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SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF LABOUR MIGRATION

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Taking Africa as a whole there are millions of people who migrate every year from rural homes to centres of employment in towns and mining areas, and nearly as many streaming back again to their old homes. The resulting problems are stock themes of "welfare sociology". At the rural end a population denuded of active males, and a stagnant economy; at the urban end too many males, quick labour turnover, and low productivity; at both ends, broken homes and social discomfort. In South Africa the government may be criticised for favouring migrancy in preference to permanent urban settlement; but we must add that after all the government did not invent migrancy, nor has South Africa any monopoly of it.

The heart of all these problems is that, instead of settling down, people circulate; the question is what makes them circulate. They want to earn money in town, they are prepared to come to town; why do they not stay in town? In Western countries there have also been mass movements from country to town and from province to capital, but this has mostly been a one-way traffic, and the allied social problems have been those caused by the towns absorbing too many people. In Africa on the whole there has been comparatively little real absorption in town, as against temporary adjustment or accommodation to the town life.

In the African field, anthropologists as well as economists were quick to take account of the causes of townward movement as such. The combination of economic and social factors that push the African away from his rural home and attract him into town eventually became a fairly clear picture. Less attention was paid at first to the factors causing the same African to go back to the country again. These seem to be worthy of special consideration, being the crucial factors that distinguish African migrancy patterns from the more usual one-way townward traffic. As Professor Mitchell put it, with slightly different emphasis, some time ago, "the information we now need is that which will enable us to determine the sort of social system in towns which successfully holds persons in opposition to the pull of the country home." "About this", he added "we know little as yet". I think some progress if beginning, in that we are starting to understand where and how to look for the relevant information. In this paper I suggest that the most promising analytic tool so far has proved

to be the concept of the social network, i.e. network of personal relations.

The pull of the country home, resulting in migrancy, is obviously something which cannot be well expressed in the classical terms of either "structural" or "cultural" anthropology, derived from Radcliffe Brown and Malinowski respectively. We have here a problem which we are unable to refer to any of those integrated systems or "wholes" which were the object of most anthropological analysis until recently.

For instant, if we are to see our task as that of analysing social structures in the classical sense, the migrant will appear as an interchangeable component who takes his place alternately in different structures or sets of structures, now in one place and now in another. But it will be impossible to bring him into focus as a single person, as a migrant. We shall see him sometimes, when he is in the country, as a unit functioning in structures like age sets or lineages; and at other times, when he is in town, as a unit functioning in structures like factories or trade unions. But we shall not have given ourselves any chance to observe any relation between his two sets of roles; we shall not have learnt anything about migrancy as such. In order to preserve the picture of each structure as an integrated whole, we would have disintegrated the migrant himself into two unrelated halves; he might just as well be two separate people, for all the difference it would make to our analysis of the structures.

In pursuit of the structural analysis one may try to get round the difficulty by saying that at any given time the migrant's other set of roles is "latent" or "in abeyance"; but I do not think that is adequate. To my mind a migrant even while he is in town may be actively interested and involved in his rural roles; he is simply being forced to discharge them in absentia. His involvement may be far more than the adjective "latent" would imply. Take the economic role of a migrant who is earning money by working in a factory in town. One might claim that his rural economic roles are "latent" as long as he remains an industrial unit "working for" his urban employer. But in fact, while working in the factory he is also still a husband and father earning "for" his family in the country. No conventional structural analysis would reveal this simultaneous double participation. Perhaps we could say that a migrant is a person who, while contributing to an urban structure, is not necessarily contributing to that structure only. His actions can have at the same time a second referent, of some other structure in the country. It is up to the anthropologist to see these possibilities of

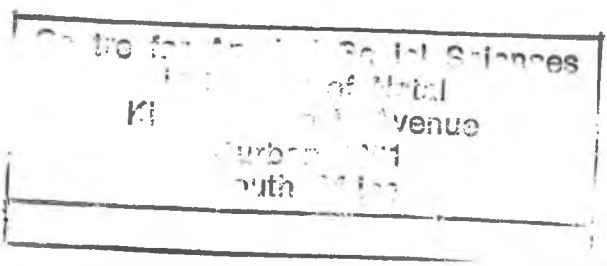
simultaneous double participation and to construe the migrant's actions accordingly. He cannot see them clearly if he must limit himself to analysing structures as such, one at a time.

No one structure or culture, no one community, no one society, will contain or exemplify the phenomenon of African labour migrancy, - not even any one State, for migrancy commonly flows back and forth across State boundaries. The study of migrancy has to encompass two fields which appear to be structurally unrelated as "wholes", i.e. the town and the home rural community; it also has to take into account policies and administrative measures, race relations and historical developments, which can only be understood by reference to facts outside both fields. Moreover it is largely concerned with individual decisions, choices and alternatives, and these as such have been difficult to accommodate in most of the classic anthropological models. But to say that the problem of migrancy should therefore be left alone by anthropologists seems to be an unwarrantable defeatism. On the contrary, I believe that just as the study of urban communities in Africa has already yielded some valuable theoretical insights, and helped to modify the rigidity of conventional ways of social anthropological thinking, so also the study of migrancy will have its contribution to make towards theory as well, particularly in advancing the techniques of network analysis.

II.

When we say that an African migrant feels the pull of his country home we imply that by comparison something must be lacking in town. In South Africa there is obvious lack of security in town, which is directly related to governmental measures. One has only to think of two points - the denial of freehold rights to Africans in towns, and the regulations allowing them to be expelled if they do not remain in employment. In that situation, and in the absence of adequate social security, any South African migrant with land rights in the country, however poor, has good reason to see his rural home as a sheet anchor, a sole insurance against the emergencies of want and old age. To put it more crudely, although the rural economy is poor and needs the supplement of town wages, the individual can feel that his chances of starving there are somewhat less.

However, sociology must look further for explanations of the phenomenon of migrancy. As far as the administrative framework is concerned, it must be remembered that even in the Federation, where the government is not officially committed to perpetuating labour migrancy, Africans apparently also feel insecure in town.



This has been reported by both Watson and van Velsen. Besides South Africa itself - probably because its towns are older - has in fact a fairly large town-settled African population, consisting of people who have let go their rural sheet-anchor. These are the migrants who stopped migrating, or they are the children of such people. In spite of everything they do not feel the pull of the country any more. But above all, what the sociologist looks for is an explanation in sociological terms. Given that there are economic and administrative pressures, we still want to know how they work sociologically speaking; how the roles and social relations of migrants differ from those of people who stop migrating and how and when the decision to return to the country is taken, or in some cases avoided.

The differences between those who migrate and those who stop migrating, while difficult to phrase either in terms of a 'social structure' (classically defined) or in terms of a 'culture', can be expressed fairly clearly in terms of the network of personal relations. This seems to me so far much the most practicable way to approach them, whether conceptually or in the field.

Other things being equal, a migrant's willingness to stay on in town depends upon how he evaluates the new personal ties he has formed there, in relation to the older ties with persons still in the country. If the new ties have sufficient moral content, he will have become personally rooted in town, and will think he is "at home" there. If the strong moral content remains solely the attribute of the others, the extra-town ties, the migrant will expect to go away again, i.e. to return "home". A shift in the balance between within-town ties and extra-town ties - a shift in favour of the former - is what we may call the process of urbanisation. As the hinterland ties weaken, the social personality of the migrant changes; if they weaken sufficiently, he abandons the roles of countryman and of migrant. He then settles down as a 'fully urbanised' African having all of his major social ties contained by the town where he lives. He will be a permanent town-dweller; he will live, rear children and die in town.

In principle the concept of the urban or urbanised African could have a number of different forms. (1) In the first case it could be a concept derived from the "urban/tribal" antithesis conceived as an antithesis of different cultures or ways of life. "Urbanised" would then serve as a kind of synonym for westernised or civilised or 'detribalised'. This was implied in some of the older discussions. It seemed reasonable, in that view, to think of an "urbanised" African as one who had reached the end of a road of

cultural change, completely losing his "tribal" habits and outlook. But recent work has shown the need to modify this way of thinking. As we now appreciate, people do not actually "change" in such a smooth synchronised manner; what is more likely to happen is that their behaviour becomes "urban" in some situations or sets of relations, while remaining "tribal" in others.

(2) In the seond case the concept of "urbanised African" could be simply that of an African who happens to be in town, regardless of his cultural habits and regardless of whether he is going to return to the rural home later on. "Urban" is then a neutral synonym for "town-located". Gluckman has recommended this usage: "The moment an African crossed his tribal boundary", (he writes) "he was detribalised, outside the tribe, though not outside the influence of the tribe. Correspondingly, when a man returns from the town into the political area of his tribe he is tribalized again - de-urbanized - though not outside the influence of the town". This concept is logical enough as such, but for our present purpose - the understanding of migrancy - it has a major drawback: it can indicate no criterion for distinguishing the migrant from the settled townsman who is never going to be "de-urbanized" again.

(3) A third concept of the urbanized African is the one I am proposing here. I mean by an urbanised African one who no longer feels the pull of the country home, because all of his important personal ties are bounded by the town in which he lives. This is a network definition not primarily a 'cultural' definition; but it carries a cultural implication, because in the long run people who achieve this 'urbanised' condition will probably cease to be adept in many of the cultural patterns proper to the rural home.

In the town best known to me, namely East London, the people themselves observe and emphasise the distinction between migrants and fully urbanised East Londoners, in a way consistent with this definition. To them the fully urbanised man, or as they would say the "real townsman", is a distinct socio-cultural category. His opposite is the migrant, "who works in town but is really of the country". It is realised that while migrants and townsmen play similar roles at work, they are distinguishable in private life and personal relations.

At present about 15% of the adult Africans in East London (i.e. those over 15 years old) are townsmen born and bred. An investigation about to be published by Dr.B.A.Pauw, has shown that these people approximate to what I think of as the ideal type

of the "fully urbanised" man in having all their major social ties bounded by the town, and therefore feeling no pull from the hinterland. However - as I have tried to show in a recent study of East London migrants - birth in town will not enable us to identify all the fully urbanised people. We must include along with the town-born, certain among the country-born - the ones who, one way or another, have dropped or lost their personal ties with the country. These likewise feel no more pull from the hinterland.

All of the real townsmen in East London, whether they are so by birth or by adoption, stand in contrast to the majority - the migrants, who still have parents, wives, children, land, cattle, houses, group membership and tribal status outside the town, and who are thereby subject to the hinterland pull in more or less full force, and remain adept in their home culture. The migrants can follow town ways when they have to or want to, but they can slip into the ways of the rural culture when they are interacting with other adepts: namely when they visit home, when they retire there for good, and even - if they so wish - on appropriate occasions during their stay in town itself. The real townsmen are adept only in town ways, and they value these positively; whereas the migrants may value them either positively or negatively. The town ways are those of 2nd or 3rd generation urban proletarians (and a small bourgeoisie). As such, they are different enough from rustic Xhosa ways to constitute a distinct subculture.

III.

Besides distinguishing migrants from real townsmen, as a category, what other important questions about migrancy can be approached through studying networks of personal relations? One, I think, is the efficiency of the town as a melting pot. This is to some extent independent of the question of the pull of the rural home. Even if migrants are disposed to go home after a stay in town, one would like to know how far while in town they sink their differences and conform to some common pattern of "urban African culture".

The melting-pot question has to be separately formulated in each town, because the basic social categories - the differentiations which might be broken down in the melting pot - are not of the same kind everywhere.

In some cases, notably Johannesburg and the Rhodesian towns, the African population is polyglot, drawn from numbers of ethnic and linguistic groups. In this 'multi-tribal' kind of setting, the melting-pot question takes the form, 'how far do tribal differences cease to

count among Africans in town?" As far as Rhodesia is concerned, a good part of the answer has already been provided by the work of Mitchell and Epstein. Their analyses have shown that for certain purposes, especially at work, the tribal differences are indeed transcended by common interests, so that the mineworkers (for example) no longer favour a 'tribal' system of representation vis-a-vis the White management. But in other situations, in what we might call private life, a person's tribal origin or self-identification is still markedly important: in such contexts the tribes remain, in Mitchell's term, basic categories of interaction.

In some other towns the basic social categories are neither tribal, ethnic, nor linguistic. Two examples are Cape Town and East London, both of which have large African populations drawn almost entirely from a single ethnic and linguistic group - the Xhosa-speaking group. In spite of this apparent homogeneity there are in East London three basic categories - the real townspeople, the Red migrants and the School migrants: Red and School being a differentiation the migrants bring in with them from the country, as I have explained elsewhere. The Red Xhosa are the determined pagan traditionalists who consciously reject "white men's ways" ; the School people are the "western"-oriented products of the mission and the School. Between these two cultural sections there is a strong opposition in the country - an opposition with a pronounced moral flavour. Study of networks shows that the same holds good in town: each section believes in "keeping itself to itself" for all purposes of voluntary association.

In any town the study of networks of personal relations could reveal which categories the people themselves regard as basic; in what situations or for what purposes they are prepared to ignore the categorical differences, and what prospects there are for further amalgamation in the 'melting pot'. In Cape Town, as Professor Wilson can tell us, the basic social categories seem to be reduced to two, namely migrants and townsmen. This may well be connected with local administration and housing policy, whereby migrants coming in to Cape Town, without wives or families, are directed to the Barracks, while townsmen live in family houses elsewhere. In some other towns there are tribal categories which may likewise owe part of their vitality to the fact that members of each tribe are deliberately segregated in separate townships and barracks, as is done in parts of Johannesburg. On the other hand there is no enforced separation of categories in East London : four-fifths of the people have crowded into the shack area, under private African landlords, and everyone rubs shoulders with everyone else. This shows that it is not safe to assume that the

categories will break down automatically where there is no administrative segregation - the position can only be ascertained by actual studies of networks. It turned out in East London that the networks of Red people consist almost exclusively of other Red people. It turned out that the networks of School people consist largely of other School people, but sometimes with the addition of some "real townspeople". In this way the study of networks demonstrated that the categorical and cultural barriers between School and Town Xhosa in East London are more easily overcome than those which divide either category from the Reds.

IV.

If we want insight into the problems of migrancy as such, it is not enough to analyse networks in terms of the basic social categories. To see urbanisation at work as a process - to apprehend changes in the force of the extra-town ties - demands analysis of the network from a somewhat different angle.

How can one tell from the network of relations whether an individual is in process of changing, is feeling less and less pull from the rural home, is likely to stop migrating, and in this sense is becoming more 'urbanised' than before? It is not enough to count heads, to find out how many friends Ego has in town; it is not even enough to measure the moral content of each town-located relation. There is a complication. It is true that the negative index would probably be reliable: an absence of <u>any</u> ties in town with strong moral content, would be an priori reason for assuming that Ego is destined to return to the country. But the positive index would not be equally reliable. A man who can enumerate a satisfying number of close friends in town is not thereby proved to have become town-rooted. The further question must be asked: what kinds of friends are these, in terms of their own roles and relations? Are they country-oriented migrants themselves? And are they by any chance from the same rural place of origin? There is a possibility that if they are, their association may well reinforce, instead of weaken, the migrant's sense that he ultimately "belongs" in his rural home and not in town. They may constitute a particular kind of dense and morally satisfying network in town which makes a man all the less likely to remain there permanently, because it is not really an 'urban' network at all, but a displaced section of the rural network. It is the embodiment of the rural pull itself.

When describing this mechanism in East London, where it is very common among migrants of a certain type, I used the term "incapsulation". For the incapsulated migrant in East London the friends from home can effectively prevent or render unnecessary any intimate contact with anyone else. Contacts at work do not count; they have no particular moral content. The morally significant companions are those with whom the migrant lives, eats, sleeps, talks, drinks and amuses himself; the friends in time of need and the judges in case of dispute or misbehaviour. For the incapsulated migrant, all these are provided by home-based group - the group of men with a common home background. This group exercises social control over its members both informally by diffused pressures, and formally by the hearing of cases and inflicting penalties. It provides money or other help in case of unemployment, illness or death; all such emergencies are reported to the fellow-members, and any one who failed to contribute would be liable to the sanction, that nobody will contribute for him in a similar case. Closest of all are relations with the few men who share one's lodging (i.e. the domestic group), and next to these, with the small clique (called Iseti) which meets regularly for sociable purposes at different lodgings in turn. But in general all relations within the incapsulating group are typically functionally diffuse, in sharp contrast to the impersonal non-committal relations which members have with people in town outside their group.

These incapsulating 'home-based groups' in East London are practically limited to one cultural section of the migrant population, viz. the Red section. Thus in addition to showing lack of contact between the three basic categories - Red migrant, School migrant and fully urbanised - network analysis shows that the Red section practises a further distinction into home groups, while the School section on the whole does not. Instead of confining their relations to their own home people, School migrants partake in a variety of urban associations, which cater for particular interests regardless of home-origin.

The East London data led me to the conclusion that the incapsulation of Red migrants and the resultant keeping up of their extra-town ties are due to the closed or highly connected form of the typical Red network. A closed or highly connected network is one in which all the people whom Ego knows also know each other. People from the same home place form such a network - they know each other. With a network like this, Ego never gets away from the uniform moral pressure: he is involved with all his acquaintances at the same time, in the sense that any one may report his doings to

any other. A closed network is in effect a sort of social group or circle, and if we had only closed networks to consider, we could subsume them under the study of groups.

But of course there exists another form of network, an open or loosely-connected type, in which most of the persons whom Ego knows do not know each other. Normally speaking this is more typical of urban than of rural populations. It is certainly to be found among School migrants in East London; therefore the study of groups, as such, would not be sufficient to uncover the real social situation of the School migrant in that town. The importance of the open or loosely-connected network, in regard to migrancy, is that it exposes Ego to different moral, social and cultural pressures, and so leaves it an open question whether or not he will 'change' in the sense of becoming more and more urbanised, less and less mindful of extra-town ties.

It is common knowledge that newcomers to an urban community, whether in Africa or elsewhere, often associate on a principle of categorical similarity, in the sense that the individual makes friends within his own cultural or ethnic or linguistic category, rather than outside it. But if we want an index of "migrant-mindedness", it is important to distinguish between this "categorical similarity" principle and the principle of common home ties, as just described for the Red people. Because it is home-based, an incapsulating group of Red migrants in East London does not just serve to keep Ego mindful of Red culture and its values; it does not just keep him loyally identified with the Red category as such. It also does something much more significant for the purpose we are considering - it keeps him oriented towards his own rural place of origin; it preserves the vital extra-town ties with the particular family, lineage and community away in the country. This is seen in practical ways: the sick member is sent home for treatment; the dead member is sent home for burial; the active members keep each other up to the mark in sending remittances home, and in visiting home whenever possible. It is seen in intangibles too, in themes of conversation, in moral judgments uttered or implied. Home-boundness is made a virtue. The purposes of the home-based clique, the Iseti, were always stated as being two, "We meet to drink, and to talk about our home". Above all, every member knows that what he does or says in town is liable to be reported at home, for all his associates have kin and friends in the same place as he has. Ultimately, therefore, the actions of a member while in town are limited by sanctions emanating from the country home. He knows he will be called to account when he goes back, and he knows he must go back. In reinforcing Ego's

extra-town ties, the home-based group in town is stabilising his social personality as a migrant; it does not allow him to change into an urbanised man, to become absorbed in town.

Distinguishing these two principles of association -'categorical similarity' and 'home place' - and seeing how they combine or affect each other in various settings - this seems to me to be a field for urban research in African towns, and the more so because both the categories and the externally limiting factors vary so much from one town to another.

In a markedly multi-tribal setting, for example - as in Johannesburg and even more in Rhodesian mining towns - it may not be easy to distinguish the workings of the two principles on sight. Members of any small tribe, in such a setting, can be regarded as sharing the categorical bond, of a common culture and tribal identity; but they can also be regarded as sharing the bond of a common home - the tribal area from which they come. Only an investigation with this particular question in mind would show which aspect is uppermost in (for instance) the "tribal associations" of which have been reported from towns in various parts of the African continent. Only then would it be possible to say whether the tribal associations tend to reinforce and perpetuate their members' extra-town ties, or whether - as is quite as likely - they merely reflect cultural and tribal oppositions in town. In the latter case they might be regarded as helping on the adjustment to town life and so ultimately reducing the likelihood of return to the country.

In East London the categories of interaction among migrants - the Red and School categories - do not coincide with particular home areas, in the way that tribal categories would do. Red and School homes are intermingled through most of the Ciskei and Transkei, which are the sources of East London's labour force. Hence in this town the home-based principle, of associating with people from one's own place as such, can be seen in isolation. Perhaps the local situation favours it in other ways too. Due to the nearness of the great population reservoirs, and the official policy that town labour must be drawn from the nearest possible source, Red migrants come to East London in such large numbers that in many cases, when contraposing one "home place" against another, they do not need to fall back on large regions. It is often possible for a respectably large circle to be constituted in East London on the basis of a single location as 'home place', or if not that, then a cluster of neighbouring locations. Even in the latter case the migrants may have met in the country or have common friends there, especially in connection with the various week-end clubs

of the rural Xhosa whose circuits of reciprocal meetings extend over considerable areas.

V.

Supposing that we evolve satisfactory criteria for distinguishing home-based networks from others, in any given town, we shall then want to know what factors encourage their formation. From the data so far available in South Africa, it is clear that the home-based principle operates among certain people in at least three cities - Cape Town, Johannesburg and East London. But it operates differently, in being differently related to the categorical divisions. In Cape Town, as Professor Wilson can show, the School Xhosa migrants as well as the apparently less numerous Red ones tend to associate on the home-based principle. In Johannesburg it seems that home-based association is commoner among some tribal categories than others, e.g. notably among the Pedi, though only the pagan Pedi.

There are a number of hypotheses which one might advance to begin with, about factors favouring the home-based principle. They concern the sex ratio in town; the distance from the home place, and the cultural ethic of the migrant people themselves, with special reference to christianity.

1. Sex ratio

Do home-based networks become the more likely in proportion to the absence of women? In the absence of women (that is) will the male migrants look to their home-people for most of their common interests and activities?

In East London the whole location population appears demographically normal, with no surplus of males, but this impression changes if we consider each social category separately. The Red people in town have a high masculinity ratio; for they are opposed on cultural grounds to either women or young girls coming to stay in town. This Red section, as already mentioned, is the one with the home-based networks. Among School people in East London, by contrast, there is an actual surplus of women, especially younger ones; both wives and unattached girls and women are present in large numbers. In Cape Town the position is different. Here the male migrants whether Red or School find themselves in town without women, and are directed to the barracks or single quarters for males only. In this all-male environment the home-based networks seem to flourish, even among School people;

but they are less in evidence in the townships like Langa and Nyanga where men and women live in mixed households.

The absence of women in normal numbers, and the small possibility of domestic life in a mixed household, makes easier - we might conclude - the continued belief that "home" is somewhere else, the single-minded concentration on the distant home, and the long-range aspiration of being able to retire there for good.

2. Distance from the rural home

It appears from the East London material that home-based groups do not achieve their highest degree of organisation among those Red migrants whose rural homes are nearest. These are men who can go home for week-ends, or fortnightly, having their homes in the East London or Kingwilliamstown magisterial districts. While in town they will, like other Red men, choose home friends as domestic and drinking companions. But otherwise they do not need the substitute gratification of an organised "home community in exile', because they still are able to participate directly and regularly in the social life of the home community itself. At the other extreme, the most highly organised of East London home groups are those of migrants from the distant Transkei. These people can only go home once a year or so.

In Cape Town and Johannesburg, the average distance from the rural home is considerably greater than it is in East London. This may be a further reason why the School Xhosa in Cape Town, unlike their counterparts in East London, associate so much with their home people.

3. Christianity and the ethic of the migrant people

To maintain the typical pattern of home-based networks there must be present a strong moral imperative of loyalty to the home and its values. The migrant may not be permanently content with home friends exclusively unless he has been taught to feel that he "ought to" prefer these men to any other possible associates in town. This is certainly the doctrine of the Red people in East London and also of the pagan Pedi in Johannesburg. According to their ideas, one who tries to avoid his home people when in town is also trying to evade the voice of morality or conscience, represented by the parents, the home community, and the ancestors. It is the duty of the men to watch each other and to submit to being watched, in the interests of the home. The man who deliberately breaks loose from home ties is to be censured as an absconder or a turncoat -

which are both highly derogatory stereotypes. Among the Xhosa and Pedi the ethic of the Christian element is far less rigid on this point; it does not forbid people to turn their backs on fellow-exiles from home, and take up with new associates in town, provided that they are not abandoning their dependants.

This suggests a hypothesis that Christians as such may be less prone than pagans to associate on the principle of common home (as distinct from the 'social category' principle), because more conditioned to "universalistic" principles of association, which force a man outside the circle of his own home people. Certainly the Christians in East London are unlikely to associate with only home people because they tend to be members of their churches, if not also of other associations as well, notably sports clubs. These associations will naturally cut across home ties. The East London pagans avoid this cross-cutting effect because they stay out of urban associations on principle. There remains the contrary example of Cape Town, where Christians (i.e. School people) do form home-based groups. In Cape Town, is membership in these Christian home-based groups somehow reconciled with membership in urban associations? Or alternatively, have we in Cape Town got distinct types of Christians, one of which prefers the home-based principle while the other joins in the universalistic urban associations instead? With this question answered we would have a basis for studying the correlates of Christianity in other towns.

There is another possibility - that the Christian pagan difference, in relation to the home-based principle, is really the sex ratio in disguise. In South Africa the Christian peasant is usually more open-minded than his pagan neighbour when the question arises of allowing women or girls to go to town. In the past migrants had a certain freedom of choice, administratively speaking, and this was reflected in places like East London where the Christian had brought in many more women than the Pagans. But influx control is making this much harder. It may well be influx control which, in Cape Town, now makes School migrants come without their women, and the all-male environment may be the factor responsible for encouraging these people to form home-based networks, which they as Christians might otherwise have failed to do.

Here, then, are some specific questions which would repay investigation. There is, of course, also a broader task ahead of us - to develop and refine network analysis as a technique for the study of migrancy. What we need first of all is a carefully worked-out conceptual scheme of the significant variables or attributes of social networks, especially those which are signiftcant in relation to migrancy. The "closed" "open" variable is one of the significant ones but there must be others. Secondly, we need sound methodological techniques for identifying different types of networks, or different attributes of networks, in the field. Given these two things it would become possible to compare networks on a quantitative basis, i.e. to bring in statistical analysis. I would very much have liked to do this in East London, where there seemed to be almost ideal laboratory conditions for comparing the networks of Red and School migrants with each other and with those of real townsmen. Unfortunately neither Dr. Pauw nor I could invest in the necessary time.

Of course network analysis is not a universal aunt, it will not answer everything - not for the student of migrancy and still less for the student of urban anthropology as such. But I believe it could serve as many useful and indispensable functions as the taking of genealogies or homestead surveys in a rural community study.