

**Homogeneous Migration and Heterogeneous Migration:  
A General Typology of Anthropological Migration Studies  
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1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The major difference in research emphasis between formal demography and demographic anthropology (Yin 1976) is that the former focuses upon the use of statistical and mathematical models of human populations and their changes over time and space; the latter concentrates its interests on seeking a relationship between various demographic variables and the socio-cultural products of human populations. Moreover, the demographic anthropologists not only use some concepts and models as a type of stimulation but also in order to provide a comprehensive interpretation of a population phenomenon. In addition, they attempt to employ standardized data collection techniques and measurements of formal demography in order to make anthropology's theoretical foundation more solid.

In the study of demographic anthropology, we also try to develop our own conceptual framework, e.g. migration. There are various theoretical considerations. However, these are not closely related to anthropological interests which usually pay more attention to adaptation studies. It is partly due to western and national level experiences and partly due to the difficulty of conveying these models into an adaptative strategies inquiry.

Three minor purposes of this study drawn from the major objective are:

- (1) to develop a framework to fit anthropological studies;
- (2) to develop a framework to meet the requirement of rural-urban and urban-rural migration studies within the developing countries;
- (3) to work out a theoretical model which can be linked with the adaptation studies.

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## 2. RELATED STUDIES:

There are, at least, seven branches of study in the field of demographic anthropology, namely, migration, fertility, mortality, marriage, social mobility, the implications of family planning, and the negative and positive impact to the human populations in the long run. Migration often has been declared a major symptom of basic social change. Internal migration has not been the subject of rigorous study for many nations, especially the developing countries. This is why we would like to study internal migration. Some theoretical frameworks from demography will be re-examined and re-evaluated from an anthropological viewpoint.

### (1) Push-Pull-Obstacles Model

In 1966, Everett S. Lee suggested a migration model which is called the "push-pull-obstacles" model (1966:47-48). The central idea of this model is intervening obstacles. Intervening obstacles include distance, physical conditions, immigration laws, cost of transporting household goods, etc. However, different people are certainly affected in different ways by the same set of obstacles. The effect of a given set of obstacles depends also upon the impedimenta with which the migrant is encumbered. For some migrants these are relatively unimportant and the difficulty of surmounting the intervening obstacles is consequently minimal. For other migrants making the same move, the impedimenta, which must include children and other dependents may greatly increase the difficulties posed by intervening obstacles (Lee 1966:51).

In brief, migration is the result of "pushes" and "pulls" or "attractions" and "repulsions" at both origin and destination, which balance in the context of the relative effort or cost of overcoming the obstacles that lie between the individual and potential alternative sites. The presumption is that the individual will try to minimize these costs, whatever they are and however they are measured.

### (2) Intervening Opportunities

From a different perspective, Samuel A. Stouffer viewed the problem of obstacles in a positive rather than negative way and built the hypothesis of intervening opportunities. According to his assumption, migration will not occur until there is a certain number of opportunities for the migrants to satisfy their needs (Stouffer 1960:1-26).

### (3) Reason for Migration:

For the measurement of the dynamics of migration we have to know the characteristics of migrants. The findings of many studies on this subject disagree. However, these disagreements can be reconciled if we know more about the reasons for migration. Unfortunately, there are handicaps in studying the reasons for migration because anyone's particular move is usually motivated by several reasons. Some of the reasons will probably be unrecognized or subconscious. Daniel O. Price suggests: "One of the most obvious approaches to the study of characteristics of migrants responding to various socio-economic changes and moving in and out of various sorts of areas is to compute correlation coefficients between characteristics of migrants and socio-economic conditions and changes (Price 1941: 409-15).

### (4) Migrational Differentials:

Dorothy S. Thomas in her book Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, suggested that sex, age, family status, physical health, mental health, intelligence, occupation, motivation and assimilation are keys to understanding migration differentials (Thomas 1938:2-9).

(5) Another study done by William Petersen is Typology Studies. He views the typology as a tool and makes the criticism that the classification of modern migrants is shaped by statistical manipulation, regardless of whether or not there is any relevance to theoretical questions (1958:256-265). He prefers to establish typological concepts and the logical relations among them and then collect statistical data in terms

of this conceptual framework. The major purpose of the typology is to offer a basis for the possible development of theory. According to his European data and experiences he made several general and broad classes of migration, namely, primitive, forced, impelled, free and mass migration. The classification is too detail to be employed in Asian countries, especially in Taiwan. Petersen's idea would be beneficial in constructing a new typology. In this particular study, we would like to use the previous models, especially the Thomas and Petersen's models, as a starting point to construct a new model which might be useful in migration studies.

(6) In 1969 we proposed a model to classify Penghu migration, namely, homogeneous and heterogeneous migration. Unfortunately, we did not have enough empirical data to support this model. In 1971 Professor Goldscheider in his book (1971:70-71) suggested to use "homogeneity" and "heterogeneity" to category two areas (e.g. area of origin and area of destination) in terms of economic criteria, linguistical and political environment, etc. The major differences between Goldscheider's and our concept is that we emphasize diachronic approach, e.g. various considerations of "homogeneity" and "heterogeneity" not only in terms of areal features as well as social location of persons within areas but also in terms of characteristics of migrants in different periods.

### 3. THE FOCUS OF THIS STUDY

Most migration has its historical background, even non-literate societies have their historical roots. This is the reason why we must take a diachronic viewpoint to study migration. It means that when we study migration, we take a long term view. In addition, we use the migration stream, area of destination, socio-economic environment of the area of destination, dominant reason for out-migration, and characteristics of migrants as measurements to determine a given society's pattern of migration. If the previously stated criteria result in homogeneity or

heterogeneity we can determine that the migration pattern is either a homogeneous or heterogeneous one.

We will attempt to use migration data from Penghu to Kaohsiung as an example in order to illustrate these two migration patterns.

It is necessary for us to explain how we use the characteristics of migrants as a measure. Usually, demographers study migration by focusing on the "migration differentials" which are also associated with "selective migration" (Thomas 1938:4; Bogue 1969:758). They are more likely to use migration differentials as measurements to make comparative studies between migration streams (Bogue 1969:756-58). We use age, sex, education, migration stream and occupation to demonstrate the historical characteristics of Penghu migrants in the present study.

According to our data, there are four different patterns of Penghu out-migration. We drew the information and the characteristics of migrants for the first two patterns from interviews with informants (oral historical data) and from historical records (e.g. local gazetteers). Demographic data and analysis of this data were used to illustrate the third and fourth migration patterns for Penghu. We use migration records for 1956 and 1971 to represent the third and fourth migration patterns.

The present household registration law is such that whenever a person changes his place of residence, he must report the change to the household registration office. He must file the change in both the area of origin and the area of destination. The change of address must also be reported even if the move is made within a single registration area. Migration records of this type include information of the age, sex, order of birth, industry, occupation employment status and domicile, as well as old and new addresses. These type of data were collected in 1972-73.

#### 4. REASONS FOR PENGHU OUT-MIGRATION

The reasons for Penghu out-migration are environmental, economic,

and social in nature. The six month long northeast monsoon, the low, flat topographic conditions, poor soil and "salt rain" are major handicaps to agricultural development. In addition, there is a shortage of arable land, aggravated by the use of some of the best farming land for graveyards (Ch'ên 1955:57-58). As a result, agricultural production can provide only enough food far less than half-a-year.

Economically, Penghu people depend on fishing as the main way of obtaining cash to buy necessary products from outside. Agricultural production is only a minor source of family income in Penghu history.

In 1950 there were only twelve motorized fishing boats in Penghu. By 1971 the number had increased to 1,546 (Penghu Hsien Government 1950: Table 73; 1971: Table 44). However, nature does not provide for a corresponding increase in the number of fish available in the vicinity. Consequently, the ever increasing number of boats have all but wiped out schools of fish in nearby waters. Recently, Penghu fishermen must go further out to sea to make their catches. Many of them now supplement their income from the sea by gathering coral; and others are leaving the islands to join international fishing fleets, or to seek other work in various places beyond Penghu.

Actually, the Penghu out-migration was caused by environmental conditions, poor agricultural production, and lack of natural resources. All these reasons can be categorized as primary reasons. However, in the last 15 years other reasons have emerged.

While a great number of Penghu natives still migrate to Taiwan in order to secure a better living, many now take the journey in order to obtain an education or to gain social prestige. Social prestige is becoming a strong motivation for migration now. Many Penghu migrants now living in Kaohsiung are successful businessmen. Some own their own companies; others have invested in hotels and transportation; and many own industrial firms. In addition, many Penghu migrants also seek political office in different levels of governments.

The mass media in Penghu likes to report stories of former Penghu residents who have become successful in Kaohsiung. Thus news and stories, the periodical visits of successful migrants to their home villages, and gifts or correspondence from Penghu natives now living in Kaohsiung and other places in Taiwan, all encourage other residents of the islands to attempt migration.

##### 5. MIGRATION PATTERNS AT DIFFERENT PERIODS IN HISTORY

The Patterns of migration between Penghu and Taiwan can be classified as four periods: (1) the period from 1750 to 1850, (2) the period from 1850 to 1908, (3) the period from 1908 to 1960, and (4) 1960 to the present. Each migration period can be distinguished by the characteristics of the motivations for choosing that destination.

###### (1) The First Pattern of Migration:

During the first migration period (1750-1850), many migrant traveled to the southern tip of Taiwan -- to the Heng-ch'un area in Ping-tung hsien -- to open the virgin land for agricultural cultivation and charcoal processing.<sup>1</sup> These were primarily seasonal migrants who left Penghu during the months of northeastern monsoon, leaving in October and returning in March. The monsoon make it too dangerous to fish. In Ping-tung area the migrants grew sweet potatoes and processed charcoal, which is essential to the life of the people of Penghu.

The motivations for migration to this area were essentially economic. This period in the history of the Taiwan and Penghu areas can be named a "traditional agricultural period." Economists, such as Rostow, suggest that a society's economic growth and situation can be distinguished into five stages (Rostow 1960:4-11).

According to this concept, the stage of economic growth for this area during this period can be treated as that of a "traditional society". Historical data indicates that during this period Taiwan's economy was a

relatively closed, self-sustaining type, generally consistent with Rostow's definition of a traditional society's economy.

After 1760 the Manchurian Government completely abolished the restriction which prohibited migration to Taiwan from the Mainland (Lien Heng 1945:59-61; Ch'ên 1964:119-120), many people migrated from the Fukien and Kwangtung to Taiwan. However, almost a century later Taiwan's economy was still based on traditional agriculture.

### Characteristics of these migrants

The information from the informants shows that it was mostly the males who were likely to be migrants at that time. This is not only because the male population was much greater than the female population in Penghu,<sup>1</sup> but also because these migrants were fishermen. As the informants indicated, it was usually the younger males who went to Heng-ch'un area rather than the older males. During this period of Penghu migration, most of the migrants were trying to earn only the basic needs of life. There was little diversity in their characteristics in terms of age, sex, occupation, education, or reason for migrating.

### (2) The Second Pattern of Migration

During the second migration interval (1850-1908) most of the Penghu migrants settled in the Tainan area. Some of the people went to become traders; others to find employment in handcraft firms. Some others worked as apprentices in blacksmith shops, carpenter shops and in skilled occupations. Many took jobs as servants. People in Taiwan liked to hire Penghu migrants as servants. It was because they worked very hard and asked for less salary than local people. One Japanese scholar pointed out this fact. He also stated that more than half of the Penghu males have to make a living in Taiwan temporarily or permanently (Inō Yoshinori 1928:Vol.1:670).

Penghu migrants, during this period, were seeking a cash income.



Their goals were now financial rather than agricultural. In their work they usually earned enough money to satisfy both their daily needs and sent periodic remittances back to their families in Penghu. Many earned money to take occasional return visits to their home area, each time taking gifts and consumer products not available in Penghu.

The changing migration pattern reflected the changing economic pattern of the Taiwan-Penghu areas. During this period, the area's economic development was in the process of transition from a purely agricultural economy to a commercial one that included both internal and international trade.

#### Characteristics of Migrants During the Period 1850-1908

Between 1850 and 1908 the main out-migration stream was from Penghu to the Tainan area. The Tainan area was developed by General Chêng Chêng-kung (Koxinga) and his associates. This area remained an important administrative and commercial center for about two centuries. In 1875 the administrative center moved to Taichung (Lien Heng 1945:463-464), and Kaohsiung replaced Tainan as the commercial center in the twentieth century.

Lin Hao in his book Penghu T'ing Chih stated that hundreds and thousands of Penghu people had gone to Taiwan in order to make a living each year. He also pointed out that the reasons for this were lack of land for cultivating, and the lack of necessary food (1963:386). Moreover, natural disasters were also a major reason for people to migrate. In July 1881 Penghu had three "salt rains" in one month. "Many thousand starving masses" were sent to Taiwan by the government. The total number of starving people reached 49,000 (Lin 1963: 377). Inō Yoshinori pointed out the destination of the Penghu migrants. However, our informants told us that, based on their own experiences and the experiences of family members and neighbors, the Tainan area was the destination for the Penghu migrants at this period. Actually, the Tainan area was a

commercial center in southern Taiwan in the nineteenth century.

In addition the migrants, at this period, were hardly able to find undeveloped or free land for cultivating. Actually, the Penghu males are not "experts" in agricultural work. Moreover, culturally they also felt that man should not work in the fields.

As our informants pointed out many young males sought to become skilled laborers. They learned to be carpenters, furniture makers, blacksmiths, wood carvers, servants, etc. Some went to Tainan to sell dry fish and products unique to Penghu and later brought consumer products back to Penghu.

During this period, as the informants indicated, a great portion of the migrants were males. Women could not easily move out. Not only did they have to stay at home to support and take care of the family, but also the social norms of traditional China did not allow women to work outside of the home.

The age span of the migrants of this period was wider than that of the earlier period. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the migrants from Penghu sought different kinds of jobs than their predecessors. However, there was little diversity in the characteristics of the two groups in terms of sex, education, occupation, etc.

### (3) The Third Pattern of Migration

Between 1908 and 1960 Penghu migrants again changed their interests and began migration to yet another economic center -- Kaohsiung. Actually, late in the second migration interval some migrants had already turned their paths toward the Kaohsiung area.

Kaohsiung was opened as an international port in 1863 (Kaohsiung Shih Wen-Hsien-Wei-Yuan-Hui 1958:15). At that time, Kaohsiung was used mainly as a secondary port for Tainan (formerly Taiwan Fu). Later when the ports around Tainan were gradually blocked by shifting sand, Kaohsiung became a collecting center for the southern part of Taiwan. This

is why the Japanese Colonial Government launched a series of three harbor construction plans beginning in 1908 (*ibid.* 1958:22-45)

After 1919 the Japanese wanted to use Kaohsiung as a military base and industrial center, and a great deal of manpower was needed for this purpose. Between 1945 and 1960 the Chinese Government hand launched many projects to establish Kaohsiung as an industrial center and as an international port.

The total population of Kaohsiung in 1908 was 8,579 (Japanese 2,394, Local people 6,701, and other 114) (Yin 1969: Table 6-4). It was primarily the need for a labor force for the construction of Kaohsiung harbor that drew the Penghu migrant stream toward this city.

The period 1908-1960 can be subdivided into two shorter periods. The first one was from 1908 to 1945. During this time Taiwan and Penghu were occupied by the Japanese. The published migration data are divided according to sex. The average out-migration rate for males was 4.64 % , almost double that for females (2.94 %) (Calculated from migration data from the year 1905 to the year 1931, except for the years 1920 and 1925).

Temporary migration data for the Japanese period is available from the year 1923 to 1942. The average temporary migration rate was 45.74 % for males and 23.36 % for females (Calculated from Table 1). In 1968 and 1969 we made surveys of eight-one male out-migrants in Kaohsiung. The survey data show that a great proportion of these migrants had never attended primary school. Moreover, when they went to Kaohsiung more than half of them were between the ages of fifteen and twenty years, and most of them worked as labor for construction the harbor.

After World War II, Penghu migrants continues to move to Kaohsiung. The out-migration record study for 1956 (It is the earliest data we can obtain.) helps uncover the characteristics of migrants of Penghu during this period. We will compare the 1956 migration record with 1971 migration record in the following section.

Table 1. Distribution of Penghu Seasonal (Temporary) Migrants by Sex and Sex Ratio, 1923-1942

Year	Number of Population		Number of Seasonal Migrants			Seasonal Out-Migration Rate (%)	Sex Ratio
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male		
1923	60,315	28,824	31,491	14,588	10,415	4,173	250
1924	60,621	28,901	31,720	14,913	10,501	4,412	238
1925	61,875	30,002	31,873	17,163	11,909	5,254	227
1926	62,172	30,230	31,942	17,951	12,245	5,706	215
1927	62,442	30,415	32,027	19,892	13,506	6,386	212
1928	62,606	30,541	32,065	20,516	13,949	6,567	212
1929	62,993	30,792	32,201	22,203	15,072	7,131	211
1930	62,721	30,469	32,252	21,730	14,753	7,157	204
1931	65,016	31,715	33,301	18,830	12,244	6,586	186
1932	65,012	31,364	33,648	22,728	14,584	8,144	179
1933	65,754	31,665	34,089	25,512	15,988	9,514	168
1934	66,843	32,257	34,586	27,143	16,874	10,269	164
1935	67,601	32,455	35,146	27,972	17,344	10,628	163

Table 1. (Continued) Distribution of Penghu Seasonal (Temporary) Migrants by Sex and Sex Ratio, 1923-1942

Year	Number of Population			Number of Seasonal Migrants			Seasonal Out-Migration Rate (%)	Sex Ratio
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female		
1936	68,613	32,798	35,815	28,360	17,649	10,711	41.33	165
1937	68,761	32,951	35,810	29,628	17,814	11,814	43.08	151
1938	69,208	33,162	36,046	32,234	19,478	12,756	46.58	153
1939	68,520	32,710	35,810	33,176	20,071	13,105	48.49	153
1940	67,764	32,250	35,514	-	-	-	-	-
1941	69,387	32,994	36,393	-	-	-	-	-
1942	70,312	33,487	36,825	7,348	4,623	2,725	10.45	170

Source: (1) Number of Total Population cited from Population Register of Taiwan, published by the Colonial Government-General's Office of Taiwan, Bureau of Official Statistics.

(2) Number of Seasonal (Temporary) Out-Migrants cited from (a) Chun Shih I Pan 1926, published by the Penghu Chun Government. (b) Statistical Abstract (Penghu) 1927-1942, published by the Penghu T'ing Government.

#### (4) The Fourth Pattern of Migration: 1960 to the Present

The fourth pattern of migration started around 1960 and is continuing today. However, during this period a large number of migrants also tended to move to other parts of Taiwan as well as to move other areas of the world. While we are not primarily concerned in this study with the international migration, it is interesting to note that many Penghu fisherman temporarily migrated to other parts of the world such as American Samoa in order to join international fishing teams. This particular pattern of migration began in 1968.

Table 2 and Table 3 show the age and sex distribution of Penghu out-migrants in the years of 1956 and 1971. The highest percentage of male migrants for 1956 is located in the age group 15-19, and for 1971 is located in the age group 25 to 29. The explanation for the year 1956 is due to the continuation of the traditional migration. Most young men in this age group went to Kaohsiung to be apprentices in their relatives' and friends' stores and business firms. The interpretation for the pattern in 1971 is that there was selective migration because the job market in Kaohsiung needed people with higher education, and with experience. The peak percentages of female migrants for the years 1956 and 1971 are in the age group 20 to 24.

The sex ratio of out-migrants was 111 in 1956 and 103 in 1971, indicating that the number of male migrants was larger than the number of females in 1956. However, the numbers of male and female migrants were almost the same in 1971. The Penghu migrants' sex ratio in the year 1905 was 861, in 1910 it was 346, in 1921 it dropped to 134, and in 1930 it was only 131.

According to the statistical record, these migrants maintained their interest in moving to Kaohsiung City. For example in both the years 1956 and 1971 over sixty percent of the migrants selected Kaohsiung as their area of destination. However, the statistical figures for 1971 indicate

that the Penghu migrants from a specific area of Penghu did not tend to live together (See Table 4 and Figure 1.)

The official out-migration figures listed in the Penghu Household Registration records, a total of 988 persons between the ages of 20-39 years migrated to Kaohsiung City in 1956. The same source cites 1454 migrants in this age group for the year 1971 (See Table 5).

Table 5 indicate that in 1956, 46.7 percent of the migrants between 20 and 39 years of age had not attended primary school. By 1971 only 17.8 percent of the migrants in this age group had no formal education. Only four migrants had some college education. In 1971, however, 56 migrants had attended college. This represents not only the change level of education but also the variations of nature of education.

In Table 6 shows that even the nature of occupation had been a certain degree of change. For example, 64.2 percent of the migrants worked in primary industry in 1956. Fifteen years later 41.7 percent of the migrants worked in a primary industry. The characteristics of migrants are quite different in 1956 as compare to 1971. The characteristics of migrants in the fourth pattern of migration (e.g. 1971) are more heterogeneous than the first (1750-1850), second (1850-1908), and the third (1908-1960) (e.g. 1956) pattern of migration in terms of age, sex, migration stream, education, and occupation.

## 6. CONCLUSION

As described above, the direction of the migration streams are different for each period. The pattern of economic development in various periods of Taiwan's history has affected their directions. In the agricultural stage they tended to move to a place which still had agricultural potential -- the southern tip of Taiwan. During the commercial stage, the migrants turned toward the commercial center--the Tainan area. In the industrial period, they again changed their path and moved to a planned industrial center -- Kaohsiung.

Table 2. Distribution of All Migrants by Age, Sex, and Sex Ratio of Migrants, Penghu 1956.

Age	Male		Female		Sex Ratio	Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	M/F	No.	%
0-4	150	11.2	154	12.7	97	304	12.0
5-9	99	7.4	100	8.3	99	199	7.8
10-14	130	9.7	56	4.6	232	186	7.3
15-19	322	24.0	222	18.4	145	544	21.3
20-24	226	16.9	266	22.0	85	492	19.3
25-29	154	11.5	140	11.6	110	294	11.5
30-34	76	5.7	46	3.8	165	122	4.8
35-39	47	3.5	33	2.7	142	80	3.1
40-44	39	2.9	28	2.3	139	67	2.6
45-49	28	2.1	26	2.2	108	54	2.1
50-54	20	1.5	27	2.2	74	47	1.9
55-59	11	0.8	24	2.0	46	35	1.4
60-64	9	0.7	32	2.6	28	41	1.6
65 up	28	2.1	56	4.6	50	84	3.3
Total	1339	100.0	1210	100.0	111	2549	100.0

(average)

Source: Penghu Out-migration Record Study.



Table 3. Distribution of All Migrants by Age and Sex and Sex Ratio of Migrants, Penghu 1971

	Male		Female		Sex Ratio	Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	M/F	No.	%
0- 4	130	8.3	159	10.4	82	289	9.4
5- 9	176	11.2	188	12.3	94	364	11.8
10-14	154	9.8	118	7.7	131	272	8.8
15-19	171	10.9	196	12.9	87	367	11.9
20-24	255	16.3	345	22.7	74	600	19.4
25-29	305	19.4	173	11.4	176	478	15.5
30-34	131	8.3	86	5.6	152	217	7.0
35-39	98	6.2	61	4.0	161	159	5.1
40-44	47	3.0	37	2.4	127	84	2.7
45-49	29	1.8	45	3.0	64	74	2.4
50-54	23	1.5	24	1.6	96	47	1.5
55-59	12	0.8	16	1.0	75	28	0.9
60-64	10	0.6	24	1.6	42	34	1.1
65 up	28	1.8	50	3.3	56	78	2.5
Total	1,569	100.0	1,522	100.0	103 (average)	3,091	100.0

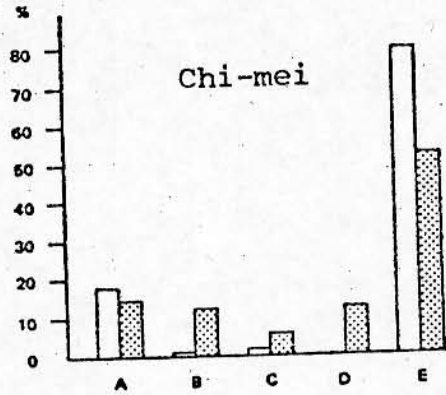
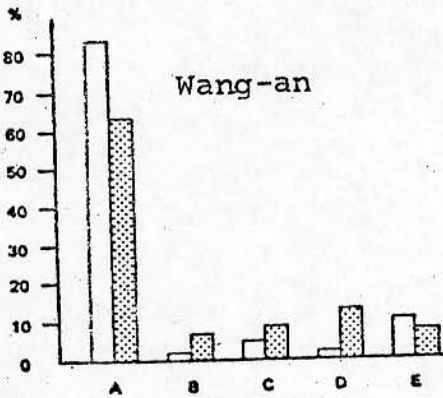
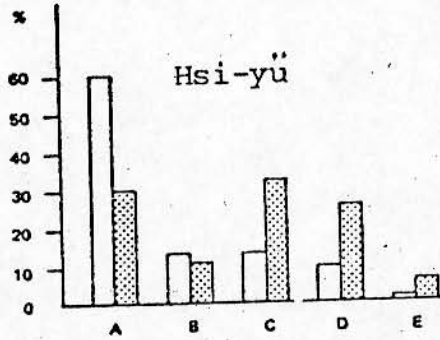
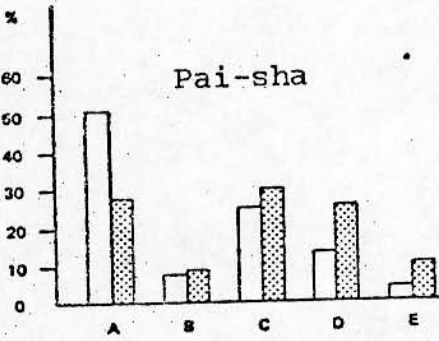
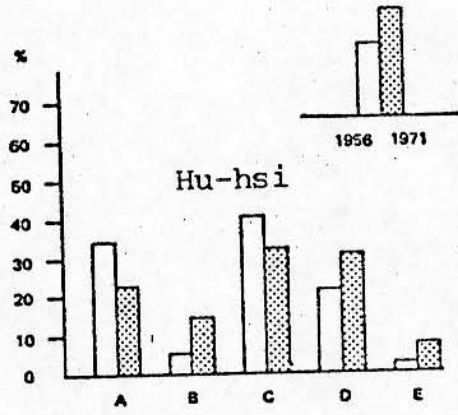
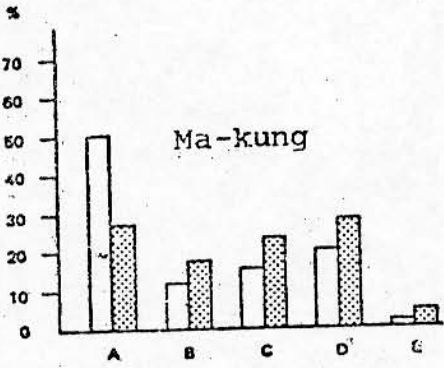
Source: Penghu Out-Migration Record Study.

Table 4. (Continued) Distribution of Penghu Migrants in Kaohsiung by Area of Origin, 1956, 1971

Place	Year	<u>Ma-kung</u>	<u>Hu-hsi</u>	<u>Pai-sha</u>	<u>Hsi-yü</u>	<u>Wang-an</u>	<u>Chi-meí</u>	Total	No.	%
(E) Chichin	1956	6	3	12	1	24	150	196		
		1.4	0.9	3.7	0.6	10.1	79.4	11.9		
	1971	25	18	31	5	24	103	206		
		3.2	5.4	9.4	3.3	8.4	54.0	10.1		

Source: Penghu Out-Migration Record Study

- (A) Business area, harbor area, the most prosperous area.
- (B) Heavy industry area, and Naval Base.
- (C) Small business, market, school, hospital areas.
- (D) Dormitory area, school area, small business area, etc.
- (E) Fishing and fishing-boat building area.



A: Kusan, Yenchen  
 B: Nantzu, Ch'ienchen, & Tsuying  
 C: Hsinhsing, Sanmin

D: Ch'ienchin, Lingya  
 E: Chichia

Source: Table 4

Figure 1. Distribution of Penghu migrants in Kaohsiung by area of origin, 1956 and 1971

Table 5. Education Distribution of Penghu Migrants at the Time they Moved  
(Age Group 20-39)

Year	Grand Total	No Formal Education	Primary School	Middle School	High School	College	
1956	988	461	430	72	21	4	No.
	100.0	46.7	43.6	7.3	2.0	0.4	%
1971	1454	260	750	202	186	56	No.
	100.0	17.8	51.6	13.9	12.8	3.9	%

Source: Migration Record Study

Table 6. Distribution of Penghu Migrants by Industry and Year of Migration, 1956, 1971  
(Selected Age Group 20-39, Both Sexes)

Year		Grand Total	Primary Industry (1)	Secondary Industry (2)	Tertiary Industry (3)	Other Occupation (4)
1956	No.	988	634	74	129	151
	%	100.0	64.2	7.5	13.0	15.3
1971	No.	1,454	606	128	267	453
	%	100.0	41.7	8.8	18.4	31.1

Source: Penghu Out-Migration Record Study

(1) Agricultural, forestry, fishery, hunting, etc.

(2) Manufacturing, construction, mining, water and electricity.

(3) Commerce, transportation, storage, communication, finance, insurance, industrial and commercial services, government, community and individual services.

(4) Not classified elsewhere, unemployed, housekeeper, student.

The characteristics of migrants were also different in different periods. The modern trend is toward more females, different age groups, various levels of education, less fishing and agricultural industry, and less chain migration (referring to the tendency of a migrant in a particular destination area to influence and subsequently support others from his home area in their own migration attempts) than the traditional homogeneous migration pattern. This means that the modern migration pattern is far more varied than the traditional one, especially from a diachronic perspective. The modern migration pattern, thus emerges as heterogeneous migration.

We mentioned earlier in this paper that one of the major purpose is to work out a model which can be linked with the adaptation studies. Acturally, we have found that different migration patterns are often a dominant variable affecting the means of adaptation.

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# 同質性(單元化)與異質性(多元化)遷移模式： 一項人類學對於人口遷移研究的分類

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尹建中

本文主要目的在分辨一般人口學家與人口人類學家，研究人口遷移時態度上的不同。人類學對於人口遷移的探討注重人們的表現，而不只是對統計數字的討論；並研究人口學上的一些變項與人類社會文化的關係；不但注意同時限的研究觀念，更注意異時限的探討。本文以人類學的研究方式，配合實際資料，試着發展出有關人口遷移模式的分類，藉以說明臺澎地區，人口遷移的現象。

澎湖人遷移台灣本島的研究，若以歷史的角度來觀察，其移民模式受文化傳統與生活條件的影響，各時期移民特質及遷移方向而有不同。若就上述兩點為準，澎湖早期的移民模式乃屬同質性的移民模式，而後期的移民則屬異質性的移民模式。換言之，早期的移民特質和遷移方向，相同之處遠比後期移民為多。這與移民之選擇性（包含主動的與被動的）有關係。理論上一個地區人口遷移模式由同質轉變為異質並非單向的。

人類學對於人口遷移的研究方式，也着重適應的探討，移民模式不同，而有不同的適應方法。同質與異質移民模式之建立，或將有助於對人口遷移，作進一步的探討。

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