

**Defining Periurban:**

**Understanding Rural-Urban Linkages and**

**Their Connection to Institutional Contexts**

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## 1 Introduction

Increasingly, policy makers and researchers are acknowledging the potential role urban and periurban environments play in alleviating food insecurity and enhancing the nutritional status of urban poor and marginalized people (Drescher and Iaquina 1999). As UPA<sup>1</sup> itself has become more prevalent, so too has our awareness of its potential and limitations. Unfortunately, research and policy discussion surrounding UPA have been hampered by:

- a lack of participation and support from international organizations,
- often negative attitudes by elected policy makers,
- inadequate organizational structures,
- oversimplification of issues and relationships, and
- the failure to adequately define fundamental terminology involved in UPA.

There is also an increasing perception that rural, periurban, and urban environments operate as a system rather than independently and that rural development and urban planning are necessarily linked activities. Activities or interventions in one arena have consequences in the other, often negative. On the other hand, creative policies can turn liabilities into resources and bridge the rural-urban divide.

The term periurban is used frequently in the literature and in policy discussions, yet definitions are largely situational and case specific. They provide little basis for a unified understanding of what constitutes *periurban*. Our goal is to provide some theoretical clarity and practical utility to this problem by creating a typology of periurban. Our typology identifies the institutional framework and relevant networks in the different “types” of periurban. Thus, development workers can use this as a tool to identify the key institutions in their area(s) of interest.

## 2 Periurban as a Concept

Today researchers from many disciplinary and paradigmatic perspectives use the term periurban to describe contradictory processes and environments. Examination of the literature evidences a number of distinct patterns in the way researchers have addressed the it. (See Iaquina and Drescher, 1999). Unfortunately, a variable that is seen as definitional for some is

seen as an outcome of periurban processes by others. Consequently, the concept of *periurban* has become trivialized and tautological, its analytical and practical utility severely compromised.

The concept of *periurban* emerged due to limitations in the dichotomy between rural and urban.<sup>2</sup> Much research has identified the inadequacy of this simplistic dichotomy,<sup>3</sup> some authors even suggesting its analytical relevance is long past.<sup>4</sup> Others have argued more specifically that only the dichotomous construct has outlived its usefulness not the underlying distinction between degrees of *ruralness* and *urbaness* (Rambaud 1973).

RUPRI (1998) specifically criticizes the dichotomous basis of "urban" and "rural" definitions, arguing that many of the characteristics that define rural areas exist along a continuum within which individuals, households, communities and institutions distribute themselves. A key feature of periurban environments is their dynamic nature, wherein social forms and arrangements are created, modified and discarded. They are areas of *social compression* or *intensification* where the density of social forms, types and meanings increases, fomenting conflict and social evolution. Whether we decide to accept a continuum model or a model that employs a "typological set" is less important than the recognition that the spectrum of change from rural to urban is discontinuous, "lumpy", and multidimensional, and that it arises from underlying social processes.

We begin the search for a comprehensive definition of periurban with the concept of *urban*.<sup>5</sup> Established theoretical definitions of urbanization/urbanism identify the following components:

- Demographic component (i.e., increasing population size and density)
- Economic sectoral component (i.e., a primarily non-agricultural labor force)
- Social-psychological component (i.e., consciousness of what it means to be *urban*)

In sociology the first two components are usually taken as the basis for defining urbanization while the third is the core definition of urbanism--the social psychological reflection or response to urbanization (Fischer 1984). The social psychological component essentially refers to those values, attitudes, tastes and behaviors that are seen to be characteristic of urban as opposed to rural dwellers. Earlier notions of this component tended to be associated with "westernization", reflecting the ethnocentric thinking of the time (Holleman 1964:324). More recent writers take a more neutral view of the process (Williams, et.al. 1983).

Given that the above three components form the basis of the definition of "urban" and given that periurban includes some level of *urbaness*, then it follows that some variation of these three components should underlie the definition of periurban. Holleman underscores this when he directly links peri-urban to the concept of a "change in mental orientation."<sup>6</sup>

Importantly, what seems to be not essential to the definition of periurban is "proximity to the city". **The fact that much periurban "place" is proximate to the city is substantively important and instrumental to a comprehensive understanding of periurban, but it is incidental to an elemental understanding of periurban.** As we shall elaborate, "proximity to city" represents a further specification, which allows us to distinguish between "types" of periurban, not to define periurban in the first place. Additionally, concentration on geographic location as a basis for defining periurban also undermines a clear understanding of the **rural-urban spectrum as dynamic, interactive and transformative.**

The social-psychological component is the one most often omitted from periurban definitions. Yet as some scholars and policy analysts have argued, ignoring this component misses the reality of periurban, underestimates the prevalence of social change and misclassifies the experiences of numerous people and communities in the real world.<sup>7</sup> Typically, those researchers arguing in support of including this component have also been the most critical of definitions that rely solely on proximity to the city (Groppo and Tosselli 1997).

### **3 A Periurban Typology and Related Institutional Contexts**

Urbanization is a process of concentration and intensification of human life and activity. It is an uneven process that takes place in a physical environment. Urbanization is one possible outcome of the three fundamental population processes--fertility, mortality, and migration. These processes are in turn the result of individual decisions undertaken in a sociocultural, economic, political and environmental context. One consequence of urbanization is the uneven incorporation of a variety of institutional forms into the larger cultural environments, identified as urban, periurban and rural. In particular, we identify five classes of institutional arrangements that arise within the complex continuum from rural to urban and that fall within the range of phenomena that various scholars and practitioners have identified as periurban. Each of these institutional classes is connected to a specific periurban type and hypothesised to arise from a specific demographic process (in parentheses) underlying urbanization.

- Village PU: Network Induced – (Sojourning/circulation/migration)
- Diffuse PU: Amalgamated – (Diffuse migration)
- Chain PU: Reconstituted – (Chain migration)
- In-Place PU: Traditional – (In situ urbanization)
- Absorbed PU: Residual – (Traditionalism with Succession/displacement)

### 3.1 Typology of Periurban

The importance of these classes of institutional arrangements is that they can help us identify useful *meso*-policy interventions. This is important in urban and periurban environments where there is an intensification of conflict and a necessity for negotiating and resolving competing claims (e.g., in residential versus agricultural land use debates, or between competing customary institutional forms and values) and for implementing development plans. Such conflicts occur at all levels, including family, neighborhood, organizational, community, regional, and national. The nature and complexity of this region of society, which combines elements of both "rural" and "urban," is well established in the literature under terms like *periurban*, *exurban*, *urban tract*, *rurban*, *urban fringe*, *semi-urban*, and even *suburban*.

#### 3.1.1 VPU: Village Periurban or Perirural ("Rural" places with "urban" consciousness)

This category refers to areas that are geographically non-proximate to an urban area, yet are experiencing substantial urbanism (i.e., social psychological dimension of urbanization). While such influences can accrue solely through mass media and the diffusion of consumerist ideologies, they are more likely in developing countries to occur vis-à-vis such processes as:

- The inflow of out-migrant remittances,
- Out-migrant infusion of "urban" ideas and modes of behavior,
- Out-migrant infusion of non income resources, and/or
- Out-migrant participation--particularly strategic--in community decision-making.

This is the category of place that is most often omitted in the consideration of periurban environments. In essence its designation as periurban rests on its social psychological transformation rather than its geography or size. This transformation is itself posited to result from the demographic process of migration. However, rather than to focus on the geographic movement of the out-migrants, we emphasize the continuing linkages by which they effect the

infusion of things urban into the village culture.<sup>8</sup> Importantly, these are environments which are likely very stable yet capable of absorbing and accommodating "urban values". The mechanism of accommodation rests on the stability of the community and the structured network of participation by out-migrants.<sup>9</sup>

### **3.1.2 IPU: In-place Periurban**

These areas are proximate to the urban area and result from in-place (in-situ) urbanization. That is, they are in the process of being absorbed *whole*, whether by annexation (actual expansion of the city fringe) or simple reclassification (reflecting de facto urban expansion). In some instances they become more urbanlike under their own power through natural increase and/or rural in-migration. More commonly, they are formed from periurban villages by a combination of those processes combined with in-migration from the nearby urban area.<sup>10</sup> Whichever is the case, because they are being absorbed "whole", such places tend to perpetuate and reinforce the existing power structure and bases of inequality. To the degree that sufficiently large numbers of in-migrants arrive from the city, oldtimer-newcomer conflict is likely to emerge.<sup>11</sup> Exclusive of any new urban in-migrants, the residents of these areas tend to reflect the extremes of the local power spectrum:

- those least likely to be opportunistic since they chose not to migrate earlier (e.g., poor);
- those most likely to benefit from customary or traditional arrangements and who had a vested interest in remaining (e.g., the rich and/or powerful);
- those most embedded in and accepting of customary or traditional arrangements who had little real opportunity to migrate earlier (e.g., women).

***Because of their lack of geographic displacement and the potential for increasing oldtimer-newcomer polarization, these environments should have the most intact and quite conservatively held customary and traditional institutions.***

### **3.1.3 CPU: Chain Periurban (In-migration from a single place)**

Some areas proximate to the city undergo settlement vis-à-vis a process of chain migration, i.e., the geographic translocation of a village population to a specific locale in the urban periphery. These migrants tend to be the most opportunistic (i.e., risk-taking oriented) members of their original village population, hence most open to change. These areas have a high degree of ethnic homogeneity and numbers sufficient for a critical mass. Consequently, traditional or

customary beliefs and institutions tend to be carried to and reconstructed in the new environment, integrating elements of the new surrounding urban institutions.<sup>12</sup> This integration of urban institutions happens to a greater extent for *chain periurban* than for *in-place periurban* areas.

This type of "community" formation is similar to that described by Herbert Gans (1962) as leading to the creation of "urban villages". Indeed, chain migration is the master trend underlying much international migration. Early migrants or "pioneers" serve as auspices of migration for later "settlers" from the homeland. By providing temporary housing and information on the ways of the new culture, the pioneers reinforce their status as *landsmann*. This process also reinforces both the tendency to form enclaves and to reproduce adapted "traditional" institutions—along the lines of kinship, *landsmannschaften* or coethnicity. This type of periurban community is highly stable. Areas identified as "squatter settlements" around the cities of developing countries are mostly this type or *diffuse periurban*.

### **3.1.4 DPU: Diffuse Periurban (In-migration from various places)**

A separate category of periurban is comprised of areas proximate to the city, which are settled vis-à-vis in-migration. In this instance the in-migrants derive from a variety of geographic source points rather than a single one. In-migration to these environments often also includes migrants from urban areas. These areas are characterized by greater ethnic heterogeneity and a greater density of varied beliefs about customary institutions and arrangements than *chain periurban* environments. The institutional patterns here reflect much greater inclusion of "urban" forms than is the case for either *chain* or *in-place periurban*.

*Diffuse periurban* environments have a greater potential than *chain periurban* environments for both conflict and for negotiating new institutions that are more "urban" oriented. Such areas of settlement may arise from a "staged" occupation, whereby unoccupied land is settled by the landless acting in a coordinated take-over at a time specific (e.g., de Soto 1989). These areas may also arise from spontaneous processes of migration over a period of time, whereby people from diverse origins—mostly the poor and landless—settle together.<sup>13</sup> Importantly, the heterogeneity of cultures of origin requires that any collective organization must be negotiated across—rather than along—customary lines.<sup>14</sup> Simple adherence to tradition is insufficient to settle conflicts, which derive directly from differences between traditions. Therefore, there must be increasing appeals to modern (i.e., urban) or transcultural modes and methods of dispute resolution and

community building which transcend particular traditions. The likelihood of such cross cultural negotiation is increased by the in-migration of "urban" residents whether they have been long-time urbanites or more recent in-migrants from rural areas temporarily making use of urban ghettos as auspices of migration.<sup>15</sup>

### **3.1.5 Absorbed Periurban**

The final category of periurban refers to areas proximate to or within the urban context that have been so for a considerable period of time. The defining characteristic of these locations is the maintenance of customary or traditional institutional arrangements which are derived from the culture of original settlers/residents who have long since ceased to be the numeric majority in the area. These areas derive from either *in-place periurban* areas or from *chain periurban* areas. Over time either of these periurban types can undergo the compositional processes of succession and displacement while on the macro level being evermore absorbed into the urban environment--administratively, politically and social-psychologically.

In short, the original settler culture group is replaced through either residential succession or through diffusion due to differential migration along ethnic/cultural lines. Yet, some important customary arrangements (i.e., institutions) of the original group remain in place now supported by "newcomers". These vestigial arrangements are supported through a combination of ritualism, power/dominance relations and reification by arrangements in the formal/modern sector. They have a strong conservative effect in the form of adherence to "tradition" for tradition's sake rather than an adherence to traditional principles because they are functional for the community.<sup>16</sup>

## **3.2 Links between Periurban types**

In our pursuit of a definition for periurban we also have had to explore the larger question of the relationship between rural and urban environments. One observation that is well established in the literature is that rural out-migrants generally do not go directly to large cities. Rather, a series of moves are involved, called *step migration*, wherein rural migrants move first to villages or small towns and successively to more *urban* environments. A second observation in the literature is that migration does not sever all—or even most—linkages between the migrant and her/his community of origin and family.<sup>17</sup>

Taken together these two points underscore the importance of conceptualizing the periurban environment as a dynamic, transformative, and reciprocal arena linked at the macro level not only

by economic activities and geography but also significantly by the social fabric of individual and family networks.<sup>18</sup> Thus, the periurban environment is dynamic exactly because of the flow of migrants and the density and heterogeneity of activities present. It is transformative because it changes the migrants and the migrants change it. It is reciprocal not only because individual migrants and the social environment influence each other, but also because the individual links between donor areas and the receiving areas continue to induce change in both directions at the aggregate and institutional levels.<sup>19</sup>

These comments suggest a further elaboration of the five periurban types discussed above. There are two "kinds" of links that we identify at the macro level: links that persist across space in the face of geographic displacement; and links that persist across time. FIGURE 1 captures the dynamics of both types of links. The links can be conceptualized in terms of the periurban *types* themselves or in terms of the institutional contexts that they imply. We include both conceptual schemes in FIGURE 1, and elaborate the institutional contexts in the following section.

In the diagram horizontal arrows represent links across space. These linkages are the direct result of migration--either chain or diffuse--which operates so as to create individualized exchange networks across space. The accumulation of this individual *social capital* links geographically distinct areas into a larger exchange network. Alternatively, vertical arrows represent links across time. These linkages result from the passage of time in a given area, allowing for the accumulation of demographic, social and institutional change.<sup>20</sup>

The upper portion of FIGURE 1 is shaded to isolate that portion of the model that is primarily concerned with the transformative effects of migration from that portion primarily concerned with changes over time.<sup>21</sup> Thus, the five periurban types are embedded within the broader rural-urban dynamic. From this vantagepoint two interacting subsystems are identified. Note that FIGURE 1 depicts only the principle flows and mechanisms of change.

### 3.3 Institutional Contexts

Having created a typology of periurban, we must now translate this into a tool with social and analytical relevance. These institutional *contexts*, identified at the start of section 3, appear in parentheses in FIGURE 1 for each periurban type. By institutional we mean the broad range of cultural meaning and social organization that encompasses customary and informal relations. By context we mean the essential institutional features and structural constraints implicit in each

element. In Table 1 we summarize the institutional contexts and characteristics associated with each element in the periurban typology.

We also include a general assessment of the relationship between each institutional context and existing stratification systems. This is important since as Sonje and Stulhofer (1995) point out horizontal institutions encourage cooperation among social actors, while vertical ones erode cooperation. Thus, institutions embodying stratification will tend to erode cooperation. However, since most institutions include elements of both a horizontal and a vertical nature. We suggest extending the distinction between horizontal and vertical institutions to include horizontal and vertical elements within an institution. In this way institutions are not seen as entirely "beneficial" nor "detrimental" but rather "beneficial" for some subgroups (hence engendering their cooperation and support for institutional maintenance) and "detrimental" for other subgroups (hence undermining cooperation and the overall solidarity of support for a given institution).

### **3.3.1 *The (Network) Induced Institutional Context***

Associated with *village periurban* environments is the network induced institutional context. Environments of this type are tradition oriented and in most respects *look like* rural villages. Population size and density are relatively low and many residents are involved with agricultural production. The key differentiating factor is the social-psychological orientation of the population. Due to the out-migration of some residents, urban attitudes and values are introduced to the community. This process of diffusion or induction is driven by circulation and sojourning of the out-migrants and in general by their maintenance of individual exchange networks with their village.

Despite the introduction of urban attitudes and tastes via the out-migrants, the institutions of the village remain traditional in orientation and stable. New ideas, induced by out-migrant influence, are absorbed slowly into the traditional context, often through a process of redefinition. Redefinition of the situation allows for the perpetuation of "ideal culture" in the face of adaptation to the needs of the situation. Thus, for example, village tradition may call for land to be owned, controlled, and worked by men. However, a shortage of young males due to migration selectivity may lead to a redefinition whereby land is still nominally owned by men but is now in fact controlled and worked by women. Such a situation may involve the shift from real decision making by men to mere symbolic male approval of decision making by women.<sup>22</sup>

Even though change is effected, the traditional institutional structures remain largely intact. Because the “urban” ideas are brought in from outside the village and because it is **not** geographically close to the urban area, the demand for change is relatively low. Because of the long term stability of the traditional system it has a high resistance to change and thus incorporates change slowly into itself. Sonje and Stulhofer (1995) attribute this stability to deeply internalized and shared informal norms that they call "sociocultural capital." They argue that institutions built on deeply internalized, proven norms will be stable, change in small evolutionary ways, and resist violent, exogenous change. Change increases the opportunities for egalitarianism and the erosion of the gender and age stratification systems, albeit incrementally.

### ***3.3.2 Amalgamated Institutional Context***

*Diffuse periurban* environments are formed by the influx of migrants from a variety of geographic and cultural sources. These environments lie nearby urban areas and also serve as migration endpoints for urban out-migrants. New migrants to these areas are generally concerned with survival needs. Their compositional heterogeneity necessitates the formation of a collective identity if they are to obtain needed services from formal urban institutions. Their heterogeneity also requires them to negotiate solutions to survival and collective identity because they cannot rely on simple tradition. In fact, conflicting cultural traditions--internally and externally--may be a chief obstacle to functioning with the nearby urban environment.

These are environments that have a high need for change due to their proximity to the city. The influx of new migrants, the demands of coping with the nearby urban sector, and the need to overcome cultural barriers require that resistance to change will be low. The very selectivity of migration, whereby the “innovators” are most likely to have migrated, supports this low resistance to change. These environments are most likely to spawn democratic or consensus-based change and institutions. Therefore, they are environments, which have the greatest opportunity for egalitarianism and erosion of traditional stratification systems. Solutions generated in this environment have to meet the needs of the modern sector and often incorporate wage labor as a significant economic component. Yet, the relative lack of formal institutions initially means the solutions tend to be novel. Such emergent institutional forms are an amalgam of the various customary traditions and modern sector forms. The chief requirement for these new systems is that they achieve some negotiated legitimacy from the participants/residents. Just

*how they will negotiate it* is itself a required first step in the process of creating the new institutions.

### **3.3.3 Reconstituted Institutional Context**

This institutional context exists when an area proximate to the city becomes an end-point of chain migration. In these environments the dense concentration of migrants with similar cultural origins leads to the recreation of the institutional forms that existed in the village. This recreation is never exact; therefore, we use the term reconstituted. This reconstruction of collective cultural identity is defensive in posture as the new migrants attempt to re-establish the familiar amidst the alien. It is exacerbated by the challenge of dealing with urban formal institutions.

As with amalgamated institutional contexts, the need for change is high due to proximity to the urban environment. On the other hand, resistance to change is higher in this case because of the defensive nature of the reconstituted institutions, which have been organized along traditional or customary lines. We classify the resistance to change as medium here to reflect the trade-off between the conservative force of the reconstituted institutional form and the liberalizing force of migration, which selects for innovators in the population. Thus, change will reflect the old but include some urban/modern components, particularly those which make efficient use of the formal sector or allow for effective linkages to the modern sector. In terms of stratification systems this institutional context reinforces those types that existed in the traditional system. However, the exact form of the stratification system may change.

Due to the way these environments are formed, individuals in them tend to remain linked to their places of origin. Circulation and remittance flows are likely to remain high. Thus, these environments will have a continuing impact on the "more rural" components of the exchange network, fostering further migration, introducing urban attitudes and values and possibly initiating commercially valuable economic exchanges between locally produced goods and urban markets and products.

### **3.3.4 Traditional Institutional Context**

The processes of growth and annexation, combined with in-migration, create *in-place periurban* environments. Unlike *chain periurban* environments, which have benefited from risk-taking immigrants, these environments are populated by the converse of migration selectivity, namely those least likely to have migrated out of the traditional environment. These

environments generate traditional institutional contexts. While proximate to the city, they have long-term stable institutions that respond to the in-migration of "others"—particularly urbanites—through defensive insulation. (See Fischer 1984.)

In this traditional context the need for change is medium because of the relatively stable institutional environment. Yet, this same environment creates a high resistance to change. Thus, institutional adaptation is slow and there is great potential for conflict that becomes increasingly polarized in the form of oldtimer-newcomer conflict. As the existing stakeholders attempt to protect "tradition" vis-à-vis defensive insulation, the kinds of adaptations that emerge are likely to be inefficient in terms of facilitating access to the modern urban sector. This process leads to heightened conflict over control of the institutional system and is met with increasing oppression along traditional stratification lines.

Remittance flows and circulation are of reduced importance in this context since the environment itself is mostly intact. Thus, the impact of this environment on more rural areas is more limited than for other peri-urban types. There are more formal institutions in this environment but not necessarily of an "urban" type.

### ***3.3.5 Residual Institutional Context (Traditionalism)***

Residual institutional contexts are created when others have replaced the original culture group though a process of residential succession and displacement yet left in place a set of arrangements whose roots lie in the culture of the original residents. The institutional context is upheld through ritualism or traditionalism (i.e., rigid adherence to custom simply for tradition's sake even when the basis for the tradition no longer holds) or because members of the original culture group still control the local power structure, precluding access by newcomers and rewarding compliance. These environments are actually a part of the city; that is, they have been physically absorbed by the city. However, we classify them as periurban to emphasize that the roots of the institutional arrangements lie very much in the periurban rather than the urban environment. Much like *village periurban* environments *look rural*, so too do *absorbed periurban* environments *look urban*. And just as it is primarily the social psychological dimension, which differentiates *village periurban* environments from rural ones, so too does it differentiate *absorbed periurban* environments from urban ones. A major characteristic of this periurban environment is the presence of both traditional and formal institutions.

Because *absorbed periurban* environments lie within the urban environment, there is a high need for change exerted politically by urban formal institutions. The residual institutional structures themselves are maladapted to change and ultimately will lose their legitimacy as they fail to meet the needs of the residents. Nonetheless, there is high resistance to change and slow adaptation until the community reaches a crisis of legitimation. At this point conflict will be high and likely revolutionary (whether generated internally or implemented coercively from outside by the government).

Under residual institutions much change is simple compliance, whereby there is an outward acceptance but a private rejection of the demands of the formal sector. This compliance leads to a different legitimation crisis — one in which the formal sector authority is undermined within the smaller *absorbed periurban* environment. Thus, attempts to eliminate or alter the stratification system implicit in the residual institutions will be met with resistance. The result is increased support for the maintenance of the traditional stratification system and heightened rejection of the modern sector.

## **4 Applications and Issues**

### **4.1 An Application of the Typology to Land Tenure and Population**

As an illustration of its utility, we apply our typology to the areas of land tenure (more specifically inheritance rules) and population dynamics (more specifically population aging). The top panel of Table 2 summarizes the relationship between inheritance rules and the various periurban environments. While there are many ways to think about the range of resources available for inheritance, we consider here only the simple division into land and non-land wealth transmission. On this basis inheritance rules in VPU environments are primarily oriented toward issues of land while the rules in DPU and APU environments are more oriented toward issues of non-land wealth transmission.

CPU and IPU environments are much more likely to involve a blend of the two types of resources but for different reasons. CPU because the chain networks which facilitate migration to the area also facilitate the accumulation of land resources. IPU because the persistence of customary institutions rests upon the ability of elders to control the resources in the community — foremost being land. However, proximity to the urban wage labor market for both CPU and IPU

means that members of the community will increasingly also accumulate non-land wealth resources that may be transmitted to the next generation.<sup>23</sup>

The need for clear and specific rules for inheritance is especially high in environments where land is the fundamental basis of wealth. Thus, VPU and IPU environments have a high need for clear rules of transmission. APU environments also have a high need for clear rules, but rather than deriving from the centrality of land this need derives from their proximity to the urban context and its prevalence of urban formal institutions. On the other hand, in DPU and CPU environments the high concentration of poverty, general lack of formalized access to land and paucity of formal institutions means the need for inheritance rules is much lower.

Inheritance rules are most clear and consistent in those areas where their need is high and the cultural context relatively homogeneous and connected to the past (VPU, IPU and APU). In CPU environments they will be only somewhat clear due to the emergent nature of the cultural norms in the amalgamated context. They will, however, be clearer in CPU than in DPU environments where the diversity of residents and cultural forms more likely creates a highly idiosyncratic pattern of inheritance rules.

Legitimacy refers to the breadth of acceptance of a phenomenon in the population. Rules and phenomena rooted in broadly shared internalized norms will have a high degree of legitimacy.<sup>24</sup> In our example the legitimacy of inheritance rules should be broad and customary-derived in VPU and IPU environments. In the CPU case legitimacy is also customary-derived but less so, owing to the greater cultural heterogeneity present. In DPU environments the legitimacy of inheritance rules is low since it derives from a shifting combination of heterogeneous customs and modern institutional demands.

Structured inequality is greatest in those contexts that are most traditional in orientation. This is particularly true along age and gender lines. Thus, structured inequality is high for VPU, IPU and APU types and low for DPU. We classify structured inequality as moderate for CPU due to the blend of traditional and modern culture.

Conflict is present in all environments, but it varies in amount and source. We see conflict emerging along structured inequality lines as more likely in VPU, DPU and CPU environments, whereas in IPU and APU environments the conflict is more likely to emerge surrounding the

interface between customary and formal institutions. This latter conflict we see as more normative and broad in its impact, thus, heightened.

We have included a second example of population aging in the bottom panel of TABLE 2 for illustrative purposes only and do not elaborate on it here. Similar analyses can be carried out for any policy area that is distributed across the rural-periurban-urban spectrum.

#### 4.2 Issues Remaining

Many issues remain concerning the indicators and thresholds differentiating R/PU/U system.

- What population density?
- What population size?
- What percentage of the labor force in non-agricultural activities?
- What measures of urbanism and social psychological transformation?

There also remain questions as to how to "code" the various categories. For example:

- Is a part-time periurban farmer with off-farm labor income in the agricultural labor force?
- In households with multiple workers how is the household coded when one family member works in agriculture and the other(s) work in the wage labor sector?
- How is labor for subsistence consumption to be regarded in the scheme?

Questions also remain regarding the institutional contexts related to policy making.

- Are the contexts always linked to the periurban types in an isomorphic fashion?
- Does change within each context operate as hypothesized?
- Do all stratification systems (i.e., gender and age) within a given institutional context experience the same forces of erosion and support and to the same degree?
- How extensively do we need to elaborate the system of stakeholders in each environment in order to create a useable tool for policy analysis?

These are just some of the difficult operational questions, but raising them does not compromise the utility of the theoretical framework. Our framework — albeit incomplete — is still a useful conceptual tool for asking policy questions about why interventions work in some areas and not in others. It provides clues as to how to modify interventions and increase the likelihood of success.

**FIGURES AND TABLES**

FIGURE 1: Periurban Typology with Institutional Contexts

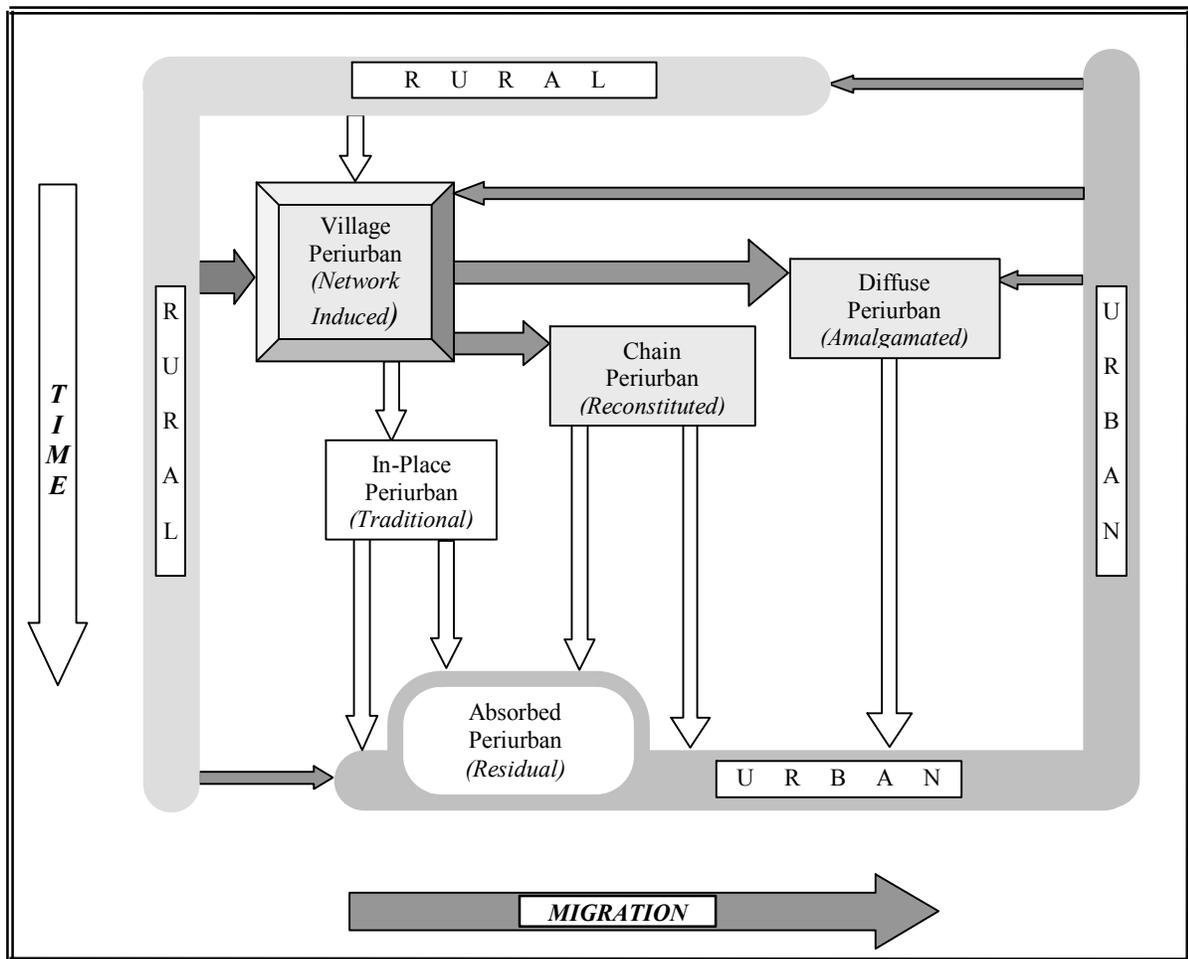


TABLE 1: Characteristics of Institutional Contexts by Periurban Type

INSTITUTIONAL- CONTEXT CHARACTERISTIC	PERIURBAN TYPE				
	LINKED ACROSS SPACE		LINKED ACROSS SPACE AND/OR OVER TIME*	LINKED OVER TIME	
	Village PU	Diffuse PU	Chain PU	In-Place PU	Absorbed PU
<b>Name of Institutional-Context "Type"</b>	<i>Network Induced</i> (tradition oriented)	<i>Amalgamated</i>	<i>Reconstituted</i>	<i>Traditional</i>	<i>Residual</i> ( <i>Traditionalism</i> )
<b>Creation Process</b>	Out-migration with networking; Circulation	Diffuse migration	Chain (point source) migration	Annexation; In-migration	Succession-displacement
<b>Proximity to Urban Center</b>	Non-proximate	Proximate	Proximate	Proximate	Absorbed**
<b>Organizing Principle</b>	Integrative maintenance of traditional links	Survival and collective formation	Defensive reconstruction of cultural identity	Defensive maintenance of tradition	Maladaptive adherence to tradition
<b>Primary stimulus for change</b>	Emigrant influences (remittances, circulation, participation)	Compositional heterogeneity; Interface with urban formal structures;	Interface with urban formal institutions	Urban in-migrants; Interface with urban formal institutions	Interface with urban formal institutions; Loss of traditionalist legitimacy
<b>Primary mechanism limiting or effecting change</b>	Traditional (i.e., existing) structures	Negotiation among residents; Emergent/novel structures	Reconstituted structures organized along traditional lines	Traditional (i.e., existing) structures	Ritualized structures
<b>Need for Change</b>	Low	High	High	Moderate	High
<b>Resistance to Change</b>	High	Low	Moderate	High	High
<b>Pace of Adaptation</b>	Slow	Fast	Moderate	Slow	Very slow
<b>Likelihood for Disruptive Conflict</b>	Low	Moderate	Moderate	High	High
<b>Characteristics of Change</b>	Existential and tradition oriented (maintenance of ideal culture via redefinition of adaptation)	Experimental; democratic or consensus based; function oriented	Tradition oriented incorporating some urban components	Polarized between traditional and modern sectors	At best external compliance only
<b>Most Likely Types of Adaptations</b>	Novel solutions which maintain the appearance of tradition and meet modern sector needs	Novel solutions which meet modern sector needs and create a new basis for legitimacy	Solutions which make inefficient use of the formal sector	Solutions which make inefficient use of the formal sector due to slow pace of change in high need situation	Solutions imposed from the outside formal sector
<b>Impact on Stratification Systems</b>	Greater individual access with formal maintenance of system	More opportunity for egalitarianism; Erosion of system	Maintenance of system, possibly in new forms	Heightened conflict over system; Increased oppression	Strong support for maintenance of system

\* *Chain periurban* is linked across space as a receiving area for migrants coming from rural and *Village periurban* areas. It is linked through time to *Absorbed periurban* areas insofar as succession/displacement produces ritualism in institutional maintenance.

\*\* Formally speaking, *Absorbed periurban* types lie within the city. Its roots lie in the periurban zone with *In-place periurban* and *Village periurban*. Thus, we include it as a form of periurban to underscore this temporal linkage.

TABLE 2: Implications of Periurban Types and Institutional Contexts for Selected Land Tenure, Population and Environment Issues

ISSUE/ASPECT		PERIURBAN TYPE (INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT)				
		LINKED ACROSS SPACE		LINKED ACROSS SPACE AND/OR OVER TIME*	LINKED OVER TIME	
		Village PU (VPU) <i>(Network Induced)</i>	Diffuse PU (DPU) <i>(Amalgamated)</i>	Chain PU (CPU) <i>(Reconstituted)</i>	In-Place PU (IPU) <i>(Traditional)</i>	Absorbed PU (APU) <i>(Residual)</i>
<b>Land Tenure:</b> <i>Inheritance rules</i>						
ASPECT	Resources Involved	Mostly Land	Mostly Non-land	Land & Non-land	Land & Non-land	Mostly Non-land
	Need	High	Low	Low	High	High
	Clarity	Clear	Idiosyncratic	Somewhat	Clear	Clear
	Legitimacy	Broad customary	Low customary	Customary	Broad customary	Some
	Structured Inequality	High	Low	Moderate	High	High
	Conflict Level	Low	Low	Low	High	High
	Conflict Basis	Inequality	Inequality	Inequality	Tradition/modern	Tradition/modern
<b>Population:</b> <i>Aging</i>						
ASPECT	Proportion	High & increasing	Low	Low	Intermediate	Intermediate
	Control	Strong by elders	Diffuse by non-elderly	Strong by middle aged	Strong by elders	middle aged
	Productive roles	Many	Few (child care & subsistence PUA)	Some	Some	Few (child care & subsistence UA)
	Status of aged	High-legitimate	Low	Moderate	Moderate	Low
	Conflict	Low	Moderate	Moderate	High	High

**Seven Premises Underlying this Work**

1. Rural, Periurban, and Urban form a linked system (R/PU/U)--an uneven or *lumpy*, multidimensional continuum.
2. In terms of migration and urbanization periurban environments play a mediating role between rural and urban.
3. Periurban environments are places of *social compression* and dynamic social change.
4. The potential for food production and its relationship to food security must be evaluated across the entire R/PU/U system.
5. Understanding the nature and operation of the system requires a focus on the underlying dynamic processes rather than the "fixed states."
6. Effective policy interventions rest on interdisciplinary understanding, which incorporates physical, biological and sociocultural paradigms.
7. The "*social footprint*" of urbanization manifests differently in the urban, periurban and rural context but is only understandable when addressed in view of a linked system (R/PU/U).

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## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Throughout the paper we use UPA to refer collectively to agricultural production--including horticulture, floriculture, animal husbandry, forestry and fisheries--in both urban and periurban environments.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Hewitt argues that rural itself is not a "single category but a complex continuum...from more rural to less rural" and varying extensively "based on (1) proximity to a central place, (2) community size, (3) population density, (4) total population, and (5) economic/socioeconomic factors"

<sup>3</sup> Julliard (1973) argues that the urbanization of the countryside (i.e., the integration of rural inhabitants into new economic and social relations with town-dwellers) can be interpreted either as the obliteration of the countryside or as the cooperation of rural and urban inhabitants, resulting in the disappearance of the town/country dichotomy.

<sup>4</sup> Stahl (1973) examines Romania and concludes that disparities between towns and villages are disappearing, not because villages are becoming towns but because they no longer suffer from social and economic underdevelopment. These changes are arising from a combination of urbanization, deruralization (i.e., urbanism as we have defined it herein), and modernization (of agricultural techniques and formation of farming cooperatives) which alter both the composition of the rural population and the structure of the agricultural family.

<sup>5</sup> We start with "urban" because it has exercised an intellectual hegemony in the minds of researchers."The category 'rural' is a residual category based on whatever population happens to be left over after 'urban' areas have been defined.... It does not effectively represent the diversity present in non-urban areas." (RPRI 1998)

<sup>6</sup> This is not to imply that the "mental attitude" of the periurban dweller is identical to that of the urban dweller or that it automatically excludes significant elements of the "rural mental attitude." Drescher's own experience from Lusaka suggests that periurban is quite rural but the production is directed to the urban environment. In fact, it is this very range of "attitudes" which we argue underlies the variation in periurban types we introduce in the next section.

<sup>7</sup> Holleman (1964:333) underscores the importance of this social-psychological component when referring to "the very nature of peri-urban settlement in that to a **rural-derived but urban oriented people**, it appears to offer the best of two worlds." (Emphasis added.)

<sup>8</sup> As McDowell and de Haan (1997:9) point out: "Migration studies is not just about movement, but also the interconnectedness of place of origin and place of destination." Mandel (1990) quoted in Gardner (1993:11) adds that "migration is essentially a series of exchanges between places."

<sup>9</sup> Rambaud (1973) hints at this process when he defines urbanism as the creation and modeling of a space where a group can express itself. He points out that this process always took place at the village level but that the form it previously took is being changed or copied and deprived of its functions by urbanization. Thus, village urbanization is to be seen as only part of town development. Presumably, out-migrants are then the agents of this broader form of urbanization which is introduced to the village.

<sup>10</sup> These areas seem closest to those advocated by Friedmann (1996) as appropriate foci for development. His theoretical model of modular urbanization envisions town-centered, self-governing agropolitan districts and calls for the development of high-density rural or periurban areas to raise living standards and increase employment opportunities. He suggests that agropolitan districts would preserve the integrity of households and village communities, thus reducing the scale of migration to cities and the social costs inherent to urban-based development.

<sup>11</sup> Cadene (1990) examines this conflict process in the rural peripheries of ten large French cities. Here urban newcomers construct private houses on formerly agricultural lots, while the agricultural activity of the area generally remains dynamic. He identifies three types of conflicts: territory management, usage of communal space, and urbanization of communal space. However, not all such interaction results in conflict. Earlier work in France by Cribier (1973) showed that relations between the owners of second (i.e., country) homes and local residents depends upon the socio-economic situation of the former and the traditions of hospitality of the latter.

<sup>12</sup> Observations of Schlyter (1991) show that this is also reflected in the settlement pattern of illegal squatter compounds. This pattern seems to be derived from rural settlement but the scale was enlarged and the social content was different. His interviews clearly indicate that people did not try to reconstruct their communities of origin but were aiming for what they saw as an urban life style.

<sup>13</sup> For example Crankshaw (1993) studied the rapid growth in South African squatter settlements and found that they had not resulted from the uncontrolled African urbanization that followed the abolition of influx control (pass) laws. Instead the primary impetus came from the displacement of workers from periurban farms. When small settlements of displaced farmworkers started to grow, news spread, and displaced urbanites began to seek refuge in these settlements as well.

<sup>14</sup> Whisson (1984) describes one example of this process. Tsweletswele is an informal settlement in the Ciskei "homeland" of South Africa. It is comprised of a large number of rootless people, most of whom are unskilled and illiterate, who have come from many places for many reasons, who have no legal right to stay, and whose presence is inconsistent with the regional planing of the Ciskei authorities. Yet this amorphous settlement was transformed into an ordered community by the development of various social and cultural elements. Economic activities, kinship links, and rituals have generated relationships and a communal spirit. However, care should be taken in applying these results elsewhere due to the unique conditions in South Africa both under apartheid and after its collapse.

<sup>15</sup> Thus, not only do the institutions and networks vary by periurban type but their relative importance to community development varies systematically as well. This is an important point for development workers. It argues for the clear *a priori* identification of institutions that need to be promoted in each type of environment.

<sup>16</sup> There are some links between the notions underlying our conceptualization of APU and the depiction by Mayer (1961) of the red Xhosa in East London as "the 'incapsulated' traditionalist whose entire urban tenure, regardless of length, is devoted to a single aim: to gather the financial means for an ultimate, undisturbed retirement at his rural home in the society whose morals and values he has never forsaken." (Mayer as cited in Holleman 1964:332)

<sup>17</sup> Holleman (1964) refers to this as the "dualistic basis of existence, both 'rural' and 'urban'." His evidence from Swaziland shows "that in the urban sector alone nearly half of the adult male population considers it has substantial roots in the rural area...The same tendency is clearly revealed among the peri-urban males, but in this sector the proportions of those with a dual home basis are very much smaller than in the urban sector."

<sup>18</sup> Vele (1978) describes an example from the Central Province of Papua New Guinea. Focusing on the role of circulation between the rural village, a periurban settlement (either chain or diffuse periurban in our lexicon), and the city of Port Moresby, Vele argues that contemporary circulation is not simply an extension of historical movements but has emerged in its present form as a result of the introduced influences of education, wage employment, better communication and urbanization.

<sup>19</sup> Consider the complicated relationships in West African cultures that link geographic environments through gendered family relationships. Here migration of many young men to the cities has often left women wholly responsible for all fieldwork and family maintenance. Yet despite the fact that African women provide 80% of the (mostly unpaid) labor on the land and have traditionally grown the food crops, they have rarely been given adequate access to innovations, development and credit (Clauss 1991).

<sup>20</sup> See Iaquina 1999a for a discussion relating migration to population aging and intergenerational transfers. In post communist Poland Starosta (1995) asserts that rural transformations are caused by the replacement of traditional informal institutions by new supralocal formalized institutions, conducive to qualitatively new groups of structures with overlapping spatial coverage. He argues that this concentration of formal institutions on the scale of the local district (commune) represents the emergence of a new type of rural territorial aggregation.

<sup>21</sup> One such sequence is the transition of a "place" from *rural* to *village periurban* to *absorbed periurban*. An example of this process is the village of Shimulia near Dhakar in Bengladesh described by Arefeen (1989). While not a perfect example, it manifests some of the essential features of the transition.

<sup>22</sup> See for example Crowley and Appendini (1999) for a description of the cargo system in Oaxaca, Mexico.

<sup>23</sup> Additional support for the differential resource classification of CPU and IPU relative to APU on the one hand and VPU on the other hand comes from work by Holleman (1964). "Comparatively speaking, it appears that peri-urban dwellers acquire their homes sooner than urban dwellers, and on the whole the former group has a slightly higher proportion of house-owners. The evidence with regard to home-ownership is, however, far from conclusive...[A] substantial proportion of wage-earners have found it necessary to provide some sort of accommodation for themselves and their dependants, without necessarily committing themselves to a permanent urbanized existence...[T]he physical development of these urbanized settlements has on the whole been so haphazard that there is in the majority of cases no certainty about the rights pertaining to the individual plots upon which these structures have been built." (p. 330) "Therefore, whatever value may be attached to urban home-ownership as a factor in the process of urbanization in Swaziland at the present time, it does not appear to interfere with the retention of strong ties with the rural home area." (p. 332)

<sup>24</sup> It is also possible for a phenomenon to be legitimate if it is endorsed by those in a population charged with making and enforcing rules, even if the population at large does not endorse it. However, such legitimacy is structural rather than democratic or popular.