The
Economic and Social
Research Institute

DISPLACEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT: Class, Kinship and Social Change in Irish Rural Communities

DAMIAN F. HANNAN

Paper No. 96

June, 1979

DISPLACEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT: Class, Kinship and Social Change in Irish Rural Communities

Copies of this paper may be obtained from The Economic and Social Research Institute (Limited Company No. 18269). Registered Office: 4 Burlington Road, Dublin 4.

Price £5.00

(Special rate for students £2.50)

Damian Hannan is a Research Professor of the Economic and Social Research Institute. The Paper has been accepted for publication by the Institute, which is not responsible for either the content or the views expressed therein.

DISPLACEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT:
Class, Kinship and Social Change in Irish Rural Communities

DAMIAN F. HANNAN

© THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
DUBLIN, 1979

ISBN 0 7070 0024 6

Acknowledgements

I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of several colleagues in completing this paper. In particular the helpful and critical advice of Dr David Rottman and Professor Brendan Walsh of the ESRI was especially useful. Numerous improvements in the draft were suggested by the external referee, and by my colleagues at UCC and UCG—Joseph Ruane, Micheál O'Laoghaire and Dr Chris Curtin, and others too numerous to mention. Final responsibility for the views expressed here and for any remaining errors rest exclusively with the author.

CONTENTS

		Page
	General Summary	17
	Introduction	23
Chapter		
1	Peasant Models and Irish Rural Communities	27
2	Kinship, Social Reproduction and Cultural Change	69
3	The Families Studied: their Social Characteristics and Extent of Modernisation	97
4	The Structure of Kin Relationships	121
5	The Local Kin System: Dimensions of Interaction	139
6	Contact with Migrant Relatives	159
7	Isolation and Substitution: Relatives, In-Laws and Neighbours	171
8	Family Cycle and Changes in Primary Group Support	185
9	Conclusions	195
	Appendices	207
	References	222

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Percentage of Total Gross Agricultural Output Consumed by Persons on Farms without Process of Sale, 1926/27 to 1973	32
2	Percentage of Total Output on Farms used in Household Consumption for 1956	33
3	Total Number of Horses used for Agricultural purposes and Number of Agricultural Tractors in each Province from 1900 to 1970	34
4	Median Size of Farms in Ireland, and Provinces, 1926 to 1971	35
5	Percentage Distribution of Males employed in Agriculture by Employment Status in 1926	35
6	Geographic and Social Origins of Husbands and Wives in the Sample	37
7	Number of Farmers' Sons Working on Family Farms per 1,000 Male Farmers, in Four Farm Size Groups, in each of the Provinces of Ireland, 1926	41
8	Percentage of Original (15–24) Age Cohort of Male Farm Family Entrants (i.e., Farmers' Sons and Other Relatives) in 1926 and 1946 who had (a) become Farmers; (b) were still Family Dependents, or (c) had Emigrated or at least left the Family Farm Ten Years after Entry	41
9	Percentage of all Male Farmers, Aged 45–64, and 25–34, who were Single in 1926 and in 1971	43
10	Regional Distribution of High, Medium, and Low County Marriage Rates for Male Farmers, Controlling for Median Size of Farm per County, 1926	44
11	Percentage of Male Farmers "Ever Married", Aged 35–44 in 1926, by Size of Farm, in Selected Counties and Provinces	45

Table		Page
12	Sex Ratios: Number of Single Females on Farms — Farmers, Farmers' Daughters and Other Relatives — per 1,000 Single Male Farmers in Specified Age Groups, 1926 to 1971	48
13	Index Changes in Family Farm Income for Different Farm Sizes: 1955–1977	64
14	Percentage of Husbands and Wives who name different Categories of Primary Groups as Most Helpful in Material terms; or Most Supportive in Emotional Terms	88
15	Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Perception of Kind of Help given by Relatives and Neighbours	89
16	Percentage Distribution of Respondents in Terms of Identity of Person who is "Best" or "Easiest" to Talk to if Worried or Upset	91
17	Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Extent of Priority Attached to Neighbours' Help	92
18	Number and Percentage of Family Interviews Attempted, Completed, and Refused	98
19	Age of Spouse, Age at Marriage, and Age of Husband on Inheritance of Farm	101
20	Percentage Distribution of Families by Number of Children	101
21	Relationship of Family Cycle Stage to Certain Socio-Demographic Variables	103
22	Number of Workers and Dependants in Family by Stage of Family Cycle	104
23	Percentage Distribution of Sample Families by Occupational Status of Wife and Husband prior to Marriage, and of Both Spouses' Parents and their Oldest Children who were Working	105

Table		Page
24	Percentage Distribution of Spouses and Oldest Children who have left School, by their Levels of Education	107
25	Percentage Distribution of Spouses by Place of Birth and Migration Experience	108
26	Some Characteristics of Households in the Sample	109
27	Percentage Distribution of Families in Terms of Mass Media Behaviour and Formal Organisation Membership	111
28	Percentage Distribution of Farm Families in Terms of Modernity of Production and Marketing Techniques	112
29	Percentage Distribution of Households by Financial Accounting Arrangements	113
30	Socio-Economic, or Level of Living, Scale. (Guttman) Distribution of Household by Scale Type	113
31	Percentage of Husbands and Wives in Four Age Cohorts According to their Social Origins, Migration Experience and Level of Education	115
32	Median Number of each Spouse's Siblings Living Locally, by Inheritance Pattern	117
33	Patterns of Farm Acquisition, by Age of Husband	117
34	Percentage Distribution of Respondents with "High" and "Low" Mass Media and Organisational Participation, at Different Ages	118
35	Correlations (Pearsonian) between the Level of "Modernisation" of Family Roles, of Household, Farm and Communication Patterns, and Level of Contact with Local Siblings and other Relatives	120
36	Details of Nine Kinship Factors Extracted by Factor Analysis	123
37	Size of Local and Migrant Sibling and Kin Groups	126

Table		Page
38	Percentage Distribution of Families in Terms of Contact with Local Siblings and Kin	127
39	Percentage Distribution of Families by Contact with each Spouse's Parents	127
40	Percentage Distribution of Families by Number and Level of Contact with both Spouses' Migrant Siblings	128
41	Distribution of Families by Number of Migrant Siblings of either Spouse	129
42	Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Identity of Most Helpful Kin Member	129
43	Comparison between Husbands and Wives in the Relative Significance of Different Kin Categories	131
44	Percentage Distribution of Families by their Position in the Generational Replacement Cycle	133
45	Relationship between Generational (Descent) and Family Cycle	134
46	Relationship (Pearsonian correlation) between Stage of Family Cycle and Kin Contact Variables	135
47	Correlations (Pearsonian) between Certain Demographic Factors and the Number of Local and Migrant Siblings and Kin	140
48	Determinants of Size of Local Sibling Group	142
49	Determinants of Extent of Contact with Local Siblings etc.	144
50	Partial Correlations between some Independent Variables and Contact with Wives' Siblings, Controlling for the Number of Local Siblings	144
51	Partial Correlations between each of Seven Independent Variables and Extent of Contact with Husbands' Local Siblings, Controlling for Number of Local Siblings	146

Table		Page

52	Number of Secondary Kin who Live Locally and Number of Kin kept in "Close Touch" with	149
53	Partial Correlations between Ten Independent Variables and Contact with Secondary Kin, Controlling for Number of Local Secondary Kin	151
54	Partial Correlations between Number of Local Siblings Contacted, and Number of Local Kin Contacted, Controlling for Number of Husbands' and Wives' Local Siblings Available for Interaction	153
55	Relationship between Number of Wives' Local Kin and Contact with Kin, Controlling for Number of Local Siblings	154
56	Relationship between Number of Husbands' Local Kin and Contact with Kin, Controlling for Number of Local Siblings	154
57	Percentage Decline in Number of Males Employed in Farming from 1926 to 1946 and 1946 to 1966	160
58	Changes in the Migration Characteristics of Male Farmers' Siblings by Age Cohort	160
59	Distribution of Respondents by Number of their Migrant Siblings, and Number of Migrant Siblings kept in touch with	162
60	Distribution of Families by Number of each Spouse's Migrant Siblings Married in Irish and British Cities	163
61	Partial Correlations between the Number of Wives' Siblings Migrated and five Independent Variables, Controlling for the Number of Siblings Alive, (i.e., Factors Related to the "Rate of Migration" amongst Siblings)	164
62	Partial Correlations between Five Independent Variables and Number of Siblings Migrated, Controlling for the Number of Siblings Born	164
63	Partial Correlations between a Set of Independent Variables and Rate of Contact with Husbands' Migrant Siblings, Controlling for Number of Siblings Migrated	165

Table		Page
64	Differential Rates of Contact with Spouses' Migrant Siblings	167
65	Percentage of Spouses Isolated from Siblings and Kin. Percentage with no Kin or no Contact with Kin	172
66	Degree of Isolation from Kin. Percentage of Husbands and Wives with Different Levels of Isolation	172
67	Factors Influencing the Degree of Isolation of Spouses from their Kin	173
68	Distribution of Respondents in Terms of the Degree of Dependence on Affinal Relatives (i.e., in-laws) for Material and Emotional Support	175
69	Predicting Degree of Dependence on Affinal Kin. Correlation and Multiple Regression Results	177
70	Distribution of Families by Relative Level of Dependence of each Spouse on their Affines	179
71	Percentage Distribution of Respondents by extent of Priority attached to Neighbours' help	180
72	Factors Associated with the extent of Significance of Neighbour Group Helpfulness	181
73	Percentage of Respondents who Perceive Neighbours as helpful and supportive, for those Respondents with (i) No Local Siblings; (ii) one to two Siblings; (iii) three or more Local Siblings	182
74	Percentage of Husbands and Wives who name Different Categories of Primary Groups as Most Helpful in Material Terms or most Supportive in Emotional Terms. Percentages are based on Number of Respondents who actually have Relatives etc., in each Category	186
75	Percentage Distribution of Respondents at each Stage of Family Cycle by their Perception of Kind of Help received from Relatives	188

Table		Page
76	Percentage of Respondents at each Stage of Family Cycle who Name Different Categories of Relatives and Neighbours etc., as: (a) the Main Helper; and (b) the Most or Second Most Helpful	189
77	Percentage Distribution of Families by ID of Person who would Run Farm in an Emergency. (Farmers' Perceptions)	191
78	Percentage of Respondents at each Stage of the Family Cycle who Named Different Categories of Relatives as the "Easiest" or "Best" to Talk to, if Worried or Upset	191

APPENDIX TABLES

Appendix Table		Page
1	Land Utilisation and Extent of Tillage and Livestock Farming by Province in 1931 (Livestock 1933)	207
2	Land Utilisation and Average Livestock Numbers, per Farm for each Size Group in each Region, 1955–1957	207
3	Farmer Replacement Rates by Province, 1926 to 1971. $\frac{\text{Number of Farmers' Sons/Sons-in-Law}}{\text{Number of Male Married Farmers}} \times 1000$	208
4	Percentages of Male Farmers who were Single in each of Six Succeeding Cohorts of Male Farmers, 1926–1971	208
5	Percentage of Male Farmers of 1–15 Acres and 100 Acres and over who were Single, 1926 to 1971. By Province. Ages 35–44	209
6	Percentage "Family Failure": Percentage of *All* Male Farmers who were 55 Years of Age or Older and yet Single, 1926 to 1971	209
7	Percentage Change in Number of Male Farmers in each Size Category, 1926 to 1971	210
8	Factor Loadings and h^2 for (Varimax Rotation) Factor Analysis of 66 Kinship Variables	212
9	Percentage Distribution of Respondents by their Assessment of Most Helpful and Second Most Helpful Person	216
10	Pearsonian Product Moment Correlations between Size of Husband's and Wife's Local Kin Group and a Series of Independent Variables	217
11	Correlation between Contact with Secondary Kin and a Series of Independent Variables	218
12	Numbers Employed in Agriculture by Occupation and Relationship to Farmers, in Ireland and Connaught, 1926 to 1971; with Percentage Changes 1926 to 1946 and 1946 to 1966	218

Appendix Table *Page*

13 Distribution of Families in Terms of Number of Migrant Siblings of either Spouse 219

14 Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Destination of Migrant Siblings, including Factors Influencing the Relative Proportion going to Britain 219

15 Factors Explaining Variation in the Number of Respondents' Siblings who have Migrated 220

16 Factors influencing the Level of Contact with Husbands' Migrant Siblings 220

17 Relationships between Husbands' and Wives' Kin Isolation 221

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Farmer Replacement Rates by Province, 1926–1971	53
2	Sex Ratios: Number of Single Females, aged 20–29, on Farms (Farmers, Farmers' Daughters, Other Relatives) per 1,000 Single Male Farmers in Age Group 25–34, 1926 to 1971	55
3	Percentage of Male Farmers, 35–44, with 15–30 Acres, who were ever Married, 1926 to 1971	56
4	Percentage "Family Failure" or failure of Farm Family to Reproduce Itself: Percentage of Farmers who are 55 years and over and who are yet Single	58
5	Percentage Decline in each Intercensal Period in the Number of Farms of 15–30 Acres in 1926–36; 1936–46; 1946–51; 1951–61; 1961–71	61
6	Percentage (Points) Difference between: (a) Percentage of Male Farmers of 100 Acres and over who are over 55 Years of Age and yet Single, and (b) Percentage of Male Farmers of 1–15 acres in that same status	63

Appendix Figure 1

	Page
Percentage (Points) Difference between: (a) Male Farmers of 1–15 Acres; aged 35–44, who were single; and (b) Male Farmers of 100 Acres and over, Aged 35–44, who were Single, 1926–1971	211

General Summary

ON the eve of Ireland's entry to the EEC there remained in the west of Ireland, in place of an earlier self-reliant and independent class of small-scale subsistence farmers, a deprived and largely disillusioned remnant, unhappy with its present way of life, unsure of its own future, and highly pessimistic about the viability of the generation which would follow. The half century from the 1920s to the 1970s had seen the disintegration of the peasant society which was characteristic of the west. The rate of this change and disintegration had varied over the years but the result was not in doubt.

If that sounds gloomy, and it does, there is a somewhat brighter, though not compensatory, side to the picture. Contrary to what many people, including some experts, believe, modernisation — when seen as cultural transformation — has not been in itself a major factor in the erosion of the closely-knit society which had existed along the west coast. Indeed, it is those families who made, or were able to make, the effort needed to come to terms with the economic facts of modern farming who managed to maintain the strongest ties with kith and kin, even with neighbours.

It is those families who, for a multiplicity of economic, social and psychological reasons have stayed at, or sunk to, a mere subsistence level, who have shown the greatest degree of social disintegration. Increasingly, economic factors and crude-class factors have begun to dominate. There are few attractions in struggling against an apparently hopeless poverty. The parents do not wish it on their children and the children do not wish it on themselves. The answer is usually the old one — migration, if not abroad, then to a more congenial urban life at home. If the sons stay locally, and choose farming, they stay unmarried, unless they take up part-time farming.

These conclusions are based on an extensive analysis of census and economic records available from 1926 to 1971; from ethnographic studies carried out over that period and, from an intensive study of a sample of farm families in 1970/71.

The extended family or kin group was an outstanding feature of peasant society, and so it was in the west of Ireland even in the 1920s and 1930s. This becomes most obvious if considered in terms of one generation extending its life to the next. In comparison to the commercialised east of Ireland, the west showed a far higher rate of replacement of one generation by the next, and a much higher marriage rate. In a situation where the farm passed on undivided

to one son, responsibilities towards non-inheriting children were usually met by the father, rarely by the inheriting son.

The economic environment was one in which non-inheriting children had to find a way of life in emigrant communities abroad. The small land-owning peasant in the west was, because he had to be, much more efficient at dispersing his non-inheriting sons than his more prosperous colleague in the east. And he was also much more successful in marrying off his chosen successor.

The high marriage rate underlined the difference from the commercialised eastern areas. In a state of subsistence, economic expectations were low, but the symbolic significance of the inheritance was enormous. And if marriage, in itself, held out little prospect of greater material well-being, there were no doubt other compensations, not the least of which was the local status it afforded. In the more prosperous east, the decision whether or not to venture on the uncertain sea of matrimony was taken more calmly — or coldly — depending on the emotions involved.

The regional differences were real and significant, and had been so from long before the Famine. The non-commercialised western farmer was a self-provider. He cultivated for domestic consumption, selling his small surplus and buying those few needs that were not met from the farm itself. He lived in a conservative and seemingly self-perpetuating society — economically classless and open to easy romanticising.

The peasant society which was typical of the west of Ireland until at least the 1930s was a highly integrated cultural and social entity. Indeed it is difficult to see how it could have been otherwise if the survival of a society, materially so much worse off than the rest of the country, was to be assured. It was characterised by very strong kinship bonds; by a strongly supportive mutual-aid arrangement amongst neighbours, and by a very restricted social environment, which maintained the cohesion of the family and ensured its continuity. The limited education available was confined to primary level and when completed, the children returned to work on the farm. Meaningful contact with the world beyond the locality was restricted to contacts with migrant relatives. The impact of the mass media and of market forces was minimal. The support of kin and neighbours was of vital importance in a situation of subsistence farming where comforts were meagre and life basic. Kin relationships, involving strong mutual-support obligations, stretched to second cousins and sometimes beyond. Neighbour groups formed strong mutual-aid groups. Failure to provide aid when the need arose was likely to lead to severe social sanctions.

But change was inevitable and ongoing; especially from the 1950s onwards when the west 'caught up' with the other regions. While in the east there was

little alteration in the rates of generational succession and marriage, those in the west declined more or less consistently and, after the Second World War, drastically. The difference between the two regions disappeared. Indeed, given the poorer western resources, the positions rapidly reversed. One result was the very rapid increase in the west in the number of farms without a son willing to inherit.

The economic transformation which occurred after the Second World War — with its emphasis on capital intensive production — favoured the strong, the poor and weak went to the wall. Class differences have increasingly widened and sharpened. It is the poorer families who have shown the greatest signs of social and cultural disintegration — losing the support of children and of kin — the very factors that did so much in the past to sustain their society. The more prosperous families have managed to persuade their sons to stay on the farm and to maintain strong kin ties. These are now less extended than previously, and perhaps less important in a material sense, but very real in providing emotional and psychological support.

Class, or the value of resources owned, has now come to dominate, where it was relatively unimportant in the 1930s — not only in inheritance, but in marriage and in the social support system that surrounded a family. While less than one in six of all farm families had failed to reproduce themselves in the 1920s, this is now true of one in two families. And while class was irrelevant in the 1920s in these respects, it now dominates.

Those who have successfully modernised have not done so through a socially destructive and aggressive individualism. Indeed all the evidence suggests the opposite. It is the successful who have maintained the strongest ties with kin and neighbour groups. The most isolated and most alienated from kin and neighbour groups are found amongst those who have *not* adapted successfully — declassed, without heirs and, of all groups, least likely to have strong kinship or neighbour group bonds. Economic marginalisation has had very destructive consequences on social bonds.

But class is not the only variable, kinship itself is also very important. Kin groups — either as organised systems of relationships or as symbolic identities — appear to vary widely in shared values about local modernisation. The facilitating role of such groups in migration arrangements has been known for a long time — but the results of this study clearly indicate a very significant role for kin groups in maintaining and strengthening attachments to local symbols and values or to the more practical issues of local economic development. There is clear evidence in this study of not only consistent differences in resources and opportunities controlled by different kin groups, but also in the structuring of aspirations and values of their children.

Instead of the highly standardised kinship and neighbour group system of the 1920s, very wide variations now characterise the size, significance and even the basic organisational characteristics of local kinship and neighbour groups. Nevertheless, clear differences persist in the material and emotional functions of different categories of relatives, in-laws and neighbours, etc. Relationships with different categories of relatives are very similar in function. As a result, when close relatives are absent more distant ones may be substituted. This was most obvious in the case of wives who come increasingly from outside the locality.

This increasing isolation of wives from their relatives is compounded by the fact that most husbands lived in the house before marriage. And where a parent lives with the couple it is usually the husband's, so that the adjustment problems for the wife are that much greater. It would be easy to exaggerate the isolation problems faced by the wife coming from outside the locality. She does make a much greater effort to keep in touch not only with her close relatives, but also with her more "distant" kin. And in the relationships with in-laws a certain strain is present. Nevertheless, the mother-in-law relationship, so beloved of music-hall scriptwriters, is light years away from the reality in many a west of Ireland farm family. Evidence shows that where a wife has a mature supportive relationship with her husband she has good rapport with her in-laws. They are important to her. They are easily available, often in the same house. But their acceptance is mediated by the quality of her relationship with her husband and by her own status qualities.

Many wives, however, are completely isolated from kin and in-laws. Usually these are older and can turn to the mature children for support. Fortunately they are not more likely than others to be estranged from their husbands. But a small minority are.

The pattern of switching relationships away from relatives to one's own children, as they mature and as parents die, is a general phenomenon and holds for both husbands and wives. Overall, a very complex but systematic set of support relationships exist with parents, siblings, aunts, uncles and first cousins; with neighbours and other primary groups as well as with formal organisations. The weakest and most disorganised relationships are found amongst the poorest, the old and the most "traditional"; the strongest amongst the better off, the young and the most modern. For the former, deprivation comes in more ways than one.

As our Government and the EEC continue to express a, no doubt, genuine interest in solving the problem of the small west of Ireland farmer, the actual policies pursued show no evidence of design to solve the problems involved. The actual incomes of small farmers may have improved since EEC entry but their relative class position has greatly disimproved. And well meant schemes,

such as early retirement, are bound to be of somewhat academic interest if they are not designed to take account of the social complexities involved.

If the current predictions that agricultural price increases are to moderate, prove to be accurate, then the problems facing the small west of Ireland farmer will demand even more urgent attention. Workable policies can only emerge if designed to take account of the complex of economic, social and cultural constraints of the population concerned. It is hoped that this study contributes in some small way to this objective.

Introduction

THIS study has six main objectives:

(i) The first is to assess the extent to which a "peasant model" can validly be used to describe the small farm communities of western Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s. To what extent can one accept the accuracy of Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) ethnographic description of that society, even if their description is cleared of its functionalist exaggerations? Or to what extent can we, with Gibbon, dismiss their ethnographic account of "the family, the mutual aid system, the economic and cultural stability of the system and its politics" as an "account which ranges from the inaccurate to the fictive"? (Gibbon 1973, p. 491).

In this study certain formal economic and social structural features of an appropriate "peasant model" are defined.[1] Analysis of the extensive economic and socio-demographic data available indicates that those formal properties of economy and social structure correspond with almost classic exactness to the western small farm communities of the 1920s and 1930s.

If a "peasant" economic and social structural model can validly be applied to the western farm region in the 1920s; if it was in fact characterised by an authentic and self-sustaining culture, the system had entered into decline by the 1940s and had all but disappeared by the late 1950s. An original, demographically vibrant, subsistence economy now persists only as a residual, demoralised remnant within a completely capitalistic agricultural system; as economic, social and cultural anachronisms, unable to adapt successfully to modern commercialised farming (Scully, 1971; Hannan, 1972; Symes, 1972; Brody, 1973; Kelleher and O'Hara, 1976; Commins, Cox and Curry, 1978).

(ii) The second objective of the study is to chart the course of, and attempt to explain, that transformation. By focusing attention on certain essential demographic features of "social reproduction" (Bourdieu, 1972) — father-son replacement, sex ratios, marriage rates, etc. — and by using the detailed decennial census series available from 1926 to 1971, both the timing and correlates of that transformation are charted. In 1926 and 1936, the

1 The author to whom most attention is paid in defining the central properties of a "peasant model" is Shanin, T. M., *Peasants and Peasant Societies,* Penguin, London, 1971; and "The Nature and Change of Peasant Economies", 1973, *Sociologia Ruralis,* XIII, 3, pp, 141-171. Its appropriateness to Ireland is assessed by comparison with Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) ethnography.

small-scale subsistence farmers of the west of Ireland had significantly higher intergenerational replacement rates, and much higher marriage rates, than even the largest and richest farmers in the commercialised eastern region. Class differentiation was not significant in either social, cultural or demographic terms in the western region in the pre-war period, while it was very significant in the commercialised eastern region. By the 1950s, however, the modernisation and increasing pace of commercialisation of farm production and household consumption patterns had inevitably and cumulatively led to an increasing accentuation of crude class differences within agriculture. As a result, both replacement rates and marriage chances began to reflect the size of the economic resources owned by farmers. Class differentiation became increasingly characteristic of all farming regions in Ireland, a process which has accelerated in the 1970s.

(iii) The third objective of the study is to describe the nature of the "protective institutions" characteristic of the traditional small-farm community. As a highly effective mutual aid system, which was sufficiently strong both to counteract the nascent class inequalities undoubtedly present, and to overcome the hardships and adversities characteristic of that society, Arensberg and Kimball (1940) place exclusive emphasis on the morally prescriptive qualities of kinship obligations. This is shown to be a partial and inadequate view. The main data sources employed come from an earlier study of the author's (Hannan, 1972) and on some detailed kinship data from a recent extensive field study of 408 families in the western region (Hannan and Katsiaouni, 1977). This evidence relates mainly to the relative significance and functions of different categories of mutual aid and primary group relationships — kinship, neighbour and "friendship" groups — amongst "modern" and "traditional" farm families in the west of Ireland. The structure and functions of kinship and neighbour-group systems in the traditional society is shown to be as diverse and specialised as that which Litwak and Szelenyi (1969) described as typical only of modern urban industrial communities. With the exception of "friendship" categories, which do not appear in traditional communities, the differences in both the bases and functions of kinship and neighbour groups in the traditional society are shown to have been as great as under modern urban-industrial conditions.

In Chapters 2 to 4 the structure and operating characteristics of the kinship system is explicated. Relationships with kin members are shown to be clearly differentiated by whether bonds are consanguineal or affinal, by genealogical "distance" from ego, and by distance of residence from ego. The extent to which relationships with one category of kin are substitutable or functionally equivalent to that of another is also explored.

(iv) The questions so far refer only to "typical" or average patterns. Very wide differences exist amongst families and between spouses in the number, availability of, and level of contact with relatives and neighbours; and in their respective material and social-emotional functions. The investigation switches in Chapters 5 and 6 to its fourth objective and attempts to explain that very wide variation in the number and level of contact with local and migrant relatives. The main theses explored refer to the effects of modernisation on kin contacts and the relationship of class differentiation to kinship integration.

(v) A fifth area of investigation is the small proportion of both spouses who are completely isolated from all relatives. The factors that account for that isolation and its consequences for contact with affines and neighbours is explored in Chapter 7. While most of the literature on kinship indicates that secondary or "far out" relatives may be substituted for "near" or primary relatives, most of it also suggests that relationships with in-laws are governed by quite different factors than those with kin. As Leyton (1975) sees it: "Marriage is not so much an act of alliance and union as it is an institution which forces its members to participate in uneasy and uncertain relations with a group of persons toward whom one is not bound by the loyalties and trust implicit in the ties between blood kin. In general affines 'aren't friends at all', and villagers pretend an attitude of affection and concern as best they can", (op. cit. p. 66). The relationship with affines is also one within which conflict is most likely to occur. (Leyton, 1966).

(vi) The sixth and final objective of the study is to analyse the relationship between stages in the family and kinship cycles, and the nature and frequency of interaction with various categories of relatives and neighbours. This is reported on in Chapter 8. On marriage, almost all couples have parents still alive, most with at least one of husband's parents living in the household with them. By the time their children are grown up, however, and some married, very few have any parents left alive. The realignment of kinship relationships that occur as the family cycle proceeds, both in terms of the ages and availability of different categories of kin, and in terms of the needs of, and corresponding resources of, families at different stages of the cycle, is explored in detail in Chapter 8. The nature and structure of relationships with the previous generation, with collaterals, and with the succeeding generation change consistently with stages in a person's or a couple's life cycle. The most critical stages of this cycle are clearly marked by those rites of passage that accompany marriage, birth of children, death of parents, maturation or "graduation" rites for adolescent or near adult children, and similar life stages. Any approach that ignores the family cycle and that provides only a

generalised description of the kinship relationships or general primary group resources of the "average" or stereotyped family provides an extremely one-sided picture, the variations amongst which would be almost impossible to explain without controlling for stages in the life cycle process (Fortes, 1958; 1971; Berkner, 1972).

Two distinct data sources are utilised in the study. The first is the consistent series of Irish census records available from 1926 to 1971. From these it was possible to construct rates of father-son replacement on farms, marriage rates etc. These measures are calculated for each size of farm category and each province and allow us to chart changes in the rates of "social reproduction" (Goody, 1958; Bourdieu, 1972) of farmers in different size groups and different regions from 1926 to 1971. Additional economic data are used from the regular Agricultural Censuses carried out in Ireland over the same period. These sources provide the evidence which is used to assess the validity of a "peasant model" perspective in Chapter 1.

The second main source of evidence is from an extensive interview-based study of over 400 farm families which was carried out in 1970 in the ten most western Irish counties. This took the form of simultaneous but separate hour-long interviews with a representative sample of 408 male farmers and their wives. The interview focused mainly on nuclear family roles and relationships. The results of this part of the study have already been reported (Hannan and Katsiaouni, 1977). Extensive data were also gathered on kinship relationships: the availability of different categories of kin, level of contact with them, and the nature and function of interaction with relatives. Details of interaction with neighbours and other primary groups were also gathered. A description of the field study, of the basic characteristics of respondent families and their relationships with relatives and neighbours are given in Chapter 3. (see also Hannan and Katsiaouni, 1977, pp. 31-89).

Chapter 1

Peasant Models and Irish Rural Communities

THIS chapter has two objectives. The first is to assess the validity of a "peasant model" as applied to communities of small farmers in the west of Ireland in the 1920s and the 1930s. The second is to chart some of the main changes in these communities from the 1920s to the present.

The Applicability of a Peasant Model

The question as to whether or not a peasant model is applicable to the west of Ireland in the 1930s has, paradoxically, become central to modern rural ethnography — primarily because of the general assumption of the relative reliability of Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) ethnography, irrespective of any objections to their functionalist mode of theorising. In Gibbon's (1973) severe critique of Brody's (1973) ethnography, this issue becomes central. Gibbon (op.cit.) disputes the reliability of Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) ethnography, especially their depiction of a separate and authentic cultural system operating within a stable and self-sufficient subsistence economy. This leads him to question the novelty of the changes described by Brody. As he says "on every score — the family, the mutual aid system and its politics — their (Arensberg and Kimball, 1940) account ranges from the inaccurate to the fictive". (op.cit., p. 491). Since in explaining social change the ground of one's explanation would obviously alter depending on whether one accepts or, with Gibbon (1973) rejects, the earlier model, the issue of its validity becomes central. If it is valid, then one can regard social and economic change as due both to cultural disenchantment and to increasing "class differentiation" accompanying economic change. If it is invalid, as Gibbon (1973) states, then such a viewpoint on change is also invalid.

Therefore, to understand the position of the small-farm population in Irish agriculture today — deprived, poverty-stricken, and socially isolated — we need to know the base from which the problem has developed and the process by which it has occurred. Was small-farm agriculture always in crisis even at the time that Arensberg and Kimball painted such an Arcadian image of it in the pre-depression days of the early 1930s? Was it always fully incorporated within the existing capitalist economy, different only in scale and type of

product to that of the apparently more commercially oriented eastern sectors of Irish agriculture? Or did an authentic and clearly deviant peasant system exist in the small farm communities of the west of Ireland as Arensberg and Kimball suggest? The first aim of this chapter is to provide an answer to this question.

Although the study was carried out nearly 50 years ago in a small number of rural townlands in North County Clare, Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) study has been continuously reproduced as typical of Irish farm family and kin systems, even in the latest "readers" (Frankenberg, 1966; Anderson, 1971; Bell and Newby, 1975), without clearly indicating its historical status and limited regional applicability. Even if we accept the validity of the model of economic, social and cultural systems presented there, these could only have held for that area and for that time. If we want to use Arensberg and Kimball's model as a starting point in our analysis, therefore, we first need to know if it was an accurate description of the west of Ireland at that time. We need to place it in its proper regional and socio-historical perspective, and we also need to assess the likely changes that one would have to make in it to fit present-day realities.

While having serious reservations about the accuracy of Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) conclusions about the level of interpersonal adjustment to family roles, it is nevertheless, proposed that the picture these authors gave of small-farm communities in the west of Ireland is a valid one. Considered as an economic system it had the following features: it was primarily a subsistence system with a very limited elaboration of the social division of labour in the local community; relations of production were almost exclusively familial in nature; use value predominated over exchange value in the process of production and, class relationships intruded only to a very limited extent on production, consumption and exchange relationships.

In social structural terms social relationships were highly localistic and particularistic, based almost exclusively on membership of particular family, kinship and neighbour-group bonds. These relationships embodied very strong mutual aid obligations and general "levelling" tendencies.

Culturally the system of beliefs and values etc., was relatively autonomous or free from disconfirming external influences, conservative and dogmatic, and based on authentic local traditions. Because the western communities display these features right up to the early 1950s, the European peasant model appears to be both the most relevant and the most illuminating one in understanding them (Franklin, 1969; Mendras, 1970; Shanin, 1971; Berkner, 1972; Galeski, 1972; Weber, 1977). The deviant nature of the economic, social and demographic patterns, characteristic of these areas up to the post-war period may more easily be understood if interpreted within a "peasant model" framework.

Amongst farmers, marriage rates and generational replacement levels were, in fact, significantly higher in the poorer western and south-western regions than in the more fertile and more commercially-oriented eastern region. The traditionally high, pre-famine, marriage rates had persisted amongst the most traditional western farmers, up to the late 1930s. These traditional marriage trends had not been reversed by the beginning of the 20th Century as Walsh (1970), McKenna (1974), and other historical demographers have suggested, (see Hannan and Hardiman, 1978). Class differences also did not significantly influence marriage and replacement rates in the west of Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s, while they had very significant influences in the commercial eastern regions. Demographic patterns show clearly that the most viable and reproductive social system in the 1920s and 1930s was that which yielded by far the poorest income and standard of living of all farming regions in Ireland.

In defining a "peasant system" only the formal economic and social structural features are of interest here. Although this is based on certain cultural assumptions, we are focusing attention only on the main characteristics of the small-farm economy and of certain aspects of the social behaviour of small farmers — particularly the extent to which they reproduce themselves from one generation to another.

In both economic and social structural terms we can briefly define a peasant system, as it generally holds in Europe, as one where: (i) farms are owned by the farm operators themselves, i.e., the means of production and relations of production are family based; (ii) a fusion occurs of the farm enterprise, concerned with production, and of the domestic economy of the household, concerned with consumption. The family farm produces mainly for its own needs, and only to a limited and circumscribed extent produces for exchange. Production is geared to meeting "use values" rather than maximising exchange values; (iii) the enterprise has very little capital and very limited capital accumulation occurs; (iv) judged in terms either of objective economic analysis (demand/supply relations, for example), or in terms of the motivational characteristics of the farmer, the aim of production is not "profit" maximisation but family welfare and, (v) in all European countries in which it existed the peasant economy was subsumed as a weak and minor segment within a larger capitalistic market system, within which it was subordinated to the principles determined by the capitalist mode of production. Kroeber's (1948) definition of peasants is still useful: they form a class segment of a larger population which usually contains urban centres and sometimes metropolitan capitals. They constitute part societies with part cultures.

Where impartible inheritance was the norm, as in Ireland, the following were the basic social structural features: (i) locality restrictiveness — given the extremely limited exchange relations and consequent severe restriction on the

local social division of labour, we are left with a highly segmented system of local groupings. These formed local communities within which most social life is lived, and around which clear boundaries existed. Therefore, local standards of evaluation were all-important. Marx equated such a locality bounded system, with very limited interaction with neighbouring communities, as a "sack of potatoes"; (ii) based on family owned property or rented property which is passed on from one generation to another these groups form into "locality descent groups"; (iii) stem family arrangements characterise the social structure, most particularly where the patrimony is passed on undivided to one son — i.e., in impartible inheritance systems. Non-inheriting sons must find employment elsewhere, although they may have temporary aid or subsistence from "the stem" in distress, and occasionally may be "settled" on neighbouring farms which have been bought by their fathers. Arensberg (1937) puts it neatly. "Usually, only the heir and one daughter are married and dowered, the one with the farm, the other with the fortune. All the rest, in the words of the Luogh residents, 'must travel'." (Arensberg 1937, p. 79). The system, in other words, guaranteed generational replacement of father by his chosen heir; a high marriage rate for heirs, high levels of emigration amongst the non-inheriting siblings or prolonged dependency with attendant non-marriage for those who chose to stay "surplus" at home. A continuous process of emigration and population decline coexists with the persistence of traditional systems.

A number of qualifications are necessary; (i) we are concerned only with the "middle peasants"; those with sufficient resources of their own which enable them to be dependent completely on family property for a living, but not with sufficient resources to be able to afford to employ labour; (ii) we are not, therefore, concerned with those areas on the western seaboard where holdings are so small and the land so poor that families are dependent on many sources other than farming for a living — fishing, migrant labouring, some cottage industries, social welfare payments, etc. (West Cork, 1963 and West Donegal 1969, Resource Surveys, Agricultural Institute; O'Carroll *et al.* 1978).

The main purpose of the analysis in this chapter is to assess the extent to which such a distinct economic system existed in the west of Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s. We will pay particular attention to the nature of its economy and social structure, the kind of stratification system typical of it, and the nature of, as well as the extent to which, a "peasant system" model can be applied to it. The secondary purpose is to describe the changes in the system that occurred from 1926 to 1971.

The data on which the analysis is mainly based comes from very extensive and consistent series of census reports on farmers and their relatives from 1926 to 1971. Particular attention is paid to ratios of fathers to sons in farming and

the marriage rate of farmers. Regional differences are examined and changes over time assessed. A number of economic indicators are also used. We first examine regional differences in the nature of the agricultural economy.

Regional Differences in the Farm Economy in 1926

A peasant economy is a subsistence familial economy. Although the use of Marx's phrase . . . "the family is the total economy" . . . is an exaggeration, the emphasis is on subsistence production rather than production for the market or production based on profit maximisation calculations. The household — whether nuclear or extended family — is the basic unit of both production and consumption. Livelihood depends exclusively on the exploitation of family-owned land resources. Only a small proportion of farm produce, however, is routed through the market, and only a small proportion of what is consumed is purchased. It is, therefore, only a partly monetised economy, relatively isolated from, and not very responsive to, outside market forces. As a low income, partly monetised, economy there is minimal capital accumulation or sustained technological change or growth. The quantity and type of product remains more or less constant, and techniques of production are relatively unchanging.

Within this environment the object of production is the protection, enhancement and maximisation of family welfare where this is seen in terms of the (family) "use value" of production, not its exchange value. The evaluation of farming progress, therefore, is in terms of family welfare needs. The object is to maximise the security and welfare of all family members in the worst of circumstances; in times of low and unstable prices, of unfavourable weather conditions, or of crop failure.

The means of production — land, labour, and capital —are not rationally manipulable in a profit maximisation exercise. Land is a family resource — suffused with symbolic significance and inextricably linked with family and kinship ideology as well as with local family status. Most farm labour is family labour, where rational calculation is only applicable to its use not to its "price". It is the maximisation of family welfare — often the provision of family employment — and not profit maximisation that is the goal of the enterprise. If these two goals clash the resolution is almost universally in favour of family obligations. Output is closely tied to the family cycle and the generational replacement cycle. (Franklin, 1969; Symes, 1972).

From an economic point of view, therefore, what is central to defining a peasant system is the almost exclusive dependence on the exploitation of family owned or rented land resources, the stable conservative nature of production, the low proportion of total product that is exchanged, the limited technological manipulation of land resources and the very limited degree of

capital accumulation. For Ireland as a whole the significance of exchange in agriculture has been predominant since the mid-nineteenth century, at least. However, Nash (1966), in a comparative study of peasant economies, placed the Irish small-farm economy, as described by Arensberg and Kimball (1940) in terms of the ratio of subsistence to exchange, as equivalent to that of many South American Indian tribes. A constant 30 to 35 per cent of total agricultural product has been estimated to have been consumed in the home in the mid-1930s for the State as a whole.

Table 1: *Percentage of total gross agricultural output consumed by persons on farms without process of sale, 1926/7 to 1973*

	1947 = 28.1%	
1926/27 = (30.0%*)	1948 = 25.2%	1960 = 14.2%** (17.0)
1934/35 = (35.8%*)	1953 = 18.2%** (22%)	1969 = 7.1%***
1938/39 = (33.8%*)	1955 = 18.2%** (22.2%)	1971 = 5.9%***
1943/44 = (42.2%*)	1958 = 16.6%** (20.8%)	1973 = 4.6%***

Source: **Agricultural Statistics,* 1934–1956, CSO 1960, p. 183;
***Irish Trade Journal and Statistical Bulletin,* 37, 3, 1962;
****Irish Statistical Bulletin,* June 1974, and NIE, 1973. The early figures – from 1926 to 1944 – are estimates of the total proportion consumed on farms including farm produce consumed after purchase on undergoing industrial processing; i.e., wool in clothing, leather in shoes, milk in butter etc. The 1947 and 1948 figures were supplied from unpublished estimates by the CSO.

By the mid-1950s this is estimated to have declined to 18 per cent, and by the mid-1970s to less than five per cent. These aggregate figures quite clearly underestimate the degree of subsistence farming amongst smaller west of Ireland farmers. Even up to the mid-1950s significant regional differences still existed in the extent of market domination of the total agricultural economy (see Table 2). These figures relate to direct consumption whereas the figures in Table 1 are based on aggregate estimates of total home farm consumption of farm produce.

Farmers in the west and northwest were significantly less commercialised than in the south. Indeed, in the same survey over two-thirds of all farms of less than 30 acres in size in the west and northwest were defined as "subsistence farms". Here no commercially oriented farming activity could be said to exist on the farm. In total 31 per cent of all western and north-western farmers were classified as subsistence. This compares to less than three per cent in the south of Ireland and nine per cent in the east and midlands. Obviously, on the smaller western farms, subsistence was a dominant pattern even in the 1950s. Given the extent of change in the overall level of subsistence between the early

Table 2: *Percentage of total output on farms used in household consumption for 1956*

	East and mid-region	*South region*	*North and west region*	*All regions*
	%	%	%	%
5–15 acres =	28.3	17.3	38.3	29.2
15–30 acres =	22.5	16.4	28.5	23.2
30–50 acres =	16.6	12.1	23.0	16.2
50–100 acres =	11.5	9.8	17.3	11.3
100–200 acres =	7.6	7.0	9.8	7.4
Over 200 acres =	4.4	5.6	—	4.9
Total	9.1	8.8	18.4	9.6

Source: National Farm Survey, 1956–57, First Interim Report for 1955, CSO, 1957.

1930s and the mid-1950s, the predominant production on small western farms in the 1920s and 1930s must have been of a subsistence nature. In this respect at least, the hypothesis of a regionally discrepant economic system is supported, although the figures indicate only a gradient rather than a clear line between east and west.

In terms of modern capitalist farming such subsistence farming was based on an extremely simple technical system – one took what God and, often an unfriendly, nature gave. Technology was based on a simple horse (or donkey) and man system. Little, if any, capital accumulation or substitution occurred. Only part of the total exchange system was a monetised one – usually payment for rates/rent; provision for non-inheriting children, including dowries for daughters; provision for rites of passage such as marriage, births, deaths, and some provision for retirement, as well as for a fixed set of grocery and drapery requirements. Even direct consumption items – such as clothes, shoes, some groceries such as tea, sugar, flour, were minimised and relatively stabilised in terms of pattern of purchasing, or balanced off against sales of certain farmyard and farm products, (Hannan, 1972).

In regard to technology, minimal regional differences existed in the nature of farm technology up to the Second World War. As can be seen from Table 3, agricultural horses increased in number and importance on Irish farms in all regions up to the late 1940s, with only minor fluctuations. Powered machinery was almost completely insigificant on most farms up to the mid-1950s. This was so even in the eastern more commercialised counties. But it was especially obvious on Connaught and Ulster farms. (see Table 3).

Given the dominance of the horse and man technology and the relatively stable nature of production, with little capital accumulation and little technological improvement occurring, Scully's apt phrase, as applied to the majority of small farmers in the west of Ireland in the late 1960s – "the same

inputs being combined in the same way to produce the same products from one year to the next", (Scully, 1971, p. 118), is even more applicable to the 1930s and 1940s.

Table 3: *Total number of horses used for agricultural purposes and number of agricultural tractors in each province from 1900 to 1970 (000s)*

	Ireland (26 cos)		*Leinster*		*Munster*		*Connaught*		*Ulster (3 cos)*	
	Agric. horses	*Tractors*	*Agric. horses*	*Trac-tors*	*Agric. horses*	*Tractors*	*Agric. horses*	*Tractors*	*Agric. horses*	*Tractors*
1891*	264.8	—	98.3	—	89.7	—	40.4	—	36.4	—
1901	259.8	—	95.8	—	88.9	—	38.9	—	36.2	—
1911	286.2	—	100.4	—	98.6	—	47.5	—	39.7	—
1926	327.2	0.8	103.5	—	117.4	—	64.9	—	41.4	—
1934	329.4	—	100.9	—	124.0	—	64.4	—	40.1	—
1939	326.4	2.1	99.0	1.2	125.3	0.6	62.7	0.1	39.3	0.2
1944	355.1	—	110.0	—	138.8	—	66.4	—	39.9	—
1949	326.1	10.1	96.1	5.6	128.2	2.8	65.5	0.6	36.2	1.1
1954	260.8	26.7	71.8	13.6	106.4	7.9	54.9	2.3	27.6	2.9
1960	176.1	43.7	44.0	21.0	75.3	13.7	39.3	4.1	17.5	5.0
1965	118.9	60.2	26.3	25.6	54.9	20.3	28.8	6.3	8.9	8.0
1970	85.2	84.3	16.8	31.5	40.8	30.2	23.3	11.1	4.4	11.5
1975	39.5	114.2	7.0	37.6	19.1	41.3	12.0	19.7	1.5	15.6

Source: Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland: Eighteenth Annual Report, 1917–18; *Agricultural Statistics*, 1847–1926, 1926–1934, 1934–1956 CSO; *Irish Statistical Bulletin*, March 1966, September 1977 CSO; Agricultural Enumeration Statistics, June 1970 CSO.
*There was a decline in the number of horses used for agricultural purposes between the mid-1860s to 1891.

The west and northwest region was not only, of course, the most traditional and least commercialised region of the country, it also had the smallest farms and the poorest land. The median size of farms in Connaught and Ulster was roughly half that of Leinster and Munster over the whole period from 1926 to 1971.

Although in all regions the shift was equally toward consolidation of farms, the relative size difference remained stable by region. The "average" farm in Connaught and Ulster in 1926 was less than 20 acres, roughly half that of Leinster and Munster. By 1971, while the size of farms had increased to nearly 30 acres in the former areas, the latter had almost reached 60 acres. The quality of land is also, of course, significantly poorer in the western part of the country.

It has been argued that farming in the west of Ireland was carried out on very small family farms, that very simple technical methods of production were

Table 4: *Median size of farms in Ireland and Provinces 1926 to 1971*

Median size of farm	1926	1936	1946	1951	1961	1971	*% Change 1926 to 1971*
Ireland (26 Cos.)	26.8	28.7	30.9	32.5	37.9	40.3	+50.4
Leinster	35.0	39.6	41.9	44.3	49.1	54.9	+56.9
Munster	42.9	44.3	46.2	47.5	51.6	54.6	+27.3
Connaught	19.7	22.3	24.0	24.7	27.4	29.2	+48.2
Ulster (3 Cos.)	19.3	21.3	23.1	24.0	27.0	28.5	+47.7
Kerry	37.3	37.8	40.4	41.2	43.7	45.3	+21.4
Clare	34.0	37.5	39.2	40.4	43.8	46.1	+35.6

Source: Vol. V, No. II for 1926, 1936, 1946; Vol. II No. II, 1951; Vol. V, 1961; Vol. IV, 1971; Census of Population of Ireland, Central Statistics Office, Dublin.

used and that it was primarily a subsistence system. In these respects at least, Arensberg and Kimball's characterisation holds good for most Connaught and West Munster counties for the late 1920s and early 1930s. But even then it would *not* have held true for East Munster, Leinster and Ulster counties. The western system of production coexisted with a highly developed capitalist farming system which had been characteristic of most of Leinster and Munster from the mid-eighteenth century. (Cullen, 1972, Rumpf, 1977).

In class terms also the western farming region was quite clearly a deviant one. For the great majority of western farmers the farm was big enough for a family's support but not large enough to employ labour. In 1926 only seven

Table 5: *Percentage distribution of males employed in agriculture by employment status in 1926*

	Areas				
	Connaught	*Munster*	*Ulster*	*Leinster*	*Total*
	%	%	%	%	%
Farmers	49	37	46	32	40
Farmers' sons and other relatives	44	33	38	27	35
Agricultural labourers					
Total	7	28	16	36	23
(Living out)	(5)	(18)	(10)	(29)	(16)
Other agricultural occupations	1	2	1	5	2
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
Per cent of total "Gainfully Occupied" adult males, employed in agriculture	81%	57%	77%	39%	57%

Source: CPI, Vol. V, II, 1926.

per cent of the total male farm labour force in Connaught were permanently employed agricultural labourers. The results in Table 5 indicate very clearcut regional differences in the characteristics of agricultural classes.

More than seven in ten male workers in Connaught, Ulster and West Munster counties were employed in agriculture in 1926 – predominantly on very small family farms. (See Tables 4 and 5). In Connaught especially, these were largely engaged in subsistence agriculture. Wage labour was significant only in the larger commercialised farming regions of Leinster and East Munster. Indeed it was only in the latter two regions that a stable farm labouring class existed. (McNabb, 1964). In the other regions most temporary labourers, and even a large proportion of the permanent agricultural labouring force, was recruited from the younger non-inheriting sons of small farmers. The type of economic system characteristic of the region in which Arensberg and Kimball's work was carried out was, therefore, significantly different from that of the more commercialised eastern and southern regions. It was characterised by small-scale subsistence production, based on a horse and man technology with very limited capital accumulation tendencies and with minimal occupational and class differentiation. It was a system, however, which, despite its objectively poorer economic status, was one which reproduced itself to a far greater extent than in the more commercialised eastern region. In the following section we examine the extent of generational replacement or "social reproduction" present in the family farming systems of the east and west of Ireland.

Social Structure and Social Reproduction; Regional Differences

In a peasant society involving a limited elaboration of the division of labour and the similarity of exchange products from contiguous communities, very little exchange takes place. Even marriage markets tend to be constrained by local "trade centre community" or social ecological boundaries (Smyth, 1975; 1976). Within each local community system, given the stability of the economy and the predominance of family-owned land resources as the source of livelihood, almost all residents would be born locally and so would the great majority of their parents and grandparents. The local community, therefore, is composed of a number of localised "descent groups" which exist in relative demographic, social and economic isolation from its neighbours. What is most characteristic of peasant social structure, therefore, is its family and kinship centredness and its locality restrictiveness. Access to local economic opportunities are controlled by family and kin ties and rules of inheritance or marriage arrangements. Local market exchanges are inextricably interrelated with deeper kinship and neighbour group bonds. And market and other institutional systems – religious, educational, recreational – are not alone

highly localised, but frequently focused or centred around village systems. As a result discrete locality group systems emerge, having minimal linkage with each other, but each one being linked to the central state and market system. (Hannan, 1972; Smyth, 1975; 1976).

Within most traditional rural communities nearly everybody can trace back their ancestors for a number of generations within the same locality, often on the same farm. In the study reported in detail from Chapters 3 to 8, for instance, just over 80 per cent of all husbands' fathers on western farms were born in the parish of origin – 46 per cent on the current farm; and nearly all of these had lived there all their lives. This is much less true of wives' parents, however, as the following table shows. Also, in almost all cases, parents and grandparents came from farming backgrounds.

Table 6: *Geographic and social origins of husbands and wives in the sample (N = 408 couples)*

Place of origin		*of wives*	*of husbands*	*Occupation of father of respondent*		*Wives' fathers*	*Husbands' fathers*
		%	%			%	%
Home parish		67	88	Farmer		91	93
Within 30 miles–but				Non-manual		3	–
from open country		21	9	Manual		4	4
External		8	–	No information		1	3
No information		4	3				
Total	%	100	100	*Total*	%	100	100
	No.	408	408		No.	408	408

The issue of the locality restrictiveness of social groups – both in terms of their origins and in terms of meaningful social contacts outside the local community's boundaries – will be returned to later. It is a basic defining feature of a "peasant system". It gives it its peculiar personalistic character, where not alone "everybody knows everybody else" but every detail of their lineage, where everybody is "placed" by birth within a clearly articulated symbolic universe of living and dead kin and their evaluated activities. In these respects at least most independent evidence would support Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) view of the small farm system of the west.

In terms of class relations, these do not flow from relations of production. Since the latter are almost universally *intra familial* or based on local mutual aid exchange systems amongst class equals, class inequalities are not generated in this way. Inequalities are based on inheritance position, on size of farm inherited and on position within, and orientation to, the larger market system. In the west of Ireland, positions of dominance and submission within the

market system, or positions of relative influence on the determination of prices, were very rarely located within the same community. (Jones, 1978; Scully, 1971). The predominant element of production was store cattle. In this trade the position of cattle dealers, large graziers and that of the east of Ireland "fatteners" (or fat cattle producers) was the most crucial. Local intra class relations were relatively unimportant in determining class position. So besides the predominance of property-owning "middle peasants" (Galeski, 1972, pp. 109-111) in the local community and the relatively lower differentiation of class positions in the west of Ireland, the method and products of production were such as to de-emphasise the relevance of local class relations.

Gibbon (1973) in his critique of Brody's (1973) and Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) work, emphasises *local* differences in relations of production and in exchange transactions as the basis of class differentiation and social conflict. As has been pointed out, class differences were significantly less exaggerated in the west of Ireland than in the east and south and to a large extent farm size classes tended also to be ecologically discrete. Mutual aid systems – based on neighbour or kin groups – took place amongst status or class equals which, because of ecological or social separation led to the segregation of small and large farmers. The class position of the extremely poor cottiers, fishermen, or migrant labourer communities along the extreme western coastal belt was, and is, quite different from that of the great majority of western small farmers and should not be confused with them, as Gibbon and others have done. (West Cork, 1963; and West Donegal, 1969, Resource Surveys). We do not want to give the impression that all western farmers were of equal status, had equal resources, and had equal power in a local mutual aid system. There were certainly differences in resources. Certainly also many small farmers did not have sufficient resources to support their families and had to engage in at least temporary farm labouring or in part-time off-farm employment. County Council road workers in many western counties were predominantly from small-holding origins in the 1950s. Still, these poorer farms were a very small proportion of the total in the west compared to the position of farm labourers and equally small farmers in the eastern or south-eastern farm communities. (See Table 5.)

The quality of the land in the west of Ireland is also significantly poorer than in the eastern region. The average valuation per statute acre of holdings between 10-15 acres in Leinster was £0.88 in 1931, compared to £0.41 for Connaught farms. Holdings between 15-30 acres were valued at £0.70 per acre in Leinster and at £0.39 per acre in Connaught.[2] Not alone was the average size of farm half that of Leinster farms, but the quality of the land that was farmed was also valued at roughly half that of eastern counties.

[2]Calculated from Table 1, *Agricultural Statistics 1927-1932*, op. cit.

Besides the central significance of locality descent groups, the stem family arrangement is perhaps the most important element in guaranteeing the persistence of peasant systems. Within patrilineal and impartible inheritance systems, although only one son remains at home to eventually inherit the property, it is necessary that at least one daughter per family remains behind to guarantee wives for neighbouring inheriting sons. In Ireland the great majority – up to 90 per cent – of inheriting sons entered the family apprenticeship after finishing primary school. On average, however, another brother also took up work on the home farm at age 13 or 14 but would leave it for the emigrant ship within the following six to ten years. And up to the late 1950s, for every inheriting son at least one daughter also remained on at home on the farm. The other children were "provided for" by education, through local apprenticeship, by working as a farm labourer or by emigration. When the system worked effectively it simultaneously guaranteed inheritance, marriage of the successor and dispersal of the non-inheritors.

In some systems – as in Austria – there were customary financial settlements for the non-inheriting siblings, to be paid by the inheritor soon after he took over. (Berkner, 1972). Onerous financial obligations to siblings such as appeared to have been characteristic of other European systems rarely occurred in Ireland. The exception would be where an older son inherited at a very young age and younger siblings had yet to be provided for. The provision for the non-inheritors, however, was almost always made by the retiring father, rarely by the inheriting son.

We have already indicated some clear distinguishing features of the economic and social structure of the west of Ireland farm system of the 1920s and 1930s: (i) the almost exclusively agricultural economy of the western region; (ii) the small farm size and the poor quality of the land; (iii) the dominance of family workers and the insignificance of wage labour in agricultural employment; (iv) the subsistence nature of the whole production and consumption process. All of these characteristics, however, could merely indicate the greater poverty and economic and social deprivation of the region. There can be no doubt whatsoever about the objectively poorer status of the western small farm population. Whether the people of the west evaluated their situation in this way is, however, another question.

We have very limited information on the beliefs, feelings and values of the western small farm population other than Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) study. If, however, an effective "stem family" arrangement existed in the west at that time, as these authors suggest, it should be reflected in the farm population's behaviour, particularly in the following:

(i) Replacement rates (ii) Dispersal rates (iii) Marriage rates

If all or most fathers on retirement were replaced by their sons, if other family members left the farm, if all or most inheriting sons married and reproduced the family on the farm; then a very effective inheritance, marriage and family dispersal arrangement existed there. Arensberg (1937) and Arensberg and Kimball (1940) describe an extraordinary effective system in all these respects – surprisingly so where such brutally clearcut distinctions were being made between a number of sons, and between sons and daughters. The average completed family size amongst farmers was, after all, at that time over 6.0 children (Walsh, 1968). Even with one son inheriting, one daughter being "dowered off" and perhaps one other son or daughter being provided for locally, still over half the children born to farm families would have to emigrate.

These measures of "social reproduction" therefore provide a very stringent measure of the distinctive nature of the small-farm culture of western Ireland. Arensberg and Kimball (1940) stressed the uniqueness of that culture. Gibbon (1973) and others stress the extent to which it was subject to the same market forces and the same class pressures as other areas. If Arensberg and Kimball (1940) were right then all these socio-demographic indices should demonstrate that uniqueness. We shall see whether this is so in the following section.

Regional Differences in the Social Reproduction of Farming Systems

In the following section we examine three different kinds of demographic evidence for the existence of a distinct peasant system in the west of Ireland in the 1920s: (i) the extent to which one generation of small farmers replaced another within different regions of the country; (ii) the extent to which regional differences existed in the efficiency of "dispersal" arrangements; and (iii) the extent to which inheriting sons were able to marry and reproduce themselves.

First, we examine gross "replacement rates" on family farms – the ratio of sons who remain behind on farms, to the number of their fathers' generation who are farm owners.

Replacement Rates

In regard to gross replacement rates the following results indicate dramatically higher levels of father-son replacements – in fact between 20 to 40 per cent higher – on the small subsistence Connaught farms than on equivalent sized Leinster farms. We shall show later that these differences considerably understate the higher levels of generational replacement or continuity on the small western farms in the 1920s and 1930s.

Table 7: *No. of farmers' sons working on family farms per 1,000 male farmers, in four farm size groups, in each of the provinces of Ireland, 1926*

Area	*<30 acres*	*30-50 acres*	*50-100 acres*	*100 +*
Connaught	750	797	820	809
Munster	630	715	752	806
Leinster	542	683	714	683
Ulster	634	670	759	767
Ireland (26 counties)	670	726	752	759

Source: CPI, 1926, Vol. V, 11.

On all farm sizes Connaught had by far the highest level of father-son replacements in 1926. On small farms (under 30 acres), for instance, the ratios were over one-third higher on Connaught than on Leinster farms. Since the quality of land and the income generated per acre was considerably higher in Leinster than in Connaught even these ratios understate the relative differences. (See CSO *National Farm Survey,* 1955).

These regional differences in farm entry ratios were roughly balanced off by considerably greater emigration or, at least, off-farm movement, occurring amongst farmers' sons in Connaught and Ulster counties in both the pre-war and post-war period. (See Table 8.) The rate of off-farm movement of farmers' sons who had initially entered apprenticeship (between the ages of 15 and 24) on the home farm in Connaught, Ulster and west Munster counties in 1926, 1936 and 1946, was more than twice that of Leinster and east Munster counties. This, combined with a slightly lower rate of succession to the

Table 8: *Percentage of original (15-24) age cohort of male farm family entrants (i.e., farmers' sons and other relatives) in 1926 and 1946 who had (a) become farmers; (b) were still family dependents, or (c) had emigrated or at least left the family farm 10 years after entry*

	1926 15-24 cohort and 10 years later, 1936 (25-34)			*1926 (15-24) cohort and 20 years later (1946) (35-44)*			*1946 (15-24) cohort and 20 years later 1966 (35-44)*		
Regions	% family dependent	% farmers	% left* home	% family dependent	% farmers	% left* home	% family dependent	% farmers	% left* home
Connaught	56	10	34	27	36	37	14	40	44
Ulster (3 Cos.)	60	11	29	29	37	34	14	41	55
Munster	69	14	17	32	45	23	18	56	27
Leinster	74	15	11	39	51	10	18	53	29
Total (26 Cos.)	70	12	18	31	41	28	17	48	35
W. Munster									
Clare	67	13	20	33	45	23	14	45	41
Cork	68	14	19	30	46	25	16	53	31
Kerry	61	11	27	27	37	36	13	41	45

Source: Census of Population of Ireland, Vol. VIII, 1926, 1936, 1946, Vol. V, 1966.
* This is the residual and would therefore overstate the extent of migration since the estimated no. of deaths occurring in the cohort have not been included. However this overstatement is likely to be very small.

"farmer" status, meant that a much lower proportion of farmers' sons remained in a prolonged family dependent status in Connaught and Ulster counties than in Leinster or east Munster.

Taken over a 20-year period, for instance, (i.e., by 1946) only one-quarter (27 per cent) of the original cohort (15-24 in 1926) still remained in the dependent family status in Connaught, while over one-third (39 per cent) were still in that dependent status in Leinster. Although relatively fewer farmers' sons entered farming in Leinster and east Munster and relatively more inherited, a significantly higher proportion of sons had to remain on in an anomalous dependent position within the family in the more commercialised regions. Either because of lack of home resources to support the surplus or because of the presence of efficient emigrant dispersal arrangements, the western small farm system was significantly more efficient in dispersing its surplus population.

So it appears that the process of demographic replacement – of sons replacing fathers on farms – was significantly more efficient in Connaught, west Munster and Ulster counties even up to the late 1940s. These regions produced a wider spread of potential successors and a more efficient process of dispersal of non-successors, leaving relatively fewer sons in prolonged dependency on their fathers, or even, eventually, on their inheriting brothers.

As we shall see in the following section, the western small farm system also ensured a significantly higher marriage rate amongst the eventually inheriting sons.

Marriage Rates

In 1926 there was a distinct inverse correlation between the marriage rate of farmers in a county and the median size of farm in the county (r=–.25)[3]. At ages 45-64, the marriage rates of male farmers in Kerry and Mayo were 8 and 11 per cent respectively, while it was 31 and 32 per cent respectively for Kildare and Meath. Similar percentage differences existed at much younger ages — i.e., a 30 percentage point difference between Kerry and Kildare at ages 25-34, between one of the poorest and one of the richest farming counties in Ireland.

[3]Percentage of all male farmers, aged 45-64, who were single by county in 1926. And the median size of farm per county.

	Kerry	Mayo	Cork	Galway	Leitrim	Clare	Limerick	Sligo	Roscommon	Longford	Waterford	Kilkenny	Tipperary	Cavan	Wicklow	Monaghan	Dublin	Carlow	Donegal	Laois	Offaly	Wexford	Westmeath	Louth	Kildare	Meath
% 45-64 single	8	11	11	14	15	16	17	17	17	19	21	21	20	22	24	25	26	27	27	28	28	29	29	30	31	32
Median size of farm (acs.	37	17	50	22	22	35	44	21	22	24	56	49	44	28	24	21	39	28	18	33	36	46	31	22	44	33

Quite obviously "pre-famine" patterns of early marriage and high marriage rates had persisted amongst farmers in the remote western counties long after the pattern amongst the non-farmer population had reversed. According to Cousen's (1961; 1964), the relative rates of emigration, marriage, and over-all demographic adjustment to the cataclysm of the famine was least marked in the west of Ireland, in the post-famine period. Indeed, some of the poorest Rural Districts recorded a population increase between 1851 and 1861. And

Table 9: *Percentage of all male farmers, aged 45-64, and 25-34, who were single in 1926 and in 1971.*

	1926		*1971*	
Counties	(45-64)	(25-34)	(45-64)	(25-34)
Lowest four in 1926	%	%	%	%
Kerry	8	32	30	51
Mayo	11	43	33	54
Cork*	11	50	27	46
Galway	14	52	31	57
Highest four in 1926				
Wexford	29	54	25	36
Louth	30	58	35	52
Kildare	31	62	24	45
Meath	32	61	28	45

Abstracted from CPI Vol. V.II, p. 61, 1926; Vol. V, pp. 5-9, 1971.
*Excluding the County Borough.

low marriage ages and high marriage rates –patterns which were characteristic of most pre-famine rural areas – persisted for much longer along the west coast than in other areas of the country. Indeed, the fastest and severest demographic adjustment took place first in the richer farming areas of the east and midlands. The Mayo marriage rate for females of 45-54 in 1841 was 9.6 percentage points higher than Dublin. In 1871 it was still 13.3 points higher. While the percentage of females married in Mayo had hardly changed in the intervening 30 years, that of Dublin had decreased by over 9 percentage points. By 1911, however, the regional pattern had reversed, with the poorest western counties having the lowest marriage rates. Obviously, however, this adjustment did not extend to those who were lucky enough to inherit a farm along the west coast. In this case the regional reversal in marriage patterns occurred only by mid-century, a "rationalisation" that had occurred amongst other sectors of the population by 1911.

That the marriage chances of farmers were more responsive to regional variations than to farm size differences is obvious from the results in Table 10.

Within the same farm size class all of the Connaught and west Munster counties constituted the high marriage areas, while the three Ulster counties and Wicklow, Louth and Longford – all with equally low farm sizes – had relatively low marriage rates. And the lowest marriage rates of all were in the most commercialised eastern counties of Leinster and Munster, those counties with significantly better incomes.

Table 10: *Regional distribution of high, medium, and low county marriage rates for male farmers, controlling for median size of farm per county, 1926*

Median size of farm per county	*High marriage rate counties <18% single (45-64)*	*Moderate marriage rate counties 19-25% single (45-64)*	*Low marriage rate counties 26-32% single (45-64)*
<20 acres	Mayo		Donegal
20-25 acres	Sligo Galway Roscommon Leitrim	Louth Monaghan Longford Wicklow Cavan	
25-35	Clare		Carlow Westmeath Meath
35-45	Kerry Limerick	Tipperary	Offaly Laois Dublin Kildare
45 acres	Cork	Kilkenny Waterford	Wexford

Source: As for Table 9.

The marriage rate, therefore was more a regional than a small farm phenomenon *per se*. Nor was the factor of subsistence universally associated with it. Donegal, for instance, has traditionally had one of the highest rates of subsistence farming, yet it had a significantly different pattern of marriage in the 1920s and 1930s. Even in 1955 nearly two-thirds of all farmers in Donegal were defined as subsistence farmers, a pattern equivalent to that of most Connaught and west Munster counties. On the other hand, in the moderately low marriage rate counties of the east and south east the proportion of farms defined as subsistence was a small fraction of that in the west and north west. Quite clearly, therefore, despite their economic and some of their demographic similarities, Ulster counties had a quite different pattern of

socio-demographic response to that of Connaught and west Munster counties. In the latter areas the decision to marry was made more readily by smaller, definitely poorer – indeed very poor – farmers than amongst the large more commercially oriented ones. Not only, therefore, was there an inverse correlation between median size of farms by county and the county marriage rate in 1926, but even within the smaller and more traditional farming areas, the smaller the farm, the greater the probability of marriage.

Table 11: *Percentage of male farmers "ever married", aged 35-44 in 1926, by size of farm in selected counties and provinces*

	Size of Farm				
	<15 *acres*	15-30 *acres*	30-50 *acres*	50-100 *acres*	100+ *acres*
Mayo	78	72	79	75	58
Galway	73	73	74	69	69
Kerry	75	83	89	91	91
Clare	62	70	76	79	70
Connaught	72	73	75	69	64
Munster	66	73	77	77	77
Louth	46	60	74	54	67
Meath	51	55	59	64	68
Kildare	56	61	63	67	60
Leinster	55	59	64	65	67
Ulster	64	62	62	67	63
Ireland	66	69	72	72	71

The smaller subsistence farmers of the west of Ireland reproduced themselves and their particular economic and social system far more efficiently than those of the commercialised eastern part of the country. Indeed the poorest western farmers reproduced themselves more confidently than the richest and most commercialised farmers of Leinster. Therefore, in terms of father-son replacement, of the efficient dispersal of "surplus" adults through emigration, of the marriage of inheritors and of their successful reproduction, the west of Ireland small farm system was by far the most efficient of all. Despite its greater (absolute) poverty, its poorest farmers reacted far more confidently in their crucial life choices — to marry or not to marry, to stay at home and take over the farm or to emigrate — than the more commercialised

farmers of the eastern part of the country. The "archaic" patterns of early and high marriage rates that had been characteristic of most of peasant Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century was still as confidently characteristic of the small scale farmers of the west of Ireland in 1926.

Before we conclude this section a number of alternative explanations need to be considered. Since regional differences are most marked in the marriage rate of farmers, four possible reasons for the higher marriage rate of farmers along the west suggest themselves. Some of these fit within the "peasant model" but some quite clearly do not.

(a) The highly institutionalised migration systems of the west of Ireland — the "stem family" arrangement — dispersed the surplus of non-inheriting male members of the household more efficiently than in the east and north. As a result, inheriting sons had fewer dependent siblings to maintain and encountered less competition for wives, factors which may have enhanced their marriage prospects relative to their counterparts in the east and north. (b) The ratio of women to men may have been significantly higher along the west coast than in the north and east — due both to the lower availability of off-farm employment for women, and to a more "traditional" socialisation of females so that they were less likely to emigrate on leaving school. As a result, the marriage market may have been more favourable for west of Ireland farmers. (c) Thirdly, in terms of a particular "rational" economic model of man, we could postulate that despite the significantly lower incomes on west of Ireland farms, the particular pattern of farming engaged in required and rewarded female labour to a relatively greater extent than in the rest of the country. What is crucial to these two latter arguments is the economic rewards accruing to both males and females on marriage, and the relative availability (supply) of females willing to marry. (d) Fourthly and finally, we come to a cultural argument. Significant cultural differences between east and west, especially in the basic standards of evaluation affecting marriage decisions — such as standard of living expected, expectations of behaviour proper to marriage and family life, extent of institutionalisation of traditional age-graded sex roles — would significantly affect the rate of marriage in eastern and western regions.

These four suggested explanations must be examined in turn.

(a) *Efficiency of Dispersal of Non-Inheriting Siblings*

As we have already seen, significant regional differences did exist in the arrangements usual for non-inheritors. In Connaught, west Munster and Ulster counties, "surplus" sons were far more likely to leave home, and at a much earlier age, than in Leinster or east Munster counties, leaving the way clear for the marriage of the inheritor. (See Table 8.) Ulster counties, however,

were no different from Leinster ones in their lower marriage rates. Stem family arrangements were therefore more highly institutionalised in the west and were not merely reflections of the poorer farm resources available there.

(b) *Sex Ratios*

For young farmers (25-34), the sex ratios were significantly more favourable in Connaught and Munster from 1926 up to 1951. (See Table 12.) However, since all these sex ratios were in the order of a minimum of five single farmers' daughters to every single male farmer in the relevant "young" age groups in 1926 and 1936, they cannot be taken as important influences up to the 1940s. Amongst older single farmers the "available" supply of potential wives is less plentiful, but the differences in rates of availability between east and west are hardly sufficient to account for differences in the marriage rates. In fact for the older age group (35-44) the ratios were more favourable in Leinster than in Connaught over the whole period. From 1951 onwards the sex ratios show a drastic decline — especially in Connaught and Ulster. Obviously this later decline in sex ratios must have had a very significant effect on the marriage rate. In the earlier period, however, regional differences in sex ratios could not possibly account for differences in the marriage rate.

(c) *Regional Differences in the Economic Role of Women and in value of the Female Farm Economy*

Regional differences in the farm economy have existed right from the mid-eighteenth century (Freeman, 1964). In the period from the 1920s to 1950s the west of Ireland was predominantly a dry (store) cattle and sheep economy. Tillage had been declining in significance from the late nineteenth century, even during the period of tillage growth from 1919 to 1939 in other regions of Ireland (Crotty 1966, p. 146). Dairying, tillage and even pig production were of far greater significance in both the southern and eastern region.

In relative terms, however, poultry production was of far greater importance in the west. (See Appendix Tables 1 and 2.) Small scale dairying – which was part of the "female economy" of the farm in some areas – was only important in very limited areas of the west; e.g., parts of Sligo, Clare and Kerry. Small scale pig production also was of variable relevance. But from the point of view of the overall farm income a significant "female economy" appears to have been of even less consequence in Connaught, at least, than in the three Ulster counties and most southern counties. Store cattle and sheep production –associated with specifically "male" work roles–seems to have been most characteristic of Connaught farming.

Table 12: *Sex ratios: number of single females on farms–farmers, farmers daughters and other relatives—per 1,000 single male farmers in specified age groups, 1926 to 1971*

Region	*Age groups*	*1926*	*1936*	*1951*	*1961*	*1971*
Ireland	(1) SF: (20-29) / SM: (25-34)	3897	3621	1608	684	307
	(2) SF: 30-39 / SM: 35-44	754	630	495	217	129
	(3) SF: 35-44 / SM: 45-54	420	361	266*	88*	40*
Leinster	(1) SF: 20-29 / SM: 25-34	3060	2769	1176*	714*	400*
	(2) SF: 30-39 / SM: 35-44	724	782	511*	269*	167*
Munster	(1) SF: 20-29 / SM: 25-34	4986	4362	1760*	860*	442*
	(2) SF: 30-39 / SM: 35-44	1009	1116	637*	233*	134*
Connaught	(1) SF: 20-29 / SM: 25-34	4081	3940	1220*	631	278
	(2) SF: 30-39 / SM: 35-44	643	800	405*	173*	106*
Ulster	(1) SF: 20-29 / SM: 25-34	2867	2562	903*	390*	229*
	(2) SF: 30-39 / SM: 35-44	582	752	412*	142*	88*

Source: Calculated from CPI, Vol. V, II, 1926 to 1961; Vol. V, 1971; Occupation by Age, Sex and Marital Status.* These rates are calculated from estimated nos. of single female relatives of farmers; nos. in specified age groups also estimated. The estimates might be slightly too high for 1971. Estimates based on dividing F 20 year-old groups by half; and estimating per cent single by applying differences in average per cent who were single in the relevant age statuses in the aggregate provincial population.

So, if we consider what we have proposed as likely "objective" factors which might explain the higher marriage rates of farmers of the west of Ireland — less adult dependency, higher sex ratios, the relative importance of a specifically female economy — only the first factor appears of any significance.[4] And this factor can only be meaningfully interpreted in terms of a specifically "peasant" mode of production and of social and cultural formation.

(d) *A Cultural Explanation*

The most reasonable explanation for the obvious socio-demographic pecularities of the west of Ireland is to accept its obvious cultural and social structural distinctiveness. A distinctiveness which, rooted in a clearly divergent historical experience as Rumpf (1977) has pointed out, has had strong political influences on modern Irish history. The residue of the Irish language remains there. More than half the total population still spoke that language even at the end of the nineteenth century. The land had never been officially "planted", but had taken the majority of refugees from the Ulster plantation.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century it had experienced an extremely rapid growth in population leading to the emergence of a large rural proletariat of extremely small cottiers, where 75 per cent of all householders held less than five acres each. This was the sector which experienced the worst ravages of the famine and its aftermath. (Lee, 1973; O Tuathaigh, 1972; Woodham-Smith, 1962).

But despite this, the poorest sector, concentrated in the western region, did not take to sustained emigration immediately after the famine. It did not suffer the worst regional decline in population, nor a decline in the marriage rate equivalent to that which occurred in the more prosperous regions. (Cousens 1964; 1968; McKenna, 1974; Walsh 1970). Indeed, up to the late nineteenth century, Connaught and west Munster were characterised by a significantly higher marriage rate than that of the much more prosperous east and south east. According to Cousens (1964), declines in the relative rates of emigration and marriage, were least marked in the west of Ireland in the post-famine period. The fastest and severest demographic adjustment took place first in the richer farming areas of the east and midlands.

[4]One other measure of adult family dependency was constructed — the number of adult family and kin dependents, (siblings, and other relatives) working or living with the family per 1,000 farmers in each Province in 1926. Total, and farmers under 30 acres.

	Ireland	Leinster	Munster	Connaught	Ulster
All farmers	215	252	253	164	200
Farmers under 30 acres	173	198	190	147	190

The results show quite clearly the lower level of adult family dependency in Connaught in 1926.

A very severe, and obviously painful, economic adjustment accompanied the economic depression at the end of the nineteenth century, and the emergence of a small landowning peasant class, coincided with a decline in off-farm opportunities. The small family farm became the basic unit of operation, whereupon the proprietor or inheritor was the only one of his brothers who had the means to marry, the others being obliged either to remain at work on the farm with little chance of marriage, or to migrate in search of brighter opportunities. It was estimated that in 1871 almost half of younger males dependent on farming who were not themselves farmers could marry. By 1926 this had declined to less than 10 per cent. Obviously, however, this drastic decline in their marriage chances was not shared by their brothers who were lucky enough to inherit a farm (Hannan and Hardiman, 1978). As we have already pointed out, their marriage prospects had changed little right up to the end of the 1930s.

The sociodemographic peculiarities of the western region in the 1920s and 1930s therefore, are so clearly marked that only a "peasant model" in its economic, social and cultural dimensions can adequately represent it.

The following conclusions appear indisputable: (i) In economic terms the west of Ireland small farm system was clearly different from other regions. Farms were significantly smaller, and the land was poorer. Very little labour was employed, so that farming was almost exclusively a family enterprise. Subsistence production was the predominant form of production. There was minimal capital accumulation etc. (ii) In social structural terms four features distinguished it from other regions: It had a very limited local social division of labour. Local communities, having little economic or social interaction with each other formed relatively closed interaction systems within which — relative to other regions — class differences were minimised. The stem family system was dominant. Such livelihoods depended on the exploitation of family owned resources, and this patrimony was passed on as one unit from one generation to another. The "stem" or home family remained stronger and more resilient than in other regions. Father-son inheritance was much more likely. Inheriting sons married much more frequently. Non-inheriting sons and "surplus" daughters were dispersed through emigration arrangements far more efficiently than in any other region of Ireland. And farm families reproduced themselves to a far greater extent than in any other region.

In all these respects Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) model — freed from its functionalist illusions — is, in fact, a safe base from which to start analysing changes in farming and communal systems in the west of Ireland. Their picture of it as a conservative but vital peasant system appears to have been valid for that time.

The Dissolution of the Peasant System

The relatively autonomous peasant system characteristic of the west of Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s, when Arensberg and Kimball did their ethnographic research, began to fall into decline in the 1940s and 1950s. In tracing the course of this decline we shall focus on the three factors already used as symptomatic of the vibrancy of this unique peasant culture: (i) extent of father-son replacement; (ii) the marriage chances or marriage rates of inheriting sons; (iii) the influence of class differences on replacement rates, marriage rates and incomes.

Broadly these factors measure the extent of social reproduction of the western system and the relevance of class factors in that reproduction. As we have seen, class appeared to be relatively insignificant in marriage and reproduction in west of Ireland agriculture in the 1920s — at least in so far as it influenced decisions to stay on in farming and to reproduce.

There is a difficulty in using the concept "Class", in the Marxian sense, when discussing family farming. In the western region as we have seen (Table 5) very few farmers employed labour. Almost all farms were owned and worked using family labour. We find great difficulty, therefore, in using a concept like "Class", when defined in terms of the relationship of people to the "means of production", (owners of means of production and wage labourers etc.) to describe the main economic categories of this system (Galeski, 1972, pp. 109-111). Almost all farmers in the west were what Marxist scholars called "Middle Peasants" — with large enough holdings to support a family but not large enough to employ any labour. The western rural proletariat, which had been very substantial around the Great Famine, had almost disappeared by the end of the nineteenth century (Lee, 1973; Cousens, 1961; 1964; Hannan and Hardiman, 1978).

In this monograph then we take "Class" to mean only differences in the amount of land or capital owned. In Weber's sense, it is used as the *amount* of resources controlled which can be utilised, and its products exchanged, for different amounts of income in the commodity market. We have seen that the peasant society of the 1920s and 1930s in the west of Ireland involved very little class stratification. Subsistence farming was primarily a familial activity creating little surplus wealth and allowing limited opportunity for capital accumulation. Social life conformed to traditional patterns, in a face-to-face community; horizons were limited to farm, household and parish boundaries, and reference standards were "internal", traditional and conservative. Change, when it occurred, made itself felt in the following ways:

(i) The increasing significance of exchange and of the cash economy in general. This has both economic and social effects in that previous

"social" relationships — as in mutual labour exchange — are transformed into purely economic ones. (See Gibbon, 1973, p. 483 — for a rejection of this line of argument.)

(ii) Consequent on the cumulation and specialisation of capital and the significance of dynamic entrepreneurial activity, an increasing difference emerges between large and small farmers in income, life chances and in rates of reproduction. Class differentiation escalates with capital substitution and technical innovation (Galeski, 1972; Mendras, 1970).

(iii) Accompanying or preceding these economic and class changes have been very important cultural ones — which will be interpreted broadly in terms of "modernisation" or of the decline in legitimacy of local traditional standards or values — i.e., of their delegitimation (Inkeles and Smith, 1974).

In examining the course and effects of economic and social change the following areas are examined in turn: changes in rates of intergenerational replacement from 1926 to 1971; and in failures to marry and reproduce the family cycle.

Replacement Rates

Father-son replacement rates are reported in graphical form in Figure 1, and in more detail in Appendix Table 3. Treated as a comparative measure — comparing Connaught with Leinster rates, for instance — the rate broadly indicates differences between regions and changes over time in the level of father-son replacement and of social reproduction in general.

There is a remarkable uniformity in the pattern of changes in these rates over time. There is no significant change in any region up to 1946, but a very sharp decline in the rate of father-son replacement occurs at that time, which continues at a slightly accelerating pace up to the 1970s. The increase in the rate of retention of sons on farms[5] during the 1930s was obviously due to the economic depression. All the information suggests a very gradual decline in the ratio of fathers to sons on farms from the late nineteenth century up to the 1920s.

[5]Unfortunately, because of changes in Census categories it is not possible to go back beyond 1926. The 1911, 1901, 1891 and 1881 Censuses do not provide information on the marital status of farmers by regions and do not have a category for "farmers' sons". Even in terms of categories like "Farmers' Relatives" the definition appears to be different than the one used in the 1926 Census. If one compares the 1891 and 1911 Censuses, however, using similar categories i.e., Farmers/Farmers' Relatives we get the following ratios.

			Connaught	*Munster*	*Leinster*	*Ulster*
1891	*No. of Male Farmers* / No. of Farmers' Relatives	× 1000 =	653	717	610	521
1911	,,	=	582	557	520	440

(Continued on next page)

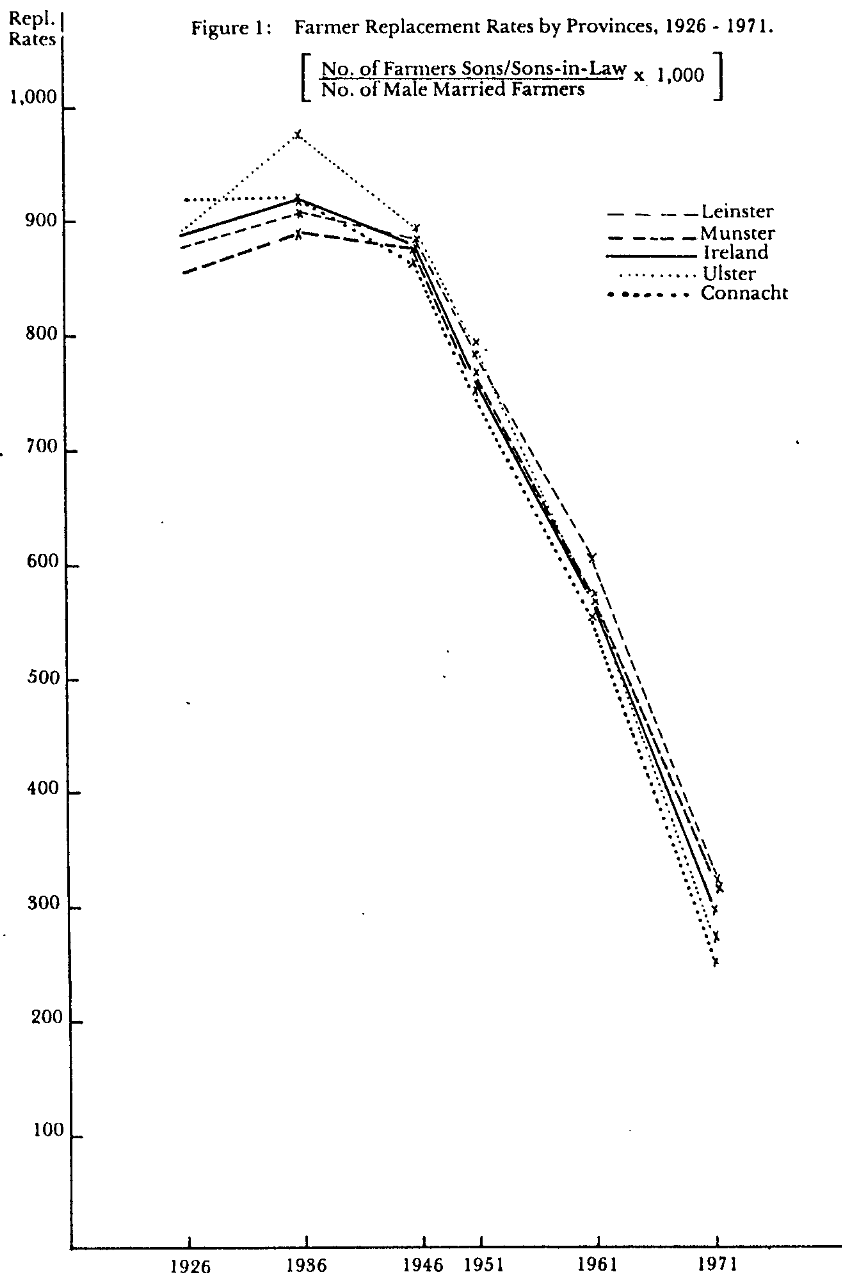


Figure 1: Farmer Replacement Rates by Provinces, 1926 - 1971.

$$\left[\frac{\text{No. of Farmers Sons/Sons-in-Law}}{\text{No. of Male Married Farmers}} \times 1{,}000\right]$$

Footnote 5 (Continued from page 52)

It appears from this that the ratio of farmers' relatives to farmers declined in the 20-year period by between 10-15 per cent. The rate of decline, however, in the 1951-71 period was over 60 per cent. So it appears that (i) the increase between 1926 and 1936 was clearly deviant as judged by historical trends; and (ii) that the rate of decline in the post-war period was unprecedented.

The sharp acceleration of the downward trend after 1946 is so obvious it hardly requires discussion. If one refers back to the data given in Table 7 it becomes obvious that the decline is not so much due to fewer people entering farming but to a much higher proportion of initial entrants leaving and not waiting around for inheritance.

Marriage Chances and Marriage Rates

Two sets of indices are being considered — changes in the sex ratios which express the probabilities of single male farmers having potential wives available locally amongst the daughters of other farmers, and, secondly, the actual marriage rates of male farmers. Even by the late 1950s, up to 90 per cent of farmers married farmers' daughters, the great majority of whom were from the local parish (See Table 6; Smyth, 1975, 1976.)

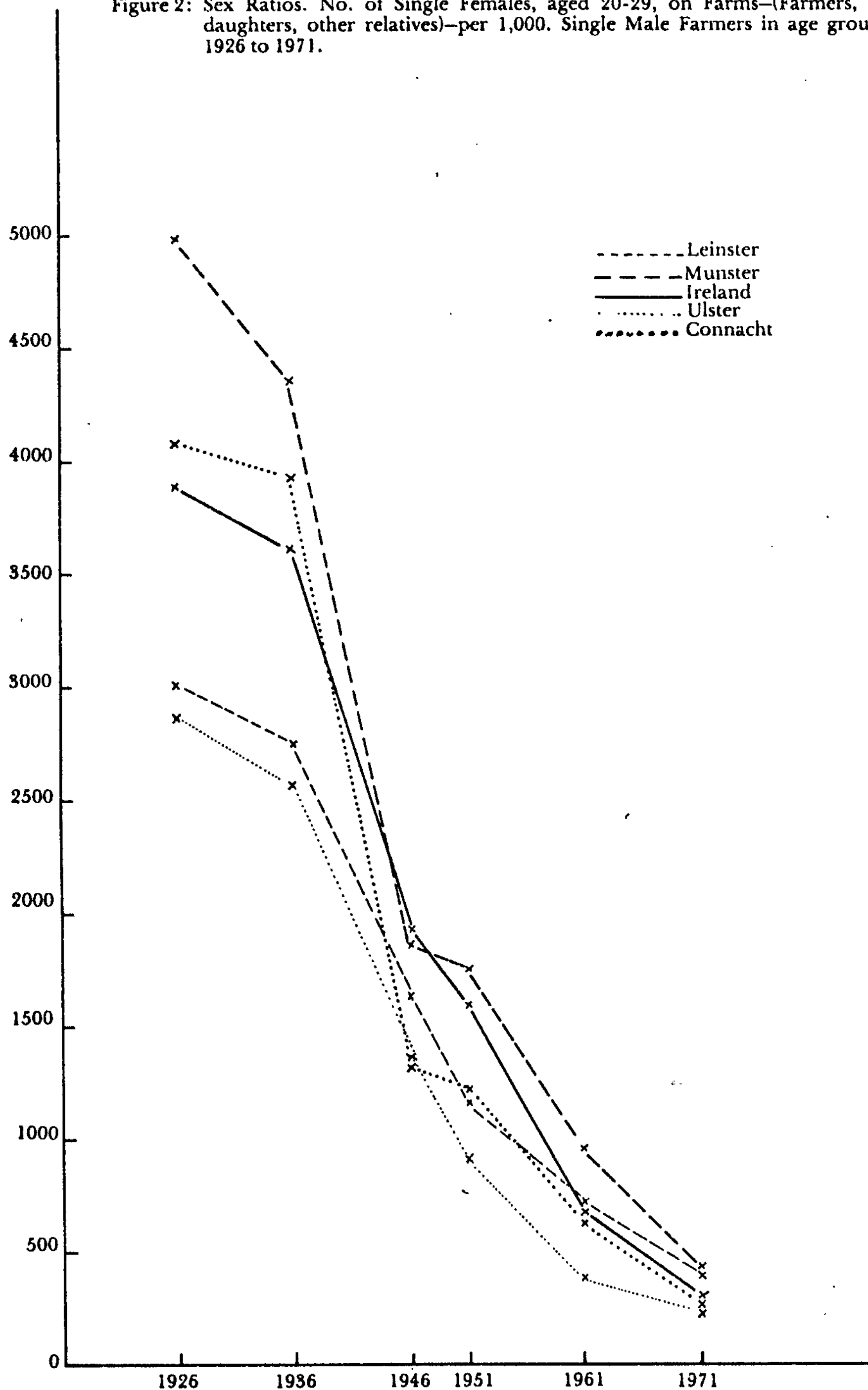
Sex Ratios

The local marriage chances of single male farmers declined very rapidly after 1936. (See Figure 2 and Table 12.) Nevertheless, even by 1951 all younger farmers (<35) had still a relatively wide choice of potential wives. Indeed it is only in the late 1950s that this courtship advantage is reversed, where every local girl had, on average, two farmers to choose from.

An increase in the migration pattern of females from farms appears to have occurred at an earlier period than that for males (Figures 1 and 2). A very rapid decline in the sex ratio and, therefore, in the "supply" of potential farmers' wives occurred between 1936 and 1946. In comparing the trends in Figures 1 and 2 it appears that many farmers' daughters had already got tired of waiting around at home for a suitable husband by the late 1930s. A comparison of the data presented in Table 12, Appendix Table 3 and the two graphs reveal clearly a pattern of earlier and more rapid decline amongst farmers' daughters than farmers' sons. For males the abrupt decline occurs after 1946, for females a decade earlier. Quite obviously, disillusionment with subsistence farming had spread more rapidly and at an earlier date amongst farmers' daughters than farmers' sons. All regions were equally affected. A young farmer in 1926 and 1936 had from three to four farmers' daughters to choose from; by 1946 the choice had declined to one or two; by the late 1950s to less than one. By 1971 every three farmers were in competition for the favour of one girl. For older farmers the decline in the number of marriageable girls was even steeper. (See Table 12.)

Of course, all farmers' wives were not recruited from farm origins, nor especially from girls who had remained on at home on the farm. This is particularly true in the post-war period. (See Table 31, Chapter 3.) In the earlier period, however, most farmers' wives were women who had stayed at home on the family farm.

Figure 2: Sex Ratios. No. of Single Females, aged 20-29, on Farms—(Farmers, Farmers' daughters, other relatives)—per 1,000. Single Male Farmers in age group 25-34, 1926 to 1971.



Marriage Rates

The decline in the relative availability of marriageable girls between 1936 and 1946 had almost no effect on the marriage rate of farmers. In fact, the decline in the rate of marriages slowed down or actually reversed in Leinster between 1936 and 1946 (see Figure 3 and Appendix Table 5) and clearly reversed in all regions between 1946 and 1951. Although the choice had declined, the improving economic situation had obviously a far more significant impact than declining sex ratios on the marriage rate.

The decline in the percentage of younger farmers marrying in 1936 was partly due to delayed marriage, but this was partly corrected subsequently. (See Appendix Table 4.) Obviously marriage was considerably delayed in the 1930s, not abandoned.

Over the full 45-year period, however, the decline in the marriage rate amongst Connaught and Munster farmers appears rather even except for a reprieve in the 1946-1951 period.

Nevertheless, it was not until the late 1950s that the marriage rate of small farmers (<30 acres) in Connaught and west Munster reached the low level that the small farmers of Leinster had already reached in 1926. In fact it appears that the fortunes of small farmers of Leinster, east Munster and Ulster had already reached their lowest ebb by 1926. The pattern of decline in the marriage rates in Connaught and Munster almost coincides, while that of Leinster and Ulster is also very similar.

Family Failures

Changes in the extent to which families reproduce themselves on the home farm is measured by the percentage of farmers who still remain unmarried having reached 55 years of age. This is an imperfect measure, as old bachelors may take in nephews to continue the "name on the land" and there is some evidence that this was significant at the beginning of the century (Duffy, 1976; Gibbon and Curtin, 1978). On the other hand, particularly from the 1960s onwards, very many older married farmers saw all their children emigrate, and remained alone in the household. Scully, (1971, p. 37), for instance, found that although 32 per cent of all farmers over 50 in the western counties had no direct heirs, a further 18 per cent of older married farmers were unlikely to be succeeded.

The only consistent series of statistics available on this question is the percentage of older farmers who remain unmarried. This, very likely, understates the trend of decline. But even as a conservative measure the trends are so clear that it will suffice. The figures for three farm sizes are given in Appendix Table 6. These are reproduced in graph form from the most typical 15-30 acre size in Figure 4.

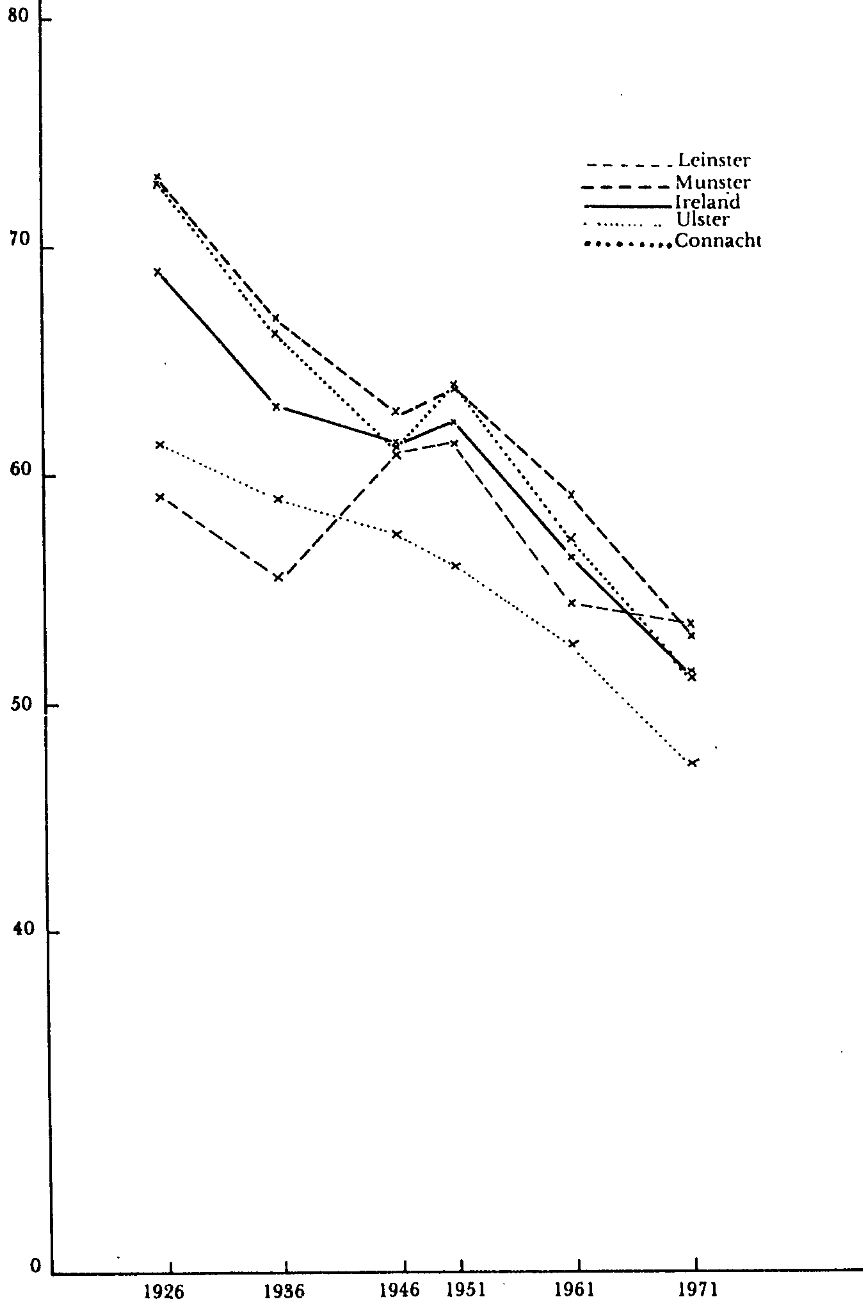


Figure 3: Percentage of Male Farmers, 35-44, with 15-30 acres, who were ever married, 1926 to 1971.

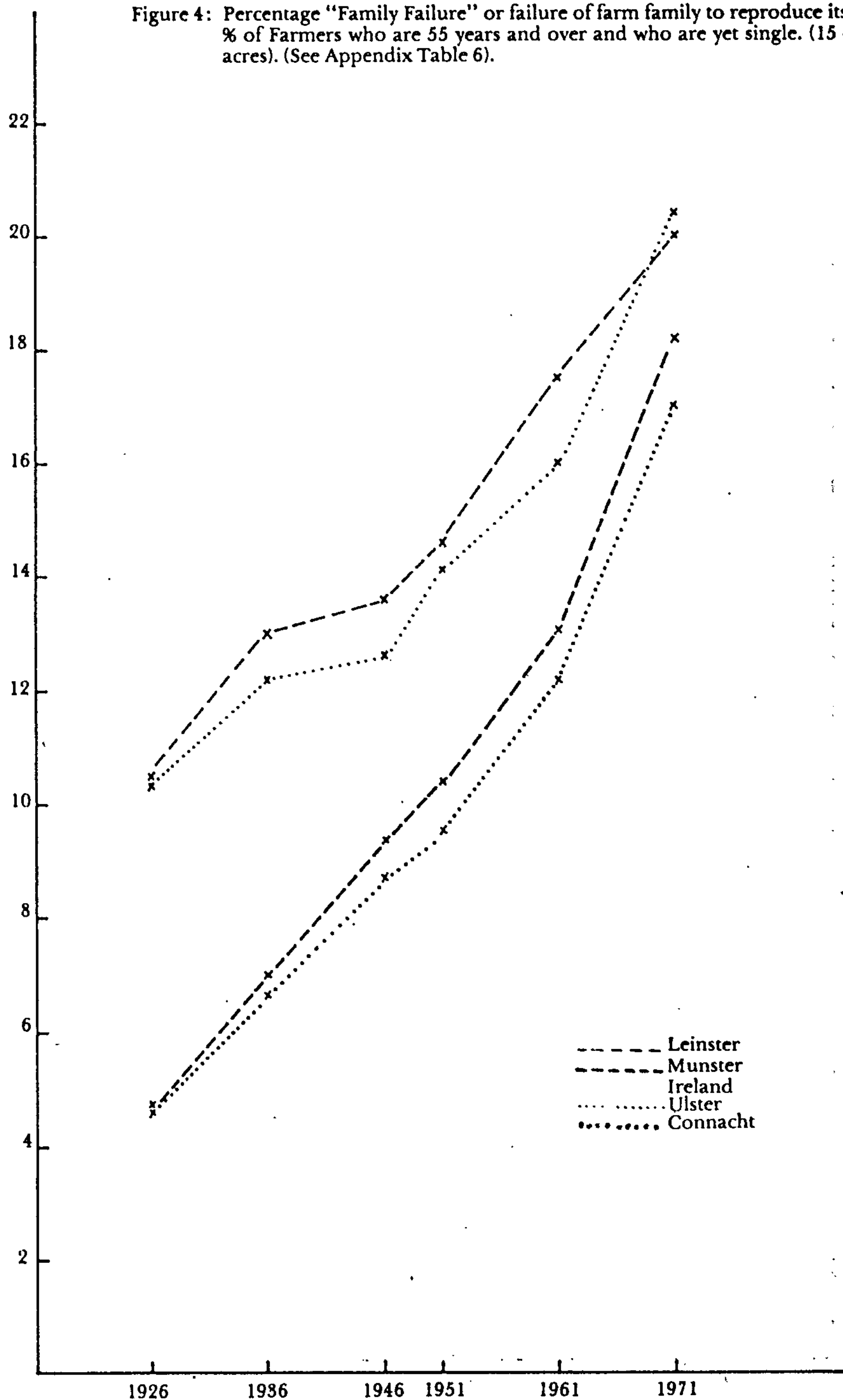


Figure 4: Percentage "Family Failure" or failure of farm family to reproduce itself. % of Farmers who are 55 years and over and who are yet single. (15 - 30 acres). (See Appendix Table 6).

Three things are remarkable about these trends. The first is the very wide difference between the western and southern counties and the eastern and northern counties in the 1920s and 1930s. Only a minute proportion of farmers in the former region failed to reproduce themselves in the 1920s and 1930s; less than 5 per cent in the 1920s and 7 per cent in the 1930s. The proportion of family failures was roughly twice that in the east and north. The second feature is that the rate of decline in the post-war period is double that of the 1926-1946 period. The regional differences are also very marked in the earlier period but become less and less significant, particularly from the 1960s onwards.

Gibbon (1973), therefore, is quite correct in his assertion of the lack of stability of the western small farm system in the 1920s. Measured in terms of people's willingness to reproduce previously accepted patterns and standards of living, obviously a significant and increasing minority were not willing to do so. Clearly also Gibbon is equally correct in his critique of Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) depiction of that society as a traditionally stabilised system in which such material and economic forces were contained and counterbalanced by strong, deeply institutionalised and culturally discrete social arrangements — particularly mutual-aid arrangements amongst neighbours and kinsmen. As a result, crude market forces were said to have very little effect on economic or social behaviour at a local communal level (Gibbon, op. cit.).

Obviously this picture is too romantic, too unreal. Nevertheless, there is a serious danger in completely denying the uniqueness of the west of Ireland system as Gibbon (1973) has done; particularly its relatively high level of insulation — through cultural mechanisms — from crude market forces. There is especially a danger in seeing the system in the 1920s and 1930s as in as serious a crisis as it found itself in the late 1960s when Brody (1973) described it. All of the indices we have considered show that changes were occurring in the 1930s, that the economic, social and cultural equilibrium depicted by Arensberg and Kimball (1940) was clearly a rather unstable one. Nevertheless, in all the indices we have examined the *rate* of decline in the western system in the post-war period was in almost all cases twice that of the previous period. A clear watershed obviously occurred around the late 1940s. This qualitative difference in the post-war period in the rate and even nature of change of the small farm system becomes even more obvious if we consider the effects of social class.

Class and Income Differentiation

The word "differentiation" refers not to the existence of differences in income or wealth amongst classes, but to the process by which differences or

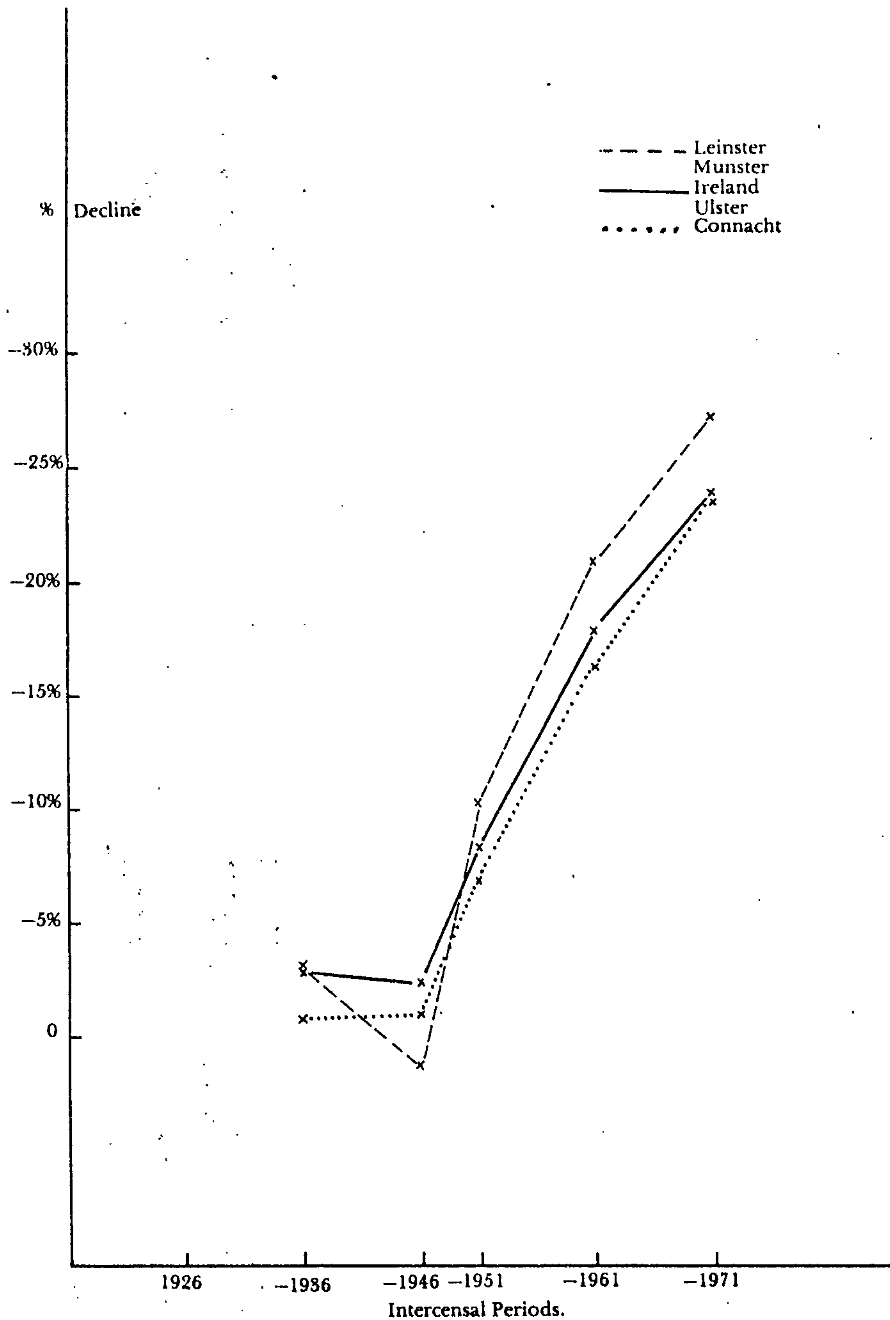
inequalities change or become greater over time. Such a process of increasing inequalities amongst classes is posited by sociologists as a typical feature of capitalist society, and particularly of "modernising" peasant societies (Galeski, 1972; Mendras, 1970). As the process of "modernisation" proceeds, market forces gradually and increasingly dominate. Subsistence production and consumption declines and market exchanges expand. Cumulatively the rate of capital accumulation and capital substitution accelerates, and the overall importance of capital in the total production process becomes increasingly more important. Those inheriting more capital are placed at an increasingly greater relative advantage as the modernisation of agriculture proceeds: the growth of specialised, capital intensive agriculture favours the larger farmer. The economies of scale favour him – technological change being such that the units in which farm "technology" may be purchased are so large and so expensive that the unit cost of capital and production on smaller acreages/outputs would cost significantly more than on larger ones. Agricultural policy instruments – price support systems, advisory and research services, grants and subsidies show a disproportionate flow to the larger farmer (Commins *et al* 1978; Ball and Heady, 1972; Orazem, 1972; Bergman, 1975; Stockdale, 1977). As a result, competition amongst different sizes of farmers sifts out those less able to survive the economic and social psychological pressures. The outside pressures – whether they are Government regulations, fluctuating prices, or changing markets, seem not to jeopardise the viability of larger and more efficient farm units (Orazem, 1972, p. 76). As a result there occurs a process of increasing concentration of production and farm incomes on the larger farms; and the increasing relative impoverishment and marginalisation of the smaller and more traditional farmers.

Perhaps this process of concentration can be best illustrated by the following. In 1955 the top four per cent of farm family income earners amongst Irish farmers received a total income equivalent to that of the bottom 44 per cent. In 1975 the top four per cent earned more than the bottom 48 per cent and by 1977 the position had further disimproved (National Farm Surveys 1955-58; Farm Management Surveys 1975, 1977).

There is no doubt that income and opportunity differences had widened remarkably. There is the question, however, of whether this process of class differentiation was equally present in the 1920s and 1930s and was then true of all regions. We have already shown that in many respects it was not present, and that, in fact, in the western region the marriage chances of smaller and poorer farmers was slighly better than that of richer ones. Here the process of growing differences amongst social classes is studied over time.

Gibbon (1973) cites as evidence of land concentration in the 1920s and 1930s the decline in the number of holdings in County Clare at that time; he argues

Figure 5: Percentage decline in each intercensal period of the number of farms of 15-30 acres in 1926-36; 1936-46; 1946-51; 1951-61; 1961-71.



that concentration was occurring and that class disparities were significant. However, if we examine some indices of farm consolidation over time – as in Figure 5 and Appendix Table 7 – we find that although decline in the number of small farms under 15 acres was occurring, the rate of decline was very low compared to the post-war period. For the middle-sized farm, 15-30 and 30-50 acres, rapid consolidation only started to occur from 1946 onwards. This is particularly true of Connaught.

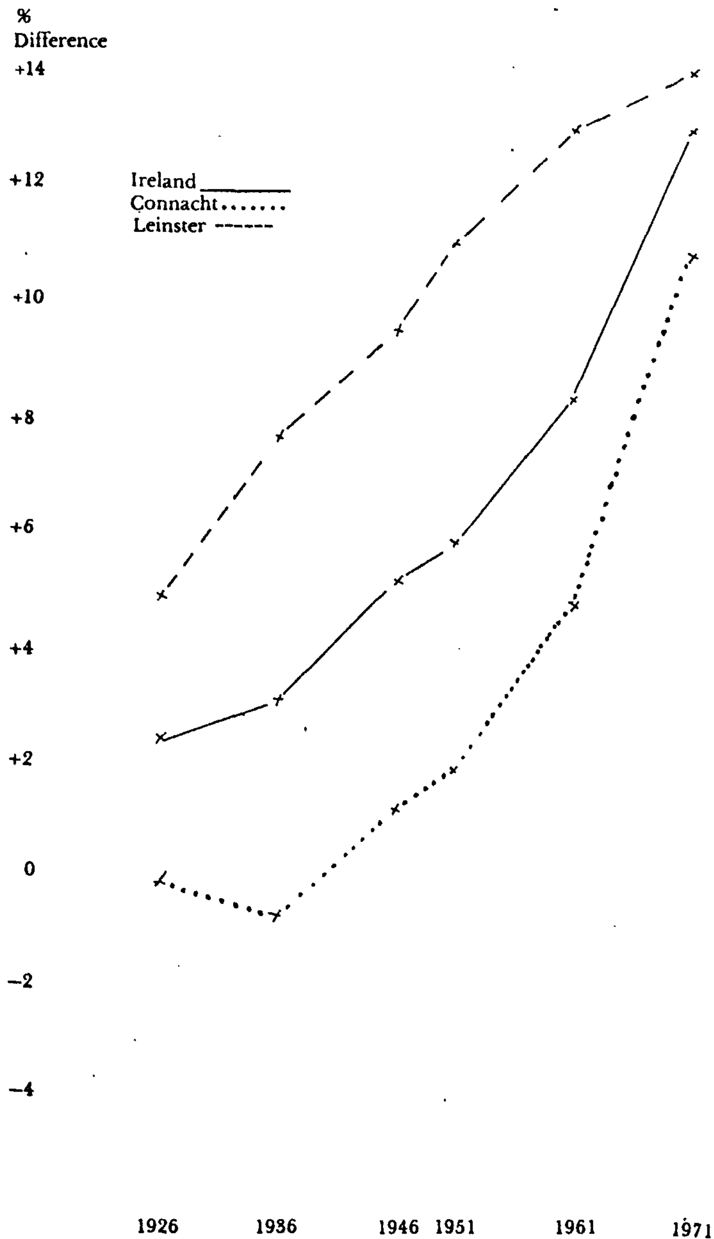
In assessing the extent of change in class differentiation, two measures are employed. The first is a measure of the overall extent of differences in social reproduction, characteristic of different farm sizes from 1926 to 1971. It measures the extent to which, or rather the relative rate at which, one generation replaces another on different farm sizes. Since very wide differences exist amongst farmers, in incomes, in standards of living, and in associated life chances, if these differences are reflected in people's levels of evaluation or satisfaction with the situation in which they find themselves, we would expect that smaller, and therefore poorer, farmers would be far less likely to reproduce themselves than larger ones.

Class Differences in Marriage Rates

At an aggregative level there was very little difference in the marriage or reproduction chances of farmers of any size in 1926. (See Appendix Tables 5 and 6.) This position disimproved at a gradual rate from then up to 1936, when farmers of 100 acres and over had a fractionally higher tendency to reproduce themselves than farmers of less than 15 acres. From 1946 onwards, however, the differences widen at an accelerating rate. And by 1971 the smaller farmers are almost three times as likely to end up unmarried and heirless than are the largest farmers.

Examined from another perspective – while the proportion of single and heirless farmers with over 100 acres has not changed to any appreciable extent between 1926 and 1971 in any region, the proportion of smaller farms in that residual state had more than doubled in Leinster and Ulster and had more than tripled in Connaught and Munster. At an aggregative level, therefore, it appears that class differentiation accelerated appreciably in the post-war period. This becomes particularly apparent if one examines the data by province, as is done in Figure 6. (See Appendix Table 6 for details.) Here it becomes transparently obvious that only minor class differences in rates of social reproduction occurred in western Ireland up to the 1950s. But from that time onwards differences (measured here only in terms of size of farm) become increasingly very significant, so that by the 1960s the process of class differentiation has become of dominating importance.

Figure 6: Percentage (points) difference between (*a*) percentage of male farmers of 100 acres and over who are over 55 years of age and yet single, and (*b*) percentage of male farmers of 1 - 15 in that same status. (Calculated from Appendix Table 6).



When one examines any set of statistics on this issue, therefore, (see Appendix Tables 5 and 6), it is quite obvious that class differentiation becomes significant only after the 1950s in Connaught and west Munster. For the 'twenties and 'thirties differences were minor. These class differences in the proportion of "residual" households were not merely the result of selection processes that had occurred many decades previous to the 1950s, but actually reflect a significant shift in the impact of market and class factors on people's behaviour, and this is indicated by the results presented in Appendix Figure 1. Here it is equally obvious that class differences in marriage chances amongst young farmers show the same pattern of acceleration of the process of class differentiation in the post-war period, particularly in the western small farm region.

Income Differences

The earliest date for which farm incomes are available is 1955 (CSO National Farm Survey, 1955-58). A consistent annual series is available from the mid-1960s onwards (Farm Management Surveys, An Foras Talúntais). Changes in the relative income position of small and large farmers are given for three time periods in Table 13.

Table 13: *Index changes in family farm income for different farm sizes: 1955-1977*

	Size of farm (acres)					
Period	*5-15*	*15-30*	*30-50*	*50-100*	*100-200*	*200+*
Ireland						
1955-58 (Av)	100	100	100	100	100	100
1966-69 (Av)	82	84	108	130	130	126
1975-77 (Av)	274	339	464	499	583	588

Derived from National Farm Survey, 1955-1958; Final Report 1961; Farm Management Surveys, An Foras Talúntais, 1966-67-68 Reports; and 1975, -76, -77 Reports. See also Commins *et al* 1978, p. 30.

Up to the late 1960s the economic position of small farms continued to deteriorate in both absolute and relative terms. Indeed the incomes of all farmers in all regions had hardly changed at all from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s.

By the early 1970s, however, very rapid developments occurred on all farms. But while the rate of increase in farm incomes barely kept pace with inflation on small farms, it increased at a very fast rate indeed on larger farms. While the increase in farm incomes on small farms (less than 30 acres) grew by a factor of three in the 20-year period from the mid-1950s to mid-1970s, those over 100 acres grew by a factor of six.

In other words, the rate of increase in farm incomes at the top was roughly twice that of the bottom. The position of the small farmer is deteriorating very rapidly, with the income difference between himself and his larger competitor becoming larger and larger. These widening class differences are equally true of all regions and appear to have become increasingly accentuated since entry to the EEC (Heavey *et al* 1977).

Conclusion

All the evidence examined quite clearly supports the view of a quite unique economic and socio-demographic system in the west of Ireland in the 1920s. Though based on small scale subsistence agriculture, these small farmers reproduced themselves more efficiently and more successfully than their more commercially oriented counterparts in other regions.

The basic economic, social and cultural reality characteristic of these low-income farmers is best represented by a "peasant model". In cultural terms the system, to be self-sustaining, would require a communal set of values and world view. In terms of the most revealing level of evaluation – of the decision to marry and reproduce the family – it is clear that a distinct value system must have existed amongst the small farm communities of the west of Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s. It was a world at odds with that of the large commercial farming classes of the east or midlands.

In the 1920s and 1930s the demographic characteristics of small scale subsistence farmers in Connaught and west Munster showed that they were significantly more viable than in the more commercialised farming counties of Leinster. In 1926 the proportion of farm households in Connaught and Munster which were residual or not generationallyreplaceable was less than 10 per cent. In the eastern region it was nearly three times that figure. By 1971, however, the situation was almost reversed. While the situation had got no worse in the east, one-quarter of all farms in the west and north west were now owned by older single, heirless farmers. The situation by then had changed dramatically for the small western farmers, from one of a viable subsistence system to that of residual status. Nowadays, crude market forces are being directly reflected in the subjective reactions of the small farming class. Previously it is quite apparent that, if anything, the objectively poorer the situation, the subjectively more "optimistic" was the response. Different value standards were being employed in the east and west in the 1920s and 1930s. Now the same reference standards appear to be universally shared.

In 1926, 1936, and even 1946, there were insignificant class differences in marriage rates or father-son replacement in Connaught. By 1961 and even more so by 1971, these had increased considerably, the total increase in the measure of class difference between 1926 and 1971 being of the order of 14. In

Leinster, on the other hand, class difference certainly widened, but only by a ratio of 2 or 3. In 1926, therefore, clear regional differences existed in the relevance of class differences in demograhic behaviour, with Connaught, west Munster and Ulster showing least response and Leinster and east Munster most. These regional differences were still present by 1951 but had to a large extent disappeared by 1971. A distinct post-war increase in the rate of class differentiation may be traced.

Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) ethnographic model of the local economic and socio-cultural system can only be taken as applicable to the kind of traditional small scale subsistence farming systems characteristic of Connaught and west Munster in the 1920s and 1930s. It would not have applied to the impoverished western coastal region, nor to the more highly commercialised agricultural regions of Leinster or east Munster. However, this system no longer exists in the west, nor has it existed since the late 1940s or early 1950s.

The model of transition in a modernising western peasant society – where the oversupply of labour in agriculture is absorbed in a relatively smooth transition into urban industrial employment is, too frequently, an over-optimistic one. In the Irish situation the destination of rural migrants was, in the period covered, almost exclusively to British cities (Hannan, 1970). The process of their adaptation to British urban life has unfortunately not been studied. At home the process of "modernisation" leaves stranded a large number of older, low income, dependent people who have not been able to adjust fast enough to the rapid economic changes occurring. This is as true of Ireland as it is of other countries. Within the United States, for instance, these constitute the second largest and most homogeneous poverty group (US Commission on Rural Poverty, 1967). Within Ireland, as we have pointed out, over a third of all farmers in the western region are over 45 and unmarried. (See Appendix Table 6). Even this figure understates the extent of disillusion with small scale farming. A rather high proportion of married farmers find that none of their children are willing to take over the farm. Scully (1971) found that 51 per cent of all farmers in the 10 western counties who were over 55, were single or, if married, had no heirs willing to take over the farm.

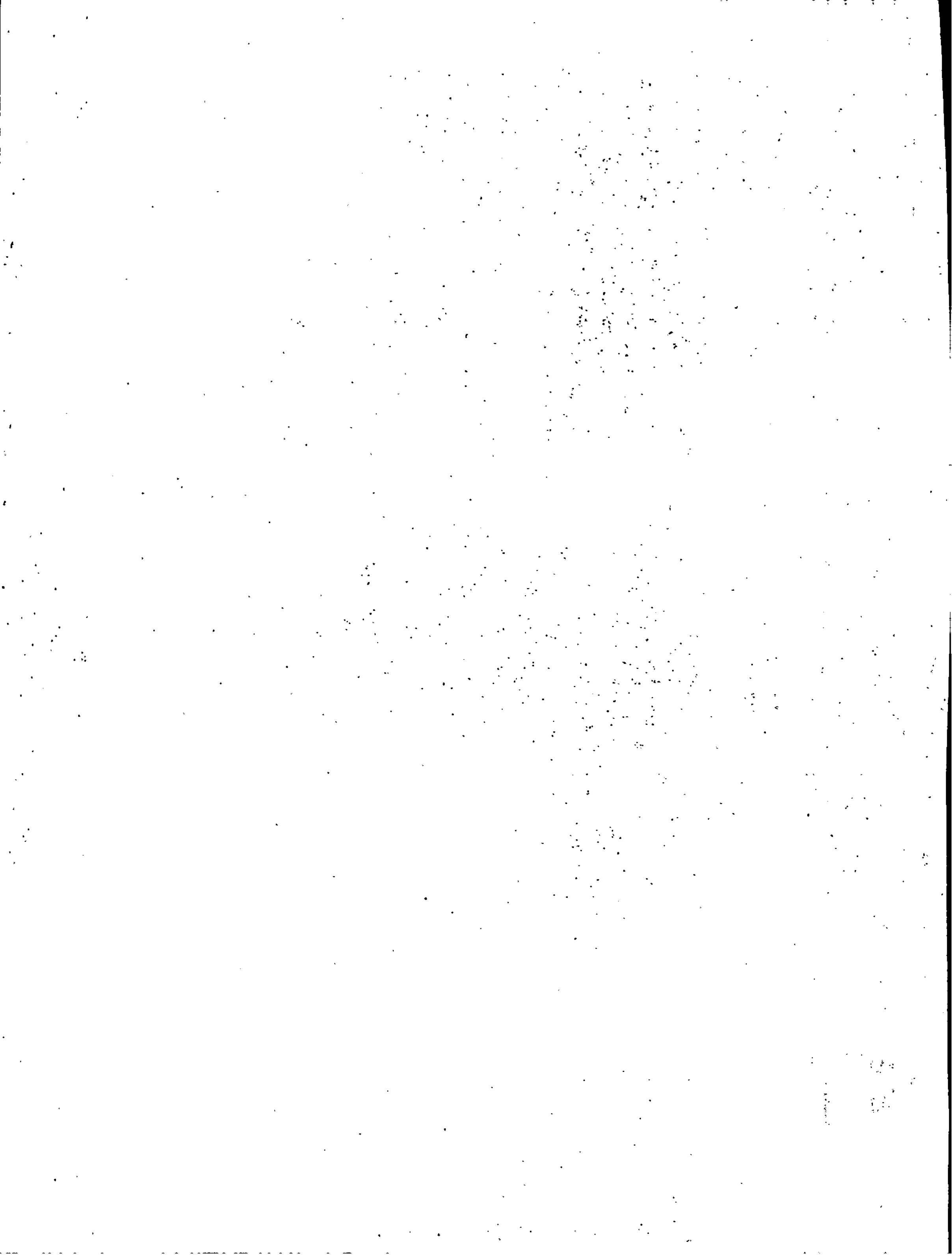
What has occurred is a massive transformation of the original subsistence economy. Gradually cumulating market intrusions associated with widening class differences have become increasingly reflected in the subjective responses of farming people. Class differences in marriage chances, or in the probability of remaining on in a cheerless bachelor existence, have worsened considerably since 1926. Not alone, therefore, does increasing concentration of land and production – or even concentration of urban income transfers – characterise modernising agriculture in the west of Ireland, but the isolation of a residual post-peasant class seems equally characteristic. In this process of adaptation,

original class differences, no doubt, explain some of the success of those who adapt to new circumstances, but the residue of a once vibrant peasant culture also intervenes in perceptions and decisions (Kelleher and O'Hara, 1976; Commins *et al* 1978).

If a relatively autonomous and self sustaining peasant system existed in the west of Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s it no longer does. If the mutually protective communal and institutional arrangements were sufficiently strong to mute or even overcome the effects of crude economic and class forces in the 1930s this is clearly no longer the case. If the cultural and ideological characteristics of that society were then so autonomous, so isolated from the disconfirming and disconcerting effects of urbanisation and modernisation this cultural boundary has effectively disintegrated (Hannan, 1972).

The purpose of the rest of this monograph is to describe the nature of some of the "protective" social institutions that remain – particularly the kinship and neighbour group systems – and to explain why, in some cases, they remain strong and vibrant and in others weak and almost absent. By this means it is hoped to trace some of the main "causes" of the decline of these kinds of "protective" institutions or relationship systems, as also to elucidate some of the underlying reasons why some family and kin systems survive or even strengthen while others die out.

In the next chapter the nature of these traditional "protective" institutions, particularly kinship, is described. Some of the social processes by which a specific culture is reproduced from one generation to another is detailed. And the social and cultural processes through which the gradual and cumulative demoralisation of an "outmoded" economic and socio-cultural system occurred is described.



Chapter 2

Kinship, Social Reproduction and Cultural Change

THIS chapter has three objectives: (i) to describe the kinship system that was characteristic of the small farming community of the west of Ireland in the 1930s; (ii) to review the research literature on the role of kinship in the overall process of modernisation of peasant communities and (iii) to derive a set of hypotheses about the relationship between kinship characteristics and farm family modernisation.

Introduction

One of the main preoccupations of this study is with social reproduction: the extent to which, and the processes through which, a particular socio-economic system reproduces itself. In the preceding chapter it was clearly demonstrated that a quite distinct peasant type system existed in western Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s. Its uniqueness and its relative vitality is undoubted, as can be seen in its social class and overall socio-demographic characteristics. The central social institution ensuring that uniqueness, according to Arensberg and Kimball (1940), was its kinship system. This was a system which ensured a very high degree of social equality, of severe control or exploitative economic relationships, and an extraordinary level of mutual supportiveness in economic, familial and interpersonal relationships. There are three main reasons why kinship is important and needs to be examined:

First, it is necessary to examine the role of kinship as a "protective" mutual aid arrangement. Such mutual aid arrangements required, according to Arensberg and Kimball (1940), a social and cultural explanation rather than an economic one. This they located in the mutual obligations which bound kin members together – amongst adult siblings, uncles, nephews, first and second cousins, etc. As these authors put it "in each case of this cooperation there was an extended family relationship involved" (p. 72). These co-operative and mutually helpful economic activities are explained in terms of traditional familial and kinship obligations – "the reciprocities of act, sentiment and obligation which make up family (and kinship) relationships" (ibid p. 73). Failure to fulfil the pattern of conduct expected from a relative was severely punished. Economic activity was subsumed within an overarching kinship institution – the traditionally established values of which had priority in all

activities. Where farmers did not have local kin to help – e.g., old bachelors who lived on their own, all of whose relatives had migrated etc. – no help was given. Provision was, therefore, made for effective mutual aid and co-operation by kinship obligations based on "time immemorial" customs and deeply held feelings of obligation. As these authors put it: "The sum of the evidence presents the small farm economy as a family (and "family" is used here to include relatives) situation in which economic effort, individual and cooperative, is controlled by the social forces operative within the family. Labour connected with agriculture is merely one feature of a total constellation of behaviour, enforced through obligations reciprocal in nature and maintained by sentiments and sanctions in a traditional setting" (op. cit. p. 75).

It is necessary, therefore, to examine in detail the validity of Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) view of the role of kinship as a "protective institution" in the present system, as well as to chart the changes in kinship systems and functions which might have occurred from the 1930s to the 1970s.

Secondly, the role of kinship is central to social reproduction itself. The social processes that are central to the process of social reproduction is that of the developmental cycle of the "stem-family" system (Arensberg and Kimball, 1940; Gibbon and Curtin, 1978; Habbakuk, 1955; Berkner, 1972). Within impartible inheritance systems, peasant families had two apparently conflicting aims: to pass on the family property, (the patrimony), as a unit to one heir from one generation to another, while also providing for all the other children in the family. The first was arranged through the operation of a unique "successor-matrimonial" system (see Park, 1962; Bourdieu, 1972): the operation of an inheritance system and a linked marriage system in which the retirement of the old couple coincided with inheritance of the property by one son – usually the eldest – and his arranged marriage with a dowried woman from another such family. Retirement and succession at marriage was linked in a series of exchanges or strategies which guaranteed the security of the old couple and the inheritance and generational continuity of the family estate, at a similar or enhanced status level within the local stratification system (Arensberg and Kimball, 1940, pp. 118-152; Park, 1962; Bourdieu, 1972). Although the pedigree of the small family estates would have been significantly shorter and less pretentious than that of family estates (maison) of many parts of peasant France, where some of the buildings on a family holding can occasionally be traced back to the middle feudal period (Bourdieu, 1972); nevertheless the symbolic significance of the estate or the partimony – and especially of the land – and the associated value placed on maintaining or guaranteeing succession, was hardly any less salient. A thorough knowledge of the kinship system is, therefore, necessary to understand the social arrangements ensuring dispersal, inheritance and marriage; and also the social

conditions within which those distinctive beliefs and values characteristic of peasant society could maintain their plausibility and legitimacy.

Thirdly, kinship is the most central set of social relationships within which the plausibility of the deviant values and meanings of a peasant system is maintained. How was it possible for a subsistence farming system to reproduce itself over a number of generations, where the standard of living guaranteed to its heirs was substantially below that available elsewhere within the larger economic system of which it was a part; and where its economic, social and cultural situation markedly diverged from that of the dominant social groups within the society?

Here we wish merely to state the minimum cultural conditions necessary for the effective social reproduction of a peasant economic and social formation – which is assumed to have been characteristic of the west of Ireland up to the late 1930s. The system was based almost exclusively on: (a) the exploitation of family-owned land resources with minimal wage labour; (b) an impartible inheritance arrangement; (c) subsistence production (i.e., low surplus product and low ratio of exchange to subsistence production); (d) the smooth operation of a stem-family system which simultaneously guaranteed male heirs and suitable wives for those heirs, while also successfully distributing the "surplus" siblings to urban industrial employment in Britain and the United States or else maintaining them as dependent unmarried siblings on the home farm.

It was not only necessary, therefore, to guarantee the motivational commitment of inheriting sons to the system but also to ensure that disinherited sons and daughters fully accepted the legitimacy of choosing one son to inherit; while others "must travel", find alternative employment locally or stay on as dependent celibates in the household of the inheriting brother. This latter alternative needed to be minimised, as a high level of such dependency would obviously create serious difficulties for the heir's marriage.

Even if inheritance is ensured, however, and efficient dispersal arrangements are made for non-inheriting sons and surplus daughters the system could not persist unless it also guaranteed a sufficient number of suitably qualified wives for inheriting sons. The reproduction of the system depended not alone on an inheritance and dispersal system but also on a marriage system – of a strategy of spouse selection and marriage arrangements which not only guaranteed continuity but also guaranteed the local status of the family and kin group (Arensberg and Kimball, 1940; Bourdieu, 1972).

Given the "objectively" poorer situation of these small scale farmers of western Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s, the probability of willing heirs being available, and of women of a suitable status being willing to marry these heirs could only be guaranteed – as it was in almost all cases up to the late 1930s –

under the following set of cultural conditions. These operated in conditions where fathers (farmers) almost exclusively controlled access to farms and, therefore, in the then west of Ireland conditions, almost completely monopolised economic power. Given peasant proprietorship, impartible inheritance, declining non-farming and farm labouring opportunities, etc., patriarchicalism had then been greatly strengthened by the Land Acts and by accompanying economic changes in west of Ireland communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Hannan and Hardiman, 1978). Despite this constriction in local opportunities, however, parents had still to ensure that at least one son and one daugher stayed behind. *All* of the children could, after all, emigrate. In this situation the increasing economic power of fathers needed to be buttressed by certain "cultural controls":

(1) The family of origin of both the prospective heir and that of his spouse had full control over the primary and secondary socialisation of children so that both were effectively socialised into the local and traditional set of values and outlooks.

(2) For this purpose, the socialisation system would need to be predominantly local as well as familial: i.e., (i) that both received only a primary education in the local parish national school; (ii) that both received no further education beyond primary level; (iii) that on completion of schooling, both returned to work on the home farm or, in the case of daughters, to work in local service employment.

(3) That local communal-institutional systems were relatively autonomous, and interaction with outside agencies limited only to the local institutional élite who acted as gatekeepers.

(4) Mass media effects – newspapers, radio and television – were minimal.

(5) Conditions (1) to (4) help to maintain the legitimacy of locally deviant cultural systems. But what was equally as important as these "external" conditions is that some "internal" relatively autonomous but corporate system of human relationships was necessary to maintain the plausibility of deviant meanings and values.

Definitions of social reality, conceptions of validity and value, remain "real" only in so far as they remain confirmed and reconfirmed through day-to-day interaction amongst those who share these views. What Berger (1967) calls a "plausibility structure" – the extent and consistency with which meanings are held and shared within the primary group networks which encapsulate each individual – is indispensable for maintaining any deviant world view (Roof,

1976). The most significant primary group system within which such distinctive meanings, as appears to have been characteristic of the west of Ireland small farm population in the 1920s and 1930s (Arensberg and Kimball, 1940), could be continuously reinforced, was the kinship system.

As we have already shown in a previous monograph (Hannan and Katsiaouni, 1977; Hannan, 1972), far-reaching changes occurred in the "external" economic, social and cultural environment within which farm families attempted to socialise their children, particularly from the early 1950s onwards; although this change had gradually been occurring throughout the previous decades. If these changes have had such far-reaching effects on the organisation of family interaction processes they are likely to have had even more dramatic consequences in the total reproduction system.

In the process of transformation that has occurred in small scale farming and in the delegitimation of the world views that maintained the system in being for so long, the transformation of the kinship system plays a central role.

The main purpose of the rest of the chapter is to describe that system as it was, in so far as one can do so from published ethnographies. The second purpose is to "place" that traditional kinship system within the wider primary group and mutual aid systems that existed in Ireland at that time. The third purpose is to explicate the role that kinship relationships play in the modernisation process. Finally, after a thorough review of the literature in the area a series of hypotheses are proposed about the role of kinship in modernisation and the consequence of modernisation for kinship relationships. These hypotheses provide the prospectus for the analysis in later chapters.

Kinship and Modernisation

Kinship and marriage in Fox's (1967, p. 27) phrase, "are about the basic facts of life . . . birth and copulation and death". Rules governing the relations between mates provide the foundation of marriage and parenthood. Even more deeply seated rules govern the relationships between children and parents. The gaps in the social group left by death are filled by heirs, governed by other related rules. Man shares these facts of life with other animals – he differs in that he can choose between the alternative "solutions" that different cultures offer in the way of group formation, succession, mating arrangements, etc. "The study of kinship is the study of the way man constructs these rules and their extent of prescriptiveness, and the consequences of having adopted one solution to the various problems involved rather than another" (ibid, p. 27). This institutional level of analysis is not one pursued in this study. Obviously it is of central significance at the present time when such deeply institutionalised rules governing sexual access, legitimation of births and

parent-child relationships are undergoing such revolutionary changes. We are here more concerned with two other problems – those of property inheritance and kin group formation, and the causes and consequences for economic and socio-demographic adjustment of variations in patterns of inheritance and in patterns of kin group formation.

In terms of group formation, we are primarily concerned with a dominant theme in kinship relationships, that which emphasises feelings of attachment, trust and mutual helpfulness, and those inescapable moral claims and obligations that are almost automatically assumed to be ideally characteristic of parent-child, sibling and other close lineal and collateral blood relationships. These bonds derive their strength from their assumed inescapable prescriptiveness – from bonds of blood that are undeniable and irreducible and not subservient to other economic or political bonds or relationships.

Yet the fact of a biological relationship can tell us very little about the actual social relationships involved. Even the direct biological fact of paternity, for instance, varies widely in its meaning and significance across different cultures. Biological paternity may not be thought to be significant in some cultures; and if significant as in Ireland, can never in any case be proved absolutely. It is a matter of belief and trust of such a deeply taken-for-granted nature that its questioning is deeply destructive of any relationship involved. In Durkheim's phrase, the "noncontractual aspects of contract" – the unstated but implicity assumed set of shared values and meanings which underlie marriage contracts – are only partly reflected in the rationalised ideologies which give these relationships their explicit meanings. And the extent to which this explicit public ideology reflects the continuing implicit interpersonal confidences, trust and expectations is a matter of enquiry.

It is mainly as a basis for mutual help and interpersonal and interfamilial support that we are interested in kinship relationships, however. As has been pointed out, Arensberg and Kimball (1940) explained both the existence and the strength of mutual help arrangements amongst small farmers by the fact of kinship obligations – i.e., that in each case of that help a kinship relationship existed and that very strongly felt obligations of mutual helpfulness held amongst kin members. So it is as a vehicle for group formation – of the explicit or implicit rules governing the formation of social groupings or networks of interpersonal relationships – that we are primarily interested in kinship. Such questions as the following form the basis of the study: To what extent do kinship obligations form the basis of mutual aid arrangements and of other primary group supportive relationships? What is the relative significance of maternal and paternal kin and of degree of relationship in the maintenance and relative strength of interpersonally supportive relationships?

To what extent do migrant relatives remain in contact and how important are they relative to those that remain at home etc.?

However, a secondary objective also exists. This is the extent to which the kinship system is significant in cultural and identity terms. To what extent do kin groups vary in their "cultural" characteristics and strength of commitment to local traditional symbols and values? And to what extent are kin relationships – considered as a corporate identity system – important in maintaining the plausibility of traditional values and meanings?

As we have already pointed out in a previous monograph (Hannan and Katsiaouni, 1977) and as has become abundantly clear from the results presented in the previous chapter, dramatic changes have occurred in the total economic and socio-cultural context within which kinship and communal relationships are constructed or maintained.

Whether we see the process of transformation in straightforward "modernisation" terms – primarily of cultural change and adaptation – as we had proposed in an earlier monograph (Hannan and Katsiaouni, 1977); or in neo-Marxian terms, as the intrusion and eventual dominance of specialist commodity production and the general process of capital accumulation, the development of modern consumption patterns and the disappearance of subsistence farming, (Galeski, 1972); in both cases clear processes of class differentiation results. The weak are pushed to the wall, while successful adaptation is very highly correlated with control over resources.

Within the United States, for instance, the rural poor – those on small uneconomic holdings and those in poor remote regions – now constitute the second largest poverty group in the country, second only to urban blacks (*The People left Behind*, Washington D.C., 1967). Within Ireland, the results of this process of marginalisation are most obvious at a regional level. Brody (1973); Kelleher and O'Hara (1976); Clifford (1974); Commins, Cox and Curry (1978) have documented some of the main social and cultural consequences of the decline of population, and of the increasingly residual status of the population left behind in the remoter farm communities. Increasing isolation, loneliness and demoralisation, especially amongst the older people who are living alone or with an older sibling seems to be the lot of very many people living in remoter coastal or even inland areas of the west, northwest and southwest. In the west Kerry peninsulas for instance, only 22 per cent of households are nuclear family households, with both parents and young children living together, compared with 42 per cent of all households in the two larger Kerry towns (Clifford, *Kerry Community Survey,* 1974).

The process of increasing class differentiation and the increasingly residual status of small scale farming which was so evident in the socio-demographic data presented in the last chapter, must also be related to kin group

maintenance. Bourdieu (1972) argues that, despite the decline of traditional matchmaking in post-peasant society as an economic necessity for the family, family status considerations still remain very important factors in marriage alliances. If this is so in the west of Ireland, and if individuals of higher-status background and more modern outlook tend to marry others of similar background, the size and vibrancy of kinship networks must be highly correlated with social class. This view would therefore link strong kin groups with local modernisation, and weak ones with migration or local family decline. However, before proceeding any further with this discussion the relevant literature available from other countries on kinship and modernisation needs to be reviewed.

Most of the literature on modernisation of peasant systems or of traditional cultures, places great emphasis on the process of individualisation, with the concomitant decline of familism and general collectivistic orientations (Rogers, 1969; Inkeles and Smith, 1974). Wilbert Moore's view that "the traditional kinship structure provides a barrier to industrial development, since it encourages the reliance of the individual upon its security rather than upon his own devices", (Moore, 1965, p. 74), perhaps overstates this perspective, but the view that ascriptive kinship relationships were somehow less functional in modern economic and social circumstances was still a widely expressed view in the modernisation literature even to the mid-1960s. As Nimkoff (1965) puts it "the trend in industrialising nations the world over is toward the independent family system. The line of influence here is from the economy to the family. Industrialisation is the independent variable and the family the dependent variable" (op. cit., p. 61).

Functionalist theory also held that modern industrial society was best served by the "isolated" nuclear family. Increasing social mobility and migration reduces interaction with kin. The increasing significance of universalistic and achievement principles in the allocation of occupational roles is held to be directly antagonistic to familistic values, which would tend to emphasise nepotism and ascriptive ties to local kin. As a result, as Parsons, (1954, p. 184) for instance, sees it, the development of industrial society "has enormously increased the structural isolation of the nuclear family". This value pattern had become quite evident in an earlier study (Hannan, 1972) in which some tensions between the traditional and modern modes of thought were noted. They were most evident among the younger generation, who tended to perceive the ascriptive basis of kinship relationships as a constraint.

Modernisation theorists, therefore predicted relationships between kinship patterns and modernisation which would lead to a continuing decline in kin relationships. Yet most of the empirical studies investigating these theories

have come to negative conclusions (see Zelditch, 1964, and Goode, 1963, for an early review of these studies).

Litwak (1960) in attempting to clarify the underlying but often unstated models of kinship relationships employed by researchers, isolated two ideal types of extended family systems. The first, the older functional model, was what he called the "classical" extended family.. It had the following characteristics – geographical propinquity, occupational integration, strict (usually patriarchical) authority extended over the "independent" nuclear families of sons etc., and overall stress being placed on extended rather than nuclear family relationships. The modern "modified" extended family consists of a number of interlinked nuclear families which are so distant from each other that they cannot usually interact on a daily face-to-face basis. Economically they are independent of each other in that job entry and job advancement and general economic provision are individualised, outside the control of the kin group. No overarching authority exists, no dominance – submissive linkages exist betwen individual families. Social and geographic mobility characterises the individual family units, as adult children seek employment and status promotion opportunities, etc., independently of each other and of the present family (Litwak, 1960). Nevertheless the research evidence was overwhelmingly positive even by 1960, that individual kin members though living in dispersed family units did maintain important relationships with each other and that they continued to perform very significant material and social-emotional functions for each other. The material aid exchanged had to do with the maintenance or enhancement of the standard of living enjoyed by individual families – housing, furniture, children's clothes, holidays, cars etc. – rather than through any interference in the job market, etc. In contrast to Parsons' (1954) position Litwak (1960) argued that the modified extended family is highly functional in modern industrial society, particuarly where the values of achievement are highly institutionalised. In this situation, he argues, that individuals in a large and highly interlinked extended family are more likely to be mobile because, being generally highly supportive of social mobility, they are in a better position to provide economic, social and psychological support for it. Improvements in the general standard of living, combined with the car and the telephone, have made it possible for people who live far away from their relatives to keep in touch. As a result, a persistent network of interfamilial relationships link the families of married adult siblings with each other, with their parents and to a more limited extent with uncles, aunts and first cousins, etc., even though they may all live a considerable distance from each other. They rarely live together in the same locality seeing each other on a daily, or even weekly, basis. It is only on special and infrequent occasions that they all act as a corporate body.

Despite this increased dispersion, however, kin relationships exist as the most important and most durable set of human relationships. Throughout people's lifetime they continue to perform vital functions (Litwak, 1960; Sussman and Burchinal, 1962; Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969; Firth *et al*, 1969; Bell, 1971).

These studies found, not that kin relationships had disappeared in modern society, but that their structure had changed and that they performed somewhat different functions. Yet the most one could say of this research is that kinship bonds were shown to persist and remain significant. Quite clearly the local corporate nature of kinship had declined with modernisation, but a network of strong kinship relationships persisted. In the first extensive survey and evaluation of international research work in this case by Goode (1963), he concluded that "An extended kin network continues to function and to include a wide range of kin who share with one another, see one another frequently and know each other" (p.75). "Thus while the corporate kindred or lineage may have lost most of its functions under urbanisation and industrialisation, these (those with adult siblings, with parents, and with primary kin generally) extensions of kin ties continue to remain alive and important." (ibid., p. 311). Goode also found that high-status families retain strong ties with kin of high status, even when these live far away. The decline in bonds of kinship due to social or geographic mobility is limited to lower-class families.

While these generalisations may only be directly relevant for urban families, they suggest lines of inquiry in the investigation of modernising rural social structures. The more prosperous rural familes establish new patterns of behaviour which their children learn and adjust to in turn. Poorer families have neither the behavioural flexibility nor the continuity over time to do this, as they tend to be the most migrant prone class.

The main results, therefore, of the various studies of the effect of modernisation on kinship appears to be: (i) the decline of the local corporate kin group; (ii) the persistence of relationships with migrant and socially mobile kin, though on a less frequent basis but with equally significant functions; (iii) the emergence of primary kin as the most important kin group, and the decline in the significance of secondary kin. Knowledge of, and contact with, kin beyond the first cousin range – beyond grandparents and parents' siblings and their children – is minimal. Even these near relatives, as a group, are far less significant than the immediate family of orientation of adults – i.e., that family into which people were born, their siblings and parents. Adams (1968, p. 165) writes, "when one turns from parents and siblings to cousins and other secondary relatives, one is hard pressed to find significance in such relationships".

Kin groups, therefore, do not merely represent vestigial remnants of a traditional system but, as ascribed primary group relationships, they are highly

adapted to modern industrial society. In examining their functions in modern society Litwak and Szelenyi's (1969) work probably provides the most useful model.

They propose that extended kin relations remain viable by learning to communicate and exchange services in other than face-to-face situations. The relationship between migrant siblings and the home family would be an example. While significant kinship contacts have been increasingly restricted to primary kin relationships, particularly to the family of orientation of each spouse – parents and adult siblings – they still perform vital functions of material and emotional support, particularly when considered over the life-cycle of the family (Firth *et al* 1969). Compared to neighbour or friendship groups, which also perform support functions, kin relationships – particularly adult sibling and parent-child relationships – are characterised by strongly-felt obligations which, even amongst the upper middle-class, override personal feelings (Firth *et al* 1969).

As a result, services are given which rely upon these strongly felt obligations without expectations of comparable return. Firth *et al* (1969) and Bell (1971) have documented the flow of services amongst kin members – on marriage, establishment of a household, birth and maturing of children, sickness, schooling, marriage of children – amongst the urban middle and upper-middle class. At points in the family cycle, kin are irrelevant, at others they are very important. But compared to friendship groups, kin-relations have a permanence and sense of deeply felt obligations which persists despite rows or disagreements (see Firth *et al* 1969). Kin groups provide: (i) mutual support, especially in circumstances which demand long-term support. Both social-emotional and material aid are involved. (ii) Life crises support – especially those that have been institutionalised in marriage, birth, schooling, occupational choice, residential movement, religious induction rites and, other untimely or disruptive events such as divorce, serious illness or early death of spouse, unemployment, etc. (iii) Identification – a sense of closeness to the group – from which a sense of personal identity may in turn be derived.

The adaptation of kin relationships to modernisation can only reasonably be examined in terms of its persistent functions, and in examining these a comparison of kinship and other primary group relationships is necessary. Neighbour and friendship groups are the most important of these. Before we examine these, however, the nature of the Irish traditional kinship system needs to be discussed.

The Irish Kinship System

The most complete description of the Irish kinship system is that given by Arensberg and Kimball (1940, pp. 59-94). Later ethnographies disagree in

some details with this description but the main outlines remain unchanged (Harris, 1964; Fox, 1966; Fox, 1967; Kane, 1971; Messenger, 1969; Leyton, 1975).

In terms of naming conventions, of inheritance rules, of residential location on marriage and in terms of the overall distribution of power, the kinship system of the small farmers in County Clare was patrilineal in terms of inheritance of name and property, patrilocal in terms of residence, and clearly patriarchal in the distribution of power. Given these features and the very high degree to which kin relationships were limited to particular localities, one would have expected that patrilineages would have existed. Yet Arensberg and Kimball (1940) quite clearly reject this. They, however, focused their attention on group formation – on the extent to which, and the occasions on which, corporate kin groups come into existence and act, as well as the network of day-to-day interaction amongst kin members.

As a vehicle for group formation kinship relationships were, however, found to be dominant. The question here relates to the rules governing group formation: the significance of kinship relationships or kinship boundaries in the formation of customary relationships of close intimacy, mutual helpfulness, crisis-group formation etc.; the clarity of any matrilineal or patrilineal biases in the formation of such groupings; the significance of different degrees of relationships etc. Given the significance of patrilineally inherited property systems in Irish rural society and the tradition of patrilocal residence, one would expect a clear patrilineal bias in actual kinship contacts and functions. But no such evidence exists. Indeed a consistent bilateral system is described where matrilineal and patrilineal kin are of equal significance (Arensberg and Kimball, 1940, pp. 76-93).

Relationships are reckoned on the basis of descent from a common grandparent or common great grandparent. In the former case all the children of one's two sets of grandparents (uncles and aunts) and their children (first cousins) were all reckoned as very "close" relatives. But sentiment, norms of mutual helpfulness and strongly held feelings of obligation extended further than this. As the authors put it "descent is carried a step further back to a common great grandparent. Marriage taboos and extended family obligations go backward and upward with the reckoning. Thus second cousins are recognised as being within the kindred . . . In fact, in the author's experience the obligations of cooring and 'friendliness' were equally strong with them" (ibid, p. 83). Potentially therefore, the total size of the local kin group can be very large, depending on the number of children in each of the four generations who remained behind and married locally. Hannan (1972) found in a study of a small sample of farm families in this region that the average number of kin recognised was 540 for both spouses combined, while the average number that

were thoroughly known, with actual names, residences and exact linkages fully recognised was 360. Of course, even given such a large number of relatives out to second or even third cousins, the actual number interacted with on a frequent and closely affectionate basis can be somewhat elastic. Powerful or rich prestigious persons will have many "distant" cousins claiming a relationship. The poor and the disgraced very few. Even close relatives will tend to shun these (Arensberg and Kimball, 1940, p. 90). In the study quoted above the size of the intimate kin set – with frequent, daily or weekly interaction and very close interpersonal relationships – varied from 28 to 64 for both spouses combined, with an average of 38 (Hannan, 1972, p. 174). Such intimate kin were almost exclusively recruited from within the first cousin range, and were mostly from the local parish or neighbouring parishes.

In terms of actual interaction therefore, relationships with kin expand, contract, overlap and change with each marriage and each generation (Arensberg and Kimball, pp. 90, 91). Although one's spouse's relatives hold an equivalent but fictive kinship relationship to oneself they are never reckoned as "real" relatives, a label which is reserved exclusively for those related by common "blood" or descent. To one's children, however, they are as "real" as one's own relatives. Their kinship set is therefore, different not only in generation from one's own, but also in that it incorporates a completely separate descent group – that of one's spouse, in which they are fully included as "blood" relatives.

Arensberg and Kimball (1940) quite clearly exclude patrilineages from consideration. The kinship system "...is in no sense a clan or a gens, as its bounds are not constant. That is an existing group resolves itself into a number of new ones, as descent proceeds from father to son" (p. 91). Yet not all anthropologists agree with this conclusion. Although both Fox (1966) and Kane (1971) for instance, stress the bilateral characteristics of kinship relationships within any single generation as a basis for actual group formation, both also stress the existence of local patrilineal kin groupings ("clans" or "lineages")[6] who share the same name, a belief in common ancestors, feel vaguely connected with each other, share certain nascent feelings of solidarity or loyalty, impute and are imputed certain shared cultural characteristics. These vague attachments may become mobilised on occasions of conflict or stress, (Kane, 1971), but are more usually thought in terms of local social categorisations or identities. The old Irish kinship system was presumably a modified "clan" system with a common name, common inalienable property, a common political organisation and possessing certain integrating symbols and rituals. Both Fox (1966) and Kane (1971) suggest that both modified lineages and clans exist as very relevant bases

[6]"Lineage" is a group based on descent from a *known* common ancestor.
"Clan" is based on descent from a presumed but unknown common ancestor.

for identification, loyalty and "potential group" formation in traditional rural communities. While the weight of evidence indicates the predominance of bilateral kin groups, where the maternal and paternal kin are of equal significance in terms of actual interaction with kin in any one generation, there are some strong theoretical reasons to expect a certain patrilineal bias in identification and loyalty with any generationally persistent kinship system — given the patrilineal inheritance system naming conventions, and patrilocal residence.

In the present study, for instance, almost 90 per cent of all husbands' fathers were born in the parish of origin – 46 per cent on the current farm; and nearly all had lived there all their lives. This is much less true of wives' parents, however, as the data given in Table 6 has clearly shown.

Although both husbands and wives are equally and almost universally recruited from farm origins, matrilineal kin are significantly less locality bound. So if one considers: (a) the extent of change occurring with each marriage and each generation in the operating kindreds of persons (i.e., those with whom they frequently interact); (b) the far greater extent to which wives are recruited from outside the parish boundary, and (c) that residence is almost exclusively patrilocal; one would at least expect that matrilineal lines and identities become "lost" with each passing generation.

Given, in addition, that the father's name persists and that property inheritance and residence is patrilocal, one would expect a certain patrilineal bias in identification and even the imputation of shared cultural or genetic traits to such kin groups within traditional localities, as Kane (1971) has in fact suggested. So while maternal and paternal kin may be of equal importance in terms of interaction within any single generation, over a number of generations the patrilineal bias is likely to be marked. So if we restrict consideration to the symbolic significance of kin identities, in terms of ascribed identity or of local social (kin) categorisations, modified patrilineages or "clans" are likely to be of some significance as both Fox (1968) and Kane (1971) suggest they are. Kane (1971) regards these as "potential groups" rather than as actual groups, or sets of interpersonal relationships; i.e., groups that may become mobilised in community conflict in support of a member, linkages which may be exploited in looking for a job, or kin identities which may be "discovered" and used in migrant communities, etc. Quite obviously if such partial lineages existed as significant social identities in traditional rural communities they would provide a more secure long-term basis for social support and a more persistent basis of identity than the group based on bilateral kindred, who become reconstituted with each generation.

In the above discussion, we have distinguished between two different grounds of kin group identity and formation: that based on "descent"

("lineages" or "clans"), which, considered over a number of generations, are expected to be almost exclusively patrilineal; and that based on "personal kindreds" or interpersonal feelings of attachment, extent of interpersonal interaction, support and mutual helpfulness (Farber, 1968, pp. 1-14). Descent, therefore, is a formal, even a jural concept – i.e., naming conventions, property inheritance, certain legal rights of succession. It acquires meaning only if considered over a long period of time – even a number of generations.

Do such clear descent group boundaries exist in rural society and are they significant? It is clear that they are not very significant in the formation of interpersonal relationships amongst kin members. Yet consider the orderly replacement of one generation by its successor within a small farming region: Here the predominant, almost exclusive occupation is family farming; the economy is only partially monetised; the social organisation is highly locality bound, and the culture forms a rather closed system, relatively isolated from external disconfirming influences. In this context a bilateral kin group whose size and significance is based solely, or even mostly, on what must be a largely random element in each generation's marriage alliances would be a significantly weaker arrangement in guaranteeing successors than one based on some modified lineage arrangement. In this latter case the "symbolic estates" attached to local lineage or modified "clan" systems (of property and wealth, of relative honour and status, of achievement of ancestors, etc.) which are significant within a circumscribed local system of such "clans" would be far more successful in maintaining allegiance to traditional standards (Farber, op. cit.; Bourdieu, op. cit.). Unfortunately no direct evidence is available from the survey on the existence of such "clans" or "lineages". Considerable indirect evidence suggests their significance, however.

Kinship, Mutual Aid and Neighbour Groups

"The social significance of kinship depends on the extent to which it provides a basis for social relationship" (Harris, 1964, p. 86). According to Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) view it provided the only basis for the strength and persistence of the "protective" mutual aid arrangements characteristic of Irish peasant society. In an earlier report and on the basis of a participant observation study of two small rural communities, I (Hannan, 1972) disputed this conclusion of Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) and I suggested that a number of sometimes interlocking social bases of interpersonal and interfamilial support existed in traditional rural society. "In Arensberg and Kimball's description the predominant patterns of mutual help and co-operation amongst individual farm families were all explained in terms of kinship rights and obligations. The exchange of labour and the mutual lending of scarce farm tools and machines, the general supportive pattern of

cooperation amongst neighbouring families in dealing with sudden family and farm crises was explained in terms of the rights and obligations holding amongst neighbouring kin, in exactly the same way, in fact, as was communal participation in family rites of passage whether festive or in mourning" (Arensberg and Kimball, 1940, pp. 61-78).

The generic term "cooring" was given to all non-monetary co-operation of this sort. This appears to be a direct translation from the Irish "cómhair", which means mutual co-operation or mutual borrowing or exchange of labour amongst neighbouring farm families. Arensberg and Kimball link this word "cómhair" to another one, the verb "cóir", which has, in fact, a completely different root – as in "ba choir dom": I am obliged to; or I should; etc. And they go on to suggest that these categories as used by the small farmers of Clare refer only to obligations amongst kin. Indeed an analysis of all such intricate exchanges involved in hay-making in one small community revealed that in each case a kinship relation was involved. As the authors remark "the countryman is a family man in this cooperation with his fellows, as well as in his work at home" (ibid, p. 66). And they further suggest that "those without any relatives near at hand were isolated and did not participate in the system" (Hannan, 1972, p. 167).

"Now there are clear distinctions in Irish between the terms for neighbours – 'na comharsain', and the terms for kin – 'muintir' or 'gaol'. And the word 'comhairedeacht' or 'comharsan', as defined by Dinneen, refers to this system of reciprocal labour and tools exchange amongst neighbours or to the mutual set of obligations and rights involved. It is very significant in this respect also that when the authors are later dealing with the institution of the 'cuaird' – the informal evening visiting or "rambling" amongst neighbouring household members – or with the composition of the very influential old men's clique, or even with the younger men's cliques, that such kinship relationships were not usually involved." (op. cit., p. 181).

"On the basis of lifelong observations in my home community, on observations on the two communities in Roscommon, and on the basis of the careful reading of 'Peig', and 'An tOileanach', and more casual reading of similar works, it seems to me that in the traditional Irish rural community there were two very distinct sets of relationships involved – the neighbour group system and the kinship system. Each of them had distinct types of interaction patterns, and differed in the content of exchange and functions performed. Although at many points the kinship system buttressed the neighbour group mutual aid system, so that both kin and neighbours cooperated in the same task; and although the kinship system was often directly superimposed on the neighbour group system in the more remote and more mountainous areas, so that most of the neighbours were kin; still in most areas of the west both

systems are, even to the present day, operationally distinct and are seen to be conceptually distinct.

It is very significant that the actual fieldwork on which Arensberg and Kimball's conclusions were based was carried out in the village of "Luogh", a small, then very isolated, village of small subsistence farmers in the mountains of north Clare. In communities like "Luogh" it is very likely that even to the present day there is far greater intermarriage amongst local families – within the few small townlands involved – than would be the case in more open country communities, and this may account for the blurring of distinctions between the two. Certainly only in one of the three small neighbour groups known to the author was there any intermarriage at all.

In general not only do people in the countryside clearly distinguish between kin and neighbour groups, but they also differentiate amongst the different neighbour groups themselves. In these areas the various neighbour groups are not only identified by name but they have acquired in the public consciousness a distinct personality and reputation of their own. While one neighbour group would be known as friendly and helpful, another one would be known as thrifty, while a third might be known far and wide for the open and continuous conflict and lawsuits amongst the neighbours. Kinship groups are often similarily distinguished, categorised and stereotyped, except in these cases the boundary of the group involved would not have been so clear-cut." (Ibid., p. 168).

"Besides its corporate expression in the 'meitheall' such neighbour groupings were often explicity recognised by the religious authorities as natural units within the parish, in the "station areas". A "station area" usually covered one or a small number of townlands. In the three areas observed it used to conform exactly to the neighbourhood boundaries. Mass was celebrated in a different house each year within reach of these areas. Each family in the neighbourhood sent representatives to attend the Mass and to pay their dues. And all of these neighbours would be entertained afterwards at the "station" breakfast. The children of the area also would later be entertained to tea and cakes in the evening while on their way home from school. In recent years, however, due to the population decline such "station areas" have been expanded to cover a number of townlands.

The neighbour group also acted corporately on other occasions such as at family rites of passage or at sudden farm or family crises, e.g., a cow falling into a drain, a sudden family illness or accident, etc. At every death in the townland, at most weddings, occasionally at a christening, or a first Holy Communion or Confirmation the neighbour group was also apparent as a corporate entity where neighbouring families came together to help each other in their misfortunes or were invited to celebrate each others' blessings. On

each of these occasions, however, the kin group was almost invariably a far more important supportive group and played a far more important role.

In addition to these corporate expressions of mutual help and co-operation exchanges of tools and machines and individual help occurred continuously on a day-to-day basis. Scarce or expensive tools —hedge cutter, knapsack sprayers, turf spades, etc. —or even everyday tools were borrowed or exchanged on a day-to-day basis.

Such an exchange system did not rest on any contractual basis but depended on a widely-shared system of reciprocal rights and obligations which were held to be self-evidently "natural", and came into play spontaneously. If help was seen to be needed it did not have to be requested, or if requested was immediately responded to without thought of immediate returns. However, a clear but implicit set of norms operated which could clearly be seen operating behind the sanctions which were imposed on anyone who did not fulfil his obligations, or did not reciprocate previous help received. Within the neighbour group exchanges were expected to be reciprocal, so that if an individual tried to take advantage of his neighbours by not returning favours previously given he would be very quickly isolated". (Ibid., p. 170).

"Although the kin group are not nearly as important as the neighbour group as a normal day-to-day mutual aid group, still even in this, purely economic function, they become more important at times. If an economic crisis is long drawn out and serious and demands help from others for a longer period than a day or two, then kin are expected to help out long before neighbours. These norms are highly institutionalised and neighbours will react strongly if they feel that they are being expected to do things that a brother or first cousin or uncle should be doing. In a crisis situation the neighbour gives the immediate help but kin are expected to give long-term sustained help. Immediate short-term help, on the other hand, and normal seasonal farm help is a neighbour obligation.

Similarly there is also a clear distinction as to the content of communication amongst neighbours and amongst kin. 'I would never be that serious with a neighbour' was the answer of one man to a question as to what sorts of 'secrets' he would share with kin but not with neighbours. Private family information — about family rows, trouble over money or over bills or wills — will not be discussed with neighbours. They cannot be trusted. They will gossip. Close kin, on the other hand, are bound together by strong solidary obligations and a common identity where shame on one member brings shame on another. Indeed, kin identities are so strong in cases that to gossip about a close relative to an outsider is to gossip about oneself. They will not gossip, at least not to strangers; or if they do reactions can be very strong indeed.

Both systems, therefore, are structurally very different and they serve different functions. Both are compulsively ascriptive and particularistic in nature. They are both mutual aid groups and serve important instrumental, social-emotional, socialisation and social control functions.

To a large extent, however, both of these relationship systems exhaust the primary group relationships of most farm families in the more traditional areas of the country. It is very noticeable that our urban, largely middle class, concept of "friend", as a freely chosen confidant and intimate to whom one is joined in mutual benevolence, is still used by the older people in rural areas to refer to one's kin. Such types of very close confidants within the traditional system were almost exclusively chosen within the ascriptive bounds of kinship or neighbourhood. Besides the obvious physical limitation in forming new relationships, by the very restricted educational, occupational, and residential mobility present in these communities and the very limited transport present, both primary group systems were so clearly identified with, and had such strongly ascriptive boundaries that it could only be the odd, unusual man who could form such friendships outside both systems. In any case if one is efficiently socialised within such a closed system of primary groups with such differentiated functions it will be quite difficult to form such freely chosen "friendships" even if the opportunity arises, both because of the in-built ascriptive biases and of the difficulty in playing the new role of "friend" which incorporates elements of neighbour and kin obligations." (op. cit. p. 176).

"To summarise, therefore, there are distinct differences in the structure and functions of neighbour groups and kin groups which Arensberg and Kimball tend to confuse. From the point of view of function, neighbourhoods tend to be pervasively instrumented in function, being primarily mutual help or reciprocal exchange systems. The kind of help exchanged usually involves such things as seasonal labour, machines and tools, help in crises, etc. Such exchanges are also expected to be completely reciprocal or complementary, the balance of exchanges over the year being evened out from family to family. Kinship obligations, on the other hand, are not necessarily reciprocal, since one is expected to help one's close relatives without the implicit expectation of such help being reciprocated.[7] This characteristic of kinship obligations is complemented by an equal differentiation in the time and duration of help. Neighbours give immediate short term help in family or farm emergencies or crises when immediacy and speed of reaction is very important. If long term or more onerous help is required — as in prolonged illness, death of the breadwinner or mother, long term economic difficulties — the kin are

[7] This is a matter of degree only for when no close kin are available neighbours are expected to give help in crises, even when no reciprocal exchange is possible. However, when local kin are available this is usually not the case.

expected to help. Similarly, in sharing confidences or in seeking emotional help or support, kinship has a much stronger attraction. There are other important differences in the functions of neighbour groups and kin groups which have not been explored here. The functions of both groups appear to be different in the socialisation and social control of growing children and in the recreation or social life of adult men and women and of younger children. I have not, however, sufficient information upon which to base any conclusion in these cases.

In conclusion, therefore, the often undifferentiated structure and functions of primary groups is regarded as being seriously in error when viewing traditional rural society, or indeed any society (Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969). In an abstract formal sense both neighbour groups and kinships groups are primary groups; but they have a different structure and they serve different functions. Friendships groups, clique groups, etc., are equally primary-group in nature but they are also structurally and functionally distinct from the former two. The formation of such freely chosen intimacy groupings, however, outside the traditional ascriptive bonds of neighbour or kinship group starts to occur on a large scale only as fundamental changes occur in the culture and as new technology facilitates it". (p. 177).

"However, over time, such strong neighbour group systems have declined if not completely disappeared in most areas, and all we are left with is a

Table 14: *Percentage of husbands and wives who name different categories of primary groups as most helpful in material terms or most supportive in emotional terms.*

	Material help	
	Person who is most helpful or second most helpful (excluding family members)	
Per cent of each category named	*Wife's Responses*	*Husband's Responses*
Primary Kin	58%	51%
Neighbours	47%	60%
Affinal relatives	39%	37%
Secondary kin	13%	13%
Friends	4%	5%
Spouse	—	—
Child	—	—
Total No.	408*	408*

* Percentages do not add up. Percentage of each category named as either "most helpful" or "second most helpful" etc. If all respondents had named different categories for each of the questions the percentages would add to 200. The figures therefore, indicate only the relative significance of each category.

confusing series of local dyadic or triadic alliances amongst the smaller more traditional neighbours; by semi-contractual arrangements amongst the more commercialised farmers; and in many cases, given the newly increased ease of intercommunication, by the strengthening of the local but more widely scattered kin group. Since kin groups are usually much more homogeneous in resources and cultural orientation, and are held together by a far stronger collective identification of interests, their increasing importance was almost predictable; especially given the obvious difficulty in forming new local alliances on purely non-ascriptive bases". (ibid, p. 182).

This pessimistic conclusion about the persistence of neighbourhood relationships is not, however, borne out by the results of the present study. In Table 14 (page 88) we reproduce the perceptions of both husbands and wives about the material helpfulness of both neighbours and relatives.

Here it is obvious that both primary relatives — adult siblings, parents, adult siblings' children – and neighbours are roughly of equal helpfulness. Neighbours are of somewhat greater importance for husbands. They do not, however, provide any social-emotional support for wives, (Table 15), although they are almost as important as relatives for husbands. So despite their weakened position both neighbours and kin retain their supportive significance both materially and social-emotionally. The distinctions in their functions also persist as can be seen from the results presented in the following table.

Table 15: *Percentage distribution of respondents by perceptions of kind of help given by relatives and neighbours*

	Kind of material help from relatives in previous 12 mths.		*Kind of material help from neighbours in previous 12 mths.*
	Husband's responses per cent	*Wive's responses per cent*	*Husband's responses per cent*
No material or labour help:	35	32	4
Direct material help (money, children's clothes, household durables etc.)	42	55	—
Help with labour in running household:	2	4	3
Help with labour in running farm			
(a) In sickness or emergency:	4	9	51
(b) Habitual labour exchange:	9	—	33
Reciprocal loans of farm machinery etc.:	2	—	5
No information	6	1	5
Total %	100	100	100
N	408	408	408

These responses can only be taken as indicative of the sort and extent of mutual aid flowing amongst kin groups and within the neighbour group. The open-ended question asked only for the *main kind* of help received from relatives and neighbours in the preceding year. It cannot be taken as a detailed index of the total exchanges involved. Nevertheless, it quite dramatically marks off kin from neighbour groups in the kind of material exchanges involved. While the material help characteristic of kin members is either money or material goods, that characteristic of neighbours is almost exclusively concerned with labour exchange. It is also quite clear that, in the view of farmers, the flow of material help from neighbours is of at least equal significance to that flowing from siblings or other close relatives. Although it is, of course, a different kind of help most farmers evaluated it as almost of equal significance.

When one restricts consideration to personal help in an emergency situation (when the main farm worker has to go into hospital, for instance), it is quite obvious that neighbours become roughly twice as salient as all categories of relatives combined. Here for the two out of three farmers who said they would have to depend on help from outside and nuclear family, almost 60 per cent said they would depend almost completely on a neighbour's help while only 25 per cent said that they would depend on a sibling or other close relative.

So, in terms of material helpfulness — financial, gifts of material goods, or personal services such as labour exchanges in household or farm etc. — close kin and neighbours have different functions. Neighbours' help is almost exclusively restricted to labour exchanges, either in terms of immediate "emergency" occasions or of habitual labour exchange relations. On the other hand, the kind of help exchanged amongst close kin appears to be almost limited to exchanges or gifts of household or personal goods or of money. These are usually exchanged on highly ritualised occasions — Christmas, marriages, births, christenings, birthdays and certain other rites of passage etc. They are of great significance for couples setting up house, fitting out children, and generally maintaining and improving the level of living of the family (Bell, 1971; Firth *et al.* 1969).

The relative significance of labour exchange amongst kin and neighbours was assessed by asking husbands to assess the extent to which they (or the family) could manage without the material help of neighbours or kin members. While 38 per cent said it would be difficult, or very difficult, to manage without the neighbours' help — (he would just have to drop some enterprise) — only 20 per cent assigned the same level of significance to the help of relatives.

So far, however, we have referred only to material helpfulness. In this respect neighbours become the most significant primary group category for

husbands, while wives emphasise close relatives or affines. Of course in these cases both spouses are assessing these social categories in terms of their own roles — help in household, budgeting and childrearing for wives and help on the farm for husbands. Neighbours, however, drop out of significance altogether for serious tension management functions, i.e., in terms of interpersonal supportiveness, as the following results quite clearly show.

Table 16: *Percentage distribution of respondents in terms of identity of person who is "best" or "easiest", to talk to if worried or upset*

		Category of person who is "easiest" to talk to if worried or upset		*Category "best" to talk to if worried or upset*		*Category whom husband "most enjoys talking to"*
		Husband	*Wife*	*Husband*	*Wife*	*Husband*
		per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*	*per cent*	*per cent*
Within own family (usually spouse)		74	75	59	54	50
1. Primary relative or affine		10	16	16	29	8
2. Neighbour		8	3	8	5	28
3. Friend		1	3	5	4	4
4. Other		—	1	—	2	—
No information		7	3	12	6	10
Total	%	100	100	100	100	100
	N	(408)	(408)	(408)	(408)	(408)

In terms of serious social-emotional or tension management functions, neighbours become almost insignificant. These functions are either carried out within the nuclear family *or* within the narrow confines of the primary kin group. Except for a small minority who are isolated from family and primary kin, neighbours are insignificant in this respect.

On the other hand, they are very significant for recreational or specific "social" functions; i.e., for "the crack"; "nothing serious" or concerned with counselling functions being discussed, which would involve divulging or discussing information which could potentially be very damaging to the dignity and status of the individual or of the family unit. That sort of information is strictly a "family affair". Few such personal revelations occur in interaction amongst neighbours.

The functions of neighbour groups therefore appear to be quite distinct from those of kin. They are primarily mutual aid systems which specialise in

habitual labour exchange or in "emergency" help situations. Such exchanges are clearly marked off from kin exchanges which, even in material terms, specialise more in financial and material goods. In social-emotional terms neighbours do not perform any "serious" tasks. These appear to be restricted to nuclear family or primary kin members. Most men, however, seem to regard neighbours as more important than relatives for recreational and general "socialising" functions.

The relative helpfulness of neighbours is slightly less significant for wives. Only 24 per cent of them report that neighbours are the "most helpful" social category — compared to 39 per cent of husbands. Close relatives are correspondingly more significant for wives. The somewhat lesser significance of neighbours for wives is explainable in terms of the concentration of neighbour group exchanges in farm task activities. Nevertheless, in the case of wives also, neighbours are more important than secondary kin or affines, while "friends" are almost insignificant in such instrumental exchanges.

In terms of their overall familial significance, therefore neighbours, are, in fact, more helpful in a material sense to families than their primary kin; but are almost insignificant in serious tension management functions. In the small farm context, therefore, neighbour groups still retain very significant instrumental functions. No aid demanding a financial outlay is given by neighbours, however. On the other hand, quite substantial financial or material aid flows amongst primary kin groups — particularly at the very early and late stages of the family cycle. Despite these differences in function, however, identification and attachment to neighbours is nearly as significant as that with kin, especially for males.

Not all respondents were equally attached to or integrated into neighbour groups mutual aid systems, however.

Table 17: *Percentage distribution of respondents by extent of priority attached to neighbours' help*

Extent of importance of neighbours helpfulness	*Wives' responses* (N=408)	*Husbands' responses* (N=408)
1. Percentage of respondents who named a "neighbour" as "most helpful".	24%	39%
2. Percentage of respondents who named "neighbours" as second most helpful.	25%	26%
3. Percentage of husbands who responded that neighbours would look after farm in an emergency	—	35%

One half of all wives and one-third of all husbands did not find neighbours at all helpful; while, at the other extreme, 24 per cent of wives and 39 per cent of husbands thought that they were the most helpful of all categories. Considerable differences, therefore, exist within our sample in these respects. In the traditional system they had attained a distinctive significance which was completely missed by Arensberg and Kimball (1940). But even in "modern" farm families they retain very significant functions. (See Chapter 7).

Litwak and Szelenyi (1969) suggested that primary groups only become differentiated with the development of modern industrial society;[8] i.e., that kin, neighbour and friendship groups are differentially structured and perform different functions in the modern city. In a previous study we had clearly indicated that a differentiated system of kin and neighbour groups existed in traditional rural society, with members recruited on different bases and performing very different functions (Hannan, 1972).

The mutual aid exchanges characteristic of kin include financial and material aid and a long term secure system of emotional support. Such exchanges can only be considered over a long time period and only assume a symmetrical form when considered over a life time; i.e., parental help to young married children, exchanges of material aid amongst married siblings who are at different stages of the family cycle, and aid and support flowing from older working children to parents with young dependent children and later from such children to older dependent parents (Firth 1969; Bell 1971; Townsend 1957).

These exchanges are not based on merely instrumental considerations — of expected services in return — but, as Firth has pointed out, as "a response to obligations", or as a right to be claimed. This extra-familial group of primary kin — those who maintain frequent contact and relations of intimacy with the nuclear family, who exchange services or give unreciprocated gifts to family members, and who remain the basic emotionally supportive group outside one's own family (see Firth, pp. 341-397) — is recruited almost exclusively from within the available set of adult siblings, uncles and aunts and first cousins.

There is, however, an element of choice involved here, especially if one has a large number of primary kin available for interaction. The selection of such a "friendship" group within the larger category of primary kin constitutes, in Firth's phrase, the "effective" kin group. When primary kin are not available —secondary kin and affines may be substituted, the neighbours to a lesser extent. A clearcut substitution process appears to occur within the larger kin group, especially amongst women.

[8] Litwak and Szelenyi, "Primary Group Structures and their functions: Kin, Neighbours and Friends", *ASR,* 34, 4, 1969, pp. 465-481. The article does not, in fact, state such a theory, it merely implies it.

There appears therefore, to be clearly differentiated boundaries within the traditional primary group system —both as to the content of goods and services exchanged amongst kin groups and neighbour groups, and as to the kind of emotional support arrangements that are used. Material aid, long term services, help demanding a large outlay of material aid or long term sustained labour aid belongs to kin obligation. Habitual mutual aid systems which involve labour or machine exchange arrangements and short term emergency help in household or farm is a neighbour group obligation. These differences in functions are quite clearly indicated by this study.

Neighbour groups, therefore, are as clearly differentiated from kin in function as they are in origin or recruitment. Although they have declined in importance over time, they still retain very significant functions. Although the "cuaird" and the rambling house is an almost extinct institution —with the adoption of the car and television – in a large proportion of cases neighbouring males still operate as a male solidarity group. Here, within the locality group, the "crack" is enjoyed more with neighbours than with anyone else. The residual allegiances and loyalties and the clearly structured discouragements or barriers to the formation of primary group relationships outside the kin or neighbour groups have meant that very few people have developed deep relationships with people outside the traditional boundaries. In this respect traditional systems show a persistence not obvious in any other area of social life.

This concludes the discussion of the relationship between modernisation and the structure and function of kinship and other primary group relationships in rural society. In the following section conclusions are crystallised in a small number of hypotheses which then provide the bases for the subsequent analyses.

Hypotheses

Our discussion of modernisation leads to certain hypotheses about the relationship between it and kin and neighbour group relationships:

1. The wealthier and the higher the economic status of families, the greater the level of integration with their kin groups.

   The process of increasing class differentiation and the increasingly residual status of small scale farming which was so evident in the sociodemographic data presented in the last chapter, must be related to kin group maintenance. Bourdieu (1972) argues that, despite the decline of traditional matchmaking in post-peasant society as an economic necessity for the family, farm status considerations still remain very important factors in marriage alliances. If this is so in the west of Ireland,

and if individuals of higher-status background and more modern outlook tend to marry others of similar background, the size and vibrancy of kinship networks must be highly correlated with social class. This view would therefore link strong kin groups with significant economic resources and local modernisation, and weak ones with limited resources, with high migration and local family decline.

2. Following from this, we would expect that integration with secondary kin declines with modernisation. While it is true of traditional as well as modern societies that the "farther out" relationships are traced, the less likely they are to be recognised as justifying close bonds of identification, we would expect that the "cut-off point" of kin recognition would occur much sooner among the more modern families.

3. The inverse of this projected relationship is that secondary kin retain greatest significance largely among traditional and low income families.

4. The previous hypotheses assume that class is the main intervening variable in the relationship between modernisation and kinship adaptation, and that boundaried kin groups themselves have limited effects independent of class. Yet kinship was quite clearly a very significant organising principle in the west of Ireland farming population and class was not. A question, therefore, arises as to the significance of boundaried kin groups —whether as bilateral kindreds, partial patrilineages, ambilineages or modified "clans" — in the process of modernisation. We have made a very strong argument for the significance of kinship relationships in maintaining the legitimacy of traditional cultural systems. From this one would expect that those families with strong kinship resources —with a large number of primary and secondary kin living in the home locality —would be in a far better position to modernise and adapt than those without these resources.

   In this situation a strong, generationally persistent, modified "clan" or lineage system would be far more efficient in maintaining allegiance to traditional standards and identification with local communal status groups than any alternative kin group arrangement. Bilateral personal kindreds shift orientation with each passing generation. Variations in the size and significance of local kin groups would result from rather random patterns of alliance between maternal and paternal kin within each generation. Obviously some form of lineage identification would be highly functional.

5. Given the clear functional distinctions between kinship and neighbour groups we would expect that in cases where primary kin are few or absent locally secondary kin contacts will be expanded. Variation in levels of interaction and integration with neighbour groups, however, is not expected to be related to variation in levels of contact/integration with either primary or secondary kin.

6. Neighbour group interaction and labour exchange is expected to show a marked decline with modernisation.

Chapter 3

The Families Studied: their Social Characteristics and Extent of Modernisation

Introduction

THE field study was initiated in May 1970 with a three-month period of participant observation in a small farm community in County Roscommon. Although the main emphasis of the study was to be on "internal" family interaction, this first period of observation was focused on the "external", more visible and less sensitive aspects of interaction of nuclear family members with other individuals and families – primarily with local relatives and neighbours. The main results from this period of observation are reported in Hannan (1972).

At the end of this first period of observation a preliminary interview schedule was devised. This dealt both with patterns of interaction between husband and wife and between parents and children but also with relations between spouses and their own relatives and in-laws etc. A series of increasingly refined schedules were developed on the basis of extensive pilot interviews. A final schedule was put into the field in December 1970 and 408 couples were successfully interviewed by the end of February 1971. The interview took approximately one hour to administer. Access and reception of interviewers was generally very cordial. Results of the interviewing are reported in detail in Hannan and Katsiaouni (1977). A short summary is provided here.

The sample chosen consisted of 630 names and addresses of farm families selected on a simple random basis, from a national sampling frame of farm families in the 10 most western and northern counties; the three Ulster counties; the five Connaught counties and the two most western Munster counties of Clare and Kerry. Both spouses were to be interviewed simultaneously but separately by a pair of interviewers. The results of the interviewing are given in Table 18 on page 97.

As can be seen from Table 18 although the sampling frame was nominally one of farmers, the designation was applicable only to 70 per cent of the families named in the sample. Of those to whom it was not applicable, all had farms, but in almost two-thirds of the cases, the male head of the household was engaged in a full-time occupation off the farm. The remaining families were almost equally divided between those with one spouse dead or with no

Table 18: *Number and percentage of family interviews attempted, completed, and refused*

Interviewing results	*Total*	
	No.	*per cent*
(a) Total No. of families in original sample:	630	—
(b) Total No. applicable:	191	(30)
(c) Total No. of intact families applicable and "couple" interviews attempted:	439	—
Total No. interviewed:	408	93
Total No. refused:	25	6
Total not contacted but applicable:	6	1
Total applicable	439	100

children under 16 resident in the household. Only intact farm families were selected: where both spouses were alive and living together in the household, with at least one child under 16 years of age.

The refusal rate was higher than normal. Since, however, we were interviewing both the husband and wife in each family, such an inflation of the "normal" refusal rate of 2-3 per cent was to be expected.

In 90 per cent of cases the interviewers reported that their reception was good and friendly and that they had no great difficulty in building up and maintaining rapport with respondents. This was slightly less true of husbands —but the differences were not very great. Only in six per cent of all cases was rapport poor. This was partly accounted for by two relatively inexperienced interviewers who, in the initial stages of interviewing, had not enough experience or training in handling such rapport problems. This was much less true of those interviewing wives.

Fifty-two per cent of all interviews were obtained on the first call to the household, 32 per cent at the second attempt, 11 per cent on the third and five per cent on the fourth and later calls. There was a slightly lower percentage than normal obtained on the first call but this was to be expected given that we wanted to interview both spouses simultaneously.

The Interviews and their Reliability

Both spouses were interviewed simultaneously by a pair of interviewers. The reliability of responses was evaluated and discussed in the previous publication (Hannan and Katsiaouni, 1977, pp. 34-51). In this paper only the relevant questions on kinship are being considered.

On average 55 different questions were asked each respondent about

relationships with kin, neighbours and friends – i.e., a total of 110 for each couple. The questions dealt with the following themes:

1. Whether parents are alive; their location; and level of contact with parents.
2. The number of siblings alive; the number who live locally, their marital status, and occupations, and level of contact maintained with them.
3. The number of siblings who had migrated; the number who had married and lived in Irish or British cities; level of contact with migrant siblings.
4. The number of local secondary kin — uncles, aunts, first cousins, etc.; level of contact with secondary kin.
5. The extent and nature of help received from parents, siblings and other relatives. The importance placed on that help by respondents. Identity of the most helpful amongst the relatives.
6. The extent of dependence on relatives for social-emotional support. The selection and identity of intimates amongst relatives.
7. Level of interaction with affinal relatives or in-laws.

The data used in this study comes from the responses to these questions. The background data available from the short period of observation which preceded these interviews, however, also inform the analysis. In most cases data are available from all but a small handful of respondents. Unfortunately there is no external check on the reliability of responses. A number of internal consistency checks showed a very high level of reliability in the responses, however. For example, addition of the number of local and migrant siblings as against the total number of siblings alive. Errors only occur in two per cent to three per cent of cases.

The following chapter (4) is devoted to describing the basic kinship data available from the study, as well as to analysing the basic structural dimensions along which relationships with various categories of kin, affines and neighbours are differentiated.

In the rest of the chapter some of the most basic social background characteristics of these families are described: (i) Their family cycle characteristics, ages of spouses, number of children, stage of family cycle etc. (ii) The occupational and educational backgrounds of respondents and their degree of mobility. (iii) The overall degree of modernisation of families and households in terms of mass media participation, voluntary organisation memberships, and modernisation of household and farming techniques.

(iv) Finally, we examine the extent to which the backgrounds, level of education, migration experience and overall modernisation of households are related to the age cohorts of respondents —or to the extent of change that has occurred over time in the backgrounds and socialisation of respondents.

(1) *Ages and Family Cycle Characteristics*

On average the families interviewed were rather middle aged, the average age of husbands being 51 and of wives 44. The number of children per family was very large. On average it reached 4.4 for all families but was 5.8 for "completed families"; i.e., where the woman was over 45 years of age.

The ages of both spouses also varied very widely as the results in Table 19 show. On average there was a 7-year age gap between husbands and wives. At marriage the average of wives was 27.4, but 34.5 for husbands. Contrary to popular belief husbands had effectively inherited their farms over 3½ years on average before marriage. (See Table 19 below.) There is no evidence from the sample that a trend has occurred over time away from a supposedly traditional pattern of almost simultaneous inheritance and marriage. Most of the anthropologists who have done field studies of the phenomenon in Ireland had concluded that the two events coincided — inheritance, marriage and dispersal. (See Arensberg and Kimball, 1940, pp. 103-117.) As these authors put it "The nearly universal form of marriage in the Irish countryside unites transfer of economic control, land ownership, reformation of family ties, advances in family and community status, and entrance into adult procreative sex life" (op. cit., p. 103). Both this and other recent studies (Commins *et al.*, 1974), on the other hand, have shown that effective ownership transfer of the land —though not legal transfer, which usually occurs only after the death of the previous owner —occurs on an average of three to four years earlier than marriage. Age of inheritance, however, has declined slightly over time[9] so that the relationships between inheritance and marriage may have been more pronounced in the past. But overall, there is such a low correlation between age of inheritance and age at marriage (r=+.26) that the exact equation of both was doubtful at any period. Over one-third of farmers, for instance, got married *before* taking over the farm. And almost one in four had to wait over 10 years after they had effectively inherited before they got married.

Age of husbands at marriage varied very widely. While two-thirds of wives were married before 30, this was true of only one-fifth of their husbands. And while only 8.5 per cent of wives got married after 35, this was true of 45 per cent of husbands.

[9]The correlation between current age and age at inheritance is: r=+.28.

Table 19: *Age of spouse, age at marriage and age of husband on inheritance of farm*

Age	*Age of wife*	*Age of husband*	*Age at marriage of wives*	*Age at marriage of husbands*	*Age at inheritance of farm*
	%	%	%	%	%
25	1.5	—	38.5	3.0	23
25–29	3.7	1.0	28.7	17.6	21
30–34	11.3	4.4	23.6	31.4	23
35–39	15.2	8.8	7.0	23.9	18
40–44	17.7	9.1	1.5	15.4	11
45–54	32.9	34.5	—	5.6	4
55+	17.2	39.7	—	—	—
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	408	408	408	408	396
Average	44.4	51.5	27.4	34.5	30.9

Given this very wide dispersion in age of marriage and current ages of respondents one would expect considerable age variation between couples even between those at the same stage of family formation. However, position within a family cycle has itself such a fundamental structuring effect on family interaction, independent of any other factors such as the spouses' ages, that we will have to deal with it in detail.

Family Cycle

Family cycle is a concept used to indicate the systematic and cumulative changes in the relative ages, interpersonal relationships and dependencies amongst family members as the marriage progresses and the family "ages"; from the couple's marriage to the birth of children, and the subsequent stage of ageing and decreasing dependency of children. The concept also indicates, therefore, the changing economic and social pressures that accompany this gradual family maturing process.

Before discussing the family cycle, however, we need an overall picture of the distribution of families by the number of children present and their dependency. This is available from the following table.

Even a cursory examination of the results shows that families varied very widely in regard to the number, ages and relative dependence of children. In two-thirds of families all of the children were still at home. But in one-fifth of all families, some of the respondents' children were married, and in most of these families there were grandchildren. So families varied very widely, from young married couples with pre-school children, to slightly "older" families

Table 20: *Percentage distribution of families by number of children*

No. of children	*Total no. of children in family*	*No. of children at home*	*No. of children left home*	*No. of children married*	*No. of grand-children*	*No. of migrant children seen last month*
	%	%	%	%	%	%
None or not applicable	—	—	64.0	80.4	85.3	64.0
1–3	32.6	48.6	26.7	15.5	9.5	34.1
4–6	42.4	42.7	7.4	3.5	2.4	1.3
7 & over	24.4	8.7	1.2	—	2.0	1
No information	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	—
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No.	408	408	408	408	408	408
Average No.:	4.4	3.5	—	—	—	—

with the oldest child still in post-primary school; to an even older stage where some children were working and had left home. This shows a rather wide range of family circumstances.

The variation in family circumstances can be represented more clearly by constructing a "family cycle" scale which categorises families by the relative ages and dependency status of children. This is done in the following table. It is quite apparent from the data summarised there that not only do the socio-demographic characteristics of the nuclear family vary systematically over the family cycle, but also that involvement in kin systems is inevitably related to stages of the family cycle. Forty-four per cent of families were at the early "formative" stage, with children still being born in most families. Here the women were young, in their late twenties or early thirties. Most of these young families were of three generations, with at least one of the spouses' parents living in the household. The pressure on resources rapidly builds up at this stage of the cycle, particularly as the number of young children increases and the parents become increasingly dependent.

At the other extreme, thirty six per cent of families were at a late "dispersal" stage. Respondents were in their late 50s or early 60s. Nearly all their parents were dead. The older children had moved out of the household and were starting to marry. Here the cycle was, in fact, almost ready to repeat itself.

The increasing number of dependent children up to Stage 3 (See Table 22), puts increasing pressure on family resources just as the availability of parents for help on the farm and in the household declines, as the following table illustrates.

Table 21: *Relationship of family cycle stage to certain socio-demographic variables*

Stage of family cycle	*% distribution of families*	*Average age of wife*	*Average age of oldest child*	*% of families with at least one parent of either spouse living with family*	*% of families with some children married*	*% of families with some grand-children*	*Average no. of persons living in household (children)*	
	%	%		%	%	%	*Children*	*Total*
At Marriage:		27.4*		75-80%*	—	—	—	3.2*
A. *Stage of expansion*								
(i) All children still pre-school age	14	32.0	2.9	64%	—	—	(2.1)	5.1
(ii) Children in primary school, some pre-school	30	38.5	9.4	43%	—	—	(3.7)	6.4
B. *Stage of stability*								
(iii) older child in p.p. school, rest in p. school	13	45.0	15.9	30%	—	—	(4.3)	6.6
(iv) oldest child has finished school; younger ones still at school	5	48.9	19.8	23%	—	—	(4.6)	6.9
C. *Dispersal stage*								
(v) oldest at work some have left home.	32	54.6	25.5	12%	50%	34%	(4.0)	6.2
(vi) all children have left school, most have left home	4	56.4	27.3	6%	67%	50%	(2.4)	4.2
Total % / No.	100% / 408	Av. / 44.4	Av. / 15.5	% / 26.4	% / 18.9	% / 14.7	(Av.) / (3.6)	Av. / 6.0

*Estimated.

It is not until the end of the third stage of the family cycle that the help of the older children can counterbalance the decline in availability of help from respondents' parents. It is around this point in the cycle that economic pressures are at their greatest within the family. All studies have shown a very clear relationship between stage of family cycle and farm productivity (Loomis *et al* 1951; Scully, 1962; Franklin, 1969; Symes, 1972). Output per labour unit increases significantly up to Stage 3 and then declines. As the load of family dependency increases, the farmer increases utilisation of his existing land, labour and capital resources. Given his increasing load of dependency, he is not in a position to increase the supply of any of them. There tends, therefore, to be a significant intensification of usage — by working harder and longer hours.

Table 22: *Number of workers and dependants in family by stage of family cycle*

Stage of family cycle	*Average number of full-time workers on farm*	*Average number of part-time workers on farm* (expressed in full-time worker equivalent)*	*Ratios of number of persons in household to No. of equivalent full-time workers on farm*
At Marriage:	(1.15)**	(0.17)**	(2.4)**
(i)	1.07	0.14	4.2
(ii)	1.05	0.12	5.4
(iii)	1.14	0.10	5.3
(iv)	1.33	0.13	4.7
(v)+(vi)	1.40	0.51	3.1

*Estimated on basis of 4 part-time workers being equivalent to one full-time worker.
**Estimated as overleaf.

Although labour productivity declines as the adolescent children available for full and part-time work on the farm increases, total farm output continues to increase as the dependency ratios decline. This high plane of production continues until the children start to leave home, and the advancing age of parents and the mobility of children reduce both the labour supply and the consumption demand at the terminal or "empty nest" stage of the cycle. Total output then declines to its lowest level.

The fact that increasingly larger proportions of farm families do not repeat the cycle — by the failure of the inheritor to marry — means that an increasing proportion of farms are being shunted into this terminal category. Symes (1972) in a comparison of the 1911 Census Schedules with a detailed survey of the same households in 1969, in two district electoral divisions in west Kerry, shows that while only four per cent of the households were at the post "dispersal" stage in 1911 — with the inheritor not having married or, if married, failing to retain any offspring on the farm – this was true of 40 per

cent of the same households in 1969. While in 1911 and even by the 1920s and 1930s, nearly all farm families in the west of Ireland reproduced themselves, this is true now of only one half of the families concerned.

(ii) *The Occupational Background of Spouses, their Education and Mobility Previous to Marriage*

There is an extremely high level of homogamy within the sample, with over 90 per cent of both spouses coming from farming backgrounds, and with 90 per cent of husbands and over two-thirds of the wives being born in the same parish where they now live. However, this considerably exaggerates their degree of immobility, since over 40 per cent of wives and 26 per cent of husbands had worked and lived outside the parish boundaries for some time. The following sections discuss each of these characteristics in more detail.

The Occupational Background of Spouses

Table 23 contains the basic information on the background and occupational history of both spouses prior to marriage, as well as that of their working children.

Table 23: *Percentage distribution of sample families by occupational status of wife and husband prior to marriage, and of both spouses' parents and their oldest children who were working*

Occupational status categories (Hall-Jones scale)		*Occupation of wife's father*	*Occupation of husband's father*	*Occupation of wife previous to marriage*	*Occupation of husband on leaving school*	*Occupations of eldest working son*	*of eldest working daughter*
Working on Home Farm:		%	%	%	%	%	%
(Farmers:)		91	93	55	74	17	2
Non-manual		4	2	15	1	21	55
Manual		4	3	30	23	62	25
Not known		1	2	1	2	—	19*
Total	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	N	408	408	408	408	146	137

*Married, occupation given as housewife.

There is an extremely high level of homogamy within the sample with over 90 per cent of both spouses' parents coming from farming backgrounds. Only in 14 per cent of all cases did either spouse's parents come from outside farming. Both spouses, therefore, are very similar in their occupational backgrounds. However, both spouses had considerable working experiences off the farm prior to marriage. Almost half the wives and one-quarter of husbands had worked for some time in non-farm occupations. These jobs were roughly equally divided in location between Ireland and outside the country, although emigration was more likely amongst wives. In both cases, however, the jobs were almost equally low status jobs in service or manual occupations, although wives did tend to work in non-manual (e.g., clerical) jobs to a much greater degree than husbands, a consequence, no doubt, of their higher educational level.

Equally marked differences exist in the kind of occupations taken up by the eldest sons and daughters of those families. Only one in six of the boys was working on the home farm and one in fifty of the girls. These figures are very similar to those found on the Cavan survey where one-in-five boys and one-in-twenty girls had stayed on the home farm (Hannan, 1970). Equally, there were significant differences in the occupations taken up by sons and daughters off the farm — nearly three times as many daughters took up non-manual occupations. These differences partly reflect the educational differences between sons and daughters, but must also reflect other sex differences in the occupational socialisation of sons and daughters within the farm family. Here sons tend to be introduced to hard physical labour on the farm at an early age and to internalise the relevant occupational values, while daughters are "trained" for off-farm non-manual work (Haller, 1959).

The Education of Respondents

In general, the level of education of respondents was extremely low, as is evident from the results presented in Table 24.

Almost nine out of ten husbands and seven out of ten wives had received only a primary level of education. Wives, therefore, had a considerable educational advantage over husbands. Nearly three times as many had received some post-primary education and even of those who recieved only a primary education, far more of them had stayed on in school to 14. Their husbands, however, had extremely low levels of education —only 11 per cent receiving any post-primary education at all. This figure is very close to those found in other social surveys of farmers (Bohlen *et al* 1965; Scully, 1971).

There is much greater variation in the levels of education of the oldest child in the family, indicating, presumably, equally wide variations in educational values and resources. The actual figures are again very close to those found in

Table 24: *Percentage distribution of spouses and oldest children who have left school, by their levels of education*

Educational levels		*Wives*	*Husbands*	*Oldest son (left school)*	*Oldest daughter (left school)*
		%	%	%	%
Primary only		69	87	33	14
Some vocational		10	5	31	22
Secondary		15	6	27	55
Post-secondary training or education		4	—	8	9
No information		2	2	—	—
Total	%	100	100	100*	100
	Nos.	408	408	194	195

*Because of rounding errors, totals do not always equal 100%.

other similar surveys. In Hannan's (1970) study (pp. 65-68), covering primary school leavers of the 1960-64 five year period, 47 per cent of farmers' sons and 19 per cent of farmers' daughters had received only a primary education. The sex differences here are somewhat less than in the Cavan study. This may be due to the considerable increases in levels of education subsequent to the 1967 free education scheme and the introduction of a school bus service. It is very obvious, however, that the differences in educational levels of farm boys and girls still persist.

Migration

Before discussing the migration experience of the respondents themselves we have some further relevant information about the husbands' fathers. In 46 per cent of all cases, the husband's father had been born in the house or on the farm currently lived in, and had never worked or lived away from there. And another 33 per cent were born within the parish boundaries and had always lived there. In nearly four-fifths of all cases, therefore, he was born and always lived within the home parish boundaries. And in a further eight per cent of cases, he was born in a nearby parish and had never moved out of the local area. In the remaining 10 per cent of cases, although generally born locally, he had worked in Dublin, Great Britain, or the USA for some time. Although there is, therefore, a remarkable degree of residential stability, even considered over the span of two generations, a small proportion of families have quite a history of migration. This is most obvious in the case of the respondents' own migration experiences (Table 25).

Table 25: *Percentage distribution of spouses by place of birth and migration experience*

	Place of birth of		*Migration experience of*		
Place of birth:	(1) *Wife*	(2) *Husband*		(1) *Wife*	(2) *Husband*
	%	%		%	%
On this farm	4	68	1. Have never left parish*	58	77
This or neighbouring parish	71	27	2. Migrated into parish from nearby areas	22	4
Over 20 miles	19	2	3. Born locally* but have worked and travelled outside	20	16
Dublin or abroad	3	1	4. No information	1	3
No information	3	2			
Total %	100	100	*Total* %	100	100
N	408	408	N	408	408

*Parish here refers to home and contiguous parishes.

In examining the place of birth of husbands and wives a higher degree of mobility of wives on marriage appears to be present than one might have anticipated, given the very high levels of occupational homogamy. One-third of all wives were born outside the home parish, 22 per cent over 20 miles away from the current résidence. Although there is, therefore, a relatively high degree of residential stability, an unexpectedly large proportion of wives come from outside the local area. Given the much poorer levels of transport in previous decades, many husbands have travelled much further to find a wife than one might have expected. On the other hand, although 90 per cent of husbands came from the home parish, over one-sixth of these had worked and lived outside the parish for some considerable time, the great majority in England and America. These figures on the previous migration experience of the resident male population are somewhat less than those reported for Skibbereen by Jackson (1968), and for Drogheda by Ward (1967); nevertheless, they indicate much greater mobility than one would have expected in a stable farm population.[10] Nearly one-fifth of all husbands had lived and worked in urbanised communities for some considerable time. Whether this has had any influence on their expectations and values regarding family life, and on their relationships with their wives, will be established in the next chapter.

[10] J. Jackson, *The Skibbereen Social Survey*, INPC, 1968, p. 168, who found that 32.6 per cent of the older rural residents are reported to have emigrated for some time, C. Ward, *The Drogheda Manpower Survey*, p. 82, where the equivalent figure is 50 per cent for unemployed males.

The mobility of wives, however, was much greater than that of their husbands. One-fourth of wives had been reared more than 20 miles away from their current residence. Besides this greater variability in their birth-place, over 20 per cent of those born within the confines of the local or neighbouring parish had worked and lived outside the home community at some time. In fact, over 10 per cent had returned home from abroad to marry.

We are not dealing, therefore, with a very closed cultural system where both the primary socialisation of children and the secondary socialisation of young adults is locally controlled. This is a view presented by Arensberg and Kimball (1940) of the small farm communities of County Clare in the early 1930s. When one-in-five husbands and almost half their wives had spent a considerable time living outside the parish boundaries, they are much more likely to be open to reference group influences from modernising urban contexts than will their predecessors. This is especially likely to be true of women.[11]

Family and Household

The typical household was a relatively large one of six persons, usually with parents and children only present. Two out of three households were

Table 26: *Some characteristics of households in the sample*

Types of household			*Percentage of households with the following facilities*	
Kind of Household		%	Facilities	
1. Husband, wife and children only in household		65	2 or less bedrooms	28%
2. 1 and *both* of husband's parents		4	3 bedrooms	51%
3. 1 and husband's mother only		11	4 or more bedrooms	21%
4. 1 and husband's father only		3	House renovated within previous 5 years	40%
5. 1 and both wife's parents		1	House *not* renovated within 10 years	16%
6. 1 and wife's mother only		4	House with separate sittingroom	59%
7. 1 and wife's father only		1	With piped water	50%
8. 1 and one parent of either spouse (unidentified)		3	With washing machine	37%
9. Siblings of either spouse		6	Indoor toilet	45%
Information incomplete		2	Electrical or Gas Cooker	46%
			Car	51%
			TV Set	51%
Total	%	100	*Total*	408
	N	408		

[11]See Barbara Harell-Bond, *Human Relations*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1969, where such invidious comparisons were disruptive of levels of satisfaction with traditional family roles amongst wives of Irish-born husbands in an English housing estate.

two-generation households. (See Tables 21 and 26.) These were mostly young families, as we have already seen. In the great majority of cases husbands' parents were the ones who lived in the household.

The average family lived in a detached three bedroomed house with a separate kitchen-diningroom, sitting-room and indoor toilet. The houses, however, were rather old. Nearly two-thirds had not been renovated in the preceding five years. They were usually well supplied with modern household facilities, although over one-third had the minimum level of conveniences.

The relationship of generations to family cycle will be taken up in the next chapter. And the modernisation of household facilities is taken up more fully in the next section.

(iii) Modernisation of Households and farms

Media Participation and Organisational Membership

The most consistent and one of the most predictive variables involved in modernisation of values, attitudes and patterns of behaviour, has been mass communication behaviour (Rogers, 1962; Inkeles and Smith, 1974). In a previous monograph, we found it to be the most highly predictive of attitudinal change, and strongly related to behavioural change (Hannan and Katsiaouni, 1977).

In this study almost all households surveyed had radios, while slightly less than half (45%) had televisions. Although only one in six got a daily newspaper, over half got one at least once a week. But almost everyone got the local or provincial weekly paper. There were therefore very wide variations in the sample in these respects. (See Table 27).

Summarising all their mass media activities it appears that over one-third of families have very high levels of mass media involvement, while at the other extreme, one in five families have extraordinarily low levels. The latter, more traditional, pattern is even more marked when one examines membership of formal organisations. Less than half of farmers and only one in seven of their wives were members of any formal organisation. And less than one in ten of either spouse was an active member.

Farm Production and Marketing Techniques

Roughly one in six small farmers was very modernised in production techniques--having adopted almost all new innovations in cattle production. Another third were clearly modernising. At the other extreme, however, were

Table 27: *Percentage distribution of families in terms of mass media behaviour and formal organisation membership*

Percentage of households with newspapers, TV car, etc.	%	*Overall level of mass media involvement (Guttman Scale)* (CR + .91)*	%	*Formal organisational membership*		
				Category	*Husband* %	*Wife* %
1. *Daily newspaper*		1. Very Low (Both spouses disinterested in mass media "News"; do not get daily newspaper, etc.)	20	Not a member	57	85
Every day	16					
Sometime every week	40					
Rarely/never	44					
2. *Local provincial newspaper*		2. Med. level involvement	37	Passive member:	31	10
Every week	87					
Nearly every week	8					
Never/rarely	5					
3. *Farmers' journal*		3. High involvement (Both very interested in mass media "News"; daily newspaper; weekly Farmers'Journal, etc.)	37	Active member	9	4
Every week	40					
Not every week but frequently	30					
Hardly ever/never	30					
4. *Television set*	45	No Information	6	No Information	3	1
5. *Car*	51					
Total	No. 408	%	100	%	100	100
		No.	408	No.	408	408

*This Scale is described in detail in Hannan and Katsiaouni (1977, pp. 76-77).

10 per cent of the most traditional farmers who had adopted almost no innovation. (See Table 28).

In marketing the range was equally wide: one-third were very modernised, but an equally high proportion were still very traditional in their livestock sale arrangements. The two measures are only moderately correlated with each other (r=+.20). But both are moderately predictive of gross farm income (r=+ .20 and +.32 respectively).

Table 28: *Percentage distribution of farm families in terms of modernity of production and marketing techniques*

Farm adoption, and production innovation scale (Likert Scale)			*Modernity of methods of selling livestock (Likert Scale)*		
Explanation	*Innovativeness score*		*Explanation*	*Marketing modernity score*	
Six discriminatory items out of 11 included. Yes = 1, No=0; Max. score =6, Min.=0°. = 0*.			Four discriminatory items used	Score**	%
1. Increased cattle nos.	*Score*	%	*A. Cattle:*	0.0	28
in previous 3 years.	*0*	5		(i.e., very traditional)	
2, Uses artificial	*1*	15	1=sold at a mart or factory		
insemination.	*2*	21			
3. Uses antibiotics for	*3*	91	0=Fair or delaer	<.30	10
white scour in calves	*4*	24	*B. Pigs*		
4. Dehorn calves soon			1=Mart/factory		
after birth	*5*	11	2=Fair/dealer	.30-.60	19
5. Applies nitrates for	*6*	5	*C. Lambs*		
early grass			1=Mart/factory		
			0=Fair/dealer	.60-.90	3
6. Uses chemical	No info		*D. Hoggets/Weathers*		
weedkillers		2	1=Mart/factory	>.90	35
			0=Fair/dealer	(very modern)	
Sum up all scores for each of 6 items.				No information	5
Total	%	100	*Total*	%	100
	No.	408		No.	408

*Scale items refer exclusively to cattle/sheep production, the predominant system of farming.

**Scores range from 0-4. Total score divided by no. of items applicable, i.e., Max. score=1; a highly modern marketing pattern. Min. scores=0.0 to 0.30; a very traditional pattern.

Business Management Arrangements

Equally wide variation occurs in relation to accounting and money handling procedures. (See Table 29).

Somewhat over one-third of households had very traditional arrangements—money was kept at home and no formal accounting procedures were used. About one in four households, however, had modern rationalised procedures—with regular accounting procedures and with bank deposit and

Table 29: *Percentage distribution of households by financial accounting arrangements*

Where money is deposited		*Financial accounting in households*	
Category	%	*Category*	%
1. At home cash handling	38	None	42
2. PO alone	6	Yes, some accounting procedure	28
3. PO and bank	6	Yes, regular accounting procedure	28
4. Bank deposit account	21	Information incomplete	2
5. Bank, with current account	24		
No information	4		
Total	% 100	*Total*	% 100
	N 408		N 408

current account arrangements. Younger families were significantly more modernised than the older ones in all of these respects.

Houses and Households

A number of measures were devised to try and measure the extent to which the household had a range of modern comforts and facilities. For instance, 16 per cent of houses had not been painted/renovated on the outside in the previous 10 years. Twenty-eight per cent had no more than two bedrooms, and only 21 per cent had four or more. Only half of all households had piped water available. One-third had a washing machine. Fifty per cent had a car and a TV set.

It proved possible to construct an ordinal scale (Guttman) of items, given below. This provides a summated measure of the overall "modernity" of household facilities.

Table 30: *Socio-economic, or level of living, scale. (Guttman), distribution of households by scale type*

Scale type and items—in order of "Difficulty", i.e., from most to least frequently occuring (CR = .91)		*% in each scale type %*
1. None of these items		16
2. House renovated within 10 years		18
3. (2) + Tiles or Lino on Kitchen Floor		6
4. (2 + 3) + Separate Sittingroom		9
5. (2 + 3 + 4) + Piped Water		13
6. (2 + 3 + 4 + 5) + Washing Machine		17
7. All of these items + 4 or more bedrooms		20
Total	%	100
	N	404

Here one-third of all households had few modern amenities—small older houses with no piped water or modern bathroom or laundry facilities, some of these in a poor state of repair. Although all houses had an electricity supply, the only use these families made of it was to provide light for the house. At the opposite extreme was an equal proportion of households with very modernised facilities. Recently built houses, they had piped water and all the associated toilet and laundry facilities. These were generally four-bedroomed houses with a separate "modern" furnished sittingroom and occasionally a separate diningroom. Income alone did not account for the very wide variation in the modernised quality of housing. Modernisation here was as much a reflection of values and attitudes as it was of actual income availability.

(iv) Extent of Change over time in the Social Backgrounds and Socialisation of Spouses

The integrity of the original peasant system depended mainly on maintaining control over the socialisation of potential heirs and their spouses. If born into and socialised within the confines of a conservative family, kinship and local communal system the young would tend to carry on the traditional way of life. As time progressed, however, this became less and less possible. Formal education processes became more significant, more and more children started to work outside the community before marriage. The local marriage market expanded as communication and transportation improved. Each new cohort growing up in these areas therefore, was likely to become less and less attached to traditional values. In this section we will consider four aspects of the social origins, socialisation and likely identities and reference groups of farmers and their wives, which have changed considerably over time. These features are

1. the place of origin and migration experience of spouses
2. their level of education
3. the inheritance of farms
4. participation in extra local activities by way of mass media, and membership of formal organisations.

Locality of Origin of Spouses and their Education

The locality of origin of each spouse is one of the most important variables in determining the size of the current local kin group. This is necessarily a function of the number of generations that one's forebears have lived there and the extent to which each generation has replaced itself there.

As we noted in the discussion of lineage in Chapter 2, women are more likely

than men to marry outside their area of origin and, over time, are less likely to have an extended local kin group.

In the following table we summarise some changes in many of the central socio-demographic conditions that would affect the maintenance of kinship relationships.

Table 31: *Percentage of husbands and wives in four age cohorts according to their social origins, migration experience and level of education*

Age of wife and husband	*% born in local parish or neighbouring parish*		*% who never worked or lived outside the community*		*% respondents whose fathers were farmers*		*% with primary school education only*	
Born	*Wife* %	*Husband* %	*Wife* %	*Husband* %	*Wife* %	*Husband* %	*Wife* %	*Husband* %
1. Wife: before 1916 (N=70)	80		62		94		89	
Husband: before 1910 (N=95)		*95*		*79*		*94*		*92*
2. Wife: 1916-1925 (N=130)	73		63		95		76	
Husband: 1910-1920 (N=134)		*93*		*74*		*99*		*89*
3. Wife: 1926-1935 (N=128)	67		58		92		66	
Husband: 1920-1930 (N=106)		*94*		*77*		*99*		*86*
4. Wife: 1936 + (N=65)	63		32		89		46	
Husband: 1930 + (N=58)		*93*		*76*		*91*		*82*
Total (408)	68%	93%	58%	76%	91%	93%	69%	86%

Quite dramatic changes have occurred over time in the social origins, level of education and extent of migration experience of farmers' wives; while very little change has occurred amongst farmers themselves. Nearly all the older women, born before 1920, were from local farm origins. These had generally stayed and worked in the farm household upon completing their primary schooling, and less than a third had ever worked outside the local community's boundaries. Husbands were even more conservatively socialised. A very high level of local endogamy appears, therefore, to have been almost universal up to

the 1930s. For wives born from the mid-1930s onwards, however, over a third were born outside the locality. Over half had gone beyond the primary level of education and over two-thirds had lived outside the community for some time before their marriage. Comparing the later born with the earlier born therefore, wives had become not only more heterogeneous in social backgrounds but far less solidly anchored in locally restricted cultural contexts.

Amongst farmers themselves, however, almost no change had occurred from the 1900s to the 1940s in their social origins, level of education and migration experience. Almost universally from local farm origins, very few had gone beyond primary school and less than one in four had ever worked and lived outside the community. While the social origins, educational, occupation and migration experiences of their wives had become progressively less locally restricted, farmers themselves had remained very conservatively socialised. Increasingly wider differences appeared therefore, between spouses in all these respects. This sex difference in the degree of "modernisation" of the younger respondents is likely to have significant influences on their kinship and local primary group characteristics.

Inheritance Patterns

The source of farm property is important for an understanding of local kin groups. Amongst respondents in our survey patrilineal inheritance was quite marked. Seventy-two per cent of farms had been inherited directly from husbands' parents or older siblings, nine per cent from husbands' other relatives. Only 12 per cent of farms were purchased from non-relatives and in only eight per cent of cases was the farm inherited from wives' parents or relatives.

Pattern of inheritance and locality of origin has a very significant influence on the number of one's siblings and kin who live in the locality, as the following table shows. The greatest number of local relatives occurs where men of local origins either married into a farm, purchased it or inherited it from other relatives. The smallest number occurs where the farm is directly inherited. In the latter case, given impartible inheritance, more of his siblings would have to migrate. In the small proportion of cases (28 per cent) where direct inheritance had not occurred, men will, paradoxically, have a greater number of brothers and sisters living locally. The factors influencing the size of local kin groups will be examined in detail in a later chapter, but quite clearly inheritance pattern is very important.

Table 32: *Median number of each spouse's siblings living locally, by inheritance pattern*

Farm inheritance pattern	*No. of husband's local siblings*		*No. of wife's local siblings*	
	Husband born locally	*Husband not born locally*	*Wife born locally*	*Wife not born locally*
Inherited directly from husband's parents/sibs	2.2 (N=277)	2.0 (7)	2.5 (20)	0.4 (79)
Inherited from husband's secondary kin	2.5 (N=30)	2.0 (5)	2.6 (25)	0.3 (23)
Inherited from wife's parents/kin	3.1 (N=25)	2.8 (8)	0.4 (30)	— —
Farm purchased from non kin	2.9 (N=37)	2.2 (11)	3.1 (38)	0.0 (10)

Over time, patterns of inheritance and acquisition of farms have changed however.

Table 33: *Patterns of farm acquisition, by age of husband*

Age of husband	*Inheritance pattern of farms: previous owners were*				
Born	*% husband's parents and siblings*	*% wife's parents and siblings*	*% other relatives*	*% purchased other arrangement*	*Total %*
Before 1910 (N=95)	64%	9%	13%	16%	100
1910-1919 (N=134)	71%	3%	10%	10%	100
1920-1929 (N=111)	75%	9%	9%	14%	100
1930 + (N=58)	76%	7%	5%	10%	100
Total	72%	7%	9%	12%	100

The change has not been in a direction that one might expect. In fact the significance of direct inheritance has increased very considerably, a finding supported by most other research (Sheehy 1977). It may be that land acquisition by mortgage purchase from the Land Commission in the 1920s and 1930s, less important nowadays, accounts for the observed change. Whatever the

reason, however, opportunities to enter farming by purchasing or otherwise obtaining non-family land seem to have declined over time, while dependence on inheritance has considerably increased. Given this change, combined with the increasing extent to which wives are recruited from outside the community, there has been an obvious decline in the size of the local kin group.

Mass Media and Involvement in Formal Organisations

Although the current levels of mass media involvement and membership of voluntary organisations may have declined with age it is the author's impression that this is not nearly as important as cohort changes—that people born late in the century consistently had higher levels of involvement. In the following table the relevant figures are given by the age cohort of husbands.

Table 34: *Percentage distribution of respondents with "high" and "low" mass media and organisational participation at different ages*

Husbands' birthdates	*% households with cars*	*% of spouses with high mass media involvement*	*% of husbands with formal organisation membership*	
Born		*% high*	*% non-member*	*% active member*
1. Before 1910	41%	7%	72%	3%
2. 1910-1919	53%	21%	61%	8%
3. 1920-1929	48%	22%	55%	7%
4. 1930 +	68%	20%	39%	25%
Total (%)	51%	21%	59%	9%
Correlation between Age of Husband and each variable:	(r=—.18)	(r=—.11)	(r=—.21)	

Younger farmers, or those born after 1930, have significantly higher rates of formal organisation membership, mass media involvement and general levels of household and farm modernisation. Interestingly, the only age cohort differences apparent in mass media participation is between the 60-year-olds and younger farmers.

Taking all of these factors as indicators of modernisation, their influence has obviously expanded greatly over time.

Summary and Conclusions

A field study which included a three-month period of participant observation, and systematic interviews with 408 farm families, was completed in early 1971. The study focused mainly on patterns of interaction within farm families (reported in Hannan and Katsiaouni, 1977), but extensive data were also gathered on the characteristics and levels of interaction with the families' kin and neighbours. The results of the latter aspects of the enquiry are reported in subsequent chapters. The main social characteristics of the families interviewed were presented in this chapter.

Despite the narrow limit within which the sample of families were selected for interview, wide differences exist in the backgrounds of spouses, in the economic, social and cultural contexts within which they were reared and in the environments within which they now live.

While a very high degree of homogamy in occupational backgrounds characterise those couples, spouses do vary widely in levels of education, in their geographical origins and in their occupational and migration experiences. These differences have widened over time. Compared to the older couples—those over sixty—young wives are much more likely to be born outside the parish, to have higher levels of education, to have worked outside farming and to have been an emigrant for some time before marriage. The level of modernisation of households and farms is also highly correlated with the ages of spouses.

Despite having selected only intact families, with at least one child under sixteen living in the household, families still varied very widely in their stage of the family cycle. While roughly one-third of the families were still at the "establishment phase"–with children still being born–over one-third were at the dispersal stage, with some of the older children having already left home. Since the stage of the family cycle is so interlinked with the availability of relatives we will take this up in the next chapter, and the relationship between stages in the family and kinship cycles and the character and level of interaction with different categories of kin, neighbours and friends will be dealt with in detail in Chapter 8.

Wide variation exists in the level of modernisation of household facilities and farms, as in levels of mass media participation and membership of formal organisations. As was shown in the previous monograph (Hannan and Katsiaouni, 1977), patterns of family interaction were equally variable, with roughly one in four families having very traditional roles, but one-third exhibited clearly modernised patterns of interaction—i.e., with joint spousal supportive relationships. As we saw in that report also, the increasingly less conservative socialisation and education of the younger respondents and their in-

creasing involvement in modern mass media was positively correlated to the liberalisation of values and family roles. It was quite clear also in that study, that those families characterised by more "modern" patterns of interaction were in fact more integrated with their relatives than their more traditional neighbours.

Quite clearly on a "first look" basis, the hypothesis of increasing modernisation leading to increasing levels of isolation of the modern family from its kin is not supported. The more traditional families had, in fact, significantly lower levels of interaction with kin than their more modern counterparts. A brief, though somewhat selective, summary of results is given below. It details the relationships between the modernisation of family roles and household, farm and communication patterns, and the degree of contact wives maintain with relatives.

Table 35: *Correlations (Pearsonian) between the level of "modernisation" of family roles, of household, farm and communication patterns, and level of contact with local siblings and other relatives*

	Level of wives' contact with siblings	*Level of wives' contacts with local secondary kin*
	wives	*wives*
1. Level of jointness in household roles	r= + .12	r= + .27
2. Level of jointness in child rearing roles	r= + .11	r= + .20
3. Household, level of living scale	r= + .18	r= + .13
4. Farm sales modernity scale	r=—(ns.)	r= + .11
5. Mass media communication scale	r= + .11	r= + .09

Modernisation clearly does not lead to increasing isolation from kin, even secondary kin. If anything it appears to strengthen kinship relationships. Of course the causal direction may be reversed: those families with strong and effective kinship support systems are best able to modernise. The naïve modernisation thesis is, therefore, quite clearly rejected. Not only do kin relationships survive with modernisation but they even appear to become strengthened.

This conclusion is sustained in the analysis presented in later chapters. However, before the kinship data can be more adequately analysed we need both to describe the extent and nature of kinship relationships among respondents, and to analyse the basic dimensions along which relationships with people in different kinship categories are structured. This is done in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

The Structure of Kin Relationships

IN this and the following chapters we report in detail the results from the field study of kinship and other primary group relationships in west of Ireland farm families. The focus is on the structure of kin groups as well as on differences in interaction and exchange amongst them.

More than 50 different questions about kin were asked of each spouse within 408 farm families; i.e., a total of 110 questions for each couple. Almost all of these were exactly comparable questions. They dealt with the number, location and level of contact with siblings, parents, uncles, aunts, first cousins and other relatives; the degree of attachment a respondent felt toward his or her kin; and the type and significance of both material and social-emotional support that was received from kin.

In this chapter attention is centred on the structural dimensions of kin relationships — the main distinctions made by people in their interaction with relatives. We base the analysis first on the results of a factor analysis of the main kinship interaction variables, the details of which are presented in Appendix Table 8[12]. Five major dimensions of kinship interaction emerged from the analysis. These indicate the main ways in which people's interaction with their kin are differentiated. Secondly, we present a summary description of these main dimensions; the number and extent of interaction with local matrilineal and patrilineal kin; the number and extent of contact with migrant relatives and, the extent of helpfulness and degree of attachment to relatives.

The chapter concludes with an examination of generational succession within the sampled families. Not only is the generational structure of families described but an attempt is made to trace its effects and that of the family cycle on family interaction.

(1) *The Overall Structure of Kin Relationships*

In order to simplify analysis of the large mass of kinship data available, a factor analysis was carried out on 66 kin variables — which were either interval or ordinarily scaled — chosen as representative from the total number (110) of

[12]Principal Factor with iteration; Varimax Rotation, SPSS.

separate questions asked.[13] The results of the factor analysis (Varimax Rotation) are given in detail in Appendix Table 8, and in summary fashion in Table 36 below.

Sixty one per cent of the total variance is extracted by 11 factors. This is a highly satisfactory result. Nine of these are clearly discriminable and retain a socially meaningful content. There are five major dimensions along which variances in the kinship measures were segregated: (i) relatives or affines (in-laws); (ii) whether kin were primary or secondary (siblings or uncles/aunts etc.); (iii) whether kin were resident locally or not; (iv) degree of attachment to relatives and, (v) extent and usefulness of help from relatives.

Since variances are so clearly discriminated along each of these dimensions and relationships across many of these dimensions are apparently not very marked, each will have to be examined in turn. Relationships with husbands' local siblings apparently tell us very little about relationships with wives' local siblings. And, as neither of these is very highly predictive of relationships between either spouse with the migrant siblings or the wider kin set, it appears obvious that the explantation of the very wide variation that exists within each category must also be different from category to category. As a result, the relationship between each category and the set of hypothesised causal variables has to be examined separately. (See Table 36).

There is, for instance, a clear negative correlation between level of contact with local siblings and level of contact with migrant siblings (e.g., r=–.11 for wives' siblings). Thus level of contact only partly reflects the relative availability of local and migrant siblings. Some different factors affect the level of interaction with migrant siblings than affect interaction with local siblings. It even appears that the number and frequency of contact with any kin category is not very highly related to the extent of helpfulness of kin, to various other categories of primary group relations, *or* to the degree of attachment one feels towards them. Two families differing widely in the number of relatives of various degrees available for interaction, are apparently almost equally likely to find relatives as a group equally obliging or helpful and equally attractve. Firth and others' work supports our finding that the size and significance of one's intimate kin groups are not very predictive of the size of the total universe of kin available for interaction (Firth, 1969).

Relations with kin, therefore, are not at all so straightforward and clearcut that one can treat kinship integration as a unitary concept. It is clearly a multi-dimensional one — segregated mainly by line of descent, degree of

[13]The main reason for using Factor Analysis was to meaningfully "reduce" the large amount of kinship data available. Correlations for all kinship variables were first calculated. This matrix of correlations was then factor analysed to see whether some underlying pattern of relationships existed, such that a much smaller set of "factors" or "components" could be taken as "source variables" to reliably account for the observed pattern of intercorrelations in the data.

Table 36: *Details of nine kinship factors extracted by the factor analysis: (Varimax rotation)*

Factor	*Name*	*Summary description of items included*	*Total variance explained by factor*
Factor I	Position in Family and Kinship Cycle	Family Cycle position; No. of children left home; contact with migrant children; whether parents were alive, and contact with parents.	18.6%
Factor II	No. and Contact with Husband's Migrant siblings	No. of and contact with husbands migrant siblings. No. of husbands' siblings married and living in Irish and British towns.	8.0%
Factor III	No. and Contact with Wife's Migrant Siblings.	Equivalent to Factor II.	6.2%
Factor IV	No. and level of Contact with Husband's local siblings	No. of Local Siblings: No. seen in previous week: No. in farming locally.	5.5%
Factor V	No. and Level of Contact with Wife's Local Siblings.	Equivalent to Factor IV.	4.3%
Factor VI	Attachment to local kin and Neighbours.	Attachment to local close relatives and neighbours – Husbands' evaluation.	3.7%
Factor IX	No. and Level of Contact with Husband's Local Kin	No. of and level of contact with kin in local area–i.e., uncles, aunts, first cousins etc.	2.7%
Factor X	Extent of Help Received from Neighbours and Relatives.	Husbands' evaluation of material helpfulness of neighbour and relatives.	2.5%
Factor XI	No. and Level of Contact with Wife's Local Kin.	Equivalent to Factor IX	2.3%

relationship and location of residence. Each of these variables will, therefore, have to be examined separately.

As to the extent of contact maintained with relatives, what appears in general to be the controlling variable is the number of siblings and other kin *available*

for interaction in each category. Measures of the extent of interaction with kin are based on the actual number within a category of kin with whom respondents are in frequent contact. The rate or frequency of interaction with each person within a category — that is, the number of times per week each person is seen — was not measured. The actual number in each kin category with whom frequent interaction is maintained within a specified time period — usually the previous week — is the principal variable employed. This can either be treated as the *total number* of kin interacted with, or as the *proportion* of total available kin in the relevant category interacted with — e.g., the proportion of local siblings seen last week.

Despite the fact that the Factor Analysis (FA) extracts such a clear set of dimensions, it would be quite misleading to regard these factors as totally unrelated to each other. There is, in fact, a very intricate set of inter-relationships involved. The number of siblings who remain on locally is partly dependent on the size of the local secondary kin system; and the level of interaction with secondary kin depends, to some extent, on the ease of contact with primary kin. These relationships are neither direct nor transparently obvious. What the FA has, in fact, done is to extract nine different sets of interrelated variables, (the co-variances within each set being partly explainable in terms of logical or causal relationships), relating to the number of kin available for interaction and the number of kin actually interacted with. These nine independent kinship factors, however, retain very significant relationships with each other. Some of these inter-relationships will be examined in detail in later chapters.

The main purpose of each of these later chapters is to report the results from our study of the effects of modernisation on kinship structures, and on the processes of interaction with different categories of kin. Breaking down this problem area into discrete issues, we are concerned with the following seven questions:

(i) What are the main factors determining the size of the local sibling and wider kin unit, and the rate of interaction with local siblings and kin?

(ii) What determines the size and rate of contact with the migrant sibling group?

(iii) To what extent are primary and secondary kin categories substitutable for each other? Given that one in five respondents have no local siblings, do they tend to emphasise local secondary kin relationships to a greater extent than those, equally small proportion, with three or more local siblings?

(iv) Are kinship and neighbour group relationships so different from each other that one cannot be substituted for the other, as Litwak and Szelenyi

(1969) and our preceding analysis has suggested; or to what extent are they substitutable?

(v) In the case of those with no consanguineal kin living locally, do affines provide a viable alternative? Where respondents have both consanguineal and affinal kin living locally, are their relationships with each other competitive or complementary?

(vi) If the structure and function of kinship and neighbour groups are as different from each other as has been proposed — then the small proportion of both spouses (11 per cent to 13 per cent) who have almost no relationships with any kin must be in a very weak position. The question here asks whether "neighbours" or "friends" can effectively act as substitutes for relatives?

(vii) And the seventh and last question asks what the relationship is between kinship interaction and the family and kinship cycle?

What we attempt to do in the following chapters is to describe and explain the course and main direction of change in primary group relationships in rural Ireland. Besides attempting to answer the previously raised questions about the effects of modernisation on the persistence and functionality of kin relationships, we also hope to throw light on the way in which change occurs, and the course taken in the restructuring of kinship relationships. Since the data available deals only with the position of families as they were in 1970/71 the interpretation of changes is based on an inferential extension from observed differences between "traditional" and "modern" families. (See Hannan and Katsiaouni, 1977, pp. 14/15).

In the rest of this chapter we describe the results of the study along the five main dimensions extracted:

(i) The number of and level of contact with (a) each spouse's local siblings and (b) secondary kin.

(ii) The number and level of contact with each spouse's migrant siblings.

(iii) The extent of helpfulness of kin, and the level of attachment to them.

(iv) The relationship between family and kinship cycles.

The Number and Level of Contact with Local Relatives

When examining the number of respondents' relatives living locally, and the nature of the kin connections, different patterns might well be expected to emerge for husbands and for wives. Most husbands had inherited the home farm, and these would have comparatively fewer local siblings than those who had bought land, or inherited it from more distant relatives. On the other hand, wives tended to "marry into" an area, having originally lived at some distance from the local community. Therefore, it would be expected that fewer

of their close relatives would live locally. But Table 37 shows, surprisingly, that wives have almost as many siblings living locally as have their husbands, the average being 1.4 for wives, 1.6 for husbands. A difference is seen, however, in the number of other relatives available to each. Husbands have, on average, ten uncles, aunts, cousins, living locally; wives have only six. Wives, on the whole, have weaker local kinship links, roughly one-third having no local relatives. Furthermore, younger women are more often in this position than older women, because the proportion of wives coming from outside the local community increased in the course of the twentieth century. (See Table 31 in Chapter 3). Compared with their husbands, therefore, the local kin resources of wives have become progressively weaker.

Table 37 : *Size of local and migrant sibling and kin groups*

Number	*Total no. of siblings alive*		*Total no. of siblings living in local area*		*no. of kin—uncles/aunts/ cousins—living in local area*		
	Wife	*Husband*	*Wife*	*Husband*		*Wife*	*Husband*
	%	%	%	%	No.	%	%
None	5.6	4.4	32.1	28.9	None	33.3	11
1 - 2	20.6	20.6	47.3	50.0	(1 - 3)	19.1	15
3 - 4	31.4	29.7	16.2	14.5	(4 - 9)	18.4	26
5 + over	41.0	43.1	3.0	4.4	(10 +)	26.0	45
No information	1.2	2.2	1.5	2.2	No info.	3.2	3
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%		100%	100%
No.	408	408	408	408		408	408
Average No.	4.3	4.3	1.4	1.6		6.3	10.3

However, these figures refer only to the availability of local siblings and other kin for interaction, not to the extent or degree of interaction that actually occurs nor to the type and quality of exchanges that take place amongst local relatives. In Table 38 we report the degree of contact with siblings and other relatives.

Husbands maintain contact with more local siblings and kin than wives. But surprisingly, there is less difference between spouses in overall contact than one might have expected, given the extra-local origins of wives. Although the number of husbands' secondary kin contacted roughly parallels the number living locally, wives appear to maintain contact with far more relatives outside the community.

These differences in kin availability and contact reflect diversity in the origins of spouses, but they are also affected by the location of spouses'

Table 38: *Percentage distribution of families in terms of contact with local siblings and kin*

Number seen	*Total no. of local siblings seen within previous week* Husbands %	Wives %	*No.*		*Total no. of kin* kept in close touch with* Husbands %	Wives %
None	41.4	44.8	0		7.6	16.4
1-2	42.7	43.9	1-3		14.0	16.7
3 +	12.0	8.3	4-9		17.7	22.3
			10 +		46.6	42.9
No information	3.9	3.0	No info.		4.2	1.7
Total %	100	100	*Total*	%	100	100
N	408	408		*N*	408	408
Average No.	1.1	0.9			10.4	8.6

*The question did not distinguish between local and non local kin. The great majority of kin who kept in touch, however, were local kin.

parents. Although wives are far less likely than husbands to come from their current parish, they tend to be younger than their husbands, and their parents are, therefore, more likely to be alive.

Table 39: *Percentage distribution of families by contact with each spouse's parents*

Contact level		*Wives' parents* %	*Husbands' parents* %
(i) Both parents dead:		51.2	67.4
At least one alive:			
(ii) And living in household		6.8	19.8
(iii) Not in household but seen within week		27.0	8.0
(iv) Not in house but seen within month		9.6	1.8
(v) Seen less frequently than 1/month		5.4	2.0
Total	%	100	100
	N	408	408

Roughly half of wives had at least one of their parents still alive. This was true of only one-third of husbands. The consequence of more contact with wives' parents means relatively greater contact with their siblings and relatives also. Since parents play such a central role in maintaining contact and in receiving visits, their death brings a serious break in contact with siblings, but more seriously with secondary kin (Adams, 1968; Firth, 1969).

Number and Contact with Migrant Siblings

Given the similarity in the social backgrounds of spouses it is not surprising that both have a roughly equal number of migrant siblings, and maintain equal levels of contact with them. It appears that approximately half the total number of children born into the family of orientation of our respondents had migrated. There is, however, a very wide variation in the total number who had migrated and in the characteristics and residence of these migrants. It is a very revealing statistic that the great majority of farm children grow up in families where between four and five uncles and aunts live in urban areas, mostly in British cities. Not only is the precedent set by the parents in maintaining contact with migrant siblings, but these relatives provide points of reference for the younger generation who, in their turn, are thinking of migrating. The flow from rural areas thus presents little difficulty, a movement which can be thought of as from "home to home" (Arensberg and Kimball, 1940, pp. 140-152; Schwarzweller and Mangalam, 1976).

Table 40: *Percentage distribution of families by number and level of contact with both spouse's migrant siblings*

Number		*Total no. of siblings migrated*		*Total no. of migrant siblings seen or got letter or phone call from in previous six months*	
		Wife %	*Husband* %	*Wife* %	*Husband* %
None		19.6	19.1	25.3	24.5
1-2		30.4	32.1	33.4	31.4
3-4		24.5	24.5	18.4	22.3
5 and over		16.8	20.9	14.7	17.2
No information		8.8	3.4	8.3	4.7
Total	%	100	100	100	100
	N	408	408	408	408
Average No.		2.6	2.6	2.2	2.3

While between a quarter to a third of spouses have no siblings living locally, less than a fifth have no migrant siblings. On average, if we combine both spouses' relatives, only six per cent of families have no emigrant siblings or in-laws. And only fifteen per cent have no married siblings or in-laws living in Irish or British towns. Combining the siblings of both spouses, the average family maintains contact with a total of five migrant siblings, three of whom are married and living in Irish or British cities. To quite a remarkable extent, then, informal contact is maintained with urban areas. The cultural and

reference group contexts within which children grow up in farm families is therefore much more diverse than their often remote location suggests. (See Hannan, 1970.)

Table 41: *Distribution of families in terms of number of migrant siblings of either spouse*

	No. of migrant siblings of either spouses								
	None	1-2	2-4	4-6	6-8	8-10	10+	*Total*	*Median*
All migrant siblings	6%	10%	19%	19%	20%	15%	12%	100%	5.5
Married siblings of either spouse in Irish or British cities	15%	24%	25%	13%	16%	–	–	100%	2.9

The Relative Helpfulness of Kin and other Primary Groups

The nature of exchanges with kin, and the importance attached to these, may now be discussed in the context of the availability of, and extent of interaction with kin. Table 42 shows husbands' and wives' perceptions of those relatives who are most helpful to them.

Table 42: *Percentage distribution of respondents by identity of most helpful kin member*

	Wives' responses	*Husbands' responses*
	%	%
No Help Received	32.4	24.3
Help Received:		
(i) Wife's Parents/Sibs.	*36.3*	18.2
(ii) Husband's Parents/Sibs.	15.5	*34.8*
(iii) Wife's other relatives	11.3	2.8
(iv) Husband's other relatives	*3.2*	*14.2*
No information	2.2	5.9
Total %	100	100
No.	408	408

From these figures, it appears that wives receive less help than husbands from relatives. Fully one-third of the wives and one-fourth of husbands said that they had received no significant help from relatives in the previous year. Most of these had few or no local siblings which, to some extent, explains the lack of importance attributed to relatives' help. Many of these wives,

furthermore, were in the later stage of the family cycle, with both parents dead and most of the children grown up. Of those who did agree that help from relatives was important, most emphasised direct financial or material help (81 per cent wives, and 64 per cent husbands); the remainder spoke of help with labour in household or farm. Again, we shall expand at a later point on the nature of the help given by various categories of kin and at various stages of the family cycle.

Such help flows primarily from siblings — local and migrant. Each spouse emphasised the helpfulness of relatives and appeared to disclaim that of affines. It should be noted, however, that the questions were partly biased towards such an emphasis. But it is significant that despite this, both spouses regarded in-laws as more helpful than their own secondary kin. Still, very wide variations exist in this respect — roughly one in five, for instance, placed affines before any relatives. The reaons for this variation will be explored in later chapters.

The preceding evidence arose in response to specific questions dealing with kin relationships. When the question was left open, as to the identity of the "most helpful" and "second most helpful" person to the family over the previous year, one in four wives and four in ten husbands, replied that a neighbour was far more helpful than any relative. (See Appendix Table 9.) This is not a very surprising reply for husbands. (See Hannan, 1972), but for wives it shows a relatively higher level of integration with neighbours than had been expected. Other categories of relationships — friendship, for instance — remain insignificant.

The questions discussed above referred almost exclusively to material helpfulness, not to social-emotional support. The set of questions relating to the latter yielded responses emphasising the priority of spousal and the adult-child parental relationship. But up to 40 per cent of both spouses mentioned siblings, neighbours or friends as being more supportive than one's partner. In these situations, it is noteworthy that neighbours and friends, as a category, become more significant than most relatives, and that affines becomes insignificant. (See Chapter 2, Table 16.)

We noted in Chapter 2 that different categories of kin and other primary groups have distinct functions in both material and social-emotional senses. It is also apparent, however, that these distinctions are not rigid and that respondents varied in the extent to which they utilised different categories of kin, friends and neighbours for different services. We hope to elucidate the modal functions of these different categories, but also the reasons why some respondents deviated from the "normal" use of different categories of kin, neighbours and friends. In this deviation, for instance, there is a significant

difference between husbands and wives in their use of kin and other primary groups. We summarise some of these differences in Table 43.

Table 43: *Comparison between husbands and wives in the relative significance of different kin categories*

	Most helpful person in previous year		*Of 6 persons named as most closely attached to % who name 2 or more relatives (— excluding members of nuclear family).*	*Social category of person named as "Best to Talk To" if worried or upset by something.**	
	% naming relative	*% naming neighbour or friend*		*Relatives*	*Neighbour friends*
Wives' responses	66%	25%	60%	30%	11%
Husbands' responses	51%	40%	47%	18%	15%

*The majority of both husbands and wives mentioned spouses and adult children as most important.

It is quite clear from these responses that wives are far more dependent on relatives for both material and emotional supportiveness than are husbands. The latter place neighbours as almost of equal significance to relatives. Indeed, in response to questions relating to interaction for recreational or convivial purposes, one in three men said that their neighbours and (to a limited extent) friends were more important than wives and children. Even here, however, very wide differences exist amongst respondents. Husbands who place neighbours before kin in terms of helpfulness, are roughly evenly matched by those who reverse this order. And, although only a minority of wives placed neighbours and friends as more important than relatives additional differences do exist in the extent to which relatives were given priority over family members. It would appear that the different farm and family roles played by husbands and wives lead to different types of relationships with kin, neighbours and friends in the performance of their roles. And, these roles and relationships change in the course of the life cycle.

So, to summarise the position thus far: (i) husbands and wives are very similar in the number of siblings who live in the local community. Between a quarter and a third of both spouses have no local siblings, and both average between one and two siblings available locally.

(ii) Variations in availability of and contact with local siblings are roughly evenly distributed, with up to a third of both spouses having no or infrequent contact with local siblings.

(iii) Quite clear differences emerge in relation to local secondary kin. One-third of wives have no local kin, compared to one-tenth of husbands. Husbands therefore have, on average, roughly one and a half times as many local kin as wives; although their relative rate of contact with these is slightly lower.

(iv) Since wives, are on average, six to seven years younger than their husbands, many more of them have parents still alive. The consolidating effect of this on kinship contact is sufficient to overcome the isolation due to residence away from their area of origin.

(v) However, kin relationships vary widely in the degree of relationship — siblings, siblings' children; parents and parents' siblings and their children — and in the distance of their residence from respondents. The extent of contact with different kin categories and the meanings and functions of kin relationships also vary widely.

(vi) Most farm families have an extraordinarily high degree of contact with close relatives who have migrated, with children in the average household having regular contacts with over 5 migrant uncles or aunts — roughly evenly distributed between Irish and British cities.

(vii) Relationships with each category of kin or with affines and neighbours appear to be influenced by rather distinct factors. Initially, therefore, we will examine each category separately. However, some categories — for example, primary and secondary relatives — are to some extent comparable and substitutable. Others — such as affines and relatives — do not appear to be. The extent of overlap or the extent of substitutability between one category and another is explored in depth in Chapters 5 and 7.

One of the main factors influencing the substitution or replacement of one category or relative by another is the family and kinship cycle. We have already dealt with the family cycle in the previous chapter. Here we wish only to describe the relationship between "internal" changes in the family as it ages, and "external" changes in the kin group.

Generational Replacement, Family Cycle and Kin Contact

The stage reached in the cycle of generational replacement is one of the most important factors explaining family and kinship characteristics, even in explaining the economic activity of a particular household. We refer to the position of the family in a lineal succession cycle. Obviously, differences exist in the social context of: (a) a young family with a number of small children, where both sets of parents are still alive and both sets of siblings still around

home; and (b) a young couple both of whose parents are dead and most of whose siblings are "scattered". The availability of kin, relationships with siblings and the focus and occasions of contact with one's siblings vary systematically over the life cycle not only of the nuclear family but also of their parents' families. What, therefore, is the extent of overlap between successive generations? How widely does it vary, and what are the consequences of this variation? We attempt to provide answers to these questions below.

Family Cycle: Inter-Generational Overlap

We can think of the two cycles concerned in terms of two overlapping circles (cycles) — that of the family of orientation into which spouses were born and are still involved, and that of their own family of procreation. We try to summarise these relationships in the following table.

Table 44: *Percentage distribution of families by their position in the generational replacement cycle*

Type of family in relation to presence of respondents' parents and/or grandchildren		%
(1) Originating 3-Generation families (parents—respondents—children)		56
(2) 4-Generation families (parents—respondents—children—grandchildren)		4
(3) Nuclear family only (respondents and children only)		30
(4)"Descending", 3-generation families (respondents–children–grand-children)		10
Total	%	100
	No.	408

In almost two-thirds of all families some respondents' parents, mostly maternal, are still alive. In only one in seven of all families, however, are there grandchildren; and in very few of these cases are any of the respondents' parents also alive. In comparison to many other countries, therefore, because of our late age of marriage and because so many children are born to older mothers, (so that the mother-child age difference is greater), the generationally extended family is a rather rare phenomenom in Ireland. Roughly one-third of families are completely isolated nuclear families with neither grandparents nor grandchildren for company.

There is, of course, a very close relationship between the family cycle and the generational replacement cycle. (See Table 45.)

Table 45: *Relationship between generational (descent) and family cycle*

Family cycle	*Generational replacement cycle*		
	Ascending 3 generation families (i.e., +some of spouses' parents alive, but no grandchildren	*2 generation family (nuclear family only)*	*Descending 3 generation* families (+spouses' grandchildren)*
	(1) %	(2) %	(3) %
(1) Expansion stage: (1+2)	69.6 (158)	20.7 (25)	–
(2) Stability stage: (3+4)	16.3 (37)	29.7 (36)	–
(3) Dispersal stage:	14.1 (32)	49.6 (60)	100 (56)
Total %	100	100	100
Total No.	227	121	56

*A small number (18) of 4 generation families are included with both spouses' parent(s) and grandchildren alive.

There is a fairly wide scatter over the family cycle in either three or two generation families. Although most families with some parents still alive were at the expansion stage of their own family cycle, 20 per cent were actually at the dispersal stage. But the ages of both spouses varied widely at each stage of the family cycle, and the age-difference between themselves and their own parents was also highly variable. The wide spread of respondents as regards generational composition was therefore inevitable.

There is, nevertheless, a pronounced correlation between both cycles ($r = +.31$). Where both spouses' parents are dead — marking the termination of the cycle of the family of orientation — two-thirds of current families are at a late contraction stage. Where both sets of parents are still alive, 81 per cent of families are at the early expansion stage. In this intergenerational overlap there is a clear overall bias towards wives' kin. Of all families with some parents still alive, 43 per cent had wife's parent(s) only alive; 18 per cent had husband's parent(s) only alive, and 39 per cent had at least one of both sets alive.

The death of parents or grandparents greatly reduces the level of interaction with siblings and other kin (Young and Willmott, 1957; Adams, 1968). Parents appear to act as a cohesive influence, providing a "focal point" for their children to maintain contact with a wide range of kin. The greater proportion of wives' parents who are alive might be expected to result in

greater contact and integration with that kin set. However, since wives are far more likely to have migrated into the community on marriage any such bias is likely to be corrected by the greater availability of husbands' local kin.

Family Cycle, Kin Cycle and Kin Contact

In this section, we discuss the findings which illustrate the close relationships existing between family and kin cycle, kin contact, and the extent of dependence on kin for help. In subsequent chapters, but particularly in Chapter 8 we will use these relationships to explain certain features of contact and integration with various categories of kin.

Table 46: *Relationship (Pearsonian correlation) between stage of family cycle and kin contact variables*

Independent. variables	*Overall kin integration scale**		*Extent of help from relatives*	
	Wives'	*Husbands'*	*Wives'*	*Husbands'*
Family cycle	r=−.16	r=−.20	r=−.16	r=−.14
Wife's parents alive: (0=dead, 1=alive)	r=+.25	r=+.19	r=+.08	r=+.11
Husband's parents alive: (0=dead, 1=alive)	r=+.08	r=+.21	r=+.06	r=+.11
Age of wife:	r=−.17	r=−.24	r=−.12	r=−.13
Age of husband:	r=−.14	r=−.21	r=−.14	r=−.11
	Wife's parents alive	Husband's parents alive	Age of Wife	Age of Husband
**Family cycle with:*	r=−.46	r=−.45	r=+.71	r=+.71

*See Hannan and Katsiaouni (1977) pp. 165-178 for scale construction. It is a relatively reliable overall measure.

Family cycle has a low but very consistent negative correlation with kin integration variables. Both frequency of contact with siblings and other kin, and the extent of helpfulness of kin, decline with progress through the family cycle. The later the stage in the cycle and the older the children, the lesser the contact with, and the general helpfulness of, siblings and kin.

However, because the family cycle is so highly correlated with other factors, such as respondents' own age, death of grandparents or parents, and the respondent's position in his or her own family of orientation, the independent effect of the stage reached in the family cycle may be less significant than some of these other variables.

If one controls for any of these other variables — particularly for presence of respondents' parents — family cycle retains no correlation with kin contact variables for wives. That is, stage of family cycle does not, of itself, indicate the extent or the closeness of contact maintained with wives' relatives. Since these other variables have both a logical and time priority — age of parents precedes and determines the age of respondents and their own children – one can treat family cycle as an intervening variable.[14] Conversely, if one controls for family cycle effects, the presence or absence of respondents' parents retains a very significant correlation with kin contact variables.[15] In other words the death of a woman's parents has a significantly depressing effect on interaction with her kin. And this is so at all stages of the family cycle. On the other hand, both family cycle and death of parents have equally negative effects on integration with husbands' kin.

These basically "demographic" features of kinship interaction need to be taken into consideration in determining what social or cultural factors influence the extent of husbands' and wives' contact with their siblings, siblings' children, and other relatives. There is a very clear connection between progress through the family cycle and integration with different categories of kin. The focus of attention switches from parents and collaterals (siblings and cousins) to one's own line of succession as one's parents die, and children grow up and eventually have children of their own. And this pattern of kin reorientation is most marked amongst women.

Summary

(1) Relationships with relatives are clearly discriminated along five dimensions: (i) line of descent or, from the point of view of each spouse, relationships with consanguineal and affinal relatives; (ii) degree of relationship — whether with siblings and their children, or with uncles, aunts and other cousins; (iii) distance of relatives' normal residence from respondents' homes — relationships with local relatives being clearly distinguished from relationships with migrant relatives; (iv) degree of attachment to relatives; and (v) extent and usefulness of help from relatives.

(2) Although variances are clearly segregated along these dimensions, and several factors influence the closeness and the nature of relationships with each category of kin, consistent interdependencies do exist across categories, and these will be explored in the next three chapters.

[14] $r_{12.3} = -.05$ (wife), and $= -.15$ (Husband), (1=Kin Integration; 2=Family Cycle; 3=Presence/Absence of respondents parents).

[15] $r_{13.2} = +.24$ (wife), and $+.12$ (husband). (1=Kin Integration; 2=Family Cycle; 3=Presence/Absence of respondents' parents).

(3) The number of children born into the family of orientation of respondents was very large, the average number still alive at the time of interview being 5.3. Of those, about half had stayed behind in the home community, the rest emigrating, mostly to Britain. There is, however, very wide variation in both the number and proportion of children within each family who migrate or stay on at home.

(4) Contact with local siblings and other relatives is very extensive. Only a small proportion of husbands have no local relatives or are isolated from them, but this is the case for about one in four wives.

(5) Any tendency toward a wife's greater isolation from relatives is partly corrected by her younger age and the higher probability of her parents still being alive. Parents play a central role in integrating adult siblings and other relatives with each other, and their death almost inevitably leads to a decline in such kinship contacts.

(6) The level of contact with migrant siblings is extraordinary. The children of these respondents having, on average, about 5 migrant uncles and aunts with whom close contact is maintained. This has consequences for the cultural milieu and reference group identification of young people in rural areas, some of which have been discussed in previous works (Hannan, 1970; Hannan and Katsiaouni, 1977)

(7) Wives appear to be more dependent on relatives for emotional and material support than husbands. The latter appear to have wider and stronger bonds with neighbours and friends.

(8) Families varied very widely in their stage of the family cycle, in the extent to which spouses' parents were still alive, and in the number and stage of dependency of their children. This variation has quite distinct effects on kinship interaction. Although many other elements are also correlated, it appears that the death of respondents' parents is one of the main reasons why kinship integration declines over the family cycle. The details of this covariation will be explored in Chapter 8.

Chapter 5

The Local Kin System: Dimensions of Interaction

THE results thus far indicate that people distinguish between a number of types of kinship relationships. Three principal dimensions have already been isolated: (1) *Degree of Kin Relationship* — For any individual, primary kin (siblings, parents, adult children, etc.) are clearly distinguished from and are more important than secondary kin (uncles, aunts, their children and other cousins). Importance diminishes the "further out" the relationship is traced. (2) *Consanguineal or Affinal Kin* — Consanguineal kin, one's relatives by birth, are clearly distinguished from and are more important than "affinal", or one's spouse's relatives. (3) *The Location of Relatives* — The greater the distance at which kin members live, the less available they are for interaction. While feelings of warmth and indeed exchange of some services may be undiminished between relatives who are separated by great distances, a constant face-to-face relationship of mutual support is not possible (Klatsky, 1976).

As we saw in the last chapter, great differences exist among families in the total size of the local kin group, and in the actual number of local relatives with whom contact is maintained. Husbands and wives have similar kin structures, and a roughly equal number of brothers and sisters living locally. The fact that many wives did not grow up in their current parish of residence affects only the availability of secondary kin.

The aims of this chapter, then, are threefold: to describe and attempt to explain variation in the number of siblings and other relatives living in the home community, as well as the number in close contact with respondents; to assess the extent to which relationships with secondary kin are equivalent to or may be substituted for relations with primary kin; and to examine the extent to which relationships with wives' local relatives parallel those with husbands'.

(1) *The Number of Siblings Living Locally*

The most significant variable influencing the vitality of any local kin group is the number of siblings who remain at home to reproduce the group in each generation. On average, both spouses have between four and five siblings alive. Of these, one to two live locally and two to three have migrated. The

number of local siblings with whom husbands and wives keep in touch is about equal: on average both maintain contact with at least one of their local siblings each week.

The average, however, is not very revealing. The number of siblings living locally varies widely, as the results given in the previous chapter have shown. One would expect that the number living locally would vary according to the total number born, the greater number staying from the larger families. Family size is indeed predictive of the number who migrate, but is not an accurate guide to the number who live nearby, as can be seen from the results presented in the following table.

Table 47: *Correlations (Pearsonian) between certain demographic factors and the number of local and migrant siblings and kin*

Husbands' siblings	*Total no. at home*	*Total no. migrated*	*Total no. in farming in locality*	*Total no. of secondary kin in area*
(1) Total no. siblings alive	+.38	+.73	+.41	+.16
(2) Total no. at home	*1.00*	−.22	+.68	+.32
(3) Total no. migrated	−.22	*1.00*	−.03	−.001
(4) Total no. in farming	+.68	−.03	*1.00*	+.18
(5) Total no. of sec. kin locally	+.32	−.001	+.18	*1.00*
Wives' siblings				
(1) Total no. sibs alive	+.38	+.78	+.51	+.11
(2) Total no. at home	*1.00*	−.05	+.59	+.27
(3) Total no. migrated	−.05	*1.00*	−.20	−.01
(4) Total no. in farming	+.59	−.20	*1.00*	+.13
Total no. of sec. kin locally	+.27	−.01	+.13	*1.00*

There are two principal socio-demographic factors explaining variation in the number of siblings staying on locally. These are: (i) the total number of siblings in farming locally, and (ii) the number of secondary kin living in the locality. The joint effects of both variables explains over 50 per cent of the total variance (R^2=.51). Controlling for the effects of both variables leaves no significant correlation between the number of siblings alive and the number staying locally.[16] Decisions to stay locally therefore, appear to depend on three factors: (i) opportunities for brothers to inherit or buy land locally; (ii)

[16] The first order correlation between the number of siblings alive and the number staying locally is r_{12}=+.38. Partialling out the effects of "number in farming" reduces the partial correlation to $r_{12.4}$=+.10 (Husband), and +.11 (Wife). If the second control is introduced these ratios are reduced to insignificance.

opportunities for, and the willingness of, sisters to marry local farmers; and (iii) the extent of local concentration of the wider kin group, a factor which appears to increase the commitment of kin groups to the locality. Obviously, families and kin groups vary widely in all these respects.

The number of siblings migrating is then best explained as a residual — those having to travel after all available local positions have been filled.[17]

This set of relationships fits very neatly into the traditional explanation for local residential recruitment and migration decisions in traditional farm areas: all those who can be "settled down" locally are provided for in this way while the remainder "must travel" (Arensberg and Kimball, 1940; p. 148).

But another, perhaps not very obvious consideration, also has a strong influence on the number of people settling locally or emigrating: that is, the numbers of the previous generation who chose either to emigrate or to settle locally. Secondary kin appear to provide the context within which individuals reach their decisions. (See Hannan, 1970, pp. 158-65, 192-7, 239-57 etc., for effects of variation in the number of migrant relatives on migration intentions and on actual behaviour.) With many secondary relatives in the area, individuals more easily find an opening locally. Although only 12 per cent of all farms or additions to farms were inherited directly from secondary kin, the fact of such additional kin resources being available locally had a very significant influence in the number of siblings who could stay locally. (See Table 48.) Similarly, the larger the number of emigrant kin the greater the contact with emigrants. And the fact of such contact, besides the greater poverty of local opportunity it indicates, is also likely to influence migration decisions. (See Hannan, 1970.)

In the following table we report the results from a multiple regression exercise examining the effects of a number of independent factors on variations in the size of the local sibling group.

Besides the two main determining factors already discussed, five other variables are significant within this set. Three underlying dimensions are apparent: (i) variation in kin related local opportunities; (ii) the 'structural effect' of commitments by previous generations within the kin group by choosing to remain at home or to migrate; (iii) actual family size. All three are relevant to both husbands and wives. In addition, the different experiences of wives require the introduction of two further explanatory variables. These are: (iv) the place of birth of wives; (v) the degree of mobility of wives before marriage.

While two out of three wives in the sample were born in the parish in which they now live, this is true for over nine out of 10 husbands. Over 40 per cent of

[17] If control for the "number of siblings in farming" the partial correlation between the number of siblings alive and the number migrating is actually increased to +.81.

Table 48: *Determinants of size of local sibling group. Multiple regression*

Independent (predictive) variables	*(1) Number of husbands' local siblings*		*(1) Number of wives' local siblings*	
	Ø-Order r	*Beta Wts.*	*Ø-Order r*	*Beta Wts.*
(2) Total number of siblings in farming (locally)	+.68	+.60**	+.53	+.41**
(3) Total number of close kin living (locally)	+.32	+.21**	+.36	+.20**
(4) Total number of siblings alive	+.38	+.10**	+.41	+.20**
((5) Age of husbands/wives	+.08	+.06*	+.08	—
(6) Size of original or first farm	—.07	—.05*	—.04	—.08*
(7) Education of husbands/wives	—	—	+.10	+.06*
(8) Place of birth of husbands/wives (0=Local; 1=Non Local etc.)	—.09	—	—.35	—.25**
(9) Residence or mobility before marriage	—	—	—.27	—.14**
(10) Inheritance pattern of farm: (0=Inherited directly from parents) (1=Inherited from kin or purchased)	+.16	—	—	—
	$R^2_{1.23456}$=.52 (N=374 to 408) **p<.01 *p<.05		$R^2_{1.2834967}$=.48 (N=370 to 408) **p<.01 *p<.05	

wives had lived in a large Irish town, in Dublin, or abroad before marriage, but fewer than 16 per cent of husbands had ever lived outside their own community, indicating that women are, in general more mobile than their husbands and thus more likely to marry outside their own parish. Those reared at a distance from their present parish have distinctly fewer local siblings. However, the siblings of many locally-born men, especially the majority who inherited farms, could not, or would not find an opportunity to settle locally. Locally-born women thus have more local siblings than have many locally-born men. This, then, is the explanation for the discovery that husbands and wives have, on average, approximately the same number of siblings living locally. (See Table 32.)

Consistent differences appear to exist amongst family and kin groups in the extent to which they form persistent locality descent groups. The probability of

a number of one's siblings remaining at home is correlated with the number of one's parents', and presumably one's grandparents' siblings who actually remained there; and local descent groups (lineages or "clans") vary systematically in the extent to which they die out or persist. It seems very unlikely that bilateral kindreds could reproduce such intergenerational consistencies. Migration, therefore, is not alone an individually determined occurrence, it is greatly influenced by the local kinship context, or culture, within which individuals make decisions.

The social class or origin or even the current economic position of respondents is not significantly related to the number of their siblings remaining locally. In fact, in so far as our measures indicate both the size of farm originally inherited, and the current size of farm, the gross income of farmers is slightly negatively related to the size of the local sibling and kin group. The larger the farm enterprise the smaller the local sibling group. Although most of the correlations are not statistically significant, the trends lead quite clearly to the rejection of our hypothesis about the intervening influence of class factors on the size and significance of local kin groups (Chapter 2). Such variations in the local loyalties of different families and kin groups appear to operate independently of class.

(2) *Contact with Local Siblings*

The extent of the contact maintained was measured by the number of siblings respondents had seen within the previous week. A very clear relationship was found between the number who had settled locally and the number actually contacted. But other factors are also significant and these are tabled below.

Wives' Siblings

For wives, almost half of the total variance in the number of local siblings with whom contact is maintained can be explained simply by the availability of a larger or smaller number of siblings. Other significant factors are birth order; level of contact with migrant siblings (negatively), as well as with local kin (positively); the availability and residence of grandparents. And finally the effects of modernisation — increases in income, level of living and mass media involvement have slight positive effects on the level of interaction with siblings.

These relationships become clearer in Table 50 where we control for the effects of the availability of local siblings.

The main factors influencing the extent of contact with local siblings are: (i) the effects of modernisation; (ii) family cycle effects; (iii) the strength of the local kinship bonds.

Table 49: *Determinants of extent of contact with local siblings etc. Multiple regression (i.e., number of siblings seen last week)*

Demographic factors	Contact with wives' siblings		Contact with husbands' siblings	
	ϕ-Order correlations	*Beta weights*	*ϕ-Order correlations*	*Beta weights*
2. Number of local siblings	+.68	+.62	+.72	+.72
3. Total number of siblings in farming or married farmers	+.37	—	+.49	—
4. Total number of siblings altogether	+.31	—	+.26	—
5. Total number of close kin who live locally	+.28	—	+.29	—
6. Birth order of respondent	+.20	+.12	+.18	—
7. Total number of kin kept in close touch with	+.19	+.08	+.26	+.07
8. Total number of migrant siblings in contact	−.10	−.11	−.19	−.07
Family cycle variables				
9. Family cycle	−.01	—	−.09	−.06
10. Residence of grandparents (1=both alive and living with family; 6=both dead)	−.15	−.08	−.04	−.10
Social class and modernisation effects				
11. Gross margin (i.e. Income)	+.07	—	+.09	+.11
12. Level of living scale	+.05	—	+.06	—
13. Mass media involvement	+.11	+.08	+.08	—
14. Social mobility of R (0=downwards mobility 1=stationary; 2=upwardly)	—	—	−.15	—
15. Inheritance of farms (0=inherited from parents; 3=purchased)	—	—	+.14	—
	$R^2_{1.26871013}=.52$		$R^2_{1.2111087}=.56$	

Table 50: *Partial correlations between some independent variables and contact with wives' siblings, controlling for the number of local siblings*

(1) *Mass media communication scale*	(2) *Socio-economic scale*	(3) *Residence of grandparents*	(4) *Family cycle*	(5) *Total no. of kin kept in touch with*
+.13	+.11	−.11	−.10	+.10

Both wives' and husbands' contact with siblings increases as they become more involved in mass media. Usually taken as the most important index of modernisation (Lerner, 1958; Rogers, 1969; Inkeles and Smith, 1974) mass media involvement (radio and TV, taking a daily newspaper, etc.) involves people in "outside" affairs, beyond their immediate kin, neighbour or friendship group. Such a process of "psychic mobility" (Lerner, 1958) was presumed to be accompanied by increasing individualism, the fragmentation of kin structures and the increasing isolation of the nuclear family (Parsons, 1954). This survey suggests, quite to the contrary, that not only do kin relationships not decline in importance in "modern" farm families, but that near kin relationships are more vigorous and more extensive than in "traditional" families. This appears to be particularly true for wives, but the trend also holds for husbands.

Social status, or life style, indicated by a standardised socio-economic scale, has a similar effect on the extent of wives' contact with their brothers and sisters. The higher the wives' status, the more likely they are to maintain extensive contact. This is obviously connected with the previous explanation, for more prosperous farms tend to be those organised and managed using "modern" techniques, and their occupants might also be expected to have a "modern" set of attitudes. But status factors also appear to have independent significance for wives, suggesting that the possession of such attributes makes contact with individuals more desirable, and that individuals so favoured enjoy the socially-derived confidence to extend the range of their kin contact.

The younger wives maintain greater contact with their siblings. This appears to be mainly due to the linking role played by their own parents. When they are alive, and especially when they are living with respondents, extensive contact is maintained with siblings. Parents, having provided a focal point for their family when young, continue to do so in a different form when their children become adults and marry. Where the parents live their children visit, and are likely to maintain contact with each other in that way. But the older the respondent in the sample, the less likely are her parents to be alive, and the less contact she will tend to have with her siblings.

The effect of a tradition of strong local kin contact holds over and above all these factors and can only be explained in terms of differential kin cultures. This provides some supportive evidence for our hypothesis of the existence of boundaried kin groups possessing distinct cultural attributes.

Husbands' Siblings

As in the case of wives, most of the differences among husbands in the sample with respect to the number of siblings they contact regularly, is explained by the local availability of a larger or smaller number of siblings.

(See Table 49.) We reproduce in Table 51 the relevant set of partial correlations, controlling for the effects of the availability of local siblings. Effectively, therefore, we are relating the independent variables to extent of contact with local siblings (i.e., the proportion contacted).

The stage in the family cycle and residence of husbands' parents have a significant effect on the extent of contact with siblings. Indeed, the "peaks" of this effect are more marked for husbands than for wives. Significantly more parents tend to live with a son than with a daughter, thus more husbands than wives are brought into regular contact with their siblings. But when parents die, as people age and the children grow up, husbands tend to have far less contact with their siblings than do their wives at the same stage of the family cycle.

Table 51: *Partial correlations between each of 7 independent variables and extent of contact with husbands' local siblings, controlling for no. of local siblings*

Gross margin	*Residence of husband's parents*	*Family cycle*	*Total no. of local kin in close touch*	*Number of migrant siblings in contact*	*Mass media communication scale*	*SES scale*
+.15	−.14	−.10	+.10	−.08	+.06	+.06

Again as with wives' kin, modernisation appears to have a generally positive effect on adult sibling interaction. The more modernised and richer the household, the greater the relative rate of contact with local siblings.

The level of contact with migrant siblings is *negatively* correlated with local sibling integration. It appears that the greater the level of contact with migrant siblings, the less the rate of interaction amongst those who remain behind. One would have expected that contact with migrant siblings — especially through their visits — should *increase* level of interaction amongst those who remain at home. Yet it has consistently quite the opposite effect. On the other hand, as in the case of wives' relatives, the greater the strength of local secondary kin bonds — effectively the consequence of the previous generations' kin relationships — the greater the integration of local sibling relationships. Farm families and kin groups appear, in these circumstances, to be divided in terms of their general orientation to local (and extra-local) opportunity structures, either they tend to stay and maintain a local solidary kin set, or migrate and maintain a solidary migrant kin set. We will deal in more detail with this question in a later chapter.

To conclude this section, there appear to be four broad factors which

influence the amount of contact with local siblings, irrespective of the number actually resident locally:

(1) *Position in family and kinship cycles.* The older the family, particularly where respondents' parents are dead, the lower the level of contact.

(2) *Living arrangements of spouses' parents.* If they live with the family, this greatly increases the extent (and probably also the frequency) of contact with siblings.

(3) *Modernisation.* Modern or urbanised style of life characteristics appear to have a positive influence on interaction with relatives, although gross income factors appear to be more important for husbands' contacts. In both cases the evidence quite clearly rejects the traditional set of hypotheses about the disorganising effects of modernisation.

(4) A broad range of influences exist which may be termed kin cultures. The degree of integration of the local sibling group is correlated with the degree of integration of the wider kin group (uncles, aunts, cousins). The significance of the behaviour of other (particularly older) kin members has also emerged in the discussion of the factors influencing patterns of local settlement and emigration. Clear differences appear to exist in the cultural characteristics of local kin groups, which account, in part, for differences in the integration of siblings. It would appear that boundaried groupings of kin exist. If significant cultural differences exist amongst kin groups, some sort of patrilineage system must exist. It appears very unlikely that an essentially unstable bilateral kindred arrangement could possibly provide the social basis for differential value systems. Such groups, whether bilateral kindreds or "clans", vary in the extent to which the children of each generation emigrate or stay locally. If more stay, this appears to increase not only the availability of local kin but also the rate of interaction amongst them. Almost by definition local solidary kin units — whether unilineal or bilineal, whether considered as ego-centred networks or as "clans" or partial lineages — can only exist and reproduce themselves if rates of interaction are higher amongst members and if clear boundaries exist around the group. It is significant that such groupings of solidary kin appear to be conducive to modernisation, and not the reverse. We trace out some further strands in the significance of local kin groups in the following section.

(3) *Local Secondary Kin*

In the traditional Irish farm situation, kin obligations and kin interaction extend well beyond the primary kin boundary of parents and adult siblings, of the "kin of orientation" (Adams, 1968). Arensberg and Kimball (1940, pp.72-75) not only describes relationships amongst nieces and nephews with their uncles, aunts and first cousins as being affectionately close and mutually dependent but also located the exclusive basis of obligatory mutual aid norms within this wider

located the exclusive basis of obligatory mutual aid norms within this wider kinship system, extending even as far as second cousins. The obligations of kindred cover not only mutual aid but also "extend to visiting and to the hospitality which the Irish countryman deems so great a virtue" (p. 75); and are most obviously noted at points of tension, role transition, or occasions of festival or fellowship — as at fairs and markets, Christmas and Easter, weddings and funerals (See Hannan, 1972; Lueschen *et al,* 1971). Messenger (1969) also describes a very extended kin universe — stretching as far as third cousins for the Aran Islands, in a much later period (pp. 74-75).

For most of the area covered by this survey, such an extended operative kin universe would be highly unusual. Visiting patterns, reciprocal labour exchange patterns and operative kinship obligations, rarely extend "horizontally" beyond the children of first cousins — to an average operative kin group of 10 kin members, excluding siblings and all children with whom the respondents keep in close touch and with whom they closely identify. In this chapter we are concerned first with the size of the local kin group; of uncles, aunts, first and second cousins. Secondly, we deal with the extent of interaction with these, and factors explaining variation in interaction levels. Thirdly, attention is focused on the extent to which secondary kin are substitutable for primary kin.

(A) *The Number of Secondary Kin Living Locally*

Uncles, aunts, and first cousins are the main, indeed almost the exclusive, group of secondary kin with whom individuals maintain close contact. The boundary of effective identification and contact appears to be almost limited to the first cousin range. As we shall see later there are, however, particular exceptions to this general trend.

Within this range of effective kin, there are surprisingly large numbers living within the local or neighbouring parish boundaries. On average, the number is about ten individuals for husbands, and only six for wives; but the numbers vary widely as the following results show.

Despite a wide difference in local kin availability, however, both spouses are approximately equal in the number of secondary kin with whom contact is maintained — roughly 10 individuals in each case. The availability of, and contact with, the wider kin set is much less locally bound for wives.

The principal factors found in the survey to affect the number of local secondary kin are given in Appendix Table 10; their significance is discussed below.

(1) The local origins of each spouse's parenthood and lineage has a strong effect on the number of secondary kin living in the respondent's locality.

The number of generations one's family has lived in an area, and the extent to which each generation has reproduced itself there is the main determinant of the size of one's current kin group. Farmers' wives, being likely to marry into an area some distance from their area of origin, are, over time, less likely to have an extended local kin group than are their husbands.

However, the place of birth of a respondent and of a respondent's father explains very little of the variation (less than five per cent) in the size of local kin groups. Perhaps more data on maternal and paternal lineages could explain more of the variance, but none is available from this survey.

Table 52: *No. of secondary kin who live locally and no. of kin kept in close touch with*

	Husbands' kin		*Wives' kin*	
	No. who live locally	*Total no. kept in close touch with*	*No. who live locally*	*No. kept in close touch with*
	%	%	%	%
None	11	8	33	16
1-3	15	14	19	17
4-6	16	14	10	12
7-9	10	13	9	10
10-12	11	13	7	8
13-15	10	9	5	8
16-18	6	5	3	4
19-21	4	5	3	6
22+	14	14	8	16
No information	3	4	3	2
Total %	100	100	100	100
No	408	408	408	408
Average	10.3	10.9	6.3	10.0

(2) Position of the respondent in the generational replacement cycle has a bearing on this issue, for the later the position of the respondent in birth order, and the older he/she now is, the less likely are uncles and aunts etc. to be still alive. Conversely, the younger the respondent and the more primary the birth order, the larger is the effective kin group

(3) Class and occupational background is significant. Respondents from well-established farming, merchant or other local middle-class backgrounds tend to have a larger number of secondary kin living locally. Status appears to be as important as class as an influence on the

size of a husband's secondary kin group: the greater the comfort enjoyed by a respondent, the more modern the house and farm equipment, and the greater the degree of participation in mass media, the larger tends to be his local kin group. Similarily, those who receive unemployment or welfare benefits appear to have smaller local kin groups.

Quite clearly both farm and household modernisation is positively correlated with kinship integration. The maintenance of kin relationships, far from being a barrier to modernisation, appears to facilitate it.

(4) Protestants in this survey have significantly smaller kin groups than Catholics. While the sample of Protestants is very small (<five per cent), the difference is marked and statistically significant. This may be a result of smaller family size associated with effective fertility limitations which may have operated over a number of generations. The tendency to marry a spouse of one's own religious denomination may also provide an explanation: a small rural population of Protestants is obliged to travel some distance to find spouses, thus diffusing secondary kin. The sample of Protestants, however, is too small to pursue the analysis any further.

Although we can account for some of the variance in kin size in terms of the extent of mobility of respondents' parents into an area, and of the extent to which they came from a solidly propertied local background, both of these sets of variables would still account for less than 10 per cent of the overall variance in local kin numbers. In fact, all factors combined explain less than 15 per cent of the variance.

The very substantial differences amongst individuals' local kin groups are a result of difference in the size of each respondent's maternal and paternal local kin groups. The differences between small and large kin groups are only partly accounted for by the variables mentioned above. But one must remember that the joint effect of variations in the size of husbands' and wives' local kin groups in any generation contains a significant random variable. If marriages are made, even to a limited extent, independently of each local kin group's size, then the size of the secondary kin groups of the following generation, resulting from two sets of kin relationships (on the mother's and on the father's side), means that the number of secondary kin living locally will, to a large extent, involve an unpredictable range of variation.

(B) *Contact with Local Kin*

The main factors influencing the number of local secondary kin, with whom husbands and wives maintain regular contact, are given in Appendix Table 11.

The same factors are important in determining level of contact with husbands' kin as with their siblings. Again, most of the variation is directly related to the number of local kin available. Social class, and degree of modernisation have similar effects for secondary kin contact as they have for sibling group contact — the higher the income and the more modern the family orientation the greater the contact. Here also, increasing distance of residence from a town is associated with fewer local kin contacted on a regular basis. Level of contact with siblings both local and migrant, is also predictive of local contact with kin. These factors combined explain 73 per cent of the variance in the number of secondary kin contacted.

Some similar factors influence the number of wives' secondary kin regularly contacted. Availability, class and status factors, degree of modernisation and remoteness are, as above, the important explanatory variables. The more distant the relatives, the lower the class of origin and current status of wives, the lower the degree of modernisation of household and communication behaviour, then the lower the level of contact with secondary kin.

An interesting aspect of contact with secondary kin is the existence of differences in the effect of these background conditions for husbands and wives. As with sibling contact, status factors appear to be slighly more significant for wives, and income level to be more significant for husbands. Proximity to a town is associated with extension of contacts with husbands' secondary kin, whereas remoteness favours contact with a large number of wives' secondary kin. These relationships are illustrated by the following table of partial correlations, controlling for the number of local kin available:

Table 53: *Partial correlations between 9 independent variables and contact with secondary kin, controlling for no. of local secondary kin*

	Contact with sibs.		*Gross margin*	*SES*	*Communication scale*	*Parents alive*	*Age of R*	*Receipt of Welfare assistance*	*Remoteness*
	Migrant	Local							
Contact with Husbands' Secondary Kin	+.18	+.03	+.15	+.05	+.11	+.09	−.09	−.09	−.09
Contact with Wives' secondary kin	+.22	+.13	—	+.09	+.07	—	—	—	+.08

So far we have accounted for 73 per cent of the variance in the extent of contact with husbands' secondary kin, but only 31 per cent of the variance on the level of wives' kin contact. The main reason for this is that travel distance is less important for wives than for husbands in terms of kin contact. While

almost all husbands' kin contacts are with local kin, the same is not true for wives. Wives tend to have significantly fewer secondary kin living locally, but they maintain contact with nearly as many as do their husbands. The main reason for the lower predictability of the variance in wives' level of contact is not any lesser likelihood of contact, but the absence of data on the exact location of wives' secondary kin. Another factor is the increased "use" of both local and distant secondary kin by wives when isolated from primary kin. A rather clear substitution of secondary for primary kin occurs for wives in this situation as the results in the following section clearly show.

The Functional Equivalence of Kin Categories: Contact with Primary and Secondary Kin

In one of the most recent reviews and tests of the literature on kinship functions, Klatsky (1976) argues that kin categories are functionally equivalent to each other, i.e., that the needs satisfied are not a function of any particular category of kin but that any kin member, within a particular culturally defined degree, can perform these functions (op. cit., p. 25.) In our situation this would mean that: (a) no clearcut boundaries would exist between primary and secondary kin, and gradations in contact would be very gradual, and (b) that as the number of and contact with local siblings declines, the degree of contact with local secondary kin increases — i.e., that secondary kin can be substituted for primary kin in these circumstances. With regard to the first proposition, all the evidence so far examined suggests that there is a very clear boundary between primary and secondary kin, at least as this is indicated by level of contact with siblings and parents, and with uncles, aunts and cousins. Although correlated, level of contact with one set of kin is poorly predictive of the other.

With regard to the second proposition, the reverse of the correlation proposed actually holds: the larger the number of siblings contacted, the larger the number of secondary kin contacted. At face value, therefore, it appears that the hypothesis of functional equivalence of kin — with every kin category seen as both fulfilling equivalent obligations and needs — is not supported. The extent of contact with one category does not reduce contact with that of another —indeed, it appears to increase it.

Network theory, however, would predict that contacting one relative increases the probability of contacting others, since each provides communicating linkages to other relatives. The extent of contact with different categories of relatives is, therefore, complementary rather than competitive. This appears to be the case here. But this refers only to the *number* of siblings and kin contacted. All of these relationships could be a function only of the total number of local kin available for interaction and not of the frequency of

interaction with any one member. In Table 54 we control for the number of local siblings and examine the partial correlations involved.

Table 54: *Partial correlations between number of local sibs contacted and number of local kin contacted, controlling for number of husbands' and wives' local siblings available for interaction (1)*

	Contact with husbands' kin (5)	Contact with wives' kin (6)
A. Control for number of husbands' local siblings (1)		
(2) Number husbands' siblings contacted	$r_{25.1}=+.15$	$r_{26.1}=+.19$
(3) Number wives' siblings contacted	$r_{35.1}=+.10$	$r_{36.1}=+.19$
B. *control for number of wives' local siblings* (1)		
(4) Number husbands' local siblings contacted	$r_{45.1}=+.25$	$r_{46.1}=+.17$
(7) Number wives' local siblings contacted	$r_{75.1}=+.13$	$r_{76.1}=+.13$

The positive correlations are merely reduced, not reversed. There is still a positive correlation between contact with siblings and kin. The larger the extent of contact with siblings, the larger the extent of contact with local secondary kin.

However, before concluding we need to see whether this relationship holds for all values of the main variables involved. It may be that where there are no local siblings or infrequent contact with few siblings, such a substitution does

Table 55: *Relationship between number of wives' local kin and contact with kin, controlling for number of local siblings*

	Wives' relatives				
Number of local siblings	*Average no. of local kin*	*Average no. of kin kept in touch with*	*Correlation between no. locally resident and no. contacted*	*Ratio of no. contacted to no. in local area*	*Per cent of families where no. kin contacted is greater than no. available locally*
No. local siblings	3.7	7.4	r=.60	2.00	50.8%
1-2 local siblings	6.5	10.1	r=.74	1.60	49.5%
3 or more local siblings	8.6	12.0	r=.84	1.40	27.2%

occur. Twenty eight per cent of wives, for instance, have no siblings living locally, and 33 per cent have no local kin. In cases like these, we might expect the extent of contact with such secondary kin as are available to increase, and to find that secondary kin are substitutable for primary kin in the absence of the latter in the locality. Table 55 tests for this.

Those women with few local siblings, or with none, tend to have relatively greater contact with their local secondary kin. In such cases, distance becomes less important in maintaining contact with secondary kin. These women do not contact as many secondary kin as do women with three or more local siblings, in fact about half the number. Nevertheless, the relative degree of their contact with secondary kin is significantly higher. The ratio between the number of local kin available, and the number of all kin regularly contacted, is two to one. An indication of the decreased importance of distance for women with no local siblings is the fact that 51 per cent of them kept close contact with many more kin than those living locally. On the other hand, of those women with three or more siblings living locally, only 27 per cent maintain close contact with kin living outside the local area.

There is, then, a significantly greater tendency to maintain contact with local and non-local kin among those women with none or with few local siblings. Amongst those with three or more local siblings, contact with local secondary kin is much more directly dependent on their availability and on extension from contact with siblings. Table 56 investigates the pattern of husbands' kin contact for those with none or with few local siblings.

Table 56: *Relationship between number of husbands' local kin and contact with kin, controlling for number of local siblings*

	Average no. of local kin	*Average no. of kin in touch with*	*Correlation between no. locally resident and no. contacted*	*Ratio of no. contacted to no. in local area*	*Per cent of families where no. contacted is greater than no. living locally*
No. local siblings	7.4	8.8	r=.82	1.19	25.8%
1-2 local siblings	9.9	10.2	r=.80	1.03	19.8%
3 or more local siblings:	13.3	13.7	r=.83	1.03	22.7%

The relationships are not as clearcut in the case of wives' kin substitutability. A trend is detectable linking the absence of local siblings and a relatively greater degree of contact with local, and non-local, secondary kin. But the

trend is not very pronounced. Perhaps the different degrees of availability of husbands' and wives' kin may be responsible for these differing trends. Women with a significantly smaller number of local siblings make great efforts to keep in touch with their more distant kin members. Men's kin are far more likely to live locally so, given their greater availability, they tend to be more selective about contacting them.

Comparing the first two columns of Table 55 and 56, it is clear that although wives have only roughly half the number of local kin as husbands, they keep contact with about the same number of secondary kin, despite their lesser local availability. The difference is even more clearly marked in the last two columns of each table. Here the relative degree of contact maintained by wives with non local kin is roughly twice as great as that for husbands.

Secondary kin are, therefore, a very significant kin category, and not merely a residual group, to be contacted once obligatory relationships with primary kin have received attention. Contact with them actually increases according as the extent of contact with primary relatives increases. But in those instances where few primary kin are available, secondary kin appear to act as "substitutes", and contact with this group increases markedly. In this restricted sense Klatsky's (op. cit.) hypothesis is supported. Distant kin are substitutable for near kin, and interaction with the former does increase considerably where siblings or other close relatives are absent or scarce. Whether they perform the same functions will be examined in a later chapter.

Conclusions

(1) Fewer wives' relatives live locally than husbands'. Nevertheless, the average wife and the average husband keep in touch with roughly the same number of siblings, uncles, aunts and first cousins. Differences are very great, however, amongst husbands and amongst wives in the number of local relatives available for interaction and in the number actually interacted with on a regular basis.

(2) The number of children who remain on as adults in the local community is determined to a very limited extent by the number of children born in the family. It appears to be mainly determined by the number of sons able to enter farming locally and the number of daughters willing and able to marry other farmers locally. Since there is also a clearcut correlation between the numbers of respondents' own siblings and of their parents' siblings who remained in the locality, it appears that local descent groups (of whatever characteristic) vary systematically in their orientations to the local community's resources.

(3) Irrespective of whether we consider kinship from the perspective of the effective bilateral kindred, or from that of a partial lineage or clan, modernisation does not have those direct disorganising effects as has been hypothesised by some commentators. In fact all the evidence available indicates either that modernisation strengthens kinship ties, in facilitating contacts with kin as other bases of primary group formation declines, or else that strong kinship ties are of substantial help in adjusting successfully to modernisation. In either case the most "modernised" families appear to have the stronger kinship relationships.

(4) Whatever positive role kinship plays in the modernisation process does not appear to be determined or mediated by social class. The most reasonable and straightforward interpretation of the results, and of attendant unstructured observations, is that local kin groups, considered as partially boundaried groups, differ systematically in their cultural and social structural characteristics; particularly in those respects that affect decisions by their young people to stay and live on locally, or to migrate. This may be determined structurally in that the larger the kin group the greater the local resource base controlled on which people may be settled; or by the mere "structural effects" on decisionmaking, of different rates of staying or migrating amongst one's uncles/aunts or cousins etc. There was some direct evidence of this in a previous study (Hannan, 1970, pp. 239-257). It may be determined culturally in that such boundaried kin groups, differentiated in terms of the value placed on local "symbolic estates", may vary systematically in the dominant views held of local or emigrant opportunities. Unstructured observations in a number of these communities showed considerable cultural differences amongst such partial lineages or kin groups in their focus on emigrant or local opportunities for their children.

(5) Although these cross-generational and wider kinship linkages exist and are very important, the most obvious characteristic is that of a clear boundary in interaction with kin between parents, adult siblings and their children; and interaction with uncles, aunts and other cousins. People do discriminate clearly in their interaction and in terms of the factors determining interaction between siblings, uncles and aunts, and other cousins. Nor is there any direct evidence of the exact equivalence of meaning and functions of primary and secondary kin as Klatsky (1976) has suggested.

(6) Some clear differences emerged between husbands and wives both in the level and patterns of contact with primary and secondary relatives. A much higher proportion of wives have no or few local siblings or secondary relatives.

Although no direct substitution occurs in levels of interaction with primary and secondary kin, where wives have no local siblings they clearly do increase interaction with both local and distant secondary relatives. In this particular case substitution clearly can and does occur. Where none or very few "near" kin are available more "distant" relatives are apparently substitutable.

(7) The level of contact with siblings and other relatives declines sharply with the death of parents. The loss of these crucial linkages reduces not only the occasions of contact with relatives but also apparently affects the meaning of contact.

Our main hypotheses have suffered a mixed fate. Modernisation has in general, in keeping with one hypothesis, had positive effects on kinship relationships — or, equally plausibly, a strong local kinship system aids rather than retards modernisation. Social class has apparently not had the mediating effect we had hypothesised and as aggregate demographic trends would suggest. Given these aggregate demographic and class trends, the lack of any relationship between crude class factors and kinship interaction, and at the same time the apparent significance of boundaried kin groups in the process of modernisation, it would appear that some local kin groups are very successful in local social mobility while others are much more oriented toward emigrant communities.

Other variables, not previously discussed have also been shown to be very significant in kinship contact. The most important of these is the family cycle, particularly the effect of the death of parents on relationships with siblings and other relatives.

In the following chapter we examine respondents relationships with migrant siblings.

Chapter 6

Contact with Migrant Relatives

Introduction

A highly institutionalised emigration arrangement was a very important element in the reproduction of the small family farm economy of the west of Ireland, as it was in other comparable European peasant systems. (See Habbakuk, 1955; Berkner, 1972; Arensberg and Kimball, 1940; Schwarzweller *et al* 1976.) This was the "stem family" arrangement: it simultaneously dispersed and placed "surplus" children in urban industrial employment while ensuring heirs and successors on the home farm.

All of these conditions characterised much of rural Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s. Most families, then as now, maintained contact with several migrant relatives, so arrangements could easily be made for prospective emigrants. But this was the less desirable option, (Arensberg and Kimball, 1940), and even in the 1960s, emigration was rarely welcomed (Hannan, 1970).

But from the 1940s on, as we have seen in Chapters 1 and 2, rural isolation, and consequently the effectiveness of exclusively local socialisation, began to decline. Rapid expansion occurred in the economic opportunities available in emigrant communities which, up to this period, had not been very attractive nor offered many prospects. Intergenerational replacement was no longer a matter of certainty, and the traditional farm family system began to change. Whereas in the 1920s brothers had competed for the inheritance, in the 1960s they vied to escape it. (See also Cole, 1973, pp. 780ff.) So, emigration became increasingly more important as an option for rural men and women.

The extent of off-farm migration had been very substantial throughout the twentieth century, but it accelerated rapidly in the post-war period. In Table 57 we summarise that most relevant statistics on off-farm migration, the more detailed data being given in Appendix Table 12.

In relative terms the rate of farm population decline quadrupled in the post-war period. This is particularly true of farm labourers and farmers' relatives. In the pre-war period, labourers' rate of decline was substantially less than that of farmers' relatives. In the post-war period it was slightly greater. Over the whole 40-year period a quite marked increase occurs in the post-war era, with the annual rate of decline being four to five times greater than in the earlier period.

Table 57: *Percentage decline in number of males employed in farming from 1926 to 1946, and 1946 to 1966*

	Ireland (26 Cos)				*Connaught*			
	Total	*Farmers*	*Rels. Assisting*	*Employees*	*Total*	*Farmers*	*Rels. Assisting*	*Employees*
Percentage decline 1926 to 1946	−8.6	−6.0	−13.6	−4.9	−11.7	−6.3	−18.3	−8.1
Percentage decline 1946 to 1966	−37.7	−14.4	−55.2	−56.1	−38.0	−16.8	−59.1	−69.6

Sources: As in Appendix Table 12.

So, any of our respondents who grew up and entered farming in the 1940s and 1950s — a group which makes up 14 or 15 per cent of all farmers — were likely to have significantly more migrant relatives and neighbours than those born in an earlier period. In the later period also, migration was almost completely restricted to Britain (See Hannan, 1973), whereas America was the more likely destination at the beginning of the century. The level of prosperity of the emigrants had, of course also significantly increased in the post-war period.

Partly as a result of this increasing rate of off-farm movement, partly as a consequence of the shift in destination of migrants away from the United

Table 58: *Changes in the migration characteristics of male farmers' siblings by age cohort*

Husband born	*Average No. of siblings alive*	*Av. No. living locally*	*Av. No. migrated*	*Av. No. married in Irish towns*	*Av. No. married in British towns*	*Proportion total sibs migrated*	*% of total migrants who are married and living in Irish or British cities*
Before 1910 (N=91)	3.93	1.69	2.19	.46	.43	.56	.41
1910-1920 (N=125)	4.40	1.54	2.65	.61	.71	.60	.50
1920-1930 (N=105)	4.37	1.46	2.80	.73	.80	.64	.55
Post 1930 (N=53)	4.28	1.21	2.98	.80	.74	.70	.52
Correlation between age of R and each dept. variable(r)	−.05	+.08	−.101	−.094	+.103		

States, the younger couples have far more siblings married in Irish and British centres. (See Table 58).

Among our respondents, we find wide differences between age cohorts in the number of siblings migrated and in the destination of migrants. As expected, the proportion of non-inheritors migrating has greatly increased over time. Whereas only half of these migrated in the early part of the century, nearly three in four were doing so after the Second World War. The destination of migrants has also changed: more and more of these have settled in Irish and British cities — and increasingly in Irish urban areas from the 1960s onwards. The increase in the flow of migrants and their more accessible location has considerably improved the probability of contact betwen migrants and the home family.

Given this increase in the level of migration and in the increasing accessibility of migrant siblings, the purpose of this chapter is: (a) to describe and account for the very wide variation that exists in the number and proportion of siblings migrated from farm families; (b) since level of contact with migrant siblings varies widely, to try to account for this difference; and (c) to attempt an assessment of the likely social and social-psychological consequences of increasing contact with emigrants.

The number of migrant siblings

We saw in the preceding chapter that the number migrating from each sibling group is best explained as a residual, as the number who "must travel" after those with the opportunity and the inclination to settle locally have done so. As the conditions surrounding settling locally are the more problematic, the wide variation in numbers emigrating from different families stand less in need of explanation than does the local retention of each generation.

Roughly half the total number of children born in the families of orientation of respondents had actually migrated. Over time this proportion has increased and is, therefore, obviously related to the age of respondents. But what is more remarkable than this change over time is the very wide variation in the rate of migration from these families irrespective of age (See Table 59). While one in five of both spouses has no migrant siblings, roughly the same proportion of both has over four — the average being 2.6 in both cases. Combining both wives' and husbands' siblings, the children of the average family in the sample maintains contact with over five uncles and aunts who have migrated (See Appendix Table 13). A very small proportion (6 per cent) have no close migrant contacts. But one in four families has over seven close relatives who have migrated, at least three of whom are married and living in Irish and British cities.

Table 59: *Distribution of respondents by number of their migrant siblings, and number of siblings kept in touch with*

	No. of migrant siblings		Frequency of contact with migrant siblings in previous 6 months		
	Husband's	*Wife's*		*Husband's*	*Wife's*
No. migrated from home community			*No. migrant siblings contacted in previous six months*		
	%	%		%	%
None:	19.1	19.6	(0) None gone:	19.1	19.6
1 - 2	32.1	30.4	(1) Some have gone but none contacted	4.9	5.4
3 - 4	24.5	24.5	1 - 2	31.4	33.3
5 - 6	16.2	11.0	3 - 4	22.3	18.4
7 +	4.7	5.7	5 +	17.2	14.7
No information (9)	3.4	8.8	No information	5.1	8.8
Total %	100	100	*Total* %	100	100
N	408	408	N	408	408
Average No.	2.6	2.6	*Average No.*	2.3	2.2

Wives' siblings tend to settle in Britain to a slightly greater extent than husbands'. The factors influencing destination are not very clear. But a broad connection may be discerned between the size of the migrating group and place of settlement: the larger the total number migrating, the larger the proportion emigrating to Britain. The only other significant influences are class and inheritance pattern. Those husbands who inherit farms tend to have more siblings in Britain. Those who purchase, or marry into a farm, have a greater number of siblings in Ireland. It appears that if one is amongst the dispersed one probably goes to Britain, but that if one is able to find a suitable job in Ireland one has a high probability of eventually going back into farming. In regard to class, those receiving small-holders' assistance ("farmers' dole") — i.e., from poorer farms — also have a greater number of siblings in Britain (see Appendix Table 14). There is a clear prejudice against seeing their child go to England amongst many "respectable" or "strong" farm families in the west of Ireland. These status judgements may be residues of mid-nineteenth century outlooks when only the very poor went to England. All who could afford to went to America.

Table 60: *Distribution of families by number of each spouse's migrant siblings married in Irish and British cities*

No. of married migrant siblings	*No. of each spouses siblings married in British towns*		*No. of each spouses siblings married in Irish towns*	
	Husbands	*Wives*	*Husbands*	*Wives*
	%	%	%	%
None	56.1	53.2	60.1	68.4
1 - 3	33.6	33.8	29.9	23.8
4 - 6	2.7	5.4	2.7	1.0
7 - 8	0.3	0.5	—	—
No information	7.4	7.1	7.4	7.1
Total %	100	100	100	100
N	408	408	408	408
Average No.	.90	1.0	0.8	0.6

In the preceding chapter it was argued that the number of siblings migrating is mainly determined by the number of siblings in the family. But other factors are also relevant, and are tabled in Appendix Table 15.

Wives' Migrant Siblings

Although the number born is most highly predictive of the number of siblings migrated, in fact four other variables are also independently related. These refer primarily to variations in the social origins and familial circumstances of respondents. Within all family sizes, if (i) wives come from the locality and (ii) have never left, and (iii) if they have a large number of siblings in farming and (iv) are amongst the youngest of their own families of origin, they have fewer siblings abroad. If they have a large number of kin living locally they also have fewer migrants amongst siblings. It appears therefore that those wives who come from local "strong" farm origins tend to have many siblings in farming, generally marry into the more solidly established families,[18] and have fewer migrants amongst their siblings.

These relationships become more obvious, perhaps, if one examines the pattern of partial correlations, controlling for the number of siblings alive.

There appears to be one major underlying dimension involved here — a strong farming and locality orientation amongst a proportion of local kin groups. Those wives with the fewest migrant siblings come from local farm origins, have several siblings farming locally and a large number of local

[18]There is a consistent association between: (i) number of siblings in farming, size of farm and gross farm income of family married into (r=+.09; and r=+.13; as well as with inheritance pattern (r=—10). (1=inherits directly; 4=purchased land).

Table 61: *Partial correlations between the number of wives' siblings migrated and five independent variables, controlling for the number of siblings alive, (i.e. factors related to the "rate of migration" amongst siblings)*

Total no. siblings in farming or married farmers	*Place of origin of wife (1=Local) (6=Metrop)*	*Residence before marriage (1=Local) (6=Metrop)*	*Birth order of Wife*	*Number of secondary kin living in area*
–.38	+ .24	+ .22	–.21	–.12

secondary kin. Very significant differences exist amongst local kin groups in these respects. Whether the relevant kin unit is a modified lineage or "clan" or merely the bilateral "effective" kin group recruited from amongst both one's parents' primary kin, cannot be established by this research, although the overall trend of our findings would suggest the former. This tendency toward a strong local loyalty does not appear to be directly related to social class — at least as this is measured by the size of farm into which respondents married. The correlations involved, however, are very weak.

Husbands' Migrant Siblings

Again here, two variables — number of siblings alive and the number in farming — explain most of the variance involved. The greater the number of siblings and the fewer able to enter farming locally, the larger the number migrated. If we control for the number of siblings born, however, other variables are also important — inheritance pattern, number of local secondary relatives, age and birth order.

Table 62: *Partial correlations between five independent variables and number of siblings migrated, controlling for the number of siblings born*

Number of siblings in farming	*Inheritance pattern of farm*	*No. of sec. kin living in area*	*Current age*	*Birth order*
–.53	–.22	–.17	–.10	–.07

Younger farmers who had inherited their own land and who had fewer siblings and other relatives in farming locally — had the greatest number of migrant siblings, particularly if they were the first born in their own families. Dispersal appears to be most severe where the first born inherits at a relatively young age, and especially where few local farming opportunities exist.

Class differences amongst families or kin groups — in so far as these are indicated by the size of enterprise inherited or the current farm income of

families — do not appear to be related to the migration of husbands' siblings. Although very predictive of the marriage chances of inheritors (Chapter 1) the size or profitability of family enterprises is not predictive of the number or proportion of siblings that have to migrate. The number of local enterprises controlled by relatives is, however, predictive. But the availability of such local kin resources only explains a small proportion of the total variance involved. In the author's opinion the residual can partly be explained by essentially cultural differences amongst kin groups. The evidence for this, however, is based only on unstructured observation, and is an area requiring further research.

Contact with Migrant Siblings

An extraordinary degree of informal contact is maintained by nearly all farm families with relatives living outside the local community. Less than 10 per cent of couples had no contact with migrant siblings in the previous six months. On the other hand, over a third had been in contact with six or more, the average being 4.5. (See Table 59.)

The extent of contact with wives' migrant siblings depends primarily on the number who have migrated. (See Appendix Table 16.) However, other variables are also related, though not independently so: place of birth of wife, the proportion of migrants living in Ireland, the relative poverty of the household, and the number of local siblings seen in the previous week. Wives recruited from the home parish with a larger proportion of migrant siblings living in Ireland, who are married to moderately well-off farmers, do have greater contact. And the greater the contact with local siblings the lesser the contact with migrants. However, all of these variables are so highly correlated with the number of siblings migrated that they have no independent effect. (See Appendix Tables 15 and 16.) This is not so in the case of husbands, as the results in the following Table 63 make quite clear.

Table 63: *Partial correlations between a set of independent variables and rate of contact with husbands' migrant siblings, controlling for number of siblings migrated.*

	Gross margin	*Residence of parents*	*Age of R*	*Family cycle*	*Relative proportion of migrant sibs. in Irish towns*	*Level of social-emotional integration of family*
Partial Correlation	+.18	+.17	−.17	−.16	−.10	+.10
Ø - Order Correlation	+.08	+.15	−.16	−.14	+.17	+.06

It is quite obvious that contact with husbands' migrant siblings is much more problematic than with wives' siblings. The variances are far less predictable from purely objective demographic or distance criteria.

Even controlling for the number migrated, eight other variables still retain very significant relationships with migrant contact. Ageing and progress through the family cycle, especially the death of parents, considerably reduces contact. Social class, as indicated by the size of the farm or enterprise, is associated with increased contact.

Interestingly, in both cases, the distribution of migrant siblings between Ireland and Britain appears to have an effect opposite to that expected. The greater the proportion of migrant siblings who have remained on in Ireland, the greater the number contacted. However, when one controls for the total number of siblings migrated, this relationship is reversed. There appears, therefore, to be greater *rates* of contact with British migrants than with Irish ones. It may well be that while more British migrants come on holidays to the home place, more Irish ones go elsewhere. Unfortunately we do not have detailed information on the extent of contact with each category of migrant. It is clear, however, that in families with a higher proportion of British residents, relative rates of contact are higher.

Evidently the "emotional climate" of the family also influences contact. The greater the overall level of social-emotional integration of families (see Hannan and Katsiaouni 1977), the greater the rate of contact with migrant siblings of both husband and wife, but the relationships here are not very pronounced.

Relative Rates of Contact with Husbands' and Wives' Migrant Siblings

We have so far accounted for much of the variance in the volume and actual rates of contact with each spouse's migrant siblings, although considerable variation still remains unexplained. We might account for some of this by the almost necessarily "competitive" nature of rates of contact with each spouse's siblings. Do families vary in the extent to which they provide a welcome for one spouse's siblings while repelling the other's? Do such factors as the level of social-emotional adjustment of families or the concentration of power in either husband's or wife's hands influence the degree of disparity in rates of contact with each spouse's siblings?

First, we examine the situation in relation to the relative dominance of each spouse's migrant set. The index is based on differences in the proportion of each spouse's migrant siblings with whom respondents have been in contact within a given period. Our purpose is simply to compare the proportion of migrant siblings, of each spouse, contacted during a given period of time, and to attempt to explain the variations detected. (See Table 64.)

Table 64: *Differential rates of contact with spouses' migrant siblings. (Only for those couples where both spouses have migrant siblings). Multiple regression results.*

Relative rate of contact with husband's and wife's migrant siblings			*Factors influencing relative rate of contact*		
Score	*Rate*	*%*		*Ø Order r*	*Beta Weights*
1.	Relative rate of contact with husband's migrant siblings roughly twice as great as that of wife's.	37	1. Number of wife's siblings migrated	+.41	+38
2.	Relative rate of contact slightly greater.	20	2. Number of husband's siblings migrated	−.15	−.11
3.	Relative rate of contact roughly equal	16	3. Proportion of migrants in Ireland/Britain: (husband's siblings)	−.21	−.17
4.	Relative rate of contact with wife's siblings greater than husband's.	15	4. Gross margin	+.16	+.08
5.	Relative rate of contact with wife's siblings much greater.	12	5. Receipt of unemployment assistance	−.14	−.08
			6. Education of wife	+.14	—
			7. Family cycle	+.16	+.24
			8. Proportion of migrants to Ireland/Britain: (wife's siblings)	+.11	—
			9. Wife's parents alive	+.09	+.25
			10. Wife's place of birth	−.11	−.13
Total	%	100			
	N	274	R^2=.32		

The results indicate that couples vary widely in the relative rate of dominance of each spouse's migrant siblings, but that husband's siblings are significantly more dominant than wife's. Nevertheless, in more than one in four families, the rate of contact with wives' emigrant relatives was significantly greater than with husbands'.

The relative dominance of either spouse's siblings is not apparently dependent to any great extent on authority or social-emotional differences amongst families but on purely socio-demographic constraints — primarily on the relative number who had migrated and the distance they had migrated. The larger the number of each spouse's siblings migrated and the greater the extent to which they migrated to Irish rather than British towns, the higher the relative rate of contact with that spouse's migrant siblings.

Death of either spouse's parents considerably reduces contact with relatives. Progress through the family cycle increases the relative dominance of wife's siblings, irrespective of residence or even death of both parents.

Class and status factors also have an effect. The higher the gross margin (and therefore income) and the lower the probability of social welfare assistance, the higher the relative dominance of wives' siblings. Education of wives has much the same effect. Quite obviously household status considerations are of great significance for wives' relatives. It appears that upwardly mobile wives from the local community — with a good education and married into relatively prosperous farms — have the highest rates of contact with migrant siblings.

There appears therefore, to be four main factors involved in the relative level of contact with either spouse's migrant siblings within the family: (1) the relative numbers migrated; (2) their relative accessibility; (3) status attractiveness of the family for wives' siblings; and (4) the family cycle, with wives' siblings increasingly dominating as the cycle proceeds.

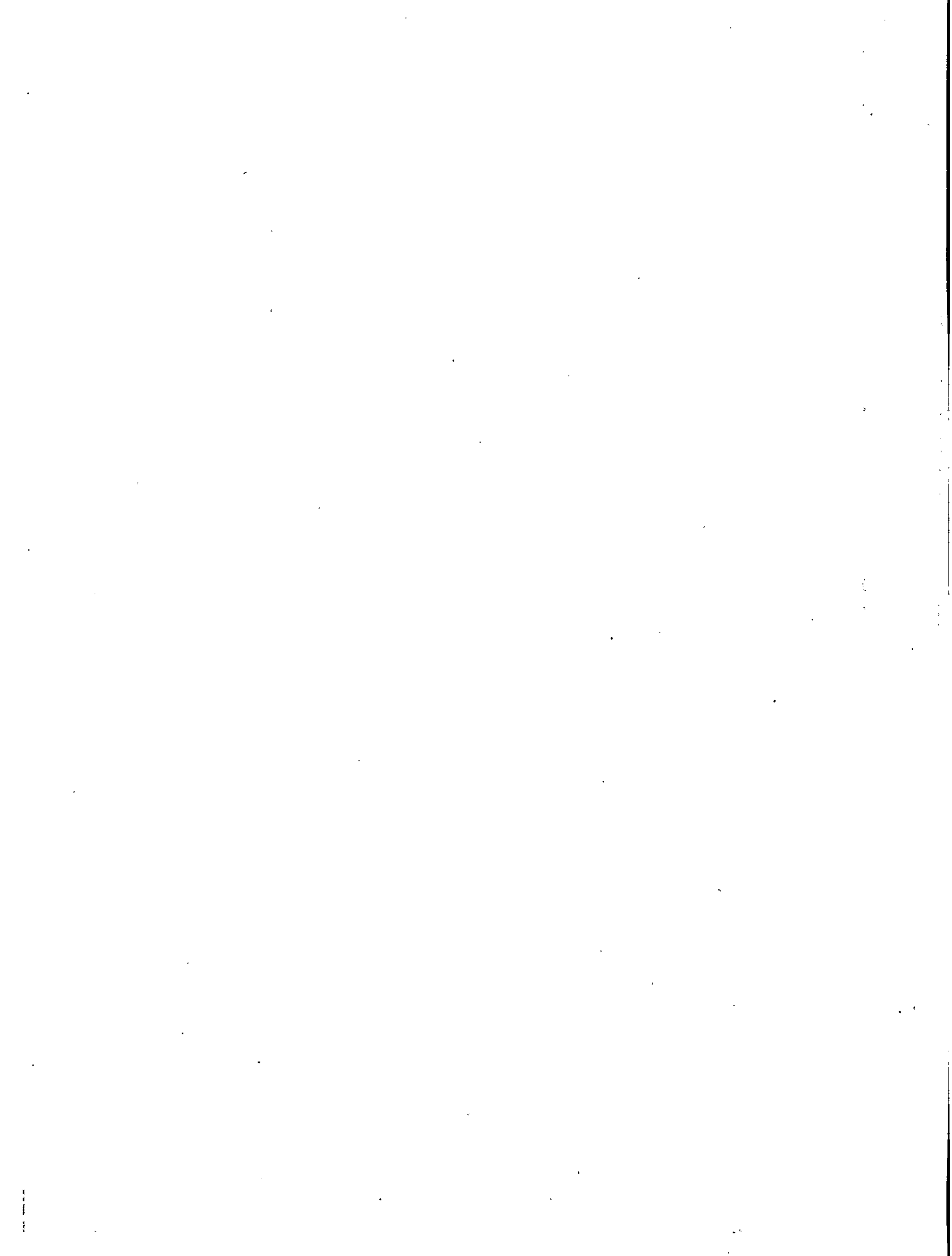
This increasing rate of contact with migrant siblings, furthermore, has significant cultural effects. There are clearcut correlations between the extent of contact with migrant siblings and the extent of "modernisation" of attitudes, values and even behaviour of respondents in the sample. (See Hannan and Katsiaouni 1977, pp. 99, 100.) For example two attitudes/values scales were constructed which attempted to measure the sex-role socialisation values of husbands and wives: (i) whether respondents retained traditional values in their socialisation of young sons and daughters and in level and kind of education aspirations etc.; and (ii) the extent to which respondents felt children should subordinate their own goals to those of the family as a group (that is, adopt familistic rather than individualistic values). The greater the extent of the contact with migrant siblings the greater the "modernisation" of values, for both spouses.[19] The extensive level of contact between rural families and the families of migrant relatives living in urban areas therefore not only facilitates the rural-urban migration and adjustment process, as many studies have shown (Schwarzweller and Mangalam, 1976; Brandes 1975), but also have very significant cultural effects on their families who remain behind.

[19]The correlation (Pearsonian) between extent of contact with migrant siblings and extent of "modernisation", or decreasing differentiation in sex role socialisation values, was r=+.10 and +.12; and with Familism, r=+.10+.17.

Conclusion

A number of conclusions appear clearcut: (i) the relative significance of contact with migrant siblings has greatly increased over time. (ii) Outmigration of siblings is mainly dependent on the number born and the ability of the family to place children in farming locally. The greater the number born and the fewer able to enter farming locally, the larger the number migrated. (iii) The birth order or the inheritor also appears to be significant. The first or second born have far more migrant siblings than later born inheritors. Dispersal of siblings appears to be more complete with the oldest as inheritors, particularly when they get married at a young age. (iv) Status factors appear to be very relevant for contact with wives' migrant siblings — a factor we also found to significantly affect contact with local siblings. On the other hand, income levels appear to be more important for husbands' relatives. (v) Progress through the family cycle, particularly the death of respondents' parents, appears to have a very definite depressing effect on interaction with migrant siblings – particularly so for husbands. (vi) Partly as a consequence, as the cycle proceeds, wives' siblings become increasingly more significant.

The efficient migrant dispersal arrangement, which characterised the small farm economy in the 1920s and 1930s, gained markedly in significance over time — particularly in the post-war period. Not only did the number of small farm migrants increase, but the home family's rate of contact with them also improved; so that the children in the average farm family have now five uncles and aunts living in migrant communities with whom they maintain close contact. Families differ widely, however, both in the total number of and rate of contact with migrant relatives, and in the relative significance of wives' and husbands' relatives. Although class and status factors are not predictive of the rate of migration amongst siblings, both are positively correlated with migrant contacts, especially for wives. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that social class of origin or the current economic status of respondents plays any significant role in migration patterns. On the other hand, the undoubted consistencies across kin groups in the *rate* of migration amongst respondents' siblings and other relatives strongly suggests consistent differences in kin cultures. One aspect of such cultural difference is the extent to which families adopt "modern" rather than "traditional" values. Thus we found among respondents that contact with migrant kin is greatest for the more "modern" families.



Chapter 7

Isolation and Substitution: Relatives, In-Laws and Neighbours

WE have hitherto been concerned with a person's interaction with his or her own blood relatives — not with in-laws or other groups. Between ten and twenty per cent of respondents were almost completely isolated from relatives of any kind. We have seen that people with no or few primary kin develop substitute relationships with secondary kin. Where none such exist personal difficulties would almost inevitably accumulate if other compensatory relationships could not be developed with in-laws, neighbours or friends. The purpose of this chapter is to look at the reasons for isolation from kin, and to find out the extent to which individuals in these circumstances can depend on affines or neighbours to take over the functions and obligations normal to close relatives. Leyton's (1974) ethnography of a small northern Irish community describes such compensating arrangements for the kinless, who turn to friends and neighbours "for the satisfaction of their social, emotional and economic needs" (p. 99).

Relative Isolation from Kin Support

If people who are isolated from their own relatives cannot find substitute primary group support, their dependence on spouses and children will be greater. Where a poor relationship exists with the spouse, such individuals may find themselves in an intolerable position (Hannan, 1978).

In general wives have significantly fewer local relatives. Over a quarter have no siblings living locally. Many of these, of course, have migrant siblings and maintain contact with them. However, one-third have no local secondary kin, compared to about one-tenth of their husbands. We summarise the position for both husbands and wives in the following table.

The greatest differences arise in the accessibility of local relatives, although this is partly corrected by the greater level of contact maintained by wives with available relatives, On the other hand, the average husband is much older than his wife. The family of orientation of husbands is at a later stage of the family cycle, and fewer have any parents alive. Wives are not, therefore, as disadvantaged as some of the figures in Table 65 would suggest. If we take four separate sources of kin support: contact with local siblings, with local kin, with migrant siblings, and the overall extent of helpful association with kin in

Table 65: *Percentage of spouses isolated from siblings and kin. Percentage with no kin or no contact with kin*

	Local sibs % with none	*No sibs or no recent contact with local sibs (i.e. last week)*	*No mig. sibs or no recent contact with migrant sibs*	*Both parents dead*	*No local kin*	*No local kin or no contact with any kin*	*Neither sibs nor kin are helpful*
Wives	28%	45%	25%	51%	33%	16%	32%
Husbands	22%	41%	24%	66%	11%	8%	24%

general — it is quite apparent that wives are still somewhat more isolated than husbands. (See Table 66.) The differences, however, are not as great as one might have expected. While one in five wives is very isolated from relatives, one in eight husbands is equally so.

Table 66: *Degree of isolation from kin. Percentage of husbands and wives with different levels of isolation*

Degree of isolation from: (1=Yes in each case 0=No)	*Kinship isolation scale*				
	Almost complete isolation from own sibs and kin	*Partial isolation*	*Some isolation*	*Very low isolation*	%
(1) Local Sibs (2) Local Kin (3) Migrant Sibs (4) Sibs and kin not helpful (Scale: 0-4)	(Score of 3/4)	(Score=2)	(Score=1)	Score=0)	Total
Husbands Degree of Isolation from his kin:	4.3%	8.6%	48.1%	39%	100%
Wives Degree of Isolation from her kin:	6.1%	14.6%	43.6%	35.1%	100%

If we relate both scales to each other (See Appendix Table 17) there is only a limited relationship between them (r=+.15). Only four per cent of couples are almost completely isolated from all kin contact. At the other extreme, 15 per cent of couples have very high levels of involvement with both relatives and affines. Although the isolation of one spouse is associated with that of a partner the correlation is very low.

To some extent, the lack of contact with siblings and kin in each case is a simple function of kin availability. But other factors are also important and are tabled below.

Table 67: *Factors influencing the degree of isolation of spouses from their kin. Multiple regression results.*

Factors associated with kin isolation	*Husbands' kin isolation*		*Wives' kin isolation*	
	Ø - Order r	*Beta Wt.*	*Ø - Order r*	*Beta Wt.*
Number of Siblings who live locally	–.35	–.39	–.20	–.17
Number of Siblings born*	–.38*	—	–.25*	—
Number of kin who live locally	–.26	–.11	–.20	–.15
Number of Siblings migrated	–.23	–.30	–.26	–.27
Birth order	–.18	—	–.23	+.06
Stage of family cycle	+.15	+.11	—	—
Residence of parents	+.12	+.08	+.05	—
Age of respondent	+.13	—	—	—
Socio-economic scale	–.08	—	–.09	—
Religion [0=R. Catholic 1=Prostestant]	+.07	—	+.06	+.09
	R^2=.28		R^2=.16	

*This variable is excluded from the multiple regression since it is a function of the number of local and migrant siblings.

Isolation of Men

Husbands' isolation from kin support derives from the following set of conditions: (1) The number of siblings and kin in the local area is the most important condition. Naturally, the fewer available the greater th: isolation. (2) The number of migrant siblings is also important. Very close contact is generally maintained with migrant kin, as we have seen. And the fewer the local kin, primary or secondary, the greater the effort made to keep in touch with migrants. (See Appendix Table 16.) (3) The later stages of the family cycle, the death of parents, or their residence away from the community, if they are alive, are all associated with increasing isolation. (4) Religion apparently has some influence, for Protestants in the sample tend to be slightly more isolated from their kin than Catholics. Unfortunately, the sample of Protestants is too small to determine whether this is related simply to the availability of kin, or whether it is an independent cultural variable.

These variables are by now familiar. The different conditions which in some instances retain large numbers of kin in the home locality and in others few or none simultaneously have the effect of minimising isolation in some cases and maximising it in others. Of course previous conflicts and disputes with kin would also cause alienation from them as Leyton (1966, and 1974) has documented. Unfortunately we do not have any data on this, but there is, however, no correlation between the extent of kin isolation and any measure of spousal integration (Hannan, 1978).

Isolation of Women

Wives, on the whole, are more isolated from their kin than husbands, but oddly enough, the extent of their isolation and the reasons for it are less predictable. Many of the wives in the sample were born at some distance from their present residence. This is the principal influence on the number of siblings and other kin available locally. However, women tend to make greater efforts than their husbands to maintain contact with kin living at a distance. So those conditions which proved of greatest explanatory value in the case of husbands' isolation — the availability of relatives, place of residence of parents, and progress through the family cycle etc. — do not as adequately explain the isolation of wives.

But two factors which are important for husbands also appear to have significant effect on wives' isolation from their kin: (1) Protestants are more isolated than Catholics; and (2) lower socio-economic status tends to decrease contact with kin.

In conclusion, therefore, the extent of isolation from kin support experienced by individuals appears to be largely explicable in terms of straightforward socio-demographic factors. Other interactional and social-psychological variables must be equally significant in explaining individual cases but our data are inadequate in these respects. Where primary and secondary kin are available, they form the most important part of the social support system of both husbands and wives. Where such kin are absent other primary groups or relationships — e.g., in-laws, neighbours and friends — might find it difficult to take over their functions. The information available in Chapter 2 indicates that relationships with neighbours and kin are not directly substitutable.

Those individuals who are isolated from their own primary or secondary kin are, therefore, likely to experience difficulty in finding a substitute. The most obvious substitutes are affines ("in-laws"). The following section describes the extent of dependence on in-laws for material and emotional support. It also examines the conditions affecting this dependence, and the extent of substitutability of affines for relatives.

Dependence on Affinal Kin

A scale was constructed to measure the extent to which each spouse identified an in-law (affine) as: (a) one with whom one maintained contact; (b) a more practically helpful person than one's own relative; and (c) preferable as a confidant and more supportive in emotional crises than one's own close relatives.[20] The results are tabled below.

Table 68: *Distribution of respondents in terms of the degree of dependence on affinal relatives (i.e., in-laws) for material and emotional support.*

Scale description	*Wives' responses*	*Husbands' responses*
Scores		
	%	%
0 = affines not mentioned:	18	25
1 = affines mentioned once:	39	42
2 = affines mentioned twice:	27	25
3 = affines mentioned three times:	13	7
4 = affines mentioned four or more times:	3	1
Total %	100%	100%
N	408	408

Wives were clearly the more highly integrated into their husbands' kin sets. Indeed in one-sixth of all cases, affines appeared to be as important or more important to wives than their own close relatives. The proportion of husbands with equivalent levels of dependence on affines is significantly lower.

Within the perspective of interactionist theory, such cross-spouse alliances are viewed as a function of the quality of the conjugal relationship – almost as an extension of it. The "better" the relationship is, the greater the level of interaction with one's spouse's kin, and the lower the segregation of a wife's kin and primary groups from her husband's. Bott's (1957, p. 60) thesis, that segregation in the spousal relationship is correlated with segregation in "external" social networks is phrased along those lines.

In the contrasting exchange theory perspective, incorporation into affinal relationships could be thought of as a function of relative resources and relative power (Blood and Wolfe, 1960). Those spouses with the poorest

[20]Six different items were used in constructing the scale: (1) direct contact with spouse's siblings and parents; (2) helpfulness of affines (x=spouse's relative(s) mentioned; (3) most helpful "relative(s)" (x=spouse's); (4) second most helpful relative; (5) and (6) person who is "easiest" and "best" to talk to when worried or upset by something. (x=spouse's relative). Total possible scores range from 0 to 6. Actual from 0 to 4. Correlations between each individual item and total scores are: r=.56, .47, .41, .30; 37 for wife's scale.

personal and kinship resources and the least power will be most dependent on affinal kin. But their receptiveness depends on the attractiveness and "usefulness" of the new relationship. In this situation, respondents with no or few kin and with few valuable attributes are likely to be isolated from both kin and affines.

A third possibility also exists: that affinal relationships are simply a function of the relative availability of either kin set and have nothing whatsoever to do with the spousal relationship: and that kin and affines are easily and "naturally" substitutable for each other and that the kin relationships are readily transferred to in-laws. This appears essentially to be Arensberg and Kimball's (1940, pp. 87-89) position, although such fictive kinship obligations and feelings extend only to the immediate family of each spouse. The actual relationships found are tabled below.

From the results we find that the overall dependence of wives on their husbands' kin is partly explained by three connected conditions: (i) The relative dominance of husbands' kin locally; (ii) The stage reached in the family cycle; and (iii) Poor contact with migrant siblings.

Wives whose own kin resources are adequate but whose affines are numerous and well integrated show the highest level of incorporation into husbands' kin networks. And, except where wives have many migrant siblings with whom they keep in contact, there appears to be no competition or substitution between relatives and affines. There is no correlation, in fact, between the extent of isolation of wives from their own kin and the extent of their dependence on or integration with affinal kin; quite the reverse.

Progression through the family cycle has a greater effect on the integration of men with their kin than on the integration of women. Accordingly, women's dependence on affines declines markedly with age and progress though the family cycle. This coincides with a tendency for women to turn to their own children for support, as these reach adulthood. (See next chapter).

It appears that the older a woman is on marriage the more dependent she is on affinal kin. The greatest degree of interaction with affinal kin occurs among women with young children who married relatively late, who are somewhat isolated from their own kin and whose husbands are highly integrated with their own kin.

This however, accounts for only one-fifth of the variance in dependence on affinal kin. Other, less obvious, interpersonal variables are also significant. Where husbands play an active part in the management of conflict situations and are emotionally expressive and supportive, their wives have more extensive contact with their in-laws. But where wives assume the major responsibility for these roles, the effect is not to integrate husbands into the wives' kin-group, but to make them *less* dependent on their affines. This can only be explained

Table 69: *Predicting degree of dependence on affinal kin. Correlation and multiple regression results*

A. Relative availability of kin	*Degree of dependence of husband on his wife's kin*		*Degree of dependence of wife on her husband's kin*	
	zero-order r	*Beta weights*	*zero-order r*	*Beta weights*
1. Husband's overall level of integration with his kin	+.12	+.17	+.31	+.15
2. Wife's overall level of integration with her kin	+.20	+.14	+.14	+.09
3. Number of husband's *migrant* siblings in contact	−.01	−.11	+.24	+.17
4. Number of wife's *migrant* siblings in contact	—	—	−.07	−.12
5. Number of husband's *local* siblings in contact	−.03	−.11	+.18	+.17
6. Number of wife's *local* siblings in contact	+.16	+.10	+.06	—
7. Number of husband's kin in contact	+.03	—	+.14	—
8. Number of wife's kin in contact	+.11	—	+.12	+.06
9. Place of birth wife's	−.10	—	—	—
Place of birth husband's	—	—	—	—
Family cycle effects				
10. Family cycle	−.12	—	−.22	—
11. Age of husband	−.08	—	—	—
12. Age of wife	—	—	−.23	−.16
13. Age of wife at marriage	—	—	+.07	+.09
14. Birth order	+.17	—	—	—
Nuclear family relationships				
15. Division of labour in childrearing. (level of participation of husbands)	—	—	+.08	—
16. Level of social-emotional participation of husbands	−.10	−.10	+.16	+.09
17. Level of social-emotional integration of families	—	—	+.08	—
Other variables				
18. Size of town	+.08	—	−.09	−.06
19. Gross margin	—	—	+.05	—
20. Socio-economic scale	—	—	+.06	—
21. Wife's education	—	—	+.07	—
	$R^2 = .21$		$R^2 = .20$	

*Missing coeffs. are not significant at the .05 level.

with reference to the traditional division of labour. Where husbands assist in performing those tasks previously regarded as women's domain, a good relationship between spouses appears also to be present, causing some "overspill" for good relationships with each set of affines. The "overspill" however, is more effective in integrating wives with husbands' kin than husbands with wives' kin. Where husbands do not participate in "women's" tasks or in emotional supportiveness, they are conforming to a traditional mode of behaviour from which little impetus occurs to integrate them with wives' kin. A reciprocal set of relationships with affinal kin does not exist, and wives appear always to be more dependent on husbands' kin.

Women who tend to be most dependent on their affinal kin are those who marry late but who are not yet very old, who have high levels of education; who have a "satisfactory" marriage with husbands who are themselves highly integrated with their own kin. This leads us to assume that not only do women turn to affines because they are somewhat more available than their own kin, but also that their husbands' kin are more or less willing to accept them depending on criteria of educational attainment, socio-economic standing and social-emotional integration. The exchange theory approach, therefore, appears to be inappropriate, and the interactional approach more useful.

Husbands' dependence on affinal kin is influenced by slightly different factors. The relative availability of wives' kin set is the most important determining condition. The greater the relative dominance of wives' local and migrant kin sets in terms of contact with the family, the greater is the level of his dependence on in-laws. And there is a much more clearcut competitive relationship between both kin sets in the case of husbands. This may be seen in the correlations between kin dependence and contact with each kin set. The greater the level of his contact with siblings, whether local or migrant, the lesser his dependence on affines. It may also be seen in the fact that the significance of social-emotional factors in the integration of wives with their in-laws is positive, but for husbands it is negative.

The relationships, then, are somewhat asymmetrical. The dependence of wives on affines is partly a reflection of their social-emotional incorporation into their husbands' family, irrespective of wives' own level of kin integration. The dependence of husbands on affines, however, is partly a reflection of their isolation.

Where one spouse is almost completely isolated from his or her kin, some substitution of affinal kin may occur. But this has different connotations for both spouses. For husbands, it is undesirable. Family lineage, being traced from father to son, requires that the man's name, identity and family should be the more dominant. For a wife it is a common experience, and a desirable occurrence in that acceptance by her husbands' kin is an affirmation of her

successful adaptation to married life in a family whose name she now bears. This is perhaps an unexceptional finding, given the patrilineal bias of the whole property and kin system. In Table 70 the relationship between property inheritance, local endogamy and level of dependence of affines is summarised.

Table 70: *Distribution of families by relative level of dependence of each spouse on their affines, controlling for inheritance arrangement and wife's place of birth*

Relative dependence of husbands and wives on affines	*Inherited from husband's relatives*		*Farm was purchased or inherited from wife's relatives*	
	Wife's place of birth		*Wife's place of birth*	
	Local %	*Non-local* %	*Local* %	*Non-local* %
(0) Neither spouse chose affines	33	34	45	48
(1) Wife is more dependent than husband on affines:	28	39	31	43
(2) Husband is more dependent than wife on affines:	25	18	12	10
(3) Both husband and wife are equally dependent	14	4	12	—
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	255	61	58	21

It is quite clear that wives are relatively more dependent on affines than are husbands. It is equally clear that the relationship is typically more asymmetrical than symmetrical. In just over half (51 per cent) of the families, one of the spouses is more dependent on affines than his or her partner. In only 12 per cent of cases are both spouses jointly and equally dependent, while in over one-third (36 per cent) of all cases neither spouse is dependent on any affines. (See Appendix Table 17.) A major variable accounting for asymmetry in affinal dependence is the inheritance pattern.

Where the farm was inherited directly from husbands' relatives, there is a higher level of affinal interdependency, especially where wives also come from the local area. The lowest level of affinal interdependency and the highest level of wives' asymmetrical dependency occurs when wives inherit the farm. In this situation women are, paradoxically, in a weak kinship position, because they are unlikely to have siblings living locally, and may have few other relatives in the area.

Quite clearly, therefore, the degree of symmetrical or asymmetrical incorporation into affinal networks is a function of: (1) their relative availability; (2) the relative "acceptability" of wives where they are in a weak

position, and the quality of the relationship between spouses; and (3) the family cycle.

Relationship with Neighbours: Extent, Functions and Substitution

The functions of neighbour groups appear to be quite different from those of kin. Primarily mutual aid systems which specialise in habitual labour exchange or in "emergency" help situations, they are clearly marked off from kin exchanges which, even in material terms, specialise more in financial or commodity aid. In social-emotional terms, neighbours do not perform any "serious" tasks. These appear to be restricted to nuclear family or primary kin members; although in terms of recreation and general "socialising" most men appear to regard neighbours as more important than relatives. (See Chapter 2.)

The relative helpfulness of neighbours is slightly less significant for wives. Only 25 per cent of them report that neighbours are the "most helpful" social category — compared to 59 per cent of husbands. Primary relatives are correspondingly more significant for wives. The somewhat lesser significance of neighbours for wives may be explained in terms of the concentration of neighbour group exchanges in farm task activities. Nevertheless, in wives' case also, neighbours are more important than secondary kin or affines, while "friends" are almost insignificant in such instrumental exchanges.

In the small farm context, therefore, neighbour groups still retain very significant instrumental functions. Mutual helpfulness amongst neighbours however, is of a particular type. No aid demanding a financial outlay is given by neighbours. On the other hand, quite substantial financial or material aid flows amongst primary kin groups — particularly at the very early and late stages of the family cycle. Despite these differences in function, identification and attachment to neighbours, especially for males, is nearly as significant as that with kin.

Table 71: *Percentage distribution of respondents by extent of priority attached to neighbours' help.*

Extent of importance of neighbours/helpfulness		*Wives' responses*	*Husbands' responses*
		%	%
1. Not *the* most helpful *nor* second most helpful social category		52	33
2. Not the most helpful *but were* the second most helpful category		25	27
3. Neighbours were the most helpful social category		23	40
Total	%	100	100
	No.	408	408

Not all respondents, however, were equally attached to or integrated into neighbour-group mutual aid systems. (See Table 71.)

One half of all wives and one-third of all husbands did not find neighbours at all helpful; while, at the other extreme, 23 per cent of wives and 40 per cent of husbands thought that they were the most helpful of all categories. What accounted for this very wide variation? And to what extent are neighbours substituted or substitutable for relatives or affines? The following table contains some relevant evidence.

Table 72: *Factors associated with the extent of significance of neighbour group helpfulness. Correlations (Pearsonian).*

	Wives' perception	*Husbands' perception*
	ϕ - order r	*ϕ - order r*
Factors related to the significance of the neighbour group for each spouse		
(1) Residence of wife's parents [0 = local; 6 = metropolitan]	−.15	—
(2) Age of wife/husband	+.15	+.15
(3) Family cycle	+.09	+.10
(4) Wife's/husband's parents alive [0 = dead; 3 = both alive]	−.12	−.13
(5) Number of local siblings seen	—	−.09
(6) Overall extent of integration with one's own kin	−.13	−.23
(7) Number of respondent's migrant siblings contacted	−.12	−.06
(8) Occupation of wife's father [0 = farm; 1 = non-farm]	−.08	—
	—	—
(9) Adoption of new innovations	—	+.07
(10) Number of husband's siblings in area	—	−.08
(11) Number of wife's siblings married in area	−.07	+.09
	$R^2 = .08$	$R^2 = .07$

Dependence of wives on neighbours is a function of three different factors: (i) Age of wife and family cycle: if the respondent is young and her parents are alive she is much less dependent on neighbours. (ii) If she was born outside the locality and was not from a farm background she also tended to be less integrated. If, on the other hand, she comes from local farm stock and has a

number of siblings in farming locally, she is more likely to be involved with neighbours. (iii) Some substitutive effects also occur — wives highly integrated with their own kin are least integrated with the neighbour group.

Quite clearly, therefore, the traditional pattern of neighbourliness amongst wives has declined over time. Its persistence depends on the recruitment of wives from traditional backgrounds. And the exclusive influence of local custom on socialisation has now all but disappeared. The greater the extent to which wives come from outside the community, the lower the neighbour group significance; women who are geographically mobile are unlikely to be among the most traditional. However, there is no apparent relationship between wives' integration with neighbours, and the degree of modernisation of household or farm, or mass media behaviour.

Much the same conclusions hold for husbands. Increasing age and absence of local siblings and other kin leads to increased significance of neighbours. Income, size of farm, and style of life seem irrelevant, as do nearly all "modernisation" variables — in the household, farm or mass media. Indeed, there appears to be a slight positive relationship between farm modernisation and the significance of neighbours. Socio-demographic pressures and social origin differences seem the main variables involved in both cases, however.

The results in the following table indicate that substitution of neighbours for kin may occur, particularly for males. The fewer the number of local siblings, the greater the significance of neighbours. The trend is weak, but given the clearcut negative correlation between increasing involvement in kin systems and level of dependence on neighbours, some substitutive or competitive relationships must exist.

Table 73: *Percentage of respondents who perceive neighbours as helpful and supportive, for those respondents with: (i) no local siblings; (ii) 1 - 2 siblings; (iii) 3 or more local siblings*

Controls	*Husbands' responses*		
	Usefulness of neighbours' help. Percentage of farmers who say it would be very difficult to manage without neighbours' help	*% of respondents who say neighbours would look after farm in an emergency*	*% who regard neighbours as best to talk to if worried or upset*
No local siblings	71%	48	23
1 - 2 local siblings	61%	41	13
3+ local siblings	59%	25	13
Statistical significance of differences	$p<.10$	$p<.10$	$p<.10$

It appears very likely that such substitution, if it does occur, is restricted to emergency help and labour exchange arrangements. In the absence of local siblings or kin, all of these mutual aid functions — which are occasionally carried out by kin members — have to be carried out by neighbours. There is also some increase in social-emotional support from neighbours where respondents have no kin. Leyton (1974, pps. 93-105) reports clear evidence of such a substitution of neighbours and friends for "missing" relations in his study of a small Northern Irish community. It is likely that neighbour group functions may be carried out by local kin members when they are plentiful. But it is unlikely that specific kinship functions — sustained long-term help, financial aid, social-emotional support – can be taken over by neighbours.

Conclusions

(1) Very wide differences exist amongst respondents in their level of isolation from relatives. Thirteen per cent of husbands and twenty one per cent of wives are almost completely separated from kin.

(2) Such kin isolation appears to be mainly caused by socio-demographic factors and to progress through the family cycle. The relative unavailability of relatives, and the decline in the opportunities and occasions of kinship interaction occasioned by the death of respondents' parents, appear to be the main variables explaining isolation. While the "quality" of the interpersonal relationships within families does not appear to be relevant to kin integration, the greater the economic and social status of families, the lower the isolation.

(3) The extent of interaction with and degree of dependence on in-laws is equally variable. Wives tend to be more highly incorporated into husbands' kinship relationships than the reverse, although the differences are not very great.

(4) There is some evidence of substitution of affinal relatives for one's own relatives. Secondary kin can be and are substituted for primary kin. A much clearer boundary, however, appears to exist between relatives and affines than between primary and secondary relatives. The factors affecting extension of one's relationships with affines are much more problematic, especially for husbands.

(5) The greatest level of wives' integration into husbands' kin occurs where, as an outsider, she marries into a local solidly established farm family, who are themselves deeply integrated with their own relatives, and where because of her valued social and interpersonal characteristics she is fully acceptable to the in-laws. The characteristics which are valued by affines are also those which are predictive of a high degree of integration with her own kin set. There is, in fact,

a positive correlation between the overall level of integration into one's own kin set and level of integration with affines.

(6) As the family cycle proceeds, as respondents' parents die and their children grow older, both spouses — but particularly husbands — become increasingly isolated not only from their own kin, but also from their affinal kin. In contrast to trends for husbands, the isolation of wives from their own kin — except the migrant relatives — does *not* increase to any great extent with progress through the family cycle, but their dependence on affines does show a marked decline. It is at this stage that they turn increasingly for support to their adult children.

(7) Neighbour groups still retain very significant functions amongst the families studied. Indeed there is no evidence that modernisation, *per se,* has led, to a decline in neighbouring relationships, although independent evidence (Hannan, 1972) indicates that neighbour groups have been declining in significance since the 1950s. There is some evidence of substitution between kin and neighbours. Certainly the lesser the involvement in kin relationships the greater the involvement in and functionality of neighbour groups. These relationships, however, are not very pronounced. Given the obvious differences in the functions of the two groups, substitution of neighbours for kin is most likely to occur in farm labour exchanges and other such mutual help arrangements.

In the following chapter we examine one of the most important influences on substitution of one category of relative or another: family cycle.

Chapter 8

Family Cycle and Changes in Primary Group Supports

THIS chapter deals mainly with the relationship between the family cycle and variations in the availability of, and levels of interaction with different categories of relatives and other primary groups. Three questions are asked: How does the availability and helpfulness of different categories of relative vary over the life cycle? To what extent does the importance of material aid and social emotional support vary by family cycle stage? And to what extent do neighbour group or friendship relationships vary in importance over the family cycle?

As we have seen in the three preceding chapters the family cycle is one of the main influences on levels of interaction with any category of relative. One of the main reasons for this is its relationship to the purely biological or demographic imperatives of birth, maturation or death. As we saw in Chapter 4 the interaction of siblings is inevitably linked to the ageing and eventual death of their parents. The death of parents or grandparents appears to have a quite depressing effect on the mutual interaction of their children.

All young couples start off marriage with some of their parents alive — most with at least one of husband's parents in the household with them. At the early stage of the family cycle, therefore, the range and frequency of contact with both spouse's parents, siblings and aunts and uncles is maximised. Financial and other material help flows from parents and older siblings to help build up household equipment and to provide clothes and other material help in childrearing and housekeeping. At this stage in the family cycle the flow of aid appears to be in one direction only, particularly if the 'grandparents' are still active.

At the later stage this earlier support is reciprocated in the care and affectionate support shown to aged parents. Although most studies of the phenomenon have shown a consistent decline in the traditional obligations toward aged parents (Streib, 1970) most cross-national studies, even of highly industrialised societies, have shown that the dominant pattern of care in old age is still a familial one. (See Townsend 1957; Shanas and Streib, 1965; Hill, 1970; Mogey, 1977.)

Kinship as we noted in Chapter 2, is not the only basis for primary group relationships or mutual aid exchanges. Within the traditional rural community neighbour groups were, in some respects, even more important in mutual aid

than kin groups. As these communities modernised, however, a change occurred both in the structure of primary groups and in the way such groups operate (Hannan, 1972). Nevertheless, as became apparent in the previous chapter and in Chapter 2, relationships with neighbours are still very significant, especially for men.

Friendship groups are structurally and institutionally the weakest of all primary groups (Firth *et al* 1969). As voluntarily chosen intimates usually chosen from amongst colleagues at work or in other formal or institutional contexts they are bound by weaker and less permanent interpersonal ties and are subject to high membership turnover as people move through the life cycle. Exceptions occur in the case of groups which are not migratory or socially mobile. These conditions hold to a large extent for the farm population, particularly in the small farm communities of the west of Ireland. However, in this context such relationships of freely chosen intimates did not exist *outside* the pre-existing framework of traditional ascriptive kinship and neighbour group systems (Hannan, 1972). And, as we saw in Chapter 2, they are still not significant.

The relative significance of these three primary groups is illustrated by the following figures.

Table 74: *Percentage of husbands and wives who name different categories of primary groups as most helpful materially or most supportive emotionally. Percentages are based on number of respondents who actually have relatives etc. in each category*

Primary Group Categories	*Material helpfulness*		*Social emotional support*	
	Person who is most helpful or second most helpful (excluding family members)		*Person who is "Easiest" or "Best" to talk to if worried and upset (including family members)*	
	Wife's responses	*Husband's responses*	*Wife's responses*	*Husband's responses*
Friends	4%	5%	12%	6%
Neighbours	47%	60%	—	12%
Secondary Kin	16%	14%	—	4%
Affinal Relatives	41%	39%	11%	2%
Siblings	62%	54%	27%	14%
Spouse	—	—	74%	72%
Child	—	—	14%	4%
	*	*	*	*

* Percentages do not add up to 100. Percentage of each category—based on the actual number of respondents with relatives etc. in each category—named as either "most helpful" or "second most helpful" etc. The figures therefore indicate only the relative significance of each category.

First, the "friendship" category is almost redundant. At most 12 per cent of wives mention "friends" as being more supportive than any other category. When respondents were asked to name six people outside their own family to whom they were most closely attached — less than six per cent of both spouses mentioned any friends. Nevertheless it is very significant that neighbours and secondary relatives are even less supportive than "friends" for wives, although neighbours are almost as important as siblings in material aid. The selection of intimates, is still predominantly restricted by the ascriptive boundaries of family and kinship relationships. The small proportion of respondents who maintain intimate primary group relationships with people outside these traditional boundaries provides too few respondents for any further analysis of their characteristics.

In terms of material helpfulness or mutual aid based on labour exchange arrangements, primary relatives, neighbours and affines are of the greatest significance. Neighbours are more important than even relatives for husbands. Wives reverse this order. In both cases, however, affines (in-laws) are of far greater importance than secondary relatives. Within this limited set of primary groups, however, there are very significant differences in function – even when one limits consideration to instrumented exchanges, as here. (See Chapter 2.).

Almost one in four wives name close relatives as even more important than spouses in social — emotional support. While the proportion of husbands who are equally dischanted with wives is roughly the same, they, in contrast, regard neighbours as of equal importance to close relatives. And, as we saw in Chapter 2, husbands also place great importance on the recreational and "social" functions of neighbourhood interaction.

There are, therefore, great differences amongst respondents in the relative priority of different primary support relationships — with spouse's and one's own children, with relatives, with affines and with neighbours. One of the main reasons for this variation is that families vary widely in their position in the family cycle. As a result the relative availability, degree of capability or dependency of various kinship and primary group categories varies. Over the life cycle the capability of one category — children — matures and increases. That of others — older parents — decreases. As we have seen some of these categories are substitutable. The extent to which this occurs over the family cycle is explored in the following sections.

These cyclical realignments of relationships that occur within the nuclear family as it ages, and between it and the larger kin group, are examined below in terms of three characteristics: (i) the extent and kind of material aid exchanged; (ii) the identity of those involved in mutual aid arrangements, and (iii) the identity of those providing social-emotional support to families.

The Family Cycle and the Extent of Aid

The flow of material aid to families, and the individual family's perception of its usefulness and significance, varies over the life cycle. It is needed particularly at the "early formative" and middle (stability) stages of the family cycle with the increasing number of young dependent children; and the declining helpfulness, increasing dependence and eventual death of older parents. As children grow up and are mature enough to help out with family and farm chores or able to give financial support when they start to work, the ability of the family to cope with its own material problems improves. As can be seen from the results in Table 75 both spouses perceived that the significance of material help from kin declined significantly with progress though the family cycle, with almost half reporting that it is of no significance at the later stage of the cycle. This decline is true of both material and labour help, and particularly of help given to the man.

Table 75: *Percentage distribution of respondents at each stage of family cycle by their perception of kind of help received from relatives*

Respondents' perception of flow of help to family in previous year:		*Husbands' perceptions Stage of family cycle*			*Wives' perceptions Stage of family cycle*		
		Early formative stage	*Middle stable stage*	*Late dispersal stage*	*Early formative stage*	*Middle stable stage*	*Late dispersal stage*
		%	%	%	%	%	%
(1) None at all		26	38	48	26	31	43
(2) Yes, material/financial help		52	40	30	54	63	51
(3) Yes, help with labour in house or farm		19	18	11	18	5	4
(4) Yes, other		3	4	12	2	2	2
Total	%	100	100	100	100	100	100
	No.	178	71	141	163	65	144
		$p<.05$			$p<.05$		

Some further evidence supports this conclusion. Husbands were asked to assess the usefulness of help given by relatives. While 35 per cent thought that they could manage "very easily" without that help at the beginning of the family cycle, 52 per cent were equally dismissive at the later stages of the cycle. Quite obviously the functional significance of kinship exchanges declined markedly with progress through the family cycle.

Identity of Helpful Relatives

A number of questions were asked about the identity of "most helpful" and "second most helpful" person to the family in the preceding year. Their identities varied systematically over the life cycle, as one can easily see from Table 76.

The results quite clearly illustrate the declining availability of help from respondents' parents and other older relatives as the family cycle proceeds. About one in four families in early marriage are helped mainly by parents at the beginning of the marriage. At the later stage this is true of less than one in ten of all families. This decreasing availability of parents is paralleled by the decline in help given by siblings and indeed by all collateral relatives. The relative significance of neighbours and affines continues unchanged throughout the family cycle, however.

Table 76: *Percentage of respondents at each stage of family cycle who name different categories of relatives and neighbours etc. as: (a) the main helper; and (b) the most or second most helpful*

Stage of the family cycle	*Wives' responses* — *% naming (a) parent as "main helper"; or (b) primary relative; or (c) affines; (d) neighbours, as "most" or "second most" helpful*				*Husbands' responses* — *% naming (a) parent as "main helper"; or (b) primary relative; or (c) affines; (d) neighbours, as "most" or "second most" helpful*			
	(a) Parent	*(b) Primary rels.*	*(c) Affines*	*(d) Neighbour*	*(a) Parent*	*(b) Primary rels.*	*(c) Affines*	*(d) Neighbours*
(1) *Early formative stage:* (All children at pre-school or primary school) (N = 173)	21%	67%	36%	48%	27%	67%	42%	62%
(2) *Middle stable stage:* (Older children at post-primary school or just started work. None have left home. Younger children still at school) (N = 68)	19%	74%	37%	50%	13%	43%	43%	71%
(3) *Dispersal stage:* (Oldest children at work and have left home—youngest still at home)	8%	49%	34%	54%	9%	48%	40%	70%

The decline in help given by the parents' generation is predictable on the basis of their availability. The decline of help from siblings could be explained on the basis of their growing preoccupation with their own children's problems and their reorientation toward the younger generation as children grew up. The relative significance to help from neighbours and affines continues unchanged throughout the life cycle. Although less helpful than siblings at the beginning of the cycle they become the single most important category at the end of the cycle. This trend is especially obvious for men. At the "dispersal stage" of the family cycle neighbours are by far the most important category for men. Obviously the change in the relative significance of siblings and neighbours cannot have anything to do with any changes in relative age statuses etc. It must be related to the reorientation in the focus of interaction from parents and siblings to children within the families of siblings, as they mutually progress through the family cycle.

Affines, however, are recognised as the least important of all groups, at all stages of the family cycle. So, given that the bases of integration into affinal networks is different from that into kin networks, (see previous chapter), their continuing significance seems to be influenced by unique factors also. However, relationships with a spouse's siblings appear to become more closely linked to that of the latter's own interaction with his or her siblings as the cycle proceeds. At the beginning of the cycle the relative level of contact with a spouse's siblings is about half that of inter-sibling interaction. At the later stages of the cycle the proportions are almost equal. It appears that amongst about a third of cases both spouses maintain joint relationships with siblings and in-laws and that, where this occurs, relationships persist strongly throughout the life cycle. However, we do not have sufficient data to validate this tentative conclusion. It will have to await future research.

Progress through the family cycle, therefore, not only affects the nature of the material problems faced by families but the nature of the primary supportive system available for solving them. Some of this is due entirely to demographic factors: (i) The death of parents and decreasing local availability of siblings. (ii) The decreasing dependence of children and their improving ability to contribute to household and farm labour. The following results illustrate both of these points quite well. (Table 77.)

As the family cycle proceeds the significance of relatives and neighbours declines — while that of children increases dramatically. Neighbours and near relatives are the dominant helpers at the beginning of the cycle, adult children are by far the most important at the end. The increasing senility or death of parents coincides with the maturation of children. Kin interaction switches generation. Or, in the case of older parents, the long-term reciprocities built into kinship obligations start to become apparent, so that the flow of benefits

Table 77: *Percentage distribution of families by ID of person who would run farm in an emergency. (Farmers' perceptions)*

ID of person who would run farm in "an emergency"		*Stage of family cycle*		
		Early (171)	*Middle (68)*	*Late (141)*
		%	%	%
Wife:		17	18	18
Son or teenage child(ren):		—	36	50
Brother/Father of farmer:		22	6	3
Neighbour:		50	27	22
Other:		11	13	7
Total	%	100	100	100
	No.	171	68	141

which had previously been to the advantage of the young establishing family now switches to the support of these previous benefactors. The flow is now in the other direction, to the support of older parents (Shanas and Streib, 1965).

Social Emotional Support

Much the same pattern of change or realignment occurs in relation to the social-emotional functions of primary groups. (See Table 78.) The great majority of both respondents regard spouses as the most important confidant at all stages of the family cycle. But very clear patterns of change occur for other categories.

Table 78: *Percentage of respondents at each stage of the family cycle who named different categories of relatives as the "easiest" or "best" to talk to, if worried or upset*

ID of person who is "easiest" or "best" to talk to:	*Wives' responses.*			*Husbands' responses.*		
	Stage of family cycle			*Stage of family cycle*		
	Early	*Mid*	*Late*	*Early*	*Mid*	*Late*
Spouse	80%	73%	76%	85%	83%	81%
Parent(s)	31%	15%	1%	7%	—	—
Child	—	10%	32%	—	5%	10%
Siblings	14%	21%	13%	18%	9%	6%
In-laws	6%	3%	6%	1%	3%	2%
Other relatives	—	—	2%	4%	5%	5%
Neighbour/friend	11%	19%	11%	20%	24%	20%

The older generation declines in importance, the younger generation grows in importance. Ignoring the spousal relationship for the moment, parents are especially supportive of wives at the beginning of the cycle. At the end an adult child has replaced parent(s) as the main supportive intimate. The trends are very marked and almost exactly compensatory. No other pattern appears clearcut. The same trends are present for husbands but much weaker. Parents decline in significance, children grow in importance. In this case however, neighbours are more important than any category of relative — even parents or children. These obviously marked sex differences in emotional support arrangements indicate the persistence of traditional sex role differences.

Quite clearly a very far-reaching realignment occurs as the family cycle proceeds. The extent of the realignment is most marked for wives with the very noticeable shift in their emotional support from parents to adult children. This is not equally true for husbands, although there is also a trend in this direction. In both cases here, as with material support neighbours are of far greater significance than affines and, surprisingly in the case of wives, even equal to siblings.

This shift in focus over the life cycle almost exactly parallels that of the previous table in labour availability, except that growing children "replace" parents' emotional support, rather than the material help given by neighbours. Both tables clearly illustrate not only the transformation of primary group relationships that occurs with the family cycle, but also the distinctive differentiation in family sex roles; i.e., the social emotional significance of the maternal and the instrumental-provider significance of the paternal role.

Conclusions

(1) The functional differences and interdependencies amongst kin, neighbour groups and friendship categories becomes even more obvious when their relative significance and substitutability is considered over the family life cycle. At the early stage of the cycle, material and financial aid to the young establishing family is very significant and flows primarily from parents and older siblings. The emotional support of parents is also especially significant for wives at this stage.

(2) The long term reciprocal nature of kinship exchanges is also clearly illustrated. At the early stage of the cycle aid flows from parents to their younger married children. At the late stage to parents from maturing children, especially to old, sick and lonely parents and grandparents from adult children and grand children.

(3) These long term realignments in kinship relationships and exchanges are clearly sex differentiated, both in terms of instrumental — emotional specialisation in male and female roles but also in the pattern of kinship "replacement" in helping roles. The very obvious replacement of parents by adult children in the social-emotional support of wives at the late stages of the family cycle, is almost exactly complemented by the replacement of neighbours by adult sons on the farm.

(4) While growing sons do appear to gradually "replace" the labour of neighbours, which is given most freely at an early stage in the family cycle, such substitutions are generally restricted by the same boundaries as had become obvious at an earlier stage; i.e., only older children and close relatives are substitutable in social-emotional support; but neighbours and primary kin are substitutable in some labour exchange arrangements etc.

(5) A typical cross sectional view of the significance of relationships with, and the functions of, different primary groups can give a somewhat misleading impression of apparently random variation in family members choice of intimates or in labour exchange relationships. There is such an obvious correlation between the cumulative internal changes characteristic of the nuclear family as it "ages" and external changes in the kin group etc., that studies which ignore the family cycle process would almost inevitably obscure the kind of relationships involved.

Chapter 9

Conclusions

SINCE summaries of results and conclusions have been provided at the end of each chapter only the main substantive, theoretical, and methodological implications of the study are dealt with here. Some of these conclusions are more tentative than one would have wished because of certain methodological weaknesses in the study. The study concludes with an evaluation of these limitations and a consideration of the direction future research should take.

There were five main objectives of the study: (i) to determine, through an evaluation of existing census records and economic statistics, whether a "peasant" economic and social structural model can validly be used to describe farm communities in the west of Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s. (ii) If the economic and social characteristics of the west of Ireland were so deviant in the 1920s and 1930s, to what extent and for how long did these regional pecularities exist and what were the main factors bringing about change? (iii) To attempt a reconstruction of the main social strutural characteristics of the "traditional" peasant community — the nature of the informal "protective institutions" (Gibbon, 1973) which were characteristic of it and which ensured mutual aid and protection from exploitative class relations. (iv) To describe the very wide variation that exists in the nature of the kinship and neighbour-group relationship encapsulating farm families at the present time, and to attempt to explain why that variation exists and what its implications are. The main interest here was in the effects on kinship and neighbour group relationships of differences in the class characteristics and level of modernisation of farm families. (v) Finally, and only by inference from the results of the analysis based on the preceding questions, we were interested in the nature of the transformation of the original peasant community.

In the following a very brief and somewhat selective summary of results and conclusions are first given. Following on from this is a consideration of the nature of the social and cultural change processes that have transformed a viable and even vibrant subsistence system, which was characteristic of the west of Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s, into a largely residual and demoralised remnant. The concluding section deals with the main weaknesses of the study and makes suggestions for further research.

Brief Summary of Results and Conclusions

The Validity of the Peasant Model

(i) The evidence appears indisputable. A very deviant peasant type system did exist in the west of Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s. In terms of the main economic and demographic indicators available, a specific regional and very deviant economic and social system existed there. And, despite its relatively deprived economic status, it reproduced itself to a significantly greater extent than any other farming region in Ireland. This region covered most of Connaught and the three west Munster counties: Clare, West Cork and Kerry.

Most corroborative evidence would suggest that, in terms of the "structural form" of the local economy and social structure, Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) ethnographic model of that society, with some exceptions noted, is a relatively valid model of the economic and social structure of subsistence farming communities in the west of Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s.

(ii) In economic and class terms it was a system characterised by (a) small scale mixed farming which was primarily subsistence oriented, with (b) very limited local class differences, either in terms of relations or production or local market differences amongst farmers. Clear class differences, of course, did exist between small farmers as a category and local merchants and middlemen etc. (c) the cultural characteristics and the protective institutions, including mutual aid arrangements of this system, were sufficiently strong to effectively minimise class differences within the small farmer class.

(iii) In social structural terms both kinship relationships — based on prescribed moral, and non-reciprocal, commitments and obligations that is characteristic of kinship or "blood" relationships (Bloch, 1973); and neighbour group relationships — based on a more instrumental and calculable basis of reciprocal labour exchange or mutual aid relationships (Hannan, 1972) — were of equal significance in "levelling out" the economic pressures bearing on families. And both, as traditionally ascribed relationships, exhausted the relevant primary group and mutual aid system characteristic of the traditional order. Although it is clear that Arensberg and Kimball (1940) both exaggerated and "overexplained" the degree of social solidarity of the "traditional" peasant community, in a manner characteristic of much of functionalist theorising at that time; it is equally clear that these "protective institutions" were remarkably strong even up to the early 1950s.

The Dissolution of the Peasant System

(iv) Over time, but particularly since the 1950s, the system has gradually and cumulatively disintegrated. While less than one in six of all farmers in the western region had failed to marry and reproduce the family in 1926, such

family failures now amount to one in three of all farm families. Even this understates the decline in family succession. In a regional study published in 1971 (Scully, 1971, p 37) it was estimated that over half of all farmers over 50 years of age in the western region had no successors to follow them on the land.

(v) The process of economic change — the cumulative incorporation of the small-scale subsistence farmers into the market economy, and the intensifying degree of capital substitution and accumulation — have increasingly accentuated the process of class differentiation within the farm population. In Connaught and west Munster this was insignificant in the pre-war period. In the post-war period, but particularly in the 1960s and 1970s the economic and social differences between the larger and richer farmers and the smaller and poorer ones have widened at an accelerating rate. Effectively the small farmer class has been wiped out. Only the old, the unmarried or the heirless remain behind — declassed without heirs willing to replace them; captives still to traditional values and world views, and struggling now in an overwhelmingly hostile environment (Kelleher and O'Hara, 1976; Commins, Cox and Curry, 1978). Amongst the sample of farmers interviewed and whose kinship characteristics were reported in the second part of this study (Chapters 3-8), 31 per cent said that they would not enter farming at all if they had the chance to repeat their lives and almost all of these mentioned the poor economic rewards as the reason for their disillusionment.

Less than half of all farmers and their wives expected one of their sons to take over the farm and run it throughout their lives (46 per cent of wives and 42 per cent of husbands). At the other extreme 18 per cent of husbands (and 15 per cent of wives) neither expected nor encouraged any of their sons to take up farming exclusively as an occupation, under any condition. The majority of the remainder were very ambiguous — they would like one of their sons to stay, but felt that they could only do so if the size of the farm or enterprise was considerably expanded.

(vi) Such variation in expectations was highly correlated with size of enterprise and to the pattern of inheritance. Expectations to stay were most likely where the farm was large, incomes were adequate and where the original farm was inherited directly. They were least likely where the farm was small or the land was purchased or inherited from a secondary relative. Obviously the economic factor now dominates, although loyalty to lineal inheritance patterns is still very significant. In the next generation, therefore, the current pattern of non-replacement is likely to become even more exaggerated. If replacement is to occur on small enterprises, farming will have to be combined with some other occupation, or else a lot of land will be sold and the land amalgamated into bigger holdings. The pattern of small scale subsistence farming has,

therefore, run its course. In the future such farming and family patterns will only be reproduced in a highly modified form — where small scale farming can be combined with off-farm employment, or where the size of enterprise can be considerably expanded.

Kinship, Neighbour Groups and Class in Farm Families Today

As a result of these economic and demographic changes one would expect major changes in the traditional set of social relationships amongst family, kin and neighbour groups in present-day farm families. Indeed such changes are obvious, but they are not always in the direction expected.

(vii) Instead of the high degree of standardisation of both the structure and functions of the kin group as found by Arensberg and Kimball (1940) very wide variations now characterise the size, the significance, and even the basic structure of the kin system. The degree of structural consistency that was elucidated by Arensberg and Kimball was, no doubt, partly a result of their method. Nevertheless, given the very convincing evidence of the breakdown of the original and highly effective stem family arrangement — which both reproduced the local structural and cultural formations over a number of generations and, at the same time, distributed the surplus population through emigration — the peasant kin system of the 1920s and 1930s would need to have been almost as effective and as structurally consistent as Arensberg and Kimball (1940) described.

Instead of a simple monolithic kin system, however, we now appear to have a highly complex multi-dimensional one. The size, the degree of contact with, the functions performed by relationships with people who are linked by blood and marriage or neighbour group bonds, all go to make up a very complex but interrelated system of relationships. Very wide variations exist within each set of relationships — whether kinship or neighbour group etc. In some cases weakness in one category of relationships may be substituted by strength in another. In other cases such a substitution cannot apparently occur. We successfully unravelled some of the complexities involved in the earlier chapters.

(viii) Kin relationships are still the strongest and most effective primary group bonds around the farm family. However, they have neither the generational depth nor the "width" — usually incorporating second cousins — that was apparently the case in the 1930s. Now limited in generational "depth" to, at most, a grandparental — grandchildren range, its effective collateral boundaries rarely exceed that of first cousin range. Within these ranges, however, each couple maintained very close contact with an average of 26 close relatives, roughly evenly balanced in number between the spouses. In terms of mutual aid, of social-emotional support, of identity and even

reference groups functions these kin relationships remain the most important of all primary groups around the family. Within the sample of families studied there was no evidence that modernisation had led to any weakening of kin relationships, indeed most of the results showed the reverse trend. And class of origin or current income level etc., had very low, though generally positive, correlations with the size and significance of kinship relationships. With this minor exception almost all other hypotheses about the relationship between degrees of modernisation and kinship are quite clearly rejected. All the evidence suggests that those families who have modernised have significantly greater levels of contact with both primary and secondary kin, and that social class is a relatively unimportant variable.

(ix) Neighbourhood relationships also persist. Nor is there any evidence that their obvious aggregate decline in significance (Hannan, 1972) is directly related to modernisation or cultural change. Indeed, again the more modern families appear to retain greater levels of contact with neighbours.

(x) There is no evidence of increasing primary group differentiation with increasing modernisation, contrary to what has been suggested for urban society by Litwak (1960; 1969) and others. There appears to be a very limited growth in non-ascriptive friendship relationships. From independent evidence (Hannan, 1972) a clear decline in neighbour group relationships appears to have occurred. Any decline in neighbour group relationships, however, amongst those who have modernised seems to be compensated for by some growth in kinship contacts, not by any significant change in the basis of primary group formation. And those who have not modernised appear to have suffered increasing alienation or isolation from both kinship and neighbour relationships.

(xi) Instead of the standardised and almost universal status of the highly integrated kin and neighbour group systems characteristic of the 1930s, we now have an extraordinarily wide variation in both. The underlying reason for that variation is not that modernisation has led to the dissolution of the traditional system and to an increasing differentiation of primary group structures amongst those who have successfully adapted. It is due to either one or both of the following: (a) That those who have not adapted successfully to the process of modernisation have become increasingly alienated from their kin systems, and to some extent even from neighbour groups. (b) That it is mainly those with a strong local kin system who have been able to adapt successfully to modernisation while remaining within the local community.

(xii) A clearly differentiated structure of primary groups therefore exists in modern rural communities. For the vast majority of people their own close relatives, their spouses' close relatives, and their neighbours, exhaust effective primary groups. Friendship relationships are not, as yet, very important. Clear

differences in membership rules and functions exist between these three groups although the clearest differences exist between relatives and neighbours. Since both serve quite distinct functions, neighbours cannot substitute for close relatives, although relatives could do so for neighbours. The main functional differences between neighbours and relatives lie in the kind and degree of material helpfulness extended to families, and in the nature of the social-emotional support given. Neighbour groups operate primarily as labour exchange systems — either as persistent mutual aid groups or as "potential groups" which extend help to each other in emergencies. To a limited extent also they serve some recreational or socialising function for men. Although normative or moral standards are present, the predominant motive in neighbourhood mutual aid arrangements appear to be instrumental ones.

Kin — particularly parents and adult siblings — are also very significant in material helpfulness, almost exclusively, however, in terms of financial or other gifts. Kin are not very important in labour exchange, but they provide the main focus for identification and social-emotional support outside the nuclear family. Their morally prescriptive character and non-reciprocal nature appear the most distinguishing characteristics of such close kin relationships.

(xiii) However, reciprocal balance in kinship relationships has to be examined over a life cycle. In terms of material or social-emotional support the relative significance of adult children, close relatives and neighbours varies systematically with the family cycle. This is particularly obvious in the case of the wife — mother. Parents and adult siblings become progressively less available and less significant as people age and their children grow up. Conversely, both in terms of material and emotional support, children become increasingly significant as the family cycle progresses. Transfers flow from parents and older kin members to young married couples. As parents age the flow of aid and support is reversed. Although many things change over time ageing cannot be reversed and the cycle of family generation and replacement is as important now in structuring kinship relationships as it was when Arensberg and Kimball (1940) carried out their study.

Change and Adaptation

Unfortunately our conclusions on social change cannot be based on evidence from an actual longitudinal study of changes in farm families and communities over the past 50 years. They are based on inferences from three data sources: (a) census records, whose analysis reveal dramatic regional differences in the economic and social characteristics of farmers within Ireland in 1926 and 1936 as well as the subsequent transformation of these regional patterns; (b) Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) ethnography, abstracted from its

functionalist theorising to yield a model of the social and economic structure of west of Ireland farms communities in the 1930s; (c) a cross-sectional study of a sample of farm families and kin groups as they existed in 1970.

The relationship observed between the degree of modernisation of these families and their other kinship and primary group characteristics is used to infer what the nature of change in kinship relationships between the 1930s and the 1970s may have been like. This inference is made in the context of the obvious changes in the aggregate demographic characteristics of farmers in the western region between 1926 and 1971.

These conclusions on social change are therefore, more tentative than one would have wished. They are advanced as the most reasonable interpretation of some processes of social changes in the western small farm region, given the information that is available.

What we may now call traditional theories of modernisation of peasant communities, (Redfield, 1956; Benvenuti, 1962; Moore, 1965; Rogers, 1969) emphasised the primacy of cultural change and the essentially transformational effects of this on the peasant economy, culture and social structure: An increasing monetisation, reorientation and differentiation of the economy; a loss of cultural distinctiveness and local autonomy; an atomisation and realignment of social relationships within the community. As the community changes, it becomes no longer "a world apart", but an integral unit within the larger social system, no longer isolated from the standards and values of the encapsulating bourgeois world view (Rogers and Svenning, 1969; Weber, 1977).

In social structural terms the traditional view stated that modernisation would essentially lead to individualisation, to the increasing isolation of the nuclear family unit; to the breakdown of traditional co-operative forms of labour exchange and the substitution of commercialised, individualised work patterns for traditional co-operative ones; and eventually to the "disappearance of the local community as a discernible, unified moral and legal entity". (Brandes 1975, p. 12(. As Brandes (1975) puts it "the general impression . . . (in the "traditional" literature) is that the overlapping of economic and social roles operates as a glue that creates a tightly knit interpersonal network within the peasant community. Once these roles become separated, the glue disintegrates and intra-community relations become at once less intense and more atomised" (ibid, p. 11).

In the Irish situation there is no doubt that a very far reaching economic and technological transformation has occurred in agricultural production and that an increasingly severe process of class differentiation has taken place over the past 20 years. A cultural transformation has equally been characteristic of this period. (See Hannan and Katsiaouni, 1977; Hannan, 1972.)

There is no evidence, however, that this process of economic and cultural change has been directly responsible for the socially disruptive effects posited by traditionalist modernisation theorists. In fact all the evidence suggests that those farm families that have been most successful in modernising, in economic and cultural terms, have also been most successful in maintaining the traditionally ascriptive bonds of kinship and neighbourhood. Social disintegration and isolation is not a concomitant of economic and cultural transformation. Indeed all the evidence available suggests the reverse; that kinship and neighbour group bonds remain strongest amongst those who have most successfully adapted to modernisation. Isolation and social disintegration appears to be most characteristic of those who have remained most traditionalist in their economic and cultural orientations. As unhappy and unwilling captives to a traditional system within a modernising world, they remain more isolated from kin and neighbour groups than their more enterprising peers (Brody, 1973; Clifford, 1974; Kelleher and O'Hara, 1976).

Amongst those who have adapted successfully the following social organisational characteristics appear most characteristic:

(i) A narrowing of the effective bonds of kinship to include, at most, first cousins and their children; second cousins and more "distant" relatives become relatively insignificant in interaction or exchange transactions.
(ii) Retention of very strong bonds of interaction with primary kin — i.e., parents, adult siblings and their children; and to a lesser extent with uncles, aunts and first cousins.
(iii) Retention of strong but weakening bonds of mutual aid and support with neighbours.
(iv) A considerable expansion in formal organisation membership — especially in farmers' organisations.
(v) A very slight expansion in non-ascriptive "friendship" relationships.
(vi) Some evidence that primary kin relationships have expanded in significance as modernisation proceeds.

Amongst those families who have not adapted successfully, nor modernised, their most obvious characteristic is the heir's failure to marry and reproduce the family estate. Failure to modernise is associated with higher levels of isolation from "traditional" kin and neighbour group relationships even among those who have married. Obviously the supposedly constraining influence of traditional social networks is a myth, at least in the Irish situation.

Modernisation therefore has not led to the ending or "eclipse of community" (Stein, 1960), except for the very poor and those who cling to tradition. And even amongst those, kinship and primary group isolation is not so much a response to cultural transformation but to social differentiating

processes. It is not therefore, that those culturally transforming processes presumably characteristic of the "Spirit of Capitalism" (Weber, 1958) sweeps all traditions aside as it transforms individuals, families and institutions. As Weber (op. cit.) put it "The old economic order asked: How can I give on this piece of land work and subsistence for the greatest possible number of men" .... (whereas) "capitalism asks: From this piece of land how can I produce as many crops as possible for the market with as few men as possible?" (ibid, p. 367). Our study shows that social disorganisation or isolation from traditional community bonds was most characteristic of those who were most traditionalistic. Strongly integrated kin or other local primary groups are not alone not opposed to modernisation but indeed appear to provide a much more supportive base for effective modernisation. And weak kinship bonds, far from facilitating the modernisation process, actually appear to have impeded it.

"Class" or the value of resources controlled by farmers appears to be one of the most important factors that discriminates between those families who remain viable and who reproduce themselves in farming and those who drop out. This is brought about mainly through constraints on marriage. Class differences in marriage chances and in father-son replacements have increasingly widened in the post-war period and are now by far the dominant influence on social reproduction.

Besides class, boundaried kin groups also appear to be highly differentiated in terms of economic and social adaptation. The decisions of individuals and families whether to stay on locally and exploit local resources, or migrate and seek opportunities outside the community varies systematically across kin groups. Whether these boundaried kin groups are bilateral kindreds or modified lineages or "clans" could not be established by this research. The obvious decline in the autonomy and integration of local communal systems (Hannan, 1972; Bell and Newby, 1975) means that the relevant social group within which the plausibility of separate, or autonomous meanings and values is maintained and continuously reinforced, becomes increasingly restricted to smaller "sub-worlds" of social interaction (Roof, 1976). The most significant and most tenacious of these social "sub-worlds" is the local kin group. Kinship becomes the most significant medium of differential cultural transmission and as a medium of economic and social facilitation for either local or migrant adjustment. (Friedl, 1959; Bloch, 1973; Brandes, 1975; Schwarzweller and Mangalam, 1976). All of the evidence from this study strongly indicates that the most important "plausibility structure" (Berger, 1967) — the social group within which (deviant) beliefs and values are confirmed and reconfirmed in day-to-day interaction — in the maintenace of attachment to local "symbolic estates" (Farber, 1971) is the local kinship system. Given the evidence that these

differential meanings appear to hold over a number of generations, and the inherent intergenerational "weakness' of bilateral kindreds in cultural transmission, I have argued that modified patrilineages or "clans" retain these culturally significant functions in rural society. Obviously, however, the evidence is weak, although both Fox (1966) and Kane (1968) provide some supporting evidence.

Limitations of Study and Recommendations for Future Research

There are four main weaknesses in this study's methods: (i) The conclusion that the small farm communities of the west of Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s were so deviant in their economic, social structural and cultural characteristics that they could be validly categorised as of a "peasant" type, was based on inference from aggregative census data. (ii) Interpretations of the course, nature and causes of change in the social structure of these communities from the 1920s to the 1970s is based both on changes in aggregative census and economic statistics available, and on inferences from a cross sectional study of those communities carried out in 1970. Obviously a "longitudinal" study based on observations of the same communities over a number of decades would be more valid. (iii) Measurement of the level and intensity of interaction with relatives is mainly based on the number and proportion of available relatives interacted with within the previous week etc. No measures of the rate or frequency of interaction with any individual relative is available. (iv) No direct evidence was available on the relative significance of unilineal or bilineal principles in kinship relationships. The conclusion that kinship identities along lines of partial patrilineages or "clans" must exist, was mainly based on inference on observed regularities in the migration behaviour of families and their intimate kin groups.

First, the aggregate demographic and economic data available, when utilised as measures of "social reproduction" of particular family economy arrangements, showed such dramatic regional differences within Ireland in 1926 and 1936, and such striking patterns of change, over time that, irrespective of the undoubted weakness of the data base, it is doubtful if any other conclusion could reasonably be sustained even if more direct evidence somehow became available. The conclusion is, therefore, strongly supported, that despite the undoubted methodological problems involved, Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) ethnography, stripped of its functionalist overtones and biases, is a reliable base from which to start a study of farm communities in Ireland.

Secondly, as in the previous study (Hannan and Katsiouni, 1977), "cross-sectional" data with observations taken in 1970, is being used to infer the

nature of social structural change over a long time period. However, these interpretations were also informed by: (a) the clearcut evidence of an originally highly deviant peasant-type system having being characteristic of the west of Ireland in the 1920s. (b) The very striking changes that occurred in the rates of "social reproduction" of that system from the 1920s to the 1970s, as well as (c) the relationship observed between the degree of "modernisation" of farm families at the present time and their other social structural characteristics. The resulting conclusions clearly contradict the older "modernisation" literature. Obviously, however, there are very wide data gaps and much more research is needed on these issues.

The main measure of kinship interaction employed — the number and proportion of siblings interacted with within a specific time period — has obvious weaknesses. It is not strictly a measure of "rate of interaction" or of the "strength" of kinship support relationships. However, all the other supporting evidence available in the study upholds the view that the measures effectively indicate degrees or intensity of kinship support, particularly the evidence relating to the substitution of one category of kin for another. Nevertheless, although the author is confident of this conclusion there is an obvious need for future research on this issue.

The inference that modified patrilineages or "clans" persist as relevant kinship identities, or as operative social categories in these rural communities is put forward as an explanation for certain regularities in kin group behaviour which persist from one generation to another, and on some unstandardised observation of a limited number of these communities. Although both Fox (1966) and Kane (1968) had previously noted the existence of such partial lineages in remote Irish communities it is obvious that much more work needs to be done in this area.

Finally, we conclude with a plea for more research into the nature of the economic, social and cultural selection processes which facilitate the modernisation and adaptation of certain families and kin groups while maintaining others in backwardness and eventual poverty and isolation. It is not simply a matter of economic resources or brute class differentiation, or a simple unilineal process of cultural diffusion, but a very complex process of adaptation in which the relevant unit of observation should not be the isolated individual, nor even the family unit. Both should be observed within the context of their place in the encapsulating kin group and community. This study has emphasised the relevance of the kin group, and in this respect is a very useful corrective to the unrealistic individualistic social-psychological orientation of much of the modernisation literature (Inkeles and Smith, 1974). The very recent reversal in the relative economic position of farmers which has occurred since Ireland's entry to the EEC in 1973 has, all the evidence suggests,

accelerated the process of class differentiation within agriculture (Commins *et al* 1978). Therefore, although the position of the small farmer has improved rather dramatically since this survey was completed in 1971 his relative class position within agriculture has greatly disimproved. The costs of land acquisition have skyrocketed, way beyond the average small farmers capability. Therefore, the probability of upward mobility within agriculture has sharply declined. The need for structural reform has become even greater (Sheehy, 1978; Commins *et al* 1978). In this situation the need to understand the underlying process of modernisation and of the factors that facilitate or impede adaptation becomes more important from even the very practical policy perspective. The danger of developing and applying policies, such as the Farmer Retirement Scheme (1974), in the absence of knowledge about the underlying constraints, or of the variables that are open to manipulation by policy changes, must now be obvious to even the most closed minded. (See Commins *et al* 1978.) I can only conclude by pleading for more research and for more openness and experimentation in policy programmes before options are crystallised.

Appendix Table 1: *Land utilisation and extent of tillage and livestock farming by province in 1931 (Livestock 1933).*

	Total farms					
	% of total crops and pasture in tillage	No. of livestock per 1,000 acs. crops and pasture				
		Milch cows	Total cattle	Sheep	Pigs	Poultry
Connaught	10.3	94	311	*484*	68	2,435
Munster	10.3	*154*	*415*	167	*97*	1,717
Ulster	*19.2*	113	311	237	91	*3,301*
Leinster	13.1	67	323	319	64	1,419
Total	12.2	108	353	291	80	1,923

Source: Agricultural Statistics, 1927-1933, Saorstat Eireann, Dublin: 1935. pp. XVI, XIX.

Appendix Table 2: *Land utilisation and average livestock nos, per farm for each size group in each region, 1955 to 1957*

	East and Midland			South region			North and West region		
	5-15 acs.	15-30 acs.	30-50 acs.	5-15 acs.	15-30 acs.	30-50 acs.	5-15 acs.	15-30 acs.	30-50 acs.
(a) Tillage and fruit crops average acres	2.8	*6.0**	*8.7*	*3.0*	5.1	7.4	2.3	3.6	4.8
(b) Grazing/hay etc. adjusted acs. (incl. grazing and commonage)	9.3	18.9	30.3	8.7	20.1	*31.6*	*14.3*	*22.6*	31.3
(c) Total cows	1.7	2.9	3.7	*2.7*	*5.6*	*8.4*	2.2	3.2	4.0
(d) Other cattle	3.2	*7.3*	*11.2*	3.1	6.0	10.0	*3.8*	5.8	8.5
(e) Sheep	3.0	*8.7*	*13.3*	1.5	3.9	2.6	*4.2*	5.1	9.1
(f) Pigs	0.9	2.4	3.7	*4.9*	*4.5*	*6.7*	0.6	1.8	3.3
(g) Poultry	17.6	37.8	*38.9*	*35.8*	30.8	32.3	27.8	*38.3*	38.7

Source: National Farm Survey, Final Report, 1955, 1956, 1957, CSO, Dublin, 1959.

Appendix Table 3: *Farmer replacement rates by province, 1926 to 1971*

$$\left[\frac{\text{No. of Farmers Sons/Sons in Law}}{\text{No. of Male Married Farmers}} \times 1000\right]$$

	1926	*1936*	*1946*	*1951*	*1961*	*1971*
Ireland (26 Counties)	887	916	876	768	573	296
Connaught	920	920	856	750	554	253
Ulster	890	978	896	795	568.	276
Leinster	874	907	879	783	608	324
Munster	855	888	876	767	572	323
Ireland (<15 acs)	837	837	715	663	481	184
Ireland (>100 acs)	969	1,039	1,009	897	709	420

CPI V, II, 1926, 1946, Vol. II, II, 1951; Vol. V, II, 1961; Vol. V, 1971 and unpublished figures made available by the CSO

Appendix Table 4: *Percentages of male farmers who were single in each of 6 succeeding cohorts of male farmers 1926-1971*

Ireland	*Cohort categories starting off at age 25-34 in each of the following census years. % male farmers single*					
Age group	*Aged 25-34 in 1906*	*Aged 25-34 in 1916*	*Aged 25-34 in 1926*	*Aged 25-34 in 1936*	*Aged 25-34 in 1946*	*Aged 25-34 in 1956*
25-34		—	52.6 (1926)	58.1 (1966)	53.6 (1946)	57.3 (1956)
35-44		31.2 (1926)	37.0 (1936)	38.8 (1946)	40.7E (1956)	46.8 (1966)
45-54	19.9 (1926)	26.0 (1936)	30.6 (1946)	33.4 (1956)	38.8 (1966)	—
55-64	18.5 (1936)	24.1 (1946)	28.3 (1956)	33.6 (1966)	—	—
Connaught Age group						
25-34	—	—	49.9	55.2	52.0	58.5
35-44	—	27.2 (1926)	33.8 (1936)	37.8 (1946)	38.8 (1956)	48.4 (1966)
45-54	15.2 (1926)	22.1E (1936)	27.9E (1946)	30.8E (1956)	37.0 (1966)	—
55-64	14.6 (1936)	21.4E (1946)	25.2E (1956)	30.5 (1966)	—	—

E Estimated from national figures. Therefore likely to be conservative estimates of changes in Connaught. Source as in Appendix Table 3.

* 1956 figures taken as average of 1951 and 1961 figures.

Appendix Table 5: *Percentage of male farmers of 1-15 acres, 15-30 acres, and 100 acres and over who were single 1926 to 1971. By province. Ages 35-44*

	Size of farm	*1926*	*1936*	*1946*	*1951*	*1961*	*1971*
Ireland (26 Cos.)	<15 acres	33.5	36.9	41.4	39.2	46.5	51.7
	15-30 acres	31.2	37.0	38.8	37.8	43.6	48.8
	>100 acres	27.8	33.2	30.7	27.4	27.3	25.4
Leinster	<15 acres	45.1	48.0	47.8	47.9	46.3	44.2
	15-30 acres	40.9	44.5	39.1	38.6	45.7	46.6
	>100 acres	33.5	35.6	32.2	27.0	26.6	23.2
Munster	<15 acres	33.5	36.3	42.3	45.5	49.6	55.6
	15-30 acres	27.1	33.5	37.3	36.1	41.0	47.1
	>100 acres	23.3	30.9	28.3	26.2	26.6	25.5
Connaught	<15 acres	28.2	32.6	38.2	34.0	43.3	48.6
	15-30 acres	27.2	33.8	37.8	36.1	42.8	48.8
	>100 acres	36.3	37.4	37.7	35.7	29.0	30.9
Ulster	<15 acres	36.4	40.4	44.2	42.5	49.8	57.4
	15-30 acres	37.6	41.1	42.6	44.1	47.4	52.8
	>100 acres	37.3	36.6	31.6	30.6	38.6	33.8

Sources: as given in previous two tables.

Appendix Table 6: *Percentage "family failure": Percentage of all male farmers who were 55 years of age or older and yet single 1926 to 1971*

	Acres	*1926*	*1936*	*1946*	*1951*	*1961*	*1971*
Ireland	1-15	8.4	11.4%	13.5	14.1	17.0	21.4
	15-30	6.7	8.9%	10.5	11.3	13.9	18.3
	100+	6.0	7.3%	8.3	8.2	8.6	8.3
Leinster	1-15	13.2	16.7E	19.2E	20.7	21.6	22.6
	15-30	10.5	12.9E	13.6E	14.6	17.5	20.0
	100+	8.3	9.0E	9.6E	9.6	9.5	8.5
Munster	1-15	7.3	9.5E	13.1E	14.9	17.5	21.5
	15-30	4.7	7.0E	9.4E	10.4	13.1	18.2
	100+	4.0	5.1E	6.4E	6.5	7.1	7.6
Connaught	1-15	5.8	7.9E	10.1E	10.7	14.5	20.1
	15-30	*4.6*	6.6E	*8.6*E	*9.5*	12.2	17.0
	100+	5.9	8.6%	8.9	8.8	9.7	9.2
Ulster (3 Cos)	1-15	11.5	13.9E	15.9E	16.7	18.9	23.2
	15-30	10.3	12.2E	12.6E	14.1	16.0	20.4
	100+	8.8	11.8E	12.6E	13.0	12.3	11.5

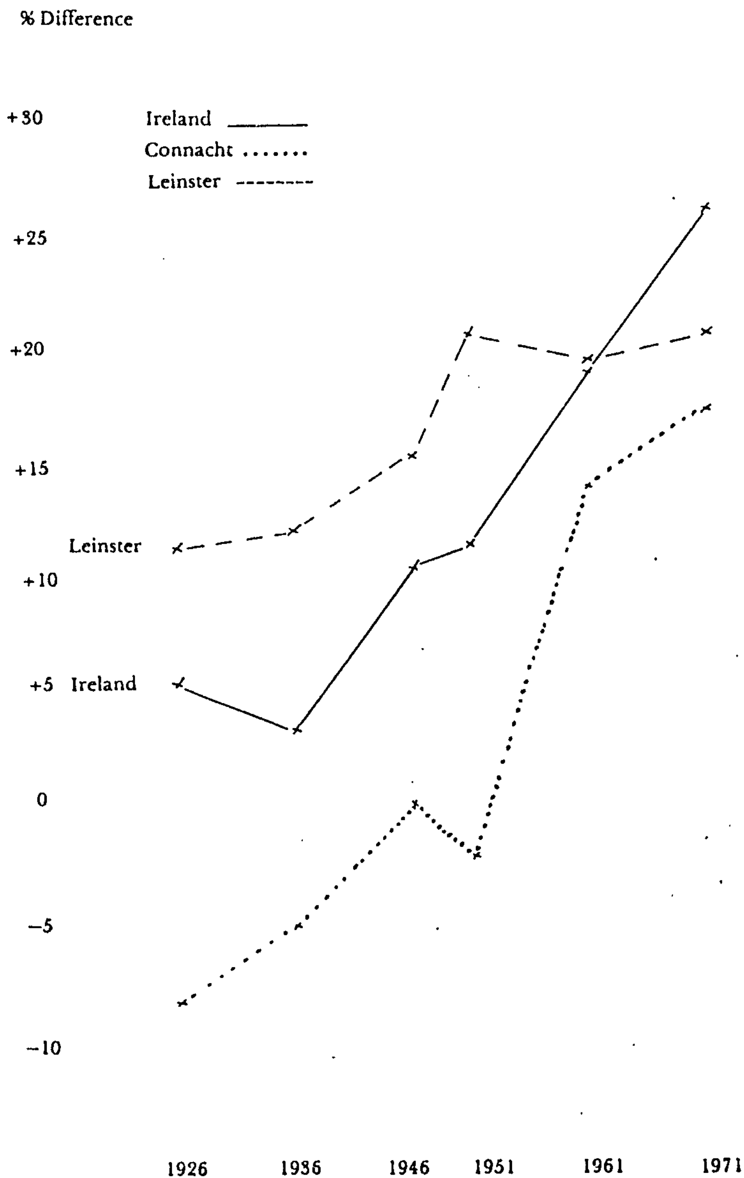
Source: As in preceding tables.
E = Estimated. Figures not given in this form.

Appendix Table 7: *Percentage change in number of male farmers in each size category, 1926 to 1971*

1926-1936	*1-15*	*15-30*	*30-50*	*50-100*	*100+*
1926-36					
Ireland (26 Co's)	−16.3	−3.2	+5.0	+5.0	+1.9
Connaught	−16.2	−0.4	+15.2	+13.4	+4.5
Munster	−12.5	−5.3	+1.0	+3.3	+1.5
Ulster	−13.5	−7.3	−4.0	+4.4	−5.1
Leinster	−24.9	−3.2	+4.4	+3.9	+3.1
1936-46					
Ireland (26 Co's)	−18.7	−1.8	+4.6	+5.8	+6.1
Connaught	−19.0	−1.2	+8.2	+11.1	+0.7
Munster	−21.9	−4.1	+1.4	+2.9	+4.5
Ulster	−15.0	−5.3	+3.8	+12.7	+14.5
Leinster	−20.1	+2.9	+5.2	+5.9	+8.3
1946-51					
Ireland (26 Co's)	−11.4	−6.6	−0.4	+1.1	+1.5
Connaught	−8.8	−5.0	+2.3	+5.0	−0.5
Munster	−12.6	−6.6	−1.5	+0.6	+1.6
Ulster	−10.3	−8.4	+0.1	−2.1	−0.6
Leinster	−20.9	−8.8	−3.2	+0.8	+2.0
1951-61					
Ireland (26 Co's)	−30.2	−17.3	−0.7	+17.2	+4.9
Connaught	−30.7	−15.5	+2.4	+17.8	+2.3
Munster	−27.8	−15.8	−4.3	+4.5	+3.6
Ulster	−27.9	−19.6	−3.3	+6.4	+2.4
Leinster	−36.1	−22.0	+1.7	+6.1	+7.5
1961-71					
Ireland (26 Co's)	−24.9	−21.5	−8.1	+3.3	−1.2
Connaught	−24.0	−20.7	−5.8	+4.6	−5.9
Munster	−23.9	−20.4	−9.8	+2.0	−1.5
Ulster	−24.4	−20.3	−8.2	−4.0	−15.4
Leinster	−31.0	−26.4	−9.1	+7.6	+2.4

Sources: Relevant Census of Population of Ireland Reports, Vol. V, II, 1926, 1936, 1946,1951,1961. Vol. V, 1971.

Appendix Figure 1: Percentage (points) difference between: (*a*) male farmers of 1 - 15 acres; aged 35-44, who were single; and (*b*) male farmers of 100 acres and over, aged 35-44, who were single. 1926 to 1971.



Appendix Table 8: *Factor loadings and h^2 for (Varimax rotation) F.A. of 66 kinship variables. (Loadings greater than .25 are given)*

	F1	*F2*	*F3*	*F4*	*F5*	*F6*	*F9*	*F10*	h^2
F1: Position in family and kinship cycle and contact with migrant children									
6 Number of children left home	.88	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.841
2 Family cycle position	.83	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.847
8 Number of children seen last month	.80	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.669
9 Age of mothers (27)	.68	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.839
25 Age of fathers (132)	.67	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.963
1 Total number of children	.66	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.924
1 Number of children married	.65	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.528
27 Number of years father is in control of farm	–.61	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.615
7 Mother's parents alive?	–.32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.847
8 Father's parents alive?	–.34	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.520
39 Father's parents last seen?	–.32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.773
18 Mother's parents last seen?	–.26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.520
Factor II: Number and contact +father's migrant siblings:									
36. Number of father's siblings migrated	—	.945	—	–.229	—	—	—	—	.971
37. Number of father's migrant siblings seen	—	.904	—	–.197	—	—	—	—	.885
30. Total number of siblings alive	—	.837	—	.385	—	—	—	—	.886
33. Total number of siblings married	—	.802	—	.331	—	—	—	—	.770
58. Number of siblings married in British towns	—	.398	—	—	—	—	—	—	.290
31. Birth order of father	—	.389	.117	.310	—	—	—	—	.333
47. Kin integration scale (father):	—	.385	—	.294	—	—	—	—	.585
57. Number of (father's) siblings married in Irish towns	.10	.365	—	—	—	—	—	—	.325

Appendix Table 8 *(continued)*

	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F9	F10	h^2
Factor III: Number and contact +(mother's) migrant siblings:									
15. Number of siblings migrant (mother)	—	—	*.97	—	—	—	—	—	.972
16. Number of migrant siblings seen (mother)	—	—	.94	—	—	—	—	—	.921
11. Number of siblings alive (mother)	—	—	.80	—	.48	—	—	—	.892
60. Number of siblings married in British towns (mother)	—	—	.47	—	—	—	—	—	.323
22. Kin integration (mother)	—	—	.30	—	.36	—	—	—	.705
59. Number of siblings in Irish towns (mother)	—	—	.28	—	—	—	—	—	.193
12. Number of siblings in local area	—	—	.23	—	.65	—	—	—	.540
Factor IV: Number and contact + father's local siblings:									
34. Number of father's local siblings	—	—	—	.92	—	—	—	—	—
35. Number seen in last week	—	—	—	.74	—	—	—	—	.895
32. Number of siblings in farming	—	.166	—	.73	—	—	—	—	.592
30. Total number of siblings	—	.837	—	.385	—	—	—	—	.866
33. Number of siblings married	—	.802	—	.33	—	—	—	—	.770
31. Birth order of father	—	.389	.117	.31	Because of very high correlation +number of siblings (r = 42)				
47. Kin integration (father)	−.129	.385	—	.294	—	—	—	—	.585
Factor V: Number and contact with (mother's) local siblings:									
13. Number of married siblings in area	.124	—	—	—	.839	—	—	—	.754
14. Number of siblings seen last week	—	—	—	—	.662	—	—	—	.512
12. Number of siblings in farming area	—	—	—	—	.651	—	—	—	.539
11. Number of siblings alive	—	—	.804	—	.484	—	—	—	.892
22. Kin integration (mother)	−.135	—	.300	—	.362	—	—	—	.705

Appendix Table 8 *(continued)*

	F1	*F2*	*F3*	*F4*	*F5*	*F6*	*F9*	*F10*	*F11*	h^2
Factor VI: Degree of attachment to relatives and neighbours (father's)										
48. Attachment to close relatives	—	—	—	—	—	.915	—	—	—	.865
49. Attachment to close neighbours	—	—	—	—	—	.890	—	—	—	.822
28. Father's familistic values	.282	—	—	.113	—	−.224	—	—	—	.189
61. Power (father)	—	—	—	—	—	.120	—	—	—	.104
Factor VII: Number of children at home (.927) number of children (.664); F.C. (.153); all load on F7; but all load highly on I also.										
Factor VIII: (i) Ages of father and mother, etc. (ii) Ages of marriage of father and mother (They both load more highly on I)										
Factor IX: Number of local kin (father) kept in touch with										
41. Number of kin kept in close touch with (father)	—	.119	—	.170	.113	—	.876*	—	—	.865
40. Number of kin in local area (father)	—	—	—	.206	—	—	.839*	—	—	.812
47. Kin integrated (father)	.129	.385	—	.294	—	—	.260	—	—	.585
24. Familism (mother)	.237	—	—	—	.140	—	.193	—	—	.264
29. Division of labour farm		—	—	—	—	—	.101	—	—	.084
*42. Number of "good" neighbours	—	—	—	—	—	—	.102	—	—	.232
50. Connectedness of network	—	—	—	—	—	—	.186	—	—	.214
53. SEI	−.165	—	—	—	—	—	.156	—	—	.099
**55. Number of "good" neighbours	—	—	—	—	—	—	.108	—	—	.179
57. Number of (father's) siblings in Ireland	−.102	+.365	—	—	—	—	.168	—	—	.325

*Direct question—total number mentioned.
**Out of six named-neighbours, number regarded as "good".

Appendix Table 8 *(continued)*

		F1	*F2*	*F3*	*F4*	*F5*	*F6*	*F9*	*F10*	*h*²
Factor X: Helpfulness of kin/neighbours										
44. Usefulness of neighbours/ relations help	—	—	—	—	—	—	+.102	−.789*	—	.680
43. Help from relations	−.116	—	—	—	—	—	—	+.640	—	.447
47. Kin integrated (father)	−.129	+.385	—	.294	—	—	.260	+.435	—	.585
56. Remoteness	—	—	—	—	.100	—	—	+.113	—	.086
Factor XI: Size and contact + mother's local kin										
19. Number of mother's local kin	—	—	—	—	.208	—	—	—	.898	.876
20. Number of kin kept in close touch with	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.109	.791	.701
22. Mother's kin integration	−.135	—	.300	—	.362	—	—	—	.378	.705
23. D.L Ho.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.145	.306
10. Mother's age at marriage	.212	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.113	.567
14. Number of siblings seen last week	—	—	—	—	.662	—	+.106	—	.120	.512
40. Number of father's local kin	—	—	—	—	.206	—	.839	—	.112	.812

	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*Varimax Rotation	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10	F11
Eigenvalues	10.4	4.4	3.5	3.1	2.4	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.3
Variance Explained	18.6%	8.0%	6.2%	5.5%	4.3%	3.7%	3.4%	3.1%	2.7%	2.5%	2.3%

Appendix Table 9: *Percentage distribution of respondents by their assessment of most helpful and second most helpful persons*

	Wives' responses		Husbands' responses	
	Most helpful	Second most helpful	Most helpful	Second most helpful
	%	%	%	%
No Help	7.4	14.2	2.5	4.4
Wife's Primary Relatives	*41.4*	20.6	14.7	*24.3*
Husband's Primary Relatives	17.7	23.3	30.9	21.8
Other Relatives	6.6	8.6	5.4	9.1
Neighbours	24.5	*24.5*	*39.5*	16.0
Other Friends	0.7	3.4	0.7	4.4
No Information	1.7	5.4	6.4	10.3
Total %	100	100	100	100
No	408	408	408	408

Appendix Table 10: *Pearson product moment correlations between size of husbands' and wives' local kin group and a series of independent variables*

Independent variables	Husbands' local kin	Wives' local kin
	∅—order r	∅—order r
A. *Place and Class of Origin of Respondent*		
1. Place of Birth of Respondent's Father (0 = this farm; 1 = Local; 5 = Urban Non-Local)	–.11	–.11
2. Place of Birth of respondent (0 = Born on this farm; 1 = Local; 5 = Non-Local, large town)	–.15	–.20
3. Occupation of Respondent's Father (0 = Farm; 1 = Non Farm)	–.10	n.s.
4. Farm Inheritance Pattern (0 = Inherit 3 = Purchase)	–.09	–.10
B. *Family Cycle*		
5. Age of Respondent	–.12	n.s.
6. Residence of Parents, if alive: (0 = Both Dead; 1 = Live Abroad; 3 Live in House alone)	+.13	+.13
7. Family Cycle	–.10	–.10
C. *Socialisation of Respondent*		
8. Extent of Local Residence since childhood	+.14	+.21
9. Education	n.s.	n.s.
10. Occupation after school or previous to Marriage (0 = Farm; 1 = Non farm)	–.10	+ .14
D. *Religion*		
11. Religion (0 = Catholic; 1 = Protestant)	–.09	–.10
E. *Class, Status and modernisation Factors*		
12. Gross Margin	+.07	n.s.
13. SES Scale	+.12	–.01
14. Communication Scale	+.20	+.05
15. Receipt of Smallholders Social Welfare Assistance	n.s	–.11
G. *Remoteness*		
16. (Distance from large towns)	n.s	+.12
	$R^2 = .12$	$R^2 = .15$

Appendix Table 11: *Correlations between contact with secondary kin and a series of independent variables*

	Contact with husbands' secondary kin		Contact with wives' secondary kin	
	o-order r	Beta wts.	o-order r	Beta wts.
1. Number of secondary kin in area	.84	.83	.48	.48
2. Place of birth of wife	—	—	−.05	—
3. Number of local siblings in contact last week	+.26	—	+.19	+.17
4. Communication scale	+.23	—	+.09	—
5. Occupation status of Husband's/Wife's Father	+.15	—	−.02	—
6. Number of siblings who live locally	+.15	—	+.10	—
7. Age of husband/wife	−.15	—	—	—
8. Gross margin	+.14	+.08	—	—
9. Parents alive	+.13	—	+.05	—
10. SES	+.12	—	+.08	+.07
11. Number of migrant siblings Contacted	+.12	+.09	+.15	+.19
12. Place of birth and residence of respondents father	−.11	—	—	—
13. Family cycle	−.11	—	—	—
14. Remoteness	−.04	−.04	+.03	+.08
	$R^2 = .73$		$R^2 = .31$	

Appendix Table 12: *Numbers employed in agriculture by occupation and relationship to farmers, in Ireland and Connaught, 1926 to 1971; with % changes 1926 to 1946 and 1946 to 1966*

	Ireland (26 Counties)				Connaught			
	Total	Farmers	Relatives assisting	Employees	Total	Farmers	Relatives assisting	Employees
	(000)	(000)	(000)	(000)	(000)	(000)	(000)	(000)
1. All Holdings								
1926	522.8	220.8	190.9	111.1	149.3	72.8	65.4	11.1
1936	499.1	212.2	185.0	102.0	144.8	70.9	61.7	12.2
1946	478.1	207.5	165.0	105.7	131.8	68.2	53.4	10.2
1961	336.3	181.2	95.6	59.5	91.3	58.2	29.2	3.9
1966	297.6	177.5	73.8	46.3	81.6	56.7	21.8	3.1
1971	245.4	162.9	47.0	35.4	65.6	50.4	12.4	2.8
% change 1926-1946	−8.6	−6.0	−13.6	−4.9	−11.7	−6.3	−18.3	−8.1
% change 1946-1966	−37.7	−14.4	−55.2	−56.1	−38.0	−16.3	−59.1	−69.6

Sources: CPI vols. as in Appendix Table 3.

Appendix Table 13: *Distribution of families in terms of number of migrant siblings of either spouse*

% Distribution of migrant siblings of both spouses combined:	Number of migrant siblings of either spouse								
	None	1-2	2-4	4-6	6-8	8-10	10+	Total	Median
	6%	10%	19%	19%	20%	15%	12%	100%	5.5
Married siblings of either spouse in Irish or British cities	15%	24%	25%	13%	16%	—	—	100%	2.9

Appendix Table 14: *Percentage distribution of respondents by destination of migrant siblings, including factors influencing the relative proportion going to Britain**

*Relative rate of retention of migrant siblings in Ireland**			*Factors influencing the relative proportion of migrant siblings going to Britain (Zero order correlations)*		
Ratio of number in Ireland to number in Britain	*husbands' siblings*	*wifes' siblings*		*husbands' siblings*	*wifes' siblings*
1. None migrated	19%	20%	Total no. migrating	+.23	+.20
2. All in Ireland none in Britain	18%	13%	Remoteness	−.04	+.15
3. Most in Ireland some in Britain	3%	3%	Inheritance Patterns [1 = directly inherited from husbands' parents 6 = directly inherited from wifes' parents]	−.13	+.04
4. Equal numbers in Ireland and Britain	17%	15%	Receipts of unempl. Assistance	−.07	−.09
5. Most in Britain some in Ireland	2%	3%			
6. All in Britain none in Ireland	22%	29%	Distance from tarred road	+.04	−.08
7. No Information	19%	20%			
Total	100 408	100 408			

* This is only an estimate based on number of married siblings living in Irish and British towns and cities.

Appendix Table 15: *Factors explaining variation in the number of respondents' siblings who have migrated. (Zero order correlations)*

Independent variables	*No. of husband's migrant siblings*		*No. of wife's migrant siblings*	
	∅-order r	*Beta Wts.*	*∅-order r*	*Beta Wts.*
1. Number of siblings alive	.73	.87	.78	.83
2. Birth Order:	–.25	–.05	–.53	–.15
3. Number of Siblings in farming or married farmers:	–.03	–.39	.20	–.28
4. Inheritance Pattern:	–.05	–.07	—	—
5. Place of Birth of Respondent	—	—	.16	.12
6. Age of Respondent:	–.10	—	+.06	+.05
7. Residence of Respondent before marriage	—	—	.19	.08
8. Occupation status on leaving school:	.08	+.04	—	—
9. Receipt of Small Holder's Assistance	—	—	–.14	–.07
10. Original Size of Farm	.04	—	+.11	—
11. Communication scale	.12	—	.11	—
12. Gross Margin	.01	—	.06	—
13. SES	.08	—	.07	—
14. Size of Nearest Town	.09	–.07	+.11	—
	$R^2 = .67$		$R^2 = .73$	

Appendix Table 16: *Factors influencing the level of contact with husband's migrant siblings (Zero order correlations)*

Independent variables	*Contact with husband's migrant siblings*	
	∅ - Order r	*Beta Wts.*
1. Number of Siblings migrated	r = +.92	+.92
2. Proportion of Migrants in Irish Cities	r = +.17	–.05
3. Residence of Parents	r = +.15	+.05
4. Stage in Family Cycle	r = –.14	–.04
5. Gross Margin	r = +.08	+.08
6. Age of Husband	r = –.16	
7. Number of Local Siblings seen last week	r = –.19	
8. Communication Scale	r = +.14	
9. SES	r = +.10	
	$R^2 = .85$	

Appendix Table 17: *Relationships between husbands' and wives' kin isolation*

Wives' degree of isolation from kin	*Husbands' degree of isolation from kin* 1	2	3	4	*Total* 4
	(High)			(Low)	%
(High) 1	1.5%	0.3%	3.4%	0.9%	6.1
2	0.9%	1.5%	7.0%	5.2%	14.6
3	0.6%	5.2%	8.0%	19.8%	43.3
(Low) 4	0.9%	1.5%	18.6%	14.6%	35.7
Total	4%	8.5%	47%	41%	100

r = +.15

REFERENCES

ADAMS, B. C., 1968. *Kinship in an Urban Setting,* Chicago: Markham.

ANDERSON, M., 1971. *Sociology of the Family, Selected Readings,* London: Penguin.

ARENSBERG, C. A., 1937. *The Irish Countryman,* New York: Macmillan.

ARENSBERG, C. A. and S. KIMBALL, 1940. *Family and Community in Ireland,* Harvard: Harvard University Press.

BALL, A. B. and E. O. HEADY, 1972. "Trends in farm and Enterprise size and scale", pp. 40, 58 in Ball and Heady (eds.) *Size, Structure and Future of Farms,* Ames, Iowa State University Press.

BELL, C., 1971. *Middle Class Families,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

BELL, C. and H. NEWBY, (eds.), 1975. *Readings in Community Studies,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

BERGER, P., 1967. *The Sacred Canopy,* New York: Doubleday.

BERGMAN, T., 1975. "Change Processes in Farming and Political Consciousness and Attitudes of Peasants and Worker Peasants", *Sociologia Ruralis,* 15, 1/2, 73–89.

BERKNER, L. K., 1972. "The Stem Family and the Developmental cycle of the Peasant Household: An Eighteenth Century Austrian Example", *American Historical Review,* Vol. 77, pp. 398–418.

BLOCH, M., 1973. "The Long Term and the Short Term: The Economic and Political Significance of the Morality of Kinship", in J. Goody, (ed.), *The Character of Kinship,* London.

BLOOD, R. O. and M. WOLFE, 1960. *Husbands and Wives,* New York: Free Press.

BOHLEN, J. and T. BREATHNACH, 1965. *A Study of Adoption of Farm Practices,* Dublin: An Foras Talúntas.

BOURDIEU, P., 1962. "Celibat et Condition Paysanne", *Etudes Rurales,* II, pp. 32–135.

BOURDIEU, P., 1972. "Strategies Matrimoniales dans le Systeme de Reproduction", *Annales Economies, Societes, Civilisations,* 4–5, 1105–1127.

BRANDES, S. H., 1975. *Migration, Kinship and Community,* New York: Academic Press.

BRODY H., 1973. *Innishkillane,* London: Penguin.

CLIFFORD, D., 1974. *Kerry Community Survey,* Killarney: Kerry Seminar Executive.

COLE, J. W., 1973. "Social Processes in the Italian Alps", *American Anthropologist,* 75, pp. 765–786.

COMMINS, P. and C. KELLEHER, 1974. *Farm Inheritance and Succession,* Dublin: Macra na Feirme.

COMMINS, P., P. COX and J. CURRY, 1978. *Rural Areas: Change and Development,* Dublin: NESC, Report No. 41.

COUSENS, S. H., 1961. "Emigration and Demographic Change in Ireland, 1851–1881", *Economic History Review,* 14, 215–288.

COUSENS, S. H., 1964. "Regional Variation in Population change in Ireland, 1861–1881", *Economic History Review,* 17, pp. 301–32.

COUSENS, S. H., 1968. "Population Trends in Ireland at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century", *Irish Geography,* 5, pp. 387–401.

CROTTY, R., 1966. *Irish Agricultural Production,* Cork: Cork University Press.

CULLEN, L. M., 1972. *An Economic History of Ireland Since 1660,* London: Batsford.

DUFFY, P., 1976. *Population and Landholding in Co. Monaghan — A Study in Change and Continuity,* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, NUI, Dublin.

FARBER, B., 1968. *Comparative Kinship Systems,* New York: Wiley.

FARBER, B., 1971. *Kinship & Class,* London: Basic Books.

FIRTH, R., J. HUBERT and A. FORGE, 1969. *Families and their Relatives,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

FORTES, M., 1958. "Introduction" in J. Goode (ed.), *The Developmental Cycle of Domestic Groups,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

FORTES, M., 1971. *Kinship and the Social Order,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

FOX, R., 1966. "Kinship and Land Tenure in Tory Island", *Ulster Folklore,* 12, pps. 1–17.

FOX, R., 1967. *Kinship & Marriage,* London: Penguin.

FRANKENBERG, R., 1966, *Communities in Britain,* London: Penguin.

FREEMAN, T. W., 1964. *Ireland: A General and Regional Geography.* London: Methuen and Co.

FRANKLIN, H., 1969. *European Peasantry,* London: Methuen.

FRIEDL, E., 1959. "The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece", *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 61, 1, pps. 30–38.

GALESKI, P., 1972. *Basic Concepts in Rural Sociology,* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

GERTH, H. H., and C. W. MILLS, 1958. *From Max Weber,* New York: Galaxy Books.

GIBBON, P., 1973. "Arensberg and Kimball Revisited", *Economy & Society,* 2, 4.

GIBBON, P. and C. CURTIN, 1978. "The Stem Family in Ireland", *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 20, 3, 429–453.

GOODE, W. J., 1963. *World Revolution and Family Patterns,* New York: Free Press.

GOODY, J., 1958. *The Developmental Cycle of Domestic Groups,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

GOODY, J., 1972. (ed.), *The Character of Kinship,* London.

HABBAKUK, H. J., 1955. "Family Structure and Economic Change in Nineteenth Century Europe", *The Journal of Economic History,* XV, 1, pp. 1–12.

HALLER, A. O., 1959. "Planning to farm: a social-psychological explanation", *Social Forces,* 37, 263–268.

HANNAN, D. F., 1970. *Rural Exodus,* London: Chapman.

HANNAN, D. F., 1972. "Kinship, Neighbourhood and Social Change in Irish Rural Communities", *Economic and Social Review,* Vol. 3, No. 2; pp. 163–189.

HANNAN, D. F., 1973. "Emigration Since the War", Thomas Davis Lecture RTE. To be published by Educational Company of Ireland, 1979.

HANNAN, D. F., 1977. "Patterns of Intergenerational Replacement in Traditional Irish Agriculture", Paper read at SAI Conference, April 3.

HANNAN, D. F. and L. A. KATSIAOUNI, 1977. *Traditional Families?* Dublin: Economic and Social Research Institute Paper No. 87.

HANNAN, D. F. and N. HARDIMAN, 1978. "Peasant Proprietorship and Changes in the Irish Marriage Rate in the late Nineteenth Century", Economic and Social Research Institute Seminar Paper, Feb.

HANNAN, D. F., 1978. "Patterns of Spousal Accommodation and Conflict in Traditional and Modern Farm Families," *Economic and Social Review,* Vol. 10, No. 1, pps. 61–84.

HARRIS, R., 1964. *Prejudice and Tolerance in Ulster,* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

HEAVEY *et al.* 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977. *Farm Managements Surveys,* Dublin: An Foras Talúntais.

HILL, R., 1970. *Family Development in Three Generations.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman.

INKELES, A. and D. H. SMITH, 1974. *Becoming Modern,* London: Heinemann.

JACKSON, J., 1968. *The Skibbereen Social Survey,* Dublin: INPC.

JONES, D. S., 1978. *Agrarian Capitalism and Rural Social Development in Ireland* Ph.D thesis, Faculty of Economics and Social Science, The Queen's University Belfast.

KANE, E., 1971. "Man and Kin in Donegal", *Ethnology,* XI, pps. 235–258.

KATSIAOUNI, O., 1975. *A Pilot Study of Regional and Community Development in the Mid West.* Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.

KELLEHER, C. and P. O'HARA, 1976. "Adjustment Problems of Farmers in the Context of Agricultural Development". Paper read at Agricultural Development Conference, Agricultural Institute, Dublin, Nov. 25.

KHERA, S., 1973. "Social Stratification and Land Inheritance Among Austrian Peasants", *American Anthropologist,* 75, pps. 815–823.

KLATSKY, S. R., 1976. *Patterns of Contact with Relatives*, Washington DC, A.S.A. Monograph in Sociology.

KROEBER, A., 1948. *Anthropology*, New York: Harcourt Brace.

LEE, J., 1973. *The Modernisation of Ireland*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.

LERNER, D., 1958. *The Passing of Traditional Society*, Toronto: Free Press.

LEYTON, E., 1966. "Conscious Models and Dispute Regulation in an Ulster Village", *Man.*, (N.S.), pps. 534–542.

LEYTON, E. (ed.), 1974. *The Compact, Selected Dimensions of Friendship*, Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers, No. 3, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

LEYTON, E., 1975. *The One Blood: Kinship and Class in an Irish Village*, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research.

LITWAK, E., 1960. "Occupational Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion", *American Sociological Review*, 25, 1, pps. 9–21.

LITWAK, E. and I. SZELENYI, 1969. "Primary Group Structures and their Functions: Kin, Neighbours, and Friends", *American Sociological Review*, 34, 4, pps. 465–481.

LOOMIS, C. P. and J. A. BEEGLE, 1951. *Rural Social Systems*, New York: Prentice Hall.

LUESCHEN, G., R. O. BLOOD *et al.* 1971. "Family Organisation, Interaction and Ritual: A Cross Cultural Study", *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 33, 1, 228–334.

LUPTON, T., 1961. "Kin Connection and the Bank Rate Tribunal", *Transactions of the Manchester School*, 1959–61.

McKENNA, E. E., 1974. "Marriage and Fertility in Post-Famine Ireland", *American Journal of Sociology*, 80, 3.

McNABB, P., 1964. "Demography" and "Social Structure", in J. Newman, (ed.), *The Limerick Rural Survey*, Tipperary: Muintir na Tire.

MENDRAS, H., 1970. *The Vanishing Peasant*, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

MESSENGER, J., 1969. *Inis Beag*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

MOGEY, J., 1977. "Content of Relations with Relatives", pps. 413–419, in J. Cuisanier (ed.), *The Family Life Cycle in European Societies*, The Hague: Mouton.

MOORE, W. F., 1951. *Industrialisation and Labour: Social Aspects of Economic Development*, Cornell University Press.

MOORE, W. F., 1965. *The Impact of Industry*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

NASH, M., 1966. *Primitive and Peasant Economic Systems*, California: Chandler.

NIMKOFF, M. F. (ed.), 1965. *Comparative Family Systems*, Boston: Haughton Mifflin.

O'CARROLL, J. P., N. P. PASSCHIER *et al.*, 1978. "Regional Aspects of Restructuring Use and Ownership of Agricultural Land in Ireland", *Economic and Social Review*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pps. 79–106.

ORAZEM, F., 1972. "Economic Aspects of Income Groups by Farm Size", in Ball and Heady (eds.), *Size Structure and Future of Farms,* op. cit., 59–72.

Ó TUATHAIGH, G., 1972. *Ireland Before the Famine,* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.

PARK, G., 1962: "Sons and Lovers — Characterological Requisites of Roles in a Peasant Society", *Ethnology,* Vol. 1, 412–424.

PARSONS, T., 1954. "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States", in T. Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory,* Glencoe, I. Free Press.

POTTER, J. M., M. DIAZ and G. FOSTER (eds.), 1967. *Peasant Society: A Reader,* Boston: Little Brown.

PRESIDENT'S NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON RURAL POVERTY, 1967. *The People Left Behind,* Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office.

ROGERS, E., 1962. *The Diffusion of Innovations.* New York: Macmillan.

ROGERS, E. with L. SVENNING, 1969. *Modernisation Among Peasants,* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

ROOF, W. C., 1976. "Traditional Religion in Contemporary Society", *American Sociological Review,* 41, 2, pps. 195–208.

RUMPF, E. and L. A. C. HEPBURN, 1977. *Nationalism and Socialism in Twentieth Century Ireland,* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

SCHWARZWELLER, H., J. J. MANGALAM, J. BROWN, 1976. *Mountain Families in Transition,* University of Kentucky Press.

SCULLY, J. T., 1962. "The Influence of Family Size and Efficiency Within the Farm", *Journal of Agricultural Economics,* Vol. 15, No. 1, pps. 116–121.

SCULLY, J., 1971. *Agriculture in the West of Ireland,* Dublin: Department of Agriculture and Fisheries.

SHANAS, E. and G. STREIB (eds.), 1965. *Social Structure and the Family: Generational Relations,* New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

SHANAS, E., P. TOWNSEND, *et al,* 1968. *Old People in Three Industrial Societies,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

SHANIN, T. M., 1971. *Peasants & Peasant Societies,* London: Penguin.

SHANIN, T. M., 1973. "The Nature and Change of Peasant Economies", *Sociologia Ruralis,* 13, 2, 141–171.

SHEEHY, S., 1977. *New Farm Operators, 1971–1975,* Dublin: NESC Report No. 27.

SHEEHY, S., 1978. *Policies to Accelerate Agricultural Development,* Dublin: NESC Report No. 40.

SMYTH, W. J., 1975. "Territorial Organisation of Irish Rural Communities", *The Maynooth Review,* Vol. 1, No. 1, 51–78.

SMYTH, W. J., 1976. "Continuity and Change in the Territorial Organisation of Irish Rural Communities", *The Maynooth Review,* Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 52–101.

STEIN, M. S., 1960. *The Eclipse of Community,* New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

STOCKDALE, J. D., 1977. "Technology and Change in United States Agriculture: Model or Warning", *Sociologia Ruralis,* 17, 1/2, 43–58.

STREIB, G., 1970. "Farmers and Urbanites: Attitudes towards Intergenerational Relations in Ireland". *Rural Sociology,* 35, 1, 26–39.

SUSSMAN, M. J. and L. G. BURCHINAL, 1962. "Kin Family Network: Unheralded Structure in Current Conceptualisations of Family Functioning", *Marriage and Family Living,* Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 52–101.

SUSSMAN, M. J., M. GATES and D. T. SMITH, 1970. *The Family and Inheritance.* New York: Russell Sage.

SYMES, D. G., 1972. "Farm Household and Farm Performance — A Study of Twentieth Century Changes in Ballyferriter, S.W. Ireland", *Ethnology,* XI, 1, pps. 25–38.

TOWNSEND, P., 1957. *The Family Life of Old People,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

WALSH, B. M., 1968. *Some Irish Population Problems Reconsidered,* Dublin: Economic and Social Research Institute Paper No. 42.

WALSH, B. M., 1970. "Marriage Rates and Population Pressure, Ireland 1871–1911, "*Economic History Review,* Vol. XXIII, 2.

WARD, C., 1967. *Manpower in a Developing Community,* Dublin: Department of Labour.

WEBER, E., 1977. *Peasants into Frenchmen,* London: Chatto and Williams.

WEBER, M., 1958. "Capitalism and Rural Society in Germany", pps. 363–385, in Gerth and Mills (1958), op. cit.

WOLF, E. R., 1966. *Peasants,* New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

WOODHAM-SMITH, 1962. *The Great Hunger,* New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

YOUNG, M. and P. WILLMOTT, 1957. *Family and Kinship in E. London,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

ZELDITCH, M. Jr., 1964. "Family, Kinship and Marriage", pps. 680–733 in Faris (ed.), *Handbook of Modern Sociology.* Chicago: Rand McNally.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Books:

Economic Growth in Ireland: The Experience Since 1947
Kieran A. Kennedy and Brendan Dowling

Irish Economic Policy: A Review of Major Issues
Staff Members of ESRI (eds. B. R. Dowling and J. Durkan)

Broadsheet Series:

1. *Dental Services in Ireland* — P. R. Kaim-Caudle
2. *We Can Stop Rising Prices* — M. P. Fogarty
3. *Pharmaceutical Services in Ireland* — P. R. Kaim-Caudle assisted by Annette O'Toole and Kathleen O'Donoghue
4. *Ophthalmic Services in Ireland* — P. R. Kaim-Caudle assisted by Kathleen O'Donoghue and Annette O'Toole
5. *Irish Pensions Schemes,* 1969 — P. R. Kaim-Caudle and J. G. Byrne assisted by Annette O'Toole
6. *The Social Science Percentage Nuisance* — R. C. Geary
7. *Poverty in Ireland: Research Priorities* — Brendan M. Walsh
8. *Irish Entrepreneurs Speak for Themselves* — M. P. Fogarty
9. *Marital Desertion in Dublin: an exploratory study* — Kathleen O'Higgins
10. *Equalization of Opportunity in Ireland: Statistical Aspects* — R. C. Geary and F. S. Ó Muircheartaigh
11. *Public Social Expenditure in Ireland* — Finola Kennedy
12. *Problems in Economic Planning and Policy Formation in Ireland,* 1958–1974 — Desmond Norton
13. *Crisis in the Cattle Industry* — R. O'Connor and P. Keogh
14. *A Study of Schemes for the Relief of Unemployment in Ireland* — R. C. Geary and M. Dempsey
    with Appendix — E. Costa
15. *Dublin Simon Community,* 1971–1976: an Exploration — Ian Hart
16. *Aspects of the Swedish Economy and their relevance to Ireland* — Robert O'Connor, Eoin O'Mahony and Anthony Foley
17. *The Irish Housing System: A Critical Overview* — T. J. Baker and L. M. O'Brien
18. *The Irish Itinerants: Some Demographic, Economic and Educational Aspects* — M. Dempsey and R. C. Geary
19. *A Study of Industrial Workers' Co-operatives* — Robert O'Connor and Philip Kelly
20. *Drinking in Ireland: A Review of Trends in Alcohol Consumption, Alcohol Related Problems and Policies towards Alcohol* — Brendan M. Walsh

General Research Series:

1. *The Ownership of Personal Property in Ireland* — Edward Nevin
2. *Short-Term Economic Forecasting and its Application in Ireland* — Alfred Kuehn
3. *The Irish Tariff and The E.E.C.: A Factual Survey* — Edward Nevin
4. *Demand Relationships for Ireland* — C. E. V. Leser
5. *Local Government Finance in Ireland: A Preliminary Survey* — David Walker
6. *Prospects of the Irish Economy in* 1962 — Alfred Kuehn
7. *The Irish Woollen and Worsted Industry,* 1946–59: *A Study in Statistical Method* — R. C. Geary
8. *The Allocation of Public Funds for Social Development* — David Walker
9. *The Irish Price Level: A Comparative Study* — Edward Nevin
10. *Inland Transport in Ireland: A Factual Survey* — D. J. Reynolds
11. *Public Debt and Economic Development* — Edward Nevin

12. *Wages in Ireland,* 1946–62 — Edward Nevin
13. *Road Transport: The Problems and Prospects in Ireland* — D. J. Reynolds
14. *Imports and Economic Growth in Ireland,* 1947–61 — C. E. V. Leser
15. *The Irish Economy in* 1962 *and* 1963 — C. E. V. Leser
16. *Irish County Incomes in* 1960 — E. A. Attwood and R. C. Geary
17. *The Capital Stock of Irish Industry* — Edward Nevin
18. *Local Government Finance and County Incomes* — David Walker
19. *Industrial Relations in Ireland: The Background* — David O'Mahony
20. *Social Security in Ireland and Western Europe* — P. R. Kaim-Caudle
21. *The Irish Economy in* 1963 *and* 1964 — C. E. V. Leser
22. *The Cost Structure of Irish Industry* 1950–60 — Edward Nevin
23. *A Further Analysis of Irish Household Budget Data,* 1951–1952 — C. E. V. Leser
24. *Economic Aspects of Industrial Relations* — David O'Mahony
25. *Psychological Barriers to Economic Achievement* — P. Pentony
26. *Seasonality in Irish Economic Statistics* — C. E. V. Leser
27. *The Irish Economy in* 1964 *and* 1965 — C. E. V. Leser
28. *Housing in Ireland: Some Economic Aspects* — P. R. Kaim-Caudle
29. *A Statistical Study of Wages, Prices and Employment in the Irish Manufacturing Sector* — C. St. J. O'Herlihy
30. *Fuel and Power in Ireland: Part I. Energy Consumption in* 1970 — J. L. Booth
31. *Determinants of Wage Inflation in Ireland* — Keith Cowling
32. *Regional Employment Patterns in the Republic of Ireland* — T. J. Baker
33. *The Irish Economy in* 1966 — The Staff of The Economic and Social Research Institute
34. *Fuel and Power in Ireland: Part II. Electricity and Turf* — J. L. Booth
35. *Fuel and Power in Ireland: Part III. International and Temporal Aspects of Energy Consumption* — J. L. Booth
36. *Institutional Aspects of Commercial and Central Banking in Ireland* — John Hein
37. *Fuel and Power in Ireland: Part IV. Sources and Uses of Energy* — J. L. Booth
38. *A Study of Imports* — C. E. V. Leser
39. *The Irish Economy in* 1967 — The Staff of The Economic and Social Research Institute
40. *Some Aspects of Price Inflation in Ireland* — R. C. Geary and J. L. Pratschke
41. *A Medium Term Planning Model for Ireland* — David Simpson
42. *Some Irish Population Problems Reconsidered* — Brendan M. Walsh
43. *The Irish Brain Drain* — Richard Lynn
44. *A Method of Estimating the Stock of Capital in Northern Ireland Manufacturing Industry: Limitations and Applications* — C. W. Jefferson
45. *An Input-Output Analysis of the Agricultural Sector of the Irish Economy in* 1964 — R. O'Connor with M. Breslin
46. *The Implications for Cattle Producers of Seasonal Price Fluctuations* — R. O'Connor
47. *Transport in the Developing Economy of Ireland* — John Blackwell
48. *Social Status and Inter-Generational Social Mobility in Dublin* — Bertram Hutchinson
49. *Personal Incomes by County,* 1965 — Miceal Ross
50. *Income-Expenditure Relations in Ireland,* 1965–1966 — John L. Pratschke
51. *Costs and Prices in Transportable Goods Industries* — W. Black, J. V. Simpson, D. G. Slattery
52. *Certain Aspects of Non-Agricultural Unemployment in Ireland* — R. C. Geary and J. G. Hughes
53. *A Study of Demand Elasticities for Irish Imports* — Dermot McAleese
54. *Internal Migration in Ireland* — R. C. Geary and J. G. Hughes; *with Appendix* — C. J. Gillman

55. *Religion and Demographic Behaviour in Ireland* B. M. Walsh
with Appendix R. C. Geary and J. G. Hughes
56. *Views on Pay Increases, Fringe Benefits and Low Pay*
H. Behrend, A. Knowles and J. Davies
57. *Views on Income Differentials and the Economic Situation*
H. Behrend, A. Knowles and J. Davies
58. *Computers in Ireland* F. G. Foster
59. *National Differences in Anxiety* Richard Lynn
60. *Capital Statistics for Irish Manufacturing Industry* C. W. Jefferson
61. *Rural Household Budget—Feasibility Study* Sile Sheehy and R. O'Connor
62. *Effective Tariffs and the Structure of Industrial Protection in Ireland* Dermot McAleese
63. *Methodology of Personal Income Estimation by County* Miceal Ross
64. *Further Data on County Incomes in the Sixties* Miceal Ross
65. *The Functional Distribution of Income in Ireland,* 1938–70 J. G. Hughes
66. *Irish Input-Output Structures,* 1964 *and* 1968 E. W. Henry
67. *Social Status in Dublin: Marriage, Mobility and First Employment*
Bertram Hutchinson
68. *An Economic Evaluation of Irish Salmon Fishing, I: The Visiting Anglers*
R. O'Connor and B. J. Whelan
69. *Women and Employment in Ireland: Results of a National Survey*
Brendan M. Walsh assisted by Annette O'Toole
70. *Irish Manufactured Imports from the UK in the Sixties: The Effects of AIFTA*
Dermot McAleese and John Martin
71. *Alphabetical Voting: A Study of the* 1973 *General Election in the Republic of Ireland* Christopher Robson and Brendan M. Walsh
72. *A Study of the Irish Cattle and Beef Industries*
Terence J. Baker, Robert O'Connor and Rory Dunne
73. *Regional Employment Patterns in Northern Ireland*
William Black and Clifford W. Jefferson
74. *Irish Full Employment Structures,* 1968 *and* 1975 E. W. Henry
75. *An Economic Evaluation of Irish Salmon Fishing. II: The Irish Anglers*
R. O'Connor, B. J. Whelan, and A. McCashin
76. *Factors Relating to Reconviction among Young Dublin Probationers* Ian Hart
77. *The Structure of Unemployment in Ireland,* 1954–1972 Brendan M. Walsh
78. *An Economic Evaluation of Irish Salmon Fishing. III: The Commercial Fishermen*
B. J. Whelan, R. O'Connor, and A. McCashin
79. *Wage Inflation and Wage Leadership*
W. E. J. McCarthy, J. F. O'Brien and V. G. Dowd
80. *An Econometric Study of the Irish Postal Services* Peter Neary
81. *Employment Relationships in Irish Counties* Terence J. Baker and Miceal Ross
82. *Irish Input-Output Income Multipliers* 1964 *and* 1968
J. R. Copeland and E. W. Henry
83. *A Study of the Structural and Determinants of the Behavioural Component of Social Attitudes in Ireland* E. E. Davis
84. *Economic Aspects of Local Authority Expenditure and Finance*
J. R. Copeland and Brendan M. Walsh
85. *Population Growth and other Statistics of Middle-sized Irish Towns*
D. Curtin, R. C. Geary, T. A. Grimes and B. Menton
86. *The Income Sensitivity of the Personal Income Tax Base in Ireland,* 1947–1972 Brendan R. Dowling
87. *Traditional Families? From Culturally Prescribed to Negotiated Roles in Farm Families* Damian F. Hannan and Louise Katsiaouni

88. *An Irish Personality Differential: A Technique for Measuring Affective and Cognitive Dimensions of Attitudes Towards Persons* E. E. Davis and Mary O'Neill
89. *Redundancy and Re-Employment in Ireland* Brendan J. Whelan and Brendan M. Walsh
90. *A National Model of Fuel Allocation—A Prototype* E. W. Henry and S. Scott
91. *A Linear Programming Model for Irish Agriculture* Robert O'Connor, Miceal Ross and Michael Behan
92. *Irish Educational Expenditures—Past Present and Future* A. Dale Tussing
93. *The Working and Living Conditions of Civil Service Typists* Nóirín O'Broin and Gillian Farren
94. *Irish Public Debt* Richard Bruton
95. *Output and Employment in the Irish Food Industry to* 1990 A. D. O'Rourke and T. M. McStay
96. *Displacement and Development: Class, Kinship and Social Change in Irish Rural Communities* Damian F. Hannan
97. *Attitudes in the Republic of Ireland relevant to the Northern Ireland problem: Vol. 1: Descriptive analysis and some comparisons with Attitudes in Northern Ireland and Great Britian* E. E. Davis and R. Sinnott
98. *Internal Migration Flows in Ireland and their Determinants* J. G. Hughes and B. M. Walsh
99. *Irish Input-Output Structures,* 1976 E. W. Henry
100. *Development of the Irish Sea Fishing Industry and its Regional Implications* R.O'Connor, J.A. Crutchfield, B.J. Whelan and K.E. Mellon
101. *Employment Conditions and Job Satisfaction: The Distribution, Perception and Evaluation of Job Rewards* Christopher T. Whelan
102. *Crime in the Republic of Ireland: Statistical Trends and their Interpretation* David B. Rottman
103. *Measures of the Capital Stock in the Irish Manufacturing Sector,* 1945—1973 R.N. Vaughan
104. *A Study of National Wage Agreements in Ireland* James F. O'Brien
105. *Socio-Economic Impact of The Construction of the ESB Power Station at Moneypoint, Co. Clare* R. O'Connor, J.A. Crutchfield and B.J. Whelan
106. *The Financing of Third-level Education* A.C. Barlow
107. *An Input-Output Analysis of New Industry in Ireland in* 1976 E.W. Henry
108. *Social Insurance and Absence from Work in Ireland* Gerard Hughes
109. *The Distribution of Income in the Republic of Ireland: A Study in Social Class and Family Cycle Inequalities* David B. Rottman, Damian F. Hannan Niamh Hardiman and Miriam M. Wiley