligence, need for achievement, etc. Under given conditions it will be the more intelligent, or the high achievers who will emigrate, or who will be more readily acculturated.

It must be noted that the two categories of attributes are employed as explaining factors in the motivation to migrate and in their subsequent behavior: however, they do not exhaust all the causation, in both aspects. A third series of factors may and do intervene: these we could call purely random factors, such as idiosyncratic traits, biographical accidents and the like. We have not included them in the categories to be taken into account because the research is focussed in discovering regularities, in determining the given probability of occurrence of certain behavior in a category of individuals and not in predicting individual behavior
as such. It could be further noted that sometimes what in most situations is considered a "biographical accident" turns out to be, under different circumstances, a common condition affecting all the persons classified in a given category. But in such cases it is precisely because of its nature of common condition, affecting a whole stratum, age group, etc. that it will be not considered by the researcher, as an individual, biographical occurrence.

Sources of data for the characteristics discussed so far are approximative by the same as those indicated with regard to the place or area of origin; and similar difficulties and limitations are likely to arise in this respect. Usually the census will give at least a modicum of information which may offer a picture of the demographic characteristics of the migrants, for instance age and sex groups, often by place or area of origin. Such data may allow a comparison addressed to ascertain to what extent are they drawn disproportionately from certain categories. In some cases such comparisons may be extended to other attributes, such as education. In any case, however, most information can be obtained from the migrants and the comparison must be based on this group as against data regarding the population of the place of origin (16). As for intelligence and other psychological characteristics, usually a special study will be required, if one includes in the research design this kind of attributes.

(c) The motivation to emigrate.

The study of motivation is a strategic point in the whole research: on the one side, to understand it correctly, all the data discussed so far must be meaningfully integrated and used as a basis to interpret whatever direct information one may obtain on the individual decision to emigrate; on the other side, types of migration (e.g., permanent or transitory), types of motivation, and types of migrants are closely related aspects which represent one of the basic keys to understand adjustment, participation and acculturation.

Data on the character of the migration and its motivation are generally obtained through the migrants by means of questionnaires, interviews and the like; in some cases other kind of personal documents may be used. Surveys at the place of origin on attitudes or propensity to migration are much more scarce: their interest however is very high because they illuminate the total socio-psychological context which is conducive to the decision to migrate or to stay. One may also attempt to reconstruct such context by questioning the migrants contacted in the city.

Relevant literature reveals that, in an overwhelming majority, "economic" motives are imputed to migration; thus direct answers by the subjects seem to confirm the analysis made in terms of push and pull factors. We have seen however that migration is the outcome of a very complex process, in which the so called "economic" as well as other pressures or attractions are mediated through the peculiar values and norms of the society and the social groups to which the mi-
grant, belongs, as well as through his attitudes.

As indicated earlier, though we are not concerned with discovering the peculiarities and complexities of individual motivations and decisions as such we do emphasize the need of ascertaining the nature of the migration in so far as it is related to the social context of the place of origin and to adjustment and acculturation in the city. From this point of view we may indicate some aspects of motivation which should be explored:

(a) Manifest motives, which may be reported and analyzed in the usual terms of economic (low salaries, unemployment, lack of land, etc), domestic (i.e. wish to rejoin other members), educational, and other reasons (wish for new experiences, escape from traditional setting, higher aspiration and mobility, etc.) (17);

(b) Manifest intention of the migrant regarding the temporary or permanent character of the migration;

(c) Nature of the decision, which could be analyzed in terms of degree of deliberation, such as from high rational choice to sheer impetuosity, in which no conscious stage of deliberation could be detected.

There are of course many other aspects to be added to those just indicated. However, the scheme of analysis should be designed according to the specific purposes of the research and also in relation to the particular circumstances of the migration which is being studied. Perhaps some examples drawn from the literature may illustrate this possibility.

Touraine (18) for instance, distinguishes between déplacement (displacement), where the migration is not an expression of a personal and matured design, but the result of fortuitous circumstances, occasional pressures or attractions (as when an industrial job is offered to the migrant, without deliberate effort on his side to look for one); départ (departure), where at least this intention exists and it is conscious enough; and finally mobilité (mobility), where the migration is motivated by deliberate aspirations to higher social status. It is important to note that the three modes are related to the process of assimilation in the city. In the first case the migration is likely to be transitory or, if permanent, the acculturation will be lacking or incomplete; participation in urban structures, as a consequence, may be very restricted, and the probability of maladjustment higher. On the contrary, in the case of mobilité, assimilation to urban life will be easier and more complete. Another typology of mobility orientations (19), takes into account the connection between occupational status and mode of decision. Here the hypothesis is advanced that the higher the status, the more frequent the "purposive-rational" mode of decision, and vice versa, the lower the status, the more frequent the "short-run hedonistic" orientation. The former will be conditioned by life-long goals, while the latter is determined chiefly by situational factors of the moment. It could be suggested that this typology should be related not only to
the social stratum, but also to the degree of modernization and development in the place of origin as a whole; the more advanced the cultural modernization of this society, the more frequent "rational-purposive" decisions, while "short-run hedonistic" ones, will be more likely in transitional areas (20). Furthermore, types of motivation are not independent of the degree of disorganization and change of the traditional order. Emigration may be a substitute for revolution; in any case it is an expression of social mobilization and, as it has been frequently observed, propensity to emigrate is correlated with refusal of the traditional order (21). Finally it has been suggested that types of decision may be also determined in part by relative position of place of origin and place of destination as to prestige, and by their cultural distance; when the place of origin is still accepted, highly valued by the individuals (an indication of good integration in this society), and the cultural distance with place of destination very large, if there is migration at all, it will more likely be transitory, and the migrant will tend to isolate himself from the host society, participating in it as little as possible, and achieving little acculturation. When the cultural distance is smaller, the place of origin less valued than the place of destination, and the degree of integration in the former is rather low, the migration will tend to be permanent, and the acculturation easier (22). This scheme seems adaptable to many situations in developing countries, as in Africa and in Latin America, and the existence and degree of a demonstration effect between place of origin and place of destination could be used in the construction of interesting working hypothesis. Still other situations may affect the mode and type of migration. For instance we could compare situations of mass migration with isolated migration: in the first case it may be suggested that selectivity will be low, and the decision will tend to be of the "short-run hedonistic" type, the opposite tendency should be observed in the case of isolated migration.

(d) Circumstances of the transfer.

The most important aspect to be included here is the nature of what we could call the "channel" through which the transfer takes place. As for all other aspects, it is not an independent feature of the process of migration. In this regard, the distinction has been made between work-related channels and kinship and friendship channels (23). A typical and "pure" case of the former is the migration of the executive or other employees of a corporation or public administration, who move from one place to another, along the lines of the "organizational network"; similar cases are the migrations of professionals and persons in other occupations for which one may speak of an "occupational contact network" (24), that is a system of communication which supports the ecological mobility. Kinship and friendship channels are best illustrated by the typical migration chains, which are so commonly found in many countries: the in-flow of migrants occurs along the chain established by the pioneers who settle in the city; friends, relatives and neighbours will then follow, finding support for location and work, as well as a powerful mechanism of adjustment to the new situation. It may be observed that these two modes of transfer are closely connected with the mode of decision and with motivation. On the other hand they are related to the process of adjustment and acculturation: it is worthwhile to mention here that the chain of mi
gration facilitates encapsulation and alienation from full participation in the urban culture, even though, as indicated, it may give psychological support.

Another important aspect related to the circumstance of the transfer, is the distinction between family and individual migration. By family we understand here the nuclear or conjugal family only. Information on this aspect, as well as on the kind of channel mentioned earlier, may be of great importance in analyzing motivation and subsequent processes of assimilation in the city.


As indicated in a previous section the assimilation of migrants may be analyzed in terms of three processes: adjustment, participation and acculturation. Such processes may be observed in the various spheres of activities of an individual and in relation with the different institutions, groups and sectors of society. It depends on the scope and the comprehensiveness of the study, the inclusion of specific spheres and the omission of others. The literature reveals a great variety of topics: anthropological inventories (25) can in fact give an idea of such variety. Most of the studies, however, restrict the field of observation to a number of subjects defined according to main purposes of the research. There are, of course, some topics which are very frequent, and rarely omitted, even if different emphasis is given to them: family and kinship, work (technical, social, and psychological aspects), location and neighbourhood (material culture and social relations), mass media and other contacts with the larger society, informal participation (especially political participation), education (formal and informal; special types such as technical and professional), customs and habits (clothing, food), language, career patterns and social mobility (both infra and intergenerational). Factual information on occurrences, overt behavior, and on aspects of the material culture, as well as information on attitudes and other psychological aspects are usually included in the surveys.

Whichever may be the particular interest of the research, and the particular aspect which is emphasized (work, family, political participation, etc), it is convenient to take into account the possibility stressed in a previous section that the same person may not achieve comparable degrees of assimilation simultaneously in all the spheres of behavior, and that this lack of congruence may be highly important when it is not a merely idiosyncratic expression of an isolated individual, but affects whole categories -social strata, social groups- of subjects.

Each of the various aspects of assimilation (adjustment, participation, acculturation) will require specific indicators to be selected within the spheres of activity which have been in the research. The study of adjustment is also conducted at a more general level, by means of psychological texts, not necessarily re-
lated to behavior or attitudes in specific institutions (or else including samples of may possible situations, in various areas). (26).

The choice of indicators should be guided by the criterion of maximum discriminating power between the "assimilated" and "non-assimilated" behavior (and attitudes). This of course involves an operational definition of "assimilation" for each of the specific items being observed. As it is well known, the determination of the validity is one of the crucial problems in social research and one whose solution is quite arduous. Here the researcher may decide in favour of a pragmatic criterion. For instance, the model or the average behavior of the native urbanite is taken as the model against which the migrant is compared. Of course, such comparison must be restricted to what is really comparable: considerations of age, sex, and socio-occupational level must be taken into account. Degree and extent of political participation of the migrant unskilled worker, his attitudes towards the unions, or types of interpersonal relationships within the family are likewise compared taking as a criterion the equivalent categories among the native urbanities. Many a research assumes explicitly, or implicitly, this kind of pragmatic criteria. (27). There are, however, other solutions: the criterion may be not set by an empirical but a theoretical model. In this case a "type" must be constructed, and this should be made in accordance with a specific theoretical background. An explicit and theoretically founded definition of the "industrial man" or the "modern urbanite" (with all the specifications for age, sex, and SES) could be used as a criterion for comparison with the various empirical types observed in the research. It must be said that such an explicit construction is rarely found in research on urbanization and migration. More often the model is implicit and, when it does not coincide with the empirical model offered by the local urbanites, may take as a basis for comparison the examples offered by the urban society in more advanced countries. For instance, while studying the rise of "working class consciousness" among workers of rural origin in a developing country the researcher may compare it with the present situation or sometimes the historical situation in Europe and the U.S. Now, this is a perfectly adequate approach, provided the relevant historical differences are duly considered (28).

Comparisons with the criterion assumed as the model for "assimilation" are not enough: a "base-line" against which to measure or compare the changes occurred since the migration occurred is likewise necessary, not only in explanatory studies, but also when one simply wants to describe the process. Such "base-line" is offered by the description of the society at the place of origin and by the characteristics of the migrant, before migration. Usually here, it is not the same concrete group of migrants which is being compared: the migrants found at present in the place of destination are compared with the corresponding group observed at present in the place of origin. Such procedure has its risks, but very often it is the only available to the researcher: in any case it should be complemented by additional data concerning possible changes which may have altered the situation at the place of origin, since the departure of the present migrants. Also allowance for the selectivity of migration and other precautions to be taken are obvious enough. As indicated earlier, present respondents in the city and at the place of origin may
report on previous situations and subsequent changes.

5. Final Observations.

In the present chapter we have restricted our task to the discussion of the conceptual scheme and other analytical problems involved in a research on migration and assimilation of migrants. Such restriction leaves out a variety of problems: scope and limit of the research, sampling problems, choice of techniques, etc. These, however, have been dealt with in other chapters of the handbook, and the reader is referred to them.


(5) In a very short summary form we could enumerate such factors thus: (a) favourable or unfavourable economic conditions in the countryside (state of natural resources, their deterioration or improvement, rate of demographic growth, population and ratio, tenure system, degree of concentration of land property, in efficient or backward techniques and low productivity in agriculture or, conversely modernization and reduction of demand of rural labour); (b) Lack—or existence—of alternate opportunities in rural setting; (c) favourable or unfavourable economic conditions in the cities: job opportunities, wage level, and so forth; (d) other non-economic rural-urban differentials, such as educational and sanitary ones, recreational facilities, political conditions of personal security (such as guerrilla warfare and banditry).

(6) **Ideal** norms may be defined by contrast to **real** norms: the latter refer to the empirical behaviour of individuals, while the former indicates the behaviour prescribed by the society.


(8) S. N. EISENSTADT, *op. cit.*
(9) The term "amalgamation" sometimes indicates intermarriage. See the discussion of the term "assimilation" by Ch. Tilly, Migration to an American City, dittoed copy, 1963.

(10) Ph. MAYER describes three types of acculturated migrant: "double cultured" who "can come and go freely between rustic and urban circles always retaining the other set of patterns in a latent state", the "rustic" who continues to behave as such even when in town, and finally the migrant who has become a "turncoat in a cultural sense". See Ph. Mayer, Townsmen or Tribesmen. Urbanization in a divided society, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1963; pp.10-11.


(13) See for instance the report by J. MATOS MAR; "Migration and Urbanization. The Barriadas in Lima" in Ph. HAUSER, op. cit. Many examples may be found in International African Institute, Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa, South of the Sahara, Paris, UNESCO, 1956.


(16) An example of use of census data to characterize region of origin and migrant groups may be found in M. B. DESHMUKH, "Delhi, A Study of Floating Migration" in Five Studies in Asia, cit. Comparisons based on the same kind of source between migrant and non-migrant population, born in the same place of origin, may be seen in F. ZACCONE DE ROSSI: "L'Inserimento nel lavoro degli


(20) 62% of the migrants studied in a survey in Buenos Aires, said they had decided to emigrate "on the spur of the moment", G. GERMANI: "Inquiry into the Social Effects of Urbanization in a Working Class Sector of Greater Buenos Aires" in Ph. HAUSER (Ed.), op. cit. (The tables are to be found only in the dittoed UN/UNESCO doc. E/CN/12/URB/10).


(23) This distinction is suggested (in different terms) by Ch. TILLY, op. cit.


(25) See for instance the Outline of Cultural Materials, published in 1950 by the HRAF, New Haven; and the Notes and Queries on Anthropology, of the Royal Institute for Anthropology.

(26) An illustration may be found in the study of Mental Health in relation to urbanization by H. ROTONDO, in Ph. HAUSER (Ed.), op. cit.
(27) Natives and migrants of different length of urban residence were used in the comparisons by G. Germani, *Op.cit*.

(28) This kind of approach may be found in a series of articles devoted to workers and unions in Latin American and which deal with the problem of assimilation of the migrants by A. TOURaine, F. H. CARDOSO, A. SIMAO and J. R. BRANDAO LOPES: "Ouvriers et Syndicate d'Amerique Latine" special number of *Sociologie du Travail* (1961), number 4 (December).