

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION: ITS EFFECTS ON THE FAMILY*

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SINOPSIS

Recana ini memberikan fokus kepada lima aspek gejala pengaliran desa-bandar. Aspek pertama tertumpu kepada pola-pola migrasi. Daripada pola-pola itu, ditarik beberapa kesimpulan tentang arah dan trend dalam migrasi ke bandar, yang khusus berlaku di beberapa tempat di Semenanjung Malaysia. Daripada beberapa pemerhatian tentang pola-pola, arah dan trend migrasi desa-bandar di negara ini, beberapa kesimpulan dibuat tentang kategori-kategori migran desa-bandar serta tempat tumpuan mereka di kawasan-kawasan bandar. Migrasi amnya meninggalkan kesan terhadap famili. Beberapa kesan terhadap struktur famili diberikan perhatian istimewa, terutamanya implikasi-implikasi terhadap kesehatan famili.

SYNOPSIS

This article lays focus on five aspects on rural-urban migration in Peninsula Malaysia. The first aspect deals with emerging patterns of migration. From these patterns, some conclusions are attempted regarding the various directions and trends in current rural-urban migration in the country. From observations on the patterns, directions, and trends of rural-urban migration, some tentative conclusions are made regarding the categories of out-migrants and their concentration in urban areas. It is a sociological truism that migration has its effects on migrant families. A major concern of this article is to illustrate the possible effects of migration on the family structure, especially its implications on the development of family health.

I

Patterns of Rural-Urban Migration

Available researches on this problem in Malaysia have reported one common trend, that is this phenomenon has been the result of increasing disparities between developments in the modern sectors mainly located in the urban centers, and developments in the traditional sectors mainly

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located in the rural areas. The greater the rate of rural-urban migration the greater is the lag between these sectors. V. Selvaratnam and B.W. Dissanayake¹ sum up the situation as a reflection of chronic problems now affecting the lives of rural people.

People do not easily decide to leave behind their homestead unless they are already constrained by circumstances of compulsion.² Studies on rural-urban migration in Peninsula Malaysia have indicated that the most important factor causing this state of compulsion is economic pressure³ on day-to-day existence or subsistence. The Second Malaysia Plan also reports that in Semenanjung Malaysia the rural areas suffer from open unemployment, under-employment, poverty, disparities of income and underdevelopment. These factors have pushed rural people to urban areas or to development areas, where job opportunities are conceived to be available in abundance. In other words, moving out of their villages has become a self-reinforcing behaviour about new opportunities that, they believe, are awaiting them at their urban destination. In the present situation of urbanization process in Peninsula Malaysia, the population movement to urban areas, therefore, is the result of the combination of pull and push factors.⁴ This movement has resulted in some distinct patterns of rural-urban migration.

Migration Pattern According to Age and Sex Groups

This pattern produces a selective population movement. It mainly in-

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- 1 V. Selvaratnam and B.W. Dissanayake, "Migration and Development: With Reference to Employment, Income and Migration in Negri Sembilan Timur" A paper read at *The Conference on Rural Development in South-east Asia*, Kuala Lumpur & Penang, 2-7 January 1975.
 - 2 This idea was tested by Mazidah Zakaria in her case study of socio-economic organization in Changkat Larang in 1965-66. See Mazidah Zakaria *Susunan Ekonomi dan Sosial Kampung Changkat Larang: Kawasan Simpanan Melayu Perak*, M.A. thesis (1967), University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur. Swift and Wilson have also indicated this trend in their ethnographic studies of Kampung Jelebu (Swift) and Jeram-Dengkil (Wilson). Their studies show that rural youth, on completion of their primary school education have already dreamt of getting jobs in the urban centers. See M.G. Swift, *Peasant Society in Jelebu*, London, 1965; P.J. Wilson, *A Malay Village and Malaysia: Social Values and Rural Development*, New Haven, 1967.
 - 3 Looking at mainly the effect of urbanization on population movement in Bandar Maharani, Hairi Abdullah reported that economic pressure on rural population is one of the major push factors. See Hairi Abdullah, *Proses Pembandaran Orang-orang Melayu ke Bandar Maharani*, M.A. thesis (unpublished), University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1971. See also Talib Zain, *Kesan Migrasi di Kampung Sungai Mati Muar*, B.A. (Hons) Academic exercise, UKM, 1975 (unpublished). Rajimah Hassan, *Pola-pola Migrasi Dalam Komuniti Adat Perpatih*, B.A. (Hons.) Academic Exercise, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1976 (unpublished).
 - 4 The general idea pertaining to push-pull factors in urbanization was adequately elaborated by G. Breese in his studies on urbanization in newly developing countries. See G. Breese *Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries*. Prentice-Hall New Jersey, 1968. For the Malaysian case, it is generally acknowledged that these two factors cannot be separated because in actual operation they complement each other. Studies by honours year students in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia have persistently shown this situation in various village studies in relation to urbanization.

volves the 20–39 age group for male rural migrants, and the 15–39 age group for female ones. In terms of sex, this migration pattern tends to confirm the general view that females tend to migrate five years earlier than males. Available data on rural-urban migration in Semenanjung Malaysia show that the majority of migration begins with earlier adulthood, and takes place during the years of physical activities. See *Tables 1a and 1b*.

TABLE 1A
SELECTIVE POPULATION MOVEMENT
ACCORDING TO AGE-GROUPS

Age-Group	Male	Female	Total	%
15 and below	12	2	14	10.7
16 – 19	7	8	15	11.4
20 – 24	22	2	24	18.3
25 – 29	27	3	30	23.0
30 – 34	17	1	18	13.7
35 – 39	10	–	10	7.6
40 – 44	7	–	7	9.9
41 and above	13	–	13	9.9

Source: HAIRI ABDULLAH, (1971) "Proses Pembandaran Orang-Orang Melayu Ke Bandar Maharani" Tesis M.A., Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

TABLE 1B
SELECTIVE POPULATION MOVEMENT
ACCORDING TO AGE-GROUPS

Age-Group	Total	%
0 – 10 years	2	1.2
11 – 20 years	69	42.1
21 – 40 years	93	56.7
	164	100

Source: RAJIMAH HASSAN (1975) "Pola-Pola Migrasi Dalam Komuniti Adat Perpatih: Satu Kajian Kes Dengan Referensi Khas Kepada Golongan Wanita", Jabatan Antropologi dan Sosiologi, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

These tables indicate strongly that the most dominant migration pattern involves those in the 15–39 age group of both sexes. Increasing frequencies of female migration, however, begin at an earlier age than those of male migration.

This pattern will affect the quality of the structure of manpower available in rural areas, that is, it produces a youth-manpower-drain especially

skilled certificate-holders. It also affects the age structure of family units. More importantly, it also reflects the changing familial expectations in terms of utilising the family unit or the household as an operational unit for socio-economic ends. The emergence of this pattern, to a great extent, must reflect the readiness and easiness for young members, of both sexes, of the family to enter new social environments without traditional home constraints.

Migration Pattern Motivated by Economic Gains

It involves a predominant population movement towards centers or areas, which are believed to have abundant job or employment opportunities with lucrative incomes. This pattern is structurally related to the first pattern discussed earlier, in so far as it relates to employment-age. Migration is intense during active employment-age but it gradually dwindles after forty years of age.

It is commonly acknowledged that lack or absence of gainful employment opportunities in rural areas has created a situation of socio-economic compulsion, to both certificate and non-certificate holders, who, then, have to migrate to urban centers where they could be gainfully employed. Their station in the employment ladder is, however, directly determined by their educational and skill attainment.

The pattern strongly reinforces the general view that the accumulation of wealth, average incomes, and consumption of material goods are higher in urban centers or the so-called capitalist modern sectors, than in rural, traditional areas. This perceptive economic reality among the rural people especially the poverty-prone rural folk, seems to have been a great factor in pushing them to urban centers to sell their unskilled labour.

The economic reasons for migrating to urban areas affect both certificate and non-certificate unskilled groups. The pattern entails for both groups, a geographical mobility, with probabilities for those in the certificate class to attain vertical social mobility, and for those in non-certificate-unskilled class to either sustain their existing class-status or move into lower class-status. A social testimony of the fate of the vast majority of these rural drifters manifests itself in ecological arrangements within urban areas, where slum and squatter areas become the new home destination of poverty-prone rural arrivals.

Tables 2a, 2b and 2c denote a persistent trend, relating predominant rural-urban migration to pursuits of economic gains in urban centers. This state of socio-economic compulsion also reflects high rate of open unemployment and under-employment in rural areas, especially among young members of the labour force.

A major consequence that this pattern afflicts on rural-based family structure is that it further breaks down, physically, extended family organi-

TABLE 2A
ECONOMIC REASONS FOR RURAL—URBAN MIGRATION
 N — 909 households

Reasons For Migration	%	Classification
1. More jobs available	43.05	Economic
2. Higher Salaries	19.48	Socio-Economic
3. Have friends and relatives	16.91	Socio-Economic
4. Better life conditions	16.10	Socio-Economic
5. More opportunities for children	2.02	Socio-Educational
6. Others	2.44	

Source: V. Selvaratnam & B.W. Dissanayake "Migration and Development — With Reference to Employment, Income and Migration in Negeri Sembilan".

A paper presented at a Conference on *Rural Development* In South-east Asia, Kuala Lumpur & Penang, January 2 - 7 1975.

His samples include 201 kampong households, 315 small-town households and 285 middle-size town households and 180 estate households.

TABLE 2B
ECONOMIC REASONS FOR RURAL—URBAN MIGRATION:
MAIN REASONS AFFECTING RURAL MIGRATION TO
BANDAR MAHARANI (JOHOR)

Reasons	Male	Female	Total	%	Classification
1. To seek non-agricultural employment	31	—	31	23.6	economic
2. Change of employment place					
(a) government office	10	—	10	7.7	} economic
(b) self-employment	13	—	13	9.9	
3. To start a new job					
(a) government job	21	6	27	20.6	} economic
(b) promotion	8	—	8	6.1	
(c) business	4	—	4	3.0	
4. To seek facilities					
(a) education for children	66	2	8	6.1	} socio-educational
(b) personal education	12	—	12	9.2	
(c) learning while working	4	—	4	3.0	
5. Marriage	1	7	8	6.1	} socio-cultural
6. Family conflicts	4	0	4	3.0	
7. Others	2	1	3	2.3	

Source: HAIRI ABDULLAH, 1975, *op.cit.*

TABLE 2C

ECONOMIC REASONS FOR RURAL—URBAN MIGRATION MAIN
REASONS AFFECTING FEMALE MIGRATION TO URBAN AREAS
N = 84

Migration Patterns	Total	%	Classification
1. To follow husband	56	66.7	Socio-cultural
2. To seek employment	15	17.9	Economic
3. For educational reasons	10	11.9	Socio-educational
4. To join relatives	3	3.5	Socio-cultural & Economic

Source: Rajimah Hassan (1975) *op. cit.* Her survey was carried out in two villages in Rembau.

zation. This, in turn, creates a loosely structured family organization, whereby individual deviations from familial, traditional norms are permitted.⁵

Migration Pattern as a Result of After Marriage Arrangement

This pattern mainly involves female migration. To a large extent, it accounts for earlier migration among females in terms of age, particularly is the case where early marriages are common. This practice is not uncommon in rural areas, especially among those with low exposure to formal school education.

It is customary for wives to follow husbands, who have to earn a living in urban centers or anywhere outside the village.⁶ In so far as it refers to those in low income groups or the non-certificate or unskilled groups, the men are the main bread-winners while the wives, as a rule, enter the conjugal family as mere economic dependants. However, circumstances in urban areas where the wife-husband family team has to face the realities of life, often times force the wives to become working house-wives, whose additional income would relieve their household of financial problems or whose joint household income would give them a possible margin for savings.

A good social testimony of this change in the division of economic roles

⁵ For a relevant comparative study on this subject, see Hans Dieter-Evers (ed) *Loosely structured Social Organization in Thailand*. While the idea of loosely structured family organization in itself is controversial, it however, does describe a fundamental setting underwhich this social fact is reported to have taken place. That setting is of course urbanization affecting rural people. On this score, it can be generally argued that the social system of rural societies in developing countries reflects some amount of loosely structured social organization in so far as it has been subject to creeping urbanism.

⁶ See Talib Zain, *Kesan Migrasi di Kampong Sungai Mati Muar*, B.A. (Hons) thesis, UKM 1975/76 and Rajimah Hassan, *Pola-pola Migrasi*, *op. cit.*

of husband-wife component in urban family of the poverty-prone groups manifests itself in the growing number of married females working as factory workers, of self-run *gerai* operators along the fringe of squatter areas and domestic servants in middle or upper class homes.⁷

Table 3 indicates a trend that rural-urban migration of this pattern involves both sexes, but where it involves female migrants, the dominant pattern is directly related to a socio-cultural value where wives have to follow husbands in neolocal residence, which is in most cases transient in nature. Again, this pattern reinforces patterns one and two, discussed earlier.

TABLE 3
FEMALE MIGRATION TRENDS
N = 44

Occupational background of households					
Migration Trends	Peasant	Teacher	Businessman	Worker	Total
1. To follow husband	10	1	—	7	18
2. To seek employment	4	—	1	3	8
3. For educational reasons	3	5	2	—	10
4. To join relatives	1	—	—	—	1
5. To seek lucrative employment	5	—	—	2	7

Source: Rajimah Hassan (1975), *op. cit.*

While rural-urban migration, has been generally claimed to have affected family structure in places of origin, i.e. in rural areas, this pattern in particular reinforces a *conjugal family structure* in urban destination. What is interesting to note in this instance is not so much it has made a break-away from traditional extended family organization, but rather it forms a sort of an urban-based familial network which maintains communication with extended family group in rural areas. McGee (1971) has described this situation as a facilitating mechanism in bringing about chain-type migration.

7 See Abdullah Sani Saruji, *Satu Kajian Kes Mengenai Proses Pembandaran di kalangan masyarakat Melayu di Kuala Sungai Kayu Ara*, Selangor, B.A. (Hons) academic exercise, 1973/74, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, K.L. Ahmad Abdullah, *Kedudukan Sosio-Ekonomi Kaum Pekerja Dalam Kesatuan Sekerja*, B.A. (Hons) academic exercise, 1974/75, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, K.L. Sharifah Hamid, *Kesedaran dan Penyertaan Buruh Wanita Melayu dalam Kesatuan Sekerja*, B.A. (Hons) academic exercise, 1974/75, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, K.L. Ahmad Abdullah and Sharifah Hamid in fact were looking into the socio-economic conditions of workers in low income group in Kuala Lumpur. Their finding shows that their income has to be shared between them and their families back home. As a result they have to find the cheapest accomodation possible through sharing a room or flat with friends. Nearly all of them stay in the squatter areas in Kuala Lumpur and Petaling Jaya.

Through these familial communication networks, urban conjugal family mainly functions as an economic proposition for ends that maintain extended family obligations sociologically on-going. The spatial links transcending geographical limitations that these two family organizations have given rise to, tend to develop and insulate village ethnicism in urban setting, and secondly, to promote creeping urbanism.⁸

Migration Pattern Motivated by Educational and skill training

This pattern is most discernable in the 10-25 age group. It reflects, to a certain extent, the lack of sufficient educational and/or advanced skill training in rural areas. It can also be the result of rising educational consciousness among some social groups in rural areas. The readiness to send young dependants to urban centers for educational and/or skill training indirectly, indicates the extent of urban-biased occupational structure in this country.

Table 4 indicates that this pattern is most common among those social groups who are relatively well-off, though by no means, it excludes the lower classes. More importantly, it involves both sexes. It therefore indicates the loosely-structured family organization as it encounters greater demands and pressures of survival.

Chain-type Migration Pattern

This pattern emerges in consequent to earlier migration patterns of one or all of the types just mentioned. Relatives, kinsmen, friends, or folk of

TABLE 4
CHOICE OF PLACE OF REDIDENCE IN URBAN AREA

Choice of Place of Redidence	Number	%
1. Where there are many people coming from the same village	21	16.0
2. Where there are friends	108	82.0
3. Complete Stranger	2	1.6
	131	100

Note: This survey was intended to reveal how migrants reacted to new urban setting, especially when they first arrived there.

Source: HAIRI ABDULLAH (1971).

⁸ The phenomenon of creeping urbanization in Malaysian villages has been seen as a direct result of rural-urban relationship. James F. Guyot has in fact observed this phenomenon and attributes it to the implementation Government Schemes such as *Felda*. See W. Howard Wriggins and James F. Guyot, *Population, Politics and Future of Southern Asia*. Columbia University Press 1973, pp. 128-129.

the same village, who have settled in urban areas will soon become a contact base. Normally, the newcomers will stay there temporarily, and after they are settled down, they will then find a place of their own. The existence of this pattern reinforces kinship, local and sometimes, ethnic sentiments.

II

Directions and Trends

The five patterns discussed earlier, reveal persistently the following probabilities in present and future directions and trends in rural-urban migration, namely:

- (i) there is a strong and consistent movement towards urban centers where employment/job opportunities are conceived to be available,
- (ii) these centers are at present mainly established metropolitan towns, such as Kuala Lumpur, Penang, Ipoh, and Johor Bahru,
- (iii) there is also a trend for rural migrants to converge upon towns located in the vicinity of, or within development areas.

Such a direction in population movement is a natural, and logical phenomenon because it is the result of migration patterns dictated more by the socio-economic pressures than any other factors. These directions and trends, particularly among the Malays, denote the following:

- (i) urbanization, in its socio-demographic aspect, has brought rural people to metropolitan and big towns in pursuit of economic improvement,
- (ii) while the movement does not preclude possibilities of attaining upward mobility, but to most of the unemployed and underemployed youth labour force, it mainly involves a geographical-horizontal mobility with probabilities of downward mobility,
- (iii) in terms of durability, it may result in the following possibilities namely:
 - (a) the migrants may undergo continual episodes of migration, subject to work and age,
 - (b) they finally choose to settle down permanently in urban areas,
 - (c) they may postpone present consumption to a bare minimum in order to save for old age or to send remittance to their families of orientation back in the villages.

III

Migrant Concentration in Urban Areas

From our observation on the patterns, directions, and trends of rural-urban migration in Semenanjung Malaysia, the following conclusions can be tentatively made.

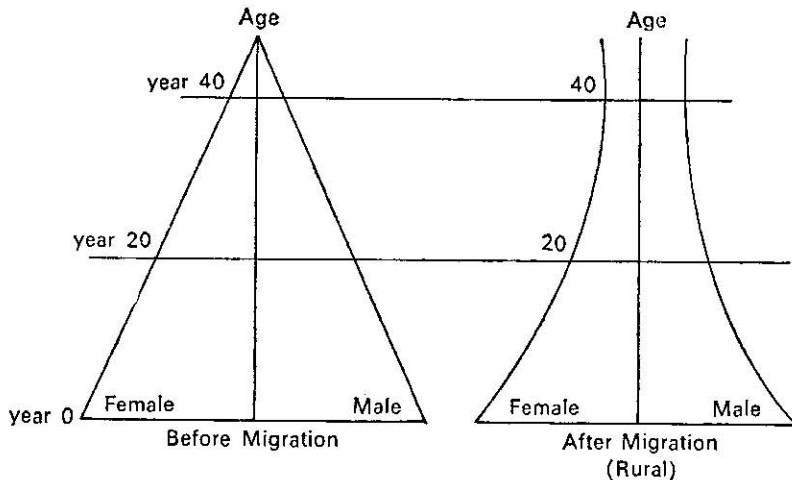
- (i) There are three categories of rural migrants namely the certificate-holders, the non-certificate holders, and the unskilled. Subject to attainment of antecedent intervening variables, it can be tentatively inferred that the certificate holders will finally achieve upward mobility, though some may not make it. The latter two groups will find it extremely difficult to acquire the necessary skills to get into the middle class occupational structure, which is urban-biased.
- (ii) Those rural migrants who achieve upward mobility through absorption into middle class occupational structure, are therefore facing less constraints in adjusting to urban setting. They are also the ones who could meet the requirements of getting into middle class urban residential areas, and therefore the ones who are most likely to take advantage of available community and health facilities.
- (iii) The inflow of the unskilled and non-certificate holders in towns, is a symptom of lack of lucrative employment/job opportunities in rural areas. These migrants mainly constitute youth labour force, who are either unemployed or underemployed. McGee (1971:171) sees this type of population movement as a danger sign, especially in a situation where urban development and urban job opportunities are not created as fast as the inflow of these rural youth migrants. Taking into account the high cost and standard of living in urban areas, it is therefore natural for these migrants to converge upon existing slum and/or squatter areas, if not to create new ones.
- (iv) The creation and expansion of slum and/or squatter areas therefore reflects the transference of rural problems in urban setting. They live under urban setting, subject to urban way of life but socio-culturally they are encapsulated within village ethnicism. Under urban pressures of living, they are ideologically faced with an ultimatum of existing within two worlds: one urban, which is alien and demanding, and one, rural, which they are accustomed to and is ever present as the last alternative. The choice and decision to live the urban world, is not independent of economic breakthrough in their economic pursuits. Among the unemployed (and worse still, the unemployable) and the underemployed rural migrants, as well as the low income groups whose income capacity hardly guarantees a stable monthly income of \$150.00, economic circumstances compel them to live in slum and/or squatter areas.
- (v) Therefore, the main concentration of rural migrants in the unskilled and non-certificate holders categories, is in slum and/or squatter areas, where public amenities are the most lacking but where, at the same time, human condensation is very high. It is highly relevant to emphasize at this point that the slum or the squatter environment is most unsuitable for a proper family development and

organization in terms of its role in human development and family health.

IV

Migration and Its Effects on the Family

Let us look at the effect of *selective population movement* on the family of orientation in villages of origin. The immediate demographic effect relates to probabilities of shortage of economically active youth manpower. This will definitely produce a strenuous effect on the family as a unit of production.



Diagrams illustrating the effect of migration on the family of orientation in villages of Origin

The above diagrams illustrate the structure of family of orientation of rural migrants. It shows that there is the greatest outflow of manpower within the 20–40 age group. This type of population movement will create a situation of active youth manpower shortage in the rural areas.

The following probabilities after migration could then be anticipated:

- (a) the family of orientation as illustrated in the above diagrams will lose youth manpower,
- (b) as a result of (a), it becomes totally or partially dependent on the resources of family members who have migrated in pursuit of economic gains,
- (c) consequently, the viability of this family structure depends on the fortunes that its migrant members acquire in urban areas,
- (d) the relationship between this family and the migrant family of procreation in urban setting, creates the basis for the emergence of new

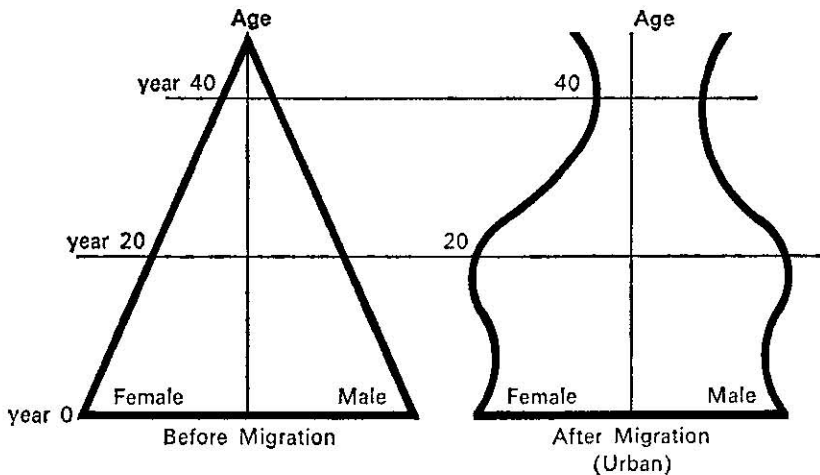
family type in rural setting, that is, a remittance extended family structure.

As a consequence to this effect, two probabilities can be anticipated namely:

- (a) the economically successful migrants will be able to send not only sufficient remittance home, but are also able to utilise the remittance family as a base for material accumulation of rural resources, especially land.
- (b) poverty-prone migrants will find it very difficult even to sustain their existence at subsistence level and are therefore subjected to two levels of constraints. Firstly, they have to exist at a bare minimum, and secondly, they have to keep aside, from their income, some cash for the remittance extended family.

From these effects and consequences on the remittance family structure, we thus see a common factor affecting the survival of those outgoing, and those left. That factor is *shared family income*. This implies that the income capacity of migrant members, totally or partially, determines the socio-economic position of their remittance extended family.

Selective population movement also has an effect on the migrant family in urban setting.



Diagrams Illustrating the Effect of Migration on the Migrant Family in the Urban Setting

One of the most obvious characteristics of migrant, *transient family structure* in urban setting is the age structure. It can be generally remarked that unlike the remittance extended family structure in villages of origin, it is made of individuals who are potential assets in manpower, but the utilization and management of this manpower, on the other hand, depends

upon its quality as well as its mobility in the urban-based occupational structure. In terms of age structure, we thus see a physical transfer of youth manpower from the rural areas to urban areas. This phenomenon will continue to perpetuate limited marginal family productivity unless it is fully absorbed in the urban occupational structure.

The following family types in migrant communities in urban setting are already discernable. They are conjugal family structure, joint-conjugal family, joint-household, and shared accomodation with or without kinship ties.

Conjugal Family

This family-type is most common among the newly-married, who are for the first time establishing an urban neolocal residence. It is an operational organization unit working on the basis of an economic proposition. Among the poverty-prone groups, this family-type is commonly found in slum and/or squatter areas, as their joint household income capacities do not allow them to find a place in middle class urban residential areas. In terms of age structure, this family mainly falls within the 15-40 age-group.

The Joint-Conjugal Family

This is again another family-type that is commonly found among the poverty-prone groups, though by no means, it is exclusively limited to this category of migrants. In this familial set-up, the husband and wife equally share the economic burden of running the household. The joint income capacities of this family unit are derived from all its economically active members.

Joint Household

This family-type is made up of more than one conjugal family, residing in one common shelter. It is commonly found among the low-income groups, and it becomes even more popular among the newly-married, who have had earlier urban contacts with couples coming from the same villages or who have kinship ties. This situation also reflects one or both of the following:

- (i) the couples could not afford proper accomodation because of expensive housing facilities in urban residential areas,
- (ii) they deliberately resort to this family-type in order to create a margin for savings, besides the remittance they have to send home.

Shared Accomodation Without Kinship Ties

This is not, in the strictest sense, a family structure, because it lacks kinship ties, either consanguineally or affinally. This sort of family-like organization mostly rests on friendship ties or occupational ties, and mainly in-

volves the non-married migrants. They gang up together and share a flat or even a room in a relative's house or a completely stranger's house. Again, the existence of this practice reflects the acute situation of limited housing facilities for those in the poverty-prone groups in urban areas.

V

Some Reflections on Migration Effects on the Family

Firstly, we would like to advance tentatively the following generalizations namely:

- (i) the family-types that appear in urban setting are mostly transient in nature, and their transiency depends upon migration durability,
- (ii) the emergence of the remittance extended family in villages of origin indicates extended family networks that operate within a migration circle,
- (iii) however, the readiness and easiness to migrate and subsequently establish neolocal conjugal or joint-conjugal or joint-household, or shared accommodation residence, reflects a loosely structured social system that has emerged in the wake of greater urbanization.
- (iv) these changes in the family structure either in rural or urban setting, must in the final analysis produce a strenuous effect on the socialization role of migrant families in urban setting, and the remittance extended families in villages of origin.
- (v) should it come to a stage where families mainly organize their resources for socio-economic survival, then their role as a socialization agent will be greatly neglected.

What implications can be drawn from these changes in the family structure? If we accept the assumption that education of any kind not excluding health education, begins in the home, therefore a proper, and conducive home environment becomes a critical factor. Our observations on the patterns, directions and trends of rural-urban migration and their effects on the family, persistently show such an environment in migrant families is hard to come by. Therefore, we here suggest that a proper attention to this problem may contribute to a possible lead in improving family health development in migrant communities in urban areas, particularly those in the poverty-prone groups. In this context, we see the possibility of using the family as a significant community resource in promoting health education, but to approach health development from this angle, would necessarily require us to rectify socio-economic conditions that have pushed these migrants to where they are today.