

TO EAT THE BREAD OF OTHERS: THE DECISION TO MIGRATE IN A PROVINCE OF SOUTHERN ITALY

by Janet Mogg Schreiber

INTRODUCTION

An analysis of the complexity of patterns of migration in an area which has been a source of emigration for over a century serves to illustrate the utility of multiple levels of investigation: *first* the macro-structural level, using as a unit of analysis the relationships between the region, the nation, and the area of reception for migrants, through which we can understand the parameters of choice; *second* the community level, using group relationships as a unit of analysis to investigate the social, cultural, historical, and economic factors influencing choice and opportunity; *third* the individual or family level, analyzing one or a few people through whose experience, perceptions, and choices we can begin to see the interplay of factors that produce the behavior we seek to understand.

Data are presented from interviews and participant observation from June 1971 to June 1973 in an area of heavy, increasingly temporary, migration from southern Italy to Europe (particularly to Switzerland, Germany, and France). Migration is an ever-present social fact in the small communities of Campobasso, a region of South Italy. Analysis indicates that the symbolic system and network connectedness of the social structure gives migration a particular significance for the migrants, making the decision to migrate emotionally laden, so that it often takes an unexpected situation or outside event to trigger a move. Although migration as a mode of exploiting the environment is taught from early childhood, it is considered as an alternate contingency plan, and the option is generally exercised during a period of family crisis, with heightened propensity at particular periods of the life cycle. This is not to deny the importance of economic variables, but to demonstrate their social meaning as a way of maximizing the relations between status benefits and social costs in the home community.

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PLANNING AND POLITICS

Population control has been an essential concern of societies and their governing bodies at least since Roman times (Newman, 1972). During the Fascist period in Italy, migration was forbidden in order to keep people on the farms and in industry, to prevent a general loss of manpower. It is clear that population movements are not only the result of individual motivation, but the result of economic and public policy, the calculated manipulation of laws, opportunities, and communication.

What seems haphazard or chaotic on the level of the relatively powerless individual and family may be of convenience to groups at other levels of the power system. Southern migrants have in the past been the labor force most easily exploited. They worked illegally, often in non-union, unsafe construction jobs. In Italy, Southerners have a long history of being used as strike breakers.

In a study recently conducted in the train station of Turin, two hundred persons arriving in the city for the first time were interviewed. Their responses were indicative of the general lack of personal planning mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Fifty-five percent had no idea where or how to get a job, but figured they would leave it to luck. Thirty percent said they had hopes of a job; only fifteen percent already had a job planned (*La Stampa*, Oct. 27, 1972:7).

The mayor of Milan has complained that when he tried to institute welfare programs to better prepare the immigrants newly arriving in the city, his major opponents were the industrialists. His implication was that industrialists benefited from the disorganization of migrants.

Recently the Italian government and the major industries have made cost benefit studies of immigration to Turin (Pellicciari, 1970:185-210). It was after the publication of the welfare costs incurred with the arrival of the migrants (and the government's offer to pay part of the plant costs) that Fiat decided to build factories in the South to "put a brake to migration" (Italy: *Ias Notizie*, 1972).

Migration, its costs and benefits, has been a topic of political debate in the Italian parliament since the formation of the nation. Prior to the 1970s the Christian Democratic governments favored migration as a resolution to the "Southern problem." Many scholars were in agreement with them (Lutz, 1962), and the principal journal of Southern studies, *Nord e Sud*, encouraged mass depopulation as a safety valve to solve immediate problems. The church in its population policy forbids the use of contraceptives but fosters migration. The Catholic Church has several organizations in the host countries that are concerned with migration and that publish bulletins of migration news.

To the Socialists and Communists, migration represents the failure of

Fai emigrare la D.C.



**VOTA A SINISTRA
VOTA COMUNISTA**



the Italian government to provide options at home. A poster distributed during the elections of May 1972 proclaimed "Make the Christian Democrats emigrate, vote left, vote Communist." The back of the poster elaborates: "in 25 years of government, 7 million migrants. . . . migrants in the last 11 years have sent back to Italy 10 billion lira, but what suffering has it cost? . . . the government is not even capable of defending the rights of workers in Switzerland and Germany. . . . migration is the waste of human resources for which all of society must pay too high a price." The Socialists have argued that the cause of migration has been the lack of resolution of the agricultural problems in the South.

Marxists have observed that the countries structurally dependent on immigrant labor (Switzerland, Germany, and France in particular) keep excellent statistics and carefully control the health of potential immigrants. The Italian government, however, does not (Blumer, 1971). Both Blumer and Cinanni (1971) build the argument that the "free circulation of labor" guaranteed in the Common Market agreements does not operate to give "free choice" to the worker, but to give freedom to the employers to command the labor force they need.

In the province of Campobasso the local elites had been trying in 1972 to encourage the return of migrants. When I talked with the committee in charge of the industrial development of the area, they proudly discussed their new campaign to attract migrants home. When I asked how they were going about this, they explained: "Our towns are small, everyone knows who has migrated. We tell our friends in the town and they tell the families. Of course there is some politics in this. After all, it is one party that for fifteen years has tried to develop the region . . . so we tell the local party activist and the mayor, and he tells the family to write to the migrants telling them about the work opportunities that there will be in Campobasso." The "politicos" attempt to control and selectively distribute opportunities so as to enhance their political influence. The people in Campobasso know and expect that patrons are patrons, and they do not make firm plans based on what the political figures say.

MIGRATION: ACTION OR REACTION?

MI FACIVE LU BIGLIETTE PE MILANE

*Teneve nu parente merecane
che spisse me diceva: vie' ddo me:
mo che nu viaggielle 'n' ariuplane,
l'Amereca che niente puo' vere'.*

*Ma stu parente nen ze renne cunte
Quanta denare costa nu bigliette
pe farme mette piere a quille punte
vulanne 'nciele, cumme n sajetta'.*

*Me piaciariija fa sta trasvulata;
me pe me uaragna; tanta ternisce,
sapenne ca so mieze sasfciulate,
me tocca fatija pe misce e misce.*

*Nu juorne, na nutizia d'ariuplane,
me dette tiempe da pute' penza'
ca nu bigliette, da Rome a Melane,
puteva pure farme sparagna'.*

*Facive lu bigliette, pe Melane
e me uardave atturme, pe vere'
se 'ncoppe a quille grusse ariuplane
ci stesse l'o'me che faceia pe me.*

*La cose jette bone veramente;
de botte n'o'me, che nu mitre 'mmane,
a la vulate dette cagnamente
e a Nova Jorche ive allegramente . . .*

(Manocchio, 1971:24)

The poem just quoted was written in the local dialect by a Campobasso poet, and I have included it because it expresses an attitude towards migration that I found to be quite common among the informants: migration is something you try out. If fortune is with you, things will work out. The move is not carefully planned, but remains in suspension for some time as a possibility. Another event triggers the actual migration. An English translation of the dialect poem follows.

I BOUGHT A TICKET TO MILAN

*I had an American relative
who often said come to me:
now with a little journey in airplane
you can see America for almost nothing.
But this relative didn't realize
how much a ticket costs
for me to touch my feet on that land
flying around in the sky like lightning.
I would like to fly across
but to earn so much money
with my poor condition
it would take months and months of work.*

*One day the news of an airplane
gave me time to be able to think
that a ticket from Rome to Milan
could save me money.*

*I bought the ticket for Milan
and looked around to see
if on that great big airplane
there would be the man that could do it for me.*

*The thing really went well
Suddenly a man with pistol in hand
gave the flight a change
and to New York I went happily.*

I asked migrants what made them migrate? . . . why did they migrate? . . . did they know anyone in the place of destination? . . . what had they been told and who told them? . . . how long had they thought about migrating before they actually moved? . . . who opposed the move? . . . did the family come along, and for how long?

The problem of a short interview is that people may not be sure of their motives or may tend to respond rather casually: "Oh, for work," giving little of the concrete reasoning behind their decisions to migrate at a particular time.

"The factors which influence migratory movements are not always easy to trace. Few inquiries have been made as to the individual's motives for migration, and the motives stated in response to such inquiries are not necessarily the real ones" (United Nations Department of Social Affairs, 1953: III).

Phenomenologists have treated the problem of motivation in a way that illuminates some of the difficulties of research on behavioral determinants.

Motive may have a subjective and objective meaning. Subjectively it refers to the experience of the actor who lives in his ongoing process of activity. To him motive means what he has actually in view as bestowing meaning upon his ongoing action, and this is always the in-order-to motive, the intention to bring about a projected state of affairs, to attain a pre-conceived goal. As long as the actor lives in his ongoing action, he does not have in view its because motives. Only when the action has been accomplished, when in the suggested terminology it has become an act, he may turn back to his past action as an observer of himself and investigate by what circumstances he has been determined to do what he did. (Schutz, 1970:127-128)

This kind of "because motive" can only be defined in terms of the actor's biographical situation, i.e., his past experience.

In one of my interviews a woman said that it was "work" that motivated her to migrate. When I asked her what would make her return, however, she said that she would come back only if she could have a marriage all set. The real reason she had migrated in the first place was that her fiance had left her. Eisenstadt has suggested that emigration is motivated by the migrant's feeling some kind of insecurity and inadequacy in the original setting. But frustrations alone are not enough to make someone migrate; they must be combined with some objective opportunity that makes it at least seem possible to realize aspirations (Eisenstadt, 1954:1).

Life histories were studied to determine the role of migration in the life cycle and to elicit more information about the nature of migrants. I found that the planning process involved in the decision to move varies by destination. Moves to Switzerland, Germany, and North Italy are little premeditated. As one migrant put it, "I really didn't need to think much about it; after all, I wasn't going to America." Germany, Switzerland, and North Italy are very close, and generally migrants to these areas are single men or young couples who leave their children with a grandmother, an aunt, or a woman hired to care for them while the parents are away.

Migrants to the areas mentioned can return home frequently, usually at least once a year for the people I interviewed. Because of the relatively short distances involved, migrants find it possible to move from one city to another, and often they leave home with no certain final destination. Several of those interviewed first tried Northern Italy, moved on to France, and finally stayed in Switzerland or Germany.

THE FAMILY AS A FACTOR IN DECISION

I interviewed a fifty-year-old illiterate with a wife and three children. One of the children is retarded and was placed in a psychiatric hospital, but had escaped. This child now wanders loose in the town, and is considered the "town idiot." Others in the town feel sorry for his mother because her husband, they say, never sends her any of the money he earns in Germany, and she works as an agricultural day laborer. Their house is one room that is collapsing and filthy. The migrant described his situation to me:

"I was born in Tavenna (a small town in Campobasso) but now we are living in — where my wife is from. I've been in Germany since 1963. Before I migrated I worked harvesting the wheat or olives, or hoeing, etc., but it was hard work and didn't pay well. But now in Germany I work and they pay me and that is enough. I've come back to visit many times, when my mother-in-law died, for Christmas, and summer vacation. I migrated because I didn't have steady work here and I earned little. I have three children and one of them is retarded. My brother-in-law

had told me that one can do well in Germany, and so I went too. I stayed with them."

How long had you thought about migrating before you left?

"*These things you don't think about. You just try.* I didn't have any idea how long I'd stay, but now I'm still there. I was lucky to have my brother-in-law and my sister. They've helped me a lot, giving me food, a place to live and moral support."

What would make you return to your home town?

"I'm doing well in Germany. Certainly one day I'll return. They'll give me a pension, but now I have to keep working. I have two daughters and one son. I have to feed them. My son is twenty and doesn't work. He is an idiot. We put him in an institution but he escaped and said he didn't want to stay."

A husband and wife, whom I interviewed, migrated to Germany in 1968 just after the birth of their fourth (unplanned) child. In Germany the husband worked in a factory and the wife in a clothing store. In the home town she had been a hairdresser and he a tailor. Prior to the marriage the husband had migrated to Rome to work in a tailor shop. They both have fifth grade educations. With the money saved from migrating they have purchased a house in Campobasso. The husband's mother and brother live with them. I asked what had made them decide to migrate. "Because we'd quarreled. We'd only thought about it for a few days, and since I had weaned the baby we left and went to Germany. We didn't know anybody, and chose Germany because it was close. When we arrived we slept in an abandoned hotel along with the other migrants. We found work in a factory but we hated it. Now we've been back a year and we won't go again."

Although nearly all migrants who go to Germany or Switzerland or North Italy do so in search of work, economic motivation is only part of the motivational complex precipitating the decision to move. Not everyone who is out of work migrates, and many people migrate even though they have jobs at home.

On several occasions I interviewed people who told me they were going to migrate, but who still had not left a year later. Others assured me that they would stay in the home town, but two months later, after an illness of their child, they were in Germany. In the cases of the migrants *interviewed in depth* (N=73), the move in 92% of the cases occurred after an important period of change or crisis. In the 8% of the cases where this did not apply, the informants were young people still unsettled into their choice of work and life style. Table 1 gives the distribution of responses for precipitating events.

In 106 "motivation" interviews with a short migration history, the largest number of responses referred to work or lack of work in the home region, but still this does not explain why they went when they did. Most had remained without work for long periods hoping for something to develop.

TABLE 1
EVENTS PRECEDING EMIGRATION IN 73 LIFE HISTORY
INTERVIEWS OF MIGRANTS

1. Recent marriage	22 cases
2. Recent engagement	6 cases
3. Need for a dowry for a marrying daughter	3 cases
4. Pregnancy, or birth of an unplanned-for child (Channels to birth control information are obstructed by tradition/social pressures.)	8 cases
5. Illness of spouse, parent, or child	3 cases
6. Death of spouse or parent	6 cases
7. Broken engagement	5 cases
8. Marital difficulties (Migration serves as a <i>functional</i> divorce or separation, for the legal variety is socially and legally difficult to obtain)	7 cases
9. Argument in the family	3 cases
10. Inability to find a suitable position after having finished school	2 cases
11. Children ran away to marry (an occurrence which is socially degrading to parents)	2 cases
12. Visiting family members	1 case
13. Visiting migrant friends	5 cases
<hr/> 73 TOTAL	

Regarding numbers 12 and 13, I was not able to ascertain what prompted the visits at those particular times, or if there were traumatic events encountered during the visits.

To discover the precipitating factors it is necessary to question informants about the preceding period, not only concerning work history, but also with reference to the other important events and changes in their life patterns. In this way the complexity of causes can be seen, for few people express themselves as directly and spontaneously as did the marginal migrant in Interview 82: "I left because I could never adapt myself in my home town, and then I thought I wouldn't be able to get along in any part of my country, so I went outside of it. But also I left because I didn't get along with my family. They were of low social condition . . . we argued, but the discord was *not* caused by lack of money."

A thirty-five-year-old woman (with three years of schooling) first told me that she had migrated to find work, but when she knew me better she confided to me:

I had been engaged, at least I thought I was engaged, but then a friend told me that he was married and had children. I looked and looked for him to pay him back for what he did to me. I didn't know what to do and was afraid that I would never be able to marry. I had nothing so I decided to try my luck and go off and earn myself a dowry. I went to England, you can't imagine how hard it was. I couldn't understand anything, but I worked and worked. I had two jobs, cleaning stairs in the early morning, and washing dishes in a restaurant. I lived alone and made every sacrifice to save. I met a friend and after four years she had a baby and I baptized it. At the baptism there was a friend of the family, an old man from Campobasso Province. He saw me, and approved of me, so he wrote to his son that he had found a wife, and the son called for me. I came and we were married. After we were married we went to Germany and my husband is still there. But our daughter got sick and I had to bring her back, for the air here will cure her. My husband comes to be with us Christmas and August holidays, but I am so lonesome. I don't know anyone in his town where we live, and his family are all dead.

MIGRATION'S PLACE IN THE LIFE CYCLE

Interviews included a life history with open-ended questions (to permit the informants to organize their life experiences in a way significant to them), as well as twelve areas of life experiences elicited in a chronological sequence, and a series of questions designed to reconstruct the decision-making process. There was no case in which the decision to move was not at least partially economically motivated. Informants were asked to classify their incomes as: enough to save, sufficient, barely sufficient, or insufficient requiring outside help. Migrants rated their incomes as "barely sufficient" for a number of years prior to emigration, and then with migration they rated them as "enough to save"; yet it still took some situational factor to precipitate the emigration. These factors, as listed in table 2, typically relate to crisis in the sense of change or interruption of continuity. The crisis was not idiosyncratic, but rather

TABLE 2
106 RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:
WHAT MADE YOU DECIDE TO MIGRATE?

Response	Number of Informants
Work	35
Lack work	11
To be with family	13
Problems in Italian society	5
To search for a better life	5
To make a house	4
To save	3
For the children	3
To raise the family out of misery	3
Need of the family	3
Necessity, lack of money	2
I had nothing	2
I couldn't adapt myself here	2
Land gives little and I had to prepare a dowry for the daughters	2
A large family	2
A large family, mentally ill son	1
To save to be able to marry	1
Fights	1
Desire for security	1
To have a higher salary	1
Here they don't pay. They cheat you. You work and are never paid	1
Here, even though I've worked since I was 12, I couldn't ever do anything	1
Lack of work and the desire to get away	1
We have to eat	1
Many motives	1
It's impossible to say	1
TOTAL	106

related to the family, and was most likely to occur at particular phases of the life cycle: among recently engaged or married persons, at the birth of a child, after the death of a parent or spouse, or after finishing school. These data tend to support Lee's theory that "the heightened propensity to migrate at certain stages of the life cycle is important in the selection of migrants" (Lee, 1966:56).

A twenty-three year-old "Albanese" informant, with seven years of schooling, migrated to France when he was sixteen. In Italy he was an occasional plasterer, but in France he is a typesetter. He says,

"I've been seven years now in France, and come home twice a year for vacations and to see my mother and my sister. I wanted to migrate to look for a better life, so I went to the local labor office and applied for a job."

Before leaving how long had you thought about migrating?

"Always, but I couldn't go because my father didn't want me to. Then he died and so I left."

A forty-year-old mother of three describes why her husband migrated:

I was in the hospital in Rome for two months and we had heavy medical expenses. My husband asked me if he could leave and look for a better paying job. A friend had written saying that there was plenty of work. He has been gone ten years. I'm not sure what kind of work he does, I think he's had many different jobs, one was in a metal factory, but he had to work near the flames all day. He had an accident and burned his leg that first year. He came home to recuperate. Now he says it's better there in Germany. He works all year, not like here where he was a plasterer and never knew when he'd have work. There, if he is out of work they even give unemployment. I asked him to take me, but he said that the women there are terrible, loose, and leave their husbands. He said he would never want to take his woman to such a place. We have always talked things over first. In fact since we've been married he has tried going to the North and to France also.

MIGRANTS IN CONTEXT

The theoretical perspective of family development and the life cycle has the advantage of a dynamic conception of the family that evolves through time. It is therefore particularly relevant to the discussion of social change and population movements. Normally the development of a nuclear family is divided into several stages during the life cycle: (1) a beginning family, (2) a child-bearing family, (3) a child-rearing family, (4) family as a launching center, (5) an empty nest family, and (6) an aging family (retirement to death) (Glick, 1955). Items 5 and 6 in particular do not seem to be relevant to the Southern Italian family from the region of Campobasso.

Leslie and Richardson (1961) used both career pattern and stage in family cycle to explain the decision to move in studies of suburban

American residential mobility. They found that during an "expansion stage" of the life cycle (child-bearing family), families are more likely to move whether or not they exhibit other characteristics of mobility potential.

Hernandez found in studying Puerto Ricans that the first migration typically coincides with the "launching" period of late adolescence or the beginning of childbearing (1967:27). In the Campobasso data I found that moves generally coincided with transition periods such as engagements, marriage, childbirth, children arriving at school age; and with periods of family crisis such as illness, death, and marital difficulties.

In South Italy the family is the basic unit of all other institutions. Thus the migration I have described, although related to family crisis that creates new exigencies and possibilities, is very similar to that described by Touraine and Ragazzi (1961) as "Mobilité," a kind of migration motivated by deliberate aspirations. The agricultural worker leaves to "try his luck" without a particular job or even a type of work in view, but with an impelling desire for upward social mobility. This desire is usually mixed with the desire to resolve a particular situation that has interrupted continuity and placed him in the position of having to redefine his life.

Among the families interviewed, the possibility of migration is an option (possibly one of many) that is seldom premeditated to any great extent, nor elaborated, but one based upon a nebulous image of a place full of opportunities and economic bounty. In the home town people are confronted daily with examples of wealth gained by migration. Whenever a migrant returns, either for a visit or to stay, greatly exaggerated rumors are spread concerning the amount of his wealth, but people have very little concrete knowledge about his life in the reception area. Even knowledge of kinds of industry, employment practices, geography, laws affecting workers, etc., is very limited.

Informants classify destinations into several major categories: "America," Alta Italia, Germania, Svizzera, Belgio, Francia, and Inghilterra. The subcategories in all of these are the principal cities contained in the geographic area. The further away the area, the less likely it is to be differentiated. For example "America" is practically synonymous with a distant place overseas. One informant was pleased to hear that I was from America. "I've been there," she told me. "My daughter was born in America." When I asked her where in America, she replied, "Sydney." I have heard educated people who know their geography refer to Australia as "America." "To be in America" or to "find America" has come to mean "to strike it rich." Since almost nobody from Cam-

pobasso migrates to Asia or Africa, it is "logical" that distant places of opportunity should be known as "America."

Migration for the people of Campobasso has become a social fact, an ever present and fruitful way of extending and exploiting their environment. Local resources are limited, and they contrast with the daily television images that bring the outside world to the small agriculturalist in an isolated hill town. Stories of wealth and success circulate daily as family members left behind brag about their distant kin. It is commonly known that there are always jobs available in the German automotive industry, the Swiss building trade, or the factories of France. These kinds of opportunities for jobs in another place have existed in some form for the last century, but it is only since 1960 that a job in European industry has been a viable economic alternative for large numbers of Campobassans. Even children are aware of the possibility of migration. In the streets of Campobasso towns, children play a kind of hopscotch-tag that they call "Italia." They draw chalk circles with the name of a city in each circle; the size of the circle depends on the relative importance (according to the child) of the city. I have seen games with four to eight circles, including the cities of Frankfurt, Milan, Naples, Termoli, Turin, Genoa, Zurich, and Rome.

A migrant's choice of destination depends upon distance, contacts, and whether he wants to move principally for economic reasons and to return home soon (the choice would then probably be somewhere in Europe), or if he also wants to begin a new way of life (then a more likely choice would be North Italy, and if he doesn't "find America" there, possibly America).

Because of the unelaborated nature of the migrants' plans (particularly migrants to Germany, Switzerland, and North Italy), the planning for the family that remains behind is also haphazard. The kinds of discriminatory practices to which migrants may be exposed, the uncertainty of their work status in a foreign country, as well as their lack of protection by government and unions, discourages the elaboration of specific plans and keeps the worker feeling subject to conditions outside of himself. In Switzerland, unless he has achieved annual status, he must leave his children outside the country. It is often difficult to bring children along to Germany, because of problems in finding housing and child care.

Children are left in institutions or more frequently with relatives who have no idea when the parent or parents will return. If the husband migrates alone, the wife may agree that his going will bring general economic good, and that they will be able to buy a house and provide a more comfortable life for their children. She will not know when her husband will return, however, and will have little information about his life. When I questioned migrants about what would make them return

home, and when they will return, one characteristic answer was, "When I'm finally fed up with things."

The impulsive, little-planned migration behavior becomes more understandable when one considers the "socialization for attachment" to the family and *paese* (place of origin) and the childhood training to manipulate separation and exploit resources outside the home. Children are taught to be dependent, to follow group evaluations and demands, not to be independent. But they are taught that they will probably be taken from their group to a strange but wealthy land. Iacono has described the personality characteristics that arise from this kind of training. On an individual level each person fears rejection and needs to be accepted and supported by his group, for it is to the group, to the physical presence of others, that the individual is oriented. He is oriented toward affectivity rather than collectivity, even though it is from the group that he gets his satisfaction (Iacono, 1968: 126). The individual has not been given much practice in making autonomous, mature, well considered choices, for the social control is exercised by the group. Individuals are usually restricted to well-defined roles. To decide to leave the group is a painful move, but one which he has been taught brings rewards. The potential migrant is likely to vacillate and allow events to trigger or force him into a decision.

Taylor, in his discussion of British internal migrants, gives a convincing explanation for this kind of decision making among his informants whom he classes as "resultant migrants," in that they do not migrate because of aspirations alone, or from a sense of dislocation, or because of personal "problems," but because they feel it is the only alternative to possible unemployment (Taylor, 1969:124-131). These families must choose between economic security for themselves and their children, and the emotional comforts of "solidary familiars, the known ways and tried values of Durham village life." The world in which the potential migrant is encapsulated does not give a context conducive to an objective assessment of advantages and disadvantages; in fact the possibility creates an emotionally charged situation and the potential migrant is caught in a conflict of loyalties which he finds difficult to resolve, so he wavers until the decision practically makes itself (Taylor, 1969:128).

In situations where moving itself is not the goal but only the means to economic bounty, the decision that the migrant makes is not where to move and how to do it, but whether to choose that strategy and leave, or to stay and try one of the other economic strategies available. In Campobasso the possibilities are: 1) agriculture, 2) a trade, 3) the educational system as a means to training and possibly a job, 4) free lance sales, and 5) migration. Agriculture, the first listed possibility, is disparaged, and it is difficult to make much profit by farm work. Education is increasingly

tried by young people; after they get their diplomas there are few jobs available at home, however, so they may still end up trying the option of migration. From interviews with people who have tried to learn a trade, it appears that apprenticeships are frequently exploited, with the trainee working for several years for little or no pay. Sales, of course, depend on the individual. Some people do exceptionally well, while most bring in only a meager living. Finding a successful economic strategy is difficult. When something goes wrong, individuals may decide to leave and then figure out where they can go and what they can do.

CONCLUSION

The Campobassan migrant represents the product of all the factors discussed in the introduction. Opportunities for migration are affected by the economies and political considerations of neighboring countries and of his own government and industries. The culture of Southern Italy has for generations accepted and indeed encouraged migration as an alternative in adapting to the region's economic conditions. Migration is a means of achieving standards of personal adequacy and demonstrating an ability to care for a family. Thus, family considerations and personal life crises determine which individuals in the cultural matrix will leave, and for how long. Although the decision to migrate, "to eat the bread of others," is made by an individual, it may be arrived at on impulse as a reflection of all the other precipitating factors. Only by careful interview techniques designed to elicit the social and familial background of a migrant can insight into the decision-making process be gained.

NOTE

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