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**URBAN-RURAL RELATIONSHIPS IN KINSHIP RELATIONS  
(Examples of migrating Macedonian families)**

The process of urbanization, besides the usual series of factors that refer to the exterior appearance of the space (a settlement, a town) and a number of hygienic elements, is manifested through the intensive migrations of the peasant population and with it is also manifested in the radical transformation of the village and the agriculture (I. Aceski 1996: 40). The socialist period and its industrialization and modernization with the all society-economic changes had produced obvious novelties. The industrialization in Macedonia, as everywhere, incited fundamental changes of the village and the peasantry, of which the most important are the following: the mass abandonment of the village and the agriculture and the breakdown of the traditional lifestyle. This resulted in great enlargement of the cities especially of Skopje, and the reduction (or extinction) of villages. The immigration of the peasantry into the cities is the major factor for the increase of the city population. According to some authors, the migration village – city is in function of the development of “the industrialization and the technical progress and other changes that developed in the structure of the society”. The village and the agriculture have served for the creation of a solid accumulative basis for the needs of the industry and for building the cities (I. Aceski 1996 : 40-41); that is to say, turning the peasantry into a working class. Thus, it can be concluded that the changes of the living and working conditions, the organization of the space and the communication means are directed by the ruling groups for their interests and ambitions. It is manifested on the city level, its internal structure and its surroundings (I. Aceski 1996 : 15).

The subject of interest in this work will be the migrating families, which means those that have moved from villages into towns in Macedonia, in the period following the Second World War, and this process was especially intensified after the 1960s. The migrations village/town were characteristic for the bigger towns, first of all for Skopje, and those migrations intensified after the catastrophic earthquake in 1963. In this period, as well as in the following 1970s, besides Skopje, its suburban villages were also very active in immigration sense. It can be concluded that during years the intensity of settling expanded more and more (V. Daskalovski 1993 : 12-13; Statistički godišnik na Skopje 1968 : 35; Statistički pregled na SRM, br. 129 1981). The data show that in 1981 Skopje absorbed almost 40% of the total city population of R. Macedonia and they witness the fact that the migrations village/town were active (I. Aceski 1996 : 42, 241).

Immediately after the earthquake in 1963, the building of suburbs with prefabricated buildings was undertaken (Vlae, Taftalidze, Butel, Shuto Orizari, Lisiche, Singjelic (today Chento), Madzari, Vodno, Kozle, Zdanec, Przino, Gjorche Petrov, Zelezarnica, Drachevo), at first mainly to secure a kind of a shelter. They were a part of a housing project and should have formed "a net of settlements around the central core of the city. Only a couple of years after the earthquake, everything was left to the natural elements and the non-controlled settlement by the peasant migrants who arrived in masses to the city searching for work and a better life. In those areas there was a “spontaneous” housing construction without any rules or behavioral principles in the space (Socijalnitate pojavi i problemi..., 1971: 125, 136; I. Aceski, 1996 : 119, 127). Their location was in the vicinity of the city, at the main roads and without greater interventions they could connect to the city communal system. At the

same time, it is a period when great industrial facilities open in Skopje, needing numerous workers, and it attracted a lot of migrants. The migrating families came to Skopje from every part of Macedonia. There are immigrants from Poreche, Veles, Prilep, Ovche Pole, the region of Kumanovo and Kratovo, from neighbouring Serbia (Trifunoski, 1971: 699), from the region of Kriva Palanka, etc.

Considering the fact that the city of Skopje is a complex totality, and here we cannot talk about a unique culture, but duality of culture (urban, rural) or better to say Burk's variant of several layers of culture (D. Rihtman–Auguštin 1988 : 49-61), or Steward's opinion of sub-cultures that can be divided into local, ethnic, class and according to other differences (Dž. Stjuard 1981:87-90; 123), so the subject of interest would be the urban-rural relationships in kinship relations at the migrating families in suburban areas. The emphasis will be on the place of residence, the role of the sexes and the organization of work in migrating families, the heritage, mutual help, and then the kinship relations in rituals, comprising the period when they migrated to the city. As a source of research written materials, archive materials, my own field researches are based on interviews with the informers, as well as on the immediate observations of the situations and the behavior of the migrating families.

### **Suburban areas**

The suburban region is a complex spatially-social environment, which by the way of its construction, the structure of the population, the degree of development and connection with the city is very different from the other parts and from within itself.

The suburban region is a complex environment which is a home of a population of almost all the regions of Macedonia, but sometimes it is grouped according to the territorial belonging (I. Aceski 1996:131), due to that from what part the people entered the city, that is to say, due to the entrance to the city that is closer to their village. In the degree of concentration of the members of a certain group, we can see the symbolic value of the home location. Thus for example, in Drachevo there are many immigrants from the area of Veles (eg. the village of Bogomila) because these two places are connected by a railway line, in Pintiya there are many immigrants from Prilep<sup>1</sup>, in Madzari and Chento there are immigrants from the regions of Kumanovo, Kriva Palanka, etc. In the smaller towns, the grouping of the population according to the territorial belonging was even more expressed, where for example, certain settlements from the city were populated by a population from one village or from several villages<sup>2</sup>. The choice of the location is determined by the objective factors as well as by the subjective need to be in the vicinity of "the ones resembling ourselves". Through the price of the construction place, there is "natural" selection of the members of the social groups depending from the role and the power they have in the society. The value of the suburban zone for living is different and it moves between two extremes: zones with significantly high values (individual household, closeness to the recreational centers, greenery, piece and quiet, etc.) and zones with low ecological values situated immediately next to the polluting industries, and they are neglected and bad for living, which on the other hand enabled a concentration of population according to the social belonging and the territorial origin

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<sup>1</sup> Scientific and research project: "Aspects of the material culture in Skopje and the immediate surrounding" (the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century), manager of the project: Dr. Sci. Aneta Svetieva, carrier of the project – The Museum of the city of Skopje, researcher: Tatjana Gjorgjiovska.

<sup>2</sup> My own field researches conducted in Prilep in 1996, where a population originating from Mariovo was concentrated in a settlement or in a settlement in Kumanovo there was a population from v. Drenak. These researches were conducted in Kumanovo and its surrounding in the period 1992-1999.

(I. Aceski 1996: 118, 131). The overall thing is left to the economic power of the bearers of the construction and their cleverness. "The Mosaic" of the suburban zone in regard to the quality of the house, has unambiguously showed the social division: the small ground floor houses and unsanitary flats have become, well built ground floor or multistory houses and beautiful "villas" that demonstrate the social status and the economic power of the owner. The situation is the same with the "elite" individual settlements and the collective settlements of the middle class (I. Aceski 1996:131-132).

The researches of the ethnologists and anthropologists that have studied the mechanisms of the migrations village/town, and in other places of Southeastern Europe, the global processes (industrialization, modernization) show that they do not act all-inclusively and are not unifying, but they realize partially, with what the most intimate spheres of the human life are the ones to change the most difficult and the slowest (P. Niedermüller 1987 : 154-156; M. Prošić-Dvornić 1993 : 33-53; D. Antonijević 1969: 77-96). In many of them the function of the kinship mechanisms has been noticed, concerning the control of the community, the close connection with the village and the peasants, the developed relationships between the neighbours, etc.

The building of a house for the majority of the village migrants is hard work. The fact that a long time after the earthquake, the building of housing projects in the suburban zone was the cheapest, was a sufficient reason the poorest layers of the population to fall for the attractiveness of this area. Thus, besides the territorial connection in the suburbs, we can also see the social closeness, that is to say, people tried to be among the ones that are like themselves. With the fact that the suburbs were populated by peasant population that was territorially connected and socially close, the mechanisms of neighbouring and kinship relations were very much developed. Some researches in the suburbs of Skopje show that more than 2/3 of those who had built a house, did that by themselves, that is to say all the members of the household were engaged in the construction, with the help of friends, neighbours and relatives (I. Aceski, 1996 : 150). My own field researches also confirm that the mutual help of the neighbours and relatives were also present while building houses or replacing the prefabricated houses with stronger ones and help was also offered for moving in the suburbs which is a trait for the ones coming from the villages. This help was especially expressed with those immigrants that originate from a place where the engineering was developed. For illustration we can take the Miyak region which is in Western Macedonia, at the river basin of Radika. The informan says that in the settlement "Novoselski pat" there are many migrants from that region: "They help themselves when building houses. Here (in the settlement) they have bought places and help each other to build houses. They don't give money. When we were girls back in the village, and if a house was roofed and there were no tiles, we would bring them, we would also drag beams. Everybody would come to help".<sup>3</sup>

The social background, the educational degree and the economic situation of the family have influenced the degree of adopting the urban way of using the leisure time. Abandoning the agricultural activity did not mean that the leisure time activities will radically be changed. The traditional use of the leisure time in the frames of the neighbourhood, the relatives and friends remains a characteristic trait for the suburban citizens, especially for the village migrants who settle in the suburban area and the abandoned settlements from the central area. The neighbourhood in that regard as a primary group, in the beginning did not differentiated from the traditional

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<sup>3</sup> My own field researches. Inf.: Altana Rafajlovska b.1935 in v.Bitushe.

relationships in the rural environment for which the kinship by blood and the territorial closeness were the two basic forms for establishing close relations between people. Abandoning the traditional forms of using leisure time is the most radical with people with higher level of education and with the clerks.

The incomplete construction and the infrastructure (the lack of sidewalks for normal movement, the absence of cultural institutions, symbols, events, public and arranged places for collective games, for leisure, relaxation and entertainment) of the suburbs long after they were settled (I. Aceski, 1996:246), besides the carrying traditional pattern (neighbourhood, family), have also contributed for closing into the frames of the primary groups. The only possibility for entry into the urban was the visit to "the center of the city". That is why we can say that the life in the suburbs enveloped into two cultures and two worlds: belonging to the city only formally, territorially, while deep inside the citizens carried the tradition that had left deep traces in their behaviour and their way of thinking.

### **Sex roles and organization of labour**

The changes that had come upon Macedonian society, mainly after the Second World War (nationalization of the land and industrialization) and especially after the catastrophic earthquake, contributed to the mass migration of the young population in the cities. This migrating conditioned the change of lifestyle. That the migrations to the cities had influenced into the disintegration to the parentage relations is already a very well known fact to the scientists (Dž. Gudi, 2005 : 90-91). Thus, in this period the neolocal living was spread out, which was due to the migration of the young population to the cities, where the young married couples founded their own households.\* The written sources about Macedonia, especially about the Macedonians (J. Pavlović, 1928 : 186-187; S. Tanović, 1927 : 280; Dž. Ford, 1984 : 353), as well as my own field investigations done in various regions,<sup>4</sup> for the period of end of the XIX and first half XX century, confirm that the complex households of a joint type consisting of many members although existed (for example, see: M. Filipović, 1930; J. Trifunoski, 1973 : 110; J. Cvijić, 1966 : 502)<sup>5</sup>, yet they were not many, and already

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\* The investigation of the households shows that the majority of these types that are evident in a society during the process of formation should be observed as an interaction of economic, demographic, political and cultural conditions by which a certain structure of households will represent of a definite series of conditions (Kertzer 1989, cited according to: K. Kazer 2002 : 37), or they are product of the man's choice under several social and economic conditions (E. Hammel 1980 : 270). The scientific discussion regarding the types of households on the Balkans, particularly the complex households from the type "zadruga" was very prolific during the 80's of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The complex households from the type "zadruga" were considered and they are still typical for the Balkans; the Balkan household arises on the basis of an autochthonous cultural pattern fit in the pastoral economy of ancient Balkan origin (K. Kazer 2002 : 37-38; 71 and further). From the other side, many investigations show that the type of households depends on the socio-economic conditions (Dž. Gudi 2005 : 18; M. Todorova 1993 : 151-163; M. Todorova 2002; J. Trifunoski 1973 : 112; U. Brunbauer 1999 : 45; E. Hammel 1984 : 223; E. Hammel, 1986 : 75). The investigations in the field of Macedonia show that on the special forms of households a crucial part have played the kind of economy, the socio-moral factor promulgated by the authorities, and during the period of the Ottoman rule, especially in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the extended families have secured the protection from the Turkish and Albanian violence (M. Filipović, 1991 : 8-16; J. Trifunoski, 1973 : 112).

<sup>4</sup>The field researches were conducted in the regions of: Kumanovo, Kriva Palanka, Maleshevo, Prespa, Bitolsko and Prilepsko Pole, Kichevo, Poreche, Ohrid, Struga, Debarca, and Gevgelija from 1990 until today.

<sup>5</sup> In my field researches, I have received data about large families which number overpasses 20 members only for the village of Rankovce in the region of Kriva Palanka (AIF m.l.no.3864, inf.: Bogdanovska Stojanka, b.1933); v. Murgash near Kumanovo (Cassette no.47, Institute of Ethnology,

in the 20's of the 20<sup>th</sup> century began considerably to diminish. Mostly their number ranged from 10-15 members, soon to be separated. At the same time in the villages there were nuclear families too. (J. Pavlović 1928 : 186-187; S. Tanović 1927 : 280; Dž. Ford 1984 : 353). The most expanded were the linear joint households, that is to say, parents or a widow parent with a married son. Although we can find data that the linear-lateral type and the lateral type of extended households existed, yet they were not many. The most frequently it happened that soon after the marriage the young married couple should separate leaving the place to the next brother, usually to the youngest son to stay with the parents and take care of them until the end of their lives. However, the new conditions led to fast realization of neolocality, although for a long time there was a practice in Macedonia, the youngest son to stay with the parents. In this case we can talk of binuclear households or three generations households too. The change of lifestyle, had analogously led to changes in the relations in the (nuclear) family, first of all to the relations between the man and the woman and the organization of labor. This was confirmed by E. Both's researches, who believes that if the family nets are denser (including the relative ones) the hierarchy in the roles of the spouses will be expressed to a greater degree (A. Luleva, 2001 : 35-36). This is more explicitly expressed in the vertically extended household, where the parents and the family of the son or the daughter, live together.

The neolocality has contributed to the change of the sex roles that are reflected on the kinship system. With the neolocality, the male and female parts and the organization of labor become equal to a certain extent. The employment of the spouses has contributed to the fact that they both have an equal share in bringing mutual decisions crucial for the benefit of the family (for example buying an apartment or household equipment). But, it often happened that in the period of settling down into the suburban area, the woman not to work so that she could look after the children. However, we cannot connect this only with the fact that she did it because the children are in the domain of the woman, because in that period the problem with the pre-school institutions was not solved. For illustration, it is sufficient to use the statement of an informer by origin from Prilep, and she settled in the suburban settlement Drachevo. (1948-1949 The period when she came to Skopje) "How was I supposed to work, his job was not of a clerk, he was on the trains. Day and night he went. There wasn't a fixed time, say, to work seven or eight hours, from the morning until two or three o'clock and he'll come home. For example, today his train will leave at twelve thirty (12:30) for Belgrade. He'll come home tomorrow at noon. And where would I work? Who will look after the child? There were no kindergartens, no crèches. There was nothing".<sup>6</sup> Having no one to take care of the children, the woman had to postpone her employment for later, when the children would be grown up and would be able to look after themselves. If with the employment of the husband, the financial condition was not sufficient to support the family (here it is meant of the working families), then an alternative was the husbands to arrange their shifts to be different, so one of the parents would be with the children. The employment of both spouses has led to the division of the housework, but still in many families there was the division of "male" and "female" work. This condition, besides the individuality of the person, also depended on the educational level of the population, as well as the place of life, that is to say, whether the suburban area was from the "wealthier" type – settled by economically stronger immigrants, or it was a

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inf.:Aleksandar Arsovski) and for v. Bela Crkva near Prilep where the household fell apart in 1908 (AIF m.l.no.:3883, inf.: Petar Likoski).

<sup>6</sup> My own field researches, informer Cvetanka Keramitčieva, born 1927 in Prilep, lives in Skopje.

suburban area settled by economically poorer immigrants. Thus, in the families with primary and secondary education, the families of workers, most of the interrogated people thought that the housework is in the domain of the woman. In these families, the help consisted in supplying food for the family, and taking care of the children, for example, the father to take them to school, at the doctor's or somewhere else. But in regard to a more significant part, essential for the support of the whole family and that is the domestic economy and finances the woman is the one that has the main word. The investigation of the families where both spouses are highly educated showed that in the greater part their domestic duties are divided between them. Here the traditional models do not play any role. But, on the other hand, as if the women feel greater independence when they start working, more exactly when their economic situation is far better than that of the husband. Although it is being considered that the economic activity of the woman is still in connection with the oppression in the family (S. Grebenarova 2001:97) (this is mostly expressed in the modern period, that is to say the 90's of the XX<sup>th</sup> century, with the transition of Macedonian society, with the privatization processes, when many people lost their work), and not with her personal ambitions and aspiration for realization, I still think that the economic activity has a great importance in the equalization of the sex roles. My opinion, supported with the autobiographic testimony of my informers, show that their self-confidence and independence significantly increases when they start working. In favor of this are the testimonies of the informers that the traditional obedience of the woman do not exists anymore, because she has got money in her pocket, or starting somewhere after the Second World War, the widows married less, and as a major argument they stated that they have pensions and are financially independent.

### **Mutual help**

The study of the kinship relations poses a complex problem. They depend on certain factors that act in a given socio-economic and cultural environment (for example, the physical distance between the relatives; the degree and the line of kinship ties, the economic ties between the kin; the similarities in the social position between kin and the influence of the psychological mechanisms). Thus, it is necessary during the study to recognize the influence of the society (e.g. for modern conditions to investigate the changes that originated from the process of modernization, and first of the entire socio-economic crisis, and on the other hand, the role and the importance of kinship relations in today's living conditions (J. Đorđević 2001:11). If we accept the types of kinship relations determined by E. Both (an intimate, an effective, an ineffective type and unknown relatives) our researches show that the basic determination of the intimate kinship relations is the degree of kinship, that gets by as a stable core originating from the traditional family. The family regularly maintains closer relations with the people whose place in the kinship system, has been specially emphasized by culture. Vertically they extend through the parents of the married couple, to the grandmothers and the grandfathers, and rarely to the great-grandmothers and the great-grandfathers. By rule, the brothers and the sisters of the spouses are included into the intimate type of kinship relation. When it is not the case, then disturbed or disrupted relations are in question. The researches conducted with the migrating families, clearly confirm this. Namely, the visits of the migrated families of their birth places, depending on the distance are most common when their

parents are alive,<sup>7</sup> or when their brothers and sisters still live there. The help in seasonal work offered to the peasant family by the “city” family is obvious. In return the peasants' families offer food. The peasants' families can come to the city families for medical treatment, to conduct certain work, to educate the children, to look for employment, etc. The city families can organize their summer vacations in the country, or to go to those relatives that have holiday home, etc. Thus, the kinship communication is performed by mutual visits in accordance with the spare time, and especially developed is the communication by telephone. Those families that have a piece of land (a family or private property) and a house, go on trips more often, or if their parents or some of the kin are ill and helpless. So, the name closest circle of kin can be given to those that the family visits whenever possible, and in the meantime they stay in touch by telephone. This means that the geographical distance did not have a great influence over the circle of closest relatives determined by culture. In the last period (the 1990's) there was a reduction of the visits as well as a reduction of the communication by telephone due to the economic crisis manifested by the poverty of the population and the unemployment. All the informers thought that the maintenance of close relations with the parents, brothers and sisters of the spouses, in relation to other kinship relations must be stronger, but still, it happens that these relations to be of a weaker intensity and closeness in regard to some other genealogically distant relatives. This is a consequence from the misunderstanding about inheritance or some other specific misunderstandings, based on collision of opinions, resulting from the change of structure of the jointly household and the absence of the mutual life together, because the married sons and brothers rarely stay in the same economic community (Z. Ivanović 1988:160). The urban-rural relationships, whether geographically close or distant, are frequent, when in question is the existence of land or other movable or immovable property. The relationship that includes existence of a piece of land (or other movable or immovable property), show great structure and have an institutional role in regard to all the other kinship relations that the family maintains and that compose its overall kinship net. It should be pointed out that mutual property has the role of a cohesive element in kinship relations, but it is also a source of the greatest quarrels and interruption of contacts between kin in conditions when they not longer represent a cooperative unit and are more oriented towards their own family in creation (Z. Ivanović 1988:162). When it comes to this kind of relationships, the people feel sorry, but do not want to take the responsibility for the aroused situation. People reluctantly talk about their disturbed relations with their closest relatives, which shows that the disturbed or broken relations with genealogically closer relatives are considered socially unwanted, and even as an immoral behavior. This is well illustrated in the proverb: “it is a shame, it is a sin to quarrel with relatives”.

For the importance of the land with the “city peasants” or the “peasant citizens”, that is to say the peasants that moved to the city, as a rural characteristic distinctive of their habitus, (P. Burdije, 1999 :249-250) inherited from the past, there is the data that if they do not possess land in the village, very often they bought land in

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<sup>7</sup> Most often when offering help in season work, according to the field materials from Maleshevo and Pijanec, it has never happened the old people to be abandoned. The children would come in spring for grass mowing, then they would come for gathering the hay and after that they would leave on vacation. (AIF m.l. no.. 3888, inf. Anica Popovska, b. 1930 in v. Negrovo-Pehchevo. Recorded by: Vesna Petreska in v. Negrovo in 2001

the vicinity of their place of residence and they mainly cultivated vegetables<sup>8</sup>, because according to people's belief, it is a sin if the fertile soil is not used. If we take the time when this occurrence was mostly spread out (the 70's and the 80's of the 20<sup>th</sup> century), we can freely exclude the need or the benefit. This occurrence was spread out with the immigrants of low and secondary education, while those who were with university education mainly built holiday houses, and planted the rest of the land with grass. A large part of the population besides the fact that they left the land due to the politics that it was not appreciated, and the main earning came from the industry, they have never entirely given up of the land and never stopped cultivating it. The connection with the land and especially the connection with the "native land" or "the father's land" are confirmed with the rooted people's belief that father's land must not be sold, because one will lose his luck, that is to say, "to sell father's land coming from other generations, is cursed". There is an interesting story of an informer from the area of Prilep, who although moved to Skopje, to a suburban settlement where he has his own house and land, still in his father's house in the village he has one room, which he does not intend to sell it, because "what was given to you should be kept". This can be connected with the symbolic value of the property, that it offers memories of the family history, so the family houses become real hearts of kinship relations (M. Segalen 1997: 41). But, besides the symbolic value, the financial value should not be forgotten. It can especially be seen in the cases when the property is the reason for the disturbed kinship relations, but also when the traditional virilinear ideology appears on the stage. Although according to the legal regulations, the female children have equal rights of inheritance just as the male children do<sup>9</sup>; still it is a common case today the sister to renounce her right of inheritance for the benefit of her brother, and the main reason was not to disturb the kinship relations, "I want to keep in touch with my brother, to see each other frequently"<sup>10</sup>. This is said with another reason and that is not to divide the property to that extent so nobody would benefit from it. That is why, the family is more oriented towards the family of the husband. It is apparent from the more frequent visits to the family of the husband, whether it is geographically close or distant. The breaking of the traditional pattern that was in favor of the male culture, mostly affects the men themselves, and that is why they are the ones to interrupt the kinship relations with their sisters, who "dared" to reach for something that in the past was in their domain. This also happens when the brother does not live in the village anymore, and the sister is the one that lives in the village, and she and her family helped her parents and looked after them, cultivated the land,

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<sup>8</sup> L. Đapović writes about similar occurrences in the 80's of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in New Belgrade, near the skyscrapers, small gardens started to appear in the unused land of the city parcels, or in the land full of grass near the railway lines. The citizens in those skyscrapers were mostly retired members of the armed forces. They were mainly with peasant origin and they knew the work concerning land processing. Since they started cultivating late in life, any need or benefit from it can be excluded. The author interprets this occurrence as returning to youth, as a kind of hobby stimulated by the ethical comprehension that it is a sin if the fertile soil will not be used, and this occurrence is not interpreted as making a village out of the city L. (Đjapović, 1995 :161).

<sup>9</sup> For the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, according to written sources and my own field researches (AIF, m.l. no. 3891, inf. Anita Karadzozka, b. 1917 in v. Budinarci-Berovo. Recorded by. Vesna Petreska in v. Budinarci in 2002 ) there are data that female children obtained a part of the property, mostly a cultivated field, which in this case is called "father's land", but more often, if the mother brought land or a cultivated field in the marriage, then the unwritten rule was this land to be given to her daughter and in this case it is called "mother's land"; however mainly the male children inherited the property. (J. Pavlović, 1929 : 261; M. Filipović, 1939 : 305.).

<sup>10</sup> Renouncing inheritance for the benefit of the brother can be found even with the young generation, the one born after the 70's of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

etc<sup>11</sup>. Even people's beliefs include this attitude.<sup>12</sup> As the most frequent reason for their discontent, the interrogated people emphasized the symbolic value of the property, that it offers memories and help them remember family history. However, according to my opinion, here the financial value is expressed, because with the part that the man legally acquires, the symbolic value can be satisfied. The same “symbolic value”, when asked for from the sister, comes across the brother’s dissatisfaction and misunderstanding. While the immigrants that came into the new environment were persistent to retain a part of the property in their birth place,\* very often denying the right of their sisters to have a part of the property, the major argument being the tradition, those same immigrants now in the new environment and as parents of their grown up children persist their daughters to receive a part of the father’s property. In favor of this is the story of an informer who moved into a suburban settlement in Skopje in the 1960’s. He wanted to give his daughter a building lot, but since she left the country and went to Australia, in order to satisfy the division of the property, the father sold the lot, and gave his daughter the money.

Generally speaking of contemporary times, it can be said that the influence of the city is huge on those people who moved into the towns and the ones that stayed in the villages, and that the influence of the city culture is dominant which is a feature of the urbanization and modernization processes. Analogously to this, as a feature of these processes is the individual and personal initiative. However, in given circumstances, people use something they consider to be efficient from the old lifestyle, but in a modified version and in accordance with the new needs in everyday life. That is why, in spite of the fact that the man lives secluded, we can still find mutual help between the relatives. The intervention of the relatives can be found into all areas: the raising and upbringing of children, their education, family festivities, etc. But we can underline that the scope of the kinship relations’ net is not that branched because this help can be seen up to the second generation following the line up and down. Thus for example, in raising and babysitting the children, help is sought and offered by the parents of one of the spouses; when the family goes for a stay to another family, it is a close family, for example, they stay at their parents’, brothers’ or sisters’, and possibly at the first cousins’, while the examples of staying over at distant relatives are very rare. Help is also looked for and acquired from these relatives for some material and existential needs (help in work or in finances when one is trying to solve his housing problem, or borrowing money; for employment, etc.). Intimate problems are confided in the closest of kin. Help is also looked for and acquired from the closest relatives in critical situations, for example seeking financial help for the maintenance of the family that is especially present in the recent period of transition of society, when there is a high rate of unemployment and dismissal from work. It should be considered that the help given by the relatives should be perceived in dependence of the nature of the problem, then, the type of the relations with the family and the relatives, the social position of the family, that is to say the relative, and it also depends on the other factors that influence the maintenance of kinship

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<sup>11</sup> AIF m.l. no. 3891, inf. Anita Karadžozka, b. 1917 in v. Budinarci - Berovo.

<sup>12</sup> AIF m.l. no. 3898, inf. Sevda Stankova, b. 1942 Recorded by Vesna Petreska in v. Petrovo - Gevgelija, in 2002. AIF m.l. no. 3990, inf. Anastasija Bejkova, b. 1943 in v. Gjavato-Gevgelisko. Recorded by: Vesna Petreska in v. Gjavato in 2002. AIF, m.l. no. 3891, inf. Anita Karadžozka, b. 1917 in v. Budinarci-Berovo. Recorded by: Vesna Petreska, in v. Budinarci in 2001.

\* This refers to almost all immigrants no matter from what part of Macedonia they originate. If the transportation with their birth place was satisfactory, then their persistence to keep a part of the property in their birth place was greater.

relations (J. Đorđević 2001: 10-11). If in the past the intimate kinship relations developed only virilinary,\* we can freely say that that is not completely the case in contemporary times. Although there is still the existence of certain traditional patterns (for example the mother – in – law to look after the children from their youngest age; then the solution of the housing problem is in the husband's domain, etc.), still there are cases when these kinship relations developed uxorilinary. This happens when there are no virilinear kin or there was a disruption of relations with them, or it is simply considered that they offer greater priority. Thus it can generally be said that the greater orientation of the family towards the affinal and uxorilinear kinship relations is a consequence of the objective circumstances and the given situation, and not of the free choice and determination (Z. Ivanović 1998:161).

Except for the closest genealogical relations, those relatives that are distant to the husband and wife to a great degree can also be included into the category of intimate kin. The nature of the kinship relations is influenced by the quality of the specific interpersonal relations that are determined by the individual and family history, that is to say the composition and the scope of the category of intimate kin are influenced by the relations in which the people were involved since childhood, through the activities of their parents and the continuous existence of the same relations through life. The economic and professional support and help that the family acquires or acquired have a significant importance for the nature of the kinship relations (Z. Ivanović 1998:160). In such cases, the genealogical closeness does not have a first-rate importance. This is apparent in the cases when the relative's help in finding work, flat, education, etc., then they regularly belong to the group of intimate relatives.

Regarding the help expected or given to relatives, especially in critical life situations (material and financial help, education of children, a disease and death), there are no huge differences that would depend on the spatial distance of the relatives, that proves that the rural and urban ties exist. The difference is expressed only in assigning a greater function to the closer relatives' surroundings in performing the domestic, practical work and services, which is understandable, because they have many possibilities to offer such help, in regard to the geographically distant relatives.

In general, it can be said that disregarding the forms of their expression, the patterns of mutual help, solidarity and collectivism as essential values of the traditional culture are established and last between the migrating families and their category of intimate kin (Z. Ivanović 1998 :164).

### **Kinship relations in ritual situations**

Regarding the other types of kinship relations (effective), the mutual contacts are more expressed in ritual sense. The effective type of kinship relations appears as a secondary level of kinship exchange. According to the genealogical belonging this type of kin includes the relatives that are in a parallel level with the parents and the spouses, which means that it includes the uncles and aunts of the spouses as well as their children or the cousins of the spouses. They are characterized by rarer and less close contacts of any kind. These relationships are renewed through mutual periodical

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\* It is considered that even in the societies in which the inheritance right is recognized by only one line, for instance the patrilinear one, a particular attention is paid for the relative relations for the other parental line, which is immanent for the duality of the process of continuation of the family and the parenthood, (Dž. Gudi, 2005 : 15, 35). In this sense on the Macedonian field can be mentioned the practice that when a child becomes an orphan and the father's side could not take care of him, then the relatives from the mother's side would take him into their family as their own child.

visits and appropriate situations such as weddings, funerals and other festivities and rituals connected with the “folk” culture. The belonging to this kinship category means a duty of inviting and accepting invitations to these ceremonial events. The sense of obligation to be present at the funerals and the requiem mass is especially developed, because it is a way to show your condolences to the relative and respect of the tie between the relatives. The sympathy with the pain of the relative also exists in cases when a relative is ill. In these cases if one misses to visit the ill person, then the telephone communication is intensified.

These relations are not deprived of all obligations, which are especially expressed in critical situations, but there is an absence of closeness that would secure help in housework and other activities. Here the individual choice of behavior is more expressive. If we review the composition of the group of effective relatives, we can notice a greater degree of equalization of relations with the virilinear and uxorilinear relatives. This type of relations usually includes the people (and their descendants) with whom the parents maintained and cherished those relations, and the spouses had also had a close contact with these people in their childhood, but in time they grew apart and did not continue to maintain deeper and closer contacts.

Of all the types of kinship that existed on the territory of Macedonia, that the migratory families in the period following the war managed to retain, was the relationship with the godfather. Although immigrants in the city, they maintained the relations with the old godfather, sometimes in a hidden form, because the former social system did not publicly approved of the godfather, but did not intervene in the sphere of the individual (D. Rihtman-Auguštin 2000 : 116), but the people held to it. This occurrence was stated by E. Hammel, conducting researches in Serbia, emphasized that after the Second World War, the religious marriages were rarer, but the first witness in the civil marriage is not just called the godfather, but he might have come from the group of kin to which the regular godfather for the religious marriage belonged. So, the institution existed in its traditional form, in absence of the religious ritual (E. Hammel 1968: 71). However, their children in the phase of marriage do not lean on to the traditional godfather. The young couple usually chooses their godfather themselves. E. A. Hammel’s researches on the relationships with the godfather in the Balkan, first of all mostly developed in Macedonia, and as a possible reason for this, the long Turkish oppression was stated (E. Hammel 1968: 53-54) and that is why this type of kinship appeared as an additional safety for the virilinear kinship group. But the overall changes that seized Macedonia, starting from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – during the socialist period, as in recent time, they have left their mark on this type of spiritual kinship. It mostly reflected in the all-disappearing of this kinship, as a result of the diminishing faith in its kinship ties or it acquired a new form, which was due to the more secure life conditions, when in fact there was no additional need to strengthen a new kind of kinship ties. However, as the modern study emphasizes, the modern kinship relations cannot be studied without a good knowledge of the socio-historical context of kinship (M. Segelan 1998: 24-25; 26-27; 30), also besides the fact that the young couple chooses their witnesses for the administrative marriage, still there is the principle that the second witness represents the female principle and the godfather – the male.

The village feast for its patron saint should be mentioned, because the migrating families regularly attend those feasts. In this case we can see the group identification of the immigrants with their native environment. It was very often the case once a year, meetings to be organized in the city in the bigger restaurants and the meetings were named due to the place where the settlers came from. (G. Palikruševa

1989: 57-62). These meetings were very popular in the 1970's and 1980's, while today they are rare. The village patron feasts, just like these meetings are chances to meet other former and present peasants, but also distant relatives.

### **Conclusion**

The function of the kinship relations as a mechanism of social identification is important as a defense from isolation and the sense of loneliness, which is more expressed in the big cities. The second, but not the least important role of those relations is in connection with the practical help and support that the relatives offer each other. Understandably, the exaggerated turning to relatives has its own negative sides, for example, nepotism, or less individuality of the family. The practical help and the support are especially expressed in the latest transitional period, in the time of economic crisis, a period that also shows the appearance of alternative nets in kinship relations. This can be seen in enlarging the existing house in order to secure accommodation for the children, in most cases for the sons, whether horizontally or vertically depending on the building permit, but very often depending on the place available. Thus, here we have again the traditional pattern – the parent to divide the property for the children. Recently, the practice, the youngest son or one of the children to stay with the parents, has become more actual in these settlements and are popular with the lower class of the population. But we cannot simply say that the force of tradition is influential because there are other factors involved. Having no space or financial means to secure home for the children are the reason why the older generation (the one that moved into the city) that is retired to return to their birth places in order to leave the house or the flat to the children.

Reviewing the urban-rural relationships in kinship relations of examples of migrating families, we can summarize that there is interdependence between the urban or rural relationships, because the changes do not act comprehensively, but they realize partially, and the most intimate spheres of human life are the ones to change the slowest. Such conditions are confirmed by the thesis that between the settlements in certain areas there is a complex net of interdependence and that the urban and the rural do not exist in standard forms but as mixed forms. The function of the kinship as a mechanism of a social control has proven to be an important factor in the process of adaptation in the new environment and the modern tempo of life, and the connection with the city and the peasant families. But very often, especially in the first year of settling down, this adaptation referred only to the area they settled in, transferring the tradition, while the urban lifestyle was an alien one, and in that regard we can say that migrating families lived in two worlds and two cultures. However, the scope of the kinship connection is not as wide as it was in the past, and we have seen that it is most intensive with the first generation following the line up and down and with the relatives that are on a parallel level with the subject, that is to say the brothers and the sisters. Generally speaking of contemporary times, it can be said that the influence of the city is great with those relatives that moved to the city and those that stayed in the villages, and that the city culture is influential, which are features of the urbanization and modernization processes. Analogous to this, the individual and personal initiative appear as features of these processes. We can also talk about the unification of the rural-urban culture (M. Prošić-Dvornić 1991:42). We can say that still in given circumstances people use something from the old lifestyle they feel efficient, but in modified version and in accordance with the new necessities of everyday life. This is

a confirmation that the “tradition” is not static, but dynamic and capable of changes of the past, or a change of its certain parts at appropriate moments although previously forgotten to reappear on the surface again.

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